INTRODUCTION

> Therefore I tell my sorrows bootless to the stones,
> Who, though they cannot answer my distress,
> Yet in some sort they are better than the tribunes
> For that they will not intercept my tale:
> When I do weep, they humbly at my feet
> Receive my tears and seem to weep with me,
> And were they but attirèd in grave weeds,
> Rome could afford no tribune like to these.[1]
>
> *Titus Andronicus* – Act 3, Scene 1

Using a combination of manuscript and printed sources, this thesis examines the ways in which Ovid's *Tristia* was read and received in sixteenth-century England, and provides particular close analysis of the work of three key authors: Thomas Wyatt, Thomas Churchyard, and Edmund Spenser. It identifies – for the first time – the extent to which sixteenth-century English authors drew upon and reworked Ovid's poem in a wide variety of works, and how contemporary readings, imitations and translations of the *Tristia* served to complicate and add much greater nuance to conceptions of the early-modern Ovidian tradition. Rather than casting Ovid solely as a writer of amorous verse or as the poet of the *Metamorphoses*, this study shows that the *Tristia* presents a number of readings spanning from religious exegesis to translation and poetic imitation. This thesis argues therefore that the characteristic traits of Ovid as a writer are not so clearly defined as first imagined. In tracing the *Tristia's* early-modern reception, a variety of different audiences and their interactive processes illustrate that Ovid's work is not reducible to one single 'mode of reading'. As this study will show, one recurrent feature of early-modern responses to the *Tristia* is to read it, less as a text of despair and exile, and more as a productive and positive tool for self-promotion and reinstatement of the individual.

---

[1] William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*. Act 3, Scene 1, Lines 36-43 from *William Shakespeare: Complete Works* eds. J. Bate and E. Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 1644.

The title *'Tristia'* cannot be translated simply. Ovid's first exilic work has been most commonly described as his 'sorrows', although this word can also connote mournfulness, adversity, affliction, sombreness or darkness. This interchangeability of meanings has opened the *Tristia* up to avenues of interpretation that inevitably make judgements of the author which are not entirely accurate. The title can be understood to convey both stasis and activity and (as outlined below). Ovid too has been read as the passive recipient of punishments or hardships, but by others as actively culpable, choosing to present himself in a sorry state for artistic or strategic effect. Similarly, *Triste* translates as 'sad' or 'joyless' in Spanish, and in Middle English and German borrowings from the French, but sad in the context of sixteenth-century England in which this study takes place, can also mean wise or sober.[2] In Romanian we find the terms 'trist' meaning 'sad' or 'woeful', and the phrase 'întristare profundă' denoting distress.[3] It is therefore far from surprising that as many alternative meanings and interpretations as the title has presented may also be afforded to the main body of the text itself. According to Angelo Bartlett Giamatti, 'Exile is the precondition for self-consciousness, culturally or individually' and 'the process of civility involves both going out and coming back, displacement and homecoming', prompting a reappraisal of not only the linguistic connotations of the word 'exile', but also what it represents conceptually to an early-modern readership preoccupied with launching and reviving their own literary careers.[4]

So what is the *Tristia*? Ovid's poem is structured in five books, each broken down into clearly demarcated sections containing epistles addressed to Ovid's wife, friends, and most notably, Augustus Caesar in Rome. None of these sections follows a standard form, as they include prayers, poems, and a defence of poetry along with daily reflections on life that speak more to Ovid's mental state of selfhood than to anyone external. Most recently K. Sara Myers has remarked on this disparate

---

[2] 'The original meaning was replaced in Middle English by the senses 'steadfast, firm' and 'serious, sober', and later 'sorrowful'.' This definition taken from Oxford English Dictionary online <en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/sad> Accessed 08/08/2018.

[3] Definitions taken from the *Romanian-English Dictionary*, compiled by G. L. Dutelescu (London: IBS Books, 2011).

[4] A. Bartlett Giamatti, *Exile and Change in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p.95.

collection rather simplistically saying that, 'As letters, the poems in both collections express worries about communication, imagine their reception, complain about the circumstances of writing and their letters' linguistic deficiencies, and ask to be read'.[5] Myers' Barthesian analysis of the *Heroides* and *Tristia* projects a kind of paranoia onto Ovid's failure to elicit a response, and does not credit the text as an engaging source in its own right. This has the effect of reducing the *Tristia*, somewhat unfairly, to the status of a bland and petulant petition, rather than the carefully constructed defence of liberty and poetry which this thesis proposes it to be.

Oversimplifications such as this one by Myers are unhelpful, and obscure the *Tristia*'s generic complexity and variety. Although ostensibly epistolary in form, the *Tristia* is written in elegiac couplets after the Hellenic model, but also draws upon the liberated, epicurean foundations of the poet's contemporaneous environment in Rome. The books can be broken down thematically thus: Book I begins with the *Tristia's* anthropomorphic journey to Rome and contains a series of eleven epistles written whilst in transit to Tomis (Ovid both identifies and defines what this book is within the writings).[6] Book II consists of a defence of poetry addressed to Augustus Caesar and is a single exhortation, using a distinct rhetorical framework and identifiable tropes. Book III is a treatise on friendship, with some of the diary entries obviously *intended* to be sent, and others addressed to the self. Ovid also writes his own funeral epitaph here. Book IV contains the autobiographical section most used in the sixteenth century for facts and suppositions about Ovid's life. Book V binds all of the earlier themes of Books I-IV together in one tome, reaching its conclusion in the form of an epilogue on fame and marital constancy, and serves the purpose of structurally completing the *dispositio* of the entire work. As the *Tristia* progresses it becomes increasingly inward-facing, as Ovid's hope of a glorious comeback fades into bitterness and gall towards his persecutor. There is an

---

[5] K. Sara Myers, "Ovid's Self-Reception in His Exile Poetry", from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, eds. J. Miller and C. Newlands (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), pp.13-14.

[6] [Every letter that you have read in my whole book was formed by me during the troubled days of my journey]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: xi, Lines 1-2, p.53. This direct address to the reader is evidence of Ovid's desire for editorial control over his work. Ovid conveys his *elegiae* with accompanying advice on how they should be interpreted, and provides context in order to accentuate feelings of sorrow in his readers.

underlying sense of mourning for the Roman triumphal spectacle too, which shifts in emphasis as the possibility of recall fades away.

Thematically, the *Tristia* is diverse and fragmentary which has made study of it so difficult to date. In the majority of Ovidian criticism it has been reduced to nothing more than a series of letters from Ovid in Tomis to his persecutor Augustus Caesar in Rome, and as an exile text that is consistently (and wrongly) aligned with *Ex Ponto*. *Ex Ponto* is not being covered here, because it is an independent work and was not in fact bound or amalgamated with the *Tristia* in early-modern editions and translations. Zachary Catlin's 1633 translation of *De Tristibus* is one example of this standalone format, which does not refer to *Ex Ponto* at all. In spite of this historical precedent, twentieth-century translators, such as A. L. Wheeler, have published the texts written during Ovid's exile in a single volume, and critics have conflated this later editorial practice with them 'belonging together', when this is not strictly true or reliable.[7] The *Tristia* functioned in its own right and did not require supplementary materials such as *Ex Ponto* in sixteenth-century scholarly editions in order to decode it. The *Tristia* is more often found with the *Metamorphoses* than with *Ex Ponto*. In the case of the Antwerp MS O.B.5.1, even the *Metamorphoses* (which today enjoys greater fame) is left out of Ovid's complete works, whilst the *Tristia* retains its place. The *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* are two distinct works, only related by the Tomitan location of their author when they were written, and as such, I shall avoid reading the two texts as a pair, as has been done in twentieth-century editions to date.

There has been comparatively little critical attention paid to the reception of the *Tristia*, in particular to how Ovid's poem was read and responded to in the post-classical era. A number of classicists provide partial comment on the *Tristia's* linguistic features and form, including Gabriel Fuchs, Jo-Marie Claassen, Janet Fairweather and Harry B. Evans.[8] A commentary specific to Book II of the *Tristia* is

---

[7] As is seen in Ovid, *Tristia and Ex Ponto*, trans. Arthur Leslie Wheeler (London: William Heinemann, 1959).

[8] Gabriel Fuchs has focused on the commentary traditions underpinning the *Tristia* in his doctoral thesis, and done this with close attention to the intricacies of translation. His chapter on Clemens Janicki brings alternative audiences of the *Tristia* to light. Gabriel Fuchs, 'Renaissance Receptions of Ovid's *Tristia*', unpublished PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 2013. Whilst the autobiographical element of the *Tristia* has been noticed by classicists such as Janet Fairweather, their focus has been peripheral, tending to categorise the whole work

provided by Jennifer Ingleheart.[9] These works focus on the different editions in circulation, and specific rhetorical, linguistic and textual features of short passages of the text but do not comprehensively place the *Tristia* in an early-modern context. There is a decided gap apparent when combining analysis of the *Tristia's* composite rhetorical parts and the way an early-modern audience might have responded to the work. Even though Harry B. Evans hones in on aspects of the text in a meandering fashion, attempting to explain the authorial intention behind the work, he does not methodically provide a chronological commentary interrogating the *Tristia* cover to cover. Gareth D. Williams also pays some attention to Ovid's poetry across the entire period of exile, and approaches it from a close-textual and classicist stance, noting the *Tristia's* symmetry and circularity as a whole, but this is merely another cursory glance within a book devoted to a broader timeframe.[10]

Ovid's early-modern reception has been the focus of a number of different critical studies.[11] Daniel Moss has focused upon the Ovidian influence on Nashe and

---

under that genre. Jo-Marie Claassen, *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius.* (London: Duckworth, 1999); Janet Fairweather, 'Ovid's Autobiographical Poem, *Tristia* 4.10', *Classical Quarterly*, 37 (1987), 181-196; Harry B. Evans, *Publica Carmina: Ovid's Books from Exile* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

[9] Jennifer Ingleheart, *A Commentary on Ovid, Tristia, Book 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[10] Gareth D. Williams, *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[11] These have tended to focus on a parallel study of Ovid and a given specific author, such as: Philip Hardie, "Spenser and Ovid", taken from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, eds. J. Miller and C. Newlands (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014); M.L. Stapleton, *Spenser's Ovidian Poetics* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013); Syrithe Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); A. B. Taylor, ed. *Shakespeare's Ovid: The Metamorphoses in the Plays and Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); John Fyler, *Chaucer and Ovid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955). Alternatively, critics look at the reception of a limited corpus of Ovidian works, including the *Heroides, Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, but exclude or downplay the *Tristia*: Gordon Braden, "Translating the Rest of Ovid: The Exile Poems" in *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, eds. Karen Newman and Jane Tylus (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); Catherine Keen, "Ovid's Exile and Medieval Italian Literature: The Lyric Tradition" taken from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, eds. J. Miller and C. Newlands (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 144-160; Lindsay Ann Reid, *Ovidian Bibliofictions and the Tudor*

Jonson's works, but this is very much directed towards perpetuating a lascivious caricature of the poet which has, in contention with the *Nux* tradition, now been outgrown.[12] K. Sara Myers and Lindsay Ann Reid, for example, have diligently studied the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides'* epistolary formats.[13] These are invaluable in learning about Ovid as a writer, but they reveal all the more clearly lacunae where *Tristia*-focused criticism is concerned. A chapter by Liz Oakley-Brown on Thomas Churchyard's translation of Ovid's *Tristia* and another by Raphael Lyne in his doctoral thesis exist, but have differing agenda, with each focusing on a single text, rather than a larger body of literature indebted to Ovid's exile verse.[14]

Betty Rose Nagle's work of 1980 is the most recent scholarship of a truly interrogative nature on Ovid's *Tristia*, dealing with both emerging themes and structural features.[15] Nagle adeptly handles the *Tristia*'s unwieldy format and explains its idiosyncrasies in a detailed and convincing manner. Every book of the *Tristia* is given thorough consideration in her critical analysis which makes it

---

Book (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Daniel Moss, *The Ovidian Vogue: Literary Fashion and Imitative Practice in Late Elizabethan England* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2014); K.S. Myers, "Ovid's Self-Reception in His Exile Poetry" taken from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, eds. J. Miller and C. Newlands (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 8-21; F.T. Coulson, "Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the School Tradition of France, 1180 – 1400" taken from *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, eds. Clark, Coulson and McKinley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); C. E. Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

[12] The *Nux* tradition perpetuates a narrative of Ovid's plight, and accentuates his status as a victim, just as the nut tree which forms the central allegory is attacked mercilessly by passers-by. Its ability to produce 'fruit', and Ovid's to create verse, bring about their mutual downfall. Initially thought to have been composed by Ovid, and included in anthologies and complete *Opera* historically, the *Nux* poem has now been discounted as one of his works. Roger Beck, 'Ovid, Augustus and a Nut Tree', *Phoenix* 19.2 (1965), 146-152. Moss forwards the opposite characterisation of Ovid in Daniel Moss, *The Ovidian Vogue: Literary Fashion and Imitative Practice in Late Elizabethan England* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

[13] Myers, "Ovid's Self-Reception in His Exile Poetry"; Lindsay Ann Reid, *Ovidian Bibliofictions and the Tudor Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

[14] Liz Oakley-Brown, "Elizabethan Exile After Ovid: Thomas Churchyard's *Tristia* (1572)" taken from Jennifer Ingleheart, *Two Thousand Years of Solitude; Exile After Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 103-118; Raphael Lyne, 'Studies in English Translation and Imitation of Ovid, 1567-1609', unpublished PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1996.

[15] Betty Rose Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the Tristia and Epistulae Ex Ponto* (Brussels: Latomus, 1980).

unusually comprehensive in this field. Nagle defines the parameters of a 'poetics of exile' and does some of the formative work in establishing the exiled state as a place of liberation and creative licence which I intend to carry forward and build upon in the chapters that follow. Reading with Ovid's original classical context in mind, she suggests that 'the coexistence in the poetics of exile of both positive, and self-glorifying, and negative, self-deprecating elements is another aspect of its conventionality'.[16] Thus, the 'poetics of exile' traced in Nagle's work is confined to classical parameters but needs building upon in the context of early-modern studies where these binaries may now also be observed.

Nagle avoids the trend of surface-reading around Ovid's life-story, and suggests that *Tristia* IV: x acts as a point of self-reflection predicated on the earlier books. A re-evaluation of Book IV of the *Tristia* is in fact well overdue. It is not merely dropped into the structure haphazardly, but pre-empts the self-realisation of Book V where Ovid finally accepts exile as a permanent state. As Nagle points out, 'an autobiographical summing up at that point in the exilic corpus marks not so much an intention to stop writing, as an increasing awareness of the finality of the break with Rome'.[17] Ovid therefore has experienced fear, anger towards Augustus, loss at being severed from Rome, and finally the acceptance of the final situation of exilic *relegatus*. Much like an amorous relationship that has been broken, Ovid fights the truth, exerts much of his power through writing in anger, and then succumbs to doleful acceptance of what cannot be avoided or changed. Time and a sense of isolation, geographically and mentally, finally cause Ovid to bear the loss and accept that an Odyssean triumphal return will not happen in his lifetime. He therefore turns to poetry and the longevity of monuments and memorialisation to save his reputation. The 'poetics of exile' proposed in the following chapters is unique in presenting elements of Ovid's *Tristia* traced in the writings of early-modern England. It deals with Ovidian preoccupations with time, ruin, and recall, and the increased literary faculty experienced by the author who has been decentred from power.

---

[16] Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile,* p.108.
[17] Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile,* pp.160-161.

In the study of the *Tristia's* early-modern reception that follows, attention is drawn to overt instances and examples where authors have cited, translated or imitated parts of Ovid's poem, in combination with moments or episodes that exhibit one or more characteristic 'Tristian' attributes. These have been identified as follows: firstly that the *Tristia* is simultaneously self-pitying and self-glorifying, as Harry B. Evans has isolated.[18] Secondly, it uses different rhetorical modes of address in order to garner support for its author but all of these modes are written as epistles and therefore have strict structural and formalistic parameters. The *Tristia* is stylistically and syntactically wide-ranging and yet thematically repetitive; it is a showcase of what poetry can actively petition others to 'do'. Thirdly, it praises whilst consciously undermining the subject of its praise, and forwards an alternative agenda; it is therefore always two or more things at once - not merely amatory, but political too (such political manoeuvring and self-promotion surfaces in Churchyard's use of Ovid, as set out in chapter 4). The fourth aspect is that the *Tristia* consistently seeks redress and reinstatement in the eyes of the unreachable 'other'. The fifth is that it monumentalises the poet through the glorifying nature of verse and therefore establishes a reverence for poetry whilst perpetuating a myth of its own barbarity. Finally, the sixth key element of the *Tristia* is that it dwells on mortality and the inexpressible utterance. What cannot be penned or is obscured - or what is blotted by tears - remains as important as what can be documented.

The first chapter of this thesis traces variant readings of the *Tristia* from manuscript tradition to its printed form, providing a reception history of the text, along with details on how Ovid's work was used in the schoolroom historically. Chapter 2 looks further at the *Tristia's* sixteenth-century literary reception, examining through a series of short case-studies the multifarious ways in which it was used by John Skelton, Geoffrey Whitney and Ben Jonson. The final three chapters focus on finding 'Tristian' resonances and models within the works of Thomas Wyatt, Thomas Churchyard and Edmund Spenser, demonstrating the extent to which each of these writers use the *Tristia*.

[18] Evans, *Publica Carmina*, p.49.

1
MEDIEVAL AND EARLY-MODERN TRADITIONS OF READING OVID'S *TRISTIA*

> Me tamen extincto fama superstes erit,
> dumque suis victrix omnem de montibus orbem
> prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar.[19]

One of the *Tristia's* lasting achievements is to make the specific circumstance of exile resonate on a common level to a broad spectrum of projected readers, due to its elegiac structure. Ovid tries to supplant the estranged and rejected love of his earlier works with feelings of exile, finding an ideal way of manipulating his audience's sympathies by talking to them in an amatory language with which they are already familiar. This chapter responds to Ovid's model of making the specific instance universal, and looks at the way in which the *Tristia* was used and reappropriated in the sixteenth century for moral instruction, before going on to examine how this reading was based upon a tradition found in earlier manuscript commentaries. In doing this, we will be answering what the *Tristia* really was to a sixteenth-century readership by considering what it was bound alongside; how it circulated in translation in sixteenth-century England; and how it was then read and interpreted by its early-modern audience.

Ovid's carefully engineered orations on the immortality of 'the poet' long outlived the man, prompting the *Tristia's* rich and varied reception history. From the medieval monastic library to the Elizabethan grammar school and sermon, Ovid's text from exile resurfaces in multiple and diverse contexts. We have manuscript editions of Ovid being used in the schoolroom as far back as the fourth century, and, according to James G. Clark, 'Whether schoolboy, learned poetaster, preacher or layperson, when medieval readers conjured the classical past for themselves invariably they did so in the words and images of Ovid.'[20] Some of these early

---

[19] [Yet when I am dead my fame shall survive. As long as Martian Rome shall gaze forth victorious from her hills over the conquered world, I shall be read]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: vii, Lines 50-52, pp. 130 – 131.

[20] James G. Clark, *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, eds. Clark, Coulson and McKinley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 2.

manuscripts in the *Tristia's* reception history are partial and fragmentary in nature, or accompanied by material erroneously attributed to Ovid. In spite of this, the sheer volume of new material written upon Ovid, and old material copied from him up until the sixteenth century presents a set of readers who were engaged in revisiting and re-appropriating the poet. This engagement may also be traced across the medieval and early-modern periods throughout Europe, although the focus of this study is the *Tristia's* English reception. The aim of the following section is to trace the *Tristia's* publication throughout the early-modern period and highlight the ways in which print both affects our perception of Ovid's work differently, and builds upon medieval manuscript-based readings of the *Tristia*. These initial examples will touch upon different traditions of use, that may be seen as pedagogical, moralising or something more prescriptive.

Early-Printed Editions and the Commentary Tradition

The way in which the *Tristia* was received and read in manuscript and print is important; its readers change, but conversely, the latter format maintains specific features and types of reader associated with the former. This section will deal chronologically with all of the MSS and printed editions of Ovid's *Tristia* dating from the eleventh century to the sixteenth century currently held in the BL, CUL, Bodleian and Musaeum Plantin Moretus, and will also look at editions of Ovid containing the *Tristia* on the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ). These particular texts have been identified with the aid of the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) and Early English Books Online (EEBO). Acknolwedgement is made of the spread of Ovid's *Tristia* in France, Germany, Italy and Belgium but the confines of this thesis to Tudor England prohibit further analysis at this point. Aspects of moral and pedagogical use common to the medieval scribal tradition maintained in later printed editions of Ovid will be turned to below, beginning with Azoguidi (1471), followed by the examination of grandly printed editions of Ovid's complete works which recall the splendour of manuscripts such as the Holkham MS.[21] Medieval manuscripts of Ovid frequently see the poet's own text surrounded

[21] Add. MS 49368, Holkham Vol. XVIII contains Ovid's complete works and provides us with a different mode of engagement with the exilic work. It is unusual in that it comprises all five books of the *Tristia* but contains little of interest in terms of marginalia or commentary. Dating to the thirteenth century, there is no exegesis,

by recurring paratexts, reference materials and commentaries – as in William of Orleans' *Versus Bursarii Ovidii* – that offered frameworks for interpreting the text in different ways.[22] Furthermore, the association and setting of pseudonymous literature alongside the *Tristia* continues in later printed editions of Ovid. This most 'autobiographical' work is bound with a series of texts that fashion Ovid's posthumous reputation and identity for medieval and early-modern audiences, creating a distorted understanding of Ovid's life and literary output.

An early textual witness which uses Ovid's elegiac work as a model for composition is Kings MS 26, an eleventh-century manuscript in the British Library, where we find a reference to the *Tristia* scribbled untidily on one of its opening folios. In amongst the introductory material and immediately following the *accessus* to the *Metamorphoses* are eight lines in a fifteenth-century hand, underneath a heading of 'Ouidius de Tristibus'.[23] These come from *Tristia* Book III: xiv, Book II, and Book I: vii respectively.[24] The final four lines have clearly been carefully

---

and the reader who has marked the text has not repurposed or extracted a deeper meaning from it, noting only a handful of phrases and ideas as useful. Its high-quality binding and expensive vellum embellished with rubricated subheadings, along with this lack of marginalia, betrays its function as a presentation copy. Heavily annotated editions hastily compiled or copied in basic ink form the majority of the manuscripts of Ovid's *Tristia*, but this edition is different. The folios of the Holkham MS are squarely uniform on cropped vellum, almost opaque with minimal blemishes, and the edition is smartly bound in brown calfskin with the Earl of Leicester's family crest. The second volume of the Holkham manuscripts in the British Library contains the *Fasti* and other non-Ovidian texts: London, British Library, Holkham Vol. XVIII, Add. MS 49368 fols. 111r - 143v. A set of typewritten notes appended to this volume of the manuscript, suggests copies of Ovid's *Fasti* have clear origins in Fleury, adding weight to the *Tristia* MS 18384 with its reference to Fleury (discussed later in this chapter) also being produced there.

[22] Amanda Gerber, *Medieval Ovid: Frame Narrative and Political Allegory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.23-24.

[23] These lines are separated 2:2:4, with the final four lines being written under the subheading 'IDEM' which is capitalised. London, British Library, Kings MS 26, fol. 3bv.

[24] And read as follows: Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: xiv, Lines 19 - 20, p.154, 'sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque volumina, formae,/carmina de domini funere rapta sui' [There are also thrice five books on changing forms, verses snatched from the funeral of their master]; Book II, Lines 63 - 64, p.60, 'inspice maius opus, quod adhuc sine fine tenetur,/in non credendos corpora versa modos' [Examine the greater work, which is still kept unfinished, the book of figures transformed in ways unbelievable]; and Book I: vii, Lines 35 - 38, p.38, 'orba parente suo quicumque

selected by this reader to act as a bridge between the *Metamorphoses accessus* on the previous folio and the text itself because they come from the passage of amendments in the *Tristia* which Ovid wants added to his *Metamorphoses* after his exile has taken place:

> orba parente suo quicumque volumina tangis,
> his saltem vestra detur in urbe locus.
> quoque magis faveas, haec non sunt edita ab ipso,
> sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.[25]
>
> [All you who touch these rolls bereft of their father, to them at least let a place be granted in your city! And your indulgence will be all the greater because these were not published by their master, but were rescued from what might be called his funeral.]

The scribe of Kings MS 26 has also taken Ovid at his word and inserted the poet's edits at the 'Explicit' to the *Metamorphoses* on the final folio, citing all six lines from the *Tristia*, not just the four hastily noted down by our fifteenth-century hand.[26] Thus, the *Tristia* is being used to foster a different interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*, one which takes into consideration the context and fallen status of its poet. The scribal insertion has been intentionally planned and placed, before being later extracted and ventriloquised. This illustrates an intertextual reading of Ovid's works and a comprehensive engagement with Book I of the *Tristia*. Preoccupations of the *Metamorphoses* have been recognised in the *Tristia* and used by this scribe to enhance their contextual knowledge of Ovid. An understanding of the poetry from exile is being interspersed with earlier works of metamorphosis and change, and Ovid's editorial decisions are being followed, fulfilling certain desires expressed in the *Tristia* to authorially control editions of his work from the confines of exile.

There are also partial texts of the *Tristia* extant within works of Ovid dating from the thirteenth century, of which Add. MS 21169 is a good example. The scribe

---

volumina tangis,/his saltem vestra detur in urbe locus' [All you who touch these rolls bereft of their father, to them at least let a place be granted in your city!].

[25] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: vii, Lines 35-38, pp. 38-41.

[26] Kings MS 26 folio 138v. In addition to the four lines there is the following: 'quicquid in his igitur vitii rude carmen habebit,/ emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.' [And so whatever defect this rough poem may have I would have corrected, had it been permitted me']. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: vii, Lines 39-40, p.40.

of this narrow-bound three-book *Tristia* stops abruptly at the end of its last folio, leaving Book III unfinished.[27] The manner and position of the phrase 'Pellib, hirsutis arcet mala fr[i]gora baccis' at the end of the manuscript, and its relation to the highlighted lettering and general layout of text suggests continuance, and that we are missing one further folio which would complete Book III.[28] Situating the *Tristia* alongside the *Metamorphoses* as this manuscript does, pairing the literature of exile and poems of change, suggests an intertextuality to medieval reading and provides yet another source for the repeated use of this particular manuscript layout in later centuries.[29] The references Ovid provides within the *Tristia* to his earlier work the *Metamorphoses* have evidently been noted and have thus inspired the binding of these two texts alongside each other. The annotations in this copy prove that its reader was particularly interested in the opening of Book II as they have written 'Inquit et studio ex damynacione sua re cur est dicitur' [He talks and studies the matter and why it is his damnation] alongside Ovid's initial plea and defence of poetry addressed to Augustus Caesar.[30] The way in which this comment draws attention to the term 'damnation' (which might also be translated as condemnation or conviction) rather than recognising Ovid's faith in the art of his pagan poetry, exemplifies the medieval reimagining of Ovid through a Christian lens, as will now be discussed below.

In British Library Add. MS 18384, an early fourteenth-century copy of five books of the *Tristia*, we find extensive annotation with marginalia in a slightly later hand to the main *Tristia* text itself. Distinct markings within the manuscript suggest

---

[27] There are no more books after this sudden ending, and the binding of the folios suggests that it was intended to be a three-book translation, Add. MS 21169, fol. 131v. Furthermore, an attempt is made to lever in more of the *Tristia* just one folio before this, where two columns of text are forced into a single page, an occurrence that only happens once in the entire manuscript. See Add MS 21169 fol. 130r.

[28] London, British Library, Add. MS 21169, fols. 130r – 131v.

[29] When the *Tristia* is found amongst other Ovidian texts (in manuscript and in print) these almost always include the *Metamorphoses*; this is not always the case with the *Heroides* or the *Fasti*. This relationship between the *Tristia* (which is epistolary) and the *Metamorphoses* (which is cited within the *Tristia* as a work Ovid is proud of) has evidently informed future readers' compiling choices. The binary of pre-exilic and post-exilic text could be a factor here, and the positioning of both texts within early-modern school curricula could have been influenced by these early manuscript alignments.

[30] See the left-hand margin of BL Add. MS 21169 fol. 123v for this annotation.

that it may have been a monastic copy from a prominent French library.[31] This extraordinary manuscript shows that, by the fourteenth century, Ovid's *Tristia* was being read, commented upon and re-situated within a Christian, moralising interpretative tradition. The folios most densely populated with scribal annotations are found earlier on in the manuscript, and of these two locations, that which pertains to Book II of the *Tristia* is most closely glossed.[32] This engagement with the earlier sections of Ovid's work correlates with findings by Christopher Baswell in relation to medieval manuscripts of Virgil's *Aeneid* which have been used pedagogically; as he says, 'Like so many school commentaries, these notes are most abundant in the early books; they cease altogether after Book Eight.'[33] The pupil begins annotating the text comprehensively, but this dedication to the given task wanes as they progress through the text.

The poet's role in perpetuating their own fame is critically important to Book II of the *Tristia*, and this section of the text become a site of progressively intense study in early-modern printed *Tristia* editions. These manuscript folios correspond to Book I: i, Lines 1-128 and Book II, Lines 316-541 of Ovid's work respectively. There are, furthermore, many more scribal interjections throughout this manuscript, although these are never as detailed as on these specific sections of text. Book I: i is accompanied by four glosses with rubricated symbols, as well as lexical notes devoid of such decoration which are situated interlineally. The first of these is positioned next to the first line of the *Tristia* and begins 'hoc in quis fuga quam res' this, Ovid's *liber*, is the one thing that is allowed to fly, the reader paraphrases Ovid's argument, as is a common feature and function of medieval marginalia.[34] Annotations on lines six and seven follow, with a comment on the pages of Ovid's dishevelled work, uncoloured with dyes as, 'alba a gratia cadit'.[35] This scribal interpretation points to

---

[31] We have a faint series of annotations in ink and then pencil on folio 2r, which read, 'W. Bibliothe/cam monastery/montis s. flergy'. The final word appears to be an alternative spelling of Fleury, a significant Benedictine centre of Ovidian manuscript production and acquisition in France during the medieval period.

[32] London, British Library, Add. MS 18384. These heavily annotated sections of the manuscript span fols. 1r – 2r and fols. 11v – 13v respectively. The latter of these two refers to the second book of the *Tristia.*

[33] Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.141.

[34] Add. MS 18384 fol. 1r. The comment is made to the right of Book I: i, Line 1 of the *Tristia.*

[35] Add. MS 18384 fol. 1r. See marginal comment, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Lines 6-7.

an authorial, but also heavenly, fall from grace which exemplifies the medieval reading method of imposing a Christianised response to Ovid's situation. It is no longer just a plain text with no design, but one that is lacking purity, hence adding a discreet layer of Christian rhetoric to this opening elegia of the *Tristia.* The starkness of the climate in which Ovid's book travels from exile into Rome is made into a pose of unassuming piety. Thus, there is evidence here of a continued religious interpretation of Ovid's work, which emerges as a theme in the margins, whilst a note next to lines 25-30 of Book I: i suggests pacifism as a positive response to the situation. As long as Ovid is not antagonistic, and submissively embodies a rather Christian ideal of what goodness is, there will be peace ('erit pax'), because retaliation will only allow war to continue 'defensione perfit malor'.[36] This synthesis of the Christian and pagan readings of Ovid anticipates the responses of later writers such as Wyatt, Churchyard and Spenser.

That the *Tristia* could function as a spiritual and rhetorical guide becomes apparent in the annotator's use of linguistic terms. Rather than merely identifying noteworthy passages, this reader instead marks up the text with a comment on prosopopoeia above the opening line of Book I, before finding and remarking upon a further example of this trope in a three-line comment beneath line 38 on the same folio. As such the word 'prosopopoeia' stands out clearly at the top and bottom of the first folio of this MS, at the beginning of Book I, and at the repetition of Ovid's theme. The section of the *Tristia* spanning lines 35-38 is a reiteration of the opening address to the book, thus confirming that the two notes on prosopopoeia relate to the book as an envoy, and that the scribe recognises the rhetorical devices Ovid has used in the personification of his text.[37] The utility of the Ovidian envoy to this early reader of the manuscript foreshadows the response of the *Tristia's* Elizabethan readers and their interest in transmission of the personified text. Churchyard's obsession with dedicatory material extraneous to his text and Spenser's paratextual

[36] Add. MS 18384, fol. 1r. See marginal comment, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Lines 25-30.
[37] There is an independently analytical element to these marginalia marking them out from the commentary tradition which pervades so many collected works of Ovid. Instead, a much more inquisitive and insightful engagement with what Ovid has been trying to achieve in the *Tristia* appears here. The scribe recognises authorial agency at play within the text, and uses 'Tristian' techniques to inform their own prospective writing style.

fascination with the book as messenger have their roots in this early interpretative commentary on Ovid's envoy in the *Tristia*.

Upon the final folio of MS 18384 there is a set of astrological diagrams documenting the position of the stars, names of zodiac signs, and some less-commonly noted constellations (they appear as aries; taurens; gemini; canc; leo; virgo; libra; scorpius; sagittarius; capricornus; aquarius; pisces; artofilax; corona; agnus; telum and cor scorpionis). Such drawings would be more fitting as appendices to the calendrical format of Ovid's *Fasti*, but this manuscript only contains the *Tristia.* Enmeshed with these symbols are some passages faintly written in Latin which refer to *Ovidius Nasonis,* and cite the first book of the *Tristia,* suggesting a writer who was trying out their writing skills using the model of Ovid's opening to Book I. 'P[ar]ve nec invideo sine me ut m[ea] calamitas' can be made out amongst the lettering which fills the top half of the last folio of this manuscript.[38] As 'calamitas' is not part of the vocabulary of the Latin opening to Ovid's *Tristia* this composition points to being the work of the scribe who has annotated the poem throughout. Thus there is a literary progression of the scribe's work clearly visible in this manuscript, from reading to contemplation, annotation, and then composition on this final folio. The *Tristia's* ostensibly simplistic structures inspire its readers to write their own versions of Ovid's verse. The pedagogical applications of of Ovid's Tristia are thus reinforced by this example.

Retracing our steps to the main poem of the *Tristia* again, the most heavily annotated section of the text comes from Book II, lines 363 – 541 of Ovid's address to Augustus where Ovid mounts his argument against Caesar. It is in this passage that Ovid begins citing the works of prolific authors who have written amatory material and not suffered for it thus it is here, also, that Ovid highlights the injustice of his own situation and presents a defence of poetry which would not have appeared out of place in the court of Elizabeth I. The evidence put forward by Ovid – the list of poets' names who could have been exiled alongside him for lustful writing - forms the crux of his argument, and it is these past cases (cited as in a court of law) with which the annotations of MS 18384 are engaging. Catull[u]s and Calv[us],

[38] This is underlined in the manuscript, with the 'parve' shortened, and the 'm.' followed by a palaeographic shorthand symbol. Both the astrological symbols and these hastily-written Latin passages are found in Add. MS 18384, fol. 41v. See Appendix 2.

Cinna, Cornificius and Cato are singled out by the scribe next to the relevant passages of the *Tristia*, and underlined for emphasis.[39] This reader is clearly recalling from memory, or previous study, their knowledge of Ovid's poetic ancestors, and forming an opinion on the sentence given to Ovid based upon the character and conduct of others.[40] This note-taking tendency for recall continues to appear in later printed *Tristia* editions too. Baswell suggests that Ovid was used for the extraction and comprehension of myths, but this marginal annotation points to citation of his work in order to 'bookmark' the work of other poets of note whom Ovid held in high esteem.[41]

Yet again the *Tristia* is being used in an educative and practical manner, encouraging its readership to judge whether Ovid's exile was justified, and to engage with poetry in an open-minded way, with a conscience that must recognise evil in order to know good. Such recognition and discernment is most clearly evident in the defence of poetry forwarded in Book II of the *Tristia*. In so doing it anticipates the kind of crisis of Christian conscience and notions of good readership of early-modern printed polemical literature and maintains Ovid's vehement assertions in Book II that there is nothing within these poets, (or within his body of works) that transforms the reader into an immoral subject. According to Book II, poetry must be licensed to convey both truth and falsehood, permitting the reader to interpret and live by whichever aspect they choose.[42] The scribe we find at work in the margins of

---

[39] These names are extracted and underlined in the margins of Add. MS 18384, fol.13r.

[40] The densely written script is difficult to interpret, particularly as the scribe's Latin shorthand is sometimes unclear, with lots of contractions and blurrily inked words spreading across the vellum; however, this reader considers both the content of the *Tristia* itself and the literary predecessors referred to by Ovid. The annnotator weighs up the evidence whilst learning how to form a persuasive and well-structured verbal defence.

[41] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p.160.

[42] An idea that gains momentum throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this mode of reading pervades Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644) and the reader's inherent ability to discern right from wrong. 'It was from out the rind of one apple tasted that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leapt forth into the world…what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evil?', p.31. It also revisits the structure of *Tristia,* Book II in recalling the writings of Cicero, Plato, Euripides, Catullus, Scipio and Lucretius, before finally turning to the idea that Ovid was non-culpable and banished due to some 'secret cause of the Roman state' rather than his *Ars*, pp.18-21. John

this copy of the *Tristia* is aware of the need to base a literary defence in the realms of fact and to give examples to support it, for they copy the cases down diligently. More significantly, they are also aware of the necessity of being a faithful and measured reader. There is a literary consciousness at play that Ovid's *Tristia* inspires, and this self-awareness will become evident both in the case studies in chapter two, and in the broader work of Wyatt, Churchyard and Spenser that follows.

This analysis of just some of the many annotations and glosses surrounding these particular passages of the *Tristia* in this remarkable example tells us that its reader engaged with Ovid's work on a level that both provoked thought and prompted reinterpretation. This is not an engagement which merely paraphrases certain *elegiae*. Instead, it takes these interpretations and reworks them, enabling new channels of written comment and contemplation. The reader becomes the student and then the creator within the bounds of the folios of this particular *Tristia*. Indeed, whilst other examples witnessed within this period are often more passive and monotone in the content of their glosses, this particular interpretation of Ovid's *Tristia* does something much more remarkable. Certain passages are extremely densely populated with notes and it is hard to find a blank space on these folios, whilst others have no marginalia whatsoever. This serves as an indication that this could have been a school text, the theory being that the best and clearest examples from the *Tristia* should be picked out and studied in depth, rather than tackling the whole text at once. Baswell's conclusions on annotations of late-medieval manuscripts of Virgil that indicate pedagogical interaction (extensive comments early-on, followed by an absence of marginalia) could also apply to readers of Ovid's *Tristia* here. This copy possibly originated from Fleury in the south of France, where there was a school for young members of the nobility within the monastery there from the tenth century onwards.[43] Secular and sacred vocations were

---

Milton, *Areopagitica*. (London: 1644). Taken from *Famous Pamphlets 1644-1795,* (ed.) Henry Morley (London: Routledge, 1889).

[43] There are annotations in ink and pencil to the top right corner of folio 2r in a hand contemporaneous with its production, which clearly read, 'W. Bibliothe/cam monastery/montis s. flergy'. British Library Add. MS 18384, fol. 2r. Ovid's *Fasti* depends on five codices, one of which resides in Fleury and provides the source for British Library Add. MS 49368, Holkham, contributing to the evidence of Ovidian works coming from this French Benedictine collection. See also Marco Mostert's chapter on Fleury within *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: A Study of the*

catered for at Fleury in two distinct schools, lending weight to annotations of a literal or moral nature.[44] However, the interaction between the scribe of its marginalia and the *Tristia* text itself could also be indicative of a monastic use subsequent to schooling, which seems credible on a non-geographically specific level, particularly when taking into account the moralising nature of comments against books one and two discussed earlier.

Examples such as MS18384 begin to present the exegete as an early authority figure, which in a medieval context displaces the standard practice of anonymity. This manuscript excels at displacing the source material and Ovid himself, replacing it with a personal understanding of the text from a knowledgeable onlooker.[45] Their usage anticipates the moral readings found in early-modern literature, which are dwelt upon more fully in chapter two. What is curious about these manuscripts is not the content of the poetry itself, but the insertion of a narrative that is potentially fabricated and misleading. These two key manuscripts form the basis upon which commentaries and pseudonymous paratextual materials (such as the *De Vetula* and *Nux* texts) grow, forcing Ovid's works into second place whilst glorifying the work of others, but also mediate an account of Ovid's own life and poetic intentions, in distorting ways.[46] To examine Bartholomaeus Merula's printed commentary to the *Tristia* of 1499 for instance, is to recognise the retention of an exegetical tradition of providing religious readings and interpretations of Ovid that were born out of the *Tristia's* medieval reception history. There is a tradition of reading Ovid in a particular way emerging here. This way of reading is created contemporaneously to

---

Ideas about Society and Law of the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1987), pp.24-40.

[44] Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury*, pp.30-32.

[45] Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages.* Revised 2nd Edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), Preface, p.xiii.

[46] *De Vetula* was a poem wrongly attributed to Ovid. Its elegiac form is evocative of the style which Ovid perfected throughout his life, providing a reason for the misapprehension. The poem is found bound in amongst Ovid's poetry in medieval manuscript anthologies and later renaissance printed texts. *Nux* is a poem which sympathises with Ovid's exiled state, but is not written by Ovid. An original example of this poem is found in Bodleian Library MS Auct. F.2.14 spanning 104v-107v of this 13th-century compendium of assorted texts, which is otherwise ostensibly unrelated to Ovid.

the circulation of the *Ovide Moralisé* and *Ovidius Moralizatus* texts, and then reapproached and negotiated within the early-modern world of print culture.

The *editio princeps* of Ovid's printed works is the Latin edition of the Bologna-based Balthesar Azoguidi (1471).[47] Its clearly printed text has ornately illuminated initials at the opening of each of the books of the *Tristia*, painted in rich gold, red, blue and green.[48] Similar in its style, but much less grand than the Bologna, the 1492 edition prefaced by Bonus Accursius is another of the early printed Latin copies of Ovid's *Tristia* which sets each of the texts out alone, and is devoid of interpretational glosses or moralisations of the text.[49] Both of these early printed examples appear as transitional works between two media, displaying attributes of the manuscript tradition (the continuation of a form of historiated initial) whilst straying into new printing techniques. Bartholomaeus Merula's version entitled *Ouidius de tristibus cum commento* (1499) is a similarly clear text to Accursius', adding a commentary to this model. Merula's work is found re-printed in multiple editions evincing its lasting popularity as a well-type-set copy.[50] In an edition of Merula dating to 1507 there is a series of unique engravings accompanying each book of the *Tristia.*[51] These are not found in any other examples of the Merula commentary on the *Tristia* encountered within the date-range of this thesis. Merula's edition draws and builds upon the tradition of furnishing Ovid's text

---

[47] Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century and of Many Valuable First Editions in the Library of George John Earl Spencer, Volume 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 191 – 192.

