THE RELATIONS BETWEEN DONNE'S ELEGIES
AND OVID'S AMORES

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The primary purpose of this piece of work has been to establish the precise points of contact between Donne's *Elegies* and Ovid's *Amores*, and to see what forms these points of contact took. This occupies the bulk of the third section, which also includes in its last pages—a place of a formal conclusion—the remarks and hints that have been suggested by the particular comparison of the two sets of poems that was undertaken.

As the same time it seemed a necessary preliminary to see, as far as was possible, what editions of the *Amores* would have been available to Donne, and also to see what English translations, if any, might also have influenced him. This in turn involved establishing as far as possible the date of the *Elegies*. I have set down the material that was turned up in this area of the work quite fully, primarily to establish dates and editions, but also (implicitly) to place the *Elegies* as fully as the information allowed in the context of the general Renaissance interest, English and Continental, in Ovid, and in the *Amores* in particular, and also to suggest something of the relation between the Continental and the English Renaissance.
II

PRELIMINARY

I. Editions and English Translations of the 'Amores' in the
Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

The first separate edition of the Amores to be printed
appears to have been that of A. Batz, which was published
beside his translation of it into German verse at Tübingen
in 1820.¹ The poems themselves exist primarily in three
MSS.: the Codex Parisinus Latinus 7311 (Regius), of the
Ninth Century, and apparently written in France; the Codex
Parisinus Latinus 8242 (Puteanus) of the Ninth or Tenth
Centuries, also apparently written in France; and the Codex
Sangallensis 864, of the Eleventh Century. Of these, the
Codex Parisinus 8242, the best MS., contains, in addition to
most of the Heroides, Amores I.ii.51 - III.xii.26, xiv.3 -
XV.8; the Sangallensis 864, among other things (including
part of Bk.III of the Metamorphoses, 11.642-83), Amores I. -

¹E. Paratore, Bibliografia Ovidiana (Sulmona, 1958),
pp. 9-28; the earliest separate edition recorded in the
British Museum Catalogue (London, 1955), CLXXVII, 408, however,
was published, together with a French translation, in 1661,
Apud viduam Petri Lamy: Iterstitiae Parisiorum.
III.ix.10, with the omission of I.vi.46 - viii.74; and the Parisinus 7311, in addition to the Ars Amatoria and the Remedia Amoris, contains Amores I. - ii.19, 25-50.  

There are also later MS. versions of these texts (belonging to the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries) and a large number of other MSS. in which the Amores appear, nearly all of them belonging to the Thirteenth Century, but one or two perhaps from the Twelfth and one from the Fifteenth.  

The Amores seem to have been first printed in the editions of Ovid's works that appeared independently in 1471 at Rome (edited by Joannes Andreas, then Bishop of Aleria, and printed - in two volumes - by Conradus Sueynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz) and at Bologna (edited by Franciscus Puteolanus Parmensis, and printed, folio, as was the Roman

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2. Showerman, Ovid: 'Heroides' and 'Amores' (Loeb edn., London and Cambridge, Mass., 1914; reprint 1963), p.314; E.J. Kenney, P. Ovidi Nasonis Amores etc. (Oxford, 1961), p. v: Professor Showerman's account of the MSS. differs from Mr. Kenney's, both as to their date (the Parisinus 8242 he assigns to the Eleventh Century, the Parisinus 7311 to the Tenth) and their content (the Parisinus 7311 he says contains Amores I.i.3 - ii.49): I have simply followed Mr. Kenney's account as being later and so likely to be the more authoritative.

3. E.J. Kenney, op. cit., p.3: presumably the text of the Amores not included in the three earliest MSS. or (presumably) in their copies comes from these other, inferior MSS.
edition, by Balthesar Azoguidus\(^4\)); the two editions were with independent texts.\(^5\) There followed another edition of the *Opera*, printed by Jacobus Rubeus ('natione gallicus') at Venice, in 1474; the edition — in three volumes — by Antonius Zarotus at Milan in 1477; an edition by Stephanus Corallus Lugdunensis, again in three volumes, at Parma in the same year; another edition by Balthesar Azoguidus, at Bologna, in 1480; an edition at Venice ('cum interpretatione Pauli Marsi') in the same year, and another at Vicenza ('ex rec. Barnabae Celsani'), in two volumes, printed by Hermannus Coloniensis Lichtenstein; in 1484 the same printer issued, in Venice, an edition nearly identical with that of 1480, and apparently twice, once in a single, then in two volumes; two years later, again in Venice, Bernardinus de Bovaria issued the *Opera*, edited by Bonus Accursius Pisanus, in two volumes; two years after that, in 1488, they were issued, in Venice,

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\(^4\)G. Showerman, *op.cit.*, p.314; E. Paratore, *op.cit.*, p.9; *British Museum Catalogue* (1955), GLXXVII, 386-7: Sr. Paratore places an edition of the *Opera*, 'Mediolani [Milan]', por Antonium Zarotum Parmenson (sine nota typ.), before these two editions; if this is not part of the edition of the *Opera* issued in Milan by Antonius Zarotus in 1477 (listed by Sr. Paratore, p.10, and by the *British Museum Catalogue*, p.388 — the Catalogue does not mention an edition before the two of 1471), and Sr. Paratore's suggestion of a date around or prior to 1471 is correct, then the *Amores* may have been published before the *editiones princeps* (as Professor Showerman designates them) of 1471.

\(^5\)Prof. Showerman, *op.cit.*, p.314: which MSS, which edition was based on is not said.
by Matthaeus Capcasa Parmensis, and again by him, in two volumes, in 1489 (this was the edition of Bonus Accursius, revised by Valerius Superchius⁶); in 1492 a further edition, 'a Bono Accursio Pisano recognita', was issued in Venice by Lazarus de Saviliano, in two volumes; in 1493, again in Venice, by Christophorus de Pensis; in 1496, again in Venice, by Ioannes de Fridino; and in 1498, once more in Venice, and again by Christophorus de Pensis, who this time adds 'de Mandello' to his name.⁷

The first Sixteenth Century edition of Ovid was likewise published in Venice, in 1502-3, 'In aedibus Aldii', in three volumes, octavo, and apparently pirated in Lyons in 1505; another edition, 'In aedibus Aldii et Andreae Soceri', was issued in Venice, in 1515-16, again in three volumes octavo, which seems with the Sixteenth Century to become the customary form in which the editions were published.

In 1522, however, the Amores, which had hitherto only appeared in complete editions of Ovid, appeared in a single octavo volume together with only the Heroides, edited

⁶The copy in the British Museum has the colophon 'a Matheo Capcasa ... impressa: pridie Calen: Ianuarias, 1489.' (Catalogue (1955), CLXXVII, 389): the two editions may perhaps be really one spanning, as was the case of the Second Quarto of Hamlet in 1604/1605, two years.


The British Museum copy of the 1498 Venetian
by J. Hervagius and published 'Apud J. Enblouchum: 
Strasbourgeostrae'. This was followed in 1528 by a Florentine
edition, published 'Per haereses P. Juntas', in a single
octavo volume, and containing, besides the Amores, only
'Hercidum Epistolae ... De arte amandi libri III. De
remedio amoris libri II. De medicamine faciei. Mux.
Somnium. Pulex et Philomela ... Sabini ... epistoleae'.

In 1529 an edition of the Opera, 'a J. Sichardo',
was published at Antwerp, and another (in two volumes
octavo), 'Apud Simonem Collinæum', at Paris. In 1534
they were published 'Apud Seb. Gryphium' at Lyons (Thugduni'),
and in 1536-7, in three volumes octavo, by Simon Collinæus
again, at Paris. In 1546 Sebastian Gryphius issued another
edition, at Lyons, in three volumes sextodecimo.

Edition (v. Catalogue (1955), CLXXVII, 389) is in two parts
(with a preface by Bonus Accursius), dated 1492, 1498 res-
pectively; the Catalogue lists no copy dated 1493. The
British Museum possesses copies of twelve of the seventeen
Fifteenth Century editions listed by Sr. Paratore; alto-
tgether eleven of these (the 1488 Venetian edition by Matthæus
Capessa is unspecified) are given as folio editions: Sr.
Paratore does not give the size of the edition, whereas the
Catalogue (except for two editions, which agree with Sr.
Paratore's) does not give the number of volumes or parts.

8v. Ulysse Chévalier, Répertoire des Sources Historiques
du Moyen Âge: Topo-Bibliographie (Montbéliard, 1894-9; re-

9The British Museum copy (v. Catalogue (1955),
CLXXVII, 390) is in three parts octavo, with the dates 1536-
34-39.
In 1549 the *Amores* were published again in an edition other than a complete edition, among the *Heroïdes*, the *Ars Amatoria*, the *Remedia Amoris*, and other of Ovid's *opera quae vocantur amoraria*, in a single folio volume, published this time 'Per I. Heruagium' at Basle.

In 1551 an edition of the works, *praeter Metamorphoseon libros*, was published at Venice, and a complete edition, 'cum H. Glareani et Longolii annotationibus' at Basle. In 1554 a further edition was published by Sebastian Gryphius at Lyons, this time in two volumes 24mo. In 1560 an edition in three volumes octavo was published by Henricus Petrus at Basle (by the middle of the Sixteenth Century the printing centre for Ovid seems to have shifted westward into Europe from Italy, and in particular from Venice, where it lay at the end of the Fifteenth Century, and in the last decades or so to have centred right on the western coast of Europe, when, as we shall see, the first English editions of Ovid appeared).

In 1566-7 an edition, in three volumes octavo, was published 'Ex officina C. Plantini' at Antwerp ('ex Naugerii castigatione'), and in 1568 two editions seem to have been issued independently at Basle, one 'per I. Th. Freigium' and the other, in three parts octavo, 'Ex officina Henric petrina'. 
In 1574 an edition was issued by H. de Marnef and G. Cavellat, in three volumes sextodecimo, at Paris, and in 1575 C. Plantinus issued another edition, in three volumes sextodecimo, from Antwerp, the press from which the editions of Ovid were to come for almost the next twenty years.

In 1566, however, J. Loëus, also at Antwerp, had issued an octavo volume of Ovid's *Poemata Amatoria*, which included the *Amores*, and in 1574, more than a century after the first editions of Ovid were printed in Italy, the first step was taken towards printing Ovid in England: on 19th June, among other Latin works, including those of Cicero, 'PUBLIJ OVIDIJ HAZONIS *opera omnia*' were licensed by Elizabeth to T. Vautrollier by letters patent. In 1583, the year in which a further edition of the *Opera* was issued, in three volumes octavo, by Plantinus at Antwerp, Thomas

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10 The British Museum copy has the dates 1574, 76 (v. *Catalogue* (1955), CLXXVII, 391).

11 The British Museum copy of the 1575 Antwerp edition has the dates 1582, 73, 75 (v. *Catalogue* (1955), ibid.).

Vautrollerius published in London, in a single sextodecimo volume, an edition of the amatoriae, with the title-page:


In 1583 Shakespeare and Marlowe were nineteen (the one at Stratford, the other at Cambridge, and a scholar of Corpus Christi College) and Donne was eleven, the year before he went to Hart Hall at Oxford.

Another edition of the same poems was published, in an octavo volume, in 1594, this time by R. Field, in London, when Donne was twenty-two and at Lincoln's Inn: Marlowe had been killed in a tavern at Deptford a year before on 1st June 1593.

These are the only English editions of Ovid to be printed in the Sixteenth Century - no other of the poems were printed - and also the only English editions to appear in Donne's lifetime; the next (and the last before 1641), which included, as before, only the Amores, the Heroides, the Ara...

It would be interesting to know what relation this edition of Ovid's love poems bears to their preceding continental editions of 1522, 1528, 1549, and 1566.
Amatoriae, the Remedie Amoris, and various apocryphal works, was published by the University of Cambridge in one octavo volume in 1635. Vautrollier does not seem at any time to have printed all Ovid's works, or to have issued editions of the Fasti, Metamorphoses, Tristia, or the other poems.

In the meantime (and the well-established continental presses and the well-organised European book-trade is probably the reason why so little of Ovid was printed in England) Plantinus issued another edition of Ovid at Antwerp in 1589-90, in three volumes sextodecimo, and again, in three octavo volumes, in 1593. In 1596 an edition in three volumes octavo was published at Leipzig, and in 1599, again in three volumes octavo, 'Impensis heredum P. Fischeri', at Frankfurt. In 1601, the centre for editions of Ovid having shifted again, two more editions were printed at Frankfurt: one in three volumes folio, 'Typis Wechelianis apud Claudium Marnium et haeredes Joannis Aubrii', and the other in three volumes octavo, 'Apud Wolfgang. Richterum'. In 1607 G. Voegelinus published an edition at Leipzig, and another, 'ex I. Mycilli et G. Borsmani recognitione', probably in 1610, both in three volumes octavo. An edition appeared, 'Ex Typographia Thomas Portae: Salmurii' presumably Saumur in 1609, in three volumes 24mo, and an edition of Ovid occupied the first of the two quarto parts of the Corpus omnium veterum poestarum Latinorum secundum seriem temporum ... distinctum, 'Secunda
editio', edited by A. Petrus Bassaeus Patricius Gaenensis at Geneva in 1611. An edition of Ovid occupied similarly the first part of the Chorus poetrarum classicorum duplex, published in two octavo parts by L. Muguet at Lyons in 1615-16. There was an edition at Amsterdam in 1624. The first English translation of the Amores was that by Marlowe at the end of the Sixteenth Century. There is a MS. translation of Metamorphoses, Eks. X-XV, in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, with the colophon Translated and fynysshed by me Wm Carton at Westminster the xxij day of Apryll ... m. iiiijiiiij. And the xx were of the Reame of kyng Edward the fourth, and this appears to be the first actual translation of Ovid into English. The next after that,

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14 E. Paratore, op. cit., pp.17-18 /"Principali Edizioni dei Secc. XVI E XVII"/. British Museum Catalogue (London, 1943), XXXVII, 447; (1955) LXXX, 802; CLXXVII, 389-93, 400-2; H.R. Palmer, List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed Before 1641 (London, 1911), pp. 75-84. Sr. Paratore lists only nine principal editions up to 1624, and without stating the size of the edition or the number of volumes (he does not mention either of the English editions); this information comes from the British Museum Catalogues, and from Miss Palmer.

After the Amsterdam edition of 1624 Sr. Paratore lists editions for 1629, 1630, 1658-61 (the last two both also from Amsterdam), 1662, 1670, 1683, and 1689; the British Museum Catalogue (1955), CLXXVII, 393 ff., for 1627, 1629, 1652, 1661-58, 1664 and so on.

15 H.R. Palmer, op. cit., p.79: no printed edition or fragment of this was known when Miss Palmer was writing.
and the first to be printed, was part of the *Ars Amatoria*, published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1513, though throughout the Sixteenth Century (though translations from Ovid, and from Latin and Greek Literature generally, were done mainly in the second half of the century) and into the Seventeenth, it was principally the *Metamorphoses* or parts of them that were translated: Golding's *First Fower Bookes* appeared in 1565, and the complete *Metamorphoses*, Bks. I - XV, appeared in 1567, to be reprinted six times in the next forty-five years, in 1575, 1584, 1587, 1593, 1603 and 1612. 16

The *Amores*, moreover, do not seem to have been translated again until the edition, in two parts octavo, of Jacob Tonson's *Miscellany Poems*, in London, in 1684, an edition Containing a new translation of Virgil's Eclogues, Ovid's Love Elegies, Odes of Horace, and other authors, with several original poems. By the most eminent hands, among whom was

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Drydon. 17  

Exactly when Marlowe's translation was printed, however, is not known. The copy was not entered in the Stationers' Register, and none of the extant copies bears any date; the title-pages of the various copies bear, moreover, the imprint, apparently variously spelt, 'At Middlebourgh,' meaning Middleburgh in Holland. 18


Master John Fish. Entred ... booke or copy entituled Ovid's Elegies, or a translation of his choicest epistles to his lady and friends, together with 3 other epistles, don by the same hand. vjd 26th April 1683. [signed] JOHN FISH.

Whether this translation included any of the Amores is not clear (the term Elegies, as is apparent, was used of Ovid to refer to any of the short, separable poems in elegiac metre); the extant copies of the work are in the Bodleian Library and the Harvard University and Yale University Libraries. D. Wing, loc. cit.

18 This seems to be generally taken as false (v. C.F. Tucker Brooke, Works of Christopher Marlowe (Oxford, 1910; reprinted 1957), p.553; F.S. Boas, Ovid and the Elizabethans
There seem, however, to have been six separate editions or impressions. The poems exist primarily in two texts, a complete version of the poems (or, rather, a complete version of the text, or texts, of the poems that Marlowe used, which did not include III. v), and a selection of the translated poems: of the selection there seems to have been two editions, of the complete translation four. 19

The selection, *EPIGRAMMES/and/ELEGIES./By I.D. and C.M./[Ornament]/ At Middleborough.*, with a second title-page (which is the one usually quoted), *CERTAINES/OF OVIDS/ELEGIES./By C. Marlowe; /[Ornament]/ At Middleborough.* (Small fourts), 20 contains Books I.i, ii, iii, v, xiii; II. iv, x; and III. vi and xiii 21 (vii and xiv in modern editions

(London, 1947), p.11; P. Henderson, Christopher Marlowe (British Council Pamphlet, London, 1956), p.39), but I see no reason (at least for the original printing) why it should be (L.C. Martin, Marlowe's Poems (London, 1931), still the most recent authoritative edition, pp.14-17, does not give an opinion one way or the other).

19 C.E. Tucker Brooke, op.cit., pp.553-4; L.C. Martin, op.cit., pp.14-5; Cambridge Bibliography (1940), I, 531 (Una Ellis-Fermor); Pollard and Redgrave, op.cit., pp.432-3 (who also say there were at least two issues of one of the four complete editions); F.S. Boas, Ovid and the Elizabethans (London, 1947), p.14: the Cambridge Bibliography (1940), I 805 (C.H. Conley), suggests, however, only one edition for the selection of the poems, and Miss Palmer, op.cit., p.76, lists only two separate editions of the complete version, with a further impression of the second.

21 L.C. Martin, ibid.
of the *Amores*): the two editions, both in a single volume
duodecimo, 22 exist now only in a single copy each. 23

Of the four editions of the complete translation,
all of which were in single octavo volumes, 24 with the title-
page, 'ALL/OVIDS LEGIES: 3 BOOKES. / By C.H. / Epi-
grams by J.R. / Ornament / At Middleborough.' 25 two were judged by Tucker
Brooke to be 'by their typography in such matters, for example,
as the use of "u" and "v", ... half a century later than
Marlowe's time', whereas the other two editions 'appear to
date from the close of the sixteenth century'. 26 T his dis-

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22 H.R. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p.76: Pollard and Redgrave,
*op. cit.*, pp.432-3 give the editions as both being octavo: the
British Museum Catalogue (1955), CLXVII, 408, however, in
listing its copy supports Miss Palmer.

23 L.C. Martin, p.14: the two copies, according to
Miss Palmer, p.76, are in the British Museum and the Bodleian
Library (cf. the list of copies used given by Mr. Brooke,
*op. cit.*, p.553).

24 H.R. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p.76: Pollard and Redgrave,
*op. cit.*, pp.432-3; British Museum Catalogue (1955),
CLXVII, 408.

25 L.C. Martin, *op. cit.*, p.14: this is the title-page
of one of the Bodleian copies (Mason AA 207), which Mr. Brooke,
*op. cit.*, p.554, regarded as 'certainly the best and not
improbably the oldest' and, basing his text on it, reproduced
its title-page in his edition (p.557): needless to say the
ornament, XXX, is deliberately anonymous (as presumably is
the case with all the editions).

tinction between the editions seems to have been generally accepted, but there is no agreement as to precise dates. The uncertainty as to date extends also to the editions of the Certaine Elegies, though it also has been generally assumed that they both preceded the editions of the complete version.

It is not, however, possible, at the moment, to be

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27. v. Cambridge Bibliography (1940), I, 531, (Una Ellis-Fermor), 805 (C.H. Conley): Pollard and Redgrave, op. cit., pp. 432-3, accept the ascription of the two later editions but give no opinion as to the other two: L.C. Martin, however, loc.cit., seems to assign all four editions to 'the end of the sixteenth century', and Miss Palmer assigns the three editions she lists all to the last years of the century.