[48] There are two copies of this specific edition of the *Tristia* in the British Library, a three-volume copy belonging to King George III, and a two-volume one belonging to Thomas Grenville. The third volume of the former contains another full *Tristia*, written out with roughly sketched rubricated initials smudged onto neighbouring pages. This would seem to be the printer's first trial attempt at setting out the work, which was never discarded. There is minimal annotation to either copy of the Azoguidi edition.

[49] Bonus Accursius, *Ovidius* (Venice: Christoforus de Pensis de Mandello, 1492), sigs. X6v - ʀʃ5v contain the *Tristia*.

[50] There are extant editions printed in 1499, 1505, 1512 and 1524 which were found as part of a complete search of the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ) for works by Ovid containing the *Tristia*. Other collections and repositories consulted in compiling all of the *Tristia* editions still extant include Early English Books Online, the British Library, Bodleian Library and Cambridge University Library.

[51] These engravings accompany Bartholomeus Merula, *Ovidii Opera cum commento*, (Venice: 1507). Bodleian Library, Vet. F1 c.113 at Book I (Aiir); Book II (Cvr); Book III (Eviv); Book IV (Hivr) and Book V (Kivv).

with an accompanying commentary that is exemplified by a number of significant medieval manuscripts containing Ovid's *Opera.*[52]

Merula's 1499 printed edition of the *Tristia* abounds with explanations of the text which follow the manuscript commentary tradition, as the editor's dominant written presence dwarfs Ovid's words at the same time as trying to foreground them.[53] This text also includes the *Metamorphoses* as the manuscript tradition had done, but adds in the rest of Ovid's works too. The extensive commentary of Merula's edition reflects the egocentric notations found in the *Ovide Moralisé* or *Ovidius Moralizatus* which preceded it. The *Ovide Moralisé* was an explicatory text on the *Metamorphoses* dating from the fourteenth century but inspired its own tradition and methodological framework of reading within Ovidian studies. Rita Copeland suggests that the content of the *Ovide Moralisé* is less of a gloss on its Ovidian source enabling comprehension and more an exercise in self-endorsement for its creator. This is a salient point when considering the emergence of the authorial voice in sixteenth-century literature in relation to the models provided by these early manuscript sources. Its popularity is attested by the twenty-one known manuscripts of this poem spanning from 1320 to the end of the fifteenth century.[54] This popularity would in turn inspire pseudonymous Ovidian literature in the early-modern period stretching across all of Ovid's works, not just the *Metamorphoses*.[55]

---

[52] There is a second edition of Merula's *Ovidii Opera* in Bodleian Library, Inc. c. I4.1499.4(2). Both the 1507 edition and this one are printed in Latin and contain the same decorative initials as the 1499 edition. Whilst this copy has no engravings like the 1507 edition (and there are no signs of them having been present and later removed) it has been annotated by hand in the margins with 'Nasonis Epitaphium' to mark Ovid's own epitaph in Book III the *Tristia*.

[53] Merula's *Ouidius de tristibus cum commento* is a complete five-book copy of the *Tristia*. (Joannes de Cereto de Tridine: Venice, 1499), sigs. a2r – m3r. Merula's commentary is extensive and dwarfs the *Tristia* rather than supporting it. This commentary has not been annotated in the British Library copy of 1499, and there are only minimal notes (single words) written in. Only at *Tristia* Book I:v and I: vi do we see lengthier ideas penned, suggesting that there was little to add to Merula's comprehensive study, or that the reader did not read the *Tristia* itself, and merely skimmed quickly over the annotations instead.

[54] Ana Pairet, 'Recasting the *Metamorphoses* in fourteenth-century France: The Challenges of the *Ovide Moralisé*' from *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, eds. Clark, Coulson and McKinley, p. 84.

[55] One such example being the *Nux* text mentioned above, which had a long textual history from manuscript to printed edition. Multiple copies of this text exist, including another edition within a compilation dating to the 15th century in the British Library, pointing to this pseudonymous text's continued availability.

The mid-fourteenth-century Latin *Ovidius Moralizatus*, (frequently confused with the anonymous *Ovide Moralisé*) presents a Christian reading of Ovid's work from a very different vantage point. Rather than generically endorsing the contemplative religious journey of the *Ovide Moralisé*, Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus* opts for a strategic and targeted approach to scripture, citing specific examples that may be reappropriated readily by the eager preacher wishing to extract Christian meaning from something intrinsically pagan and fable-like. This *cum commento* form of printing furthermore becomes a customary method of reading Ovid after Merula's edition. An interrogative approach towards Ovid that existed in the margins of early medieval manuscripts has been reinforced by the structures of print, and the result is a sense of dual-authorship, with primary text and secondary comment sharing limited space on the page.

Shifting the focus from an Ovidian to a 'Tristian' perspective, there is manuscript evidence for the reading and use of the *Tristia* along moral lines dating from the thirteenth century. This concept of morality should be demarcated from the Christianised readings of the *Tristia* which I would suggest fit into a slightly different category. Anthologies such as Antwerp, Musaeum Plantin-Moretus M85 contain a complete set of Ovidian commentaries (including one on the *Tristia*) and were compiled from authors of the French *Orléanais* tradition, in this case from Arnulf and William of Orléans.[56] The pedagogic, moralising tradition, and exegetical use of Ovid's texts can also be found in English sources. In the Benedictine catalogues at Peterborough and Dover compiled in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth-century catalogues at Canterbury, a total of six extant copies of the *Tristia* are listed.[57] Reinterpretation of Ovid's work was common, and

[56] Frank T. Coulson, "Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the School Tradition of France, 1180 – 1400" from *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, eds. Clark, Coulson and McKinley, pp. 58 – 59. Also see Antwerp, Musaeum Plantin-Moretus M85. The Orléanais tradition consisted of an amalgamation of editions of, and comments upon, Ovid's texts by Orléans-based authors, brought together in anthology form. As Coulson says, 'Antwerp M85 brings together the commentaries of Arnulf of Orléans on the *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria* and *Metamorphoses*, the commentary on the *Remedia Amoris* by Fulco of Orléans, and commentaries on the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae Ex Ponto* which may also be attributed to Arnulf', p.59.

[57] Appendix 3, sourced from a search of the Bodleian Library, lists MSS of the *Tristia* in ecclesiastical catalogues from across the country during the period c.1180 – 1542, including three examples in Peterborough, two in Canterbury and one in Dover. The 1180 copy appears in a list of schooltexts, reaffirming the *Tristia's* use in

within the monastic libraries of France a familiarity with the fourteenth-century *Ovide Moralisé* and *Ovidius Moralizatus* manuscripts is apparent.[58] Both these texts centre upon retelling and glossing Ovid's *Metamorphoses* but work in different ways to achieve this.[59] They illustrate how readily Ovid was mined for knowledge that could be reappropriated to suit the compilator, and this is not merely a phenomenon restricted to the text of the *Metamorphoses*. We find marginalia in manuscript editions of the *Tristia* relating to classical mythology, most commonly in the noting down of names and stories for further study.[60] As Baswell says:

> The Latin classics were certainly read as encyclopedias of lore; Ovid in particular provided the period with a vast amount of information about classical deities and myths. And they were used constantly as rhetorical models, Virgil especially. Sometimes they were read as history. But none of these activities alone combines emotional involvement, stylistic sensitivity, historical imagination, and interpretive response – the pleasures of the text.[61]

The emotional appeal of the text on a personal and private level seems to be neglected according to Baswell. It is put aside in favour of florilegia-based reading or extraction of meaning and historical 'truth'. Ovid's work, according to this suggestion, was regarded by others as a site of factual reference from which to extract classical material alone. We have seen already, however, that there was an interpretative response in manuscript form to Ovid's *Tristia,* and that this involved some degree of imagination and compositional skill. In addition, and in agreement with Baswell, there are examples where informative content from the *Tristia* is removed and repackaged, rendering a full reading of the text redundant. These comments could be read as a kind of miniature synopsis of the full text by new readers. This particular way of reading does not cease in later printed editions of the *Tristia,* and whilst Christianising allegoresis was a crucial part of late medieval

---

a pedagogical setting, but also proving that scholarly interaction with the source in this way was a medieval, and not just an early-modern, phenomenon.

[58] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England,* p.138.

[59] On the background and dissemination of the *Ovide Moralisé,* see Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages,* p.110.

[60] This is evident in MS 18384 in the British Library where Book II of the *Tristia* is heavily annotated, and is the section most heavily steeped in mythological references in Ovid's case against Augustus.

[61] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England,* p.160.

classicism, it filtered through into the clearly demarcated sections of print subheaded and underlined to mark out aspects of the poem. Segregating the epistles into self-contained units in this way makes for less laborious reading. The *Tristia* circulates in manuscript form in varied contexts: sometimes as part of a complete *Opera* of Ovid intended for exegesis, sometimes as a presentation copy within compendia of classical works alongside Virgil's *Georgics* and the *Ars Amatoria* [62], whilst in other instances it sits alone.[63] The diversity of format continues through into the sixteenth century with editions and translations which contain just the text (as with Churchyard's 1572 edition) or which choose to supplement it with the *Metamorphoses*.

The tradition of printing Ovid's text alongside detailed commentary continues on into the sixteenth century, as is attested, by the Antwerp schoolbook, Plantin Moretus B3609.[64] This binding includes three texts printed within a decade of one another: a *Linguae Latine*; a set of paraphrased *sententiae* with examples taken from all of Ovid's works; and the full five-book *De Tristibus*.[65] The sammelband as a whole is signed throughout by its owner, who has closely interlineally annotated the *Tristia* in its full format, proving a school-pupil's interaction with the text as a whole, as well as in its selected 'parts'.[66] The overriding

[62] Bodleian Library, Auct. MS F 1.17. The *Tristia* spans 193v – 208r in this manuscript which lacks any identifying overall title. There are no marginalia relating to the *Tristia* of significance but its juxtaposition with these two works suggests that its compilator recognised the thematic and linguistic interconnections between Virgil's *Georgics* and Ovid's poetry.

[63] London, British Library MS18384 which is heavily annotated has been bound on its own, without any paratextual materials, making it an unusual example of the *Tristia*.

[64] This text is part of a sammelband opening with the 1562 *Linguae Latine*, and is used as a schoolbook, bound with grammatical exercises and commonly-used phrases from the *Tristia*. See Ovid, *De Tristibus Libri Quinque* (Antwerp: Joannes Latius, 1563). Shelfmark B3609, Plantin Moretus Museum.

[65] In the case of the collected *sententiae* the *Fasti*, *Heroides* and the *Amores* are partially cited from, but tellingly, all five books of the *Tristia* are referred to.

[66] The figure 'Tempus' is repeatedly used in sixteenth-century printed editions of the *Tristia*, including the frontispiece of a school grammar entitled *Linguae Latine* of 1562. It also presents itself at the beginning of collections of classical sententiae. Time holds the scythe as readers are encouraged to focus on the fate of a poet who speaks without consideration for the consequences. Ovid, *De Tristibus* (Antwerp: Joannes Latius, 1563).

conclusion in consulting this text is of the sustained significance of the *Tristia* over its Ovidian counterparts.

In Jacobus Pontanus' 1610 printed edition of the *Tristia* we find even closer textual manipulation of the source text. Editorial division of the *Tristia* into a series of subheaded units for the reader's exegetical ease is the most fundamental change.[67] In this early printed commentary intended for the Society of Jesus, several instances of *amicitia* are highlighted within the *Tristia*. This is then further broken down in terms of false friendship ('amicitia falsa') and true or faithful friends ('amicitia vera') examples of which are found in *Tristia* Book I: viii and I: iv respectively. The text further compartmentalises aspects of the *Tristia* related to *fama* and *calamitas* and provides a glossary or reference-feature of excerpts for readers at the back of the work, complete with the respective books and *elegiae* they have been taken from (a preoccupation with *calamitas* recalling the annotations of MS18384 discussed earlier). Pontanus also refers to the rest of Ovid's works in this index, including examples taken from the *Fasti*. This type of structure supports a form of reading which need not engage with the primary text of the *Tristia* at all, for all of the main thematic tropes of the text can be extracted from these glosses and notes.

The words of Ovid are repurposed and segregated into units of interpretation; they are pigeonholed and allocated 'themes' which are deemed the best fit for their subject matter. One intention of commonplacing Ovid's exilic work in this way appears to be to erase specific pagan references and impose a generic morality and way of reading upon something alien and historically 'other'. Successful moralised reading therefore depends on processes such as *divisio,* that is the categorisation or classification of sections of text, (in this case for Christian purposes). These rhetorical devices command a certain degree of influence, and as Baswell says,

> through *divisio* and its suppression of context a radical domestication of the text becomes possible, whereas attention to unity, historical situatedness, and authorial intention might resist such reading.[68]

[67] Pontanus also looks at Statius and Martial in relation to Ovid's *Tristia*. The relationship between Ovid, Martial and Chaucerian Envoy will be referred to later in this thesis. Jacobus Pontanus, *P. Ovidii Nasonis poetarvm ingeniosissimi, Tristivm. Cum indice rerum & verborum copiosissimo* (Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1610).
[68] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p.165.

It becomes clear that early-modern printed editions of the *Tristia* are taking something alien and exilic and making this experience somehow personal and domestically resonant to a contemporary audience. This text encourages a reading that is generically applicable to more than Ovid's pagan world, and that is readily transposable into religious, political and literary contexts for the *Tristia's* early-modern readership. There is a fundamental heterogeneity of response to the *Tristia* at play which may account for its unilateral and unstinting literary appeal through the ages.

It is evident from an examination of the manuscripts and early editions cited, which continue to be meticulously annotated, that Ovid's *Tristia* stimulates intellectual thought throughout the Middle Ages and beyond the advent of printing. The large number of English readers engaging with Ovid's exilic work and documenting their own ideas upon it shows the *Tristia* was better known and more influential than has previously been suggested. Interaction with Ovid's *Tristia* is never simple, either in manuscript or printed format. His work transcends boundaries of interpretation, prompts variant readings and backs up secular as well as sacred texts, but undeniably, Ovid's *Tristia* is widely commented upon in terms of its perceived moralising function.

Printed Editions of the *Tristia* Published in England

Hitherto I have been examining the place of Latin texts in the *Tristia's* long reception history, but now I should like to move on to usage of Ovid's work in early-modern England in translation as well as in its original Latin forms. The *Tristia* was heavily cited throughout the sixteenth century, and, as a result, Ovid's early-modern readers clearly recognised him as a victim of unwarranted exile (as attested by the case studies which follow). By the latter half of the sixteenth century there is evidence of the *Tristia's* being printed as a stand-alone text, rather than just as part of Ovid's complete works, as illustrated by the following table:

Table 1: Printed Editions of the *Tristia*

Language	Publication Year	No. of Books	Printer Details
English	1572	3	Trans. Churchyard. Printed Thomas Marshe, London
Latin	1574	5	Printed Thomas Vautrollier, London (with her majesty's privilege)
English	1578 (reprint of the 1572 version)	3	Trans. Churchyard. Printed Thomas Marshe, London
English	1580 (reprint of the 1572 version)	3	Trans. Churchyard. Printed Thomas Marshe, London
Latin	1581 (reprint of the 1574 version)	5	Printed Thomas Vautrollier, London
Latin	1612	5	Printed Andreas Hart, Edinburgh
English	1633	5	Trans. Wye Saltonstall. Printed Thomas and Richard Cotes, London

As can be seen above, four of these printings were in English, whilst three were in Latin and consisted of all five books of the *Tristia* with accompanying paraphrasing and editorial glosses. More significantly, Thomas Churchyard – whose *De Tristibus* translation will be the focus of chapter four – was the first to produce a partial English version of the *Tristia* in 1572.[69] The Latin original of the *Tristia* would have been imported from the continent and likely sold on bookstalls within London's Fleet Street and St Paul's Churchyard.[70] It is in this format that many would have

[69] Based upon Sebastien Gryphius' Lyons edition of the Latin *De Tristibus*, as Raphael Lyne has shown (see below).
[70] The books would come in unbound, to allow English binders their share of trade. Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV, 1557-1695*, eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.143-144.

first experienced and read the entire *Tristia*, for another sixty-one years would pass before the fully translated English text was issued, in Wye Saltonstall's five-book edition of 1633.[71] In one later instance, Zachary Catlin's 1639 edition of the *Tristia* is found bound alongside works of grammar and morality by contemporary schoolmasters such as John Bird of Gloucester.[72] The *Tristia* is preceded by the prefatory verse of Catlin's rustic 'fourteeners' in this work (evocative of Thomas Churchyard's favoured rhyme-scheme) which diminishes the gravity of Ovid's exilic text. The *Tristia* was the penultimate text of Ovid's to be translated into English, and the last was John Gower's rendition of the *Fasti,* published by Roger Daniel in 1640.[73]

Further editions of the *Tristia* exist as parts of complete works of Ovid, but they are scarce and often situated after printings of the *Metamorphoses* within the volumes. This could indicate an attempt to maintain chronology, however, as the *Tristia* was written in Ovid's final years. In the case of the printer John Kingston, his 1570 *Opera* of Ovid is an augmented edition of the *Metamorphoses* (plus commentary) on its own but there was a precedent already in place for calling a single text a collection or *Opera* in this way.[74] Many *Opera* of Ovid likewise centre upon the *Metamorphoses* and ignore or omit the *Tristia* completely, rendering a rather incomplete set of 'works' but this does not mean that the *Tristia* was not in

---

[71] Wye Saltonstall, *Ouids Tristia* (London: Thomas and Richard Cotes, 1633), sigs. B1r - I2v. The frontispiece to this edition is more elaborate than previous translated editions of Ovid's *Tristia* such as Churchyard's, containing images of Rome; the ship that carried Ovid into exile; and a morose sketch of Ovid strewn across his tomb down below, with the words 'In Pontus I did banisht dye'. This specific Saltonstall edition (1637) is bound in a pocket-sized format, making comparisons in its paratexts between contemporary ladies and those of classical antiquity. Its context is suggestive of an anticipated female audience. The *Heroides* precedes the *Tristia* and the *Amores* and *Art of Love* follow it.

[72] Ovid, *Tristia,* trans. Zachary Catlin, Bodleian Library, 8 B 16 (5) Art. which is bound with assorted other pedagogical works from 1640 including: *A Century of Similes* by Thomas Shelton, *The Practise of the Banckruptes of These Times* by Daniel Sauter and *Grounds of Grammar Penned and Published* by John Bird. The contents page and the reader dedication are bound in the wrong order in this specific copy.

[73] *Ovid's Festivalls or The Romane Calendar,* trans. John Gower (Cambridge, 1640), sigs. C1r – M1v. Carole E. Newlands, 'The Other John Gower and the First English Translation of Ovid's *Fasti*', *Hermathena,* (2005), 251 –265.

[74] Kingston's edition is thought to have sold well, prompting a second edition to be printed within just two years by Henry Bynneman. Reid notes the misnoma of *Opera* for works that only contained the *Metamorphoses* in *Ovidian Bibliofictions,* p.181.

circulation, rather it was circulating in alternative forms. Taking into consideration the gap between Churchyard's and Saltonstall's translations and the availability of only three English books of the *Tristia*, we might infer that these first few books were used more comprehensively, the assumption being that they found a larger audience in native speakers. As becomes clear when we look at Gabriel Harvey's teaching exercises and the later work of Ben Jonson, however, Ovid's texts continued to be consulted in the language of their composition as much as in English translation.

The reader's focus shifts markedly towards viewing the *Tristia* as a whole - rather than in parts - as we move into the latter half of the seventeenth century, with the Stationers' Company alone printing seven editions of all five books, entitled *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis De Tristibus Libri V.*[75] Saltonstall's five-book English translation of the *Tristia* (1633) and Catlin's vernacular reworking (1639) do not, however, find similar success, and the Latin edition seems to have remained much more popular throughout England in the seventeenth century. Additionally, and as will become evident from this thesis, we can start to pinpoint the most popular thematic and stylistic areas of *Tristia* used. There is much written upon Ovid's parting from his wife, the use of the envoy, self-referential detail, and the exile's dangerous voyage into the unknown, and these intricacies of reading are most clearly evidenced when looking at the *Tristia* in the classroom.

---

[75] These seven editions were printed in 1660, 1670, 1681, 1687, 1691, 1694 and 1697. *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis de tristibus libri V. Londini : Excudebat T.M. pro Societate Stationariorum* was printed frequently in the seventeenth century, in 1691, 1694 and 1697. Plomer's dictionary of printers and booksellers between 1668 and 1725 provides us with two potential identities for this printer: Thomas Moore, who printed Thomas Wright's *Glory of God's Revenge against Murther and Adultery for Benjamin Crayle* in 1685, and the 'T.M.' who appears alongside a 'T.B.' in printed works, and is listed by Plomer as a London bookseller of 1678 (but who could also be the same Thomas Moore already mentioned, merely appearing in abbreviated form). H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668-1725* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society of Oxford University Press, 1922). The Stationers' Company had issued Latin five-book copies under printers other than Marshe in the years preceding 1691, proving the *Tristia's* continued popularity. English language copies of the *Tristia* in five books were produced by independent printers such as Mary Clarke, who reissued Saltonstall's translation of 1633, *Ovid's Tristia containing five books of mournful elegies* (London: Mary Clarke, 1681).

The *Tristia* in the Classroom

The popularity and wide dissemination of this Stationers' Company edition of Ovid's *Tristia* supports the evidence we have that Ovid's *Metamorphoses, Heroides* and *Tristia* all featured on the school curricula in Latin. Critics such as T.W. Baldwin have established that Ovid was used within the fourth year of grammar school study in England, and that his texts were frequently seen by sixteenth-century scholars as inferior to those of Virgil, whose *Aeneid* was often (though not always) studied at a more advanced age. Informed by a reading of the Elizabethan schoolmaster John Brinsley's methods of teaching Ovid at school, Baldwin says:

> Ovid still occupied the place of honour along with versification, the specific works most frequently required from Ovid being *De Tristibus* and *Metamorphoses*, though *Fasti, De Ponto* and *Epistolae Heroidum* are also mentioned. But for illustrations of varied verse, Martial, Catullus, and other epigrammatists might supplement Ovid. Then came, as before, Virgil's *Aeneid* and Horace, with Lucan now regularly added.[76]

In spite of the reverence with which Ovid's texts are treated in numerous guides on education, Roger Ascham appears to be particularly harsh on him, noting that Ovid is limited as a teaching aid. In addition, Sir Thomas Elyot endorses Homer, Virgil and Horace, but is scathing towards Ovid.[77] Elyot concedes in his *Boke of the Governour* that Ovid has a *place* but that place is confined and unvarying; he would much prefer the decorum of Horace's works such as the *Ars Poetica* when educating young scholars:

> Virgile, like to a good norise, giueth to a childe, if he wyll take it, euery thinge apte for his witte and capacite: wherfore he is in ordre of lernyng to be preferred before any other autor latine. I wolde set nexte unto hym two bokes of Ouid, the one called *Metamorphosios*, whiche

---

[76] T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke, Vol.2* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), p.382.

[77] *Toxophilus* (1545) paraphrases an element of the *Tristia* on Aiiir, 'what thing wants quiet and meri rest endures but a smal while' but this does not relate clearly to using Ovid at school. It is notable that whilst other classical authors are invoked in *The Scholemaster* by Ascham and there are few links to the *Metamorphoses*, there are no direct citations of Ovid's *Tristia* in the 1570 edition. Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Daye, 1570) and *Toxophilus* (London: Edward Whytchurch, 1545).

> is as moche to saye as, chaungynge of men in to other figure or fourme: the other is intitled *De fastis*: where the ceremonies of the gentiles, and specially the Romanes, be expressed: bothe right necessary for the understandynge of other poets. But by cause there is litell other lernyng in them, concernyng either vertuous maners or policie, I suppose it were better that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, it were declared abundantly by the maister than that in the saide two bokes, a longe tyme shulde be spente and almost lost: which mought be better employed on suche autors that do minister both eloquence, ciuile policie, and exhortation to vertue. Wherfore in his place let us bringe in Horace, in whom is contayned moche varietie of lernynge and quickenesse of sentence.[78]

Elyot rather simplifies the content of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* and neglects to mention the *Tristia* at all here although we know it was a text that was widely disseminated and taught. Elyot censures Ovid's style and expression by highlighting the 'quickenesse of sentence' in Horace, and by implication suggests Ovid lacks the same linguistic capability. Such dislike for Ovid's elegiac writing when compared with fellow Roman classical scholars such as Juvenal and Horace, is evident in the work of Jonson's *Poetaster,* for example, as discussed in the next chapter.

As a pupil at the Merchant Taylors' school under Richard Mulcaster, Edmund Spenser – to whom chapter five is devoted - would have been well-accustomed to using Ovid, translating his work from Latin to English, and then reversing the process. Mulcaster was a pioneer for English pedagogy and believed that in learning Latin his pupils were giving themselves a thorough grounding for the most important of all languages, English.[79] In connecting Ovid's *Tristia* to grammar schools like the Merchant Taylors', and to its schoolmaster Mulcaster, we can clearly infer direct influences upon a young Spenser. Mulcaster was not the only schoolmaster to endorse the use of Ovid's *Tristia* in his curriculum and John King,

---

[78] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour (1531)* (London: J.M. Dent, 1907), p.39.

[79] A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*: *The Structure of Society* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1950), pp. 489-533 describes Mulcaster's teaching methods. Mulcaster believed a grounding in classical literature was fundamental to a firm grasp of English, as is shown by his address to the book in the *Elementarie* (Tiiir – Tivr). Richard Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1582).

High Master of the school at Bury St. Edmunds, had first used it as a teaching aid as early as 1550.[80] In addition, the well-loved actor William Kempe's *The Education of Children in Learning* of 1588 further advises the use of 'Ovid's *De Tristibus'* in schooling, but his piece, unlike Brinsley's, proposes its study in the fifth form rather than the fourth, suggesting it is of greater complexity:

> Then to the fifth fourme shall be read *Terences* Comedies, *Tullyes* treatises of friendship and of old age, which are a more artificiall and harder kind of Dialogs, wherevnto, let *Ouid de Tristibus*, or some such within a while be added for Poetrie. [81]

At whatever stage of education this interaction with the *Tristia* actually took place, be it fourth or fifth form, we may say with certainty that it was indeed being read, studied and interrogated in grammar schools of this period.

In his opening chapter to *The Light in Troy*, Thomas Greene tells us of the manner of renaissance reading taking place in a school context, and that Tudor schoolboys were encouraged to possess *variae interpretationes* of any set text for study, suggesting how these works were used and applied. Reinterpretation through *translatio, paraphrasis, imitatio* and *allusio* were all part and parcel of learning within the sixteenth century and Ovid's *Tristia* was in the midst of this pedagogical framework.[82] According to the strident criticisms of sixteenth-century scholars such as Elyot, Ovid's work had been charged with being overly simplistic and self-explanatory, providing a mere textbook on rhetorical and lexical analysis and little else.[83] The fact remains that, holding as prominent a place at the time as the *Metamorphoses* and appearing in many more editions than the *Heroides*, the *Tristia's* syntactical framework and choice of clauses allowed students to begin declamation, isolating the rhetorical strategies Ovid used. The endemic use of 'exclamation' through phrases such as *'*ei mihi!*'* or 'cave!' early in Book I of the *Tristia*, provide examples that can be easily ventriloquised and translated, whilst stylistically, the segregation of addresses to different recipients in the *Tristia*, based upon topics such as friendship, and fortune, provides clearly-themed passages of text

---

[80] First noted in Baldwin and corroborated in Reid, *Ovidian Bibliofictions*, p.179.
[81] William Kempe, *The Education of Children in Learning* (London, 1588), sig.G1v.
[82] Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), p.51. Greene's chapter four deals with sources read and used in sixteenth-century England.
[83] Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,* pp. 418-419.

to be translated in manageable sections. As we saw, manuscript interactions point to a long tradition of scholarly use as mythological information is identified and emphasised in the marginalia. It becomes clear that these pagan myths are being interpreted by readers as they underline them and place them in the margin with brief notes as to the circumstances of the key protagonists. This decoding of some of the many mythological characters within Ovid's *Tristia* aids us, and early-modern readers, in understanding the text as a whole. Once Augustus is known to be Jupiter for example, and feared as such, the whole context of Book II of the *Tristia* changes. This ties back into Baswell's observation, cited earlier, that Ovid was scanned for information on classical deities and myths. In the early example of a manuscript schoolbook (British Library Add. MS18384, referred to earlier) we see annotations dispersed across Books I and II of the *Tristia* at points where mythological traces of Ovid's are found. The encouragement of using *variae interpretationes* of Ovid's work in the Tudor schoolroom confirms that reading and interpretation of the *Tristia* was adaptable.

Divergent readings of texts within the sixteenth century also emerged due to the complications in learning Latin, as it was not standard practice to follow any one set of rules; different methods of learning were deemed best by various schoolmasters. The Grammarians' War at the beginning of the sixteenth century is a clear example of such divisive opinion, affecting the mode in which later poets (such as John Skelton) would read, translate, understand and interpret texts like the *Tristia*.[84] The approach favoured by Skelton's opponents appeared to pay less attention to the grammatical fundamentals of composition which Skelton and Robert Whittington believed were imperative to a full comprehension of Latin. This is something that is expanded upon by both Scattergood and Griffith.[85] The key point

[84] Skelton (whose *Garland of Laurell* contains elements of the *Tristia*) entered an early polemical pamphlet war on the side of the traditionalist Robert Whittington, an Oxford schoolmaster and grammarian, over the new teaching methods of humanists William Horman and William Lily. Whilst Skelton's followers opted for the close reading of grammatical constructions based upon Donatus to learn Latin, Horman's believed in a new system of what might be deemed 'surface' learning, memorising and regurgitating common phrases in a bid to promote what Jane Griffiths terms 'eloquence' of style. The traditional and comprehensive nature of Skelton's learning surely influenced poems such as the *Garland,* with its detailed, complex, Latin verses.

[85] John Scattergood, *John Skelton: The Career of an Early Tudor Poet* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014), pp. 260 – 274. Jane Griffiths, *John Skelton and Poetic*

here is that sources were being read and translated in utterly distinct ways, and they were therefore also being interpreted in various forms. The number of different senses of Ovid's original meaning, historically, in manuscripts increases in light of this. Reading practice therefore should be approached as something complex and non-uniform across the country, differing between early grammar schools of this period.

Retaining this focus on the pedagogical, Gordon Braden's study of Ovid's exile poems is correct to a degree, in appreciating and excavating the importance of the *Tristia* within Elizabethan scholarly circles. He puts the *Tristia* on a par with the *Metamorphoses* in frequency of use, and cites the removal of the *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria* from study, which are telling signs of the portrait of Ovid we now have, and that Tudor pupils would have had then. In this manner Braden asks us to re-evaluate the type of poet Ovid was perceived to be in renaissance readers' minds.[86] Rather than the writer of lascivious poetry, Ovid was the unfairly exiled victim, and the creator of mythological transformations. He had the power to change forms, both in a literary sense and on a personal level. This reimagining of Ovid's work and authorial persona informs the literature examined in chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis.

I would venture one further point in relation to the popularity of the *Tristia* and the *Metamorphoses* in schools, and it regards the order in which they were studied. The *Tristia* was, as we see from Kempe and other Tudor sources on pedagogical practice, and Baldwin's later research, first studied in the fourth or fifth form with the *Metamorphoses* introduced at a later year. If we take into account the impoverished students who were sponsored at an early age with scholarships to schools - such as Jonson was, in order to attend Westminster School in the late sixteenth century - and their likelihood to leave the education system to join a family

---

Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), pp. 80 – 86. Where there is a lacuna in Skelton studies is in Ovidian influence upon the poet, criticism upon which is noticeably absent in Griffiths, Walker, Fish and Scattergood's works. Skelton's Ovidian borrowings are most evident when addressing the *Garland of Laurell* in chapter two.

[86] 'What "Ovid" meant for them – insofar as they even worried about assembling the pieces into some kind of whole – had a greater variety to it than modern critics can easily keep in their heads when they generalize about the "Ovidian".' Gordon Braden, "Translating the Rest of Ovid: The Exile Poems" from *Early-Modern Cultures of Translation*, eds. Karen Newman and Jane Tylus (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), p.46.

trade or go out to work to support relatives, the interaction with the *Tristia* must have been potentially higher than that with the *Metamorphoses.*[87] Even if such students had to leave school they would have had that first engagement with Ovid, and that first engagement would be one with the *Tristia*. We must therefore acknowledge a potentially higher reading rate and association with 'Ovid the exile' than has previously been noted and, for this reason too, avoid falling into the trap of giving the *Metamorphoses* or *Amores* greater critical attention.

Braden calls to mind what is so common, and seemingly unavoidable, in current exile-related criticism on Ovid: an evasion of the actual *Tristia* text itself.[88] He covers the interlinking references that may exist between the *Tristia* and Shakespeare's plays – with the examples he uses from *The Taming of the Shrew* and *As You Like It* taken from Baldwin - before looking at the *Tempest* and comparing Prospero to Ovid in banishment.[89] If comparison with Shakespeare must be attempted, and there might be some justifiable reluctance to find echoes of every classical writer's work in his plays, the excerpt from *Titus Andronicus* prefacing this thesis' introduction is more obviously synonymous with the *Tristia* than the *Tempest*.[90] Braden's focus is a little misdirected; he tends to start with the renaissance letters between Elizabeth and Ralegh and read tenuous meaning back to the *Tristia*, rather than apply a comprehensive knowledge of the language of the *Tristia* to later literature of the sixteenth century. Where Braden is successful, however, is in identifying, in line with Patrick Cheney's criticism, the talent for retrospection within Ovid's exilic writings, and his penchant for mentioning the very cause of his exile to Tomis, a topic that would seem indiscreet to mention, but which was also most crucial in securing repatriation.[91]

It is clear that students used vernacular translations such as Churchyard's and original editions of their authors of study, concurrently. Thomas Marshe was the printer responsible for *De Tristibus* in its 1572 edition; however, Thomas Vautrollier

---

[87] Jonson's early education at Westminster School and the sponsorship he obtained is addressed in Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.68 – 82.
[88] Braden, "Translating the Rest of Ovid: The Exile Poems", p.46.
[89] Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke.* p.420.
[90] Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*. Act 3, Scene 1, Lines 36-43 from *William Shakespeare: Complete Works*, p.1644.
[91] Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p.45.

soon held a monopoly on the production of printed school texts under Elizabeth's patent awarded on 19 June 1574 which allowed him exclusive rights to publication of the works of Ovid for the period of ten years.[92] Vautrollier was associated with other texts used for learning and teaching within the sixteenth century, notably Mulcaster's works *Elementaire* and *Positions,* and so it may well be that Churchyard's *De Tristibus* was by this date intended for school teaching also.[93] Vautrollier's route toward mass publication lay in such links with the school curricula, particularly as the number of grammar schools steadily grew across England during Elizabeth's reign.[94] Furthermore, there is evidence of a lasting attachment to Ovid's *Tristia* and use of it as a school exercise in the Merchant Taylors' School's imprinting of *The schools probation: or Rules and orders for certain set exercises to bee performed by the scholars on probation-daies* (1661). This edition once more includes the work within its recommended reading, suggesting that Ovid's *Tristia* was still used for examination of the pupils' translation abilities in the century following Churchyard's publication.[95] The evidence here strongly suggests that Churchyard's translation alone was not crucial to a study of Ovid's exile period, but merely supplementary to the key source text or language being learned. This does place the *Tristia* in a position of greater prominence than hitherto has been acknowledged, and again shows that it was as commonly cited as the *Metamorphoses* in the early-modern period. A current tendency to read only Ovid's early work is not representative of sixteenth-century readings.

The variety of manuscript evidence of the *Tristia* covered in this chapter demonstrates that it was being circulated in presentation and pedagogical copies, and that it was viewed as instrumental poetry which lent itself to notions of consolation

---

[92] Vautrollier had learnt his trade at the workshop of Gryphius in Lyon, whose 1539 Latin *Tristia* would be Thomas Churchyard's source for his 1572 *De Tristibus.*
[93] On Thomas Vautrollier's state-sanctioned printing monopolies and the extent to which he shared these with other active printers of the period such as Thomas Marshe (who produced Churchyard's *De Tristibus*) see Reid, *Ovidian Bibliofictions and the Tudor Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).
[94] Rowse details the spread of grammar schools and demographic of those studying at university in Oxford, Cambridge, and London's Inns of Court under Elizabeth I. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth,* pp. 489-533.
[95] Merchant Taylors' School, *The schools probation: or Rules and orders for certain set exercises to bee performed by the scholars on probation-daies* (London, 1661), sigs. D3v – D4r.

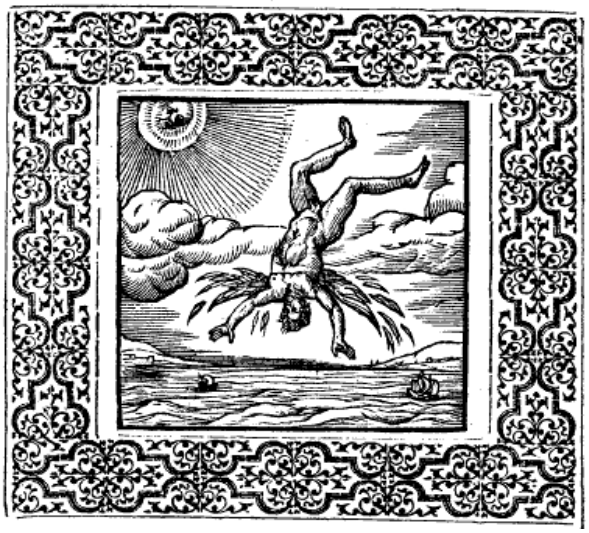
and moral edification. In terms of its medieval readership, the *Tristia* was being studied alongside contemplation of religious scripture, and provided matter for sermons such as we see in the fourteenth-century *Ovide Moralisé* and *Ovidius Moralizatus*. These two texts demonstrate moralised readings but the *Tristia* was also being treated as a text of authority and historical veracity, in spite of its status as a work of poetic fiction. We saw, for example, how the reader of the Fleury *Tristia* (MS 18384) pinpoints mythological information from the stories and characters Ovid portrays in Book II, which points to this type of reading occurring. A new type of myth-making would subsequently occur in the early works of Spenser. It is unsurprising, then, that Ovid's *Tristia* found such popularity within the sixteenth century, and was read in a way that not only built upon the medieval commentary tradition but reappropriated it. As this chapter has shown, early-modern readers of the *Tristia* came to the text as heirs of a long tradition of making Ovid speak to, and of, new contexts, situations and religious belief-systems.

According to Raphael Lyne in his study of sixteenth-century Ovidian translation and imitation, 'Ovid proves an awkward model, not fitting into comfortable positions, not providing easy material'. [96] Yet we can see from the examples given above that, however problematic Ovid was to readers in the centuries between his death in exile and our understanding of him now, there was a keenness to grapple with his work and develop and add to it in diverse and thoughtful ways. To begin to demonstrate this in more detail we will now examine how far the *Tristia* was being used and valued as a creative inspiration by established playwrights and poets of the Tudor period. How does the 'poetics of exile' outlined in this thesis introduction present itself within print culture? Who was reading Ovid's *Tristia* within sixteenth-century England and in what manner were they using it?

[96] Lyne, *Ovid's Changing Worlds,* p.259.

2

CASE STUDIES



Dum petit infirmis nimium sublimia pennis
Icarus, Icariis nomina fecit aquis.
Vitaret coelum Phaëton, si viueret, & quos
Optauit stultè tangere, nollet equos.[97]

Ovid's *Tristia* finds its way into a wide range of texts during the sixteenth century and appears in everything from guides on treating war wounds, to advice on self-government, and disputes on the banning of actors and stage plays.[98] Clarification of what is meant by an 'influence' should be made here as a necessary preliminary to an analysis of these texts themselves. In some cases an influence is found in a reference or gloss to a text, in the form of a citation; in others, the body of the text is adapted from an Ovidian model, showing a deeper interconnection with the original. That is to say, an influence may be transitory or textually pervasive, and both will be

[97] Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), sig. D2v, citing Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Lines 89-90 and Book I: i, Lines 79-80. [By seeking too lofty heights on weak wings Icarus gave a name to waters of the sea/ Phaëton would avoid the sky if he were alive; the steeds which in his folly he desired, he would refuse to touch].

[98] As in Joseph Du Chesne, *The Sclopotarie of Josephus Quercetanus, phisition* (London, 1590), sig. B4v; William Vaughan, *The Golden Groue.* (London, 1600), sig. M5v; John Rainolds, *Th'Overthrow of Stage-Playes* (Middelburg, 1599), sig. K3r respectively.

encountered in this chapter. Whilst all of the works we will look at reference the text through single citations that at first sight do not develop into any meaningful exegesis, we can find them indicative of Ovidianisms at work in the medieval and early-modern period. Siegfried Wenzel's work on the high number of sermons citing Ovid has recently proven that one hundred references were made out of a sample of 2,500 texts.[99] Although a smaller proportion relate only to the *Tristia*, these texts still use Ovid's work to serve an authorial agenda, changing the exilic text's language and form in new socio-historically specific ways. The significance of the sermon and other religious applications of Ovid's *Tristia* will be made more explicit later in this section. This chapter aims to provide examples of how the *Tristia* was most commonly imitated and used as a literary source, and concludes with detailed case studies on the literary envoy, John Skelton's *Garland of Laurell,* Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* and Ben Jonson's *Poetaster.*

'Tristian' Variations

The *Tristia* was being used in a wide variety of different ways throughout the early-modern period, oftentimes only in a seemingly cursory manner, as John Hester's translation of Joseph Du Chesne's *Sclopotarie of Josephus Quercetanus, phisition* (1590) illustrates. This medical treatise is dedicated to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, 'in which patronage' claims Hester, 'you shall not onely joyne partner with a mightie Prince, Frances late brother to the french king, but also, by countenauncing the booke, continue the good opinion, that soldiers generally have conceiued of you, whereof I presume you make no small accompt.'[100] Du Chesne was a French physician and Paracelsian who had spent time exiled in Germany, Basel and Geneva due to his Calvinist beliefs.[101] In Du Chesne's introductory chapter, the aims of the treatise are presented thus:

> I shall bring to light some excellent remedies neither knowne to those whiche wrote before me, neither yet to the common people: the use of

[99] Wenzel, *Ovid in the Middle Ages,* p. 160.
[100] Du Chesne, *The Sclopotarie.* Taken from John Hester's 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to Robert Devereux, sig. A2v.
[101] Penny Bayer, "Madam de la Martinville, Quercitan's Daughter and the Philosopher's Stone: Manuscript Representation of Women Alchemists" in K. P. Long, *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early-Modern Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p.168.

> which I have learned both of excellent Phisitions and chyrurgions, partly when I travelled in sundry dominions of Europe, and partly by the familiar companie which I had with most skilfull Phisitions abroad in the campes.[102]

After some introductory material on the nature of deep and surface wounds by 'shot of Gunne' Du Chesne broaches the topic of poisoned weapons and as evidence cites the work of Virgil, Silius, Homer and Ovid.[103] In so doing, he takes poetic works and places them in the realm of contemporary practice, applying their lessons to his medical remedies. The only citation of the *Tristia* comes from Book III where Ovid is contemplating the thought of barbarian forces invading Tomis with their deadly arrows and recalling with great emotive skill those recent battles which had left the people defenceless and remarks, 'Nam volucri ferro tinctile virus inest' [for there is a stain of poison on the winged steel].[104] Whilst evocation of poisoned weapons in this manner is not unusual for treatises of the period, the stress on Ovid's *Tristia* suggests that barbaric or foreign tribal warfare was linked in Du Chesne's mind to Ovid's experience in Tomis. The *Tristia* is used by the author to examine foreignness and distinctions in military technique. Ovid is therefore, not the poet associated with sorrow here, but with warfare and conflict.[105]

In this instance, the *Tristia* is being used to support an existing point in the treatise on enemy-methods implemented to cause the most trauma, and infection after battle. Brief as this reference is, it does suggest that Du Chesne knows the *Tristia* well enough to recall those brief images of hostile forces bearing poisoned arrows and surrounding the unwarlike Ovid. Nagle has identified the image of the poisoned arrow as a synonym for exilic poetry in the past, and it would appear to hold water in the case of Du Chesne's treatise. The narrative had remained with him,

---

[102] Du Chesne, *The Sclopotarie,* sig. B1r.
[103] This reference to Ovid's *Tristia,* Book III is interspersed with Latin citations from Virgil's *Aeneid,* Books IX, X and XII; Silius' *Punica,* Book I; Homer's *Odyssey,* Book I, sig. B4v.
[104] Du Chesne, *The Sclopotarie,* sig. B4v. Ovid, *Tristia,* Book III: x, Line 64, pp. 140-141.
[105] Ovid does not use Apollo in the *Tristia* when talking of his arrows (as with the love poems), but instead wants a figurative and conceptual distance between Apollo's arms of love and the weapons of barbarity in Tomis. He needs the 'alien' relationship to be upheld if he is to elicit sympathy from his readers in Rome. In fact, 'archery was identified with, and came to symbolize, barbarism and exile. No reconciliation was possible'. Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile,* p.61.

alongside Homer's *Odyssey* or Virgil's *Aeneid*. Du Chesne's short reference to Silius lies directly beneath the *Tristia* citation, and shares a common subject matter as both authors describe the practices of the Dacian tribes in Getic lands. 'Spicula qua patrio gaudens acuisse veneno' is excerpted from a longer passage in Silius' *Punica,* Book I which reads:

> Dacus ut armiferis Geticae telluris in oris,
> spicula quae patrio gaudens acuisse veneno
> fundit apud ripas inopina binominis Histri.
>
> [So the Dacian, in the warlike region of the Getic country, delighting to sharpen his arrows with the poison of his native land, pours them forth in sudden showers on the banks of the Hister, the river of two names.][106]

This use of the *Tristia* as a text recording the topography of barbarity is further reinforced in Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part II*. It is here that Shakespeare's story of Medea and Absyrtus is mentioned in relation to children of the House of York ('Into as many gobbets will I cut it/ As wild Medea young Absyrtus did').[107] Geographical separation is graphically visualised as a severing of limbs and this passage specifically alludes to *Tristia* Book III: ix when Ovid describes the founding of Tomis as a bloodbath of scattered limbs and violent fratricide.[108]

Another way of responding to the *Tristia* in the early-modern period surfaces in its presentation of a proto-Christian model of adversity that mirrors and extends its

---

[106] Silius Italicus, *Punica. Vol. I*, trans. J. D. Duff. (London: Harvard University Press, 1934), Lines 324 – 326, pp.28-29.

[107] Shakespeare, *Henry VI Part 2.* Act V: Scene ii, Lines 57-59. Taken from *The RSC Shakespeare: Complete Works* eds. J. Bate and E. Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.1231.

[108] The story of Medea in Ovid reads, 'Forthwith while he in his ignorance feared no such attack she pierced his innocent side with the hard sword. Then she tore him limb from limb, scattering the fragments of his body throughout the fields so that they must be sought in many places. And to apprise her father she placed upon a lofty rock the pale hands and gory head. Thus was the sire delayed by his fresh grief, lingering, while he gathered those lifeless limbs, on a journey of sorrow. So was this place called Tomis because here, they say, the sister cut to pieces her brother's body.' Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: ix, Lines 25- 34, pp.135 - 137. Katherine Heavey deals with the specifics of 'Translating Medea' in *The Early-Modern Medea: Medea in English Literature 1558 – 1688* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.51-83.

status and usage in medieval England. Ovid's work is taken up repeatedly by early-modern writers of sermons, inspiring homiletic composition and oration across the country that continued to be reproduced in printed form throughout the seventeenth century. There are at least nineteen different editions of printed sermons which directly refer to the *Tristia* between 1600 and 1640.[109] While printed in London, these sermons were given to congregations in Oxford, Exeter, Lincoln, Newcastle, Edinburgh and Dumfries, as well as the rural parishes of Waltham Abbey in Essex and Braunston in Northamptonshire, confirming the text's spread and influence across England and Scotland.[110] The application of Ovid's *Tristia* to a sermon in this manner is not new, but instead builds upon the Christian foundations that sources such as Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus* laid down in the fourteenth century. Wenzel has made a study of printed sermons inspired by Ovid a key point of focus in his chapter 'Ovid from the Pulpit'.[111] What emerges from an analysis of this source material is that, whether lay or learned, preachers were using Ovidian references (and those of the ancients in general) in their weekly writings as a source of moral *exempla*. The style of each sermon differs depending on audience, but the source materials consistently unearth Ovid as an influence on congregations that knew, and evidently reacted well to, his works. If we put ourselves in the place of a rector writing such a sermon, what would we wish to achieve from it? The composition would need three things: clear and engaging language to transfix the audience; analogies with known texts already familiar to the audience so that the moral

[109] Whilst this time-span is early seventeenth century, it can be assumed that, particularly in the case of large collected sets of sermons from various locations across the country, they were preached and composed pre-1600. The time taken to collect and redistribute such sermons before typesetting and editing them would have been extensive. See Appendix 5.

[110] The data collected in Appendix 5 contains eight locations in London alone where these sermons were preached, and where the lessons of Ovid's *Tristia* were learnt: St Paul's; Deptford; Paul's Cross; Black Friars; Saint Gregory's, St James' and Rotherhithe appear. There is also an unusual location for Gataker's 1620 sermon of the 'Serjeants Inne, Fleet Streete'. These sermons would redeem those who had fallen from grace (which is a key aim of Ovid's *Tristia*) but the Fleet Street example would have had a different intention, as its audience would have been law students.

[111] Wenzel, *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, pp. 160-176.

message was not lost; and, most importantly, an impetus encouraging the congregation to do as instructed (in this case, the fate of Ovid).[112]

To cite a slightly late, but still pertinent example of the sermon at work with Ovid's material, the Northamptonshire-based rector Edward Reynolds published *A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soule of man* in 1640, which makes nine references to Ovid in total; one of these is to the *Tristia,* Book III: v, Lines 33-34. Reynolds focuses on avoiding 'impudence' in this passage and the *Tristia* reference forms part of the printed marginalia, reasserting the need to be gallant in the face of defeat (which *Tristia* Book III: v on the conduct of faithful friends corroborates).[113] Noble conduct is something which Ovid addresses in this *elegia* within Book III, drawing comparisons between the lion and the wolf and their methods of overthrowing an opponent. In doing so, the intention is to tarnish Augustus Caesar's conduct and elevate the principled actions of a true friend. Reynolds only cites the noble lion's part in his extract from Ovid's *elegia* and as a moral exemplum of good behaviour he does not wish to dwell on the wolf's callous methods. It is better for Reynolds to emphasise what his audience should do, rather than what they should not:

> corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni,
> pugna suum finem, quum jacet hostis, habet[114]
>
> [For the noble lion 'tis enough to have overthrown his enemy; the fight is at an end when his foe is fallen.][115]

Ovid's recurring themes of true and false friendship in the *Tristia* become a site of specific interest for early-modern writers wishing to use his work for moral purposes, and it is to this aspect of repurposing I now wish to turn, using the earlier example of William Vaughan.

---

[112] The use of Ovid in sermons must have worked, as certain preachers such as Thomas Gataker continued to re-use him, and the number of references to the *Tristia* grew in the late 1630s. See Appendix 5.
[113] 'At my fall, when all in fear fled my ruin, turning their backs upon friendship with me, you dared to touch the corpse Jove's fire had blasted and to approach the threshold of a house bemoaned.' Ovid, *Tristia* Book III: v, Lines 5-8, pp.120-121.
[114] Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the passions and faculties of the soule of man.* (London: R. Hearne and John Norton, 1640), sig. Vu3v.
[115] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: v, Lines 33-34, pp.122 – 123.

Vaughan's work on morality and the practice of self-governance, *The first booke of the Golden-groue* (1590), appropriates Ovid's work through a close reading of Book I: viii, (although there is a mistake on the part of the glossator whose note in the printed margin reads 'Ovid, li, I. Trist. Eleg.7'). Vaughan's reference in fact pertains to Ovid's vituperative attack of *elegia* viii on a 'Traitorous Friend'[116] in which the rhetorical structure is one of a world turned upside down:

> In caput alta suum labentur ab aequore retro
> flumina, conversis Solque recurret equis:
> terra ferret stellas, caelum findetur aratro,
> unda dabit flammas, et dabit ignis aquas,
> omnia naturae praepostera legibus ibunt,
> parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter,
> omnia iam fient, fieri quae posse negabam,
> et nihil est, de quo non sit habenda fides.
> haec ego vaticinor, quia sum deceptus ab illo,
> laturum misero quem mihi rebar opem.
>
> [To their sources shall deep rivers flow, back from the sea, and the sun, wheeling his steeds, shall hurry backwards; the earth shall support stars and the sky shall be cloven by the plough, water shall produce flame and flame water; all things shall proceed reversing nature's laws and no part of the universe shall keep its path; everything that I once called impossible shall now take place, and there is nothing that one ought not to believe. All this I prophesy because I have been deceived by that man who I thought would bring aid to me in my wretchedness.][117]

Vaughan applies this pessimistically-phrased *elegia* to his own distinctly Christian end, ever so gently manipulating the text's original meaning. The aim of Vaughan's text is to instruct one on how to live a good and fruitful life void of ignorance. Thus far, then, impudence (in Reynolds) and ignorance (in Vaughan) have been warned

---

[116] This is Wheeler's subheading for Book I: viii in his translation of the *Tristia*, p. 41.
[117] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: viii, Lines 1 – 10, pp. 40 – 41.

against using the *Tristia* as textual authority. Vaughan advocates the furtherance of learning, and thence the discovery of greater religious knowledge:

> Sooner shall the earth bring foorth starres, and the heauens be eared with plowes: then that barbarisme and ignorance should in such sort ouerflow vs. Take the Sunne out of the firmament, and the light from the skie: what else would the world seeme, saue a massie Chaos, or a rude and confused lumpe? In like maner if learning bee extinguished, would not wee become dizarts or cuckoes? Nay, to seeke the decay and abolishing of learning is to prepare a way for Atheisme & consequently, to put a mart or market for the divell.[118]

In this way Vaughan wilfully misreads Ovid's sentiments and applies the religious lesson he is keen on disseminating to a sixteenth-century audience. Ovid's original meaning suggests that a betrayal of trust can cast a shadow of darkness over everything believed to be good in the world and plant doubts about the natural order of things. Vaughan consciously takes this message of Ovid's and distorts it, suggesting that to be without the knowledge and guidance of God is to be as unnatural as those stars in the earth and ploughs in the heavens.

In a similar vein, in George More's 1597 work *A Demonstration of God in his Workes*, three of the five overt references made to Ovid's *Tristia* are to Book IV, one to Book I, and the other to Book V.[119] All of these references seek to further the Christian values More upholds, and, like Vaughan, he re-purposes Ovid to enable this to happen. More's citations of Ovid in chapter seven of the treatise all warn of the folly of pride, and the inevitable downfall that man will suffer should he forget his place as mere subject in God's universe.[120] In addition, his section upon the ever-changing whims of fortune, apt to turn against a man who becomes too complacent in his prosperity, draws upon Book V of the *Tristia*.[121] This text sits within an extant tradition of 'moralised' Ovidian literature, but rather than pointing to key texts or themes that might be taken onboard by the reader at their leisure, is much more rhetorically charged in its aims to convert its audience to the author's line of

---

[118] William Vaughan, *The first booke of the Golden-groue* (London, 1590), sig. M5v.
[119] George More, *A demonstration of God in his workes against all such as eyther in word or life deny there is a God.* (London, 1597), sigs. M3r; O1r; R2r-R2v; S1r.
[120] More, *A demonstration of God,* sigs. M3r, R2r and S1r.
[121] More. *A demonstration of God,* sig. R2v.

thinking. His all-encompassing message is set out in a passage where More scolds Caesar for fighting a reckless battle and losing the lives of many of his men, without a thought to God.[122] This scenario is impossible if we see Caesar as Augustus, considering More's historical back-dating of a Christian faith that did not exist at the time of Caesar's invasions. He in fact alludes to Emperor Charles V when he refers to the Roman leader. Continuing the allegory, Caesar returned a crestfallen man because he was beaten, and he was beaten because he had not the faith in God to grant him victory. This quotation is taken directly from Ovid's *Tristia,* and the original below relates to Augustus:

> tanquam Iouis ignibus ictus,
> Vivit, et vt vitae nescius ipse suae.
>
> [as striken by th'almightie hand,
> liuing, of his life he did not vnderstand] [123]

More wilfully misreads *Tristia* I: iii here, as Ovid clearly refers to Jove (or Jupiter) in this extract, the pseudonym for Augustus Caesar, and Ovid is not advocating any lack of comprehension or understanding. More importantly, Ovid's interpretation is one of shock at the sudden wrath of his Emperor, not an admission of anything wanting in his knowledge of an all-seeing God. There is even a subtle change to the Latin of the *Tristia* by More here, only noticeable if we see both citations next to one another:

> Non aliter stupui, quam qui Iovis ignibus ictus
> vivit et est vitae nescius ipse suae.
>
> [I was as dazed as one who, smitten by the fire of Jove, still lives and knows not that he lives][124]

Clearly a removal of all pagan deities felt necessary to More in this instance so as to align the passage with his own religious beliefs, and paraphrasing the Latin original was his way of making this erasure. There is an element of permanent and inherent

---

[122] More, *A demonstration of God,* sig. O1r.
[123] More, *A demonstration of God,* sig. O1r. This is an exact citation of Book I: iii of the *Tristia* with a marginal note to that effect.
[124] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: iii, Lines 11-12, pp. 20 - 21.

ignorance to More's translation whilst Ovid's text suggests only a temporary state of 'dazed' confusion that will pass.

Such amendments (and edits) to the work of Ovid are inevitable as the length of time between composition and reworking increases. Themes of authorial control and reader re-appropriation are also found – ironically – at the heart of one of Michel de Montaigne's many quotations from the *Tristia*. The *Essays,* published in English translation in John Florio's editions of 1603 and 1613, in fact contain fifteen citations from the *Tristia*.[125] Quotations from the *Tristia* are indented within Florio's translation, as they are in Montaigne's French original, in passages written upon cowardice, vanity, the use of apparel, and amongst a series of observations on the verses of Virgil. I will focus here on the most significant of these citations. In the essay entitled 'The Art of Conferring' (Book III: 8), Ovid's *Tristia* is inserted as an example of the way in which works are unfinished pieces, constantly inviting revision and reinterpretation, 'Ablatum medijs opus est incudibus istud'[This worke away was brought,/Halfe hammered, half wrought].[126] These lines, in their original Ovidian content, deal with the process of editing, referring to Ovid's wish to publish the *Metamorphoses* in Rome with a revised prologue.[127] To find such a citation, so apparently out of context in this essay, begs the question as to why Montaigne finds it suitable. If we read on in Montaigne's essay, we find our answer. He accuses those authors who always find excuses for their work not being better, or who smart at the lack of recognition it receives from others. Montaigne shuns the idea of an editor picking at his text and grimacing when others do not understand it. As such, surely his citation of Ovid here is rather antagonistic. Rather than agreeing with the excuses Ovid provides for his 'half hammered' work lacking polish, Montaigne is merciless in judging his authorial processes to be unsatisfactory. No writer should self-edit, maintains Montaigne, as this will inevitably lead to problems, and pitfalls in understanding. Not only will the author be a biased and blind editor, they will also be

---

[125] Michel De Montaigne, *Essays*, trans. John Florio (London, 1613), sigs. L3r; T2r; T2v; Cc1v; Ee2v; Kk4r; Ll2v; Tt3v; Vv2r; Vv2v; Xx5r; Bbb1r; Ccc4r; Eee1v; Iii1v. These fifteen quotations from the *Tristia* occur in the printed text of this English-language edition, translated after Montaigne's death in 1592.

[126] Montaigne, *Essays*, sig. Bbb1r.

[127] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: vii, Lines 35 – 40, pp. 38 – 41 which specifies the revised prologue to the *Metamorphoses.* Ovid's preoccupation with its new reception comes across most strongly here.

reluctant or unable to analyse their work in any sufficient depth. Hypocritical as this may seem, in light of Montaigne's own attempts to amend his works first printed in 1580, these earlier assertions still stand.

Hitherto, the influence of the *Tristia* has been identified across a range of stylistically different texts, and we will now concentrate upon a series of case studies using the *Tristia* in a more nuanced fashion, and also upon the themes and tropes of the *Tristia* most commonly read and reappropriated.

'Go Little Book': Traces of the Ovidian Envoy

The complexity of Ovidian, or particularly 'Tristian' influence upon later literature is nowhere so clearly embodied as in its manifestation as the book as envoy, or the 'go little book' trope. As we will see, this motif taken from Ovid's opening epistle is one of the most easily recognised markers of the *Tristia's* reception history. As R. J. Schoeck has shown, Ovid's influence upon a tradition of envoy leading up to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is clear:

> we find a sketch of the long history of the conceit, Professor Tatlock tracing it to Ovid's addresses to his 'book' in *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, and there he traces its adoption by Martial (*Epigrams*, i. 3, 70; iii. 4, 5), by Statius (*Silvae*, iv. 4), in the *Greek Anthology* (xii. 208), in Provençal and Old French lyrics, and in the lyrics of Dante and Petrarch.[128]

Schoeck's citation of Tatlock is not, however, an interrogative one, and when we revisit the sources a much more fertile history to the conceit emerges. His citations are correct in part, and Statius' *Silvae* displays the reference from IV: iv.[129] Martial, however, has been overlooked in terms of the frequency with which he draws upon this theme. His level of indebtedness to the envoy, and to the *Tristia* as a whole, in the *Epigrams* is profound. From a survey of this twelve-book work he mentions or refers to the book as messenger or as an anthropomorphic entity fifteen times.[130] The

[128] R. J. Schoeck, 'Go Little Book – A Conceit from Chaucer to William Meredith', *Notes and Queries*, 197.17 (1952), 370.
[129] Statius, *Silvae,* Book IV: 4, Lines 1 – 3, pp. 228 – 229.
[130] This reference to the anthropomorphic book occurs fifteen times, in Book I (3, 4, 66, 70); Book III (2, 4, 5); Book VII (97); Book VIII (3, 72); Book X (2, 20, 104); Book XI (1) and Book XII (2). Martial, *Epigrams,* trans. D. R. Shackleton-Bailey (London: Harvard University Press, 1993).

closest resemblance to Ovid's usage appears in epigrams four and five from Book III, which are cited here in full:

> Romam vade, liber: si, veneris unde, requiret,
> Aemiliae dices de regione viae.
> si, quibus in terris, qua simus in urbe, rogabit,
> Corneli referas me licet esse Foro.
> cur absim, quaeret, breviter tu multa fatere:
> 'non poterat vanae taedia ferre togae.'
> 'quando venit?' dicet, tu respondeto: 'poeta
> exierat: veniet, cum citharoedus erit.'
>
> [Go to Rome, my book. If she asks where you come from, say from the direction of the Aemilian Way. If she enquires what land, what town I am in, you may inform her that I am in Forum Cornelii. Should she want to know the reason for my absence, tell a long story in a brief admission: "He could not endure the weary futilities of the gown". Should she say: "When is he coming back?" do you reply: "He left a poet; he will come back when he is guitar-singer"][131]
>
> Vis commendari sine me cursurus in urbem,
> parve liber, multis, an satis unus erit?
> unus erit, mihi crede, satis, cui non eris hospes,
> lulius, assiduum nomen in ore meo.
> protinus hunc primae quaeres in limine Tectae;
> quos tenuit Daphnis, nunc tenet ille lares.
> est illi coniunx, quae te manibusque sinuque
> excipiet, vel si pulverulentus eas.
> hos tu seu partier, sive hunc, illanve priorem
> videris, hoc dices: 'Marcus havere iubet.'
> et satis est. alios commendet epistula: peccat
> qui commendandum se putat esse suis.

[131] Martial, *Epigrams*, Book III: 4, pp. 202 – 203.

> [Little book, who are about to hasten to the city without me, do you wish to be recommended to many or will one suffice? One will suffice, believe me, one to whom you will be no stranger: Julius, a name forever on my tongue. You will look for him forthwith right at the threshold of the Covered Way. The house which Daphnis once tenanted, he tenants now. He has a wife, who will receive you with hands and bosom, though you arrive covered in dust. Whether you see them both together or him first or her, you will say: "Marcus sends his greetings," and it is enough. Let others be recommended by a letter. Anyone who thinks he needs a recommendation to his own folk is mistaken] [132]

Both epigrams four and five see the poet engage in a conversation with the book or missive, explaining what its duty is, and where its journey should take it, whether into the hands of a discerning patron or an old friend. Martial constructs an imaginary dialogue between the book and his homeland of Rome in epigram number four, supported by the phrase, 'if she asks where you come from, say from the direction of the Aemilian Way'. The self-certified fame of this book's author is so confidently portrayed that Martial's fifth epigram does not even need an introduction, just as Ovid foresees his tear blots and poetic voice addressing his people in a unique and unmistakeably Ovidian way. An amalgamation of epigrams four and five, moreover, would present an almost exact copy of the beginning of Ovid's *Tristia,* as we can see by way of direct comparison of the epigrams and the text below:

> Parve – nec invideo – sine me, liber, ibis in urbem,
> ei mihi, quod domino non licet ire tuo!
> vade, sed incultus, qualem decet exulis esse;
> infelix habitum temporis huius habe.
> nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco –
> non est conveniens luctibus ille color –
> nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur,
> candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.
> felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos;

[132] Martial, *Epigrams,* Book III: 5, pp. 204 – 205.

fortunae memorem te decet esse meae.
nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes,
hirsutis sparsis ut videare comis.
neve liturarum pudeat; qui viderit illas,
de lacrimis factas sentiet esse meis.
vade, liber, verbisque meis loca grata saluta:
contingam certe quo licet illa pede.
siquis, ut in populo, nostril non inmemor illi,
siquis, qui, quid agam, forte requirat, erit,
vivere me dices, salvum tamen esse negabis;
id quoque, quod vivam, munus habere dei.
atque ita tutacitus – quaerenti plura legendus

[Little book you will go without me – and I grudge it not to the city. Alas that your master is not allowed to go! Go, but go unadorned as becomes the book of an exile; in your misfortune wear the garb that befits these days of mine. You shall have no cover dyed with the juice of purple berries – no fit colour is that for mourning; your title shall not be tinged with vermillion nor your paper with oil of cedar; and you shall wear no white bosses on your dark edges…Let no brittle pumice polish your two edges; I would have you appear with locks all rough and disordered…Go, my book, and in my name greet the loved places: I will tread them at least with what foot I may. If, as is natural in so great a throng, there shall be any there who still remembers me, any who may perchance ask how I fare, you are to say that I live… Except for this be silent-for he who asks more must read you.][133]

Martial breaks Ovid's verse down and splits it into two epigrams. In many respects, Tatlock was correct in the three sources he noted in Schoeck's essay; however, the theme of the envoy is more entrenched in Martial's work than these two epigrams suggest. We must be more vigorous in our approach to seeking out cross-references between Ovid's work and Martial's imitative poems.

[133] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: I, Lines 1 – 21, pp. 2 – 5.

Somewhat less obviously there are passages heavily allusive of the *Tristia* in Martial, Book I: 3 and 4 which deal with the dangers of ambition and the necessity of taking a poet's work objectively rather than personally. These epigrams outline how essential it is to be an informed and intelligent reader, open to the opinions and poetic licence of others. This finds close parallel in Ovid's *Tristia* Book II addressed to Augustus which presents a defence of poetry and the poet.[134] A scorn for public display is also found in Book I: 66 of Martial where the capabilities of the writer are championed.[135] Again, this mirrors the venom Ovid displays towards the public arena in his address to Augustus in Book II of the *Tristia*.[136]

Significantly, in documenting the above and contesting Tatlock by utilising the work of Martial, and creating this literary ancestry for the envoy conceit, we are able to begin to revise what has too readily been dubbed a Chaucerian tradition. It might rightfully be renamed as an Ovidian one, with its roots in the language of the *Tristia*. Further analysis of the envoy conceit and its manifestation within Ovid, Chaucer and Skelton present a set of criteria which aid us in understanding literary influence. These elements may then be used to refer back to the envoy of the *Tristia* and identify Ovidianisms in works that have hitherto been thought to be only Chaucerian in origin.

The rhyme royal form employed by Chaucer in *Troilus and Criseyde's* envoy (in this case, a-b-a-b b-c-c) is perhaps the only thing that distinguishes it from Ovid's own envoy in the *Tristia*, written as it is in elegiac metre. Otherwise, both envoys cover an identical thematic structure of elements: first there is the personification of the book; then the unabashed deference of this book to traditional sources and authors; and finally the fear and concern over interpretation (or lack of it) in the reader of the envoy. These features of the envoy are as clear to see in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* as they are within its predecessor, the *Tristia*. Chaucer's use of envoy in different literary contexts, however, does affect his method of construction of the device, as Richard Horvath writes:

---

[134] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Lines 237 - 276, pp. 72 – 75.
[135] Martial, *Epigrams*. Book I: 66, Lines 1 – 9, pp. 88 – 91.
[136] He suggests the abolition of the theatres entirely saying, 'ut tamen hoc fatear, ludi quoque semina praebent/ nequitiae: tolli tota theatra iube!'[Even should I admit this charge, the games also furnish the seeds of wrongdoing; order the abolition of all the theatres!]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Lines 279-280, pp. 74 – 75.

> While longer narrative texts such as the *Clerk's Tale* and *Troilus and Criseyde* acquire the nature of epistles through the appendage of envoys that mediate between the completed texts and the circumstances of their reception, the short poems imagine themselves more integrally as letters to an addressee.[137]

Chaucer could be said to opt for an 'either, or' approach to the envoy, either placing it as a paratextual extraneous feature of his poetry (for example the addresses to the King found in *The Complainte of Chaucer to His Purse* or *Lak of Stedfastnesse* which stand alone and appear incoherent with the rest of the work) or embedding it in the narrative epistle (as with *Troilus and Criseyde* where the main narrative runs on in spite of the envoy's inserted presence).[138] Ovid appears to do both with his envoy in the *Tristia*; a model which Chaucer later extracts and uses. The element of distance and forlorn hope for a return to his homeland will make Ovid's envoy perpetually more distressing, and capable of transcending the boundaries between being an epistle to a distant friend or reader, and also establishes a dividing line severing the main body of the text and the external context (which can be seen so clearly in examples such as Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*). Ovid's work is consistently structured as a petition under the guise of something else, and although appearing to be an introductory verse to the main body of text, is in fact part of the epistles as a whole. The envoy is sometimes used as an addendum, or an add-on for Chaucer in his poetry, and not as an integral part or function of the tale. Ovid's *Tristia*, on the other hand, must function on that integral level, because Ovid's book is his 'self' and there is no alternative envoy to be sent but his dislocated words. Whilst Chaucer's envoy in the longer works cited by Horvath (for instance the *Clerk's Tale*) remains paratextual, Ovid's envoy can either work outside of the *Tristia* as a form of narrative comment upon it, or can include the author and audience within the *Tristia*; this much is dependent on each reader's personal interaction. The multipurpose

---

[137] Richard P. Horvath, 'Chaucer's Epistolary Poetic: The Envoys to Bukton and Scogan', *The Chaucer Review*, 37.2 (2002), 173.

[138] Whilst the suggestion has been made by Paul Strohm that Chaucer did not write the final lines of *The Complainte* and that the Ovidian envoy was a later addition, there is no incontrovertible proof, and the significance of Ovid's verse in the context of Chaucer's lengthier works cannot be ignored. Furthermore, *Troilus and Criseyde* so clearly uses Ovid as a source that contesting Chaucer's reliance upon the exiled poet for inspiration would be problematic. See Laila Z. Gross' comments in Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.636.

nature of the *Tristia* is reinvented and used for Chaucer's differing readerships and styles of poetry and this points to an appreciation of the bipartite nature of the *Tristia* by Chaucer. He reconditions the envoy trope and uses it in an explicit and implicit way, depending upon circumstance.

Ovid's envoy does not stand alone but thematises the whole of the *Tristia* as a series of addresses to mute respondents, and remains one of the most commonly cited passages from it. It is frequently seen as an epitome of the text's content as a whole by subsequent readers, which perpetuates an oversimplification of Ovid and his work. It is an epistle within an epistolary structure, and so it acts as a metanarrative (just one of many within Ovid's work) that is easy to identify, extract and re-use for later authors such as Chaucer. Chaucer did not merely look at Boccaccio in composing *Troilus and Criseyde*, he looked at Ovid's technique of the envoy, and conflated that with the process of textual and editorial control. Chaucer's content in the *Troilus* envoy may not mirror exactly what Ovid's is, but Ovidian themes are on the whole retained. Chaucer's approach is that the envoy is used to warn and to advise an audience on their reading, and potential misreading of a situation, and this is something which Ovid vehemently does in the *Tristia* from the outset. Ovid urges not to read the shabby pages wrongly, nor to pass judgement too quickly, or doubt the intelligence and capabilities of its author for choosing to write in such a state as he does. Chaucer likewise makes claims for the unenviable position of a vernacular piece of poetry and suggests that in its simplicity it is worth admittance; it will surely benefit those who can interpret it, and not 'miswrite thee'. For Chaucer, as for Ovid, an intelligent and discerning reader is being sought in the style of envoy being used.[139] As Michael Calabrese suggests, 'Chaucer confronted Ovid thoroughly and intensely and depicted himself as a Naso novus'.[140] Chaucer

---

[139] Further evidence of Chaucer using the *Tristia* comes in the presentation of female characters in his verse, for instance when looking at the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* whose lack of artifice recalls Ovid's wife's reported defence before Augustus Caesar in Rome in Book 1: vi of the *Tristia*. My focus is on *Troilus and Criseyde* in this chapter, but Chaucer's Ovidian inspired female characters have been looked at in further detail in Fyler, *Chaucer and Ovid,* pp.1-22 and Helen Cooper's chapter "Chaucer and Ovid: A Question of Authority" taken from *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Art and Literature from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century,* ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.71-82.
[140] Michael A. Calabrese, *Chaucer's Ovidian Arts of Love* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994), p.114.

opts to represent the female not as an aggressive or lustful caricature, but as self-determined and pragmatic, dominant but self-controlled. In this Chaucer harnesses the *Tristia's* open acknowledgement in Book III of the talents of women, such as the verbal power held by Ovid's step-daughter Perilla.[141]

Having exposed the connections between Martial, Chaucer and Ovid, a further writer joins the chronology of those influenced by the *Tristia*, and that is Ben Jonson. Victoria Moul has looked at the significance of poetic authority in Jonson's work via the models of Martial, Juvenal, Pindar and Horace. However, there is a separate pathway back to that same classical world, by tracing a literary lineage to Ovid via Chaucer and others. Although Moul notes the Horatian undercurrent of early-modern texts, there is also a distinctly Ovidian presence which can be identified in its stead. She uses Martial's Book III: 2 and attempts to justify it in Horatian terms, but credence should be given to the view that Martial is also indebted to Ovid's *Tristia*. There are points of intersection and divergence from Moul's viewpoint on the second epigram, for example, when looking at, 'festina tibi vindicem parare, ne nigram cito raptus in culinam cordylas madida tegas papyro vel turis piperisve sis cucullus' [Hurry to find yourself a protector, lest hustled off to a sooty kitchen you wrap sprats in your sodden papyrus or become a cowl for incense or pepper].[142] Moul's analysis of the wrappings of papyrus points to instances in Horace's *Satires*, Book I and position Martial's epigram alongside Jonson's 'To my Booke-seller', but this argument contains flaws and remains inconclusive, as concessions are made that Horace does *not* contain elements of the latter works.[143] The connections only lie in the desire of the author not to recite their work to huge audiences and become too mainstream, which is hardly a unique trope to identify. There are no tangible elements to the works from Horace quoted by Moul, no physical or personifiable book present.

I would suggest that Martial's epigram more clearly reworks the *Tristia*, as it instructs that 'now you may walk oiled with cedar your twin brows handsomely adorned, luxuriating in painted bosses'.[144] It is the antithesis of Ovid's book in the

---

[141] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: vii, Lines 33 – 44, pp. 129-131.
[142] Martial, *Epigrams*, Book III: 2, Lines 2-5, pp.200-203.
[143] Victoria Moul, *Jonson, Horace and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.68 – 70.
[144] Martial, *Epigrams*, Book III: 2, Lines 7-9, pp.200-203.

Tristia, whose bosses are not shined or buffed, and corners are rubbed with wear and neglect, 'Your title shall not be tinged with vermilion nor your paper with oil of cedar; and you shall wear no white bosses upon your dark edges'.[145] In its use of these bibliographic terms, albeit in a different way, Martial is surely invoking the spirit of Ovid's *Tristia*. For an entity can be defined and identified in binary terms by what it claims 'not' to possess or be. The device of the smoothing of the pumice, again an evocative use of the language of *Tristia* Book I, also recurs in Book I: 70 of Martial's epigrams, again proving Martial's reliance on Ovidian models as well as Horatian:

> But if you find one whose face is not yet smoothed by the pumice stone, one not embellished with bosses and parchment cover, buy it. I have such, and nobody will be the wiser.[146]

The trope of the book as something banished, forgotten or somehow lesser, adopting a deferential pose, is 'Tristian' in conception and pervades the envoy to Chaucer's *Troilus* all the way through to the players within Jonson's *Poetaster*. The *Tristia's* envoy continues to be a source of triumphal narratives spanning the breadth of the sixteenth century.

The *Greek Anthology* again contains an example of the book as envoy motif, which can be found in Strato's *Musa Puerilis*, Book XII: 208 of the five-volume collection. In stark contrast to Martial's usage in epigrams four and five, in this instance the book's presence in the poem is implicitly sexualised by the content of the surrounding epigrams.[147] Its author talks somewhat jealously of the book's being pressed to a bosom (as we find in Martial's example of the friend's wife) but in this instance the boy who is doing the holding is also kissing and rubbing at the book as he rolls out and fastens up the scroll again,

---

[145] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Lines 7-8, pp.2-3.
[146] Martial, *Epigrams,* Book I: 70, Lines 9-12, pp.90-91.
[147] Strato, *Musa Puerilis: Epigrams* from the *Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton. (London: Heinemann, 1916-1918), Book XII: 209, p. 389. The surrounding verses are equally sexually obsessive, as the much older and experienced author preys on the young boy and begs him to 'Put a little wantonness into your kisses and the preliminaries to the works'.

> some boy reading thee will rub thee, holding thee under his chin, or press thee against his delicate lips, or will roll thee up resting on his tender thighs, O most blessed of books. [148]

The book becomes some kind of sexual predator, a third party or envoy in all senses of the word, sent from the author and able to penetrate places he cannot go, in this case into the home, and to rest against the thighs, lips and bosom of the boy. The book has a certain power in the scene already, which surpasses the abilities of the naïve youth who is reading it. The book has also the power to influence and indoctrinate the reader to its own agenda, and it is this freedom to persuade which Strato is cleverly playing with in the extract. Whilst claiming his book is the artist, he is in fact mirroring his own poem within the text. His illicit spying on the boy and book becomes a paratext for the main event of the epigram.

From this analysis of the envoy in literature of the classical and early-modern periods, and having identified Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio and other Italian sources as key background to *Troilus and Criseyde*, we can infer that Chaucer was inspired not only by Ovid directly, but by these authorial intermediaries. For example, Petrarch's mid-fourteenth-century text, the *Secretum*, uses the address to the book in the prologue to Book I, but in this case the author bids it keep his secret and remain a deeply private and contemplative text, not to be shared in the public gaze by saying, 'Tuque ideo, libelle, conventus hominum fugiens, mecum mansisse contentus eris, nominis proprii non immemor' [So, little Book, I bid you flee the haunts of men and be content to stay with me, true to the title I have given you].[149]

C. S. Lewis suggests that Chaucer looked at multiple sources for inspiration and to enable 'amplification' of his new translated text. Chaucer rhetorically amended his source of *Il Filostrato* using principles learned from other works of classical and medieval literature, including Ovid's *Amores* and the Provençals. Chaucer's use of the *Tristia* as inspiration for his concluding envoy in *Troilus and*

---

[148] Strato, *Epigrams*. Book XII: 208, p.389.

[149] This raises issues when considering the prologue as an aid to reader interpretation, as it is telling its audience they should not know about what is due to come forth in the three dialogues of the *Secretum*. English translation taken from *Petrarch's Secret,* trans. William H. Draper (London: Chatto and Windus, 1975), p.6.

Criseyde is therefore in-keeping with his compositional style.[150] A tradition of imitation between Ovid and Chaucer is thus interrupted by these textual authorities. Tatlock identifies *Troilus and Criseyde* as being heavily indebted to a variety of sources, many more than inform the *Canterbury Tales*. According to Tatlock, 'The *Troilus* is a learned poem. In its use of classical myth and so far as possible of classical lore in general it goes beyond anything else Chaucer wrote.'[151] Such evidence suggests that what has been dubbed a Chaucerian envoy to the *Troilus* was in fact an Ovidian envoy at heart, re-used and appropriated to great effect in the fourteenth-century poem. What is complex about this is the way in which Chaucer roots his work in Ovidian imitation but then germinates this in a uniquely English way. Whilst the source text for *Troilus and Criseyde* is Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, there are clearly points of divergence from the original. In looking at a parallel translation of the *Il Filostrato* and the *Troilus* we can see that there was no original text of the former to translate at the point where the envoy verses appear. Somehow, the beginning of the most important section of Chaucer's *Troilus* has not been analysed in critical essays and editions of the poem by C. S. Lewis and Stephen Barney (but has been noted by Barry Windeatt in his explanatory notes).[152] This passage clearly finds its inspiration in Ovid's *Tristia*:

> Go, litel bok, go, litel myn tragedye,
> Ther God thi makere yet, er that he dye,
> So sende myght to make in som comedye!
> But litel book, no makyng thow n'envie,
> But subgit be to alle poesye;
> And kis the steppes where as thow seest pace
> Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace.
>
> And for ther is so gret diversite
> In Englissh and in writyng of oure tonge,

[150] C. S. Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did to *Il Filostrato*" from Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, ed. Stephen A. Barney (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2006), pp.451 – 464.
[151] J. S. P. Tatlock, 'The Epilog of Chaucer's *Troilus', Modern Philology*, 18 (1921), 640.
[152] Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde: A New Translation*, trans. Barry Windeatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.188.

So prey I God that none myswrite the,
Ne the mysmetre for defaute of tonge;
And red wherso thow be, or elles songe,
That thow be understonde, God I biseche![153]

Past authors are to be openly accredited with their poetic skill, and the steps kissed which have been touched by the metrical feet (*pedes*) of Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Lucan and Statius. These lines further recall Ovid's emphasis of stumbling on his work's tentative feet in the opening to Book I of the *Tristia*, where he writes, 'contingam certe quo licet illa pede' [I will tread them at least with what foot I may].[154] In its plea to allow any coarseness of language or lack of polish, and to respect the literary 'elders', Chaucer's text recalls the opening lines of the same book, where Ovid's writing is afraid of publicity and accusations of barbarous language due to the author's distance from poetic production in Rome. Chaucer further picks up on another preoccupation of Ovid's, which is the danger of being misread by an audience, although in Chaucer's case it is a very literal misreading he evinces, a flaw in terms of dialect, rather than in content and authorial intention (which is what Ovid fears for the *Tristia*).

Certainly one area of the *Tristia* most obviously reinvented in renaissance work after Chaucer is that of the book as messenger. Diverging from the idea of Ovid being famous for the *Metamorphoses* alone and breaking away from a field of Ovidian studies which has on the whole ignored the *Tristia*, from this initial survey of textual imitations we can clearly see that the *Tristia* was cited both widely and variously. There is no standalone pattern to the *Tristia's* reusage, because so many readers are using Ovid's text for a multitude of different things. We are able to see already that there are some particular ways in which readers have approached the *Tristia*, and three trends of the pedagogic use, moralisation, and book as gift are discernible. These trends are evidenced by the work's place on the Tudor curriculum and its later prominence in religious preaching. Its perceived 'difficulty' did not deter readers, for the *Tristia's* popularity and presence was irrefutable in this period, as we begin to see through its currency in the works of Chaucer and later writers. And it is to these later sixteenth-century writers that we now turn.

---

[153] Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, Lines 1,786 – 1,798, pp. 421 - 423.
[154] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Line 16, pp. 2 - 3.

John Skelton – *The Garland of Laurell* (1523)

The seldom dwelt-upon, but undeniable influence of Ovid upon John Skelton can be traced throughout the latter's works. The most striking application of Ovid's *Tristia* occurs in Skelton's poem, *The Garland of Laurell*. Ovidian inflections can be seen in the use of envoy at the work's close, but there are also many more remnants of the *Tristia* present throughout this poem that critics thus far have overlooked. The opening lines to the poem have been interpreted as purely astrological, alluding to the date and time at which the work was composed, but could instead be seen as a move from the seriousness of war, as Mars 'Put up his sworde', says Skelton, to the embracing of peace and pleasure, which is the subject of the work itself (similarly, Ovid's *Amores* opens with a renunciation of war for the poetry of love).[155] Mars only then re-emerges in lines 596 – 601 of the *Garland* which are written in Latin, and refer to one bearing the 'thunderbolts of Jupiter' (as Ovid had done in Book II of the *Tristia* by mocking Augustus in his guise as Jupiter). 'You wander a thousand ways to seek for yourself the strife of Mars', Skelton continues, whilst talking of a 'barbarous world'.[156] The allusions in Skelton's work are of one who has fallen from grace and is under constant attack, which is just the kind of situation we find Ovid living in at Tomis. Even the plants referred to in this brief Latin verse stand out as being unusually paired; Skelton mentions nard, an exotic oil from Asia, alongside the native rose-tree, which conjures up Christian metaphors of purity and links to allegorical quest literature such as the thirteenth-century French dream-vision,

---

[155] There are indications of Skelton translating another of Ovid's collections of love poetry, the *Ars Amatoria*, so we can assume a certain amount of Ovidian knowledge is being instilled in the *Garland of Laurell*. According to Scattergood, the work referred to in the *Garland of Laurell* as "Automedon of Loves Meditacyoun" may have been a translation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*'. For more on Skelton's working practices see John Scattergood, *John Skelton: The Career of an Early Tudor Poet* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014), p.55.