28. Mr. Brooke makes no suggestion of dates and Mr. Martin does not raise the question: the dates given by Miss Palmer are 'ca. 1597', '1600?', and '1600?'; by Miss Ellis-Fermor, '1595-1640'; by Mr. Conley, 'ca. 1597', '1600?', '1635?', '1640'; Pollard and Redgrave, '1635?' and '1640?'; the British Museum Catalogue (1955) CLXXVII, 408, marks its three copies '1600?'.

29. Again Mr. Brooke suggests no date, and Mr. Martin does not raise the question: Miss Palmer, loc.cit., has '1590?'; Mr. Scholieder, in the Introduction to Miss Palmer's work, p.xvi, suggests 'probably in 1590' (for the complete versions he suggests 'about 1598'); Mr. Conley, loc.cit., likewise has '1590?'; Pollard and Redgrave, loc.cit., (who alone, apart from Miss Ellis-Fermor, do not assume the two editions were issued in the same year) have '1595' and '1598'; Miss Ellis-Fermor herself has '1595-1640'; the British Museum Catalogue (1955), loc.cit., assigns its copy to '1590?'.

30. Mr. Brooke, however, op.cit., p.553, dissociates himself from this ('we have no proof'); and Mr. Martin, while not specifically raising the matter, seems likewise to dissent (op.cit., p.14).
precise about dates of publication. The only definite evidence of publication is the order by the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Whitgift) and the Bishop of London (Richard Bancroft) signed on 1st June 1599 at Croydon - where the Archbishop's summer palace, now a girls' school, still stands - condemning, among various other books, 'DAVYES Epigrams, with MARLOWES Elegies', to be burned; the order was duly published in the Stationers' Hall three days later on 4th June, the books burned, and the order and an account of its execution entered in the Stationers' Register. 31

Of the other eight books ordered in the original decree to be burned (that is, presumably, all the copies of the various editions still unsold and in the possession of the members of the Stationers' Company) all, except for one, were first licensed or printed in 1598 or 1599; 32 the exception, like

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31 v. E. Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 a.d. (London, 1876), III, 316-7: two of the books in the original order were later ordered to be 'staid' ('not burnt', according to Arber), and another book, licensed in 1594, ordered 'to be called in': it is noticeable that it is the Epigrams only that are mentioned ('DAVIES Epigrams') in the account of the burning, perhaps suggesting it was them, rather than the Elegies, that were offensive (Tucker Brooke makes a similar comment, op.cit., p.553); among the other clauses of the order of 1st June is one, 'That noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter', which further suggests that it was not the Elegies that were, at least primarily, the object of the decree.

32 v. Arber's notes to the two entries, loc.cit.,
Marlowes' and like Davies' work, was unlicensed and its date of printing is likewise, apparently, not known. The decree, therefore, seems to have been, in part at least, a fairly prompt response to recent publications, which suggests perhaps that the edition or editions of the Elegies which had clearly been published by June 1599 (and this is, in the end, the only final conclusion that can be made) may well also have been published only recently.33

It is, however, possible to fix with some certainty a date before which the poems could not have been published.34 In all the extant copies the Elegies - and this was clearly also the case with the copies burned in 1599 - were published with Sir John Davies' Epigrams, and at least two of those refer to events which can be fairly precisely dated.35 In the Sixth, In Titus -

33 The inclusion of the book licensed in 1594 in the amendment of the order makes it clear this is by no means certain.

34 This was done by J.M. Rosworthy in a note to the Review of English Studies, New Series, IV (1953), 260-1, "The Publication of Marlowe's Elegies and Davies's Epigrams".

35 The two Epigrams in question occur in all the extant copies and also in the MS. version of the Epigrams in the Bodleian Library (Rawlinson poetry 212).
Titus, the braue and valorous yong gallant,
Three years together in this towne hath beene,
Yet my Lord Chauncellors tombe he hath not seene
Nor the New water worke, nor the Elephant.
I cannot tell the cause without a smile,
He hath beene in the Counter all this while. 36

"my Lord Chauncellors tombe" seems clearly to be
that of Sir Christopher Hatton, built in St. Paul's in 1591,
where it immediately became an object of contemporary, fashion-able interest, 37 and the 'New water worke' would seem to refer to the 'new Forcier' constructed by Bevis Bulmer to convey Thames water into 'the middle and West parts of the Citie' in '1594. and 1595'; 38 the earliest water works before this were built in 1582 and 1583. 39 Titus' 'three years together', therefore, would exactly cover the period from the building of Sir Christopher Hatton's monument to the construction of the waterwork. 40

In the Fortieth Epigram, In Afrum, there is a reference which can be dated more surely and more precisely:

38 Stow's Survey (1603), ed. cit., I, 18, II, 11;
40 Exactly why Titus should not have seen the Elephant (presumably the modern 'Elephant and Castle' in Southwark) is not clear.
The smell feast Afer, transiles to the burse
Twice every day the newest newes to heare
Which when he hath no money in his purse,
To rich mens tables he doth often heare:
He tells how Gronigen is taken in,
By the braue conduct of illustrious Vere:... 41

The surrender of Gröningen to Sir Francis Vere took place on 15th July 1594.42

This epigram, at least, therefore, was written after the summer of 1594, and it is very likely that Epigrama 6 also was written either after or during 1594, the year in which the building of the new waterwork began: the extant editions of the Elegies, therefore, were clearly published after the middle of 1594, and there is no reason to suppose there were other earlier editions either without the Epigrams altogether or without these two.43

That some at least of the Elegies were known by 1594 is, however, clear from references to them in contemporary texts. Thomas Nashe in Jack Wilton, published in 1594, quotes Marlowe's version of Amores, II, iii. 3-4, 'Who first


\[42\] J.M. Nosworthy, op. cit., 261.

\[43\] There are several other contemporary, dateable references in the Epigrams, whose topicality seems to have constituted their appeal, and whose references to contemporary personages, at the time no doubt immediately apparent, were probably the reason for their being destroyed (cf. the linking of 'Epigrams' with 'Satyres' in the original decree): lines 7-8 after the reference to Gröningen could be dated, as could, for example, various references in Epigrams 10, 20, 22, 24, 47.
deprin'd yong boyes of their best part/With selfe same
woundes he gane, he ought to smart', 44 and Shakespeare, in
The Merchant of Venice, V.i.109, "Peace, ho! the moon sleeps
with Endymion", probably written in the autumn of 1596, 45
seems clearly to be referring, ironically, to Marlowe's trans-
lation of Amores, I.xiii.43 ('eadspice quot sommos iuveni
donarit amato/Luna''), 'The Moone sleepees with Endymion every
day'; 46 the reference, moreover, clearly depends for its
effect on Marlowe's line already being known to the London
audience. 47

The MS. of the Epigrams in the Bodleian Library, v. supra,
p.19, n.35, is dated 'Ao 1594 in November' (J.M. Nosworthy,
op. cit., 261), which may well be the approximate date of
composition.


45 E.K. Chambers, William Shakespeare: A Study of

46 L.C. Martin, op.cit., p.17; C.F. Tucker Brooke, op.cit., p.577; G. Showman, Ovid: 'Heroides' and 'Amores'
(London and Cambridge, Mass., 1914; 1963), pp.370-1; E.J.

47 The only other references relevant to the Elegies
are two by Thomas Bastard in Christologos (1598), Bk.II,
Epigram 15; Bk.III, Epigram 3, to Sir John Davies' Epigram
29 (C.F. Tucker Brooke, op.cit., p.555 and n7; L.C. Martin, op.cit., p.17); Jonson's re-working of Marlowe's version of
p.15).
It is quite likely, however, that Marlowe’s version (complete or incomplete) was known before publication in MS., and the most that can at present be said is that an edition or editions of the Elegies - though whether complete or in section, or both, cannot be said - together with Sir John Davies’ Epigrams - presumably all forty-eight - had appeared between the summer of 1594 and the summer of 1599; that it is most likely (on bibliographical and typographical grounds) that two editions of the selected Elegies and two of the complete translation had appeared (all with Sir John Davies’ Epigrams) by the early years of the Seventeenth Century, and that the complete edition was reprinted twice thirty or forty years later, in the 1630’s and 1640’s: if the Elegies were ever published separately or without Sir John Davies’ Epigrams as they are in the extant copies and the Bodleian MS. (neither of which is likely), no copy or reference has come down to us,

48 It is worth noting, all the same, that whereas Shakespeare’s knowledge of Marlowe’s version of Amoreg, I.xiii, could have come from the selected edition that was published, Nashe’s could only have come from the complete edition or from a MS. which included II.iii (v. supra, pp.14-15): if the Elegies were printed in 1594 they must have been in one of the complete editions.

49 Mr. Nosworthy’s conclusion, op.cit., 261, as to the date of publication of the first of the Middelburgh editions (he refers to them all, by the way, as octavo), that ’1595 is a fairly safe guess’, is not fully justified (especially if the implications of the June 1599 entries in the Stationers’ Register are felt to have any weight).
nor, as far as I know, has any copy of the Elegies in MS. 50

2. Note on Donne's Library

Of the hundred and ninety-seven books known to have belonged to Donne, however, none is an edition of or contains Marlowe's Elegies (no work by Marlowe, or indeed of any major Elizabethan or Jacobean writer, is among them), nor, surprisingly, is there an edition of Ovid or part of Ovid; there are in fact no editions of Virgil, Horace, or Cicero either, or of any of the Classical Latin or Greek writers; the edition of the Aeneid that is found is, interestingly, an Italian translation (in one octavo volume) published in Venice in 1538, La Enide tradotta in Terza Rima per M. Giovanpaolo Vasio, and now in the Harvard College Library. 52 The majority of the books in fact were printed abroad, and most of them are in Renaissance Latin dealing with contemporary matters, mainly matters of con-

50 It is perhaps worth noting that the Elegies seem to have been first published at least a year after Marlowe's death, which may perhaps contain something to account at least in part for the irregularities of the publication and the "numerous blunders which one would expect to find in hasty and surreptitious productions" in the texts of the editions themselves (C.P. Tucker Brooke, op. cit., pp. 553-4).


52 V. G. Keynes, op. cit., p. 222: among other volumes are L'Amoroso Convivio of Dante Alighieri (Venice, 1538; octavo, and now in the Bodleian Library) and the Opera of Aeneas Sylvius (Basle, 1571; folio, now in the Middle Temple Library); this last volume is not verified (v. Keynes, pp. 213, 221).
temporary religious controversy; most, also, were printed about 1600 or just after.

One, nevertheless, may contain the works of Ovid as well perhaps as those of other Classical Latin authors: a single volume folio, now in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and published, in 1595, probably at Geneva, 'AUCTORES LATINAE LINGUÆ in unum redacti corpus'.

We know that continental anthologies of the sort this may well be were certainly used in England, and by at least one of Donne's friends: the British Museum copy of the Corpus omnium veterum poetarum Latinorum, published in Geneva in 1611,54 bears on its title-page the autograph of Ben Jonson,55 and the British Museum copy of Chorus poetarum classicorum duplex, published at Lyons in 1615-16,56 has manuscript notes also by Ben Jonson.57 A simple examination of the volume

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54 v. supra, pp.10-11.
56 v. supra, p.11.
57 v. British Museum Catalogue (1943), XXXVII, 447; (1955) CLXXVII, 393.
itself would determine whether it was a Classical anthology or not (the use of the word 'autores', however, perhaps suggests ancient writers), and whether it contained all or part, and what part, of Ovid.

It is interesting also that the editions of the Amores Marlowe seems to have used did not include the English edition of 1583 (which may well have been published either while or just before he was engaged on the translation, since it is at least likely he made the translation while at Cambridge between 1580 and 1587) but were most likely an edition of P. Ovidii Nasonis Amatoria ... Basileae, 1568, a volume not mentioned by the authorities consulted above, and P. Ovidii Nasonis Heroidum Epistoleae, Amorum libri III ... Antverpiae, 1575,58 which is presumably the edition of the works published by Plantinus in 1575.59

It is quite likely, moreover, if the anthology possessed by Donne did not in fact contain Ovid or the Amores, and even if it did, not only that Donne possessed a continental rather than an English edition (either that of 1583 or 1594)

58L.C. Martin, Marlowe's Poems (London, 1931), p.16: Mr. Martin examined, in relation to the Elegies, 'a number of sixteenth-century editions of the Amores'.

59v. supra, p.8.
but that he possessed one of the early printed editions; among the hundred and ninety-seven volumes that have so far been identified (and one cannot be sure how representative a selection they are) is an anonymous *Dialogue du fou et du sage* dating probably from 1510 and a folio volume, *Summa Angelica de Cassibus Conscientiae*, by Angelus de Clavasio, published in Nuremberg in 1492 (at a time when Albrecht Dürer was probably there) and now in the Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford. 61

3. The Date of the 'Elegies'

All Donne's poems - with the exception of the two Anniversaries, the lines *Upon Mr. Thomas Coryat's Crudities*, and the *Elegie upon the untimely death of the incomparable...*

60 G. Keynes, *op.cit.*, p.209: it has been suggested, by I.R. Maxwell, *The Times Literary Supplement*, 11th July 1935, p.448, that this 'may have belonged to Donne's grandfather, John Heywood, who is believed to have used the Dialogue as his model' (Keynes) 'Presumably for his play *Wytty and Wytless*, extant in British Museum MS. Harleian 367; v. Cambridge Bibliography (1940), I, 518 (F.S. Boas; rev. A.W. Reed).

61 G. Keynes, *op.cit.*, p.211.
Prince Henry - were published after Donne's death on 31st March 1631. Before that they circulated in MS., and a large number of MS. collections of Donne's poems, or of MSS. containing, among other things, collections of the poems (evidence of their popularity, and no doubt also an indication of their influence) has come down to us.

62 The first Anniversary (An Anatomie of the World with A Funerall Elegie) was published in 1611, then re-published in 1612 with The Second Anniversary, Of the Progress of the Soule, the two being printed again in 1621 and 1625; Upon Mr. Thomas Coryats Crudities was first published prefixed to Coryats Crudities in 1611; and the Elegie on Prince Henry was included in Sylvester's Lachrymerum of 1613: the first edition of the poems, and of the Elegies, Poems, by J.D. with Elegies on the Author's Death, was published in 1633 by John Marriott, two years after Donne's death; in 1635 an enlarged edition was published with some alterations, and reprinted in 1639; subsequent editions, with some further alteration, on the authority of Donne's son, were printed in 1649, 1650 and 1654; and a further altered edition was printed in 1669 (Donne's son having died in 1662): Jacob Tonson produced an edition (Poems on Several Occasions. Written by the Reverend John Donne, D.D., Late Dean of St. Paul's. With Elegies on the Author's Death, with Some Account of the Life of the Author. (An abridgment of Walton's Life)) in 1719; this was the last edition before that in Bell's Poets of Great Britain (Edinburgh, 1779) (H.J.C. Grierson, The Poems of John Donne (Oxford, 1912), I, xvii-viii, II, livi-lxxv; H. Gardner, John Donne: The Divine Poems (Oxford, 1952), pp.lvii; F. Kermode, John Donne (British Council pamphlet, London, 1961), pp.42-5; G. Keynes, A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne (Cambridge, 1958), pp.146-72).

63 v. H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., II, pp.lxxv-xml; H. Gardner, op.cit., pp.lvii-lxxv; G. Keynes, op.cit., pp.147-50, where a complete list (fifty-two altogether) of the MSS. known to contain poems by Donne is given: at least four new MSS. came to light after Grierson's edition of 1912, at least two contain important collections (v. Miss Gardner, pp.lvi, lvii-viii).
also from a letter Donne wrote to Sir Henry Goodyere on 20th December 1614, just over a month before he was to take orders, that Donne intended ('forthwith') to have an edition of his poems privately printed and dedicated to Somerset, then Lord Chamberlain, the purpose of the letter being 'to borrow that old book of you', an old MS. copy of the poems, so that the edition could be prepared. Whether or not the edition did appear, or whether Donne himself prepared the printer's copy (and his reluctance to have the poems published is apparent in the letter), no autograph MS. of the poems, or of any of the poems, has come down to us; nor, in fact, do any of the MSS. date from before the last years of the second decade of the Seventeenth Century.

64 Letters to Several Persons of Honour (1651), pp. 196-7; quoted in part by Miss Gardner, op. cit., p.lxiv.

65 The Westmoreland MS., for example, now in the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library, appears, from the handwriting, to date from a little later than 1625; the British Museum Harleian MS. 4255, written apparently throughout in the same hand, is dated at one point 'London August 14, 1629'; the Phillips MS. (Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Poet. f.9) has, on its first page, '1623 me possidet Hon. Champernowne de Dartington in Devonia, generosus'; the John Cave MS. (now in the Arents Collection, New York Public Library) is dated 'Jun. 3, 1620'; the Stephens MS. (Harvard College Library, Mor. 4500) is dated at the end '19th July 1620'; the O'Flahertie MS (Harvard College Library, Nov. 4804) is dated on its title-page, 'finished this 12 of October', and again, after its table of contents, '12 Oct, 1632'; the British Museum Stowe MS. 261 contains a poem on the death of John Pulteney 'who died 15 Oct May 1637'; the Monckton-Milnes MS., formerly in the Library of the Marquess of Crewe, has on its title-page, 'written about the time of Ben. Jonson qui.'
The Elegies, however, according to Sir Herbert Grierson, seem to have been pretty widely circulated, in two separate groups, before they were entered into the larger and later collections we now possess: it seems very likely that a 'book' (or two books) of Elegies were in circulation, though none is now extant, just as there seems to have been circulated a book of Satyres. Each seems to have contained either twelve or thirteen Elegies (it will be remembered Grierson gave twenty in his edition of 1912); one seems to be preserved in one of the two important groups of MSS., the Dowden MS. (now in the library of Mr. Wilfred Merton), the British Museum Harleian MS. 4955 (H49), and the Leconfield MS. (now in Sir Geoffrey Keynes' library) Lec:

66 op.cit., II, 60.

67 British Museum Harleian MS. 5110 contains only the Satyres, and the Dyce MS. D25 F17 (Keynes, p. 147; Miss Gardner, p. lvii, has 'Dyce MS. 25 F16': Sir Herbert Grierson does not refer to the MS.'s shelf number) and Queen's College, Oxford MS. 216 have the Satyres only, followed by The Storm and The Calm, the Queen's College MS., having after that The Curse; the British Museum Add. MS. 23229 also, apparently, has the remains of a similar collection of the Satyres (Miss Gardner, op.cit., p. lvii and p. lxxvii, n.).

68 H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., II, 60; G. Keynes, op.cit., pp. 147-8; presumably the two MSS. which also belong to this group but which were discovered after Sir Herbert's edition (v. Miss Gardner, op.cit., pp. lviii, xcvi), Cambridge
the order in these MSS. (using the titles given to the *Elegies* in the Seventeenth Century editions - the poems here are only numbered, except for XIII which is also titled *On Loves Progress*) is *The Bracelet*, *Going to Bed*, *Jealousie*, *The Anagram*, *Change*, *The Perfume*, *His Picture*, "Sorrow who to this house", "Oh, let me not serve", *Loves Warr*, *On his Mistris*, "Natures lay Idcott", I taught", *Loves Progress*, making thirteen in all; the other book seems to be preserved in three of the less important MSS., the Westmoreland MS. (W), British Museum Add. MS. 25707 (*A25* - a Seventeenth Century commonplace-book), and the John Cave MS. (*JC*); the order of the poems in these MSS. (none here is titled - the rest of the MSS. give titles only occasionally) is *The Bracelet*, *The Comparison*, *The Perfume*, *Jealousie*, "Oh, let me not serve" (*A25*, *JC*); "... let not me ..." (*JC*), "Natures lay Idcott, I taught", *Loves Warr*, *Going to Bed*, *Change*, *The Anagram*, *On his Mistris*, *His Picture*, "Sorrow

University Library Add. MS. 5776 (C57) and St. Paul's Cathedral MS. 49 B 43 (*SP* - curiously omitted by Sir Geoffrey Keynes in his list of MSS., op. cit., pp.147-9), also contain the same *Elegies* in the same order: the other important group of MSS. is the British Museum Add. MS. 18647 (*A18*), Harvard College Library MS. Hor.4503 (*H*), Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R 3 12 (*TCC*), and Trinity College, Dublin MS. G.2.21, first collection (*TCD I*), does not apparently show evidence of deriving the *Elegies* they have from either of the two groups or from any other (v. H.J.C. Grierson, op. cit., I, xxiv; II, xxii-xxvii, cxxvii; H. Gardner op. cit., lxvi-lxviii; G. Keynes, op. cit., pp.147-9).
who to this house" / this last not being found in A25/ making thirteen for W and JC, twelve for A25.69

It will be noticed that the Funeral Elegy, "Sorrow who to this house" (in the 1635 edition and after called Elegy on the L.C.) is included among the Elegies in both groups (except for A25); that the first group is without The Comparison, and the second without Loves Progress; and that there are thirteen Elegies altogether in the two groups, apart from the Funeral Elegy.70 These thirteen Elegies are, according to Grierson,71 the ones most widely circulated (presumably, the ones most frequently appearing in the MSS.) and seem likely, therefore, to be the earliest to have been written. Of the other Elegies The Dreame (called, more appropriately, The Picture) is given in D, H42, and Lec, but among the songs,


70The Funeral Elegy was 'sometimes' also included among the Elegies in the other MSS. (Grierson, op.cit., II, 60): exactly how the Elegies appear in the other MSS. is not indicated by Grierson's remarks (but v. II, cv, for an indication of the Elegies in the Stephens MS.; II, cviii, for the Elegies in the Cambridge University Library, Baungartner Collection MS. of the O'Flahertie MS., moreover, seems very close to W, A25, and JC, preserving the same twelve Elegies (without the Funeral Elegy among them) in the same order and with much the same text - v. I, 287; II, cvii, cxxi).