[156] John Skelton, *The Garland of Laurell*, taken from *The Complete English Poems of John Skelton (Revised)*. ed. J. Scattergood (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), Lines 596 - 601, p. 289:

> Formidanda nimis Jovis ultima fulmina tollis:
> Unguibus ire parat loca singula livida curvis
> Quam modo per Phebes nummos raptura Celeno;
> Arma, lues, luctus, fel, vis, fraus, barbara tellus;
> Mille modis erras odium tibi querere Martis;
> Spreto spineto cedat saliunca roseto.

Roman de la Rose.[157] Skelton thus ensures that the foreign and the familiar are placed alongside each other by using a language that is clearly rooted in his poetic sources. Virgil's 'puniceis humilis quantum saliunca rosetis,/ iudicio nostro tantum tibi cedit Amyntas'[158] is spoken by Menalcas in his fifth Eclogue and Horace's 'Assyriaque nardo' in his eleventh Ode from Book Two, which deals with a fear of Spain hatching plots of war. Skelton, however, goes further in this instance, choosing to make direct reference to Scythia (the barbarous surrounding landscape of Ovid's exile), something also noted by Horace:

> Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
> Hirpine Quincti, cogitet Hadria
> divisus obiecto, remittas
> quaerere, nec trepides in usum
>
> poscentis aevi pauca: fugit retro
> levis iuventas et décor, arida
> pellente lascivos amores
> canitie facilemque somnum.
>
> non semper idem floribus est honor
> vernis, neque uno Luna rubens nitet
> vultu: quid aeternis minorem
> consiliis animum fatigas?
>
> cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
> pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
> canos oderati capillos,
> dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
>
> [Forbear to inquire, Quinctius Hirpinus,

[157] Mia Touw, 'Roses in the Middle Ages', *Economic Botany*, 36.1 (1982), 71-83.
[158] Menalcas' words translated to 'as far as the Celtic reed yields to crimson rose-beds, so far, to my mind, does Amyntas yield to you.' The ancient yields to the early-modern rose tree in this example, illustrating the necessity of regrowth, re-evaluation, and youth triumphing over old age. Virgil, *Eclogues,* trans. H. R. Fairclough (London: Harvard University Press, 2001), Eclogue V, Line 17, p. 54.

what bellicose Cantabrians, and Scythians
removed from us by the Adriatic interposed,
are plotting. Do not excruciate about

the modest needs of life: fresh youth
and beauty recede behind us; drouth
and wrinkles ban amorous longing
and the knack of easily falling asleep.

The glory of vernal flowers is not
for ever, nor does the bright moon shine
with one sole face. Why tire your mortal mind
with counsels of eternity?

Better to drink while we may,
reclining insouciant beneath some
lofty plane or pine, greybeards wreathed
in fragrant roses, anointed
with Syrian nard][159]

An examination of the extract from Horace above links it tightly with the narrative of Skelton's poem where he mentions resting under a tall tree: 'A myghty tre and of a noble heyght,/ Whose bewte blastyd was with the boystors wynde,/ His levis loste, the sappe was frome the rynde.'[160] It is as if Skelton is using these models from ancient Rome as a means by which he can construct his own poetic persona. His English rose tree has subsumed the foreign tongues of old, and whilst English was deemed a barbarous language to write in, it can no longer be seen in that light, particularly if the examples of Gower, Langland and Chaucer cited by Skelton (Lines 386-397) are appreciated. There is no clear intertextual reference to Virgil in the excerpt from Horace above that reads, 'fresh youth/and beauty recede behind us; drouth/ and wrinkles ban amorous longing' but it does evoke Ovid's letter to his step-daughter Perilla in Book III of the *Tristia* in which he advises her on the

[159] Horace, Book 2: xi, Lines 1-17, from *The Complete Odes and Epodes*, trans. W. G. Shepherd (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p.115.
[160] Skelton, *The Garland of Laurell,* Lines 18 - 21, p. 274.

longevity of poetic skill, and the transience of physical beauty.[161] Even those glorious 'vernal flowers' fade and die says Horace, but poetry will always bear new fruit, which is certainly a preoccupation of Ovid's in the *Tristia,* and Skelton's in the *Garland of Laurell.*

Certainly the most obvious homage paid to Ovid's *Tristia* within the *Garland of Laurell* is found in Skelton's L'Envoy, which conjures up all of the anthropomorphic tendencies displayed in the opening of *Tristia* Book I. What Skelton calls his envoy, however, does not sit at the beginning of his poem, but at the end, almost as if it were an afterthought or of less significance to the text, with its informal tone accentuating the fact; it becomes part of a simple 'signing off' by the poet. We can see a clear continuity in lexical style between Ovid's and Skelton's opening lines to their respective envoys:

Go, litill quaire,
Demene you faire.
Take no dispare,
Though I you wrate
After this rate
In Englysshe letter.
So moche the better
Welcome shall ye
To sum men be;
For Latin warkis
Be good for clerkis,
Yet now and then
Sum Latin men
May happely loke
Upon your boke,
And so procede
In you to rede,
That so indede
Your fame may sprede

[161] Ovid's address to Perilla, *Tristia*, Book III: vii, Lines 33 – 44, pp. 129 – 131.

In length and brede.[162]

The disparity lies in the direction in which Skelton takes his 'litill quaire' because, unlike Ovid, he recognises that his book will be read and spread more widely in English; the clerks will enjoy some light reading as an alternative to strenuous Latin, and pass on the volume to others. Skelton evidently likes the idea of dissemination and audience participation, and his book is not cowering in the shadows as Ovid bids his to do (although we should be cautious in believing Ovid is this self-effacing in reality). However, Skelton does display some caution, and his envoy ends with the warning that if readers can find any defect or impropriety in the poem it will go hard on them. His final words are advice to the book to be courteous and kind, and employ a façade in order to avoid confrontations. In returning to the elements that made up the Chaucerian and Ovidian envoy types earlier, we may pause and look at Skelton's distinct usage here too. Whilst maintaining the personification of the book, the piece is written in Skeltonics, and is therefore less grave in metre than the elegiacs of Ovid or the rhyme royal of Chaucer. This verse-form is light-hearted rather than contemplative. The content, however, covers many of the same elements as Ovid's envoy structure: firstly, the bounds of readerly interpretation are discussed here as they are in Ovid and Chaucer, and they are stretched and embraced, rather than feared. Secondly, the personification of the book as a messenger for its author is also retained, and, thirdly, the traditions of reading and manner in which the book will be received by its audience is dwelt upon. There is a definite sense of a 'vernacular without shame' (my term) being issued by Skelton, that is not quite so strongly apparent in Chaucer, and not at all in Ovid, but the base of the idea remains the same, that there is a change in voice, and a concern via the poet and his book for the reception of that 'quaire' into unknown hands.

In terms of vocabulary used, the *Garland of Laurell* talks of and introduces the story of Ovid's exile early on, at lines 89-94, by way of warning against writing without due care and caution. Skelton does not suggest that Ovid's works contained anything reprehensible; on the contrary, the author was 'bannisshed for suche a skyll'.[163] 'Banished', or its early English variant, is used on four occasions within the

[162] Skelton, *The Garland of Laurell*, Lines 1,533 – 1,552, p.312.
[163] Skelton, *The Garland of Laurell,* Line 93, p.276.

first 308 lines of the poem, closely partnered by a stance on exile itself, taken by The Quene of Fame:

> it were to great a derogacyon
> Unto your palas, our noble courte of Fame,
> That any man under supportacyon
> Without deservynge shulde have the best game.
> If he to the ample encrease of his name
> Can lay any werkis that he hath compyled,
> I am content that he be not exylide [164]

Skelton's key concern lies with the presentation and reception of the book, and contrasts with Ovid's ideas quite clearly, but the intertextual references are still present in the assertion of a direct opposite. That is, where Ovid's book is tear-blotted and meagrely presented, unpolished and unimposing, Skelton's book is the most ostentatious volume on display. The obsession with fame in Ovid's *Tristia* and 'ample increase of his name' in Skelton provides another common focus. For Skelton, presenting work in his courtly environs, style over substance is the key, as elaborate gold-leaf illumination tempts and lures the reader in:

> With that, of the boke losende were the claspis.
> The margent was illumynid all with golden railles
> And byse, enpicturid with gressoppes and waspis,
> With butterfllyis and fresshe pecoke taylis,
> Enflorid with flowris and slymy snaylis,
> Envyvid picturis well towchid and quikly.
> It wolde have made a man hole that had be ryght sekely,
>
> To beholde how it was garnysshyd and bounde,
> Encoverde over with golde of tissew fyne;
> The claspis and bullyons were worth a thousande pounde;
> With balassis and charbuncles the borders did shyne;
> With *aurum musicum* every other lyne
> Was wrytin; and so she did her spede,

[164] Skelton, *The Garland of Laurell*, Lines 218 - 224, p.279.

Occupacyon immediately to rede.[165]

Skelton seeks to designate parameters to his poetry, foregrounding it with Ovidian references as well as those from Chaucer, Gower and Langland. The effect as a whole is one of unifying classical, medieval and early-modern influence within a text; the melding of Ovidian and Chaucerian technique within the later work of Skelton is important in creating a new and distinct authorial voice. Skelton must build upon the work of Chaucer in eradicating the opinion that English is a rude and simplistic tongue to write poetry in. The idea of clothing or habiliment representing a literary richness permeates the *Garland of Laurell*, giving the reader a clear progression from Ovid's unclothed text constituting barbarism, to Chaucer's *Troilus* envoy with its 'defaute of tonge' to Skelton's affirmation of English poets for whom, 'diamauntis and rubis there tabers were trasid'.[166] Ovid is directly addressed for a second time in the poem, as the only poet who is 'enshryned with the musis nyne',[167] placing him high on Skelton's list of admired poets. He is the only poet to deserve this elevation to godly status throughout the work and when the muses appear once more in the poem, it is in relation to the characters Phyllis and Thestylis, who are associated with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides*.

In a similar vein to the *Tristia*, Skelton's text contains many imagined voices of those from whom he wishes to receive answers or judgement. For Ovid, it was a Roman readership he longed for, and his claims to an acquaintance with poets such as Horace helped to bolster his position amongst contemporary Rome's most promising writers. For Skelton it is his literary forefathers he wishes to speak to, and in recalling these famous authors (Virgil, Horace, Ovid) both implicitly and explicitly, as well as listing his own works in an attempt to impress his audience with his wares, he creates a 'bibliofiction' of his own.[168] This type of 'renown by

---

[165] Skelton, *The Garland of Laurell*, Lines 1,156 – 1,169, p.303.
[166] Skelton, *The Garland of Laurell*, Line 395, p. 284.
[167] Skelton, *The Garland of Laurell*, Line 333, p. 282.
[168] Lindsay Ann Reid, *Ovidian Bibliofictions and the Tudor Book.* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p.8. The term 'bibliofiction' is coined by Reid to describe the texts placed within an author's work which inform and allow it to take shape. Bibliofictions are therefore likened to mini narratives within the larger piece. This is evocative of Thomas Greene's notion of subtexts informing the main text, but is particularly applicable to Ovid's propensity to cite his early work as a textual authority. In doing so Ovid creates his own myth of fame. Reid suggests that Ovid 'frequently represents and meditates on the processes of literary composition, inscription, transmission, and poetic legacy', p.8. In this manner Ovid's desire to

association' becomes a recurrent theme of sixteenth-century reworkings of Ovid's *Tristia*. It is predominantly found in Book II of the *Tristia* when Ovid seeks to prove his position of poetic authority to Augustus:

> Sic sua lascivo cantata est saepe Catullo
> femina, cui falsum Lesbian omen erat;
> nec contentus ea, multos vulgavit amores,
> in quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est.
> par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calvi,
> detexit variis qui sua furta modis.
> quid referam Ticidae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos
> rebus adest nomen nominibusque pudor?
> Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Answer,
> et leve Cornifici parquet Catonis opus.
> et quorum libris modo dissimulate Perillae,
> nomine, nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo.
> is quoque, Phasiacas Argon qui duxit in undas,
> non potuit Veneris furta tacere suae.
> nec minus Hortensi, nec sunt minus improba Servi
> Carmina. Quis dubitet nomina tanta sequi?
> vertit Aristiden Sisenna, nec obfuit illi
> historiae turpis inseruisse iocos.
> non fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lycorida Gallo,
> sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero.
> credere iuranti durum putat esse Tibulllus,
> sic etiam de se quod neget illa viro.
>
> [Wanton Catullus sang oft of her who was falsely called Lesbia, and not content with her he noised abroad many other loves in which he admitted his own intrigues. Equal in degree and of the same kind was the licence of diminutive Calvus, who revealed his own love adventures in various metre. Why allude to the verse of Ticidas or of

---

create fame through inserting the bibliofiction, (the text within a text) can be seen as a desire to make a monument for himself, even after death.

> Memmius, in whom things are named – with names devoid of shame? With them Cinna too belongs and Anser, more wanton than Cinna, and the light poems of Cornificius and of Cato, and those in whose books she who was but recently hidden beneath the name of Perilla is now found called after thy name Metellus. He, too, who guided the Argo to the waters of Phasis, could not keep silent about his own adventures in love. Hortensius' verses and those of Servius are not less wanton. Who would hesitate to imitate these mighty names? Sisenna translated Aristides and was not harmed for weaving in the tale coarse jests. It was no reproach to Gallus that he gave fame to Lycoris, but that from too much wine he did not restrain his tongue. Tibullus thinks it hard to believe his lady under oath because she makes the same denials about himself to her lord.][169]

From such comparisons it can be seen that the envoy is not the sole reference to the *Tristia* in Skelton's *Garland of Laurell*, but one of many thematic and stylistic inspirations within the poem that have been borrowed. Ovid's quest for Fame at the expense of all other writers is conjured up perfectly in Skelton's section praising his inspirational ancestors, before supplanting them and claiming the crown of laurel for himself. Undercurrents of the triumphal ceremony that Ovid misses in Tomis become a reality in Skelton's *Garland of Laurell*. He is the triumphator, he wins the prize amidst glittering rubies and gold adorning a superficial but beautiful and just court. However, both are but dreams, visions of what once was and what might have been. The deceptive nature of 'the dream' in the *Tristia* and the *Garland of Laurell* exposes itself as each of the poems draw to a close. Less harsh than the *Tristia's* climate, Skelton's courting of Fame ends without physical reward, just as Ovid fails to be blessed with a glorious comeback, or at the very least, a pardon. Both, however, perpetuate their own myth of possessing fame, and orchestrate their own works through self-referential rhetoric to ensure that they are remembered. A momentary display of bravado initiates a fundamental and lasting fame for Skelton and for Ovid.

---

[169] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Lines 427-448, pp.86-87.

Geoffrey Whitney – *Choice of Emblemes* (1586)

Printed in Leiden in 1586, Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* repeatedly draws upon the work of Ovid as it progresses through a diverse number of moral and educative emblems, each with an accompanying woodcut of the fable or lesson being described. The accompanying commentaries for the *Choice of Emblemes* (also by Whitney) are dominated by references to Ovid's works, with seventy-seven instances listed in total. The *Fasti, Metamorphoses, Remedia Amoris, Ex Ponto,* and the *Tristia* are named specifically in relation to Whitney's poems and woodcuts. The *Tristia* is cited on seven occasions in a series of emblems that portray the following: a ship in stormy weather; Icarus falling from the sky; a lofty pine tree; a sieve; a dyer; and two pots floating in a river. The seventh emblem does not have an accompanying engraving, as its concept is how to better understand poetry without condemning the freedoms of creative licence involved in composition (clearly a more difficult idea to illustrate than the other six). As Whitney states, 'a Princelie Poesie righte, /For euerie faulte, shoulde not prouoke, a Prince, or man of mighte' and this is supplemented by an extract from *Tristia* Book II on Ovid's wrath.[170] The ship, the dyer and the story of Icarus are straightforward in their referencing of the *Tristia,* relating to the Ovidian storms of Books I and V, as illustrated here in the emblem, *Res humanae in summo declinant:*

> Passibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat,
> Et manet in nullo certa, tenaxq[ue] loco.
> Sed modò leta manet, vultus modò sumit acerbos
> Et tantum constans in leuitate sua est.[171]
>
> [Changeable fortune wanders abroad with aimless steps, abiding firm and persistent in no place; now she comes in joy, now she takes on a harsh mien, steadfast only in her own fickleness.]

Whitney cites *Tristia* V: ix here but further examples may be found in *Tristia* Book I: ii and in the opening *elegia* of Book I. For instance, in the marginal comments to the emblem of the Dyer, dedicated to Edward Paston, the Latin reads:

> Infoelix habitum temporis huius habe

[170] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes,* from *Video et Taceo,* sig. H3r.
[171] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, sig. B2r. English translation taken from Wheeler. Ovid, *Tristia,* Book V: viii, Lines 15-18, p.241.

nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fucco:
non est conueniens lustibus ille color.[172]
[in your misfortune wear the garb that befits these days of mine. You shall have no cover dyed with the juice of purple berries – no fit colour is that for mourning]

This cloaking of the book with its cover refusing to be 'dyed with the juice of purple berries' relates to the beginning of Ovid's Book I:i. The tale of too much worldly ambition leading to one's demise and descent from 'lofty heights on weak wings' corresponds to the opening book of the *Tristia* also, as Whitney cites in a marginal comment on the emblem of Icarus:

Dum petit infirmis nimium sublimia pennis
Icarus, Icariis nomina fecit aquis.
Vitaret celum Phäeton, si viueret, & quos
Optauit stultè tangere, nollet equos[173]

[By seeking too lofty heights on weak wings Icarus gave a name to waters of the sea/ Phaëton would avoid the sky if he were alive; the steeds which in his folly he desired, he would refuse to touch.]

Whitney re-appropriates each passage from the *Tristia* and adds an extra layer of symbolism with these emblems, transforming words from their original state as 'petition' into authoritative facts on the woodcuts they accompany. Thus, Whitney's interaction with the *Tristia* is a self-serving one; he does not find solace in its contemplative potential, but extracts its inherent *auctoritas* and gains credibility for his emblems through association with a revered literary forefather.

Each of the remaining four emblems speaks clearly to the *Tristia* in some way and can be thematised accordingly. The story of the pine tree, for example, warns the reader that Fortune's wheel will turn and throw its victims to the ground when they least expect it, a concept that is mirrored in III: v of the *Tristia.* Whitney's marginal comment notes the reference in Latin as being 'Vt cecidi, cunctiq[ue] metu fugere ruinam,/ Versaque amicitia terga dedere mea' [At my fall, when all in fear

[172] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes,* sig. R3v. English translation taken from Wheeler. Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: i, Lines 4-6, p.3.
[173] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes,* sig. D2v. English translation taken from Wheeler. Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: i, Lines 89-90 and Book I: i, Lines 79-80.

fled my ruin, turning their backs upon friendship with me].[174] We also find Ovidian precursors to Whitney in the changes in fortune dominating Book V: viii. Ovid contemplates the fickleness of friends, and the dangers of being temporarily in favour in this section of the *Tristia*:

> Ergo ne nimium nostra laetere ruina,
> restitui quondam me quoque posse puta:
> possa puta fieri lenito principe vultus
> ut videas media tristis in urbe meos,
> utque ego te videam causa graviore fugatum
>
> [So that then you rejoice not overmuch in my ruin, consider that even I may some day be restored; consider that, if the prince is appeased, it may come to pass that you may be dismayed to see my face in the midst of the city, and I may see you exiled for a weightier cause.][175]

The abuse of considerable power, such as that possessed by the Emperor Augustus, can in fact lead to powerlessness, as every action becomes devalued by being predictable, overacted or contrived. Whitney's marginal comments to his emblem on *Video et Taceo* follow an exhortation on the glories of education and learning from past scholarship, and the necessity for silent contemplation such as Pythagoras propounded. The irony of entitling these poems 'I see and I say nothing' when Whitney is doing the complete opposite cannot be overlooked. There is a humorous element to Whitney's use of the *Tristia* that can be witnessed in all of his emblems in this collection. Aligned to this plea for silence, comes a petition for a voice, and for artistic sound and vision, enhancing the effect of both pieces as they form a beneficially oxymoronic partnership. There is a desire here for poetic freedoms and diligent and well-informed readers who infer and interpret with a deeper vision than merely the ocular. Whitney suggests that not everything should be taken to heart, or seen in a negative way, and that there must be time to reason and mull over new ideas, hence his use of *Tristia* II, 'Si quoties peccarti homines sua fulmina mittat/ Jupiter, exigue tempore inermis erit' [If at every human error Jupiter should hurl his thunderbolts, he would in a brief space be weaponless].

---

[174] English translation taken from Wheeler. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: v, Lines 5-6, p.121.
[175] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: viii, Lines 33-37, pp.242-243.

In the *Tristia,* Ovid accuses Augustus of fallacious threats, with no evidence or basis in fact to back them up. The Emperor's assertions are undermined by the poet in this way because they are violently reactive and unthinking; the moral in terms of the *Tristia* is that poetry should be judged fairly and not with Jupiter's wrathful bolts. The way that Whitney uses this is also to defend 'Princelie Poësie righte', but to celebrate the understanding and grace of a ruler, Elizabeth, so openly inclined to favour poetry and bestow favours upon its creators. Whitney refers to Ovid directly and the only significant difference from the *Tristia* is his substitution of Jove for Jupiter:

> For if that JOVE shoulde shoote, so ofte as men offende,
> The Poëttes saie, his thunderboltes shoulde soone bee at an ende.[176]

The only clear divergence of the *Tristia* and *A Choice of Emblemes* is in the result of their individual defences of poetry, as Ovid is not successful in his request that Augustus become a better reader, whilst Whitney is fighting a battle that has in essence already been won, as Elizabeth has already shown her affinity for the muses.

Moving from the distrust of Fortune, through abusive power, to a wariness of Fame, Whitney's poems place particular emphasis on living a simple existence without pomp. In part two of the emblems, the earthenware pot shuns the brass pot in fear of its own destruction should it wash up alongside it and break in an emblem dedicated to Whitney's father entitled *Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum* or 'bad comes of a bad neighbour'.[177] The third verse identifies a problem for those desirous of fame, who, by attaching themselves to publicly imporant figures, take the biggest risks:

> The running streame, this worldlie sea dothe shewe;
> The pottes, present the mightie, and the pore:
> Whoe here, a time are tossed too, and froe,
> But if the meane, dwell nighe the mighties dore,
> He maie be hurte, but cannot hurte againe,
> Then like, to like: or beste alone remaine.[178]

Visions of Ovid's own career which are described in Book IV of the *Tristia* materialise, amid fears he expresses to his own father that he could not take public

---

[176] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes,* sig. H3r.
[177] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes,* sig. X2v.
[178] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes,* sig. X2v.

office and survive it. Furthermore, Ovid's proximity to Augustus was dangerous, something which finds its parallel in the age of Whitney, where any closeness to Elizabeth was also fraught with anxiety at the prospect of being out of favour or falling from grace. One specific passage from Ovid's *Tristia* is cited twice, once when accompanying the narrative of the two pots mentioned above and again in the story of the sieve, *Sic discerne*, where the reader is asked to weigh carefully the different types of men, good and evil, as they would separate weeds from healthy crops. The reference used in both these cases is drawn from *Tristia* III: iv and reads, 'Viue sine inuidia, mollesque inglorius annos/ exige, amicitias et tibi iunge pares' [Live unenvied, pass years of comfort apart from fame, unite to thee friends like thyself].[179] In the latter of the two emblems, the weight of the moral seems to fall on finding true friends within a diverse and often confusing community, identifying prudently the faces that might appear honest and true, but mask an internal malice:

> By which is ment, sith wicked men abounde,
> That harde it is, the good from bad to trie:
> The prudent sorte, shoulde haue suche iudgement sounde,
> That still the good they shoulde from bad descrie:
> And sifte the good, and to discerne their deedes,
> And weye the bad, noe better then the weedes.[180]

Evidently Whitney found considerable meaning in this phrase and had kept it in mind whilst composing the work, choosing to use it again in the second half of the two-part quarto. This kind of reappropriation of the emphasis on fame within the *Tristia* is not unique to Skelton's *Garland of Laurell* then, but maintains a presence in the literature of the latter half of the sixteenth century. Writings on false friendship found in Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* have their source in Ovid's *Tristia* and are intermediated by Skelton too.

Three of the seven excerpts from Ovid's work are italicised in the original Latin form beneath the English poems, the other four feed thematically into his English poetry, but present a direct quotation in the Latin in the margin. This structure indicates how Ovid's writing was used in this late sixteenth-century text, and how, in line with examples of Latin and English editions presented in chapter

---

[179] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: iv, Lines 43-44, p. 119.
[180] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, Lines 7-12, sig. I2v.

one, readers encountered the *Tristia* in a bilingual manner. Ovid is reconfigured in the vernacular here by Whitney, but readers would have also been expected to recognise the Latin citations in the margins (which are often lengthy, and inserted *verbatim*) without the assistance of an English translation. An examination of the popularity of various editions of the *Tristia* text in both its Latin and English states in the sixteenth century (as illustrated in the last chapter) underlines this fascination to read the poem in all its versions.

The seven references to the *Tristia*, contained within Whitney's work encompass all areas of Ovid's text, and come from the prefatory address or Envoy to the poem, but also from Books II, III, and V, providing strong evidence that the work was read in its entirety, and that the focus was not Book IV, as is often believed in critical analyses of the *Tristia* today. Whitney's approach is different, but he read the *Tristia* seriously and comprehensively, and knew it well in its Latin form, using its tropes effectively to give structure and authority to the claims he makes in his *Choice of Emblemes.*

What is also striking about Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* is the prefatory materials we find attached to the text. Dedicated to Robert Earl of Leicester, the Epistle written to him is filled with examples of classical educative practices. Emphasis is placed heavily on the role of the tutor, and mention made of Aristotle, Ennius and Virgil's successes with their respective emperors. Leicester, as a 'lovinge patron of learninge', seems an apt recipient for such exclamations, whilst Whitney clearly bolsters the remainder of his Epistle with carefully constructed panegyric.[181] He moves on to address three essential elements - health, wealth and fame - and, of these three, provides an extensive revue of the third, suggesting that it ought to be desired by bookish scholars. Without fame they will all be forgotten about, having wasted their energies for nobody's long-term intellectual gain:

> Bicause that healthe, and wealthe, though they bee neuer so good, and so great, determine with the bodie, and are subiecte vnto time; but honour, fame, renowme, and good reporte, doe triumphe ouer deathe, and make men liue for euer…For, what is man in this worlde?

[181] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, Epistle, sig. *3r.

> without fame to leaue behinde him, but like a bubble of water, that now riseth, & anon is not knowne where it was.[182]

Fame is also contemplated by Ovid in the *Tristia,* in particular within Book V, where the same concerns of failing to leave an indelible mark for others to memorialize the author with, emerge. Whitney's work displays vestiges of monuments and myths that pervade the Spenser canon so vividly, and these inflections in his work create a 'Tristian' bond between the two poets that can be presented here much more explicitly. The idea of living forever through the medium of his poetry greatly appeals to Ovid in the *Tristia,* and underpins the statements made by Whitney to Leicester above. With Whitney's intricate citations of Ovid in the text, one assumes he would have known and read Ovid's opinions on this matter also.

Ben Jonson – *Poetaster* (1601)

Ben Jonson directly cites the *Tristia* on fifteen occasions within his satirical play *Poetaster,* with many more implicit Ovidian references littering the dialogue as the plot progresses.[183] *Poetaster* traces a 'mock' biography of Ovid, and centres upon a tyrannical Augustus banishing the poet to Tomis. Whilst critics such as Moul stress the significance of Horace and Virgil as poetic 'heroes' of the play, and tend to focus upon Jonson's meticulously imitative passages lifted from Horatian and Juvenalian sources, Ovid's part in this work may be seen as equally crucial. In a play about the textual authority of a poet over his works (a conceit that recurs throughout Jonson's writing) Ovid's presence and that of the banishment scenes from the *Tristia* are invaluable.[184] It is easy to observe from the *Ars Poetica* (and Jonson's unusual interest in translating this piece) Horace's fascination with the poet and their means of maintaining popularity. If, however, we consider Ovid's *Tristia* in place of Horace's works, we enter upon a far more complex and intricate reading and uncover a long-buried literary influence. We likewise find a source that is obsessed with the idea of poetic fame and literary longevity. Ovid is keener than ever that he 'shall be

---

[182] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, Epistle, sig. **2v.
[183] The *Tristia* has fifteen citations, the *Metamorphoses* eight, and the *Amores* only five throughout the whole play. Ben Jonson, *Poetaster,* ed.Tom Cain (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1995).
[184] Joseph Loewenstein speaks more on Jonson's tight authorial control over publication and type-setting of his works in *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.104-133.

read' in the *Tristia.* His monument to himself in Book III: vii underpins this desire, indeed this necessity to be famous, to live on.[185]

Poetaster is a play that traces the development of all types of poets, before reaching the conclusion that all are reducible to one exemplar-figure. In terms of imitative translational practice, this also seems to work. All poets epitomise the 'maker', drawing together sources of learning, before regurgitating them to an audience (as Crispinus graphically does in Act V, Scene iii). Their faces become indistinguishable from one another. Ovid plays Jupiter, Aeneas and himself in various scenes of the play. Ovid and Augustus Caesar are thus conflated due to the Jupiter role spanning two characters, rendering the power of the emperor over the poet rather impotent. They essentially become equals and share an identity associated with power and retaliation. Another satirical twist in favour of Ovid, rather than the over-zealous Augustus, emerges in Jonson's reworking of historical Rome.

The cast includes Ovid's father, the Emperor Augustus and his daughter Julia, along with certain fairweather friends keen to orchestrate Ovid's downfall. Within its five acts, the play pays specifically close attention to Book IV of the *Tristia* and also creatively emulates the 'parting' episode in Book I where we would expect the text to be most poignant and emotionally evocative. This is not the case with Jonson's play; far from gushing, his intention is instead provocative. He creates a climate of dark hilarity and as Julia and Ovid bid their adieus in Act IV (in, it must be noted, a scene that is completely fabricated and that has no basis within the *Tristia*) it all becomes asinine and over-acted, with each character constantly threatening to die on the other:

> Ovid: Begone sweet life-blood; if I should discern
> Thyself but touched for my sake I should die.
> Julia: I will be gone then, and not heaven itself
> Shall draw me back.
> [She turns to leave] He calls her back.
> Ovid: Yet Julia, if thou wilt,
> A little longer stay.
> Julia: I am content.

[185] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book III: vii, Lines 49 – 54. pp.130 – 131.

Ovid: O mighty Ovid! What the sway of heaven
Could not retire, my breath hath turnèd back.
Julia: Who shall go first my, love? My passionate eyes
Will not endure to see thee turn from me.
Ovid: If thou go first, my soul will follow thee.
Julia: Then we must stay.
Ovid: Ay me, there is no stay
In amorous pleasures; if both stay, both die. [186]

In the space of a few brief lines Jonson cleverly encapsulates some of the tone of the *Tristia*. His imperious, egocentric Ovid character's exclamation, 'O mighty Ovid' seems matter for hilarity and yet it is also clearly reminiscent of the first-person expostulations present throughout the *Tristia*. Instances include 'ei mihi'[187]; 'Nasonisque tui'[188] and a repeated 'ei mihi' in Book III.[189] The excerpt ends with a severe reference to the more lascivious writings of Ovid, 'there is no stay in amorous pleasures', for there is no longevity to them, they only lead to exile and a kind of literary death, as Ovid realises in the *Tristia* as early as Book I. When threatened in a storm with shipwreck on his journey out to Tomis, Ovid proclaims he is already dead (in terms of literary ambition) and therefore cannot suffer death again:

Infestumque mihi sit satis esse Iovem.
vos animam saevae fessam subducite morti,
si modo, qui periit, non periisse potest.

[Let it suffice that Jupiter is angered against me. Save ye my weary life from cruel death, if only 'tis possible for one already dead not to die!][190]

In terms of the format of *Poetaster*, we must begin to question what Jonson is doing with the original work and his version of it. For example, his Act IV consciously draws out over the course of ten scenes whilst the other acts are confined to no more than a handful of scenes each (Act II being made up of a mere two). This then has

[186] Jonson, *Poetaster*, (Act IV: x, Lines.85-96), p.209.
[187] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: ix, Line 36, p.46.
[188] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: iv, Line 45, p.118.
[189] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: vii, Line 51, p.150.
[190] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: iv, Lines 26-28, pp.28-29.

the effect of emphasising Act IV to the audience over the others, as it becomes directly noticeable for its length. Taking into consideration the fact that the most utilised part of the *Tristia* by Jonson is the autobiographical section of Book IV: x, is it coincidental that we get Ovid's parting scene with Julia thrust into Act IV, Scene X of the *Poetaster*? Is Jonson in fact seeking to reappropriate fiction and make it biography by allying it with a section of Ovid's *Tristia*, associated with biographical information on Ovid's life? Slotted in amidst the factual details of exile we find scope for scandal, and an attempt by Jonson to entice the reader with assumptions on what the cause of exile really was, planting the idea of an alleged illicit relationship between Ovid and the emperor's daughter. Jonson is using the *Tristia* to provide entertainment and provoke open discussion about the character and morality of Ovid. He is also mocking the dramatic conceits of the *Tristia* and repurposing its frequent exclamations in a way that is jovial rather than sorrowful.

In a period obsessively concerned with 'truth' and the display of morality, Jonson takes a long-admired poet and reconfigures him as the anti-poet, not one to be trusted or revered at all, but disdained. Unlike Skelton's *Garland of Laurell* and Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes,* which both eulogize Ovid and take lessons from him, Jonson's *Poetaster* takes advantage of the *Tristia's* mournfulness and makes it, and its author, a subject of satire. There is clearly a transition in the way in which translation and imitation are approached and conceptualised throughout the sixteenth century, culminating in Jonson's confident handling of a sorrowful set of circumstances, and manipulation of them into irony. Even when it appears that Virgil and Horace are triumphant, there is a nagging feeling in any reader of the *Poetaster* that the accolades heaped upon them by Jonson are merely feigned displays of affection and part of a sardonic humour and total authorial control.[191]

Several conclusions may be drawn from the case studies set out in this chapter: firstly, Ovid's *Tristia* was widely read throughout the sixteenth century, and it was read in a variety of ways. Colin Burrow attests to this sixteenth-century usage of the *Tristia* as a multi-purpose text drawing upon its medieval origins, saying that Ovid,

[191] The *Poetaster's* key themes of plagiarism and classical borrowing therefore become much more complex, as part of the work of, in Loewenstein's words, 'the most formally inventive playwright in England'. Loewenstein, *Jonson's Possessive Authorship,* p.123.

'had many forms in early-modern Europe: he was allegorized in commentaries, plundered for rhetorical ornaments in text books, plagiarized in mythological handbooks, read as smut, transformed into highly self-conscious narrative art, and drilled into schoolboys almost every day of their lives.'[192] The above evidence suggests that readers of the *Tristia* knew the text intimately and cherry-picked the most fitting themes, as was common to reading-practice in the early-modern period.[193] These kernels of knowledge might be religious in nature and suited to preaching or pedagogically relevant and useful in training young scholars in rhetorical display.

Inspiration taken from Ovid's exilic text leads early-modern authors down strikingly different conceptual paths, proving its incontrovertible complexity. The general applicability of the *Tristia* to multiple situations and differing stances makes it re-usable. Its position on early-modern curricula and consistent re-printing (as outlined in chapter one) suggests increasingly wide circulation, but this broad audience certainly did not respond to it in a uniform or simple way, as this chapter has illustrated. Its exegetical appeal continued throughout the early-modern period, building upon the early roots of medieval scriptural interpretation. The *Tristia* enabled a multivocal quality in its readership to emerge spanning six centuries (from tenth-century monastic schools to sixteenth-century grammar schools) and claimed an international appeal. As the exegetical mode of reading moved further adrift from a twelfth-century emphasis on the divine authority of a text to an acceptance of literary interpretation and the human *auctore* as a central voice, the interaction with Ovid became more complex too.[194] Ovid's pagan poetry from exile continued to be moralised by sixteenth-century commentators, and this was not defined in one distinctive way in any given historical period.

The aim of this chapter was to examine the varied reappropriation of Ovid's *Tristia*, both through more cursory references which appear in a variety of contexts, and in more obvious reusages, notably in the envoy tradition that influenced Chaucer in the fourteenth century and later Skelton, in the sixteenth. Finally, the way in

---

[192] Colin Burrow, "Re-embodying Ovid: Renaissance Afterlives" from *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid* ed. Philip Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.303-4.
[193] Jennifer Ingleheart and Fred Schurink, 'The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early-Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 345-361.
[194] On how medieval readers read, Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 9-39.

which the *Tristia* pervaded the literature of the sixteenth century has been made plain through specific case studies upon Skelton, Whitney and Jonson.

This chapter has shown that the 'Tristian' themes introduced at the beginning of this thesis remain current in a variety of different literary media in sixteenth-century England, and that they have a longevity to them. In early-, mid-, and late-sixteenth-century literature there are instances of continuous usage of the features outlined: these occur in Latin and vernacular texts which work from Ovid's *Tristia*; in moral and lay literature; and in emblematic, and dramatic forms. There are points of crossover and continuance from medieval readings seen in chapter one – Ovid's work is excerpted from and analysed, but this analysis lends the Tudor author scope for reimagination of 'Tristian' tropes in new works. For instance, writers re-purpose Ovid's position on fame to coordinate their own self-publicity, rather than using his words as a way of indexing or making lists of areas where rhetorical devices on 'fame' might appear. Ovid's 'Tristian' influence in this period is not worked with as a static thing, but as a position in its own right, which might activate the launch of an early-modern career.

It is clear that the text has been consistently mined for information at a superficial level, and in greater textual detail, and, as these studies begin to evidence, the fascination with Ovid's most self-centric text from exile was not waning in the early seventeenth century when *Poetaster* was performed. Reusage began with an exegetical focus and extraction of lessons that may be learnt from the fall from grace Ovid suffered. It continued to be intermediated by those keen to break down the style of writing used, an example being the fourteenth-century scribe's highlighting of 'prosopopeia' and other rhetorical features of the *Tristia* discussed earlier in chapter one. As we reach the sixteenth century and beyond, Ovid becomes a figure of fun in the satirical plays of Jonson, and transcends the simple moral lessons of Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*. He inspires emblematic woodcuts as he does poetry and plays. Ovid is a revered forefather of poetry to Skelton in the 1520s, lending authority beyond the grave to an anxious poet laureate. The element of the *Tristia* Skelton sees as important in the *Garland of Laurell*, of a book going its own way and seeking fame of its own accord, precipitates an envoy tradition which would dominate the prologues of printed texts in the following centuries. This envoy tradition had its sources in Ovidian rhetoric, and the influence of the *Tristia* upon Chaucer's own envoys in *Troilus and Criseyde* and elsewhere, has been drawn. The marginalia

associated with this kind of envoy motif found throughout the sixteenth century point directly to Ovid, and not merely to Chaucer, who has too readily been the 'go-to' author for this literary trope. Furthermore, the *Tristia's* appeal lies in the inscrutability of the text and in the self-control and meticulous planning of its author. In its divergence from other literature of banishment (such as Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* which conveys a clear Christian message) Ovid's *Tristia* ought not be ignored. Due to its literary difficulty, and being read in so many ways, this exilic text can be confronted from multiple perspectives and time-periods, enabling it to remain trans-historically popular.

Jennifer Ingleheart has suggested that Ovid was received by Tudor society, not as the lusty lothario of *The Amores*, nor the provider of *Metamorphoses'* moral exemplars, but as the poet most associated with sorrow.[195] Yet how do we align this with the brutal satires of Jonson, or the dry wit of Skelton? The *Garland of Laurell* is far from bleak, even when the ceremony is discovered to be a dream. Did Ovid become such a stock figure that the comedic effect of using him as a character in *Poetaster* would be evident to one and all? From this examination of reader engagements with Ovid's *Tristia*, we can form an answer to this problem: Ovid was not the two-dimensional character caricatured within Jonson's *Poetaster*, nor was he seen in an inane way. The *Tristia* was treated in all seriousness and its classical pedigree encouraged Ovid's readers to make clear and insightful judgements on his poetic style, the true nature of his exile, and the consolatory lessons they might learn from one banished from his native land. To the sixteenth-century mind, Ovid was a key example of one who had suffered as a result of the negligence of a ruler. The precariousness of Ovid's situation and the lessons it offered in both morality and political acumen would prove to be an important influence on the subject of the next chapter: Thomas Wyatt.

[195] Ingleheart, "'I Shall be thy Devoted Foe': The Exile of the Ovid of the Ibis in English Reception", from *Two Thousand Years of Solitude*, pp.123-126. This chapter goes into more detail on Ovid's sixteenth-century reception.

3

WYATT

Goo burnyng sighes Vnto the frosen hert!
Goo breke the Ise which pites paynfull dert
Myght never perse, and if mortall prayer
In hevyn may be herd, at lest I desire
That deth or mercy be end of my smart.
Take with the payne wherof I have my part,
And eke the flame from which I cannot stert
And leve me then in rest, I you require:
Goo burning sighes![196]

Having outlined the importance of tracing the *Tristia's* reception history from manuscript to printed text in chapters one and two, this chapter presents a more detailed case study examining Wyatt's use of Ovid's *Tristia*, and the continued difficulties with working with an Ovidian tradition accessed via an intermediary, in this case, Petrarch. The following discussion will explore how Wyatt may have encountered Ovid in his reading, and includes an analysis of six poems with 'Tristian' characteristics that appear in Petrarch's corpus of works. Attention will then be turned to a selection of poems displaying 'Tristian' attributes that are not taken from Petrarch. Understanding how Wyatt's poetry fits into a study of the reception of the *Tristia* necessitates an appreciation of elegiac form in the sixteenth century. This chapter looks, therefore, at the mediation between political and amatory messages conveyed through elegy and how this underpinned the work of Wyatt via another of his key influences, Petrarch. In so-doing it builds upon groundwork completed by James Simpson on the relationship between Ovidianisms in medieval and early-modern literature and the way in which political issues transplant amatory ones.[197] Critics of Wyatt's poetry such as Patrick Cheney have

[196] Thomas Wyatt, 'Goo burnyng sighes Vnto the frosen hert!' from *Collected Poems of Thomas Wyatt* eds. Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969), pp.16-17, Lines 1-9.
[197] James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.121-190.

noted an obvious indebtedness to Ovid's *Amores* in his poems[198], but this chapter seeks to concentrate on the far less regarded source of the *Tristia*.[199]

To set this in context, the early tuition Wyatt received at the family seat in Kent would have included Ovid in different forms, before he progressed to Cambridge in the 1520s.[200] Wyatt's position as a writer who had travelled extensively across Europe as part of his diplomatic duties and read literature in French, Italian and Latin – including in particular Petrarch's poetry and psalms – also provides an important context for tracing the *Tristia's* influence on Wyatt's work.[201] References to the *Tristia* made in *On His Own Ignorance* further present an opportunity to reconstruct a connection between Wyatt, its author Petrarch, and Ovid's exilic poetry, tying together a critical trajectory that goes back past the early-humanist to the classical.[202] Because this remains a study of English poetics of exile, Petrarch's own use of Ovidian terminology that inspires Wyatt will form part of a

---

[198] Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution,* pp.121-190 and Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp.10-11.