71op.cit., II, 61.
and The Autummall is placed by itself, the other five Elegies, apparently, (his parting from her, Julia, A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife, The Expostulation, do not appear frequently, and do not seem to have circulated widely.

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72 The Autummall appears also in JC (presumably apart from the other Elegies) but not in A25 or W; The Dreame appears in none of these three MSS. (v. H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., I, 92, 95).

73 H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., II, lxxxviii, 61: it is noticeable that the 1633 edition - which both Sir Herbert Grierson and Miss Gardner accept as the most authoritative of the editions and as more authoritative than any single MS. (v. II. cxiv-xxi, and pp.xci-iv respectively) - seems to have used either D, H49, or Lec for its text of the Elegies, or else another MS. with the same collection: the entry for the 1633 edition in the Stationers' Register (v. E. Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers (London, 1877), IV, 249; G. Keynes, A Bibliography of Mr. John Donne (Cambridge, 1958), p.150) runs:

13° Septembris 1632
John Merricot, Entred for his Copy under the handes of Sir Henry Herbert and both the Wardens a booke of verses and Poems (the five Satyres, the first, second, Tenth, Eleventh, and Thirteenth Elegies being excepted) and these before excepted to be his when he brings lawful authority ...

written by Doctor John Dunn

On 31st October the five Satyres were authorised to be printed (v. Arber, op.cit., IV, 261; Keynes, op.cit., p.150), but there is no similar entry for the five excepted Elegies, and in the actual edition of 1633 only eight Elegies (untitled) appeared: these eight, moreover, (v. G. Keynes, op.cit., p. 152) are those left from the thirteen in D, H49, and Lec when the particular Elegies cited in the entry are removed in order, and they were printed in the order in which they would have been left.

It seems apparent also from the entry that the term Elegies in connection with Donne's poems meant a particular
group of poems of a particular type, as the Satyres were
another group of another type, and it seems very likely
therefore that the thirteen in D, H49, Leq (or perhaps more
probably, the thirteen or fourteen in both this group and
W, JC, A22), and which occur most frequently throughout the
MSs., were the poems which would have been known in the
early Seventeenth Century as Donne's Elegies, as there were
five other poems known as Donne's Satyres: one should note
that the edition of 1633 regarded "Sorrow who to this house",
placed by Grierson among the Epicedes and Obsequies, as one
of the Elegies.

The five Elegies that seem to have been the ones
excluded from Harriot's 1633 edition were added later, in
1635 (The Bracelet and On his Mistrie, I and XI in D, H49,
Leq), and in 1669 (Loves Progress and Going to Bed, XIII and
II in D, H49, Leq); Loves Warr, however, (X in D, H49, Leq)
was not printed until 1602, when it appeared in F.G. Waldron's
The Shakespearean Miscellany (London) /v\. Keynes, op.cit., p.176;
cf. Grierson, op.cit., II, cxxvii/; The Comparison, The
Autumnall and The Dreame were printed in 1635, together in that
order, among the Funeral Elegies, and placed among the Elegies
in 1635; The Expostulation was also printed in 1633 away from
the Elegies, to be placed in 1635 among them; in 1635 also
His parting from her, Julia, A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife
were first published, and among the Elegies; in the edition
of 1635, moreover, "Sorrow who to this house" was placed among
the Funeral Elegies and "Come, Fates: I fear you not"
(probably by Sir John Roe) was placed among the Elegies; in the
edition of 1650 the younger Donne added Variety in an appendix,
from which it was removed to the Elegies in 1669; by the
edition of 1669 there seem to have been nineteen poems under
the title Elegies, the ones in fact which, together with
Loves Warr published in 1602, Sir Herbert Grierson listed as
Elegies in his edition of 1912 (v. H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit.,
s. xvi, xi; II, cxxvii - viii, cxxvii; G. Keynes, op.cit.,
pp. 152-66): the whole question of the text and canon of the
Elegies needs to be re-examined (cf. Miss Gardner's remark,
"The canon of the Elegies needs re-examination").
Apart from this suggestion, however, that certain of the Elegies existed as a group written before the others, the MSS., as far as our present knowledge of them goes, tell us nothing of the dates of composition of the Elegies. For the actual dating of the Elegies that is possible one must turn to the poems themselves.

Only two of what may be the earliest thirteen poems can be dated with any accuracy. In The Bracelet, the first poem in both of the two main MSS. groups and omitted in 1633, Donne speaks of 'Spanish stamps' [going] that:

Visit all Countries, and have shily made
Gorgeous France, ruin'd, ragged and decay'd;
Scotland, which knew no State, proud in one day:
And mangled seventeen-headed Belgia.

The last reference to Spanish corruption in the Netherlands, is, as Sir Herbert Grierson says, too indefinite to be of use, as it covers too wide a period, though such a remark might perhaps - for Donne - have had most point in the early 1590's, when there was renewed English activity and considerable English success in the war in the Netherlands, at that point moving into France, (one remembers Sir John Davies' reference to Vere's capture of Gröningen) and when

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75The Poems of John Donne (Oxford, 1912), II, 61.

Donne might well have been considering taking part in it (Donne was certainly preoccupied with the Spanish War at one point in the 1590's - in his early twenties - and actually took part in the Earl of Essex' Cadiz and Islands Voyages in 1596 and 1597).

The reference to Scotland is probably to the period between 1582 and 1586 when Spanish influence was uppermost there, and the reference to France to the period following the Spanish alliance with the League in 1585, when Philip II promised a monthly subsidy of 50,000 crowns in the war against Henri III. Sir Herbert goes on to say that the reference also includes the conversion and victory of Henri IV in 1593, but the reference does not seem that specific, nor is there any indication in the rest of the poem that Spain's subversion of France through the Duke of Parma had ceased. The early 1590's seems the only reasonable inference from the references.

In Loves War, Elegie X in D, H49, Lec, VII in W, A25, JC, and omitted in all the Seventeenth (and Eighteenth) Century editions, there is another reference to France and the Spanish War:

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78 H.J.C. Grierson, ibid.
France in her lunatique giddiness did hate,
Ever our men, yea and our God of late;
Yet she relyes upon our Angels well,
Which nere returne; no more then they which fell.79

This seems clearly written after the conversion of
Henri IV in 1593 ('yea and our God of late') yet, in the
reference to English monetary help, before the conclusion
of peace between France and Spain in 1598.80

Line 17 in the same poem, "And Midas joyes our
Spanish journeys give", may well, according to Sir Herbert
Grierson, refer to Raleigh's fruitless expedition in 1595 to
discover the wealth of Manoa.81 And the fact that, in a
poem that deals largely in terms of contemporary or recent
military events, there is no reference to the Cadiz expedition
of 1596 (in which Donne himself took part) perhaps suggests,
as Sir Herbert says, that the poem was written in the earlier
part of 1596, when the expedition was in preparation and when
Donne was contemplating joining it (which no doubt accounts to
some extent for why the poem was written).

There are one or two other dateable references in

79 ll. 9-12 M.J.C. Grierson, ed., The Poems of John

80 M.J.C. Grierson, The Poems of John Donne (Oxford,
1912), II, 61.

81 Sir Herbert quotes in support of this what seems
another reference to the same expedition in the Verse Letter,
To Mr. R.W. [Standard Authors edn., 1951, pp. 185-67, 11. 18-
19, "Guyanas harvest is nip'd in the spring, I feare").
what may be the earliest thirteen Elegies, but these are too remote to help in dating the poems.

William Drummond of Hawthornden, however, in his "Heads of a Conversation betwixt the Famous Poet Ben Johnson, and William Drummond of Hawthornden, January 1619", first published among his Works in Edinburgh in 1711, wrote of Jonson, 'He esteemeth John Donne the first poet in the world in some things: his verses of the Lost Chaine he hath by heart, and that passage of the Calme, That dust and feathers do not stirr, all was so quiet. Affirmeth Donne to have written all his best pieces ere he was 25 years old'. It seems reasonable to conclude from this that Jonson regarded The Bracelet, Elegie I in the two main MS. groups, and first published, among the Elegies, in 1635, as one of Donne's 'best pieces', and therefore that it was written before 1597, the year in which Donne was twenty-five (and this substantiates what is suggested by the poem's references); it is not possible, however, to conclude further that the other twelve Elegies of the group to which The Bracelet belonged by the early years of

82 The reference to the siege of the Protestants in Sancerre by the Catholics in 1573, in The Comparison, 1.10, for example Elegie II in W, A25, JC, though omitted in D, H49, Lec, and first included among the Elegies in 1635 (v. H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., II, 74).


83 V. G. Keynes, op.cit., p.226.
the Seventeenth Century were also written by 1597, nor even in fact is the placing of two of the thirteen in the 1590's evidence that the other eleven were also written before 1600. The similarity in tone on which Sir Herbert Grierson relies to do this\textsuperscript{85} is notoriously dangerous ground, if not actually undermined by his remark in the next paragraph that \textit{Julia} (not included in either of the two MS. groups, and first published, among the \textit{Elegies}, in 1635) - though not dissimilar in tone from, for example, \textit{The Comparison} (\textit{Elegie II} in W. A25, 40) - might have been written 'any time before 1615'. The most that, from our present knowledge, can be said is that the extant MSS. suggest the thirteen poems existed as a group by the end of the second decade of the Seventeenth Century, and probably earlier, and that at least two of them - though perhaps probably more - were written in the 1590's, both of them probably before 1597.\textsuperscript{86}

Of the other seven poems of the \textit{Elegies} as we now have them again only two can be dated with any certainty, though their dates tend to substantiate the chronological

\textsuperscript{85} \textit{op. cit.}, II, 62.

\textsuperscript{86} Sir Herbert's conjecture was that the poems were written 'between 1593 (v. his final remark on the reference to France in \textit{The Bracelet}, 1.40, and the reference to Henri IV's conversion in \textit{Loves Warr}, supra, p.367 and Donne's first entry upon responsible office as secretary to Egerton in 1598': that most of the \textit{Elegies}, were written in the 1590's is generally taken for granted (v., for example, E.M. Simpson, \textit{A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne} (Oxford, 1948), p.18, where they are placed between 1590 and 1601).
division suggested by the MSS. between the Elegies in D, H49, Xec, and W, A25, Jc, and the others.87

A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife (first published, among the Elegies, in 1635) cannot have been written before 1609. In lines 21 - 29 Donne wrote:

I ask'd the number of the Plaguy Bill,
Ask'd if the Custome Farmers held out still,
Of the Virginian plot, and whether Ward
The traffique of the Inland seas had marr'd,
Whether the Brittaine Purse did fill space,
And likely were to give th'Exchange disgrace;
Of new-built Algate, and the Moro-field crosses,
Of store of Bankerouts, and the poore Merchants losses
I urged him to speake.88

The 'Virginian plot' [scheme] in line 23 is almost certainly a reference to the two expeditions sent to Virginia in 1609 (in May, under Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, and at the end of the year, under Lord de la Warr, who, by letters patent, was to be Lord Governor and Captain General of the English colonies in Virginia), a scheme in which the trades of London were encouraged to invest stock.

The 'Brittaine Purse' mentioned in line 25 was the New Exchange built by the Earl of Shaftesbury in the Strand and opened by Charles I on April 11th 1609 (when it was

87 On the other hand, the two Elegies in question stand apart stylistically from all the others, both the thirteen in the two MSS. groups and the other five separate poems.

named by him Britain’s Purse). Aldgate, moreover, mentioned in line 27, as 'new-built', one of the four principal gates in the City Wall, was taken down in 1606 and re-built in 1609.\footnote{\textit{v. H.J.C. Grierson, The Poems of John Donne (Oxford, 1912), II, 83-5; v. also C.E. Horton The Poems of John Donne (New York, 1895), I, 229-30, and E.K. Chambers, Poems of John Donne (London, 1896), I, 240-1.}}

The poem, then, must have been written after 1609, and most probably, since, as with the other \textit{Elegies}, it is clearly topical events Donne refers to, some time in 1610. In 1610, in fact, Donne wrote the \textit{Litania},\footnote{\textit{H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., II, cxxxviii.}} and, as Professor Norton points out,\footnote{op.cit., I, 231.} in the same letter in which he writes of composing this he refers also to another, lighter poem he has also written, the name of which is unfortunately lost through a mutilation of the letter: "Even at this time when (I humbly thank God) I ask and have his comfort of sadder meditations I do not condemn in myself that I have given my wit such evaporation as those, if they be free from profaneness, or obscene provocations".\footnote{Letters to Severall Persons of Honour (1651); quoted by Norton, I, 231, and by Grierson, \textit{op.cit., II, cxxxviii.}} The 'evaporation' may well have been \textit{A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife} (in any case the implications of the date of the poem and of this letter in particular as to the dating of Donne's poems according to their gravity, or to Donne's responsibilities in life - \textit{v. supra, p.39.1,86 -}, are clear).
The *Autumnall* (first added to the *Elegies* in the edition of 1635), which is the other of the separate poems that can be dated, is also the one that most clearly stands by itself. Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Mr. George Herbert* (1670; 1675), says that the poem was addressed to Herbert's mother, Mrs. Magdalene Herbert, at the time (a period of four years altogether) when she was staying with her eldest son, Edward (afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury) at Oxford, where he was at Queen's College. It was during this stay of hers at Oxford that Donne first met her, and 'both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life', Donne 'being then near to the Fortieth year of his Age (which was some years before he entered into Sacred Orders)'.\(^9^3\) Donne was forty in 1612, so that the poem must have been written two or three years or more before this (1609 or 1610 would have been six and five years respectively before his ordination).\(^9^4\)

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\(^9^4\) Some confusion has been caused by Walton's saying it was Edward Herbert, Mrs. Herbert's eldest son, that she was superintending at Queen's College: this Edward Herbert in fact matriculated from University College in May 1596, and was not accompanied by his mother in Oxford until he returned there, after an absence, in 1599, too early to fit in with Walton's account of Donne's and Mrs. Herbert's ages; it seems, however, that it was rather Edward Herbert, a cousin of the other Edward, and William Herbert, the third son of Mrs. Herbert, both of whom matriculated from Queen's College on 1st July 1608, that
The poem, moreover, occurs in the Stephens MS., which is dated 19th July 1620, and in Jonson's *Epicoene*; or, *The Silent Woman* (first acted in 1609) comes the exchange between Clerimont and True-wit concerning 'the Collegiate ladies' of London (one remembers Mrs. Herbert, who in 1609 married Sir John Danvers, the brother and heir of Lord Danvers, Earl of Derby, was at that time at Oxford and part of the university society):

Cler. Who is the president?

True. The grave and youthful matron, the Lady Naughty.

Cler. A pox of her autumnal face, her pieced beauty! there's no man can be admitted till she be ready now-a-days, till she has painted, and perfumed, and washed, and secured ... I have made a song (I pray thee hear it) upon the subject.

Still to be neat, still to be drest ... 98

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95_v. supra, p. 28, n. 65.

96Sir Herbert Grierson, *op. cit.*, II, 63, simply places the play in 1610; Brinsley Nicholson and C.H. Herford, Ben Jonson (Three Plays) (New York, 1957), p. 113, give, with some evidence, the dates of first performance and of first printing as both 1609.


Donne's poem was frequently called (according to Grierson\(^99\)) *An Autumnall Face* as well as *The Autumnall* (Walton\(^100\) refers to it as the *Autumnall Beauty*), and the conceit in any case is in the poem's opening lines, 'No Spring, nor Summer Beauty hath such grace,'*As I have seen in one Autumnall face*';\(^101\) Jonson's words seem to be a clear reference to Donne's poem and its occasion (their full wit, moreover, is lost if the audience did not already know the poem).

*The Autumnall*, then, seems to have been written before 1609, and during Mrs. Herbert's stay in Oxford, perhaps most probably in 1608, the year in which Edward and William Herbert matriculated at Queen's College and in which Donne was thirty-six, seven years before his ordination.\(^102\)

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99 *op.cit.*, II, 63.
100 *op.cit.*, p.265.
102 It is not clear, however, which theatrical season *The Silent Woman* was first acted in; if it was the season from the autumn of 1609 to the early summer of 1610, the *Autumnall* could well have been written early in 1609. There is at least one letter, moreover, dated July 23rd, written by Donne to Mrs. Herbert in 1607 (v. Grierson, II, 62), a year in which the two Herberts might have been in Oxford with their mother (and aunt) or might not; Sir Herbert Grierson, however, *ibid.*, says that at the time Donne was at Mitcham and Mrs. Herbert was in London (though this does not seem to be the situation implied by the fragment of the July 23rd letter quoted); Mr.
If, moreover, Sir Herbert Grierson's inference from the MS. evidence that the thirteen Elegies in D, H42, Iec and K, JC, A25 were the earliest of the Elegies, and that those less frequently occurring were later, is correct, then the dates of A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife and of The Autummall, both of which can be fairly precisely placed, suggest the thirteen were all written by at least 1610.

It is clear, however, for all the indefiniteness that surrounds the dates of the Elegies, that both the 1583 English edition of the Amoree and the large number of Continental editions published before 1590, if not the second English edition of 1594, would have been available to Donne before he wrote the Elegies, and quite likely that, as Nashe did in 1594 and Shakespeare in 1596, he knew at least part of Marlowe's translation of Ovid, in time for it to influence at least some of his own Elegies.

Leishman, loc. cit., accepts Dr. Garrod's suggestion, made in the Review of English Studies article, (1945), that the friendship between the two began in 1607 (though he does not say where), then renewed by chance at Oxford in 1608 and the Autummall written: there is unfortunately no collection of Donne's letters (though Mr. I.A. Shapiro of Birmingham University is apparently in the process of making one) nor a reliable biography of Donne apart from Walton's (first published in 1640).
III

THE ELEGIES AND THE AMORES

The earliest public suggestion that Donne's Elegies and the Amores of Ovid were connected seems to have been made by Dr. Grosart in his edition of Donne's poems in 1872 (the first modern edition): 'Donne probably called his "Elegies" after the Amores of Ovid, touching as they all do, directly or inferentially, on the lights and shadows of Love'.

This, however, was all Dr. Grosart said, nor did he, in his notes or elsewhere in the edition, attempt to show any particular connections between the two works.

The remark, moreover, whose full implications have still to be explored, seems not to have been taken up until Sir Herbert Grierson's edition of 1912, from whose observations contemporary knowledge of the influence of the Amores on the Elegies stems. Neither Professor C.E. Norton nor Sir Edmund Chambers, whose editions of 1895 and 1896 were intermediary between Dr. Grosart's and Sir Herbert's, pursued


Dr. Grosart's original hint.\(^3\)

The fullest discussion of the relations between the Elegies and the *Amores*, in fact, apparently, the only one apart from Sir Herbert's, is that by J.B. Leishman in *The Monarch of Wit*,\(^4\) and that, as will become apparent, is almost wholly dependent on Sir Herbert.

Sir Herbert's most pregnant remark (though not perhaps as pregnant for an understanding of Donne's starting-point or intention as Dr. Grosart's) comes in his discussion of the love-poetry in his general discussion of the poems:

> But if the imagery of Donne's poetry be less classical than that of Marlowe or the younger Shakespeare there is no poet the spirit of whose love-poetry is so classical, so penetrated with the sensual, realistic, scornful tone of the Latin lyric and elegiac poets.

- and, on the next page, of Ovid's *Amores* and the love-poetry, -

The same tone of witty depravity runs through the work of the two poets.

- a defining phrase which is picked up later in distinguishing Donne's poems from Sir John Roe's, as possessing 'a kind of witty depravity, Italian in origin, and reminding

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\(^3\) *V. J.R. Lowell and C.E. Norton, The Poems of John Donne (New York, 1895)*, I, xvii-xiii; 221-32; E.K. Chambers, *Poems of John Donne* (London, 1895), I, 236-42 (v. also the Introduction by George Saintsbury, I, xi-xiii) (Professor Norton included twenty-one Elegies - the same twenty as Sir Herbert Grierson, together with Upon Mr. Thomas Coryat's Crudities; Sir Edmund Chambers included the same twenty as Sir Herbert).

one of Ovid and Arctino'; a phrase, moreover, used by Mr. Leishman (without acknowledgement) to characterise the Amores, 'They are distinguished by their impudence, their insolence, and a certain witty depravity', as he repeats, a little earlier in the same paragraph, Sir Herbert's earlier judgment and elaborates it, '/ The Amores / had, I think, no inconsiderable influence on the tone and on the situations of several of / the dramatic Elegies /'.

There are, however, only three passages in the Amores from which Donne has directly borrowed, two of them first printed out by Sir Herbert Grierson in the notes to his edition and repeated (without acknowledgement) by

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5 J. C. Grierson, op. cit., II, xxxix-xl, cxxxii.
J. B. Leishman, op. cit., p. 53: by 'dramatic Elegies' - the term 'dramatic' Sir Herbert applies to the love-poems on p. xlii - Mr. Leishman means Elegies I, IV, V, VII, XII, XV, XVI (using Sir Herbert Grierson's order): he sees an influence of the sort indicated in all of them (v. pp. 52, 56-65): Mr. Leishman also divides the poems into two other 'main groups', 'witty discourses on a broomstick, where the subject is a mere occasion for displaying wit' (Elegies, II, III, VI, VIII, XI, whose wit is said to be 'logical', argumentative, scholastic, or, if you insist, metaphysical, and Elegies XVIII, XIX, XX, where the wit is 'Ovidian': v. pp. 52, 71-84); the other group 'apparently serious defences of outrageous propositions', seems not to have been listed, though Mr. Leishman may have meant Elegie II among the 'scholastically' witty Elegies (v. p. 52 and pp. 74 ff.): Elegie IX is dealt with by itself (pp. 94-106), and Elegies X, XIII, XIV, and XVII are not dealt with at all (v. pp. 50-106, 267-8).

- to begin with at least -

Mr. Leishman in his book. It is worth quoting the whole of Ovid's poem and of Donne's, both to make clear the particular points of contact between them and to indicate, generally, the elements in the Amores Donne was influenced by (for the Amores are considerably more varied and complex than either Mr. Leishman or Sir Herbert suggest) and also to make clear the particular forms the influence, or perhaps rather the example, of Ovid took. There is an apparent connection between Amores I.iv and Donne's Elegie, Jealousie (Elegie I in Grierson's edition):

Vir tuus est epulas nobis aditus usurus easdem - ultima coena tuo sit, precor, illa viro! ergo ego dilectam tantum conviva pellem adspe- ciam? tangi quem iuvet, alter erit, alteriusque sinus apte subjecta fovebis? inicet collo, cum volet, ille manum? demine mirari, posito quod candida vino Atracis ambigua traxit in arma viros! nec mihi silva domus, nec equo mea membra cohaerent -

Vix a te video, posse tenere manus!

Quae tibi sint facienda tamen cognoscere, nec Eurus da mea nec tepiidis verba ferenda Notis! ante veni, quam vir - nec quid, si veneris ante, posuit agi videc; sed tamen ante veni.

cum promet ille torum, vultu comes ipsa modesto ibis, ut accumbas - clam mihi tange pedem!

me specta mutusque meos vultumque loquacem; excipe fortivas et refer ipsa notas.

verba supercillis sine voce loquentia dicam; verta leges igitis, verba notata mero.

Cum tibi succurrret Veneris lascivia nostrae, purpureas tenero pellice tange genas.

siquid crit, de me tecita quod mente queraris, posdeest extrema mollis ab aure manus.

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7 pp. 58-9 using Dryden's translation, 64-5.
cum tibi, quae faciam, mea lux, dicamve, placebunt, 25
verseetur digitis anulus usque tuis,
tange manu mensam, tangunt quo more prestantes,
optabis merito cum male multa viro.
Quod tibi miscuerit, capias, bibat ipse, iubeto;
tu puero leviter posse, quod ipsa voles.
quae tu reddideris ego primus pucca sumam,
et, qua tu biberis, hac ego parte bibam.
si tibi forte habis, quod praegustaverit ipse,
reice libatios illius ore cibos.
nec premat impositis sinito tua colla lacertos,
mite nec in rigido pectore pone caput;
nec sinus admittat digitos habilesve papillae;
oscula praecipue nulla dedisse velis!
oscula si dedecio, iam manifestus amator
et dicam "mea sunt!" iniamque manum.
Hec tamen adacicipiam, sed quae bene pallia colant,
illa mihi caeci causa timoris erunt.
nec nomen committere formur nec crure cohaere
nec tenerum duro cum pede image pedem.
muta miser timeo, quia feci multa proterve,
exemplique metu torqueor, ecce, mei.
saepe mihi dominaque meae properata voluptas
veste sub inicata dulce peregit opus.
hoc tu non facies; sed, ne fecisses puteris,
consclia de torgo pallia deme tuo.
vir bibat usque roga — precibus—tamen oscula desint! —
dumque bibit, furtim si potes, addas merum.
si bene compositus somno vinoque iacebit,
consilium nobis resque locusque dabunt.
cum surgas abitura domum, surgamus et omanes,
in medium turbæ fac memor agmen eas,
agmine me invenies aut invenieris in illo:
quidquid ibi poteris tangere, tange mei.
Me miserum! monui, paucas quod proset in horas;
separor a domina nocte iubente mea.
nocëe vir includet, lacrimis ego maestus abortis,
qua licet, ad saevas prosequar usque fores.
oscula iam sumat, iam non tantum oscula sumat:
quod mihi das furtim, iure coacta dabis.
vereum invita dato — potes hoc — similibus coactae; 65
blanditiae tacent, sitque maligna Venus,
si mea vota valent, illum quoque no iuvet, opto;
si minus, at certe te iuvet inae nihil.
sed quaecumque tamen noctem fortuna sequetur,
cras mihi constanti voce dedisse nego!
That husband of yours will attend the same banquet with us - may that dinner, I pray, be your husband's last! Must I then merely look upon the girl I love, be merely a fellow-guest? Is the delight of feeling your touch to be another's, and must it be another's breast you warm, reclining close to him? Shall he throw his arm about your neck whenever he wills? No longer marvel that when the wine had been set the fair daughter of Atrax drove to combat the men of ambiguous form! My dwelling-place is not the forest, nor are my members partly man and partly horse - yet I seem scarce able to keep my hands from you!

Yet learn what your task must be, nor give my words to the East-wind to be borne away, nor to the tepid South! Arrange before your husband - and yet I do not see what can be done if you do arrive before him, arrive before him. When he shall press the couch, you will come yourself with modest mien to recline beside him - in secret give my foot a touch! Keep your eyes on me, to get my nods and the language of my eyes; and catch my stealthy signs, and yourself return them. With my brows I shall say to you words that speak without sound; you will read words from my fingers, you will read words traced in wine. When you think of the wanton delights of our love, touch your rosy cheeks with tender finger. If you have in mind some silent grievance against me, let your hand gently hold to the lowest part of your ear. When what I do or what I say shall please you, light of mine, keep turning your ring about your finger. Lay your hand upon the table as those who place their hands in prayer, when you wish your husband the many ills he deserves.

The wine he mingles for you, be wise and bid him drink himself; quietly ask the slave for the kind you yourself desire. The cup that you give to him to fill, I will be first to take, and I'll drink from the part where you have drunk. If he chance to give you food that he has tasted first, refuse what his lips have touched. And don't allow him to place his

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8. The story of the fight of Centaurs and Lapiths at the wedding-feast of Pirithous and Hippodamia. The charms of Hippodamia were such that the Centaurs tried to carry her off; G. Showerman, ed. and trans., Ovid: 'Heroides' and 'Amores' (Loeb edn., London and Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p.328.
arms about your neck, don’t let your yielding head lie on his rigid breast; and don’t let the front of your dress, or your smooth breasts admit his fingers; and, more than all, don’t let him kiss you— not once! If you let him kiss you, I’ll declare myself your lover before his eyes, and say, "Those kisses are mine!" and lay hand to my claim.

Yet these offences I shall see, but those that the robe well hides will rouse in me blind fears. Bring not thigh near thigh, nor press with the limb, nor touch rough feet with tender ones. There are many things I wretchedly fear, because there are many I have wantonly wrought, and I am in torment, see! from fear of my own example. Oft have my lady-love and I stolen in haste our sweet delights with her robe to cover us. This you will not do; but lest you be thought to have done it, remove from your shoulders the conspiring mantle. Keep pressing your husband to drink—only add no kisses to your prayers!—and while he drinks, in secret if you can, keep pouring him pure wine. If once we have him laid to rest in sleep and wine, our counsel we can take from place and circumstance. When you rise to go home, and all the rest of us rise, remember to lose yourself in the midst of the crowd. You will find me there in that crowd, or will be found by me. Wherever you can touch me there, lay hand on me.

Miserable that I am, I have urged you to what will help for only a few scant hours; I must be separated from my lady-love—night will command it. At night your husband will shut you in, and I all gloomy and pouring forth my tears, shall follow you— as far as I may— up to the cruel doors. Then he will take kisses from you, yes, then he will take not only kisses; what you give me in secret, you will give him as a right, because you must. But give against your will— this much you can do— and like one made to yield; let your favours be without word, and let him find Venus ill-disposed. If my vows have any weight, I pray she grant him no delight; if not, may you at least have no delight from him. But whatsoever none the less, shall be the fortune of the night, to-morrow with steadfast voice tell me you were not kind."

9G. Showerman, op. cit., pp. 328-33: I have simply accepted Prof. Showerman’s translation, except for the bowd-
Fond woman, which would'st have thy husband die,
And yet complain'st of his great jealousie;
If swolne with poyson, hee lay in'his last bed,
His body with a sere-barke covered,
Drawing his breath, as thick and short, as can
The nimblest crocheting Musitian,
Ready with loathsome vomiting to spue
His Soule out of one hell, into a new,
Made deafe with his poore kindreds howling cries,
Begging with few feign'd teares, great legacies.
Thou would'st not wepe, but jolly,'and frolicke bee,
As a slave, which to morrow should be free;
Yet weep'st thou, when thou seest him hungerly
Swallow his owne death, hearts-bane jealousie.
O give him many thanks, he's courteous,
That in suspecting kindly warmeth us.
Wee must not, as wee us'd, flout openly,
In scoffing ridles, his deformitie;
Nor at his board together being satt,
With words, nor touch, scarce looke's adulterate.
Nor when he swolne, and pampor'd with great fare,
Sits downe, and snorts, cag'd in his basket chaire,
Must wee usurpe his owne bed any more,
Nor kisse and play in his house, as before.
Now I see many dangers; for that is
His realme, his castle, and his diocesse.
But if, as envious men, which would revile
Their Prince, or coyne his gold, themselv'e exile
Into another countrie,'and doe it there,
Wee play'in another house, what should we feare?
There we will scorne his household policies,
His seely plots, and pensionary spies.
As the inhabitants of Thames right side
Do Londons Major; or Germans, the Popes pride.
Donne's reference, in lines 17 - 24, to Ovid's injunctions, or rather to the injunctions of the speaker, in lines 15 - 32 and to the suggestion in lines 53 and 54 (which is the connection Sir Herbert Grierson pointed to) is clear enough, though Donne makes the situation more extreme, and the contempt for the husband, whose stupidity is increased and who is deprived of all virility, more blatant:

Wee must not, as wee us'd, flout openly,
In scoffing ridles, his deformitie;
Nor at his board together being satt,
With words, nor touch, scarce looks adulterate.
Nor when he swalow, and pamperl'd with great fare,
Sits downe, and snorts, cag'd in his basket chaire,
Must wee usurpe his owne bed any more,
Nor kiss and play in his house as before.

The mocking of the husband is entirely new, as is the shift from a meal or banquet to which all three have been invited to meals at his own table; Donne also makes quite explicit and, to bring out the extremity, and pursuing the shift of place, detailed what Ovid leaves unsaid in lines 53-4. The eight lines, however, really concentrate the whole of Ovid's poem, or rather the first part of it: the word 'deformitie' concentrates (and exaggerates) the physical details of Ovid's insulting references to the husband, and line 20, though the mention of 'words' again makes the matter more extreme, concentrates practically all the first part.
The effect of this sudden reference to a poem by Ovid - it comes almost exactly three-quarters of the way through - is immediately to place all that has gone before and all that follows, as well as itself, in relation to it, and what is immediately seen is that Donne's poem is, as it were, a sequel to Ovid's.

Ovid himself wrote poems in the *Amores* in pairs, or a single poem in two parts, as, for example, the two poems on the letter "tabellas" he sent to Corinna, I. xi and xii, the two poems to Bagous, the eunuch guarding a new mistress, II. ii and iii, the two poems on the maid, Cypassis, II. vii and viii, or the poem to Cupid, II. ix, or the poem, on Corinna setting out on a voyage, II. xi, both of which are, essentially, in two parts. The poem Donne is referring to is picked up by Ovid himself later in the *Amores*, in II. v, in which - and comic antithesis, or reversal, except for II. xiii and xiv, is the balance between the two poems or two parts of poems in the *Amores* - the poet complains of exactly the same treatment that was to be dealt to the husband:

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11 *Amores*, II. xiii and xiv, on Corinna's abortion, also form a pair; III. iii, on a mistress who has deceived him, III. vi, on the stream preventing him from completing his journey to his mistress, and III. xi, on a mistress who has broken with him (a poem very similar to III. xiv), are all in essentially two parts.
Ipsa miser vidi, cum me domine putas,
sobrius adeste criminis vestra mero,
multa supercilic vi di vibrante loquentes;
mutibus in vestris para bona vocis erat.
non oculi tacueru tui, conscriptaque vino
mensa, nec in digitis littera nulla suit,
seremonem agnovi, quod non videtur, agitant
verbaque pro certis in erna valere notis.
iamque frequens iterat mensa conviva relicta;
compositi iuvenes unus et alter erant,
inproba tum vero iungentes oscula vidi
illa mihi lingua nixa fuisse liquet
qualia non iratri tulerit germana severo,
sed tulerit cupido mollis amica vico;
qualia credibile est non Phoebo ferre Diana,
sed Venereum Marti saepere tulisse suo.
"Quid facis?" exclame, "quo nunc mea gaudia differat?
iniciem dominas in mea iura manus!
hase tibi sunt, mihi sunt communi tecum
in bona cur quisquam tertius ista venit?"

13. I saw your guilty acts my wretched self with
sober eye, when the wine had been placed and you
thought I slept. I saw you both say many things
with quiverings of the brow; in your nods was much
speech. Your eyes, too, girl, were not dumb, and
the table was written o'er with wine; nor did any
letter fail your fingers. Your speech, too, I
recognised was busied with hidden message, and your
words charged to stand for certain meanings. And
now the throng of guests had already left the board
and gone; there were left a youth or two, asleep
in wine. 'Twas then indeed I saw you sharing shame-
ful kisses — it is clear to me they were kisses of
the tongue — not such as sister bestows on honest
brother, but such as yielding sweetheart gives her
eager lover; not such as one could think ikuna
grants to Phoebus, but such as Venus oft bestowed
on Mars.

29. "What are you doing?" I cry out. "Where now
are you scattering joys that are mine? I will lay
my sovereign hands upon my rights. Those kisses
are common to you with me, and common to me with you
— why does any third attempt to share those goods?"

12 11. 13-32; G. Showeman, ed., pp. 394-7;
v. also B.J. Keenan, , pp. 41-2.
That Ovid intended the two poems to go against each other is quite clear.  

Donne's poem, however, is not antithetical to Ovid's, but rather an extension and development of the element in the Amores present in the first part of the poem in a situation which, like the second of the poems on the tablets, to Bagous, on Cypassis, or on Corinna's abortion, or like the second parts of the antithetical poems, occurs later, in this case after the husband has suspected and become jealous.

With Donne the tone of scorn, directed, with Ovid, only against the husband, is intensified and extended to include, not only his relatives but also — and this is very characteristic of Donne — the woman herself: Ovid begins, 'Vix tuus', with Donne it is, 'Fond woman'. With Ovid there is always an understanding between the man and the woman, the terms of the relationship are mutually understood and accepted.

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13 In particular the re-using of words — in a reversed situation — from the previous poem, especially in line 30 (which corresponds to 1.40 in Liv), 'iniciam dominas in mea iura manus!', is clearly significant of this.

It also occurred to me that the subtle Sixth Poem of the Second Book, on the death of Corinna's parrot, was intended to be read against the poem by Catullus (who died in 54 B.C., eleven years before Ovid was born) on the death of Lesbia's sparrow (Catullus, 3).
and there follows a certain equality; with Donne, as here, there is the constant assertion of the man’s superiority, which, in the sort of illicit relationship with which most of the *Amores* and the *Elegies* are dealing, is quite alien to Ovid.

It is significant also that it is the first part of the poem that Donne takes further. The second part concentrates on the man himself, and the man is presented — as in the passage from II. v or, in fact, at some point in most of the poems, including the pairs (except II. xiii and xiv) mentioned above — as a comic figure:

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nec premat inpositis sinito tua colla lacertis,
mite nec in rigido pectore pone caput;
nec sinus admittat digitos habilesve papillae;
oscula praecipue nulla dedisse velis!
oscula si dederis, fiam manifestus amator
et dicam "mea sunt!" inicianque manum.
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- or -

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multa miser timeo, quia feci multa proterve,
exemplique metu torqueor, ecce, mei.
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There is, in fact, in the *Amores* an extremely subtle and sophisticated sense of self, an extremely fine sense of the absurdity of one’s own position, which is not present in Donne and which, though a very important element in Ovid, did not, with one significant exception, influence the *Elegies*. What did influence them — though the influence takes different forms — were the objective situations and, in particular, the emotions and attitudes connected with the other people involved.
The other instance of direct borrowing Sir Herbert Grierson noted is between III. ii, when the poet is talking to a new mistress, and *Elegiae* XV in his edition, *The Expostulation*. Both poems are long but it is worth quoting them in full:

"Non ego nobilium sedeo studiosus equorum;
cui tamen ipsa faves, vincat ut ille, precor.
ut loquerer tecum veni, tecumque sederem,
ne tibi non notus, quem facis, esset amor.
tu cursus spectas, ego te; spectemus uterque
quad iuvat, atque oculos pascat uterque suos.
0, cuicumque faves, felix agitator equorum!
ergo illi curae contigit esse tuae?
hoc mihi contingat, sacro de carcere missis
insistam forti mente vehendus equis,
et modo lora dabo, modo verbere terga notabo,
nunc stringam metas interiore rota.
si mihi currenti fueris conspecta, morabor,
deque meis manibus lora remissa fluent.
at quam paene Pelops Pisaea concidit hasta,
dum spectat vultus, Hippodamia, tuos!
nempe favore suae vicit tamen ille puellae,
vincemus dominae quisque favore suae!
Quid frustra refugis? cogit nos linea iungi.
haec in lege loci comoda circus habet -
tu tamen a dextra, quicumque es, parce puellae;
contactu lateris laeditur ista tui.
tu quoque, qui spectas post nos, tua contrahe crura,
si pudor est, rigido nec preme terga genu!
Sed nimium demissa lacent tibi pallia terra.
collige - vel digitis en ego tollo meis!
invida vestis eras, quae tam bona crura tegebas;
quoque magis spectes - invida vestis eras!!