[199] Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession,* pp.10-11. Cheney bases the majority of his assertions about 'the Ovidian' upon the *Amores*, choosing to define everything in a thematically sexual sense rather than in relation to Ovid's wide-ranging poems on marital constancy and paternal love found in the *Tristia.*

[200] Susan Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt: The Heart's Forest* (London: Faber and Faber, 2014), pp.88-89. Brigden discusses Wyatt's university education in some depth, favouring Christ's College, Cambridge over St John's.

[201] Wyatt carried his commonplace book with him on campaign and, according to Jason Powell on the writing-paper used, composed whilst abroad. Jason Powell, 'Thomas Wyatt's Poetry in Embassy: Egerton 2711 and the Production of Literary Manuscripts Abroad', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 67.2 (2004), 261-282. See also Helen Baron's thesis studying the handwriting of Wyatt in different contexts, 'Sir Thomas Wyatt's Seven Penitential Psalms: A Study of Textual and Source Materials', unpublished PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1977.

[202] Ovid's Book IV: x is cited as evidence of the author's fidelity to his literary forefathers by Petrarch here: 'And I have much to say against our foolish Aristotelians. In every single sentence, they daily pound us with Aristotle, whose name alone they grasp, until I suspect that both he and their listeners are disgusted; and they recklessly distort even his most direct statements into twisted meanings. No one loves or reveres men of distinction more than I do. Ovid says, All the poets that were there I regarded as as so many gods. (*Tristia* IV: x, 42). I apply his words to philosophers and theologians above all others. Aristotle himself I know to be a great man, but a human one; and I wouldn't say this if I didn't know his greatness.' Petrarch, *On His Own Ignorance*, paragraph 113, pp. 320-321 from *Franceso Petrarca: Invectives*, ed. and trans. David Marsh (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2003).

chain of interpretation issuing back to the classical writings from Tomis but will not become a focus in its own right. Similarly, the model of identifying only a fourteenth-century - as opposed to a Roman source - is flawed, and Wyatt's deviations from Petrarch are the points with which we are most critically engaged here, for they are where the English poet's connections to Ovid's *Tristia* may be made in earnest.

The first half of this chapter will deal with six poems from the sample of twenty-one that Wyatt wrote which have a directly provable Petrarchan source, but also point towards an interaction of a 'Tristian' nature. The second half of the chapter will then look at the remaining poems that exhibit 'Tristian' features but which do not exhibit an obvious debt to Petrarch. In these poems, the mediator may be any number of Italian and European sources which appealed to Wyatt, but the key focus will be on showing Wyatt's poetry to be 'Tristian' in content or style. A survey of Wyatt's poems for 'Tristian' attributes entails finding references to thematically pertinent material, structural or formalistic similarities, or direct paraphrases of 'Tristian' terms. In some cases one, two, or all three of these parameters are at work.

In two thirds of the sixty-six poems by Wyatt in which references to Ovid's *Tristia* occur there are also alternative classical influences at play. This is clearly apparent when considering the number of authors cited as literary models for Ovid within Book II of the *Tristia*.[203] This chapter instead focuses on a select few examples that are most compellingly 'Tristian', some of which tally with Rosanna Bettarini's comprehensive commentary on Petrarch's reading.[204] In identifying what is 'Tristian', reference is made to those attributes outlined in my introduction. A number of critical research questions emerge in relation to Wyatt and form the basis of the sections that follow. Where does the *Tristia* occur as a model in Wyatt's work and how does this manifestation take shape? Is this model recycled from Petrarch or does it materialise from Wyatt's own independent reading? Are such references to the *Tristia* abstruse and diffracted or are they formulaically similar, and what does Wyatt add that differentiates his use of the work?

---

[203] Ovid cites eighteen Roman authors who influenced him and displays knowledge of their works as part of his defence to Augustus. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Lines 421-465, pp.85-89.

[204] Petrarch, *Canzoniere Rerum Vulgarum Fragmenta*, commentary by Rosanna Bettarini (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2005).

How Wyatt Knew Ovid

Evidence of Wyatt's engagement with and reading of Ovid's works is presented by C. E. Nelson who states that, although in Wyatt's poems 'classical sources are not absent, they are slight in comparison to other influences'.[205] Contrast this with the stance taken by William Rossiter, albeit focusing on the love poems, that Wyatt interacted with the beginning and end of the classical source text, and the question of how Wyatt knew Ovid already becomes more complex, and less 'slight'.[206] Jason Powell also provides information and context on the likely source texts surrounding the poet in the mid-sixteenth century. These included the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus and other collections of Latin sayings that circulated in the grammar schools.[207] However, this peripheral engagement with proverb books is not part of the method Wyatt uses when approaching the *Tristia*, and not integral to how Wyatt knew Ovid. My methodology in this chapter is therefore as follows: aspects of the Ovidian can be identified in Wyatt's poetry; these can be defined as 'Tristian' because they contain essential elements of the *Tristia* outlined earlier in this thesis; the examples of this are evidenced in Ovid and in Wyatt, and these aspects are sometimes also present in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Wyatt's sources are often directly 'Tristian' rather than just Petrarchan. With 'Tristian' features discernible in sixty-six of Wyatt's works in the Muir and Thomson edition, this is clearly a significant source that has been overlooked.

Of the Wyatt poems selected here as having 'Tristian' attributes, six also stem directly from Petrarch's *Rime Sparse* of the mid-fourteenth century, and form the basis of close study in section two of this chapter. These are: 'My Galy Charged with Forgetfulnes'; 'Pas fourthe, my wountyd cries'; 'Lament my losse'; 'I fynde no peace and all my warr is done'; 'So feble is the threde'; and 'Goo burnyng sighes'. Knowing that Petrarch had read the *Tristia* from his reference to it in *On His Own Ignorance* supports a connection between Ovid, Petrarch and Wyatt.[208] The passage

---

[205] C. E. Nelson, 'A Note on Wyatt and Ovid', *Modern Language Review*, 58.1 (1963), 60.
[206] William T. Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad: Tudor Diplomacy and the Translation of Power* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), p.20.
[207] Jason Powell, *The Complete Works of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, Vol.1 Prose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.55.
[208] Petrarch's reference in *On his Own Ignorance* is taken from *Tristia* IV: x, line 42: 'Quotque aderant uates rebar adesse deos' [All the poets that were there I regarded as

from Book IV of the *Tristia* cited by Petrarch immediately supersedes Ovid's dismissal of senatorial ambition in his career before exile contained in IV: x. The link between Petrarch and Wyatt in these six poems may be further substantiated by Watson's comprehensive first-line bibliography of translations and variations upon Petrarch by later English renaissance writers.[209] As refashioning is part, after all, of Wyatt's compositional process, his own Ovidianisms and those of Petrarch appear to combine in his poetry. As Chris Stamatakis has noted,

> Much of [Wyatt's] writing is self-conscious, without ever being truly self-disclosing; is seemingly iterative, while quietly introducing disruptive variations; is cased in a veneer of plain speaking; is ostensibly assertive, but repeatedly qualifies apparent statements with doubts, conditions, and incompletion; and constantly announces its written-ness, yet seems to resist a fixed or final written form.[210]

This statement could apply equally well to Ovid as it does to Wyatt. Little doubt remains of the self-conscious nature of the *Tristia* which probes the character of its author and yet veils true meaning under a network of rhetorical motifs. This form of self-consciousness denotes an awareness of Ovid's poetic agenda and authorial position rather than personal anxiety. Ovid's tracks are often as muddied as Wyatt's, and the lack of fixity as both authors are desirous to recentre themselves is all too apparent. That once-insignificant freedom has been replaced by exile and the state of mind this brings about has blinkered the lines of poetic vision.

Illustrating that Petrarch's knowledge of Ovid extended to his work from exile can provide a key link between Ovid and Wyatt. Whilst the critical field of Petrarch studies tends to limit the Italian author's Ovidian sources to the *Metamorphoses*,[211] there is currently nothing suggesting any link between the *Tristia*

---

so many gods]. Petrarch, *Franceso Petrarca: Invectives*, ed. and trans. David Marsh, pp. 320-321.

[209] George Watson, *The English Petrarchans: A Critical Bibliography of the Canzoniere* (London: University of London, 1967). Petrarch's poems: 1, 37, 134, 153, 189 are used by Wyatt in a 'Tristian' way. They evoke the *Tristia* and work with Petrarch to create their full structures and are not merely direct translations from Petrarch.

[210] Chris Stamatakis, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.2.

[211] A good deal has been written on this metamorphic connection in essays by Hinds, Farrell and Hardie from *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's Metamorphoses and its Reception*, eds. Philip Hardie, Alessandro Barchiesi and Stephen Hinds

and Petrarch, and then, Wyatt.[212] Thérèse Migraine-George has presented a convincing argument for Ovidian-Petrarchan crossovers in saying that 'the *Rime sparse* often functions as a palimpsest, as a deeply original poetic work but which constantly discloses an Ovidian subtext'.[213] Whilst Orpheus and Pygmalion form the basis of her study, the conclusions she draws from Petrarch's obvious Ovidianism place the *Tristia* in as significant a position as the *Metamorphoses*. It is the nature of Laura's transformation into little more than a poetic device – which may be likened to the way Ovid's enforced estrangement from his wife plays out in the *Tristia* – that makes that Petrarchan-'Tristian' connection explicit and tangible. The key link between Ovid, Petrarch and Wyatt lies in their amatory verse, and treatment of the unattainable female, as Migraine-George writes,

> Petrarch thus simultaneously creates and exiles Laura in order to inspire and sustain his poetic progression. He deliberately confines Laura to absence and silence, and finally sentences her to death in order to fulfil an eminently narcissistic poetic agenda and to achieve his literary autonomy.[214]

It is this very 'absence and silence' that is manipulated in Ovid's *Tristia* and engineered further in Wyatt's love poems. Absence and unanswered epistles are used to perpetuate a myth of exilic despair which is never quite believable, and the unattainable female who must be idolised and monumentalised (the Penelope figure

---

(Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1999). Links between Petrarch and Ovid that are not *Metamorphoses*-based include the collocation of *De Arte Amandi* and *I Trionfi* in an Italian bound manuscript from the mid-15th century held at Pennsylvania State University. This is discussed further in Dennis Looney 'Petrarch and Ovid in the Ferrarese Quattrocento: Notes on a Manuscript at Pennsylvania State University', *Romance Philology*, 48 (1994), 22-29.

[212] John Heath, 'The Stupor of Orpheus: Ovid's Metamorphoses 10.64-71', *The Classical Journal*, 91 (1996), 353-370. Heath favours the Orpheus and Apollo tangent and its ties between Petrarch and Ovid but does not look at the *Tristia*. The Petrarchan referents from books ten (and seven which Heath does not mention) both appear in the *Tristia*, however. Migraine-George builds and expands on Heath's work. Catherine Keen establishes crossovers in Anglo-Italian use of the envoy in *'Va, Mia Canzone:* Textual Transmission and the Congedo in Medieval Exile Lyrics', *Italian Studies*, 64 (2009), 183-197.

[213] Thérèse Migraine-George, 'Orpheus and Pygmalion as Aesthetic Paradigms in Petrarch's Rime Sparse', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 36 (1999), 227.

[214] Migraine-George, 'Orpheus and Pygmalion as Aesthetic Paradigms', 234.

of Ovid's exile poetry) is created under the ruse of providing fame for the lover, but actually only fosters the fame of its male creator.

Petrarch as Intermediary

Even though the *Satires* and the *Penitential Psalms* were the poems of absence and enforced exile for Wyatt, perhaps surprisingly, they do not recycle 'Tristian' terms to the same degree as his amatory verses. The latter correlate with Ovid's unstinting fidelity in spite of harsh circumstances in Tomis, and therefore Wyatt's love lyrics (composed whilst on ambassadorial duties) are much more notedly 'Tristian'. Both Ovid in the *Tristia* and Wyatt in his love poems have been misinterpreted for centuries as advancing an autobiographical narrative, masking the individual stylistic merits of their verse. Wyatt is in exile figuratively, always at one remove from the centre of court even whilst ensconced in its intrigue. He is clearly not the central figure or 'I' of his verse, just as Ovid is not the subject of his, as the *Tristia* makes plain in Book II:

> magnaque pars mendax operum est et ficta meorum:
> plus sibi permisit compositore suo.
> nec liber indicium est animi, sed honesta voluntas
> plurima mulcendis auribus apta ferens.[215]
>
> [most of my work, unreal and fictitious, has allowed itself more licence than its author has had. A book is not an evidence of one's soul, but an honourable impulse that presents very many things suited to charm the ear.]

Wyatt's preoccupation with the first-person address in his works is something which has been touched upon by William Rossiter, but such 'autobiographical' reading needs to be supplanted by a desire to expose the textual intricacies that connect Ovid's work and this body of later renaissance literature. Wyatt's work imitates Ovid's *Tristia* linguistically (employing paraphrase), thematically (in subject matter), and stylistically (by using the same rhetorical motifs).

In line with Simpson's pairing of the political and amatory, Rossiter adds that the following are the key characteristics of Wyatt's verse:

---

[215] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Lines 355-358, pp.80-81.

> Hope, desire, fear and trust are the cornerstones of Wyatt's poetic vocabulary in the lyrics, and each is undermined through experience by despair, repugnance, Stoic resilience and suspicion. It is a vocabulary, as we have seen, which allows for the blurring of the political and the amorous, and in doing so reflects the blurrings of these discourses and practices at court. [216]

All of these, I suggest, are also Ovidian, and more specifically, 'Tristian' features. As the *Tristia* progresses through to Book V, Ovid's suspicion escalates whilst his health diminishes. The earlier faith in his wife and friends in Rome is tested and found wanting but serves to heighten trust in the few allies that are left to him. If the *Metamorphoses* embodied change, development, and rebirth then its opposite is the focus in the *Tristia* on inevitable disconnection, stagnation and death. The latter conditions are representative of Ovid's state of body and mind in Tomis and are also found within Wyatt's most self-absorbed lovesick verse. Ovid deems his exilic work 'inferior' when compared to the success and grandeur of the already publicly-received *Metamorphoses,* but it is in fact merely a different species of work, an undervalued resource which has wrongly taken on the mantle of Ovid's condemnation.

Ovid and Wyatt both evade responsibility for their own poetics and step back from their authorial personae, asking for an ideal implied reader who takes responsibility for any interpretations that might be contentious politically or sexually. In Ovid's view, expressed in the defensive rhetoric of the *Tristia,* if the *Ars Amatoria* was too lascivious it was only the readers who made it so, allowing those lustful thoughts to penetrate a poet's work of fiction and enable them. Similarly, if Wyatt's readers see political or sexual transgression against Henry VIII in his works it is only their misinterpretation of terminology - that is notoriously slippery and multifaceted in the first place - that has led them to such a dangerous point. Adding Petrarch as an intermediary voice only compounds this effect of maintaining a safe authorial distance. The multivocal nature of the *Tristia* appeals to an early-modern version of the 'poetics of exile' because it helps to 'veileth truth'.

There now follows an analysis of six specific poems which utilise Petrarch as an intermediary between the *Tristia* and Wyatt. Of each poem three key areas are

---

[216] Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad,* p.136.

addressed: what the 'Tristian' element is; what Wyatt reuses from Petrarch; and what Wyatt adds or does differently from his predecessor.

- i) 'Pas fourthe, my wountyd cries'

The first Wyatt poem presenting 'Tristian' language and being sub-read through Petrarch is 'Pas fourthe, my wountyd cries'.[217] This poem relates obliquely to Petrarch's *Canzoniere* 153, which is also the source of Wyatt's 'Goo burnyng sighes' and, significantly, reuses the 'Tristian' envoy discussed in chapter two. As Ovid had done in the *Tristia's* opening book, Wyatt petitions the anthropomorphised book and bids it fly to the one who may redeem him:

> Pas fourthe, my wountyd cries,
> Thos cruel eares to pearce,
> Whyche in most hatful wyse
> Dothe styll my playntes reuers.
> Doo you, my tears, also
> So wet hir bareyn hart,
> That pite ther may gro
> And cruelty depart.

There is a sense of quiet acceptance aligned with indomitable persistence in Wyatt's lines which recalls the *Tristia*. Ovid's tears 'blot the copy' and Wyatt's 'wet hir bareyn hart' but both find cathartic pleasure in the emotions they express and do not seek to retaliate forcefully against their opponents, although wronged. The potential for Christian metaphorical language is great here, yet Wyatt abides by his classical model, guided by Petrarch's close translation.

Further evoking the *Tristia* and embracing the pagan rather than Christian world are the second and third verses:

> For thoughe hard roks amonge
> She semis to haue beyn bred,
> And wythe tygers ful Longe
> Ben norysshed and fed;
> Yet shall that natuer change,

[217] This connection between Wyatt and Petrarch in relation to this specific poem is also supported in Watson, *The English Petrarchans*, pp.1-47.

Yff pyte wons wyn place,
Whome as ounknown and strange
She nowe awat dothe chase.

And as the water soufte,
Wytheout forsinge of strength,
Wher that it fallythe oft,
Hard stonnes dothe perce at Lengthe,
So in hye stony hart
My playntes at Lengthe shall grave,
And, rygor set apart,
Cawse hir graunt that I craue.[218]

Like Petrarch, Wyatt knew no Greek, choosing to translate *The Quyete of Mynde* from the 1505 Latin copy by Budé.[219] Thus the idea of a Homeric inspiration for the 'tygers' in this poem seems fallacious unless Wyatt encountered it in translation. Wyatt's source could therefore lie in a Roman - either Virgilian or Ovidian - model. The tiger is a classical reference which appears in fewer places than first imagined, due to its obscure origin as a species. The entry for 'Tiger', in *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols*, restricts it to a few brief references and does not even cite the instance within the *Tristia,* whilst Laura Hawtree states that 'the tiger appears in most Roman epics and becomes a figure often associated with maternal instincts, whereas it is completely absent in Homer', perpetuating the Latin over the Greek connection.[220]

---

[218] Wyatt, 'Pas fourthe, my wountyd cries', from *Collected Poems*, pp. 171-172.
[219] Brigden, *The Heart's Forest*, p. 136.
[220] Ferber only finds references in the *Metamorphoses* and does not mention the *Tristia*: 'if she fails to help Jason, Medea tells herself "I'll surely own/ I am a child of a tigress" (Ovid, *Met.* 7.32). Over a pathetic scene in Chaucer "ther nys tigre, ne noon so crueel beest," that would not weep (*Squire's Tale* 419); "cruel" occurs as the epithet several times in Chaucer and Spenser. In the *Faerie Queene* the wicked Maleger rides on one (2.11.20).' Ovid, Chaucer, Wyatt and Spenser are all bound by these connecting references to barbarity. Michael Ferber, *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols*, third edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 227. The Latin over Greek connection is covered in Laura Hawtree, "Animals in Epic", *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life* ed. Gordon Lindsay Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p.75.

Marguerite A. Tassi notes that the tiger held appeal in the Renaissance in relation to the story of the unmotherly Medea, with illustrations from Aneau's 1552 *Picta poesis* – itself an emblem book - backing up this connection in the reader's mind. Ovid wrote a now-lost narrative of Medea, which gets cited in later literature, and also included her story in the *Tristia* and *Metamorphoses*. Emblem books frequently re-used Ovid's literary references, as we saw in chapter two with Whitney.[221] An Ovidian network of allusion around the tiger symbol emerges from this to rival the Virgilian one. As contemporaries, it is possible that one Roman poet might be influenced by another, yet Ovid completely fails to recognise Virgil in the *Tristia* despite listing many other sources of poetic inspiration for his work. Ovid refers to Virgil once across all five books, and not even by name, merely in a passing comment.[222] This section will adopt an accretive stance rather than opting for a displacement of previous critical interpretation around Wyatt's verse and its classical and medieval origins. I would acknowledge that whilst Vrigil's influence is visible here, the references to Ovid are more thoroughly convincing. The level of detail and reference-points discussed in the poems below suggest not merely an Ovidian familiarity and engagement, but a specifically 'Tristian' influence on Wyatt's work.

Ovid does not appear overly indebted to Virgil in the *Tristia*, relying instead on an array of Greek and Roman authors listed in Book II as part of a defence on the value of free-speech. Considering the starkly different relationships each poet had with Augustus, this is unsurprising. In terms of textually specific examples, Virgil refers to a tigress in Dido's speech in Book IV of the *Aeneid*,[223] whilst Ovid uses the

---

[221] Marguerite A. Tassi, *Women and Revenge in Shakespeare: Gender, Genre and Ethics* (Susquehanna: Susquehanna University Press, 2011), p.119. Tassi foregrounds Virgil over Ovid but cites a parallel passage in *Titus Andronicus* which is not as Virgilian as it is 'Tristian'. The redemptive quality, marble metamorphosis and potential for change, is more akin to Ovid and Wyatt's style than Virgil's.

[222] There is a notable lack of reference to anything Virgilian within the *Tristia*. Ovid recognises Virgil as Augustus' laureate favourite, but the two poets are starkly different in style, content and direction. Ovid specifically mentions liking Roman contemporaries Propertius and Tibullus, whom he heard reading publicly, suggesting that he sees poetry's importance as a performative art rather than written form, which might by its nature be more distanced or exclusory.

[223] Virgil, *Aeneid.* Book IV, Lines 365-370:

> nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,
> perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
> Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
> nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?

same images of being nursed by tigers and wild beasts in barbaric, rocky climates twice in the *Tristia* (discussed below), once in Medea's tale in Book VII of the *Metamorphoses* and again in Ariadne's speech in Book X. The thread tying source to output is similar in composition, but of a different colour.

The distinctive literary way in which Ovid maintains hope that pity will grow from a passing resentment also pre-empts Wyatt's view in 'Pas fourthe'. Acknowledging the popularity and dissemination of the *Tristia* and the *Metamorphoses* in the sixteenth century in England, the potential for Wyatt discovering this imagery is as likely in Ovid as it is in Virgil. And as Ovidian texts were taught at an earlier age in school curricula than Virgil across the country - to more pupils potentially than would have been able to progress to the later stages of their education - there is even further reason to believe that Wyatt's interaction with this image was when consulting a copy of Ovid's exilic works. The tone of Virgil's embittered heroine's speech is also out of step with Wyatt's re-usage of this specific image. Ovid's address and Wyatt's share a sense of upset that is underlined by an overwhelming love, and a desire to abate such fears of inconstancy, whilst Virgil's address spouts a sadistic kind of venom from the female perspective without potential for reconciliation.

The 'bareyn hart' devoid of pity and mercy, the descendance from tigers who suckled such offspring and the barbaric climate to which she evidently belongs in Wyatt's poem speaks directly to Ovid's *Tristia* in that it paraphrases parts of his epistolary addresses to false friends in Rome. Whilst the first and third verses of 'Pas fourthe' are faithful translations from the Petrarchan original, the second verse is noticeably absent in Petrarch's text. This illustrates Wyatt's borrowing of certain content from Petrarch but insertion of other content from elsewhere. The 'missing' verse is present in *Tristia* Book I, in an address to a former confederate who abandons the poet in his time of need. Her 'stony hart' mirrors a heart 'girt with veins of flint' evoked and reinvoked by Ovid in Books I and III of his *Tristia*, terms which are related to the coldness of a false friend before his exile:

> non ego te genitum placida reor urbe Quirini,
> urbe meo quae iam non adeunda pede est,

---

num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?

sed scopulis, Ponti quos haec habet ora sinistri,
inque feris Scythiae Sarmaticisque iugis:
et tua sunt silicis circum praecordia venae,
et rigidum ferri semina pectus habet,
quaeque tibi quondam tenero ducenda palate
plena dedit nutrix ubera, tigris erat:
aut mala nostra minus quam nunc aliena putares,
duritiaeque mihi non agerere reus.[224]

[You were not born, I think, in Quirinus' peaceful city, the city that my feet must enter nevermore, but of the crags which stand upon this coast of ill-omened Pontus, or in the cruel mountains of Scythia and Sarmatia. Your heart also is girt with veins of flint, and seeds of iron are implanted in your unyielding breast. She who once nursed you, offering full udders to be drained by your tender throat, was a tigress; or else you would think my woes less foreign to you than you now do, nor would you stand accused by me of hardheartedness.]

The failure of the enemy to forgo his slander of the poet strengthens Ovid's assignment of animalistic and savage behaviour for the breast of flint betrays his all too corrosive nature. In contrast, Wyatt's sense of 'hope' emerges in the knowledge that water in time softens the hardest adamant, and that therefore there is potential for redemption in the heart of his correspondent in 'Pas fourthe'.

The return to the book-as-messenger trope of Ovid's *Tristia* in the poem's fourth verse takes the form of a front and back cover to the classically inspired central tenet of the poem:

Wherfor, my pleyntes, present
Styl so to hyr my sut,
As it, through hir assent,
May brynge to me some frut;
And as she shall me proue,
So byd hir me regard,
And render Loue for Loue:

[224] Ovid, *Tristia* Book I: viii, Lines 37-46, p.42.

Wyche is my iust reward.

Using 'Tristian' terminology, Wyatt's verse has also transplanted the despair and isolation of Ovid's address with a petition that is not wholly fruitless; a glimmer of a reward is still visible and a belief in 'Love for Love' still apparent. The language of devotion and bitter cynicism - two halves of the experience of being in love with an unattainable other - pervades Wyatt's verse, but is less often noted as being central to Ovid's exilic work. However, this example of a devoted lover to one who has been 'left behind' quite clearly finds its parallel in the *Tristia*.[225] Ovid arguably shows even greater affection for his wife than Wyatt does for his lover. The section of verse that Ovid addresses most venomously (mirrored by Wyatt) targets a false friend, not wife, but Wyatt alters it to be directed at his love interest instead. Surprisingly the connection between Ovid and Wyatt lies as much in the amatory aspects of Ovid's exilic works as it does in the vituperative cynicism of his exiled state.

Simpson's argument for amatory ties between Ovid's and Wyatt's verse finds support in this 'Tristian' connection. Love, and all of the associative emotions resultant from it, inspire the Wyattian transformations, but this love is not lascivious, or even dramatically 'Heroidian'. It is instead a reflection of the gentle devoted connection between an estranged couple and the doubts that arise between them when distance upsets their mutual harmony. The concord of marital harmony is severed by the discordant surrounding barbarity of Tomis, and further metaphoric insults occur in Book III where the breast of flint and barbarous landscape take centre stage:

Si quis es, insultes qui casibus, improbe, nostris,
meque reum dempto fine cruentus agas,

---

[225] Ovid's *Tristia*, Book IV: iii, Lines 51-56, p.174:

me miserum, si turpe putas mihi nupta videri!
me miserum, si te iam pudet esse meam!
tempus ubi est illud, quo te iactare solebas
coniuge, nec nomen dissimulare viri?
tempus ubi est, quo te – nisi non vis illa referri –
et dici, memini, iuvit et esse meam?

[Wretched am I if thou countest it disgrace to be thought my bride! Wretched am I if now thou art ashamed to be mine! Where is that time when thou wert wont to boast of thy husband and not conceal that husband's name? Where is that time when – unless thou wouldst not have such things recalled – thou wert glad (I remember) to be called and to be mine?]

> natus es e scopulis et pastus lacte ferino,
> et dicam silices pectus habere tuum.[226]
>
> [Whoever thou art that dost mock, wicked man, at my misfortunes, endlessly bringing an indictment against me, thirsting for my blood, born art thou of crags and fed on the milk of wild beasts, and I will assert that thy breast is made of flint.]

A love-hate relationship exists between poet and the art that maimed him in the first place – such crags as nurtured his enemies threaten the very composition and survival of Ovid's verses. A poet dedicated to his art, however painful it may be, and whatever punishments it brings down upon him, is honest to his pen.

Against his better interests, Wyatt trusts in his lost conquest, just as Ovid unrelentingly returns in the *Tristia* to writing about the experience of exile, in the very form that had been the cause of his hurt in the first place:

> at nunc – tanta meo comes est insania morbo –
> saxa malum refero rursus ad ista pedem:
> scilicet ut victus repetit gladiator harenam,
> et redit in tumidas naufraga puppis aquas.[227]
>
> [But as it is – such madness accompanies my disease – I am once more bending my unfortunate step to those crags, just as the vanquished gladiator seeks again the arena or the battered ship returns to the surging sea.]

There is nothing geographically specific to relate 'Pas fourthe' to Virgil, and Dardanus, Caucasus and Hyrcania are not specifically mentioned if Book IV of the *Aeneid* was ever a source to Wyatt in this poem. The *Tristia's* Scythian mountains also fail to appear and fail to prove conclusively that Wyatt had Ovid in mind whilst composing the additional verses of this specific poem. The third verse, nevertheless, reworks Ovid's thoughts on 'Time' from Book IV: vi of the *Tristia* which 'wears away hard flint and adamant'.[228] And, according to Bettarini's extensive commentary

---

[226] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: xi, Lines 1-4, p.140.
[227] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Lines 15-18, p.56.
[228] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book IV: vi, Line 14, p.187. This same terminology occurs in Wyatt:

on Ovidian references in Petrarch, the fourth book of the *Tristia* is used extensively, giving credence to Wyatt taking up some of the same terms.[229] The constant reiteration of Ovid's state of exile and pain will finally wear down his recipients, just as Wyatt intends to chip away at his lover's stony heart in 'Pas fourthe'. The unrelenting structure of the 'Tristian' envoy in Wyatt's work also adds to the circularity of this vehement position.

- ii) 'Goo burnyng sighes'

Closely paired with 'Pas Fourthe' due to its common Petrarchan mediatory source, 'Goo burnyng sighes' is another example of stylistic borrowing from the *Tristia*, due to its envoy-like structure. It is distinctly 'Tristian' insofar as it fulfils the criteria set out in chapter two: it addresses an inanimate object and personifies it; petitions the need for an educated reader; and asserts its own ineffectiveness or physical shabbiness in contrast to an earlier state of grandeur. This poem opens with a perfect mimicry of Ovidian envoy practice, the repeated clauses and self-referential nature of the verse displacing the recipient and relegating them to a position of secondary importance, just as Ovid fashions in Book I of the *Tristia*:

> Goo burnyng sighes Vnto the frosen hert!
> Goo breke the Ise which pites paynfull dert
> Myght never perse, and if mortall prayer
> In hevyn may be herd, at lest I desire
> That deth or mercy be end of my smart.
> Take with the payne wherof I have my part,
> And eke the flame from which I cannot stert

> Yf with complaint the paine might be exprest
> That inwardelye dothe cause me sigh and grone,
> Your harde herte and your cruell brest
> Shulde sighe and playne for my vnreste;
> And tho yt ware of stone
> Yet shulde Remorse cause yt relent and mone.
> But sins yt ys so farre out of mesure
> That with my wordes I can yt not contayne

Wyatt, 'Yf with complaint', Lines 1-8 from *Collected Poems,* p.214.

[229] Petrarch, *Rerum Vulgarum Fragmenta*, commentary by Bettarini, p.1723. Cross-references between IV: iii of the *Tristia* and Petrarch 48.1 are provided in this index. Also IV: viii of the *Tristia* with Petrarch 23.51, 83.2 and 278.13. Finally Book IV: x of the *Tristia* is linked to Petrarch 23.62; 83.2 and 224.4.

And leve me then in rest, I you require:
Goo burning sighes!

I must goo worke, I se, by craft and art,
For trueth and faith in her is laide apart;
Alas, I cannot therefore assaill her
With pitefull plaint and scalding fyer,
That oute of my brest doeth straynably stert:
Goo burning sighes![230]

Rhetorically this poem manages to achieve exactly what Ovid's *Tristia* does; it assigns a set of characteristics and judgements which cannot be undermined or contested by the reader because of the mode of address used. In its directive nature the focus is on the poem's 'sighes' approaching the unattainable 'other', rather than on questioning her frigidity, or lack of empathy. In its emotive outpourings and use of apostrophe the poet is raised in true 'Tristian' triumphal style. The melodramatic potential for 'deth or mercy' again instils this poem with Ovidian language – it is always one extreme or another for Ovid: lacking recall he will die alone in the Scythian climate from icy cold and a lack of faith in the humanity he had relied upon. Dramatic contrast is provided by the constant use of perceived opposition, whether that is in plain sight or falsely manufactured out of increasing paranoia and a desire for pity. There appears to be an inescapably 'Tristian' stance taken in Wyatt's two poems that use the envoy, in relation to metaphors and imagery shared with the *Tristia*, but their specific indebtedness to Ovid's work from exile remains hard to demonstrate indubitably.

- iii) 'My Galy Charged with Forgetfulnes'

In the opening book of the *Tristia* Ovid is hindered by the weather whilst on board his ship to the Black Sea. As he remains in sight of the coast and what he has lost he is also anxious for an increased distance from Rome, lending a position of frustrated inability to the exiled state, which is situated nowhere. 'My Galy Charged with Forgetfulnes' is similarly preoccupied with the loss of one's home but exists in a

[230] Wyatt, 'Goo burning sighes Vnto the frozen hert!', from *Collected Poems of Thomas Wyatt*, pp.16-17.

state of flux where remembrance is rued not invited. Wyatt's poem is translated from Petrarch and links to the *Tristia* due to its use of the poetical staging of the inexpressible utterance; the turmoil experienced by its main protagonist is not of heaven or earth. However, Wyatt seems to have bypassed Petrarch and diverged from his model in certain ways. Wyatt's poem also seeks redress from the unreachable other and uses the physicality of the landscape to heighten the non-heroic voyage to epic proportions:

> My galy charged with forgetfulnes
> Thorrough sharpe sees in wynter nyghtes doeth pas
> Twene Rock and Rock; and eke myn ennemy, Alas,
> That is my lorde, sterith with cruelnes;
> And every owre a thought in redines,
> As tho that deth were light in suche a case;
> An endles wynd doeth tere the sayll a pase
> Of forced sightes and trusty ferefulnes.
> A rayn of teris, a clowde of derk disdain
> Hath done the wered cordes great hinderaunce,
> Wrethed with errour and eke with ignoraunce.
> The starres be hid that led me to this pain;
> Drowned is reason that should me confort,
> And I remain dispering of the port.[231]

There is a sense of entitlement to Wyatt's rendering of his verse in 'My galy charged' rather than willing acceptance of his fate as reason 'should me confort'. Using the modal verb makes it reason's fault that he suffers, rather than his inability to conjure such mental faculty and resist the storm in which he finds himself 'dispering of the port'. In such protestations, Wyatt takes a 'Tristian' theme of death as a salve, and embellishes it with further metaphoric cadence.

Petrarch's version is much more self-deprecating, trusting in the 'two stars' which are inevitably going to re-appear as the mists shift above the ship's sails.[232]

---

[231] Wyatt, 'My galy charged with forgetfulnes', from *Collected Poems,* pp. 21-22.
[232] Petrarch's poem 189 reads:

> Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio
> per aspro mare, a mezza note il verno,
> enfra Scilla e Caribdi; et al governo
> Siede 'l signore, anzi 'l nimico mio.

With Wyatt, however, these stars hold no such hope or salvation; it is clear that the initial despair is justified and only serves to foreground the inevitable drowning at the poem's climax. In this, Wyatt adds something that Petrarch's original lacks, but that Ovid's *Tristia* contains. The classical reference to the myth of Scylla and Charybdis, first encountered in Homer's *Odyssey*, is erased from Wyatt's rendering, and stands out in this respect because it is so clearly present in the Petrarchan source, and in Ovid's exilic work, but absent in the translation which is otherwise closely faithful. Wyatt's poem is non-specific about the 'Rock and Rock' he flounders between, even though Petrarch's Italian and Ovid's Latin make quite plain the geography of the protagonist's predicament in each case. Wyatt's attempt to localise a sense of loss and pain simultaneously removes all sense of location or specificity. By obfuscating the poem's geographical setting, Wyatt makes the poem consciously self-interested and specifically about himself, rather than the original narrative, and in so doing, he mimics Ovid.

Ovid's *Tristia* contains multiple instances where the poet faces an impossible situation regarding the dual status of *vates* and exile, and this is most starkly envisaged on the perilous sea journey from Rome to Tomis. Wyatt omits some of Ovid's geographical markers, yet their purpose is the same, and a desire for localisation or *communitas* furthered. A return to civil discourse is the goal of both, with Ovid referring to classical myth in order to highlight the fissures of his surroundings. For instance, the strait of water that threatened sailors and the myth of Charybdis is invoked specifically in Book V:

> hinc ego dum muter, vel me Zanclaea Charybdis
> devoret atque suis ad Styga mittat aquis,
> vel rapidae flammis urar patienter in Aetnae,
> vel freta Leucadii mittar in alta dei.

/A ciasun remo un penser pronto e rio
che la tempesta e 'l fin par ch'abbi a scherno;
la vela rompe un vento umido eterno
di sospir', di speranze, et di desio.
/Pioggia di lagrimar, nebbia di sdegni
bagna e rallenta le già stanche sarte,
che son d'error con ignoranzia attorto.
/Celansi I duo mei dolci usati segni;
morta fra l'onde è la ragion et l'arte,
tal ch'incomincio a desperar del porto.

> quod petimus, poena est: neque enim miser esse recuso,
> sed precor ut possim tutius esse miser.[233]
>
> [Yet peace there is at times, confidence in peace never: so does this place now suffer, now fear attack. If I may but exchange this place for another, let even Zanclaean Charybdis swallow me, sending me by her waters to the Styx, or let me be resigned to burn in the flames of scorching Aetna or hurled into the deep sea of the Leucadian god. What I seek is punishment, for I do not reject suffering, but I beg that I may suffer in greater safety!]

Ovid's remit at this stage of the exile writings is to exchange danger for safety and return to freedom of personal choice and self-determination. It is not the physical or geographical 'difference' that is at issue, rather it is the metaphysical distance away from *civility* that makes the situation tortuous. At the peak of the Roman empire such distances were not seen as overly lengthy, or any more alien to the soldiers travelling them, but it is the lack of mental connection and intellectual conversation – a cultural vacuum of barren existence – that heightens the extremity of each author's situation here.

The danger that is physically threatening in Ovid's text is carried over into the Wyatt, and yet diffracted in subtle ways. This similarity is distinctly linguistic rather than thematic or formalistic. The metaphorical and metaphysical conceits of Wyatt's verse supplant Ovid's real threats of sword and waves in the *Tristia* as a further reference emerges to surrounding dangers here in Book I:

> attigero portum, portu terrebor ab ipso:
> plus habet infesta terra timoris aqua.
> nam simul insidiis hominum pelagique laboro,
> et faciunt geminos ensis et unda metus.[234]

[233] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: ii, Lines 73- 78, p.218.
[234] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: xi, Lines 25-28, pp.54-55.

> [Should I reach the harbour, the very harbour will affright me: there is more to dread upon the land than on the hostile sea. For the snares of men and of the sea unite in causing my woe; the sword and the waves produce twin fears.]

Such 'Tristian' pairings of perceived threats find new and specific focus in Wyatt's poem as his 'lorde' steers the helm of the ship and controls a barbarous situation. Ovid is at the mercy of the gods and stars, whilst Wyatt places agency on the one man who can overrule his torment by forgoing such 'cruelnes'. Both long for the shore and yet resent it out of doubt and fear at their awaited fate. Articulation of despair, one of the key facets of Wyatt's literary style, clearly reigns in the *Tristia* but this specific allusion to the enemy and sense of being stuck between two evils (the 'Rock and Rock' or Scylla and Charybdis) with nowhere to turn, compounds the Ovid-Wyatt connection and evades the Petrarchan intermediary.

Wyatt's use of a vocabulary of political-amatory petition in 'My Galy' also has roots in the *Tristia* with Ovid's perpetual praise of his wife's fidelity pitted against the political stakes in Rome, and his potential for reinstatement. Ovid's wife is never mentioned by name, but embodies a literary conceit deployed in order to sway the heart of Augustus and incite mercy. There may indeed be an element of truth to the figure of Ovid as devoted husband in a long-distance relationship, but his wife's real value lies as a rhetorical bargaining chip in securing the reinstatement of his position as laureate poet in Rome. Arthur Marotti has commented on this undercurrent to the language of renaissance love poetry when he says, 'from the time of the troubadours, courtly authors in particular used love poetry as a way of metaphorizing their rivalry with social, economic, and political competitors, converting what psychoanalysis calls "narcissistic" issues into "object- libidinal" ones, that is self-esteem and ambition into love.'[235] The language of devoted love is proffered by Ovid as an antidote to the bawdy advice advanced in his youthfully indiscrete poetry; the *Tristia* acts as balsam against the poison that caused him to be exiled in the first place. For Wyatt the political-amatory model is the same but no such salve exists, and the surrounding enemies form a wreath of 'errour' around his ill-fated ship.

---

[235] A. F. Marotti, 'Love is Not Love: Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order', *English Literary History*, 49.2 (1982), 398.

- iv) ‘Lament my losse’

Wyatt’s ‘Lament my losse’, the fourth poem of the six detailed here, deals with the contention between self-perceived inability and a desire to continue composing verse. Wyatt mirrors Ovid’s own sense of literary stagnation and ineptitude in this work with the third stanza recalling this ‘Tristian’ foregrounding:

> Yet well ye know yt will renue my smarte
> Thus to reherse the paynes that I have past;
> My hand doth shake, my penn skant dothe his parte,
> My boddye quakes, my wyttis begynne to waste;
> Twixt heate and colde in fere I fele my herte
> Panting for paine, and thus as all agaste
> I do remayne skant wotting what I wryte:
> Perdon me then rudelye tho I indyte.[236]

Two such instances of this topos of inability (a Petrarchan and Wyattian staple) emerge in Ovid, adding to its significance as a source for both later poets. This is a structure which possesses a persistent longevity, however, from classical Rome through to renaissance England. According to E. R. Curtius, ‘the superiority, even the uniqueness, of the person or thing to be praised is established. In Latin poetry Statius is the first to make this a manner’.[237] This same ‘manner’ or inability topos is consistently used by early-modern English poets in order to highlight authorial self-worth.

Earlier use of the same literary conceit may be seen in Book III of Ovid’s *Tristia* where the lack of poetic ‘foot’ is likened to a physical defect in its author. Unable to write or hold paper or pen for fear of repercussions he exclaims:

> me miserum! Vereorque locum vereorque potentem,
> et quatitur trepido littera nostra metu.
> aspicis exsangui chartam pallere colore?
> aspicis alternos intremuisse pedes?[238]

---

[236] Wyatt, ‘Lament my losse, my labor, and my payne’, from *Collected Poems of Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 219-220.
[237] E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1953), p.162.
[238] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: I, Lines 53-56, pp.104-105.

> [Wretched me! I fear the spot, I fear the man of power, my
> script wavers with shuddering dread. See you my paper pale
> with bloodless colour? See you each alternate foot tremble?]

This use of the trope is anticipated in Book I when Ovid begins his retelling of the exilic journey, but here there is a certain 'fortis in adversis' at play:

> saepe maris pars intus erat; tamen ipse trementi
> carmina ducebam qualiacumque manu.[239]
>
> [Often part of the sea was within our ship; nevertheless, with
> shaking hand I continued to spin my verses such as they were]

The address directly to the 'redre' by Wyatt in 'Lament my losse' is, then, far from unique or new. Ovid is an established veteran of this model of audience-manipulation and is again reaffirming his work's power by enlisting the opinions of others, constantly refuting any culpability for the meanings evoked in his verse:

> And patientelye, o Redre, I the praye
> Take in good parte this worke as yt ys mente,
> And greve the not with ought that I shall saye,
> Sins with good will this boke abrode ys sent
> To tell men how in youthe I ded assaye
> What love ded mene and nowe I yt repente:
> That musing me my frindes might well be ware,
> And kepe them fre from soche payne and care.

In 1541 Wyatt offended Henry VIII with a colloquial insult about being cast out of the back of a cart ('caste owte of a Cartes arse') whilst talking of the impasse between Francis I and Charles V, and inevitable tensions between Henry and those Roman Catholics in Europe still holding allegiance with the Pope.[240] After implicating himself in treasonable talk that anticipated the death of his monarch in the manner of a common thief, Wyatt salvaged his reputation through rhetoric, thus providing a neat parallel with Ovid's accusation of Augustus misreading the *Ars Amatoria* and allocating blame where there was none. If the reader misunderstands

---

[239] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: xi, Lines 17-18, pp.52-53
[240] This incident is discussed further, with a transcription of Wyatt's defence transcribed in Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad*, p.7.

Wyatt's 'honest' poetry, it is they who have faltered, and not the writer. Brigden expands on Wyatt's ability to linguistically confound the authorities in early-modern England when she writes in her biography, 'So subtle a poet who 'tried' and played on the infinite variety which lay in words, knew too well that "in thys thynge I fere or I truste semethe but one smale syllable changed and yet it makethe a great dyfferaunce". After the Treason Act which punished for words alone, whether a man's head stayed on his shoulders might depend on the distinction between fall owte, caste owte or lefte owte.'[241] Wyatt manoeuvres his way out of intentionally casting Henry VIII out of civilised society, and maintains that he had accidentally fallen from grace through no fault of his own. Any political transgressions are not laid at Wyatt's door, but remain with his interlocutors, and the readers of his verse.

Ovid positions himself in a similar manner in relation to Augustus within the *Tristia*, and even reassures Perilla on this front, encouraging his step-daughter to embrace poetry's intricacies in spite of misreadings, only warning her to stay away from the amorous poetry.[242] Here in Book III, the address to readers is repeated from the Book I envoy, but there is a slightly different emphasis that is almost expectant of an answer:

> dicite, lectores, si non grave, qua sit eundum,
> Quasque petam sedes hospes in urbe liber.[243]
>
> [Tell me, readers, if it is not a trouble, whither I ought to go, what abode I, a book from foreign lands, should seek in the city.]

Wyatt's reader is asked for their silent advice and judgement just as Ovid's seeks a familiar face in a city he has been estranged from. Wyatt's pledge to 'To tell men how in youthe I ded assaye/ What love ded mene and nowe I yt repente' could well be written about the misplaced youthful vigour of the *Ars Amatoria* for which Ovid was exiled. Repentance and contemplation of the *author*, not their work's content, is elicited in this verse.

A key undercurrent of Ovid's *Tristia* is, as Wyatt puts it, 'musing me' so that 'my frindes might well be ware' too. These friends are not to be wary of their own

---

[241] Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt: The Heart's Forest*, p.383.
[242] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: vii, Ovid addresses Perilla directly on her writing and their collaborative work together before his exile. Lines 29-30, pp.126-127.
[243] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: i, Lines 19-20, p.100.

capacity for committing crimes; according to 'Lament my losse' they are to be 'aware' of the writers Ovid and Wyatt and their state of ineptitude, and feel pity and remorse on behalf of the writer, as a prayer might be said for a dead man's soul in church. This pose of inability common to Wyatt's poetry is clearly grounded in the exilic writing of Ovid's *Tristia*. The varied forms and modes of writing employed by Ovid in a bid to disorientate and bring the reader into a state of disillusioned, confused exile, is common to Wyatt's approach. Ovid manipulates his lexicon and Augustus' perceived intelligence just as Wyatt plays with Henry VIII's understanding of the poet in sixteenth-century England. If, as Rossiter says, 'moral ambiguity is exposed via semiotic ambiguity in Wyatt's poetry' there is support for this kind of judgement upon the morality of those in power contained in both Ovid's *Tristia* and Wyatt's 'Tristian' verse.[244]

- v) 'I fynde no peace and all my warr is done'

Certainly such semiotic ambiguity is of central importance in relation to the fifth poem derived from Petrarch and the *Tristia.* If the others were linguistically borrowing from Ovid or thematically connected, Wyatt's 'I fynde no peace and all my warr is done' is formally and stylistically resonant of the *Tristia's* make-up. It contains all of the six elements outlined earlier in the introduction that are 'Tristian', for it is self-pitying and glorifying, with a narrative voice that melds together the living death of a lover who is all along politically dangerous, and likely to be held in another kind of prison.

Reinstatement is sought from a merciless onlooker, and poetry as an art-form is revered whilst being condemned as 'withoute tong' or vision (another classical image of synaesthesia evoking Lavinia or Philomel). The purgatorial state felt here evokes the 'Tristian' tendency to dwell on mortality and the oxymoron of a living yet dead, disconnected poet:

> I fynde no peace and all my warr is done;
> I fere and hope I burne and freise like yse;
> I fley above the wynde yet can I not arrise;
> And noght I have and all the world I seson.
> That loseth nor locketh holdeth me in prison

[244] Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad*, p.147.

And holdeth me not, yet can I scape no wise;
Nor letteth me lyve nor dye at my devise,
Withoute Iyen, I se; and withoute tong I plain;
I love an othre and thus I hate my self;
I fede me in sorrowe and laugh in all my pain;
Likewise displeaseth me boeth deth and lyffe;
And my delite is causer of this stryff. [245]

The initial obvious parallel between Wyatt and Ovid lies in a shared use of adynata and a conviction that figurative imprisonment and inability to act out one's will are worse than the chains and bars of a cell, or a need to wield physical arms. This poem is well known for its Petrarchan conceits and the antagonising impossibility of its creator's situation.[246]

In pursuing the argument that Ovid's *Tristia* embodied something amorous rather than vituperative or embittered there are distinctly comparable features. 'I fynde no peace' furthermore encapsulates something akin to Ovid's envisaged sense of personal betrayal in Book I of the *Tristia*:

In caput alta suum labentur ab aequore retro
flumina, conversis Solque recurret equis:
terra ferret stellas, caelum findetur aratro,
unda dabit flammas, et dabit ignis aquas,
omnia naturae praepostera legibus ibunt,
parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter,
omnia iam fient, fieri quae posse negabam,
et nihil est, de quo non sit habenda fides.
haec ego vaticinor, quia sum deceptus ab illo,
laturum misero quem mihi rebar opem.[247]

[To their sources shall deep rivers flow, back from the sea, and the sun, wheeling his steeds, shall hurry backwards; the earth shall support stars and

[245] Wyatt, 'I fynde no peace and all my warr is done', from *Collected Poems of Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 20-21.
[246] Details of Petrarchan literary conceits and their overlap in Wyatt's poetry are found in Patricia Thomson, 'The First English Petrarchans', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 22.2 (1959), 85-105.
[247] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: viii, Lines 1-10, p.40.

> the sky shall be cloven by the plough, water shall produce flame and flame water; all things shall proceed reversing nature's laws and no part of the universe shall keep its path; everything that I once called impossible shall now take place, and there is nothing that one ought not to believe. All this I prophesy because I have been deceived by that man who I thought would bring aid to me in my wretchedness.]

Another instance of rhetorical gesture and adynata occurs in Book IV, the book Petrarch is known to have read, and one which is historically associated with defining the author-self of Ovid. However, that aspect of Book IV does not take centre-stage in Petrarch's reusage or Wyatt's translations.

Bettarini's commentary suggests that Petrarch used IV: iii and IV: viii of the *Tristia* in four distinct poems of the *Canzoniere,* numbers 23, 48, 83 and 224. Wyatt in turn utilised *Canzoniere* 224 in his poem 'Yf amours faith' in the Egerton MS.[248] In Book IV: vii, Ovid addresses his wife with the same despair and postured disbelief endemic to Wyatt's later poetry, whilst ensuring his comprehensive knowledge of mythology is displayed to full dramatic effect:

> credam prius ora Medusae
> Gorgonis anguineis cincta fuisse comis,
> esse canes utero sub virginis, esse Chimaeram,
> a truce quae flammis separet angue leam,
> quadrupedesque hominis cum pectore pectora iunctos,
> tergeminumque virum tergeminumque canem,
> Sphingaque et Harpyias serpentipedesque Gigantes,
> centimanumque Gyan semibovemque virum.
> haec ego cuncta prius, quam te, carissime, credam
> mutatum curam deposuisse mei.[249]

> [I'll sooner believe that the gorgon Medusa's face was garlanded with snaky locks, that there is a maiden with dogs below her middle, that there is a Chimaera, formed of a lioness and a fierce serpent held apart by flame, that

[248] Reed Way Dasenbrock, 'Wyatt's Transformation of Petrarch', *Comparative Literature*, 40.2 (1988), 131.
[249]Ovid, *Tristia*, Book IV: vii, Lines 11-20, pp.188-190.

> there are fourfooted creatures whose breasts are joined to those of a man, a triple man and a triple dog, a Sphinx and Harpies and snaky-footed giants, a hundred-handed Gyas and a man who is half a bull. All these things will I believe rather than that thou, dear one, hast changed and put aside thy love for me.]

Picking up on this 'Tristian' trait of self-glorification disguised as pity, and the oratorical skill of Ovid – who according to his own testimony wore the senatorial purple sash alongside his brother – presents a clear first impression from which Petrarch's and Wyatt's literary styles later emerge.[250] Petrarch's is additionally clouded in piety and Wyatt's reverts to the more assertive Ovidian model. An undercurrent of persuasive rhetoric pervades all of the above passages when seen alongside each other. This rhetoric is classical and humoral, but physically impossible, conforming to the inability topos which runs throughout Ovid's *Tristia* and Wyatt's stanzas. The common denominator is a suppression of grief which can only be articulated in verse that is itself contradictory and fragmented.

- vi) 'So feble is the threde'

The final poem – which is thematically tied to the *Tristia* and not closely paraphrasing it, as with the previous poem – is the longest of the works utilising Petrarch as an intermediary in this chapter.[251] Inspired by diplomatic service but probably written upon Wyatt's return to England in 1537, 'So feble is the threde' presents many of the 'Tristian' characteristics covered in this thesis. Elements of hope and despair are endemic to Wyatt's art, and evocative of Petrarch's sustained usage of oxymoron, but this poem also corresponds on a number of thematic levels with the *Tristia,* dealing as it does with perceived barbarity, a lover's abandonment,

---

[250] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book IV: x, Lines 34-35, pp.198-199. 'Eque viris quondam pars tribus una fui. Curia restabat: clavi mensural coacta est' which translates as 'The senate house awaited me, but I narrowed my purple stripe'.

[251] Recent studies include William T. Rossiter, "In Spayne: Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Poetics of Embassy" from *Authority and Diplomacy from Dante to Shakespeare,* eds. Powell and Rossiter, (London: Routledge, 2013), pp.101-120. Joel B. Davis, 'Thus I Restles Rest in Spayne: Engaging Empire in the Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt and Garcilaso de la Vega', *Studies in Philology,* 107.4 (2010), 493-519. Jason Powell, 'Thomas Wyatt's Poetry in Embassy: Egerton 2711 and the Production of Literary Manuscripts Abroad', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67.2 (2004), 261–82. Brigden, "I restles rest in Spayne" from *Wyatt: The Heart's Forest,* pp. 351-384.

and their broken trust and bonds of friendship. This poem contains references to eight of the epistles contained within the *Tristia*.[252]

Book I: iii talks about the night of Ovid's exile and details his tearful forced separation from his wife in Rome, and is echoed in Wyatt's expression of the 'unhappy hour' at which he departed from his 'sweet weal'.[253] Book III: i is where Ovid refers back to his initial exile journey from the *Tristia's* opening sequence, and this manifests itself in Wyatt in his acknowledgement of a return to the 'well or spring' from which his woe has come. Book III: iii - addressed to Ovid's wife - is also apparent in 'So feble is the threde', when Wyatt talks of the beams of love and wise and pleasant talk which he misses. Ovid's desolate loneliness and desire for communication with his wife is more pronounced in this *elegia* where he is taken ill in Tomis.[254] Book III: viii is Ovid's prayer for reinstatement and willingness to see his homeland again, which is recalled in Wyatt's existence behind such 'sharp and cragged hills'. Book IV: iii, where Ovid talks of the virtues and resilience of his wife, finds a parallel in the poem's tendency to 'find that pleasant place/ Where she doth live by whom I live'. Finally, the closing book of the *Tristia* contains three epistles: V: iii, V: xii and V: xiii, which are all used to describe Ovid's state of despair; desire to be remembered and responded to; and his inability to write. Wyatt's closing lines in 'So feble is the threde' conform to this physical inability for reunion, yet retain some hope in the immortality of the soul which will 'to her flee'.

All of these references that are spread across Books I, III, IV and V share a common feature in centring upon the displaced poet. They also evince the difficulty of maintaining faith and trust in one's wife and emperor whilst condemned to obscurity in exile. These epistles work in partnership to link the literary allusions of Wyatt's embassy poem back to its Ovidian source. The difference between Wyatt and Petrarch's rendering of 'So feble' is that Wyatt's love is despair-filled but clearly requited (as Ovid's is) whereas Petrarch's is merely idealised and as unachievable in life as it is in death. If Laura did exist, she did not entertain such thoughts of him and so the loss of Laura is never really a true loss when considering Petrarch's inability to ever 'have' her. Laura is merely a figure of speech, a shaft of light impossible 'for

---

[252] These being Books I: iii; III: i; III: iii; III: viii; IV: iii; V: iii; V: xii and V: xiii of the *Tristia* respectively.
[253] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: iii, Lines 17-40, pp. 20-23.
[254] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: iii, Lines 13-28, pp. 109-111.

to hold', which is the whole point. Wyatt on the other hand clearly and successfully fleshes out the parameters of a relationship between two people that is realistic, transformative, and not always heavenly. Ovid's treatment of the female is so unusually liberal and open-minded in the *Tristia* that it makes itself conspicuous whenever it is found elsewhere. Petrarch's superficial appreciation of the female form enables only a visual haze and no discernible identity to Laura's person, whilst Wyatt's rendering of the female is human and real, just as Perilla is not a mindless body or metaphysical conceit in Ovid's address to her in Book III: vii.

Wyatt's female figures, like Ovid's in the *Tristia,* are also given choice, will, desire, independence and the capacity for critical thought through which they are empowered. The model of the female in Wyatt's work is Ovidian, and not read through a rose-tinted Petrarchan lens. The linguistic choices made in Wyatt's translation hearken back to Ovid more closely than the Petrarchan source he works from. Wyatt's song flies to his lover to be embraced - just as the envoy to the *Tristia* does in Books I and III - and he expresses certainty of that scenario taking place, just as Ovid discusses the unquestionable Penelope-like devotion to letter-writing of his wife in Rome in the closing books of the *Tristia*. The ceremony of worship is cast aside from the Petrarchan original and levelled. In this manner, the original 'Tristian' ethos of asserting one's self rather than cowering and submitting in front of a figure of power is maintained in Wyatt's version of 'So feble'. The control is always held by the poet in the *Tristia*, and no lover or ruler holds total sway; they are made significant only by being mentioned in relation to the creator of the poem. It therefore conforms to the 'Tristian' need to revere poetry and monumentalise the author. Wyatt's art is no different, and under the guise of direct translation, uses imbrications of meaning to assert itself in an Ovidian and surreptitiously dominant way.

Furthermore, there is a dynamic of 'pleasure in pain' which serves as an exercise in self-aggrandisement for Ovid, and for Wyatt in 'So feble is the threde'. The devotion of a lover left behind enables the poetic retelling of a man much valued by his social circle and love interest,

> My lesure past, my present payne, wher I myght well embrace.
> But for becawse my want shold more my wo encresse,
> In wache, in slepe, both day and nyght, my will doth neuer cesse
> That thing to wish wheroff sins I did lese the syght,

I neuer saw the thing that myght my faytfull hert delyght[255]

Thus for the exiled Ovid and the diplomat Wyatt, this kind of imagery seeks to support a strategic political position, not just an amatory one, displaying another 'Tristian' trait by having a dual agenda. The *Tristia* is a poem all-consumed with the placement of trust and requisition of power, and this is what makes it such a staple source for Wyatt's poetry in the early sixteenth century.

In spite of a Wyattian restlessness, the assertive mode of the auxiliary verb 'shall' in his translation points to only one figure of power within the poem and that is not the wrathful authority figure, or the female lover, but the poet. When Wyatt commands it, to her heart 'shall she the put' and his letter 'there shall she the reserve', predetermining the future actions of his mistress:

> But if my hope somtyme ryse vp by some redresse,
> It stumblith straite, for feble faint, my fere hath such excesse.
> Such is the sort off hope, the lesse for more desire,
> Wherby I fere and yet I trust to see that I requyre,
> The restyng place of love where lyff also may take repose.
> My song, thou shalt ataine to fynd that plesant place
> Where she doth lyve by whome I lyve; may chaunce the have this grace:
> When she hath red and seene the dred wherein I sterve
> By twene her brestes she shall the put there shall she the reserve.
> Then tell her that I come she shall me shortly se;
> Yff that for whayte the body fayle, this sowle shall to her fle.[256]

There may be little trust within this poem but there is also little authorial doubt or reservation; Wyatt knows his own mind and confidently asserts his sense of self. The 'sowle's' flight from a failing body evokes the envoy structure at play in Book I and repeated in Book III of the *Tristia* and the broken spirit of Ovid in the latter books too. Wyatt's need for redemption then further compounds the 'Tristian' connection:

> Thus off that hope, that doth my lyff some thing sustayne,
> Alas, I fere and partly fele full litill doth remayne.

[255] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 32-36 from *Collected Poems,* pp. 79-82.
[256] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 89-100.

Eche place doth bryng me grieff, where I do not behold
Those lyvely Iyes wich off my thowghtes were wont the kays to hold.
Those thowghtes were plesaunt swete whilst I enioyd that grace [257]

The estrangement and lack of 'trust' Wyatt finds in his new surroundings is thrown into harsh relief when recalling the poignant moments that separated a part of him from his 'self' – his lover is the corresponding piece without which he cannot live, choosing to only exist in cold Ovidian effigy of a former state:

If such record, alas, provoke th'enflamid mynd
Wich sprang that day that I did leve the best of me behynd;
If love forgett hym selff by length of absence let,
Who doth me guyd, o wofull wrech, vnto this baytid net
Where doth encresse my care? much better were for me
As dome as stone, all thing forgott, still absent for to be. [258]

This recalls Ovid's desire to be memorialised in stone and writing, and frequent obsession with a poetic rather than physical death, 'if only 'tis possible for one already dead not to die!'.[259] Furthermore, Wyatt's continued pose of inability verges towards the political sphere here rather than the amatory, as he implicitly admits it were better to be 'as dome as stone' and absent from court than trapped in his ruler's net.

Petrarch's *Canzoniere* 293 fashions such a pose too and uses *Tristia* V:i in order to drive its point across.[260] But Wyatt's choice to use the ungendered, 'those armes' and 'those handes' rather than his female lover's, veers from the Petrarchan medieval source and skews the poem's intentions towards a controlling legal power, rather than familial relationship to one left behind:

My confort skant, my large desire, in dowtfull trust renewes;
And yet with more delyght to mone my wofull cace

---

[257] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 27-30.
[258] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 43-48.
[259] The Latin reads, 'vos animam saevae fessam subducite morti,/ si modo, qui periit, non periisse potest' [Save ye my weary life from cruel death, if only 'tis possible for one already dead not to die!]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: iv, Lines 27-28, pp.28-29.
[260] Petrarch, *Canzoniere Rerum Vulgarum Fragmenta*, commentary by Bettarini. Her comprehensive index cites three instances within Book V of the *Tristia* that relate to Petrarch's *Canzoniere* 293, p.1,723.

> I must complaine; those handes, those armes, that fermely do embrace
> Me from my sellff, and rule the sterne of my pore lyff,
> The swete disdaynes, the plesant wrathes, and eke the lovely stryff
> That wontid well to tune in tempre just and mete
> The rage that offt did make me erre by furour vndiscrete:
> All this is hid me fro with sharp and craggyd hilles.
> At other will my long abode my diepe dispaire fulfilles. [261]

A return to rhetorical play and allegoresis conjures up the traumatic episodes of Ovid's opening *elegia*, and the same distanced passive-aggressive condemnation of a ruler occurs in the *Tristia* too. Ovid may not be as explicit as he wishes, but is using the conceit of his devoted wife in order to highlight the lack of trust and camaraderie offered by Augustus Caesar. What is lacking is, as ever, presented as more despicable because of the relative abundance set alongside it. Henry is Wyatt's Augustus-figure, who with 'plesant wrathes' condemns him to a forlorn hope in the diplomatic mission to Spain, and is well aware of the perils of such a journey. Wyatt's release from imprisonment in the previous year and escape from death place him in much the same position in relation to Henry VIII as Ovid was in his state of *relegatus* to Augustus. Not quite pardoned, both are living in a peripheral world away from the central action and avoid execution only by their 'cace or skyn'. The severed state of the once-prestigious court favourite mirrors Ovid's fall from grace – his family were also of equestrian class – and the exilic pose of pity that pervades Wyatt's work is steeped in 'Tristian' rhetoric.

There is, furthermore, something about Ovid's inability to trust those who surround him in the barbarous Scythian environment as well as the linguistic rupture between Latin and Getic that speaks to Wyatt's poetic in 'So feble is the threde'. Not only is Wyatt suspended between multiple languages constantly obsessed with what he must (and must not) say, this form of self-editing applies equally to his chances of being repatriated by Henry VIII. Ovid seeks to pacify Augustus via the touching display of honesty in Book I (countering his handbook on amorous advances) whilst Wyatt adopts the same Ovidian poetic mode in an attempt to mediate between the Kings of Spain and England. For one who had been accused of traitorous

[261] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 80-88.

communications, the literary worth and predominance of 'trust' in this poem seeks to realign the poet's credentials and place him back in a state of self-sufficiency.

The emotive parting scene crafted between Ovid and his wife in Book I: iii is also mirrored by Wyatt's reworking of the figure of Phoebus Apollo throughout this poem. 'The cryspid gold that doth sormount Apollos pryd,/ The lyvely strenes off plesaunt sterres that vnder it doth glyd' are verging on the metaphysical, and clearly serve to forward the Petrarchan vision of an idealised love; musing on the golden hair of Laura and the heavenly place to which she has gone is unavoidable. But Apollo also conjures up Ovid's powerful relationship with Augustus and the temple that he had commissioned specifically within his reign to be highly visible on the Palatine Hill. Wyatt's dissatisfaction and 'darke panges' stay hidden as he feigns deference to a higher authority:

> Th'vnesy lyff I lede doth teche me for to mete
> The flowdes, the sees, the land and hilles that doth them entremete
> Twene me' and those shining lyghtes that wontyd to clere
> My darke panges off clowdy thowghtes as bryght as Phebus spere;
> It techith me also what was my plesant state,
> The more to fele by such record how that my welth doth bate. [262]

For Ovid the landscape is his saviour and his enemy, denying vision of the one he loves, and yet saving him from the wrath of those he has angered, and this sense of perpetual suspension in an uncertain place remains. Book I: iii of the *Tristia* mirrors such clouded thoughts and acknowledges the persistence of doubt in spite of familial devotion, and notes how imperative valuing a few allies over many admirers becomes:

> Non aliter stupui, quam qui Iovis ignibus ictus
> vivit et est vitae nescius ipse suae.
> ut tamen hanc animi nubem dolor ipse removit,
> et tandem sensus convaluere mei,
> adloquor extremum maestos abiturus amicos,
> qui modo de multis unus et alter erant.
> uxor amans flentem flens acrius ipsa tenebat,

[262] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 37-42.

imbre per indignas usque cadente genas.[263]

> [I was as dazed as one who, smitten by the fire of Jove, still lives and knows not that he lives. But when my very pain drove away the cloud upon my mind and at length my senses revived, I addressed for the last time as I was about to depart my sorrowing friends of whom, just now so many, but one or two remained. My loving wife was in my arms as I wept, herself weeping more bitterly, tears raining constantly over her innocent cheeks.]

Like Wyatt after his trial for treason, a once popular poet finds themselves quickly abandoned by those who appeared most faithful. An unclean turret harbours no birds, or as *Tristia* I: ix has it, 'accipiat nullas sordida turris aves'.[264] A lesson is extracted later in the *Tristia* from this act of desertion and the epistle to Book IV: iii refers to Phoebus and other aspects of mythology with the following lessons on stoicism, not usual to the *Tristia's* timbre generally, but clearly directed to the female:

> Sed magis in curam nostril consurge tuendi,
> exemplumque mihi coniugis esto bonae,
> materiamque tuis tristem virtutibus imple:
> ardua per praeceps Gloria vadit iter.
> Hectora quis nosset, si felix Troia fuisset?
> publica virtutis per mala facta via est.
> ars tua, Tiphy, iacet, si non sit in aequore fluctus:
> si valeant homines, ars tua, Phoebe, iacet.
> quae latet inque bonis cessat non cognita rebus,
> apparet virtus arguiturque malis.[265]

> [Rise to the charge of my defence and be thou for me the model of a noble wife. Flood a sad theme with thy virtues: glory scales the heights by steepest paths. Who would know Hector, if Troy had been happy? By public ills was the way of virtue builded. Thy skill,

[263] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: iii, Lines 11-18, pp.20-21.
[264] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: ix, Line 8, pp.44-45.
[265] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book IV:iii, Lines 71-80, pp.176-177.

> Tiphys, lies inert if there be no wave upon the sea: if men be in health, thy skill, Phoebus, lies inert. The virtue which lies hidden and hangs back unrecognized in times of prosperity, comes to the fore and asserts itself in adversity.]

References to the Phoebus story and Apollo's love trial provide underlying context and classical mythology to a poem that is primarily about the poet's abandoned state and a contemplation of mortality and physical decay.

The 'Tristian' pose of seeking reinstatement from a non-communicative correspondent finds parallels in Wyatt's 'So feble is the threde':

> The lyff so short, so fraile, that mortall men lyve here,
> So gret a whaite, so hevy charge, the body that we bere,
> That when I thinke apon the distance and the space
> That doth so ferr devid me from my dere desird face,
> I know not how t'attayne the qynges that I require,
> To lyfft my whaite that it myght fle to folow my desyre.
> Thus off that hope, that doth my lyff some thing sustayne,
> Alas, I fere and partly fele full litill doth remayne.
> Eche place doth bryng me grieff, where I do not behold
> Those lyvely Iyes wich off my thowghtes were wont the kays to hold.[266]

The geographical distance, 'the flowdes, the sees, the land and hilles that doth them entremete' – dividing Wyatt from his beloved in this satire - are no less of a barrier in the barbaric climate of Scythia in Ovid's *Tristia*. The poet's inability to find rest or hope in their estranged climate is encountered in both. This is most apparent in Book V: vii of the *Tristia* where Ovid despairs, 'What else am I to do, all alone on this forsaken shore, what other resources for my sorrows should I try to seek? […] Thus do I drag out my life and my time, thus do I withdraw myself from the contemplation of my woes'.[267]

Wyatt complains that, 'In wache, in slepe, both day and nyght, my will doth neuer cesse/ That thing to wish wheroff sins I did lese the syght,/ I neuer saw the

---

[266] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 21-30.

[267] [Quid potius faciam desertis solus in oris,/quamve malis aliam quaerere coner opem?...Sic animum tempusque traho, sic meque reduco/ a contemplatu summo veoque mali]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: vii, Lines 41-42; 65-66, pp.238-239.

thing that myght my faytfull hert delyght'.[268] Meanwhile Ovid reasserts over and again a devoted love to his wife and the physical effects of separation upon his ability to find solace in Tomis:

> omnia cum subeant, vincis tamen omnia, coniunx
> et plus in nostro pectore parte tenes.
> te loquor absentem, te vox mea nominat unam;
> nulla venit sine te nox mihi, nulla dies.[269]
>
> [All things steal into my mind, yet above all, you, my wife, and you hold more than half my heart. You I address though you are absent, you alone my voice names; no night comes to me without you, no day.]

The emotional and psychological connections between Wyatt and she 'by whome I lyve' override any other desire in the satire, and this self-same concern underpins Ovid's torment in the *Tristia*. It is not merely physical loss that matters here because Ovid's wife's presence appears to work as a supportive friend's might, highlighting the importance of marital bonds of companionship and mental compatibility. Confirming once more that the *Tristia* is about faithfulness in all of its guises, the ship's stern is controlled by a manifestation of fidelity constructed in the poet's psyche:

> me miserum! Quid agam, si proxima quaeque relinquunt?
> subtrahis effracto tu quoque colla iugo?
> quo ferar? Unde petam lassis solacia rebus?
> ancora iam nostrum non tenet ulla ratem.
> videris![270]
>
> [Wretched me! What am I to do if all that is nearest abandons me? Do you too break the yoke and withdraw your neck? Wither shall I rush? Whence seek comfort for my weary lot? No anchor now holds my bark. You shall see!]

---

[268] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 34-36.
[269] Ovid, *Tristia* Book III: iii, Lines 15-18, pp.110-111.
[270] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: ii, Lines 39- 43, pp.216-217.

Such physically aggressive imagery and animalistic reference situates the *Tristia* back in its barbarous environment, as a broken pastoral portrait of daily life.

This idea of virtue enabling trust pervades Wyatt's work in a 'Tristian' way too, and it is virtue's rarity that makes it truly valuable. The challenging environment Wyatt finds himself in makes this more manifestly obvious:

> The wise and plesaunt talk, so rare or elles alone,
> That did me gyve the courtese gyfft that such had neuer none,
> Be ferre from me, alas, and euery other thing
> I myght forbere with better will then that that did me bryng
> With plesant word and chere redresse off lingerd payne,
> And wontyd oft in kendlid will to vertu me to trayne. [271]

Lack of linguistic life or vigour in Wyatt's life leaves him even more excluded as the 'Tristian' oxymoronic pairing of barbarity and reverence for the 'plesant word' is maintained. This same instance of 'Tristian' language of respectful intellectual confidence and conversational freedom in Wyatt's poem emerges in Book V: xiii when Ovid describes his wife's faithfulness and worth to him, not just as a lover, but as a communiqué:

> Utque solebamus consumare longa loquendo
> tempora, sermoni deficient die,
> sic ferat ac referat tacitas nunc littera voces,
> et peragant linguae charta manusque vices.[272]
>
> [As we were wont to pass long hours in converse, till daylight failed our talk, so now should our letters bring and return our voiceless words, and the paper and our hands should perform the office of our tongues.]

Later given the sub-heading 'The Exile's Prayer', Book III: viii of the *Tristia* also speaks to the soulless, powerlessness of Wyatt's position in 'So feble is the threde'. Wyatt is only a pawn controlled by a higher authority, disempowered, and yet supremely accomplished, worthy of recall and pardon, but constantly suspended in a

[271] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 73-78.
[272] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book V: xiii, Lines 27-30, pp.258-259.

purgatorial state of grief and overshadowed by a cloudy suspicion of disloyalty for acts he may or may not have committed:

> For there is nothing elles that towches me so within
> Where thei rule all, and I alone nowght but the cace or skyn.
> Wherfore I do retorne to them as well or spryng,
> From whom decendes my mortall wo above all othr thing.[273]

Ovid faces a similar fate and invokes pardon for any errors in this epistle of Book III, however guiltless he actually feels, repeatedly offering reflections on his own mortality whilst inhabiting a place of mental decay.

Wyatt's Other 'Tristian' Works

This section works from several key ideas pertinent to the 'poetics of exile' in the *Tristia* and finds instances of them in a number of Wyatt's poems; these works refer to Ovid's *Tristia* but are not intermediated by Petrarch. The intention of this section is to contend that if these works also exhibit 'Tristian' features, Wyatt does not simply imitate Petrarch's personal Ovidianisms but draws on a direct knowledge of the source. In examining the poems that follow, three categories emerge: those which deal with trust and faith of a spouse; that look at the idea of an Ovidian-inspired literary stagnation or ineptitude, and that focus on the pitfalls of friendship and false judgements.

In Book IV: iii of the *Tristia* Ovid demands to know a reason for his wife's silence and sudden inability to respond to the letters sent from Tomis. Immediate suspicion falls upon her as she is accused of being unfaithful to him and ashamed of his status as exile:

> Wretched am I if, when thou art called an exile's wife, thou dost avert thy gaze and a blush steals over thy face! Wretched am I if thou countest it disgrace to be thought my bride! Wretched am I if now thou art ashamed to be mine! Where is that time when thou were wont to boast of thy husband and not conceal that husband's name? [...] There was no other man for thee to put before me – so important an object did I seem to thee – nor any whom thou didst prefer to be thy

[273] Wyatt, 'So feble is the threde', Lines 63-68.

> husband…rather rise to the charge of my defence and be thou for me the model of a noble wife.[274]

This balance between doubting the lover left behind and reaffirmation of the credibility of the 'exiled' poet is present in four of Wyatt's poems, most noticeably in 'Dysdaine me not without desert':

> Mystrust me not though some there be
> That fayne would spot my stedfastnes;
> Beleue them not, sins that ye se
> The profe is not as they expresse
> …
> Dysdayne me not that am your owne;
> Refuse me not that am so true;
> Mystrust me not til al be knowen;
> Forsake me neuer for no new[275]

Here Wyatt advises his lover in a 'Tristian' manner to stop their ears and ignore any evil spoken of the poet whilst absent from court, however difficult that might prove. The poem tackles political untruths head-on and places these alongside the gentler theme of a lover's fidelity and leaves the recipient little freedom, demanding actions from afar that cannot be controlled. In this Wyatt revives Ovid's epistolary addresses that demand acts of unstinting faith to offset the author's widely-perceived guilt.

Wyatt's 'O what vndeseruyd creweltye' rhetorically tackles a similar theme, apparently deferring power but all the while holding the reins:

> Ffor yours I am and wilbe styll,
> Although dalye ye se me not;
> Sek ffor to saue, that ye may spyll,
> Syns of my lyffe ye hold the shott;
> Then grant me this ffor my goodwyll,
> Which ys but Ryght, as got yt wot,
> Fforget me not.[276]

---

[274] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book IV: iii, Lines 49-72, p.174-177.
[275] Wyatt, 'Dysdaine me not without desert', Lines 11-14 and 21-24, from *Collected Poems,* pp.257-258.
[276] Wyatt, 'O what vndeseruyd creweltye', Lines 15-21 from *Collected Poems,* p.166.

This ties to the constant reiterations within Ovid's *Tristia* that his wife speaks up for him against his detractors in Rome; as Wyatt's mistress here has control, so does Ovid's wife 'of my lyffe…hold the shott'. The *Tristia* provides a source that elevates the power of the female over the male which suits Wyatt's agenda. The request is for a memorialisation of the poet at all costs, with literary obscurity an even greater punishment than death. By Book V of the *Tristia,* doubt turns into despair when Ovid's pleas become increasingly more aggressive and demanding as he realises they are one-sided. This is mimicked in the embittered tone of Wyatt's 'O crewel hart, wher ys thy ffaythe?' in which blame is apportioned on the basis of very little evidence:

> Now may I see thou dydst but paynt,
> And all thy craft does playn Appere.
>
> For now thy syghes ar out of thought,
> Thyn othe thou dost no thyng Regard,
> Thy tears hathe quenchet thy lov so hote,
> And spyt ffor love ys my Reward.
>
> Yet love ffor love I had Awhyle,
> Tho thyn were ffalse and myn were true[277]

In addition, the abandonment felt in Ovid's most paranoid moments in the closing books of the *Tristia* are reworked in the desolate tone of 'Where shall I have at myn owne will', where Wyatt asks, 'Where are your plaisaunt wordes, alas,/ Where your faith, your stedfastnes?'. The silence of his lover is interpreted as doubt by Wyatt even though there is no valid justification for this. He continues that 'There is no more but all doth passe,/ And I ame left all comfortles' perpetuating a piteous state of authorial redundancy.[278]

A journey through the different stages of exile and estrangement presents itself through a reading of these four poems by Wyatt, and this pathway mirrors that of the exiled Ovid in the *Tristia*. As Ovid's tone and belief in his supporters back in

---

[277] Wyatt, 'O crewel hart, wher ys thy ffaythe?', Lines 7-14 from *Collected Poems,* p.168.
[278] Wyatt, 'Where shall I have at myn owne will', Lines 33-36 from *Collected Poems,* p.40.

Rome alters and changes these linguistic shifts from hope to doubt and final despair become more prominent and vituperative. Whilst each individual instance of Ovidian interaction in Wyatt's verse may not be conclusive or unique, the amalgamation of these parallels with the 'Tristian' features creates a picture that is ever more convincing.

The second point of concord between Ovid's exile work and Wyatt's poetry relates to literary ineptitude and its connotations with death. A self-awareness and sense of 'living death' outlined earlier apparently terrifies Ovid in Book IV: vi:

> credite, deficio, nostroque a corpore quantum
> auguror, accedunt tempora parva malis.
> nam neque sunt vires, nec qui color esse solebat:
> vix habeo tenuem, quae tegat ossa, cutem.
> corpore sed mens est aegro magis aegra, malique
> in circumspectu stat sine fine sui […]
> una tamen spes est quae me soletur in istis,
> haec fore morte mea non diuturnal mala[279]

> [I assure you I am failing, and so far as I can prophesy from my bodily strength, but little time remains for my sorrows. For I have neither the strength nor the colour I used to have; my thin skin scarce covers my bones. My body is sick but my mind is worse, engrossed in gazing endlessly upon its suffering…Yet there is one hope that consoles me in all this: my death will prevent these ills from enduring long.]

The prioritisation of mental over physical health by Ovid pervades the *Tristia* and surfaces in Book I: iv at the close of the *elegia*; I: vii where it references burning works on a pyre meant for the body; III: ii; and III: iii, which both deal with the concept of death as better than exile. Ovid's epitaph in which the body is seen as secondary to the everlasting soul forms much of the content of Book III, placing mortality at the centre-point of the *Tristia* as a whole, whilst dwelling on the narrative circularity and inevitability of this discussion of poetic mortality.[280]

---

[279] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book IV: vi, Lines 39-44 and 49-50, pp.188-189.
[280] Ovid, *Tristia*, Books I and III, p.29; p.39; p.109 and p.115.

This same morbidity pervades Wyatt's 'Alle ye that knowe of care and heuynes' to the extent that he embodies grief itself and becomes an allegorical concept rather than a human being. Just as the *Tristia* stands for sorrow, Wyatt sees himself as able to decode its metaphysical structures:

> I thyncke whoo soo doth behold my payne
> Sees the Soule of Sorow grounded in gryff,
> The rotte of woo portred in payne,
> The cloude of care dispayred in Relyff,
> The lothed lyff thorow dartyd with dysdayne,
> Sorow ys I and I evyn the same,
> Ine that all men do call me by that name.
> …
> Ye, and the wormes that appere agaynst the nyght,
> As me Semes, they thynck that deth doth mych yll
> To leve me thus to lyve agaynst my wyll.[281]

Becoming sorrow lends a heightened sense of importance to Wyatt's role and the assertion that all men refer to him as such perpetuates a 'Tristian'-inspired poetic myth of fame. The immortalising nature of verse ties this poem directly back to Ovid's exile works. This same conceit of literary death is maintained in 'I knowe not where my heuy syghys to hyd' when Wyatt paints a scene of unrelenting emptiness that is unmistakeably 'Tristian' in inflection. Wyatt's physical sickness is nothing to the mental degeneration felt, and recalls the passages from *Tristia* Book IV mentioned above:

> I skantlye know ffrome whome commys all my greff,
> But that I wast as one dothe in seknes,
> And cannot tell whiche way commes my mescheff;
> Ffor All I tast to me ys betyrnes,
> And of my helthe I have no sykernes
> …
> I leve in yerthe as one that wold be dead,
> And cannot dye: Alas!the more my payne.

[281] Wyatt, 'Alle ye that knowe of care and heuynes', Lines 8-14 and 19-21, from *Collected Poems,* p.131.

Ffamyshed I am,. And yet Alwayes am ffed:
Thus contrary all thyng dothe me constrayne[282]

Imagery of a barren and distasteful climate stunts Wyatt's literary skill and the oxymoron of being fed and famished conjures up Ovid's Scythian descriptions of hard labour and lack of growth in Tomis.

Linked to the poetic ineptitude felt by Wyatt in these verses is also a lack of audibility caused by banishment from the court, and with this voicelessness comes a lack of power:

O myserable sorow withowten cure!
Yf it plese the, lo, to haue me thus suffir,
At lest yet let her know what I endure,
And this my last voyse cary thou thether
Wher lyved my hope now ded for euer;
For as ill grevus is my banyshement
As was my plesur when she was present.[283]

Losing the ear of that unattainable correspondent – one of the 'Tristian' traits – condemns all hope of reinstatement to dust. Wyatt starts to give up, but this is merely a rhetorical play mirroring Ovid's positioning of himself in Book V of the *Tristia*:

'quis tibi, Naso, modus lacrimosi carminis?' inquis:
idem, fortunae qui modus huius erit.
quod querar, illa mihi pleno de fonte ministrat,
nec mea sunt, fati verba sed ista mei.
at mihi si cara patriam cum coniuge reddas,
sint vultus hilares, simque quod ante fui[284]

['What limit, Naso, to your mournful song?' you say. The same that shall be the limit to this state of mine. For my complaining that state serves me from a full spring, nor are these words mine; they belong to my fate. But should you

[282] Wyatt, 'I knowe not where my heuy syghys to hyd', Lines 8-12 and 15-18, from *Collected Poems,* p.154.
[283] Wyatt, 'O miserable sorrow withowten cure!', from *Collected Poems,* p.212.
[284] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book V: i, Lines 35-40, pp.210-211.

restore me to my country and my dear wife, my face would be gay, and I should be what I once was.]