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14 Not to Corinna, as J. B. Leishman, _op. cit._, p. 64; says: Mr. Leishman also says, p. 54, that *Elegiae* XIX is addressed to 'Corinna's complacent husband', where it is quite explicitly not the husband of Corinna—but someone else that is being addressed // v. 11. 9 - 19//.
talia Milaniae Atalantes crura fugacis optavit manibus sustinuisse suis.
talia pinguntur succinctae crura Dianae cum sequitur fortes, fortior ipsa, feras,
his ego non visis arsi; quid fiet ab ipsis?
in flammas, in mare fundis aquas.
suscitor ex ipsis et cetera posse placere,
quae bene sub tenui condita veste latent.
Vis tamen interea faciles arcassent ventos?
quos factet nostra mota tabella manu.
an magis hic neus est animi, non aeris aecus,
captaque femineus pectoris torquet amor?
dum loquer, alba levit sparsa est tibi pulvere vestis,
sordide de nive pulvere pulvis abi!
Sed iam pompa venit - linguis animisque favet!
tempus adeat plausus - aurea pompa venit.
prima loco fertur passis Victoria pinnis -
hec ades et meus hic fac, dea, vincat amor!
plaudite Neptuno, nimium qui creditis uncis?
nli mihi cum pelago; mea terra capit,
plaudite tuo Marti, miles! nos edimus arma;
pax iuvet et media pacem repertus amor,
surgibus Phoebus, Phoebe venantibus adeat!
artificiis in te verte, Minerva, manus!
ruricolae Cerei teneroque adsurgite Baccho!
Pollueam pugiles, Castora placet eques!
nos tibi, blandae Venus, puerosque potentibus arcu
plaudimus; inceptis adnue, diva, meis
caque novae mentem dominae! patiatur amari!
Adnuit et motu signa secunda dedit.
quod dea promisit, promittas ipsa, rogamus;
paces loquar Veneris, tu dea maior eris,
per tibi tict iuro testes pompeiique deorum,
te dominam nobis tempus in omne petili
Sed pendent tibi crura, potes, si forte iuvabit,
cancellis primos inseruisse pedes.
maxima iam vacuo praetor spectacula circo
quadriugos aequo carcere misit eosq,
cui studes, video, vincet, cuicumque favebis,
quid cupidia, ipsi scire videntur equi.
me miserum, metem spatiioso circuit orbis
quid facis? ad moto proximus axe subit.
quid facis, infelix? pervis bona voce puellae.
tende, precor, valida lora sinistra manu!
favimus ignavo - sed enim revocate, Quirites,
et rate iactatis undique sigmas togis!
en, revocant! - at, ne turbet toga mota capillos,
in nostros abbas te licet usque sinus.
Lamque patent iterum resecato carceri postes;
evolut admissis discolor agmen equis.
nunc saltem supera spatique insurgo patentibus
sint mea, sint dominae fac rata vota meae!
Sunt dominae rata vota meae, mea vota supersunt.
ille tenet palmam; palma petenda mea est."
Risit, et argutis quidam promisit ocellis.
"Hoc satis hic; aliocetera redde loco!"

"I sit not here because fond of high-bred
horses; yet, the one you favour I pray may win.
To talk with you I came, and to sit with you, so
that you might not miss knowing the love you stir.
You gaze on the races, I on you; let us both gaze
on what delights, both feast our own eyes.
7  "O, happy driver, whoe'er he be, that wins
your favour! Ah, so 'twas he had the fortune to
enlist your concern! Be that fortune mine, and
when my coursers dash from the starting-chamber,
with fearless heart will I tread the ear and urge
them on, now giving the rein, now stripping their
backs with the lash, now grazing the turning-post
with inner wheel. Have I caught sight of you as
I career, I will stop, and the reins, let go from
my hands, will drop. Yea, how near Pelops came
to falling by Peneus spear while looking on thy
face, Hippodamia! Yet he won, of course through
the favour of his lady. May we owe our victories,
all of us, to the favour of our loves!
19  Why draw back from me? - 'twill do no good;
the line compels us to sit close.15 This advantage
the circus gives, with its rule of space - yet you
there on the right, whoever you are, have a care;
your pressing against my lady's side annoys. You,
too, who are looking on from behind, draw up your
legs, if you care for decency, and press not her
back with your hard knee!

15 'There were lines to separate the seats',
25 "But your cloak is let fall to far, and is trailing on the ground. Gather it up - or look, with my own fingers I'll get it up. Envious wrap you were, to cover such pretty limbs! And the more one looks - ah, envious wrap you were! Such were the limbs of fleet Atalanta that Milanion burned to hold up with his hands. Such in pictures are the limbs of upgirt Diana pursuing the bold wild beasts, herself more bold than they. I burned before, when I had not seen; what will become of me now that I have? You add flames to flame, and water to the sea. I suspect from them that all else, too, that lies well hidden under your delicate gown, might please.

37 "Would you like, while we wait, to bid soft breezes blow? I'll take the fan in my hand and start them. Or is this rather the heat of my heart and not of the air, and does love for a woman burn my ravished breast? While I am talking, a sprinkling of light dust has got on your white dress. Vile dust, away from this snowy body!

43 "But now the procession is coming - keep silence all, and attend! The time for applause is here - the golden procession is coming. First in the train is Victory, borne with wings outspread - come hither, goddess, and help my love to win! Applaud Neptune, ye who trust o'ermuch the wave! Naught will I with the sea; I choose that the land keep me. Applaud thy Mars, O soldier! Arms I detest; peace is my delight, and love that is found in the midst of peace. And Phoebus - let him be gracious to augurs, and Phoebe gracious to huntsmen! Minerva, turn in applause to thee the craftsmen's hands! Ye country dwellers, rise to Ceres and the tender Bacchus! Let the boxer court Pollux, the horseman Castor! We, winsome Venus, we applaud thee, and thy children potent with the bow; smile, O goddess, upon my undertakings, and put the right mind in my heart's new mistress! Let her endure to be loved!

58 "She nodded, and by the movement gave favouring sign. What the goddess has promised, yourself promise, I ask; with Venus' permission let me say it, you will

16 'Immediately before the races the gods were carried in procession about the course', G. Showerman, op. cit., p. 452.
be the greater goddess. I swear to you by all these witnesses and by the train of the gods, I am asking you to be for all time to come my queen!

63 "But your feet are dangling. If you like, you can stick your toes in the grating. The circus is clear now for the greatest part of the shows, and the praetor has started the four-horse cars from the equal barrier. 17 I see the one you are eager for. He will win if he has your favour, whoever he be. What you desire the very horses seem to know! Ah, miserable me, he has circled the post in a wide curve! What are you doing? The next huge close with his axle, and gains on you. What are you doing, wretch? You will lose my love the prayer of her heart. Pull, I entreat, the left rein with all your might! We are favouring a good-for-naught - but call them back, Quizites, and toss your togas in signal from every side! 18 See, they call them back! - but for fear a waving toga spoil your hair, come, you may hide your head in the folds of my cloak.

77 "And now the starting-chambers are unbarred again, and the gates are open wide; the many-coloured rout comes flying forth with reins let loose to their steeds. This time, at least, get past them, and bend to your work on the open space! See that you fulfill my vows, and my lady-love's!

81 "Fulfilled are my lady-love's vows, by my vows remain. You charioteer has received his palm; my palm is yet to be won."

83 She smiled, and with speaking eyes promised - I know not what.

84 "That is enough for here - in some other place render the rest!" 19

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17 The 'carceres', or starting-chambers, were each equally distant from the lines where the race began (Prof. Showerman, op.cit., p.454).

18 The dissatisfied populace could thus demand a fresh start', G. Showerman, op.cit., p.455.

To make the doubt clear, that no woman's true,
Was it my fate to prove it strong in you?
Thought I, but one had breathed purest aire,
And must she needs be false because she's faire?
Is it your beauties marke, or of your youth,
Or your perfection, not to study truth?
Or think you heaven is deaf, or hath no eyes?
Or those it hath, smile at your perjuries?
Are vows so cheape with women, or the matter
Whereof they are made, that they are writ in water,
And blowne away with winde? Or doth their breath
(Both hot and cold at once) make life and death?
Who could have thought so many accents sweet
Form'd into words, so many sighs should meete
As from our hearts, so many oathes, and tears
Sprinkled among, (all sweeter by our feares)
And the divine impression of stolne kisses,
That seal'd the rest) should now prove empty blisses?
Did you draw bonds to forfet? signe to breake?
Or must we reade you quite from what you speake,
And finde the truth out the wrong way? or must
Hoe first desire you false, would wish you just?
O I prophane, though most of women be
This kinde of beast, my thought shall except thee;
My dearest love, though froward jealouzie,
With circumstance might urge thy 'inconstancie,
Sooner I'll think the Sunne will cease to cheare
The teeming earth, and that forget to beare,
Sooner that rivers will runne back, or Thames
With ribs of Ice in June would bind his streames,
Or Nature, by whose strength the world endures,
Would change her course, before you alter yours.
But O that treacherous breast to whom weake you
Did trust our Counsells, and wee both may rue,
Having falsehood found too late, 'twas hee
That made me cast you guilty, and you me,
Whilst he, black wretch, betray'd each simple word
Woe speake, unto the cunning of a third.
Curst may hee be, that so our love hath slaine
And wander on the earth, wretched as Cain;
Wretched as hee, and not deserve least pity;
In plaguing him, let misery be witty;
Let all eyes shunne him, and hee shunne each eye,
Till hee be noysome as his infamie;
May hee without remorse deny God thrice,
And not be trusted more on his Soules price;
And after all selfe torment, when hee dyes,
May Wolves teare out his heart, Vultures his eyes,
Swine cote his bowels, and his falser tongue
That utter'd all, be to some Raven flung;
And let his carrion course be a longer feast
To the Kings dogges, then any other beast.
Now have I curst, let us our love revive;
In mee the flame was never more alive;
I could beginne againe to court and praise,
And in that pleasure lengthen the short dayes
Of my lifes lease; like Painters that do take
Delight, not in made worke, but whiles they make;
I could renew those times, when first I saw
Love in your eyes, that gave my tongue the law
To like what you lik'd; and at masks and plays
Command the selfe same Actors, the same wayes;
Ask how you did, and often with intent
Of being officious, be impertinent;
All which were such soft pastimes, as in these
Love was as subtilly catch'd, as a disease;
But being got it is a treasure sweet,
Which to defend is harder then to get;
And ought not be prophan'd on either part,
For though 'tis got by chance, 'tis kept by art.

Sir Herbert Grierson pointed to the connection between
lines 59-62 and lines 1-7 of Ovid's poem (Mr. Leishman followed
him, though without restricting his observation to particular
lines): the connection is perhaps more strictly between lines
61 and 62 and lines 2 and 7 of Ovid; lines 59-60 seem a remin-
escence of line 83 in Ovid, 'Risit, et argutis quidam promisit
ocellis', while lines 63-4 seem a similar compression to that

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20 H.J.C. Grierson, op. cit., pp.96-8: one might note in passing that the reference, in line 52, to the 'Kings dogges' shows that the poem, which does not appear in D. H49, Lee or W. J.C. A25, cannot have been written before 1603, the year in which Elizabeth died and James ascended the throne (two years after Donne's marriage); the poem also, which may well not be in a final state (V., for example, 11.13-18), was published among Jonson's Underwoods in volume two of the posthumous 1640 folio edition of Jonson's works issued by Sir Kenelm Digby (J.B. Leishman, op.cit., p.65).

21 op.cit., pp.64-5.
in Elegie I of the details of the man's behaviour to the woman (in lines 21-6, 37-8, 41-2, 63-4, and 75-6): there are, however, differences which make the connection between the two poems of a different sort. The look in the woman's eyes in Donne's poem is very different from that of the woman's in Ovid's and the 'love' in Donne's and the nature of the woman is consequently different, softer and more sentimental: there is a consequent curious reversal of the sequence of things in Ovid's poem, where the similarity of lines preceded the agreement between them:

**Oui studees, video, vincent, quicunque favoribis...**
Risit et argutis quiddam promisit ocellis.

I could renew those times, when first I saw
Love in your eyes, that gave my tongue the law
To like what you lik'd.

With Ovid the whole poem is an indirect persuasion to love, which (it finally becomes apparent) is understood by the woman, who accepts it; with Donne the relationship (at this point of the poem) is youthful and innocent and the actions which in Ovid's poem are a means to an end, becoming gauche, become the expression of an innocent love sentimentally reviewed:

**Aske how you did, and often with intent**
**Of being officious, be impertinent.**

And the Love which is the final outcome in Donne's poem (and with which the rest of the poem is concerned), while adult and mature, embraces more than just the sexual relation-
ship ('quiddam') envisaged at the end of Ovid's poem and in most of the other of Donne's Elegies:

All which were such soft pastimes, as in these
Love was as subtilly catch'd, as a disease;
But being got it is a treasure sweet,
Which to defend is harder than to get:
And ought not be prophan'd on either part,
For though 'tis got by chance, 'tis kept by art.

(One might notice the terms of this last line are exactly the opposite to those which - remembering also the other poems in the Amores - would describe the love in Ovid's poem - or in fact most of the other poems in the Elegies).

The relation between this passage in Elegie XV and III. ii of the Amores, far from being an extending and developing of something in Ovid, seems rather to be a reminiscence that came in the process of writing, but was completely altered in character and transformed by the different, and more important, nature of the experience that Donne was writing about.

The first part of the poem, however, is more directly related to the next poem in Ovid's Third Book: the connections are not so precise as with the poem at the circus, but the parallel between the two situations and in particular between the change in the man's attitude (in Donne's poem at line 23) as well as similarities in ideas makes it very likely Ovid's poem prompted, or prompted part of the form of, Donne's poem:
Duce deos, i, crede - fidem iurata secellit,
et facies illi, quae fuit ante, manet!
quam longos habuit nondum periura capillos,
tam longos, postquam numina laesit, habet.
candida candorem roseo suffusa rubore
ante fuit - niveo lucoet in ore rubo.
pea erat exigua - pedis est artissima forma.
longa deensaque fuit - longa deensaque manet.
argutos habuit - radiant ut sidus ocelli,
per quae mentita est perfida saepes mihi.
seilicet asterno falsum iurare puellis
di quoque concedunt, formaque numen habet,
porque suos illam nuper iurasse recordor
perque meos oculos: et doluo nee!
Dicite, di, si vos impune secellerat illa,
alterius meriti cur ego damna tuli?
an non invidiae vobis Cepheia virgo est,
pro male formosa iussa parente mori?
non setis est, quod vos habui sine pondere testis,
et necum lusos ridet,inulta doce?
ut sua per nostram redimat peririis poenam,
victima deceptus decipientis ero?
aet sine re nomen deus est frustraque timetur
et stulta populos credulitate movet;
aet, ciquis deus est, teneras amat ille puellas
et nimium solas umnia poese iubet.
nobis fatifero Favore accingitur oase;
nos petit invicta Fullassis hastu manu.
nobis flexibles curvatnr Apollinis arcus;
in nos alta Iovis dextora fulmen habet.
formosas superi mutuant offendere laesi
atque ullo, quae se non timuere, timent.
et quisquam pia tura foci inonere curat?
certe plus animi debet inesse virus!
Iuppiter igne suo lucos iaculatur et arcos
miserae periurias tela ferire vetat.
tot meruere peti - Semoel miserabilis erat!
officio est illi poena reperta suo;
at si venturo se subdaxisset amanti,
non pater in faccho matris habeter opus.
Quid queror et tuto facio convicia caelo?
di quoque habent oculos, di quoque postus habent!
si deus ipse forem, numen sine fraude licet
femina mendaci fallorot ore meum;
ipse ego iuraron versus iurare puellas
et non de tetricis diceror esse deus.
tu tamen illorum moderatius utere deo -
cut oculis certa parce, puella, meis!
Go, believe there are gods - she swore and 
has failed her oath, and still her face is fair, 
as 'twas before! She has hair as long since she 
insulted the gods, as she had still unsworn. 
Before, she was dazzling fair, and her fairness 
was mingled with rosy red - the rosy red still 
glows in her snowy cheeks. Her foot was small - 
her foot is still of daintiest form. She was 
tall and handsome - tall and handsome she remains. 
She had sparkling eyes - like stars still beam the 
eyes by which she has often falsely lied to me. 
Surely, the gods, too, indulge the fair in eternal 
swearing false, and beauty has its privilege divine. 
By her own eyes not long ago she swore, I mind me, 
and by mine - and mine have been the ones to smart! 
15 Say, O ye gods, if she deceived you and has 
gone unpunished, why have I borne the pains for 
another's desert? Or is Cepheus' daughter no re-
proach to you - she whom you bade to die for her 
mother's ill-starred beauty? Is it not enough 
that I have found your witness without weight, and 
that unpunished she makes the gods her mirth as 
well as me? That she may redeem her perjuries, 
am I to suffer, and, though deceived, be victim to 
my deceiver? Either God is a name without substance 
and feared for naught, moving peoples through stupid 
trustfulness, or, if there is a god, he is in love 
with the tender fair, and too quick to ordain that 
they alone may do all things. 'Tis against us men 
that Mars girds on death-dealing sword; 'tis we 
are the target for the spear from unconquered Pallas' 
hand. For us are bent Apollo's flexible bow; on us 
descends the bolt from Jove's upraised right hand. 
Fair women the gods on high fear to offend even when 
wronged, and stand in awe themselves of those who 
have felt no awe of them. And does anyone care to 
place pious incense on their altars? Surely, there 
should be more courage in men! 
35 Jove hurls his own lightning on sacred groves 
and citadels, and forbids his bolts to strike the 
fair foresworn. So many have deserved his stroke - 
hapless Semele alone has burned! Her own complaisance 
brought the penalty upon her; yet, had she shunned 
the coming lover, the father would not have filled 
the mother's office in Bacchus' birth. 
41 Why complain I, and scold in the face of all
heaven? Gods, too, have eyes, gods, too, have hearts! Were I myself divine, unharmed might women cheat my godhead with lying lips. I myself would swear that womankind swore true, nor let myself be called a god of the austere sort. Yet you, my lady, make more measured use of their gift - or spare, at least, my eyes!

As before, Donne compresses or concentrates into a few lines much larger areas in Ovid, or similar ideas or details occurring throughout the poem. Lines 7 and 3 in Donne, 'Or think you heaven is deaf, or hath no eyes?/ Or those it hath, smile at your perjuries?', concentrate the essential thought of virtually the whole first part of Ovid's poem (up to line 41), but in particular lines 11-12, 23-6, and 31-2.

The changes in the two poems, however, are in different directions: with Ovid it is, characteristically, to the man himself and to the ambivalence of his position, with Donne - and this is uncharacteristic of the Elegies - it is to a rational placing of the previous outburst.

There is also a picking up in this poem of something only incidentally present in the poem by Ovid, and which is only a very minor element in the Amores - and which makes its appearance only in the third book - but which figures largely in Donne, though almost entirely in the Songs and Sonets.

\[^{22}\text{Amores, III, iii; G. Showerman, op.cit., pp.456-9; v. also E.J. Kenney, op.cit., pp.72-4.}\]
The first six lines -

To make the doubt cleare, that no woman's true,
Was it my fate to prove it strong in you?
Thought I, but one had breathed purest aire,
And must she needs be false because she's faire?
Is it your beauties marke, or of your youth,
Or your perfection, not to study truth?

- with the characteristic opposition of 'false' and 'fair' (the most famous poem to use this opposition is, of course, the Song "Go, and catch a falling starre") and with the individual and very characteristic accent of protest and remonstration, nevertheless are in part an expansion of what is contained in line 45 of Ovid's poem -

ipse ego iurarem verum iurare puellas.

- or, perhaps more likely, an expansion, no doubt under the more immediate prompting of contemporary Italian poems,23 of an element only latent and dispersed in the Amores, which Ovid himself did not develop or concentrate into one poem, an element present, for example, in lines 41-2 of the next poem in Book Three:

quo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat?
non possunt ullis ista coire modis.

Why did you marry a beauty if none but a chaste would suit? Those two things can never in any wise combine.24

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- a species of cynicism close to that in III. viii:

Juppiter, admonitus nihil potentius auro, 
corruptae pretium virginis ipse fuit, 
dum merces aberat, durus pater, ipsa severa, 
acerat postes, ferrea turris erat; 
sest postquam sapiens in munera venit adulter, 
praebuit ipsa sinus et dare iussa dedit.