More self-endorsement disguised as dejection is found in Ovid's contemplation of death whilst physically incapacitated by illness in Book III. The self-penned epitaph of the third *elegia* finds its parallel in the verses of Wyatt's 'O what vndeseruyd creweltye' which embraces exile over comfort and feeds on sorrow in a desperate bid for audience attention:

The place of slepe that shuld my rest restore
Ys vnto me an vnquyet enymye,
…
I borne ffor cold, I sterve ffor hete;
That lust lykythe desyre dothe yt denye;
I ffast ffrom joye, sorrow ys my meate;
…
The place of my reffuge ys my exylle;
In desdaynes pryson desperat I leye,
Therto abyd the tyme and wooffull whyle,
Till my carrffull lyfe may torne contrarye.[285]

Again a 'Tristian' circularity and inevitability lies at the heart of Wyatt's poetry here. Rhetorically, antithetical premises are used to create impact and act as reminders for the reader, forcing them to pay attention to the adverse and illogical plight of its author-poet.

A third component of Wyatt's verse steeped in 'Tristian' reference is the constant meditation on misplaced friendship and trust. The epistle later entitled 'To a Detractor' in Book V of the *Tristia* provides a crucial starting point in analysing this:

quae tibi res animos in me facit, improbe? Curve
casibus insultas, quos potes ipse pati?
nec mala reddunt mitem placidumque iacenti
nostra, quibus possint inlacrimare ferae[286]

[285] Wyatt, 'O what vndeseruyd creweltye', Lines 9-10; 13-15 and 17-20, from *Collected Poems,* pp.166-167.
[286] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book V: viii, Lines 3-6, pp.240-241.

> [What stirs your spirit up against me, shameless man? Why do you mock at misfortunes you yourself may suffer? My woes do not soften you and placate you towards one who is prostrate – woes over which wild beasts might weep]

An appreciation of the changeability of fortune to punish and proclaim mankind emerges here in Ovid's address. This exact same trope underpins Wyatt's 'What rage is this? What furour of what kind?' where former allies are treated as traitors for heaping more sorrow upon their undeserving friend:

> Go to, tryumphe, reioyse thy goodly torne,
> Thi frend thow dost opresse.
>
> Opresse thou dost, and hast off hym no cure,
> Nor yett my plaint no pitie can procure,
> Fiers tygre fell, hard rok withowt recure,
> Cruell rebell to love![287]

The classically-inspired reference to bestiality ties Wyatt to Ovid once again, and the condemnation of hard-heartedness and tiger-like conduct only serves to make this connection more explicit.

The vengeful aspect of Ovid's address to his detractor comes through in Wyatt's rhetorically unsatisfactory 'All yn thi sight my lif doth hole depende' as the poet tries to come to terms with the relative ease and yet lack of inclination to be faithful:

> But sins thou maiste so easelye saue thy frende
> Whye doste thou styk to heale that thou madist sore?
> Whye doo I dye sins thou maist me diffende?
> For if I dye then maiste thou lyve no more,
> Sins ton bye tother dothe lyve and fede thy herte[288]

The same dogmatic 'Tristian' stance and condemnation of prejudice forms the mainstay of Wyatt's argument in 'I am as I am and so wil I be'. That same reverence for poetry and the responses it elicits recalls Book II of the *Tristia.* Wyatt's view is

---

[287] Wyatt, 'What rage is this? What furour of what kind?', Lines 11-16 from *Collected Poems,* p.83.
[288] Wyatt, 'All yn thi sight my lif doth hole depende', Lines 3-7 from *Collected Poems,* p.214.

in accordance with this idea that omniscience lies irrevocably with the author, not their judge:

> Yet sum therbe that take delyght
> To Judge folks thowght by outward sight;
> But whether they Judge wrong or Right,
> I am as I am and soo doo I wright
> …
> But how that ys I leue to you;
> Judge as ye lyst, false or trew;
> Ye know no more then afore ye knew;
> But I am as I am whatsoeuer insew.
> …
> And frome this mynd I wyll not flee[289]

An unwavering desire to maintain literary dominance reappears in Wyatt's 'Tho some do grudge to se me joye' just as it does in the concluding lines of *Tristia* V which highlights the monumental properties of verse.

Wyatt's determined effort to regain his former position and the esteem of his critics lends a defiant tone to his poetry that mirrors an Ovidian language of triumphal return:

> Tho some do grodge to se me joye,
> Fforcynge ther spytte to slak my helthe,
> Ther false mystrust shall neuer noy
> So long as thou dost wyll my welthe;
> Ffor tho theay frowne, ffull well I knowe
> No power theaye haue to fforge my woo.
> Then grodge who lyst, I shall not sease
> To seke and sew ffor my Redres.[290]

This language is non-confrontational, but not to the extent of being submissive. Instead Wyatt's verse suggests that the writer's health will not be affected by the empty rhetoric and desires of those willing him to fail, or intent on forging his 'woo'.

---

[289] Wyatt, 'I am as I am and so wil I be', Lines 25-28 and 33-7, from *Collected Poems,* p.149.
[290] Wyatt, 'Tho some do grudge to se me joye', Lines 1-8 from *Collected Poems,* p.179.

Grudges are for Wyatt's detractors or old friends, who are merely jealous of the joy felt by the distanced court-diplomat, which recalls the satire *Mine own John Poynz* and Wyatt's increasing inability to 'crowche nor knelle'.[291] The same sense of triumphant return occurs in the *Tristia,* but with a few minor differences. In the final book of the *Tristia* there is more evidence that legal action might be taken once his recall by Augustus has been achieved:

> ergo ne nimium nostra laetere ruina,
> restitui quondam me quoque posse puta[292]
>
> [So then that you rejoice not overmuch in my ruin,
> consider that even I may some day be restored]

There is no recipient or former ally alive able to 'fforge my woo' says Wyatt, conscious of the overwhelming potential of verse to outlive his opponents. Such faith in poetry's immortality working in tandem with human ineptitude cited above makes the Ovid and Wyatt connection even more profound.

Wyatt's verse 'Such is the course, that natures kinde hath wrought' at some point encompasses, as various points, all six 'Tristian' attributes identified at the beginning of this thesis,

> Ainst chainde prisoners what nede defence be sought?
> The fierce lyon will hurt no yelden thinges.
> Why shoulde such spite be nursed then in thy thought?
> Sith all these powers are prest vnder thy winges:
> And eke thou seest, and reason thee hath taught
> What mischief malice many waies it bringes.
> Consider eke, that spight auaileth naught,
> Therfore this song thy fault to thee it singes:
> Displease thee not, for saiyng thus my thought
> Nor hate thou him from whom no hate forth springes,
> For furies, that in hell be execrable,

---

[291] 'I cannot crowche nor knelle, nor do so great a wrong/ To worship them like God on erthe alone./ That ar as wollffes thes sely lambes among.' Wyatt, 'Myne Owne John Poyntz', from *Collected Poems*, Lines 25-27, p.89.
[292] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: viii, Lines 33-34, pp. 242-243.

For that they hate, are made most miserable.[293]

This poem revisits imagery from the *Tristia* where Ovid condemns the cowardly behaviour of past friends who capitalise on the adverse circumstances of their former ally:

subruere est arces et stantia moenia virtus:
quamlibet ignavi praecipitata premunt.
non sum ego quod fueram. Quid inanem proteris umbram?[294]

[To overthrow citadels and upstanding walls is valour; the worst of cowards press hard upon what is already fallen. I am not what I was. Why dost thou trample on an empty shadow?]

This conceit also appears in the final book of the *Tristia*, which reiterates the poet's victimised position with 'why do you set your foot and trample upon my fate?' [inposito calcas quid mea fata pede?].[295] Here the seemingly impossible action of trampling upon fate itself stands in for the defamation of character suffered by Ovid in his exile. Those who write against him and set their poetic 'foot' to impede his chances of making a literary comeback are perceived to cause physical hurt through these lines. There is a constant sense of poetic victory equating to violence and physical combat in the *Tristia*, and this is a form of martial law that is totally abhorrent to Ovid's consciousness.

Wyatt counters this sense of inability and instils fear in his opponents by suggesting their consciences cannot be corrected by anything earthly but will pain them when they reach hell. 'Consider eke, that spight auaileth naught' continues Wyatt, whilst maintaining the dignity of an unprovoked victim of this spite. Both Ovid and Wyatt condemn their opponents by highlighting their negative behaviour but avoiding any active form of retaliation. The poet's power lies in the ability to document, preserve and monumentalise, therefore discrediting those who attempt to thwart them. The *Tristia* foregrounds the importance of a verbal victory over past oppressors; a trope that would be taken up later by Thomas Churchyard at the end of the sixteenth-century.

---

[293] Wyatt, 'Such is the course, that natures kinde hath wrought', from *Collected Poems*, p.247.
[294] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: xi, Lines 23-25, p.142.
[295] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: viii, Line 10, p.240.

This chapter on Wyatt's use of the *Tristia* has eschewed the frequently applied historical and autobiographically allusive readings of the poet's love lyrics in order to focus instead upon the poet's recourse to themes, ideas and conceits drawn both from Ovid directly or from Ovid via Petrarch. It also extracts points of divergence and imitation which appear 'Tristian', based on identification of these characteristics as discussed in the introduction to this thesis. This accretive mass of information strengthens the case for Wyatt knowing and using the exile poems. The later works analysed use the 'Tristian' model in a way that supports and develops the first half of the chapter by identifying Ovidian characteristics that confirm a more comprehensive understanding of exile poetics in Wyatt's work. Both Ovid and Wyatt manipulate a readership into believing that they are guilt-free as authors by remaining informative, but this informative potential is also heavily coercive and it forces the reader to retain culpability for their authorial actions as part of becoming self-aware and knowledgeable. In essence, the works teach and then stand back and distinguish knowing from endorsing or *acting* upon that knowledge.

The allusive nature of amatory verse employed by Wyatt enables the dissemination of an underlying political message, and this model originates, in part, from Ovid's *Tristia.* The *Tristia* provides a powerful rhetorical source for the distanced poet wishing to return to the centre of power that suits Wyatt's political situation in Tudor England. The poems analysed in the second part of this chapter confirm Wyatt's direct debt to Ovid, which is not directly inspired by Petrarch, thus highlighting an Ovidian and classical connection that is not only sub-read through intermediaries, and prone to their literary biases, but read first-hand on a personal level. Attention to both intermediated reading and direct engagement with the *Tristia* continues into the latter half of the sixteenth century and is visible in Spenser's use of Du Bellay's poetry, which will form the basis of chapter five, but first we must look to the earliest printed English translation of the *Tristia*, along with its author, Thomas Churchyard.

4

CHURCHYARD

Mans mynde and nature altered is
The worlde in wyckednesse is drounde,
and trulye freindshyp is unsounde
And rotten lyke corrupted fruite[296]

As the eldest son of a relatively affluent gentleman mercer who owned property across Shrewsbury, the schooling Churchyard received could well have included material by Ovid. We know that he was certainly literate and able to turn a phrase by the time he reached London and the court of Henry VIII in 1542.[297] This was to be the start of a career oscillating between court and battlefield that spanned almost sixty years, and by the early 1570s Churchyard had already seen action as a soldier in campaigns as far afield as Guînes, Leith, Ireland and the Netherlands. Churchyard's ambitions for progression led him into the Earl of Surrey's service (himself an unusual combination of military man and poet) but his career was by no means guaranteed, and advancement at court was highly competitive at this point.[298] Whilst the Henrician government provided more opportunity to progress for someone from a trade background such as Churchyard, this would be short-lived. Under Edward VI education had been made much more accessible to men of all classes, not just the aristocracy, but Elizabeth's reign resulted in re-imposing the

[296] Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyardes Lamentacion of Freyndshyp* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1566), Lines 100-103.
[297] There was no official grammar school in Shrewsbury until 1552 but Matthew Woodcock's recent biography of Churchyard suggests he could have been taught within walking distance of his home, under Sir John Pleyley in an elementary school financed by the Drapers' Guild. Matthew Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard: Pen, Sword, and Ego* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 23.
[298] Under Henry VIII's rule when offices vacated by churchmen needed to be filled, 'it had seemed that there was plenty of room at the top; sons of obscure gentlemen rose to high status and Thomas Elyot issued a call for further recruits. Matters looked different in the age of Elizabeth when gentlemen found less outlet upwards and at the same time became conscious of encroachments from below.' Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p.333.

barrier against progression for those lower in status than the nobility and landed gentry. [299] It was into this climate of social change and class renegotiation that Churchyard thrust himself. Churchyard's constant reaffirmation of the status, 'gent.' in his works becomes significantly more important in the latter half of the sixteenth century when the vacancies of Henry's reign had already been filled and competition for position and reward under Elizabeth's leadership became fiercer. What can be drawn from this is a portrait of Churchyard which is malleable and adaptable; a man who continued to provide for himself in spite of continual change in England's policy and religious direction. What emerges from an analysis of Churchyard's career is someone who composes a great number of works with diverse subject matter in the aim of targeting the widest audience possible. Such a strategy is employed in Ovid's epistles home that comprise the *Tristia* - when one source fails, the poet attempts to swiftly gain traction with a petition to another.

The first half of this chapter identifies the key traits of Churchyard's translation of Ovid's *Tristia* and how these are exemplified within the first *elegia* of *De Tristibus*. Building on Raphael Lyne's scholarship on *De Tristibus*, the chapter examines the principal features and motives of Churchyard's translation, focusing – by way of a case study – on his reworking and reinterpretation of the well-known opening elegy to Ovid's poem. Following close-textual analysis of the opening of *De Tristibus*, the second half of the chapter identifies Ovidian-inflected language and themes found throughout the entire body of Churchyard's work produced both before and after the publication of *De Tristibus*. It focuses in particular on three key aspects of the *Tristia* to which Churchyard persistently returns in his works: poetic identity; friendship; and triumphal return. Churchyard's prolonged use of 'Tristian' references in his work is examined through looking at *Huloets dictionarie* (1572), the *Lamentable Description* (1578) and *Churchyard's Charitie* (1596) as well as various pieces taken from *Churchyard's Chance* (1580). This chapter continues to add a new way of conceiving and examining the Elizabethan Ovidian vogue. In

[299] Edward VI's creation of new grammar schools outside of London, and financial backing of newly-founded universities placed learning high on the agenda during his short reign. Simon, *Education and Society*, pp. 215-222.

doing so it challenges those critics who cast Ovid solely as the author of amorous or highly sexualised verse.[300]

The Formal Features of *De Tristibus*

Churchyard's *De Tristibus* of 1572 was the first English translation of the *Tristia*. His 'First Thre Bookes' were printed by Thomas Marshe of 'Fletestreate' and dedicated to the up-and-coming courtier and politician, Christopher Hatton.[301] Hatton was a prestigious potential patron for Churchyard, and the translation of the *Tristia* was substituted for a piece already owed to him; it also acted as a strong exercise in forwarding Churchyard's name in print and proving his literary capabilities.[302] *De Tristibus* was based upon a Latin copy of Ovid produced in 1539 by Sebastien Gryphius who had worked on texts by noted humanists Desiderius Erasmus, Angelo Ambrogini, and François Rabelais, and was printing controversial (as well as pedagogical) literature in Lyon.[303] Churchyard's *De Tristibus* exists today in two complete copies printed by Thomas Marshe of 1578 and 1580, and a partial copy from 1572.[304] The Latin *Tristia* copy would have been imported from the

[300] For example Daniel Moss, as noted above, notes the Ovidian allusions found within Thomas Nashe's epigrams, and also includes material from Jonson's *Poetaster* and *Titus Andronicus*.

[301] Churchyard's printer Thomas Marshe held a monopoly on all Tudor school texts under Elizabeth I's Stationers' Company laws. Churchyard was not supplanted by a rival *Tristia* translation whilst composing his version, and the choice to stop at Book III appears to be a personal one. Churchyard was potentially considering publishing the second instalment with another printer and making a second fee from it, rather than only benefitting from the one-off sum authors were subject to upon yielding up their work.

[302] There is evidence of Hatton's beneficent attitude; he pays the sum of £3 to Richard Robinson for *A Proceeding in the harmonie of King Davids harpe* in 1591. Hatton would also petition Elizabeth for higher pay for the men of the Queen's Guard whom he supervised. Churchyard, knowing Hatton's closeness to Elizabeth I, seemingly expected high reward upon publication of *Churchyard's Chippes* (1578). Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, p.109 and Eric St John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton: Queen Elizabeth's Favourite* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1946), p.356.

[303] Sebastien Gryphius was connected to controversial authors such as François Rabelais, Clément Marot, and Ètienne Dolet, who was later tried and burned for heresy in 1546. Ferdinand Geldner, *Deutsche Biographie - Gryphius, Sebastian.* Neue Deutsche Biographie 7 (1966), S.55f. <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116902566.html>

[304] Where the partial 1572 edition breaks off the last line originally reads, '*No strugling owres through frosen floud, their course are able shere'*. By the time of the

continent and sold in bookstalls within London's Fleet Street and St Paul's. Churchyard had travelled abroad whilst fighting as a soldier in Scotland, France, Ireland and the Low Countries, but he would also have been able to access a copy locally in London.[305]

In order to understand the formal features of Churchyard's translation it is perhaps useful here to outline some precepts of what we understand the 'act of translation' to be. It is never a simple act of transference, but of transformation, or as Lawrence Venuti sees it, a state where the autonomy of the translator's text is maintaining a relationship with the concepts of 'equivalence' and 'function'. Equivalence equates to identity or accuracy, and function to the diversity of responses to a newly translated text. Therefore an oxymoronic relationship is taking place already here, between what is accurate, and what is interpreted, and disparate.[306] This binary definition applies to a modern sense of translation and an early-modern one, which emphasised *interpretatio* as much as textual accuracy.[307]

Circumstances surrounding Churchyard as translator do not exactly mirror those at play in Ovid's Tomitian world. Churchyard was imprisoned four times, but never actually exiled.[308] In spite of this, Liz Oakley-Brown has commented on the ways that the *Tristia* is used to illustrate Churchyard's perceived marginality at court.[309] In choosing to look at Ovid's displaced and disorientating *Tristia*,

---

1580 edition however, this line has been edited to '*No strugling Vates through frosen floud, their course are able shere'* and instead of 'owres' now reads 'Vates'.

[305] The laws of the Stationers' Company prevented the importation of books in English, and texts from the presses at Lyon and Antwerp would arrive in Latin and other foreign tongues. Limitations already existed upon the format of books and The Star Chamber Decree of 1637 further reinforced that 'no books in English were to be imported', Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', p.147.

[306] 'The key concept in any translation research and commentary is what I shall call the relative autonomy of translation, the textual features and operations or strategies that distinguish it from the foreign text and from texts initially written in the translating language. These complicated features and strategies are what prevent translating from being unmediated or transparent communication; they both enable and set up obstacles to cross-cultural understanding by working over the foreign text.' Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, p.5.

[307] Greene, *The Light in Troy*, pp.1-3.

[308] Churchyard was imprisoned after the raid of St Monans, in East Fife in 1548; Cambrai in 1553; Guînes in 1558 and in the Marshalsea in London in 1581 after having killed a man. Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, p.88 (Cambrai); p.104 (Guînes); p.211 (St Monans); p. 216 (Marshalsea).

[309] Liz Oakley-Brown writes that the *Tristia* provided 'a subtle means by which the marginalized Elizabethan courtier might write back to, and himself into, the court'.

Churchyard combines experience of imprisonment with a literary rather than a literal, knowledge of exile. These two states underpin his life as a soldier and poet. Churchyard realises how figurative exile can be used to articulate personal suffering such as disempowerment and marginality. In light of this, his translation is not wholly representative of the exiled poet in a physical sense, but can be seen as a reworking of an original text relying on figurative exile as its starting point. As the Latin stem *figura*, means to fashion or form, or act as something metaphorical and emblematic, this particular figurative viewpoint attributes agency and control to the exile-state, rather than powerlessness. Exile becomes something formative and empowering that is configured in the poet's mind alongside embedded notions of an Ulyssean triumphal return. It is therefore arguably perceived as an antithetical state to physical exile.

In *De Tristibus* we see the multivocal nature of translation at play, in the form of a tripartite voice, as it is both a translation and a re-phrasing or ventriloquism of Ovid's exilic vocalisations by a writer who was not suffering in exile himself. Three voices are functioning here: Ovid's original; Ovid's reappropriated, and Churchyard's. The overall image emerging from this is that of an author whose primary concerns are distinctly Ovidian and influenced by a set of distinctively *Tristian* tropes. But how is Ovid's *Tristia* being reinterpreted through Churchyard's translation? What form does Churchyard's translation take and what is the nature of his translatory practice?

As Massimiliano Morini has discussed, the practice of translation in Tudor England was deeply inflected by 'ideas about language, and about the position of England on the political and cultural map of Europe'. As he explains, 'translation changes with the perceptions that the English have of themselves: the new Humanistic methods are adapted to the needs of a country which is aiming at becoming a new Roman empire'.[310] Churchyard's own method of translation likewise reveals preoccupations with the position of England present within his other work. There is a freedom to domesticate the source text in line with a newfound

---

Liz Oakley-Brown, "Elizabethan Exile after Ovid: Thomas Churchyard's *Tristia* (1572)" from *Two Thousand Years of Solitude: Exile after Ovid,* ed. Jennifer Ingleheart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.117.

[310] Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p.viii.

sense of nationalistic vigour, which has a profound effect on Churchyard's translation of the *Tristia.*[311] A domesticisation of what is foreign is the first characteristic of Churchyard's style of translation. Furthermore, a sense of obligation to one's patron or ruler emerges throughout *De Tristibus* in a manner that does not present itself in the *Tristia,* and there is something much more anxious about Churchyard's translation which, although close to its Latin forbear in terms of 'equivalence' sets it apart from it. In its anglicisation Churchyard's *De Tristibus* is bound by vernacular rules that do not apply in the Latin form. When Churchyard says, for example, that 'thou unwares may kindle cooles, to double former payne' he means to translate 'ne mota resaeviat ira et poenae tu sis altera causa, cave!', a much grander sense of renewed wrath and ire of an offended emperor.[312] Ovid's phrasing is not on the same plain as Churchyard's colloquialism, akin to 'do not stoke the fire!', which might be heard in a provincial dispute, rather than in the context of Ovid's life or death situation in the text. The translated words lack the poetic flair and flexibility of the original. As Lyne says,

> The interaction between Ovid and Churchyard illuminates on the one hand, the Latin poet's claims to untranslatability in his exile poetry, and on the other, the translator's awareness of the occasional, but vital inappropriateness of the vocabulary available to him. Golding and Churchyard both display an interest in an independent Englishness – through settings and vocabulary – which makes their classical translations both promote and seek to improve their vernacular. [313]

This promotion and improvement is key to understanding why Churchyard's *De Tristibus* translation offers no apologies for its rude and unpolished form. Through positive affirmation, Churchyard seeks a stronger position and furtherance of the vernacular, which would only be undermined had he adopted a position of inferiority as its author. Promotion comes via the printed text which is able to reach a mass

---

[311] 'This new freedom in translation originated out of these feelings of superiority and pride, and was something completely different from medieval freedom: it was the freedom to "domesticate" rather than to re-create it completely.' Churchyard was therefore conventional based on this context of sixteenth-century translation-practice. Morini, *Tudor Translation,* p.6.

[312] Thomas Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, (London: 1580), 2r. Latin taken from Wheeler. Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I:i, Lines 103-104, p.10.

[313] Raphael Lyne, 'Studies in English Translation and Imitation of Ovid, 1567-1609', unpublished PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1996, p.71.

market, and translating classical forms into English illustrates a desire (however insincere) to make the vernacular as respectable as Latin. Churchyard's use of simple register and homely-sounding fourteeners in *De Tristibus* anticipates Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* which presents political comment in the guise of traditional Virgilian eclogue.[314] In its advisory nature, Churchyard's translation pre-empts certain observations of spiritual misguidedness found in the *Calender* too. This also serves to impose a clear sixteenth-century moralising framework to the translation.[315] The *Tristia* is a text which offers multiple meanings the more it is used, making it perfect for personal contemplation.

Personal, rather than pedagogic motives appear to be at the fore in *De Tristibus*, as Churchyard is clearly not translating solely for the benefit of his readership, and does not complete all five books of the work. To return to Lyne again, 'It may have seemed to the English writer that such experimentation with the language of dominance could alleviate a position of perceived inferiority.' [316] He refers here to the grander, national concern of the vernacular's inferiority to Latin, but on a personal level, the subordinate pose fashioned by Churchyard (but not actually felt) and its associated anxieties seems aptly fitting. If Churchyard was driven by a need to educate those Latin scholars at whom he predominantly aimed his text (bearing in mind his printer had a monopoly on Tudor school texts at this time), he may have made more specific references to the necessity of vernacularisation in his prefatory paratexts. Churchyard only completes three books of the *Tristia* but Arthur Golding initially uses the same method of partial translation

---

[314] Nicholas Brereton's *Phyllis* uses a fourteener contemporary to Churchyard's. *De Tristibus* was Churchyard's most popular text in this format, reprinted in 1578, 1580 and throughout the seventeenth century.

[315] Liz Oakley-Brown writes, 'Translators rewrite source texts according to the ideological perspectives of the target audience, and the overwhelming project of translation, as it is revealed in the printed texts of this time, is to confront particular systems of signification so as to take newly Protestant England out of alignment with Catholic Rome. These versions of Ovid, published, if not in early response to, certainly in tandem with, the Elizabethan aspiration for a 'true religion', are framed by a Christian ideology attempting to shift the religious perspectives of its subjects.' It is therefore the dynamic of shifting religions that is important, and imposing meaning on something that can be misconstrued. Liz Oakley-Brown, "Translating the Subject: Ovid's Metamorphoses in England, 1560-7" from *Translation and Nation: Towards a Cultural Politics of Englishness*, eds. Liz Oakley Brown and Roger Ellis (Multilingual Matters Ltd: Clevedon, 2001), pp.53-54.

[316] Lyne, 'Studies in English Translation', p.51.

with his instalments of the *Metamorphoses*; Churchyard may have simply copied this already established method of working and failed to carry it through. However, as discussed below, Churchyard appears to be most methodologically indebted to Thomas Phaer rather than Golding, whom he rewards by naming in an introduction to Skelton's works in 1568.[317]

Churchyard does not translate *De Tristibus* for the advancement of learning in a selfless way – such as Mulcaster might – but he produces what is necessary to advance his own career.[318] This is further compounded by the fact that Churchyard does not always select the closest equivalent words whilst translating, he instead experiments and coins less serious or likely phrases, allowing his own poetic license to supplant some of the text's core meanings.[319] This is where Venuti's 'function' of translation enters the equation. Therefore a second characteristic of Churchyard's translation style emerges, that it is also conformist in nature, but lacks refinement or precision of terminology. This is not exceptional in early-modern translations, where the emphasis was often on the sense or spirit of the source text, rather than the letter. Churchyard often presents his readers with a simplified version of the original and also alters the relationship between active and passive language to aid comprehension (shown later in this chapter when addressing the envoy). Churchyard is shown to be pragmatic and self-projecting in his style of translation – this is an attempt to launch his career through the Ovidian lens of the *Tristia*. The mention of other works such as *Chippes* in the paratext to *De Tristibus* highlights Churchyard's specific desire to write on a broad range of subjects and in varied verse styles, in order to gain advancement. This literary flexibility recalls Ovid's desires to write in multiple styles, and fulfil his dream of writing epic.

---

[317] Phaer appears amongst other deceased authors in Churchyard's comments appended to literary collections. There is no living threat to Churchyard's bid for fame, and these commendations highlight his own works as much as elegising his forebears. John Stow, *Pithy pleasaunt and profitable works of maister Skelton, Poete Laureate* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1568).

[318] Mulcaster was predominantly a reformer, concerned with improving teaching practice and implementing uniformity of style, rather than pursuing personal advancement. Richard L. DeMolen, 'Richard Mulcaster and the Profession of Teaching in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 35.1 (1974), 121-129.

[319] 'Churchyard's own interaction with resonant Latin vocabulary shows him to be willing to adapt and experiment.' Lyne, 'Studies in English Translation', p.66.

Transforming the status of the *Tristia* from a Latin to an English text leads to other transitional moves, as Churchyard begins to elevate his literary style through this particular work. He begins to assert himself as a scholarly writer who is learned and capable of comprehensively dealing with Ovid's long-revered classical elegiacs. This is doubly interesting when Ovid's desire to move from amatory to epic metre in his writing is taken into consideration. Churchyard's previous printed interactions had seen him accused of masquerading as someone else entirely, but here we receive the unabashed self-citing Churchyard who promotes his name in a bid for Hatton's patronage.[320] Whilst Churchyard had hitherto needed props or an impetus to define and defend his name, in *De Tristibus* he openly owns it and makes his identity central.[321] All of these traits that require defence or definition are also found in Ovid's *Tristia*. The veracity of the earlier polemical exchange between Camell and Churchyard has been challenged.[322] In the advent of printed texts Churchyard trials something new and Camell's responses fuel the fire, providing greater opportunity to publish and sell Churchyard's 'replies'. The entire process with the manufactured triumph of Churchyard over his 'opponent' (who never seems capable of winning) serves to promote the ego-driven soldier poet and fill the coffers of his printer. The rather incredible and convenient subsequent retirement and silence of Camell inevitably brings the legitimacy of the pamphlet exchange into question. In amongst the characteristics of Churchyard's translation too there needs to be recognition of the emerging persona of Churchyard himself. Churchyard is an instinctively defensive writer, and the *Tristia* therefore is a fitting text for furthering such stylistic devices.

---

[320] In his polemical debate with Churchyard, Thomas Camell accuses him of obscuring his family origins and consciously disguising his true identity, potentially as a way of negotiation out of prison after the St Monans raid in 1548. Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, pp. 77-85.

[321] As he does in the *Davy Dycars Dreame* pamphlets, written during Edward VI's reign.

[322] Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, p.81 on the pseudonymous use of names by Churchyard on other occasions. Carole Rose Livingston suggests the whole exercise was a publicity-stunt by Churchyard to print broadsides and make money. Carole Rose Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Garland, 1991), p.833.

In 1562 Wightman committed Thomas Phaer's nine-book translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* to the press.[323] It was unfinished, as Phaer had died unexpectedly early in 1560 from a fall from his horse. As a translation written in fourteeners, Phaer's work is an exemplar for Churchyard's chosen mode of composition in *De Tristibus*, and both writers reminisce over the importance of knowledge being conveyed to all readers in a tongue that is easily comprehensible and distinctly nationalistic. This ties itself closely to characteristics of Churchyard's translation foregrounded above. The success of this translation, and the later books that were completed by Twyne and added to the first nine, is evident from its having been reprinted many times, in spite of there being other translations available. [324] As Sheldon Brammall says, the complete translation of the *Aeneid* by Thomas Phaer and Thomas Twyne:

> 'has every reason to be considered the central English Renaissance *Aeneid* […] Whereas no other translation of Virgil was printed in England more than twice until the 1650s (and only the Earl of Surrey's translation of Book 4 was printed more than once in England during this time), the translation by Phaer and Twyne went through eight editions, running from 1558 through to 1620. It influenced the translations by Richard Stanyhurst (1582), Sir John Harington (1604) and Sir Thomas Wroth (1620) […] Phaer's poetry was perceived as lofty, gallant, majestic: it pursued no middle flight.[325]

Phaer's chosen verse form also received accolades from Churchyard, who mentions his name amongst some established literary forefathers of poetry in his introductory matter to a complete works of Skelton published in 1568. In using fourteeners in *De Tristibus*, Churchyard shows an appreciation of a form that is entrenched in conservatism which does not attempt to break the mould or try out anything formally new.

---

[323] Wightman on behalf of Thomas Phaer, *The nyne fyrst bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil conuerted into Englishe vearse by Thomas Phaer Doctour of Phisike* (London: Rouland Hall, 1562).
[324] The *Aeneid's* first seven books were translated by Phaer in 1558 and upon Phaer's death in 1560, the project was completed by Thomas Twyne. The completed Virgil translation was notably successful and reprinted in 1583, 1584, 1596, and 1600.
[325] Sheldon Brammall, *The English Aeneid: Translations of Virgil, 1555-1646* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp.19-21.

Churchyard's introductory matter to Skelton's works reveals a deeply entrenched vision for the vernacular, and a support of poets and translators who have also furthered the dissemination of English literature over the Latin. In this way, both of Churchyard's characteristics - the preference for the vernacular and the traditional, conformist nature of his translation - combine and merge into one position. Churchyard's nod to recent supporters of vernacular transmission, and inclusion of Phaer, the physician and translator of the *Aeneid*, alongside the ever-important Chaucer, Skelton and Langland in their influence on the popularisation of English metre confirms this merger:

> I pray you then my friendes, Disdaine not for to vewe:
> The workes and sugred verses fine, Of our raer poetes newe
> Whoes barborus language rued, Perhaps ye may mislike,
> But blame them not that ruedly playes If they the ball do strike.
> Nor skorne not mother tunge, O babes of englishe breed,
> I haue of other language séen, And you at full may reed.
> Fine verses trimly wrought, And coutcht in comly sort,
> But neuer I nor you I troe, In sentence plaine and short.
> Did yet beholde with eye, In any forraine tonge:
> A higher verse a staetly style, That may be read or song.
> Than is this daye in déede, Our englishe verse and ryme:
> The grace wherof doth touch ye gods, And reatch the cloudes somtime.
> Thorow earth and waters déepe, The pen by skill doth passe:
> And featly nyps the worldes abuse, And shoes vs in a glasse,
> The vertu and the vice, Of eury wyght a lyue:
> The hony combe that bée doth make, Is not so swéete in hyue.
> As are the golden leues, That drops from poets head:
> […] Peers plowman was full plaine, And Chausers spréet was great:
> Earle Surry had a goodly vayne, Lord Uaus the marke did beat.
> And Phaer did hit the pricke, In thinges he did translate:
> And Edwards had a special gift, And diuers men of late.
> Hath helpt our Englishe toung, That first was baes and brute
> Ohe shall I leaue out Skeltons name, The blossome of my frute
> The trée wheron in deed, My branchis all might groe,

> Nay skelton wore the Lawrell wreath, And past in schoels ye knoe,
> A poet for his arte, Whoes iudgment suer was hie,
> And had great practies of the pen, His works they will not lie. [326]

That the *Garland of Laurell*, which uses Ovidian envoy most clearly, is chosen to open this printed collection of Skelton's poems is telling, and Churchyard's reference to the poet's laurel crown in his introductory material more so - 'Nay skelton wore the Lawrell wreath'. Churchyard further goes on to say that Skelton is the root of learning from which his own literary 'branchis' develop and grow. The image of a garden being symbolic of poetic growth is commonplace in the sixteenth-century advice to princes genre, but in this instance the metaphor serves to place Churchyard not as a mere admirer of Skelton, but as a descendant and improvement upon the original structure that Skelton's persona represents.[327] This alludes to Churchyard's advanced skill rather than a parallel state. The paratext begins deferentially and yet this underlying motif of self-endorsement by Churchyard soon takes over.

There is also a clear and distinct link in this introductory paratext between Churchyard's reading of Skeltonic envoy and his own use of Ovidian envoy in *De Tristibus*. It is this fervent support of the English vernacular style, in a language that is deeply conventional but domesticized, that permeates Churchyard's *De Tristibus* and leaves the stately but pagan elegiacs of Ovid behind, and may be illustrated, in small measure, by the work's first elegia.

Interpreting the Envoy

A close examination of Churchyard's envoy and first elegia in *De Tristibus* exemplifies his approach to the act of translation itself. The characteristics of Churchyard's translation outlined above can be seen within the envoy in practice. When analysing Churchyard's translation of the Ovidian envoy, which has been traced throughout Skelton's and Chaucer's works, we should first ask the fundamental question: why should something designed to bring a book to its close

---

[326] Thomas Churchyard, introduction from *Pithy Pleasaunt and Profitable workes of Maister Skelton, Poete Laureate* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1568).
[327] The most obvious example of the garden functioning as a symbol of poetic growth is found in George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), Chapter XXV, p.250.

(an envoy, by definition, is meant to represent an author's concluding words) be used instead to introduce its narrative? The envoy is contained within the first elegia of the *Tristia* but over time has been extracted and given position of its own within manuscript anthologies of Ovid's work; it has also been excerpted by readers keen to practise their oratorical skills and written in the back of copies of complete works in some instances.[328] There is a sense of temporal dislocation occurring to the envoy here. This serves to give the envoy a life of its own however much it is contained within the text as a whole. It is both the courier of the *Tristia*, and included within it, which lends a rather contradictory and irreconcilable quality to the envoy before an analysis is even begun of its content.[329] The location of this text's author is incredibly pertinent in a literal sense. The text and its composer are coming to the reader from a distance, albeit figurative, and for a purpose, providing a mode of remembrance and recall.

Just as Chaucer's envoy in *Troilus and Criseyde* acts as mediator between text and reader but also forms an integral part of the work itself (it works implicitly and explicitly) Churchyard's translation fulfils dual roles. In fact further elements of Ovidian and Chaucerian crossover occur in the content and nature of the translated envoy and it does not lose the three principles identified in chapter two: personification; literary deference; and anxiety over reader interpretation. However, Churchyard's envoy alters these 'traits' incrementally in such a way as to find a unique voice from its predecessors. Linguistic passivity overwhelms the opening elegia of *De Tristibus* in a way that differs from the Ovidian and Chaucerian models, which allude to deference but do not cower to the same extreme as the Churchyardian envoy.

From the opening lines of Churchyard's first *elegia* there are some obvious omissions, with the 'pumice', 'cornua' and 'candida nec nigra' edges of Ovid's work disappearing despite being crucial images to the opening of the *Tristia*. These

---

[328] See chapter 1 on reader interactions with the *Tristia*, which provides evidence of composition on end-pages, based on key themes of Ovid's work.

[329] Renaissance readers of early sixteenth-century printed texts expected to find the date, printer and place of publication appended to the back of the text (as Sherman suggests) but by the time of *De Tristibus'* publication opening with the details of the text's location and the overall intention of the book (its guiding message or envoy) was commonplace. William H. Sherman, "The Beginning of 'The End': Terminal Paratext and the Birth of Print Culture" from *Renaissance Paratexts*, eds. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.66.

references apply to a Roman book roll, with ‘cornua’ or horns that would constitute the ends of the roll of papyrus. The pumice, used to smooth the pages that are stitched together in a long strip (and still associated with manuscript production in the medieval and early-modern periods as Churchyard would have known) is also removed from his translation. The process of contemporary printed-book manufacture rather than a knowledge of classical ideas could explain Churchyard’s failure to include the black and white colours and the *cornua* of the original book roll that would have been a feature of Ovid's period, but not his. Does this show an appreciation of printed book production over the manual scraping down of manuscripts for use, or did Churchyard simply miss the passage out accidentally? He talks of the rough disorder of the copy, but omits a translation of an obvious word, 'pumice' which does not even need a translation to be understood, as it is the same in Latin and English. His chosen language allows the process of printing to be equally relatable, rather than impossible. Is Churchyard conscious of his book’s printed form being misrepresentative of such processes in textual manufacture? He appears reluctant to attach archaic process to his text, even though this is represented in the *Tristia*, which is suggestive of an author who is keen to progress his career via the medium of print, rather than revert to previous textual traditions. Churchyard is transplanting the image of the ancient book roll with the presence of a contemporary printed book. In this one sense his work is perhaps progressive, but in many respects it remains a prisoner of its own simplicity and conservative frame due to the obligation any translation has to follow closely its original.

It is not only what is omitted by Churchyard that proves insightful in a close examination of the envoy to *De Tristibus*, there are some notable divergences of meaning that can unveil the soldier-poet’s style and underlying preoccupations. In relation to conflict we see multiple instances of resistance to the Ovidian original provided by Churchyard’s particular style:

> A minde more free from feare it askes, in deadly doubt I stand,
> Least that my life with sword be reft, by force of enemyes hand
>
> [Carminibus metus omnis obest; ego perditus ensem

Haesurum iugulo iam puto iamque meo.][330]

By 'force of enemyes hand' is not in the original *Tristia*, there is no overt reference to a specific 'enemy', just the overarching fear of being killed, whilst Churchyard makes this interaction much more personal and reactive to an incoming and perceptible threat. Churchyard also chooses to remove the obvious reference to having his throat (*iugulo*) cut by the sword as a result of his ruin. The term is quite clear and unambiguous to translate, so it is unusual that he avoids the detail, when there is enough space in the fourteener to include it, and to erase the reference to the 'enemyes hand'. The impression created is that Churchyard wants to focus upon the enemy at large, and warns against them, rather than the specific method of execution of the poet. This elaboration on the imminent threat of the 'enemy' rather than the negative fate of the poet, also ties into theories that Churchyard was a writer constantly wishing to advise and educate his readership.[331] In his reinterpretation of the *Tristia,* Christian values must be maintained, an instance of which is most strikingly seen in Book II when Ovid's original knowing-readers are turned into 'wanton dames', 'baudy harlots' and 'Strompets'.[332] There is clearly a distinct line being drawn by Churchyard around morality and how one should act that is in no way Ovidian in tone. Whilst these women were mentioned for practicing or looking on at every kind of lust, or 'stantis ad genus omne', Ovid does not condemn them for this, whilst Churchyard adopts a hard-line misogynistic view of the sexuality of women in general. Ovid mentions the potential for corruption of any open mind, but Churchyard adds a level of cynicism and moral pomp by emphasising that it is the already 'wicked peruerse mynd' involved here.[333] Even the matron is not excused from being complicit in this sinfulness, for Churchyard's translation suggests an attitude of immorality in her grave acceptance of it, 'The matrons graue do oft beholde, the baudy harlots loue,/ How naked ther themselues they make, dame

---

[330] [Poetry is injured by any fear; I in my ruin am ever and ever expecting a sword to pierce my throat]. Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: i, Lines 43-44, pp.4-5. Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 1v.

[331] Kerri Allen forwards the idea that Churchyard uses his work, particularly "A Praise of Poetrie" in order to teach his readership morality. Kerri Allen, 'An Apology for Thomas Churchyard' unpublished PhD dissertation, Georgia State University, Atlanta, 2009.

[332] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 14v.

[333] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 14v.

Venus prankes to proue.'[334] By again skewing meaning and subtly imposing the 'baudy harlots loue' Churchyard turns the matron into a brothel-keeper and devalues all of the female roles at the expense of the main Ovidian message, which is that wilful misreading has wrongly condemned the *Ars Amatoria* (and its author) to a fate quite undeserved.

There is an increasingly sanctimonious tone to *De Tristibus*, which is not out of kilter with the moralising tendency found in later pieces such as *Chance* (1580) and the earlier works of the 1560s. But whilst the *Tristia* recognises morality, or ways of reading, viewing or acting rightly in Book II, Ovid does not condemn those who choose the wrong option, he merely excuses himself as a writer of having the license to instruct or infiltrate peoples' everyday actions. Churchyard, on the other hand, brings a tarnished personal vendetta to the argument and colours it with his own experience of women, which is already unfavourable. The lessons that should be learnt do not have to be directly spelt out in Churchyard's own words – particularly as this is not his job, as translator – but rather, his wilful mismanaging of the original text projects the *Tristia* in a direction through intonation that is increasingly strait-laced, conservative, and narrow-minded.[335] Churchyard's translation is clearly embedded in the existing early-modern tradition of moralising Ovid.