Jove, knowing well that naught was more potent 
than gold, himself became the price of a maid's 
betrayal [of Danae]. So long as there was no gain to 
get, hard was the father, the maid herself severe, 
brazen the door, and iron the tower; yet when the 
astute lover had come in the form of a price, the 
maid herself opened her arms and gave her favours 
at command.25

- though the assumption of woman's faithlessness is 
not, with Donne, connected with the assumption of their venality, 
which does not figure at all in his poems (though the connections 
between love and money Ovid concerns himself with in at least 
three poems, this, in which the woman rejects the poet for a 
soldier whose money acquired in the wars has recently put him 
in the rank of the equites, I. viii, in which the man overhears 
an old bawd telling his mistress how to get as much out of him 
as possible, and I. x, in which Corinna asked for a gift).

Lines 16-18 in Donne's poem are not an expansion of 
something almost incidental in Ovid, or a making explicit and 
pointed something latent (to be concentrated on in another set 
of poems), but a further example of Donne's compressing into

25II.29-34: G. Showerman, op.cit., pp.476, 7: v. also 
E.J. Kenney, op.cit., p. 86.
small space - here, bringing in incidentally - what occupies a larger area and is the centre of interest in one of the Amores.

... so many oathes, and teares
... (all sweeter by our feares,
And the divine impression of stolne kisses,
That seal'd the rest) ... 

- concentrates the first and last parts of Amores,

II, xix (and in fact the whole of the poem):

Si tibi non opus est servata, stulto, puella,
et mihi fac servas, quo magis ipse velim!
quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet acrius urit.
ferreus est, siquis, quod sinit alter, amat.
speramus pariter, pariter metuamus amantes,
et faciat voto rara repulsa locum.
quod mihi fortuman, quae numquam fallere curet?
nil ego, quod nullo tempore laedat, amo!
Viderat hoc in me vitium versuta Corinna,
quaque capi possem, callida norat opem.
a, quotiens sani capitis mentita dolores
 cuntantum tarde iussit abire pede!
a, quotiens finxit culpam, quantumque licobat
insonti, speciem praebebuit esse nocens!
sic ubi vexarat tepidosque reoverat ignis,
rursus erat votis comis et apta meis.
quae mihi blanditiae, quam dulcia verba parabat
oscula, di magni, qualia quotque dabat!
Tu quoque, quae nostros rapuisti nuper ocellos,
saepe time insidias, saepe rogata naga;
et sine me ante tuos projectum in limine postis
longa prunosa frigora nocte pati.
sic mihi durat amor longosque adolescit in amos;
hoc iuvat; haec animi sunt alimenta mei.
pinguis amor nimiumque patens in taedia nobis
vertitur et, stomacho dulcis ut esca, nocet.
si numquam Danaen habuisset aenea turris,
non esset Danae de Iove facta parens;
dum servat Iuno mutatam cornibus Ian,
facta est, quam fuerat, gratior illa Iovi.
If you feel no need of guarding your love for yourself, 0 fool, see that you guard her for me, that I may desire her the more! What one may do freely has no charm; what one may not do prick's more keenly on. He has a heart of iron who loves what another conceeds. Let us hope while we fear and fear while we hope, we lovers, and let repulse sometimes be ours to make a place for vows. What care I for the fortune that never troubles to deceive? May nothing be mine that never wounds!

Corinna the artful had marked this weakness in me, and shrewdly recognised the means by which to snare me. Ah, how often has she feigned an aching head when wholly well, and bid me go away when my tardy foot delayed! Ah, how oft has she feigned a charge, and put on the air - as far as she could
with a guiltless man - of attacking me! Thus, when she had stirred me up, and fanned into flame again the cooling fires, she would be friendly once more, and compliant to my prayers. What winsome ways she would have, how sweet she would make her words! And kisses, 0 great gods, what kisses, and how many she would give!

19 You, too, who have lately stolen my eyes away, see that oft you be fearful of plots, and oft when entreated say me nay; and allow me to stretch myself on the threshold of your door and suffer long cold through the rimy night. 'Tis thus my love grows hardy, and keeps on waxing through long years; this is what helps it; 'tis this that nourishes my passion. A love fed fat and too compliant is turned to cloying, and harms us, like sweet fare that harms the stomach. Had Danae never been mewed in the brazen tower, Danae would never have been made mother by Jove; as long as Juno guarded Io, changed to a horned beast, she made her charm greater than before to Jove. Whoever desires the unforbidden and easy, let him pluck leaves from the tree, and drink water from the mighty stream. Would any fair one reign long, let her delude her lover. Ah me, may I not meet torment from my own advice! Yet, come what may, to be indulged is a bane to me - what follows, I fly; what flies, I follow in turn.

37 But you, too careless of your pretty dear, begin already at nightfall to close your door. Begin to ask who it is? So often stealthily beats on your threshold, why the dogs bay in the silence of the night, what tablets the cunning slave-girl brings and takes, why your lady rests so often apart from you. Let cares like that gnaw sometimes into your marrows, and give me place and matter for my wiles. Who would make love with the wife of a fool could steal the sands from a deserted shore. I give you warning now in time: unless you begin to watch your lady, she will begin to cease being mine. I have borne much, and for long; I have often hoped the time would come when you would watch her well, that I might trick you well. You are slow, and endure things unendurable to any husband; but ah! for me, your complaisance will be the end of love!

53 Unhappy that I am, shall I really never be kept from seeing her? Shall the night never threaten me with someone's revenge? Am I to fear nothing?
I heave no sighs in the midst of my slumbers?
Will you do nothing to give me reason to wish
you dead? What do I want with a facile husband —
with a husband who is a pander? With his failing
he ruins our joys. Why not seek another, whom
such long-suffering pleases? If you please to have
me your rival, forbid it.

— though the essential experience which both poets
are handling takes a different form with Donne: there is not
the division between the lovers as there is in Ovid's poem,
they are united against a hostile world, and the element of
perverseness in Ovid's poem is (here) absent, the experience
not being indulged by the man for its own sake but recognised
as a concomitant of a more important experience in what was
a difficult situation. (One also notes again the tone of
contempt the man has for the husband).

Elegie XX, Loves Warr, in Grierson's edition, seems
to be an extension or re-application of something originally
present in Ovid in a more general way than we have so far seen.

Till I have peace with thee, warr other men,
And when I have peace, can I leave thee then?
All other Warrs are scrupulous; Only thou
0 fayr free City, maist thyselfe allowe
To any one; In Flanders, who can tell
Whether the Master presse; or men rebell?
Only we know, that which all Ideots say,
They beare most blows which come to part the fray,
France in her lunatique giddiness did hate
Ever our men, yea and our God of late;
Yet she relyes upon our Angels well,
Which nere returne; no more then they which fell.

26 G. Showerman, op.cit., pp. 438-43; v. also E.J.
Kenney, op.cit., pp. 64-6.
Sick Ireland is with a strange warr possesst
Like to an Ague; now raging, now at rest;
Which time will cure; yet it must doe her good
If she were purg'd, and her head vayne let blood.
And Midas joyes our Spanish journeys give,
We touch all gold, but find no food to live,
And I should be in the hott parching clyme,
To dust and ashes turn'd before my time;
To new me in a Ship, is to inthral
Me in a prison, that weare like to fall;
Or in a Cloyster; save that there men dwell
In calme heaven, here in a swaggering hell.
Long voyages are long consumptions,
And ships are carts for executions.
Yea they are Deaths; Is't not all one to flye
Into an other World, as t'is to dye?
Here let mee warr; in these armes lett mee lye;
Here lett mee parlee, batter, bleede, and dye.
Thyne armes imprison me, and myne armes thee;
Thy hurt thy ransom is; take myne for mee.
Other men war that they their rest may gayne;
But wee will rest that wee may fight agayne.
Those warrs the ignorant, these th'expericenc'd love,
There wee are alwayes under, here above.
There Engins farr off breed a just true feare,
Necre thrusts, pikes, stabs, yea bullets hurt not here.
There lyes are wrongs; here safe uprightly lye;
There men kill men, we'll make one by and by.
Thou nothing; I not halfe so much shall do
In these Warrs, as they may which from us two
Shall spring. Thousands wee see which travaile not
To warrs; But stay swords, armes, and shott
To make at home; And shall not I do them
More glorious service, staying to make men?

Sir Herbert Grierson suggested comparing the poem with *Amores*, I. ix, in which Ovid develops a parallel between a soldier and a lover ('Militat omnis amans' are the poem's opening words), and the image of the lover as a soldier, once established, is taken up later, in II. x, in which the poet now has two mistresses to satisfy:

felix, quem Veneris certamina mutua perdunt!

di faciant, leti causa sit ista mea!

Induat adversis contraria pectora tellis

miles et aeternum sanguine nomen emat.

quarerat avarus opes et, quae lassarit arando,

aequora perieru naufragus ore bibat.

at mihi contingat Veneris languescere motu,

cum moriar, medium solvar et inter opus;

atque aliquis nostro lacrimans in funere dicat:

"conveniens vitae meae fuit ista tuae!"

Happy, he whom the mutual strife of Love lays low! Ye gods, let my end come from such a cause!

Let the soldier give his breast to cover with hostile darts, and buy eternal glory with his blood.

Let the grasping trader's quest be wealth, and his perjured mouth drink in when he is wrecked the billow his ploughing keel has tired. But for me - may it be my lot when I die to languish in Venus' embrace, and be dissolved in the midst of its delight; and may one, dropping tears at my funeral, say: "Thine was a death accorded with thy life!"

- and in II. xii, in which the poet celebrates, in military terms, his capture of Corinna without the bloodshed that accompanies the capture of a town:

28 *The Poems of John Donne* (Oxford, 1912), II, 90: Mr. Leishman, without mentioning Sir Herbert, says, op. cit., pp. 71-2, that the two poems have 'affinities'.

29 II. 29-38 (the last nine lines); G. Showerman, op. cit., pp. 412-5; v. also E. J. Kenney, op. cit., p. 51.
Come lie about my temples, ye laurels of the triumph! Victory is mine; look, Corinna is in my arms, whom her husband, whom her keeper, whom the unyielding door — such a troop of enemies! — all guarded in fear she be taken by some wile! Here is a victory deserves a special triumph, for no part of the spoil is stained by blood. It is no lowly walls, no towns girl round by little moats, that I have taken by my generalship — but a girl! ... 25 I have seen bulls contending for the snowy mace; the heifer herself stood by to see, and spurred their hearts. Cupid, who orders many, has ordered me, too — but me without shedding of blood — to take up the standard for his campaigns.

The references to sea-voyages (and to voyages for gold) in lines 17-28 in Donne's poem no doubt comes from their contemporary importance and their actual connection with contemporary wars, as well as Donne's personal experience of them, rather than from the connection between the soldier and the trader in Ovid's first poem (lines 31-4); but the next two lines in Donne's poem, 29-30, while in military
terms (which Ovid's are not), seem a combining of the military imagery in I, ix and II, xii with the opposition between the soldier's death and his own in this poem.

The image of the woman as a city to be captured, in lines 3-5 of Donne's poem, may well also have been partly prompted by the image in the first part of Ovid's second poem, though with Ovid the enemy is the husband and the woman's keepers who guard the city, with Donne it is partly the woman who has to be fought and come to peace with and partly other men to any of whom she may give herself; while the opposition in Ovid's poem between the bloodshed of real war and the bloodlessness of love's war becomes, not a bloodless capture, but the opposition between killing men and creating them:

There men kill men, we'll make one by and by,
- or between pain and pleasure:

There Engines farr off breed a just true feare,
Neere thrusts, spikes, stabs, yea bullets hurt not here.

It seems unlikely that Donne was aware of these precise passages when writing this poem, though he was almost certainly closely aware of I, iv in writing Elegie I, and more conscious than here of III, ii in writing Elegie XV, and though also, it seems to me, whatever the mental processes involved, these precise passages exercised an influence in the writing of the poem. What seems clear, however, is that Donne was quite aware of the image of the lover as a soldier, and genially
aware of how Ovid had used it, and that (as similarly in Elegie I) he was quite consciously re-applying and further using the image.

The first part of Amores, I. iv, seems, however, to have been the passage in Ovid which, condensing as it does, in an adulterous situation which is itself typical of the poems, the sort of love with which Ovid is dealing in the Amores and characterising the way it is handled, in particular the man's attitude to both the woman and her husband, had the greatest single influence on the Elegies. In "Natures lay Ideot" (Elegie VII in Grierson's edition) certain details in the opening passage clearly come from Ovid's poem:

Natures lay Ideot, I taught thee to love,
And in that sophistrice, Oh, thou dost prove
Too subtile: Foole, thou didst not understand
The mystique language of the eye nor hand:

- though once the reference to Ovid's poem is made, a reference which is in fact equally to Donne's own Elegie, Jealousie, the idea is developed -

Nor couldst thou judge the difference of the aire
Of sighes, and say, this lies, this sounds despare:
Nor by the'eyes water call a maladie
Desperately hot, or changing feaverously.
I had not taught thee then, the Alphabet
Of flowers, how they devisefully being set
And bound up, might with speechlesse segrecie
Deliver arrands mutely, and mutually. 32

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31 J.B. Leishman, op.cit., p.59, says 'Donne pretty certainly had in mind /the/ passage from the Amores about the secret signs of lover and mistress when he wrote the Seventh Elegy'.

Though again Ovid is transformed: the scorn, and the new tone of protest (particularly towards the end of the poem), is directed towards the woman herself, who is represented as originally someone quite inexperienced and inept (as she never is in the Amores), though now (as - though differently - in Amores, II. v) it is the woman who is in the commanding position. The poem as a whole may well in fact have been prompted by Amores, II. v, and may well be intended to bear to the Elegies, Jealousy, a similar relation to that Ovid's poem bears to I. iv, though the occasion for the complaint in Donne's poem is unspecified and the poem does not end with the lovers' reconciliation as does Ovid's poem.

There are, however, in Book Three of the Amores five poems, iii (which we have already looked at), viii, xi, xii and xiv, in which the lover is deceived or rejected, and which develop this element in the Amores for the first time: in II. v the occasion of the deception is related, in III. xi, as here, the woman is complained against:

Quando ego non fixus lateri patientur adhaesi,
ipse tuus custos, ipse vir, ipse comas?
salicet et populo per me comitata placebas;
causa fuit multis noster amoris amor.
turpia quid referam vanae mendacia linguae
et periuratos in mea damna deos?
quid iuvenum tacitos inter convivia nutus
verbaque compositis dissimulata notis?

33 v. supra, pp. 54-5.
When have I not in patience clung close to your side, myself your guard, myself your lover, myself your companion? Be sure, too, that people liked you because you were at my side; my love for you has won you love from many. Why repeat the shameful lies of your empty tongue, and recall the perjured oaths to the gods you have sworn to my undoing? Why tell of the silent nods of young lovers at the banquet board, and of words concealed in the signal agreed upon?34

The linking of this poem, of this group of poems even, in what amounts to a chronological sequence, with I. iv and II. v is apparent in lines 23-4, as is also apparent (though the terms are different) the opposition in both Ovid's and Donne's poems between the gratitude the woman (according to the man) should feel and her betrayal. In III. xii, the next poem in the Amores, the idea of the man causing his own misery, which is also present in III. xi and Donne's poem, is presented in a different form, different, that is, from both III. xi and Donne's poem:

Fallimur, an nostris innotuit illa libellis?
  sic erit - ingenio prostitit illa mea.
  et merito! quid enim formae praeconia feci?
  vendibilis culpa facta preilla mea est.
  me lenone placet, duce me perductus amator,
  ianuas per nostras est adaperta manus.

Am I mistaken, or is it my books of verse have made her known? So will it prove - 'tis my genius has made her common. And I deserve it! for why was I the crier of her beauty? Through my fault she I love has become a thing of sale. I am the pander has helped her to please, I have been guide

to lead the lover, by my hand has her door been opened. 35

It seems very likely that the division in Donne's poem between what the man has done for the woman and the way she has finally responded owes as much to the passage in these two poems as to the opposition between I, iv and II. v, of which in fact all five poems in Book Three are a continuation, though there is not the same correspondence of detail nor, probably, (as in the case of Elegie XX) the same consciousness of particular poems or passages in poems.

The attitude of the man, moreover, is, with Donne, (as before in the Elegie, Jealousie) more assertive. Amores, III. xi, for example, ends with the man's words to the woman:

Parce, per o lecti socialia iura, per omnis qui dant fallendos se tibi saepe deos, perque tuam faciem, magni mihi numinis instar, perque tuos oculos, qui rapuere meos! quidquid eris, mea semper eris; tu selige tantum, me quoque velle velis, anne coactus amem!

Spare me, O by the laws of love's comradeship, by all the gods who oft lend themselves for you to deceive, and by that face of yours, to me the image of high divinity, and by your eyes, that have taken captive mine! Whatever you be, mine ever will you be! choose you only whether you wish me also willing, or to love because constrained! 36

3511. 7-12, G. Showerman, op.cit., pp. 492-5: v. also E. J. Kenney, op.cit., p. 95.

3611. 45-50. The poem has two more lines after these, G. Showerman, op.cit., pp. 492, 3: v. also E. J. Kenney, op.cit., p. 94.
- whereas Donne's final words to her are:

Thy graces and good words my creatures bee;
I planted knowledge and lyes tree in thee,
Which Oh, shall strangers taste? Must I alas
Frame and enamell Plate, and drinke in Glasse?
Chafe waxe for others seals? breake a colts force
And leave him then, beeing made a ready horse?

His parting from her (Elegie XII in Grierson's edition)
also makes use of Amores, I. iv; lines 39-52 contain a clear
reference to what seems to have been, for Donne, its pregnant
first part:

Was't not enough, that thou Love didst hazard us
To paths in love so dark, so dangerous:
And those so ambush'd round with household spies,
And over all, thy husbands towring eyes
That flam'd with oyle sweet of jealousy:
Yet went we not still on with Constancie?
Have we not kept our guards, like spie on spie?
Had correspondence whilst the foe stood by?
Stole (more to sweeten them) our many blisses
Of meetings, conference, embracements, kisses?
Shadow'd with negligence our most respects?
Varied our language through all dialects,
Of becks, winks, looks, and often under-boards
Spoke dialogues with our feet far from our words?

- though the passage is as much a reference to and
development of the Elegie, Jealousie, as it is to Ovid. The
situation, moreover, as with The Expostulation, to which, like
Ovid's poems in pairs, it is almost a companion, has been
completely altered in character: the love involved, though

37 ll. 25 to the end: H.J.C. Grierson, op. cit., pp. 80-1:
one might note in passing that the example of the double entendre
(though not for the expression, as here, of contempt) was also
present in Ovid, in, for example, I.iii. 23-4, viii. 47-8, ix.
7-8, 29-30.

38 H.J.C. Grierson, op. cit., p. 91: again, J.B. Leishman,
still adulterous, is more permanent and important than the
of love sort in Ovid's poem.

With The Perfume (Elegie IV in Grierson's edition)
the sort of love remains the same, but Donne alters and re-
invents its whole context. The husband becomes the father
and the woman consequently becomes a girl; the doorkeeper in
the Amores (in I. vi, for example) or the eunuch (the two
poems to Bagous, II. ii and iii, for example) become the
'grim eight-foot-high iron-bound serving-man', and the spies
(the woman's maid in Ovid - simply the 'household spies' in
Jealousie) become the woman's bed-ridden mother and the girl's
younger brothers and sisters; the lover, moreover, is caught,
which does not happen in the Amores, or rather betrayed, and by
the perfume he is wearing: the scorn, which does not include
the girl, embraces the father (who is represented as a drunkard)
and the mother (who is made 'politique').

The poem concludes, however, with a curse of the
perfume he was wearing, a curse which has at least one counter-
part in Ovid, in the second poem on the tablets sent to Corinna,
and which, as an example of its kind, may have exercised a
general influence on him:

op. cit., pp. 62-3, says that I. 45-52 'seem to have been written
with that passage in Ovid's Amores, which I have already quoted
I. iv. 15-32, 51-4 (in Dryden's translation), on pp. 58-67 in
mind.'

39 Of the poem J. B. Leishman, op. cit., p. 160, says 'One
can still feel Ovid in the background.'
Base excrement of earth, which dost confound
Sense, from distinguishing the skinke from sound;
By thee the seely Amorous sucks his death
By drawing in a leprous harlots breath;
By thee, the greatest staine to mans estate
Falls on us, to be call'd effeminate;
Though you be much lov'd in the Princes hall,
There, things that seem, exceed substantiall;
Gods, when yee burn'd on altars, were pleas'd well,
Because you were burnt, not that they lik'd your smell;
You are loathsome all, being taken simply alone,
Shall wee love ill things joyne'd, and hate each one?
If you were good, your good doth scene decay;
And you are rare, that takes the good away.
All my perfumes, I give most willingly
To embalm my fathers corse; What? will hee die? 40

Ita hinc, difficiles, funebria ligna, tabellae,
tuque, negaturis cera refera notis! —
quam, puto, de longae collectam flore circutae
melle sub infami Coreica misit apis.
at tamquam minio ponitas medicata rubefas —
ille color vere sanguinolentus erat.
proiectae trivis iaceatis, inutille lignum,
vosque rotae frangat præterexamis onus!
illum etiam, qui vos ex arboe vertit in usum,
convincam puras non habuisse manus.
prefebuit illa arbor misero suspendia collo,
carnifici diras praebuit illa cruces;
illa dedit turpes ravis bubonibus umbres,
vulturis in ramis et strigis ova tuit.
his ego commisi nostros insanus amores
mollisque ad dominam verba ferenda dedi?
sapientes hae capiant vadimonia garrula cerae,
quos alquis duro cognitor ore legat;
inter haphaenidas melius tabulasque iacerent,
in quibus absentas ileret avarus opes.
Ergo ego vos rebus duplexies pro nomine sensi
auspicis numerus non erat ipse bonis.
quid precer iratus, nisi vos cariosa senectus
rodat, et inmundo cera sit alba situ?

40 ll. 57 to the end: H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., p.77.
7 Away from me, ill-natured tablets, funereal pieces of wood, and you, wax close writ with characters that will say me nay! - wax which I think was gathered from the flower of the long hemlock by the bee of Corsica and sent us under its ill-famed honey. Yet you had a blushing hue, as if tintured deep with mineral - but that colour was really a colour from blood. Lie there at the crossing of the ways, where I throw you, useless sticks, and may the passing wheel with its heavy load crush you! Yea, and the man who converted you from a tree to an object for use, I will assure you, did not have pure hands. That tree, too, lent itself to the hanging of some wretched neck, and furnished the cruel cross to the executioner; it gave its foul shade to tamy horned owls, and its branches bore up the eggs of the screech-owl and the vulture. To tablets like these did I insanely commit my loves and give my tender words to be carried to my lady? More fitly would such tablets receive the wordy bond, for some judge to read in dour tones; 'twere better they should lie among day-ledgers, and accounts in which some miser weeps o'er money spent.

27 Yes, I have found you double in your dealings, to accord with your name. Your very number was an augury not good. What prayer should I make in my anger, unless that rotten old age eat you away, and your wax grow colourless from foul neglect? 42

There are similar curses in The Bracelet (Elegie XI in Grierson’s edition), lines 91-110, and, as we have seen, in The Expostulation, lines 39-52, as there are also in the second half of Amores, III. vii, lines 85-106, on the stream the lover cannot cross to continue his journey to his mistress and at the end of I. viii, on the old woman who tries to corrupt his mistress.

41 They were tabellae duplicae, double tablets’, G. Showerman, op. cit., p.368.

42 Amores, I.xii. 7 to the end: G. Showerman, op. cit., pp.366-9; v. also E.J. Kenney, op. cit., pp.27-8.
The tone is in fact closely related to that of scorn or contempt, in which respect — though both no doubt were originally prompted by his own temperament — Donne seems clearly to have been influenced by their form in Ovid, and even the tone of protest or remonstration may have had some of its origin in the Amores: the final passage of "Natures lay Idect", for example, quoted above (page 84), may well owe something to a passage earlier in III, xi:

Erō ego sustinīui, fōribus tam saepe repulsus,
ingēnum dura ponere corpus humo?
ergo ego nescio cui, quem tu conplexa tenebas,
exubuis clausam servus ut ante domum?
vidi, cum fōribus lassus prodīret amator,
invalidum referens emeritumque latus;
hoc tamen est levius, quam quod sum visus ab illo —
eveniat nostris hostibus ille pudor!

Can it be I have endured it — to be so oft repulsed from your doors, and to lay my body down, a free born man, on the hard ground? Can it be that, for some no one you held in your embrace, I have lain, like a slave keeping vigil, before your tight-closed home? I have seen when the lover came forth from your doors fatigued, with frame exhausted and weak from love’s campaign; yet this is a slighter thing than being seen by him — may shame like that befall my enemies!43

There is also a close similarity between the scorn, contempt, cursing, protesting, remonstrating which form a large element in both the Elegies and, though perhaps to a lesser extent, the Amores, and the invective of The Comparison

43 ll. 9-16; G. Showerman, op.cit., pp.488-91: v. also E.J. Kenney, op.cit., p. 93.
and Julia (Elegies VIII and XIII in Grierson's edition), as if the example of both the Amores and certain contemporary Italian poems corresponded, though not in exactly the same ways, yet to one element in Donne himself. With Donne, however, the man's attitudes are usually more extreme than with Ovid, who is generally more urbane, as if the personal feeling which is being controlled in the process of writing were itself more violent and capable of extremity with Donne than with Ovid, a difference which no doubt corresponds to a difference in temperament and circumstance between the two men (though both were of much the same age at the time of writing the two sets of poems), but which may also perhaps reflect the difference between the influence of paganism on the one end and of Christianity on the other. Both in fact are religious men, something apparent in Amores, III. xiii, on the festival of Juno at Falerii (the only poem in which the poet is represented as married), or in the permanent references to the myths, perhaps in particular to the story of Ceres and Iasius in III. x, which Ovid - and it is particularly apparent in this poem - , whatever his attitude to them as historical truth, nevertheless instinctively believes, not superstitiously but with a perfect concord of feeling and intelligence. And

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44 v., the note by C.E. Norton and the passage by J.B. Leishman referred to above, p.70, n.23.
part of this belief, which is the expression of an instinctive
drapport with natural and human life, embraces Venus, a word
which with Ovid is interchanged with 'amor', so that, in the
Amores, the love that is being dealt with, while its illicit
nature is fully faced (it is frequently referred to as 'crimen'),
and the necessity to control it fully acknowledged, is never-
theless more easily accepted, more 'natural' than with the
christian Donne, for whom (as an individual) the concepts of
christianity, which entail a certain rejection of natural life,
were particularly strong; and that Donne was permanently aware
of christian belief (as Ovid was of pagan) is apparent in the
religious imagery that recurs throughout the Elegies, the
reference to the Fall in lines 26-7 of the passage from "Natures
lay Ideot" quoted above being particularly significant in this
respect.

The change in the characteristic situation of the
Amores in The Perfume, however, is taken up and continued (as
with Ovid) as a related event in On his Mistress, Elegie XVI in
Grierson's edition:

By our first strange and fatall interview,
By all desires which thereof did ensue,
By our long starving hopes, by that remorse
Which my words masculine perswasive force
Betog in thee, and by the memory
Of hurts, which spies and rivals threatened me,
I calmly beg; But by thy fathers wrath,
By all paines, which want and divorcement hath,
I conjure thee, and all the oathes which I
And thou have sworne to scale joynt constancy,
Here I unswear, and overswear them thus,
Thou shalt not love by ways so dangerous,
Temper, O faire Love, loves impetuous rage,
Be my true Mistris still, not my faign'd Page....
When I am gone, dreame me some happiness,
Nor let thy lookes our long hid love confess,
Nor praise, nor displease me, nor bless nor curse
Openly loves force, nor in bed fright thy Nurse
With midnights startings, crying out, oh, oh
Nurse, O my love is slaine, I saw him goe
O'er the white Alpes alone; I saw him I,
Assail'd, fight, taken, stabb'd, bleed, fall, and die.
Augure me better chance, except dread Love
Thinke it enough for me to have had thy love. 45

- though, again, the love is permanent and of a
different character from that in most of the Amores.

His Picture, moreover, Elegie V in Grierson's edition,
is, in the way Ovid groups or pairs poems, a companion to
On his Mistris: both are concerned with the man's leaving the
woman for a voyage (both are voyages to war) and in both the
love is more mature than in the other poems. In His Picture,
also, the distinction between immature and later mature love
which grows from it, which is present implicitly in On his
Mistris and more explicitly in The Expostulation (where the
terms are slightly different) and His parting from her (especially
lines 35-8), and in which Donne goes beyond Ovid (though perhaps
the distinction is there, taken for granted, in the difference
between Amores, III. xiii, on the festival of Juno at Falerii,
and most of the other poems), nevertheless is made explicit -
and it is a distinction which, in its essential opposition, runs
through the whole body of Donne's love poetry - in the poem's

45 ll. 1-14, 47 to the end; H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., pp.99, 100.
last lines, after the man has suggested how altered for the worse he may be in his looks:

If rivall fooles taxe thee to'have lov'd a man,
So foules, and course, as, Oh, I may seeme than,
This shall say what I was: and thou shalt say,
Doe his hurts reach mee? doth my worth decay?
Or doe they reach his judging minde, that hee
Should now love lesse, what hee did love to see?
That which in him was faire and delicate,
Was but the milke, which in loves childish state
Did nurse it: who now is growne strong enough
To feed on that, which to disused tasts seems tough.

There is one poem in the *Amores*, II. xi, in which the two lovers separate for a voyage, but it is Corinna who is leaving and, though the man speaks, the poem is not cast in the form of a direct address as both Donne's are. Donne's own life had given him experience of leaving for a war, and contemporary England would have been full of instances of it; in 1605, even, (which may or may not have bearing on the date of *On his Mistrise*) Sir Robert Dudley, the illegitimate son of the Earl of Leicester, who like Donne had served on the Cadiz and Islands voyages, left England with Elizabeth Southwell disguised as a page. It is perhaps doubtful whether Donne had Ovid's poem in mind when writing his own two poems (at least there are no particular connections), but the poem may

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46 II. 11 to the end; H.J.C. Grierson, *op.cit.* p.78.

well have stood as an example of what had been done before, and the reversal of positions in Donne, where the man is dominant (perhaps - in this instance - largely the consequence of the change in the nature of the love involved), is quite characteristic.

Going to Bed, moreover, (Elegie XIX in Grierson's edition) may well bear a similar relation to Amores, I. v, in which Corinna comes to the poet as he is resting at mid-day; 48 again the man is more forceful than in Ovid, and the situation, once given, is treated very differently, Donne concentrating on what is the central portion of Ovid's poem (lines 13-23), minimising the presence or response of the woman and the actions of the man (on which Ovid concentrates), and centring the poem's interest instead on the man's words:

Aestus erat, mediocque dies exegerat horam;  
adposui medio membra levanda toro.  
pars adaperata fuit, pars altera clausa fenestrae;  
quale fere silvae lumen habere solent,  
qualia sublucet fugiente crepuscula Phoebos,  
a aut ubi nox abit, nec tamen orta dies.  
illa vero condit luex est praeanda puellis,  
qua timidus latebras speret habere pudor.  
ecce, Corinna venit, tunica velata recincta,  
candida dividual colla tegente coma -  
qualiter in thalamos famosa Semiramis isse  
dicitur, et multis Lais amata viris.  
Deripui tunicam - nec multum rara nocebat;  
pugnabat tunica sed tamen illa tegi.

48 J. B. Leishman, op. cit., pp. 73-4, says, the poem 'may perhaps have been suggested' by Ovid's poem.
quam cum ita pugnaret, tamquam quae vincere nollet, 15
victa est non aegre prorditioe sua.
ut stetit ante oculos posito velamine nostros,
in toto musquam corpore menda fuit.
quos umeros, quales vidi tetigique lacertos!
forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!
quam castigato planus sub pectoro venter!
quantum et quale latus! quam iuvenale femur!
Singula quid referam? nil non laudabile vidi
et nudam pressi corpus ad usque meum.
Cetera quis nescit? lassii requievimus ambo.
provenient medii sic mihi saepè dies!

'Twas sultry, and the day had passed its mid hour;
I laid my members to rest them on the middle of my couch. One shutter of my window was open, the other shutter was closed; the light was such as oft in a woodland, or as the faint glow of the twilight when Phoebus just is taking leave, or when night has gone and still the day is not sprung. It was such a light as shrinking maidies should have whose timid modesty hopes to hide away - when lo! Corinna comes, draped in tunic girded round, with divided hair falling over fair, white neck - such as 'tis said was famed Semiramis when passing to her bridal chamber, and Lais loved of many men.

13 I tore away the tunic - and yet 'twas fine, and scarcely marred her charms; but still she struggled to have the tunic shelter her. Even while thus she struggled, as one who would not overcome, was she overcome - and 'twas not hard - by her own betrayal. As she stood before my eyes with drapery laid all aside, nowhere on all her body was sign of fault, What shoulders, what arms did I see - and touch! How suited for caress the form of her breasts! How smooth her body beneath the faultless bosom! What a long and beautiful side! How youthful and fair the thigh!

23 Why recount each charm? Naught did I see not worthy of praise, and I clasped her undraped form to mine.

25 The rest, who does not know? Outwearied, we both lay quiet in repose.
May my lot bring many a midday like to this!

Come, Madam, come, all rest my powers defie,
Until I labour, I in labour lie.
The foe oft-times having the foe in sight,
Is tir'd with standing though he never fight.
Off with that girdle, like heavens Zone glittering,
But a far fairer world incompassing.
Unpin that spangled breastplate which you wear,
That th'eyes of musie foole's may be stopt there.
Unlace your self, for that harmonious chyme,
Tells me from you, that now it is bed time.
Off with that happy busk, which I envie,
That still can be, and still can stand so nigh.
Your gown going off, such bocautious state reveals,
As when from flowry meads th'hills shadow steales.
Off with that wyerie Coronet and shew
The Hairy Diademe which on you doth grow:
Now off with those shoes, and then safely tread
In this loves hallow'd temple, this soft bed.
In such white robes, heaven's Angels us'd to be
Receavd by men; Thou Angel bringst with thee
A heaven like Mahomet's Paradise; and though
Ill spirits walk in white, we easily know,
By this these Angels from an evil spirit,
Those set our hairs, but these our flesh upright.

Licence my roaving hands, and let them go,
Before, behind, between, above, below.
O my America! my new-Yound-land,
My kingdome, safelies when with one man man'd,
My Myne of precious stones, My Emperie,
How blest am I in this discovering thee!
To enter in these bonds, is to be free;
Then where my hand is set, my seal shall be.

Full nackedness! All joyes are due to thee,
As souls unbodied, bodies uncloth'd must be,
To taste whole joyes. Gems which you women use
Are like Atlanta's balls, cast in mens views;
That when a fools eye lighteth on a Gem
His earthly soul may covet theirs, not them.
Like pictures, or like books gay coverings made
For lay-men, are all women thus array'd;
Themselves are mystick books, which only wee
(Whose their imputed grace will dignifie)
Must see reveale'd. Then since that I may know;
As liberally, as to a Midwife, shew
Thy self; cast all, yea, this white lynnen hence,
There is no penance due to innocence.
To teach thee, I am naked first; why then
What needst thou have more covering than a man.

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- again Donne's poem is cast as a direct address, whereas Ovid's poem is written as a relation of what happened (II, xi, which is in a more specifically literary form, is written as a reverie or inner soliloquy shared with the reader).

Even in The Anagram, (Elegie II, in Grierson's edition), a poem whose primary influence was Italian, Donne refers to the characteristic situation of the Amoreg, except that, by regarding it from the husband's point of view (which Ovid never does), a husband who is actively jealous, it is rather a reference to his own poem, Jealousy:

Oh what a soveraigne Plaister will shee bee,
If thy past sinnes have taught thee jealousie!
Here needs no spies, nor eunuches; her commit
Safe to thy foes; yea, to a Harmosit.52

And in Loves Progress, Elegie XVIII in Grierson's edition, which (pace Mr. Leishman) owes very little to Ovid but a great deal to the current Renaissance vogue for paradoxical arguments (of which Donne himself wrote several in prose),53 Donne makes a passing reference to the two poems on Cypassis, Corinna's maid, in the Amoreg, (II. vii and viii):

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52. 11. 37-40: M.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., p.73.
53. See Sir Geoffrey Keynes' Bibliography.
But if we
Make love to woman; virtue is not she;
As beauty is not nor wealth: He that strays thus
From her to hers, is more adulterous,
Then if he took her maid. 54

- where the interest is in the argument, and the
reference to Ovid is made only for its use in the argument,
and at that point in it.

With Variety, however, (Elegie XVII in Grierson's
edition) there is the example of direct borrowing unnoted by
Sir Herbert, and which concentrates, as the other references
to Ovid also do, on the interest of the passage itself in Ovid,
or rather on the interest of the passage as it has been re-
worked and incorporated in an entirely new poem:

Non ego mendosos ausim defendere mores
falsaque pro vitis arma movere meis.
confiteor - aliquid prodest delicta fateri;
in mea nunc demens crimina fassus ec.
odi, neo possam, cupiens, non esse quod odi;
heu, quam quae studias ponerre ferre grave est!
Nam desunt vires ad me nihii in aqua regendum;
aufecor ut rapida concita puppis aqua.
non est certa meos quae forma invitet amores -
centum sunt causae, cur ego semper amem.
sive aliqua est soleos in se deiecta modestos,
uror, et insidiae sunt pudor ille meae;
sive process aligua est, capio, quia rustica non est,
sopemque dat in molli mobilis esse toro.
asprae si visa est rigidasque imitata Sabinas,
velle, sed a tuo altas dissimulare pueto.
sive est docta, places raras dotata per arces;
sive rudis, placita es simplicitate tua.
est, quae Callimachi praef nostris rustica dicat
carmine - cui placeo, protinus ipsa placet. 20

54. 23-7: H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., p.104.
I would not venture to defend my faulty morals
or to take up the armour of lies to shield my failings.
I confess - if owning my short-comings aught avails;
and now, having owned them, I madly assail my sins. I
hate what I am, and yet, for all my desiring, I cannot
but be what I hate; ah, how hard to bear the burden
you long to lay aside?

For I lack the strength and will to rule myself;
I am swept along like a ship tossed on the rushing
flood. 'Tis no fixed beauty that calls my passion forth -
there are a hundred causes to keep me always in love.
Whether 'tis some fair one with modest eyes dowcast
upon her lap, I am aflame, and that innocence is my
ensnaring; whether 'tis some saucy jade, I am smitten
because she is not rustic simple, and gives me hope of
enjoying her supple embrace on the soft couch. If she
seem austere, and affects the rigid Sabine dame, I
judge she would yield, but is deep in her deceit. If
you are taught in books, you win me by your dower of
rare accomplishments; if crude, you win me by your
simple ways. Some fair one tells me Callimachus'
songs are rustic beside mine - one who likes me I
straightway like myself. Another calls me no poet,
and chides my verses - and I fain would clasp the
fault-finder to my arms. One treads softly - and
I fall in love with her step; another is hard - but
can be made softer by the touch of love. Because
this one sings sweetly, with easiest modulation of
the voice, I would snatch kisses as she sings; this
other runs with nimble fingers over the querulous
string - who could but fall in love with such cunning
hands? Another takes me by my movement, swaying
her arms in rhythm and curving her tender side with
supple art - to say naught of myself, who take fire
from every cause, put Hippolytus in my place, and he
will be Priapus! You, because you are so tall, are
not second to the ancient daughters of heroes, and
can lie the whole couch's length. Another I find apt
because she is short. I am undone by both; tall and
short are after the wish of my heart. She is not well
dressed - I dream what dress would add; she is not well
arrayed - she herself shows off her dower of charms.
A fair white skin will make prey of me, I am prey
to the golden-haired, and even a love of dusky hue
will please. Do dark locks hang on a neck of snow -
Leda was fair to look upon for her black locks; are
they of golden hue - Aurora pleased with saffron locks.
To all the old tales my love can fit itself. Fresh
youth steals away my heart, I am smitten with later
years; the one has more worth, the other wins me
with charm of person.
47 In fine, whatever fair ones anyone could praise
in all the city - my love is candidate for the favours
of them all. 55

The heavens rejoice in motion, why should I
Abjure my so much lov'd variety,
And not with many youth and love divide?
Pleasure is none, if not diversiﬁ’d;
The sun that sitting in the chair of light

55 Amores, II. iv; G. Showerman, op. cit., pp. 390-3;
v. also E. J. Kenney, op. cit., pp. 39-41.
Sheds flame into what else so ever doth seem bright,
But not contented at one Signe to Inne,
But ends his year and with a new begins.
All things doe willingly in change delight,
The fruitfull mother of our appetite:
Rivers the clearer and more pleasing are,
Where their fair spreading streams run wide and farr;
And a dead lake that no strange bark doth greet,
Corrupts it self and what doth live in it.
Let no man tell me such a one is faire,
And worthy all alone my love to share.
Nature in her hath done the liberall part
Of a kinde Mistresse, and impoy'd her art
To make her loveable, and I aver
Him not humane that would turn back from her:
I love her well, and would, if need were, dye
To doe her service. But follows it that I
Must serve her onely, when I may have choice
Of other beauties, and in change rejoice?
The law is hard, and shall not have my voice.
The last I saw in all extremes is faire,
And holds me in the Sun-beames of her haire;
Her nymph-like features such agreements have
That I could venture with her to the grave;
Another's brown, I like her not the worse,
Her tongue is soft and takes me with discourse.
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.
And though I faile of my required ends,
The attempt is glorious and it self commends.
How happy were our Syres in ancient times,
Who held plurality of loves no crime!
With them it was accounted charity
To stirre up race of all indifferently;
Kindreds were not exempted from the bands:
Which with the Persian still in usage stands,
Women were then no sooner asked then won,
And what they did was honest and well done.
But since this title honour hath been us'd,
Our weake credulity hath been abus'd;
The golden laws of nature are repeal'd,
Which our first Fathers in such reverence held;
Our liberty's revers'd, our Charter's gone,
And we're made servants to opinion,
A monster in no certain shape attir'd,
And whose originall is much desir'd,
Formlesse at first, but growing on it fashions,
And doth prescribe manners and laws to nations,
Here love receiv'd immedicable harms,
And was dispoiled of his daring arms,
A greater want then is his daring eyes,
He lost those awful wings with which he flies;
His sinewy bow, and those immortal darts
Wherewith he's wont to bruise resisting hearts,
Only some few strong in themselves and free
Retain the seeds of antient liberty,
Following that part of Love although deprest,
And make a throne for him within their brest,
In spite of modern censures him avowing
Their Soveraigne, all service him allowing,
Amongst which troop although I am the least,
Yet equall in perfection with the best,
I glory in subjection of his hand,
Nor ever did decline his least command:
For in whatever forme the message came
My heart did open and receive the same,
But time will in his course a point discover
When I this loved service must deny,
For our allegiance temporary is,
With firmer age returns our liberties.
What time in years and judgement we repos'd,
Shall not so easily be to change dispos'd,
Nor to the art of severall eyes obeying;
But beauty with true worth securely weighing,
Which being found assembled in some one,
Wee'll love her ever, and love her alone.

The range of Donne's poem clearly extends beyond Ovid's
and the experience being dealt with in Ovid's is placed by
Donne in a wider intellectual context, as the speaker, using
ideas which themselves stem from Classical times, attempts
(as the poet in Ovid's poem does not) to justify his response


57 V. L.I. Bredvold, "The Naturalism of Donne in
relation to some Renaissance Traditions", The Journal of
to his feelings. Donne's conscious use of Ovid's statement of the experience for his own re-handling of it, which does not, however, as did the reference to *Amores*, i. iv, in the Elegie, Jealousie, for example, place the poem in any significant relation to Ovid, is apparent in lines 17 - 37 which, as before, are a compressing of Ovid, here of the whole middle section of the poem, lines 11 - 46, and in particular in lines 26 - 31, which follow more closely lines 39 - 43 in Ovid's poem.58 Yet that Donne is following Ovid here (despite the changes in details, the change from statement to self-justification, and the consequent range of argument) rather than re-creating, which distinguishes this poem from the others that owe something to the *Amores* and must in fact severely qualify the sense in which it is new, is partly apparent in the speaker's words in lines 71 - 4, which, condensing the whole of Ovid's poem, have a quality of self- absurdity that comes from Ovid rather than from Donne, though the tone of naiveté, which may well come from Donne's attempting to handle an element in Ovid which was alien to him, does not

58 The first stanza of the poem The Indifferent in the Songs and Sonets ("I can love both faire and browne") also borrows from this passage and from the poem generally: this is not noted by Sir Herbert Grierson either, but Mr. Leishman, op. cit., pp. 145-6, says, 'I think Donne may well have had this elegy in mind when he wrote The Indifferent' (he makes no mention, at any point, of *Variety*).
occur in the *Amores*. The uncertainty of position which
seems at the centre of the poem and the consequent incompleteness
of control, in fact, from virtually line 26 on, the
uncertainty of tone in the poem, may well (if the poem is
in fact Donne's)\(^{59}\) account to some extent for the poem's
late publication and its apparently limited circulation.
It may also suggest why Donne wrote another, more but perhaps
not finally successful, *Elegie, Change*, dealing in part with
a very similar attitude:

> Although thy hand and faith, and good works too,
> Have seal'd thy love which nothing should undo,
> Yea though thou fall backe, that apostacie
> Confirme thy love; yet much, much I feare thee.
> Women are like the Arts, forc'd unto none,
> Open to all searchers, unpriz'd, if unknowne.
> If I have caught a bird, and let him flie,
> Another fouler using these meanes, as I,
> May catch the same bird; and, as these things bee,
> Women are made for men, not him, nor mee.\(^{10}\)
> Foxes and goats; all beasts change when they please,
> Shall women, more hot, wily, wild then these,
> Be bound to one man, and did Nature then
> Idly make them apter to endure then men?
> They are our clogs, not their owne; if a man bee 15
> Chain'd to a galley, yet the galley is free;
> Who hath a plow-land, casts all his seed corn there,
> And yet allows his ground more corn should beare;
> Though Danuby into the sea must flow,
> The sea receives the Rhene, Volga, and Po.\(^{20}\)
> By nature, which gave it, this liberty
> Thou lovest, but Oh! canst thou love it and mee?
> Likenesse glues love; and if that thou so doe,
> To make us like and love, must I change too?
> More then thy hate, I hate it, rather let mee 25
> Allow her change, then change as oft as shee,

\(^{59}\) v, the poem's textual history, *supra*, pp. 32-3.
And soe not teach, but force my opinion
To love not any one, nor every one,
To live in one land, is captivitie,
To runne all countries, a wild roguery;
Waters stinke scone, if in one place they bide,
And in the vast sea are more putrifi'd:
But when they kissee one banke, and leaving this
Never looke backe, but the next banke doe kisse,
Then are they purest; Change is the nursery
Of musicke, joy, life, and eternity.

- though here the influence of Amores, II. iv, is no longer specifically felt. It is almost in fact as if Variety were later re-written (compare in particular lines 31-5 of this poem with lines 11-4 of Variety) under the more immediate prompting of the poems in Book Three of the Amores in which the poet is rejected or deceived, perhaps particularly by III. xiv, with its opening line, 'Non ego, ne pecces, cum sis formosa, recuso' /That you should not err, since you are fair, is not my plea/.

Very few of the Elegies, then, are entirely without some influence from the Amores: The Autumnall (Elegie IX in Grierson's edition) is perhaps the one most obviously without any contact with Ovid; The Bracelet (Elegie XI in Grierson's edition), like Loves Progresse, owes much to the Renaissance fashion for paradox and very little (certainly nothing specific) to the Amores; "Oh, let mee not serve so" and The Dreame

60 H. J. C. Grierson, op. cit., pp. 74-5.
61 G. Showerman, op. cit., p. 499.
(Elegies VI and X in Grierson's edition) seems influenced rather by the contemporary fashion for the Petrarchan situation than by the Amores (though the element of assertion in the first poem may owe something to Sir Thomas Wyatt - Tottel's Songs and Sonnets first appeared in 1557, while The Dreame may in fact have been prompted to some extent by Amores, III. xi, which is also in two parts, a rejection of the woman and then submission, though Ovid is completely transformed in the extraordinary intellectual activity and subtlety of Donne's poem); the influence on A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife seems, similarly, to be that of Chaucer, though the idea of relating a first meeting between the man and a new mistress (something Ovid, like Donne in On his Mistris, refers to, in more detail than Donne, in the first poem to Bagous, II.ii, for example, but which he never treats at length) might well have come to him from reading the Amores.

The relations between the Elegies and the Amores are seen finally as a complex pattern of references, suggestions and contrasts, operating at different levels of consciousness and with different degrees of precise connection. What unites them all, however, or all except Variety, which must stand by itself, has not yet been touched on.

The French poet, Clément Marot, writing seventy or eighty years before Donne, at one point in his life set before himself
'de tout mon pouvoir suyvre et controfaiire la veine du noble poëte Ovide', 62 and later in the century an anonymous poem prefixed to some of George Chapman's poems and translations praised him by relating him to Ovid:

She \textit{Venus} makes in thee the spirit of Ovid move,
And calls thee second master of her love,
-a compliment repeated in essentially the same terms in another poem by 'J\textit{Ovid}. D\textit{avies}', of the Middle Temple:

For love till now hath still a master miss'd
Since Ovid's eyes were closed with iron sleep.
But now his waking soul in Chapman lives
Which shows so well the passions of his soul,
And yet this muse more cause of wonder gives,
And doth more prophet-like loves art enrol.
For Ovid's soul now grown more old and wise, 63
Pours forth itself in deeper mysteries.

It seems very likely that Donne himself set out to do in English what Ovid, in the Amores, had done in Latin. In a Latin poem to Ben Jonson he praised him for doing essentially the same thing in \textit{Volpone}:

\begin{verbatim}
Amicissimo, & meritissimo BKN. JONSON.
In Vulponem.
QVod arte ausus es hic tuæ, Poeta,
Si audentem hominum Deique juris
Consulti, veteres sequi aemularierque,
O omnes saperemus ad salutem.
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{62 Quoted by C.B. Cooper, \textit{Some Elizabethan Opinions of the Poetry and Character of Ovid} (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1914), p.3. 63 Quotations de Clement Marot (Iyon, 1570) II, 1547: Marot lived from 1496-1544. 63 Both are quoted by C.B. Cooper, op.cit., pp.34,33 respectively: it would be interesting to know if Donne ever knew the John Davies concerned (Donne was at Thavies Inn for a year in 1591-2 and then at Lincoln's Inn for some years - v. E.M.}
His sed sunt veteres araneosi;
Tam nemo veteranum est sequitor, ut tu
Illos quod sequeris novator audis;
Fac tamen quod agis; tuique primâ
Libri canitie induantur horâ;
Nam chartis pueritia est neganda,
Nascanturque senes, oportet, illi
Libri, quaeis dare vis perennitatem.
Priscis, ingenium facit, laborque
Te parem; hos superes, ut et futuros,
Ex nostra vitiositate sumas,
Quâ priscos superamus, et futuros.

If those learned in the law of God and of men
dared what you, Poet, with your art have dared in
this play, to follow and emulate the ancients, O
we should all be wise to the point of being saved.
But to them the ancients are covered with cobwebs;
no one is a follower of the ancients as you are -
in as much you follow them, you have the reputation
of being an innovator. Yet continue to do as you are;
and let your books be clothed with the grey
hairs of old age right from their first hour; for
childhood is to be denied to literature, and those
books to which you wish to give immortality must be
born old. Natural ability and hard work make you
equal to those who came before us; may you surpass
these, as also those that will come after us, may
you achieve this out of our state of viciousness,
in which we surpass those who came before, and those
that will follow.

It seems very likely in fact - and the full significance
of the remark by Dr. Grosart with which this section began
begins to become clear - that merely to call Donne's poems

Simpson, A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne (Oxford, 1948),
p.15), or if there is any connection between the 'waking soul'
of this verse and the 'waking soules' of Donne's The good-
morrow.

64 H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., p.368: the poem was
originally prefixed to the 1607 quarto edition of Vulpone,
then (with 'In Vulpone' added) to the folio edition of the
Works in 1616; H.A. Mason, Poetry and Humanism in the Early
the earlier edition, with 'quos' instead of 'quod' in 1.7 - he
also gives a translation of ll. 1-7 on p.266.
'Elegies' immediately placed them in relation to Ovid's poems (one remembers that Marlowe's translation of the Amores, which appeared or became known about the same time as Donne first became engaged on his own poems, was referred to as Ovid's 'Elegies'), or (if their title came, not from Donne, but from the transcribers of the poems) that the calling the poems 'Elegies' was an implicit recognition of their relation to the Amores. It is likely (and an investigation of the uses of the word in the last decade or so of the Sixteenth Century would confirm or deny this) that the term 'Elegy' meant either a funeral elegy, which, insofar as the word is used, is the meaning it now bears, or a love-poem modelled on the Amores, or a similarly short poem modelled on other of Ovid's poems, or of similar Classical poems using Latin elegiac verse.

What is clear, however, from both the Elegies themselves and from the terms of praise in the poem to Ben Jonson, is that to do in English what had been achieved in Latin (or Greek) was more than simply to reproduce effects or even to translate, in the sense, at least, in which the Latin in this essay has been translated or in which, in fact, Marlowe translated the Amores: the phrases Donne uses in the poem to Ben Jonson are 'veteres sequi aemularierque', to follow and emulate the ancients, and 'Tam nemo veterum est sequitor, ut tu/Illos quod sequeris novator audis', No one is a follower of the
ancients in the way you are - in so far as you follow them, you (paradoxically) gain the reputation of a poet engaged on new things.

But what drew Donne to Ovid, and to the Amores, in particular, in addition to the similarity of age and temperament apparent in the same subject of the two sets of poems, and what unifies and orders the particular transformations, metamorphoses even, that we have noted, is the single quality the two sets of poems have in common and which, in both, is the dominant informing and ordering quality, and that is wit. Not, in fact, that all Ovid's poems are witty (the elegy on Tibullus, III. ix, or the dream in III. v, for example, are not) nor even that all Donne's are (His parting from her, for example, is not, nor are the last forty-five lines of The Expostulation, in both of which poems in fact there are borrowings from the Amores which are treated wittily in Ovid but not so by Donne), but it was clearly the quality of wit, and, in particular, wit as controlling and ordering sexual feeling that drew Donne to the Amores, for both (and Ovid makes this quite clear in several poems, in I. xv, II. i, II. xviii and III. i, for example) were drawn to write of sexual love and to show it in its perspective, though Ovid, as the poems just mentioned make clear, was as concerned about wasting his talents as Donne, later in his life, seems to have been guilty at having done so.
The wit, however, while unchanged as a matter of attitude, was, in the particular changes we have noted, and in the general differences in personality and in the two ages the men lived in, itself transformed: simply because, in fact, Donne set himself as it were to bring Ovid as an immediate living force into the English tradition, the accent of his poems is entirely new, and individual, and the form of the wit, though following elements in Ovid, is, particularly in its extraordinary inventiveness, which makes The Perfume, for example, something finally quite different from anything in the Amores, and in its subtlety and quickness of thought, something different both from Ovid and, in fact, from anything that had preceded it.

It is also likely that the poems in the Elegies which deal with a matureer (though no less sexual) love than that in Ovid, and which transforms the wit as it were from the inside, were an attempt on Donne's part both to deal with a more important set of human emotions and, by so doing, to place the love of the other Elegies more clearly in position:

For Ovid's soul now grown more old and wise, 
Fours forth itself in deeper mysteries.

The Autumnall, similarly, while a witty compliment to Mrs. Herbert, directs its wit, for almost all of its length, to a definition of the new, unsexual, sort of love.

Two of the Elegies, however, that go beyond the Amores,
His parting from her and The Expostulation (the other two are His Picture and On his Mistrig), neither of which are sustain-
edly witty, are among the seven poems not given by D, H49, Lec
or W, Jc, A25 as among the Elegies (they are not, it will be
remembered, given there at all), and it is worth simply
noting - for what has emerged about the relations between Donne's
Elegies and Ovid’s Amores says nothing definite or conclusive
about the canon of the Elegies, which, it seems, can only be
established bibliographically, though what has emerged lends,
perhaps, some colour to what is suggested by Grierson’s
chronological division of the poems - that the seven excluded
from the two main MS. groups, The Autunnall, The Dreame, His
parting from her, Julie, A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife, The
Expostulation, Variety, are among those poems whose connections
with the Amores are either slight or noticeably different from
those of the other Elegies.

Perhaps the most interesting thing to emerge, particularly
since it is frequently Donne’s isolation and his modernity that
is stressed, is that Donne was in fact quite central to the
Renaissance and to the Humanist tradition. Imitation was, for
the Humanist poet, perhaps the basic virtue or task, and praise
of the sort given to Chapman in the two poems quoted above is

65 v. supra, pp. 31-3.
entirely characteristic.\textsuperscript{66} Donne himself made (witty) use of the metaphor of re-birth in the poem to Ben Jonson, and praise in essentially the same terms was given to Shakespeare by Francis Meres, 'As the Soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras; so the sweete wittie soule of Ouid liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued Shakespeare, witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends &c.'\textsuperscript{67}

It was, however, as with Donne, Ovid's wit, 'la veine du noble poète Ovide', with its necessary concomitant achievement of personal balance and perspective in the writer and its influence in that direction on the reader (and one can begin to see the significance of the emphasis that was placed in the Renaissance on the question of style), that was, with most writers, the central point of imitation.\textsuperscript{68} It is significant, it seems to me, for a comparison of Donne and Marlowe that, in his translation of the Amores, which in fact, apart from possibly,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[66]\textsuperscript{66} v. H.A. Mason, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.255-89: Mr. Mason's book seems to me the most illuminating single discussion of Humanism of the Renaissance.


\item[68]\textsuperscript{68} cf. J.A.K. Thomson, \textit{The Classical Background of English Literature} (London, 1948), p.170. 'The Renaissance admired him above all for his style and wit; consequently the poets of that age tried to reproduce those things in their own verses'.
\end{footnotes}
as a contemporary literary event, prompting Donne, seems to have had no influence on the Elegies. Marlowe failed almost entirely to catch the wit of Ovid, and that what is present in there rather as an almost incidental residuum of the original than as a quality of Marlowe's own writing, a fact which is patent from the juxtaposition, in some of the editions, of Marlowe's version of I. xv and Ben Jonson's, in which the wit of the original is clearly perceived and re-created, a fact also which would account for the translation's being found offensive, for without their wit the poems come very close to letting loose rather than ordering sexual feeling, come in fact close to the immorality with which Ovid was not infrequently charged, and which, from Donne's position, (which suggests perhaps in what sense the translation might have prompted the Elegies) would call for some response.

The essential truth, then, of Sir Herbert Grierson's remark quoted near the beginning of this section must - in its application to the Elegies - be now apparent, though the precise shades of meaning to be given to the term 'classical' as applied to the Elegies must be allowed for and the severe re-adjustment necessary in meaning, and in particular the virtual reversal of the evaluative significance, of the phrase used to characterise both the Elegies and the Amores must be acknowledged.

69v. C.R. Cooper, op.cit., passim.
To have seen, moreover, one part of Donne's total oeuvre as in a significant relation to a corresponding part of Classical Literature, and a corresponding part of the work of one Latin poet, suggests pursuing a similar line of enquiry in relation to other parts of it; the titles given (whether by Donne himself or by those who transcribed them) to two other groups of his poems immediately suggest comparison with corresponding Classical poems - both the Satyres and the Letters to Severall Personages have titles that were used to characterise types of Latin poems, and the tone and manner of the Letters in particular, which include some of Donne's most successful, though least discussed, poems, suggest a considerable influence of Horace's Epistles.

This in turn, taken in conjunction with the glimpse afforded by this thesis of Donne's position as central in the Renaissance and in the Humanist tradition, further suggests, something also suggested by the MSS. of the Elegies and by Miss Gardner's recent re-grouping of the Divine Poems in her edition, and which would have to be pursued in wider than specifically literary terms, that Donne's work as a poet, and his life as a whole, was less haphazard and chaotic and more consciously and responsibly directed than at first sight it appears or than Donne, in his later years, claimed for it.
IV

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