Whilst not so embittered, another instance of conflict and violence provoking a particularly personal, and self-reflective response in Churchyard's translation emerges in the envoy of the first elegia, when his anglicisation of events stands out markedly:

> My selfe confesse that haue receyu'de of Joue his launce a wound,
> Do feare the force of flashing fyre, by thonders threatning sound.
>
> [Me quoque, quae sensi, fateor Iovis arma timere:

[334] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 14v.
[335] Churchyard sees wedlock as a binding knotting, smothering thing. An increasingly negative and generalising portrayal of marriage and all women, whether matrons, maids, or 'harlots' emerges with the admission, 'But matrones may more artes inuent, although they be untaught,/ Wherby to make the chastest myndes, with wickednes be fraught.' The suggestion is that women are all prone to acting upon lust, irrespective of bad teaching, thus Churchyard's translation serves to cheapen women in a way that Ovid's *Tristia* does not. Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 14r.

Me reor infesto, cum tonat, igne peti.][336]

Whilst there is clearly no reference to the specific type of weapon Jove carries or wounds Ovid with here, just a fear of the weapon of Jove (*Iovis arma timere*) Churchyard chooses to assume an inescapably English-sounding lance. In grounding the Ovid-Augustus encounter in the realms of physical conflict and battle that can be imagined with ease by an English readership, Churchyard creates a scene that is not metaphorical as Ovid's original would suggest, but grounded in reality. Whilst the thunderbolts of Jove (read Augustus) constitute a literary conceit on Ovid's part in the *Tristia*, the translated meaning foregrounds the worldly action of hurting the poet in a mortal sense, and betrays some of Churchyard's wartime experience as a soldier in a narrative that is not directly about him, but that takes on elements of his distinctive literary personality. He therefore binds his work with the bonds of his own encounters with punishment and imprisonment. This example once more affirms Lyne's argument that there is an inappropriateness to the vocabulary used by Churchyard, and also that there is a conscious decision on his part to promote and seek to improve the vernacular. Churchyard aims his translation in its simplified form at an audience that might plainly understand the key ideas of the text. Rather than becoming too weighed down with metaphoric language which makes the act of translation more complex, Churchyard opts for the easiest and quickest explanation or available correlative term in English. Therefore a desire for simplicity and functionality overrides the diligence needed for accuracy. An appreciation of the vernacular poetic and this simplified approach to verse forms, both characteristic of Churchyard's *De Tristibus*, begin to merge into a single entity, reaffirming the overlapping nature of his translatory practices and how they feed into and support one another. There is something all-encompassing about this translation in that it approaches its readership in language that is simplistic and inclusive, and alludes to geographical features particular to England, rather than specificities of a Roman pagan climate.

A grounding of the original text in the realms of what is realistic and achievable for an audience's comprehension materialises in other ways in Churchyard's *De Tristibus.* Whilst there is repeated reference to 'me mare, me venti,

[336] [I too admit – for I have felt it – that I fear the weapon of Jupiter: I believe myself the target of a hostile bolt whenever the thunder roars], Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Lines 81-82, p.8. Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 2r.

me fera' in Ovid's original, evidently for poetic effect, this is forgone in the Churchyard translation where he lays less emphatic gesture on the part of the first person narrator, opting for 'But mee: the Seas, the wrestlyng wyndes, the winter wyld doth shake' instead.[337] The power of the seasons and nature's elements take centre stage in this re-ordering of Ovid's verse. In this specific instance we see anaphora at play in two ways: Ovid uses it rhetorically, and Churchyard opts for a grammatical usage. The effect is that the vocal impact and gravity initially sought by Ovid is supplanted by a desire for simplicity in comprehension; Churchyard's approach is serendipitously apt for a text that would have been intended for use in Tudor grammar schools.

This is not the only instance of Churchyard supplanting or ignoring the central first-person tone of the *Tristia*, and making an active assertion into a much more passive suggestion, or replacing the first person singular 'I' and 'my' (mea; mihi; mei; meo; meum) with a first person plural 'we' and 'our'. For example, 'tu cave defendas, quamvis mordebere dictis; causa patrocinio non bona maior erit' becomes, 'Spend thou no speach, nor do not care, tho threatning browes they bende,/ A rightfull cause it hindreth oft, with wordes if we defend.'[338] The former's imperative tone is removed, and the emphasis laid upon passive and deferential behaviour. In choosing to translate in this way, the thrust of the text is much dulled, restricted, and weakened by Churchyard and its power to persuade made, not imperative and personally compelling, but generic and applicable to more than one reader. We should all now be complicit and therefore this sharing of the responsibility (similar to a sermon in which the message is relayed to multiple recipients) causes there to be less urgency to the action implored by Ovid in the original text. When there is no direct and personal accountability, the message becomes much more vague, and this is what Churchyard's translation in the first elegia seems to be creating, a more passive version of the original:

> Tel then thy name: thou art not he of loue that taught the lore,
> That wicked worke hath felt the paynes that it deseru'd before.
>
> ['inspice' dic 'titulum. Non sum praeceptor amoris;

[337] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 1v. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Line 42, p.4.
[338] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 1r. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Lines 25-26, p.4.

Quas meruit, poenas iam dedit illud opus.'][339]

Churchyard uses reported speech here, whereas the original speaks to us from the page and momentarily *becomes* the authorial person, thus the relationship between reported and represented speech presents a difficulty. The lack of emotive connection and transference in Churchyard's translation is averse to the compliant author-reader relationship that the Ovidian original plays upon and seeks to achieve in order to get a reprieve from Augustus. There is also an implied wickedness and guilt imposed on the *Ars Amatoria* by Churchyard at this point in the text, one that Ovid's original does not share, as it would undermine the argument that he is wrongfully exiled. The punishment (*poenas*) is evident in both versions but that in itself does not preclude innocence. In Churchyard's translation the key aspect of Ovid's work that requires emphasis is that sin or failing should be punished, and that justice should be served. In this respect it develops from the tradition of Ovidian morality-based literature - such as Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* discussed in chapter two – in which failing is chastised and mythological example used in order to enforce good behaviour upon its sixteenth-century readers. The message is simple and the intricacy of Ovidian metaphor reduced to clear parameters of right and wrong.

A further instance of Churchyard effecting his homely style is at the very beginning of the envoy where he says:

> With ruddy red dye not thy face, nor sappe of Ceder tree,
> Such outward hue see that thou haue, as cause assignes to thee.
> Frounce not thy fearefull face I say, nor haplesse head to streke,
> But roughe and rugde so shew in sight, that pity may prouoke.
>
> [nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur,
> candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.
> felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos;
> fortunae memorem te decet esse meae.][340]

---

[339] [Examine the title. I am not the teacher of love; that work has already paid its deserved penalty]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Lines 67-68, pp.6-7. Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 1v.

[340] [Your title shall not be tinged with vermilion nor your paper with oil of cedar; and you shall wear no white bosses upon your dark edges. Books of good omen

Pastoral examples occur in Books II; III: x; III: xii and IV: I and include references to shepherds, ploughmen and nautical imagery. Catherine Keen sees similarities to Petrarch's protagonists in the *Canzoniere* in this respect.[341] No frowning face is found in the original envoy text but Churchyard puts one in, whilst, as mentioned, the white bosses on the dark edges ('candida nec nigra cornua') disappear completely. The overall emphasis of the translation of this part of the envoy is on obedient service (as in the original) but there is a sincerity to the manner in which Churchyard's verse talks of the envoy's obedience to the ruler it is flying off to. In the *Tristia* there is a tongue-in-cheek aspect to the way in which ceremony is avoided, whilst in the translation it is a plainness and openness of dress and style that appears to be condoned by Churchyard. The use of Old English words such as the 'ruddy' red that dyes the book's 'face' promotes a feeling of endearment, rather than a sterile dismissal of regal 'vermilion' book-covers in the original. Those heights of ceremony that cannot be reached in the original are supplanted by ruddy-cheeked spectators in Churchyard's version, just as the imagined triumph sequence of Ovid gaining an oaken wreath from the augury in Book III: ii is removed and the garland made a mere feature of the household scenery.[342] Again, a colloquial and distinctly anglicised language is put in place which seeks to simplify terms that may have been alien to the readership Churchyard wishes to educate with *De Tristibus.* His translation also turns 'purpureo' into 'vastie Violet' in line five of the envoy, when

---

should be decked with such things as these; 'tis my fate that you should bear in mind]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: i, Lines 7-10, pp.2-3. Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 1r.

[341] Catherine Keen, 'Ovid's exile poetry at times seems to have provided material directly for Petrarch's lyrics in the *Canzoniere*. The most extended borrowing occurs in "Ne la stagion che 'l ciel rapido inchina", where Petrarch contrasts his restless, love-tormented condition with that of pilgrims, farmers, shepherds, or sailors whose arduous daily toil is rewarded with rest at nightfall. The poet himself can never rest.' Catherine Keen, 'Ovid's Exile and Medieval Italian Literature' taken from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid* ed. John Miller and Carole Newlands (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), p.155.

[342] The figurative return to Rome portrayed by Ovid dynamically looks like this and takes the form of a dialogue: '"et Iovis haec" dixi "domus est?" quod ut esse putarem,/ augurium menti querna corona dabat' [Is this also Jove's abode, I said, and for such thought an oaken wreath gave to my mind the augury]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: i, Lines 35-36, pp.102-103. Churchyard's translation becomes, 'Behold of Iove the house (quoth he) which we may so deuine,/ By royall Crowne of Oken tree, that high thereon do shine.' Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 17v. The laurel garland symbolic of poetic victory becomes merely an ornamental feature of Augustus' palace and Ovid's voice is again rendered obscure and passive.

dealing with the inappropriate covering or clothing of a book alleged to be in mourning for its exiled author. 'Vastie' in Churchyard's sense appears to mean gaudy, cheap or inappropriate, not 'vast', and there is no mention of the flower in Ovid's text.[343]

Churchyard makes use of alliteration unapparent in the *Tristia* to impart a harshness in tone here, but his 'vastie Violet' also provides a local and identifiably English referent, the violet, which resonates more deeply with an English readership than the colour 'purpureo' would. Similar evasion of the precise term necessary occurs when Churchyard refers in the opening line of the envoy to the 'stately towne' rather than the city of Rome. Churchyard is choosing the best metrical fit for his verse, at the cost of linguistic 'sense'. This also brings the translation into a more domestic sphere, a homely and recognisable space, and seeks to de-foreignise the text at the expense of its own dramatic tension and power. 'Frounce not thy fearfull face' does not denote the sorrow and despair of a man banished for the rest of his life to a distant land as Ovid's original 'felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos/fortunae memorem te decet esse meae' does, but evokes a schoolroom tantrum, or troubled sense of misapprehension.

This positioning of the poet in amongst pastoral conceits continues in Book II of *De Tristibus*, which picks up on the figure of the ploughman, the importance of fertility, barren fields and their implied significance, and the 'fruictfull minde' of the poet. In this passage, the exiled poet does not merely write lighter verse or simpler metres, he composes shepherd-like 'ditties' in a 'smaller streame' that would not be out of place in Spenser's eclogues to the *Shepheardes Calender*. Here knowledge becomes simple 'wit'and the poetic identity a small boat in a vast sea:

> As rightfully I am reprou'de, in barren fielde I til'de
> That noble worke is far more large, with greater plentye fil'de
> For though the slender boate is bould, in smaller streame to play,
> Yet like disport it dareth not in surginge seas assay.

---

[343] Shakespeare uses the phrase 'can this cockpit hold the vastie fields of France' in 1599 in the opening chorus to *Henry V* and attention has been drawn to it being unusually positive terminology to describe the enemy's territory, however in the context of Churchyard's 1572 meaning of 'gaudy' or 'inappropriate' it makes sense. On the complexities of 'vasty', N. F. Blake, *Papers from the International Conference on Historical Lexicography and Lexicology* ed. Coleman and McDermott (Tübingen: Max Niemayer Verlag, 2004), p.215.

And doubting that for greater thinges, my minde is farre unfit,
In ditties small it may suffice, that I doe shew my wit.
But if thou should commaund to tell, of Giaunts greeuous woundes,
Which they through fyre of Iove did feele: the worke my wit confoundes
A fruictfull minde it doth requyre, of Caesars actes to wright,
Least els perhaps with matter much, the worke may want his right.
Which though I durst haue take in hande, yet dreading much amonge,
Thy noble power I might abate, which were to great a wronge.
To lighter worke I therefore went, and youthfull verse addrest,
With fayned loue a care I had, to feede my sick breast.
Which loth I was full longe to doe, but fates did so ordayne,
And deepe desire my mynde did mooue, to purchase greeuous payne.[344]

It is an anti-pastoral scene being displayed here, a dystopian world containing exacerbated violent imagery not in the original. In keeping with Churchyard's militaristic translatory style, he dwells here on 'greeuous woundes' and 'greeuous payne' using those repeated phrases to greater effect in ending lines with them. Whilst the *Tristia* shifts the reader's focus onto the poet's acts in themselves not being great or noteworthy, Churchyard concentrates more on the poet's pain and the inflicted wounding 'purchased' of others. Rather than being self-inflicted, Churchyard's poet is wrongfully pursued or harassed in his vocation by others, and is therefore non culpable. Colloquialisms like 'til'de' lie contrary to 'noble power' and 'noble worke' which further lends them a rustic and naïve tone. Furthermore Phoebus, known for his role as a protector of flocks or herds, is named by Churchyard in the lines preceding this passage, but does not appear in the *Tristia.*[345] As Apollo was associated with arrows and the lyre, war and poetry, this insertion seems particularly apposite for the soldier-poet. Arrows once again form an association with exile poetics, confirming Nagle's study of this subject.

The 'fayned love' of Churchyard's broken poet and the shame felt for moving his mind to works of desire (alluding to the *Ars Amatoria*) is posthumously applied to the translation in which Ovid admits the existence and value of his love

[344] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 12v-13r.
[345] Apollo became one of the chief Roman Gods to be worshipped during Augustus' reign. A temple on the Palatine Hill was also erected by Augustus and dedicated to Apollo.

poetry (why deny it?) and undermines the ability of others to view it correctly and innocently. It is an incredibly subtle shift but a significant one, for it changes the way in which the reader views a persecuted man's accountability. In Ovid's case he will not cover up something that is honest and loving, but Churchyard is much more prudish and apologetic, applying his own code of conduct to another man's actions. Likewise, dread, weakening of ability, and the poet's insincerity for his task come through in *De Tristibus* and all work in a different way to the original. Wheeler's translation of Ovid uses 'mighty deeds' for the phrase 'immania Caesaris acta' whilst Churchyard opts for 'noble power' to describe Augustus' strength.[346] The word 'nobilis' does not appear in line 338 of the *Tristia* and the perspective of Caesar as a result of Churchyard's insertion is changed from a strong ruler to a noble one. Considering that there is a moral code invested in being noble, but no such limitation on being merely strong, this is indeed significant. The word *immania* is taken from *immanis* which when used as an adjective means vast, monstrous, or even savage, but Churchyard simply avoids the implication that Augustus is inhuman in his strength, choosing instead to refer just to 'Caesars actes' with no adjectival description.[347] Churchyard erases the negative portrayal of the Emperor and replaces it with one suggesting he is noble and moral in judgement, almost akin to an idealised Christian figure. The liberation felt by Ovid in his exile which enables him to portray Caesar harshly is not afforded to Churchyard, whose proximity to court restricts his freedom of speech.

It is clear that Churchyard's translatory practice consists of some key principles: that it retains the 'sense' of the text, like contemporary translations, but in style sometimes lacks precision; that it is at times domesticizing, in line with its author's preference for the vernacular indebted to Phaer and Golding; and that it is inclusive of a heterogeneous audience, both through its tendencies to simplify terms, and to inhabit grammatical positions that are different to the rhetorical nuances of Ovid's original. These three major characteristics of Churchyard's translation are supported by the underlying obsession of the author with selfhood and poetic identity, which spills out of the envoy, and to which further attention will be paid in the remainder of this chapter. This initial focus on *De Tristibus* has paved the way

---

[346] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Line 335, pp.78-79.
[347] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. James Morwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). *Immanis:* 'huge, vast, immense, monstrous; inhuman, savage'.

for a fuller appreciation of the significant influence that the *Tristia* made on Churchyard's entire poetic career.

In its abstractions *De Tristibus* can be confined and unvarying, and in its accordance with early-modern translation practice it localises a number of features of the original text. In essence Churchyard's translation seeks to remove all that is foreign or unwieldy and replace it with the comforts of home. It sets up parameters of interpretation that are simplistic and transparent to an Elizabethan readership who desire clarity of meaning and *interpretatio* over exact faithfulness to the original. The fourteener format removes all the rhetorical majesty of Ovid's work and strips down the bare meaning in a grammatically sound, but linguistically stark way. Churchyard remains rooted to his land, his England, to which – unlike Ovid - he always returns (from prison in Scotland, and in continental Europe). It is perhaps this longing for the simple domesticity of 'home' that takes over in *De Tristibus* and explains the linguistic choices made in his work. There is something mechanically repetitive about the structure and predictability of the fourteener in a world that, for a jobbing soldier-poet was far from stable. Having discussed the author's manner, style and intentions in relation to Ovid part two of this chapter examines the extent to which Ovid's *Tristia* pervades the rest of Churchyard's work during his long career.

Ovid's Influence on Churchyard's Wider Works

Churchyard's translation of Ovid's *Tristia* marked a key change in the direction of his literary career during the early 1570s. For Churchyard, never physically exiled himself, Ovid's *Tristia* provides a model framework and way of articulating dissatisfaction with established power, and the means through which a marginalised, disillusioned poet might best re-centre and project himself. As such, figurative, rather than physical exile is functioning productively in a series of distinct ways. Firstly, it enables an assertion of the authorial 'self' and enhances the importance of poetic identity by foregrounding its perceived loss. When surrounded by a seemingly alienating environment, assuming the pose of an estranged figure provides the writer with an opportunity to test and fully contemplate their art. This form of self-promotion appears to be modest as a result. Secondly, a segregation from power in the exilic climate of the *Tristia* prompts an appreciation of the value of true friendship in adversity in Churchyard's works. Thirdly, revisiting the *Tristia* provides a model for fashioning a return from a position of perceived estrangement.

Churchyard's early engagement as servant to Surrey places him in the realms of power and influence from a young age, but his position simultaneously prohibits him from gaining from any meaningful interactions there. It is only when he launches himself as a poet following Surrey's execution that Churchyard becomes in any sense a real contender for patronage. To be in exile therefore is not to be away from the court, but to be in a position of subservience that prevents further advancement. This exilic state may take place whilst being in the middle of the action. Consolation in Ovid's *Tristia* is read alongside the progression of a charismatic individual towards their own self-made fate. This theme appeals to Churchyard as a poet 'on the make' capable of revitalising Ovid's exilic identity in a new historical moment. The self-effacement that opens the *Tristia* (where Ovid embodies his book, and even his book is blotted, colourless and nameless) actually metamorphoses into a mental self-awareness: 'I am not what I was. Why dost thou trample on an empty shadow?' (Book III: xi), before an exposition of the history of himself in Book IV: x. [348] Ovid reflects on his early successes in the *Tristia* as a therapist might, situating his current identity in some kind of normality. This self-referentiality is rife in Churchyard's literary work, and evinces a focused interaction with Ovid's exilic texts throughout his long career. An Ovidian-inspired consciousness of the muted poet and their ability to transform into something greater is key. Ovid's *Tristia* has a profound influence upon Churchyard, and this influence will now be traced by identifying a preoccupation with three key themes that are foundational to the *Tristia*: Poetic Identity, Friendship and Triumphal Return.

- Poetic Identity

Churchyard gains endorsement in his own works through re-using ideas of poetic identity intrinsic to Ovid's *Tristia.* Knowing that the *Tristia* obsesses over the masterliness of the poet and a need for intelligent readers, Churchyard uses its introductory, epistolary format and envoy to present selfhood in his own context. The envoy motif acts as a distancing mechanism for Churchyard because the personified text takes centre stage, and he is therefore not culpable for anything vocalised by *it*. Blame and disingenuity come into play here as motivations for using such a practice. By implication, the author creating an imaginatively exiled entity (a

[348] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: xi, Line 25, p.143.

flying book heading 'home') does not necessarily ever fully *become* that entity. Their own personal 'identity' is not clearly or easily revealed, but elusive.

The tendency to translate and redesign Ovid's envoy can be seen in several of Churchyard's works. The *Tristia's* envoy is represented almost verbatim by Churchyard in *A lamentable, and pitifull description, of the wofull warres in Flaunders*, published only six years after *De Tristibus*.[349] Whilst the structure or general content of an envoy is roughly replicated in an introduction appended by Churchyard to *Huloet's Dictionary* by Higgins (1572) and in *Churchyardes Charitie* (1596), it is the *Lamentable Description* (1578) that provides the clearest connection to Ovid's *Tristia* in particular.[350] It is, however, notable that these envoy-based exercises all post-date the three-book *De Tristibus* translation of the *Tristia*. Churchyard uses the structure of Book I: i, magnifying the dishevelled appearance of his 'book', just as Ovid had projected the blots and deficiencies of his exilic work before him. Churchyard describes his work thus:

> Go sillie Booke to suttle Worlde
> and shew thy simple face,
> And forward passe, and do not turne
> agayne to my disgrace.
> For thou shalt bring to peoples eares
> but troth that needes not blush,
> And though Maell Bouch giue thee rebuke,
> care not for that a rush,
> For euill tongs do ytch so sore,
> they must be rubbing still[351]

The veracity of this honest but humble work is a key feature of what Churchyard takes from the 'Tristian' envoy structure in this instance. Churchyard lifts the sequence in which Ovid's book is encouraged to be persistent by knocking on doors and making a pitiful case for itself there, suggesting that 'when one house doth

---

[349] Thomas Churchyard, *A lamentable, and pitifull description, of the wofull warres in Flaunders* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), sigs. K1r-K2r.
[350] Thomas Churchyard, *A musicall consort of heauenly harmonie (compounded out of manie parts of musicke) called Churchyards charitie* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1596). Sigs.B1r-B2r of it are quite close in theme to the *Tristia* but do not present as conclusive an example as the *Lamentable Description.*
[351] Churchyard, *Lamentable Description*, sig.K1r.

shutte thee out,/ creepe to another straight,/ And though thy mayster be but playne,/ yet looke thou vse some sleight/ To purchase loue'.[352] In a similar vein, Ovid describes his work's return to Rome by alluding to its unpolished edges and inadequate state of address, before suggesting it gain pity as part of this guise from 'one who sighs over my exile, reading your lines with cheeks that are not dry'.[353] However, Churchyard veers away from a complete copy of his 'Tristian' source by applying its lessons to his specific environment – this is, after all, a work on recent wars he experiences, and as such, the message is redirected back to confront that matter, taking into consideration the readership for which it is written. Churchyard concludes his 'Tristian' envoy with an acknowledgement that life is short and chances should be grasped before they slip away, but there is some hesitancy to this overall assertion. There is a disconnection between Churchyard's opening lines and closing verses, which refer to militant action, whilst Ovid's lines spurn any contemplation of war, or wrathful retaliation from Rome in general. For example, Churchyard's envoy begins with the generic tone of the *Tristia* in finding advocates, but merges into more pressing endorsements of contemporary soldiers and schoolroom masters:

> If Court embrace thee for my sake,
> to Countrey then in post,
> Be sure then neyther thy bare words,
> nor my poore worke is lost.
> Where Soldioures are aduance thy selfe,
> for though some faults they spye,
> Their martiall minds will make them cast
> on thee a friendly eye.[354]

It is clear from this example that Churchyard changes tack, and steers away from the 'Tristian' original a little. The conclusion of the envoy in Book I: i of the *Tristia,* however, bears similarities in terms of tone and content, and both Ovid's and Churchyard's intentions for their forthcoming works display a realistic appreciation of the difficulties they might encounter back home.

---

[352] Churchyard, *Lamentable Description*, sig.K1r.
[353] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: I, Lines 28-29, p.5.
[354] Churchyard, *Lamentable Description*, sig.K1v.

So how else does Churchyard use the *Tristia* in his career? Whilst the 'autobiographical' nature of book four and harsh self-realism of five are often first port of call for critics in terms of poetic identity, the first three books of the *Tristia* assert the self in ways that are as covert as they are triumphant, and present models of obligation and deferential self-fashioning suited to Churchyard. Book II is most helpful in terms of examples. When Ovid chastises Augustus for a lack of interpretative faculty it is to endorse the poet, not the Emperor; the refracted gaze is incontrovertibly upon the author or poet.[355] The pervasive undercurrent of 'self' endorsement utilised by Ovid has evident appeal to Churchyard. It is not the author's voice that is forcing one to become sinful, it is the reader's misapprehension that condemns them as such.[356] This 'Tristian' obsession over readerly misunderstanding witnessed earlier in the examination of Chaucer and Skelton continues to play out in the late sixteenth century texts of Churchyard.

Within *Churchyardes Chance* (1580), Churchyard alludes to revered classical and medieval authors in order to present himself as one of the same crowd. For instance, he writes of the expertise of Cicero, Petrarch and Cato in the 'Epitaphe of Nicholas Bacon', and refers to Dante, Marot and Petrarch in 'The Phantasticall Monarkes Epitaph' within this same compilation of works, published in 1580.[357] 'Of a fantasticall dreame taken out of Petrarke' is also contained in this collection, providing further examples of Churchyard's reliance upon the poet for inspiration, and Petrarch is also referenced in *A Pleasant Conceite penned in verse presents on New Yeeres Day Last to the Queenes Majestie* (1593).[358] Knowing that Petrarch's 'Tristian' reading directly influenced Wyatt (as seen in chapter three) provides another means by which Churchyard could feasibly have accessed Ovid. Further allusions to poetic authority-figures are found in *Churchyardes Challenge*, (1593) containing 'A New Kinde of Sonnet', in which he compares himself to Dante, Petrarch, Homer, Virgil and Ovid. These short anthology pieces addressed to various

---

[355] Henry VIII was increasingly seen as an Augustus-like figure, and Churchyard's reading of the *Tristia* may well have taken place at school, during Henry's reign, even though the translation was published during Elizabeth I's. Augustus comes to represent any powerful recipient of temporal authority.
[356] 'Not a letter of mine is dipped in poisoned jest', Ovid, *Tristia*. Book II, Lines 566.
[357] Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chance* (London: John Kyngston, 1580), *Epitaphe of Sir Nicholas Bacon*, 1v. *The Phantasticall Monarkes Epitaph*, 7r-7v.
[358] Thomas Churchyard, *A Pleasant Conceite penned in verse presents on New Yeeres Day Last to the Queenes Majestie* (London: Roger Warde, 1593).

significant figures mirror the epistolary format of Ovid's elegy within the *Tristia*. Each *elegia* deals with a different recipient or authorial agenda, but they all come together to forward the main case and point: that Ovid wants recall from exile, a re-established sense of poetic self, and authorial fame once he returns, it is hoped, triumphally to his homeland. Multiple petitions make up one grand appeal, just as for Churchyard, sporadically disparate collections of literature targeting multiple beneficent patrons, present an image of a greater purpose for literary progression. In addition, Churchyard fashions his own poetic identity through an identification of other poets of note in a way that Ovid had displayed quite clearly in Book II of the *Tristia*. Success is predicated on a reader's commingled perception of Churchyard as one of these worthy literary forefathers.

Churchyard's keenness to be remembered through print (or any other means) is palpable. He writes himself into history and makes a name for himself, as he cannot make any other contribution paternally. The envoy is his messenger and child, conveying its writer's plight and acting as an essential tool for someone consciously in fear of being forgotten.[359] The impotency of his marital situation and inability to have children despite being married for almost a decade (and not away at war during that time) makes it even more necessary for Churchyard to preserve his name in print.[360] Through poetry Churchyard keeps reiterating the status and significance of his authorial identity. That sort of impotency comes through in the *Tristia* where Ovid also severs relations with his wife and focuses on his step-daughter's poetic gifts as tools for preserving the family name. Authorial legacy preoccupies both Ovid and Churchyard who foresee their own immortality preserved by literature, and in the cold brass of an epitaph.

---

[359] On Churchyard's unstinting devotion to literature until his death in 1604, Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard,* p.262.

[360] Churchyard was cohabiting with his wife and was not away fighting between 1560-1567 but they had no children. He separated from his wife Lucretia around 1569 and she had a child with another man (whom Churchyard shames publicly in print and accuses of cuckoldry and deceit). We only have Churchyard's narrative of the circumstances of their marital situation; the letter detailing his wife's infidelity Churchyard mentions finding is then 'lost' again, presumed stolen. In his own words he 'at Bathe forsooke his cogging wife'. 'A Pitefull Complaint' taken from *Churchyardes Choise* (London: Edward White, 1579), sig.Ii3r. Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard,* pp.147-149.

Churchyard acts as mediator, channelling Ovid's thoughts on poets and readers, raising the issue of poetic license, and avoiding getting his hands dirty in the process. His poet-self is vilified, whilst his role as intermediary and translator ensure that he is protected from any repercussions. The means by which Churchyard tackles fame are manifold, and a clear fascination for its properties emerges in his other works.[361] Ovid provides the distinctive 'Tristian' mythopoeic model and Churchyard perpetuates his own 'myth of fame', copying his technique of self-citation and first person exclamation ('mihi'). This is most clearly seen in the Epistle to *De Tristibus* when he mentions 'modestly' *Churchyardes Chippes* as being 'sondrye tryfles composed in my youth and such fruict as those dayes and my simple knowledge coulde yelde'.[362] Within the *Tristia*, Ovid proclaims his own fame by referring to others as more or equally famous. In so doing, he places himself upon the pedestal he has built, with such poetic talents, and seeks to be seen as one of them by his audience. Churchyard uses an astute tactic also found in the *Tristia* for endorsing individuals whilst omitting their names, thus compromising their fame, and maximising his own. The series of epitaphs (or elegies) he writes for *Tottel's Miscellany* are most guilty of this. Churchyard copies Ovid's reverential rhetoric on his wife's support where he refers to her in relation to his own heightened greatness (as a Penelope to his Ulysses). Similarly, Churchyard talks of the capabilities of authors and translators in his commendations to their works, and yet fails to include their names in referring to their talents. In doing so, Churchyard raises his own profile and attempts to seek fame by association.

One such example of Churchyard's ability as a translator is seen in Giacomo Grassi's *True Arte of Defence* (1594). In this work there is a conscious feeling that

---

[361] Churchyard values fame as a prize worthy of a great author which is shown in his commendatory address to the reader in *Cardanus comforte*: 'me thincks the hard nut being cracked and presented vnto you with clouen shell, argues of it selfe, if you scorne to pill awaye the skin of the kyrnel, ye ought not to tast anye peece or part of the fruite: so if you but reade your sences a sleepe, and wyth slacke searche of knowledge slomber oute a sentence conninglye shaped for the safetye of man, you gaine little by this woorke, and loose but labour with slobberinge handes or head to blot or blemishe the beauty of this booke. For neyther the mislyking of your head, nor tryfling with your handes, can hinder the fame of so famous a studye'. Girolamo Cardano, *Cardanus comforte translated into Englishe* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1573), sig.A5v.

[362] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, Epistle to Hatton. This same gesture is made in Churchyard's subsequent dedicatory epistle to *Chippes*.

Churchyard is attempting to write a monument to himself (and earn a fee for the hack-work) rather than sell editions of a friend's work.[363] If the commended text is so great, then its reviewer, Churchyard, must be even more prestigious. As Ovid invoked the heady lists of esteemed and revered classical poets in order to place himself amongst them in Book II of the *Tristia*, and then removed all traces of living poets except himself in the text, so Churchyard only talks of his own work, even when he is meant to be commenting on that of others. These constant acts of self-perpetuation stem from the emergence of selfhood, yet end in an engineered pre-conception of what fame and poetic identity is, and how Churchyard might achieve it. There are no additional authors writing commendations to Churchyard's work which suggests that he does not want to share the accolades he anticipates receiving with anyone else. In being defensive of his work and keen to avoid bastardisation there is no opportunity for readers to mistake one name for another or misattribute Churchyard's work.[364]

'Identity' becomes a feature clearly defined through defence, and this is seen most convincingly in the war of words between Churchyard and Camell.[365] Churchyard retains a vestige of the *Tristia's* power and applies it in his own work. It is in defence of one's character, under vituperative and sustained attack, that true poetic identity materialises. For example, Churchyard assumes a prestigious identity

---

[363] Appended to Grassi's Italian work, Churchyard writes, 'Some say that good writers doe purchase small praise till they be dead, (hard is that opinion) and then their Fame shal flowrish and bring foorth the fruite that loong lay hid in the earth.' This book is ostensibly about arms, weapons, and fighting but also the significance of remembrance and personal fame. Churchyard urges remembrance of 'I.G.'s' translation of the treaty from Italian to English, but he also reinforces the work done by its commentator. No full mention of the translator's name is included even though Churchyard stresses his importance. Similarly, Ovid talks of his wife's qualities in Book V of the *Tristia*, where a lack of naming writes all others out of the text. Giacomo Grassi, *True Arte of Defence, how a man without other Teacher or Master may safelie handle all sortes of Weapons* (London: G. Shaw, 1594).

[364] The lone-positioning of Churchyard's name could be an attempt to prove his incontrovertible authorship. Churchyard's anthology of previously published works, *Challenge* (1593) continues this trait of self-memorialisation. This also occurs in the *Shore's Wife* (1563) debacle, early in his career, where Churchyard's authorship was contested and the poet fought for its reattribution to himself. 'The poem is not naïve allegory, with Shore simply a veiled figure for Churchyard himself, but the author identifies in his subject and her plight elements that echo his own experience and condition.' Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, p.99.

[365] Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, p.79.

in Scotland to avoid punishment but is exposed and then acts badly, showing his 'true colours'. Therefore the battle-tactics of defensive action lead to characteristic definitions, acknowledgement and ultimately recognition by the opponent (and in this case the readers too). As Woodcock says, 'Churchyard's earliest writings were forced to be reactive, defensive, and as a result reflexive since they addressed who he was and the authority with which he wrote'.[366] This shows a writer uncomfortable with the relative security of long-term plans who employs reactive measures in order to remain central. This typifies the soldier in Churchyard, whose occupational life-expectancy would have been anticipated to be short. The most important thing is that these readers trace a sense of honesty in the defensive mode of Churchyard, just as Ovid's readers are cajoled into believing in his personal and inevitably biased assertions because he posits them as being a response to the bitter invectives of fallen friends and enemies back in Rome. These initial letters of infidelity cast Ovid into relief as a victim and act as a justification for his writing the *Tristia*. Churchyard, like Ovid, manipulates and transforms a position of engineered inferiority into a narrative position from which he can highlight his own virtues.

Churchyardes Choise acts as an early form of curriculum vitae for Churchyard, as he casually drops into the text the names of illustrious battle-figures he 'knows' as potential referees.[367] They act as witnesses to be applied to for corroboration of the facts as they are presented by Churchyard, even though this is purely speculative narrative endorsing his own presence in the action. Much like Book IV: x of the *Tristia*, autobiography and fiction become blurred. Churchyard's own personal statement highlights the crucial part he played on these early-modern battlefields.[368] In citing their acquaintance with him and maintaining that *they* are great, he positions himself as someone even greater, and magnifies his own military experience and ego. Churchyard's work is preoccupied with a conscious removal and reassignment of identity.

Figurative exile is a positive position providing creative licence that is itself identity-forming, enabling a 'Tristian' poetic comeback. This occurs in Churchyard's

---

[366] Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, p.85.
[367] For instance Churchyard mentions the valiant 'capitain Hearying' leader of the Gascoignes; 'Nicholas Maelbie'; and 'Ihon Daie' amongst others, in a bid to claim an acquaintance. Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyardes Choise* (London: Edward White, 1579), sig.Aiii recto.
[368] Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, p.212.

commendations too. In Churchyard's introductory address to *Cardanus' Comfort* (1573) imprisonment and exile breed freedom and creativity whilst controlled borders lead to a tighter poetic control:

> The prisner that in fetters lyes, shal thincke his fredome more,
> In closed walles than al his scoope, that he hath had before,
> The banisht wight that beates his braynes, wyth many busy broyles
> Shal see what gaine exile doth bringe, by sight of sondrye soyles.
> The servant that in servage lyves, shall see hee hath more ease,
> Than hath his maister who of force, must many people please.
> The fearefull man that hateth death, shall see that death is best,
> And death is most to be desyrde, where life can breede no rest.[369]

Liberation is found in the exile's world whilst those with overwhelming responsibilities become victims of their own unadulterated power. In facing death and banishment the 'servant that in servage lyves' gains strength and resilience that those more fortunate can imagine but not experience. It is only by seeing other lands' 'sondrye soyles' and their associated deficiencies that any true appreciation of returning to one's homeland can take place. This provides a template for exile being prerequisite to experiencing the emotions necessary to create great art and, by implication, poetry. Knowledge is the most valuable asset to an exile and a means for retaining and regaining that learning is critical.

Ovid is continually desiring a homecoming, a safe journey, a nearer place of exile, a more faithful set of friends and a doting wife, but in reality these things are mere mirages of what 'is' and what remains of his in Rome. Ovid understands the fruitlessness of his situation and posits his own poetic identity in this consciously self-endorsing way as an act of rebellion against Augustus in Book II of the *Tristia.* Churchyard looks for similar things; a steady sort of stability and recognition of his own existence, and reinvigorated poetic career. The life that emerges from exile is one of pitfalls and sorrows, but it is peppered with moments of redemption and empowerment.

---

[369] From Churchyard's address 'In the behalf of the Booke' to Girolamo Cardano, *Cardanus Comforte* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1573), sig. A6v.

- Friendship

Just as identity is seen as something malleable through Churchyard's 'Tristian' reading, it is also fundamental in forming and disbanding friendships. Renaissance friendship was understood more broadly than simple amity, being seen as loyalty and chivalry to a fellow bondsman, and thus can easily exist between high and low status individuals.[370] Therefore, the patron-poet relationship can be considered as something akin to friendship (cast as such by the poet at least) possessing all of the mutual support necessary; one endorses the other, the patron via financing the poet, and the poet by inflating the ego and prowess of the patron. Elizabethan friendships were susceptible to a desire for power by one or both parties, making them unequal, or at least unstable, and prone to constant collapse and reordination. In Susan Brigden's view, friendship is associated with Platonic and Ciceronian thought, and thus, 'in the Renaissance, friendship was a shining ideal of mutual obligation and honour, of love and virtue.'[371] But what happened when friends fought and obligation and honour fell short? In 1566 Churchyard wrote a lamentation of friendship on the inscrutability of those who had been friends but were no longer trustworthy as allies, politically or personally. Friends were for favour and for fortune; they offered the former, and one relied on the uncertainty of the latter.

Churchyard is preoccupied with the notion of friendship throughout his career, which is evidenced by the high number of references within titles of his works to failed friendships, ideal manifestations of friendship, and potential benefits associated with patronal relations. 'A Good Description of a Freende' from *Churchyardes Chance* (1580) details the essential beneficial aspects of friendship, and mirrors an elegy from Book I: ix of the *Tristia* in which Ovid describes a true ally, going on to say that 'a friend who is steadfast in times of stress is approved by Caesar'.[372] Churchyard's definition is centred around the true friend's avoidance of the artifice and malice of court practices, which becomes a common theme of much of his work, and is not restricted to friendship poems. 'A matter of repulce goyng to see' offers a further example, where Churchyard wishes that his friends 'think upon him' whilst he is absent, and this structure calls to mind specifically Book I: vii of

---

[370] Richard McCabe, *Ungainefull Arte: Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.16.
[371] Brigden, *Wyatt: The Heart's Forest*, p.216.
[372] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I:ix, Lines 23-24, pp.44-45.

the *Tristia* where Ovid implores his friends to, 'clasping my image on the tawny gold, see the dear face' and weep for him in their petitions to Augustus.[373] Being talked of is of critical significance to Churchyard, and Ovid's text provides a perfect example of this desire to reintroduce the poet in figurative exile, through a literary intermediary.

Friendship is not always seen in a detrimental way by Churchyard, and in 'Of one that for vertues sake honoured a freend' he foresees the figurative importance of its bonds. His remark that 'freendship triumphes in no where, but in a noble minde' connects deeply with Ovid's stipulation in Book I as a whole that there is innate honesty to those who remember the exiled individual.[374] Conversely, 'Of an injurie by fayning freendes' recalls the venomous attack in the *Tristia* of those who disown Ovid in his exile, including most notably Book I: viii in which he asks 'Does the sacred and revered name of friendship lie, a cheap thing, beneath your feet?'.[375] Churchyard highlights the deceitful tendencies of those who feign friendship by saying 'Your painted Galleis gaie, till caulmes doe come, dare sturre no ore,/ Then crepe close vnder baye, and hide your heads, when seas do rore', which recalls vividly the image of the ants and the empty granary of Book I: ix of the *Tristia*.[376] 'For the losse of a mightie and noble manes favour' presents the sorrowful tears on the cheeks of its protagonist in its opening lines, which is reminiscent of the tresses spoiled in the hysterical outpourings of Books I and III of the *Tristia*. The heart, 'as hard as Marble Stone', of his opponent is mentioned here by Churchyard too, which recalls the flint and stone of the 'Tristian' friend's heart, recounted by Ovid and retold elsewhere by Petrarch and Wyatt (as witnessed in chapter three).[377]

The relationship between Churchyard and his patron Sir Christopher Hatton retains a sense of duty and obligation. Whilst this relationship is not unique, and the patronage system is used by his contemporaries, Churchyard's utilisation of it is different. He does not target one patron but recognises the assistance that can be offered by multiple intermediaries and authority-figures at court. There is a difficult boundary for Churchyard's art between targeted petition for one's recall, and literary

[373] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: vii, Lines 7-8, pp.36-39.
[374] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chance* (London: 1580), 19r.
[375] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: viii, Lines 15-16, pp.40-41.
[376] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chance* (London: 1580), 21r.
[377] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chance* (London: 1580), 31r.

desperation at facing a life of destitution which is shared with Ovid's exilic work. For instance, Evans has remarked that in the *Tristia's* targeted pleas to greater authority, 'Ovid's appeal provides substantial evidence for the development of panegyric'.[378] However, this is overwhelmed by a later fraught attempt to obtain a reprieve from his *relegatus* status. As Evans attests, the ratio of Ovid's panegyric to his actual complaint shifts as his years in exile increase, and as the books of the *Tristia* progress. Churchyard is using this panegyric model, and focusing most tellingly on the significance of being heard. The commonplace nature of classical conceptions of friendship, embedded into the consciousness as readily as lessons on Latin grammar, make decoding paratexts to Churchyard's work much simpler to understand. In *Churchyardes Lamentacion of Freyndshyp* (1566) for instance, his name is proclaimed so that it is the first thing the reader sees; this is a proactive tactic that Churchyard uses repeatedly to self-publicise. He acknowledges that the perils of friendship have long been documented but still proffers his own biblically-inflected advice:

> My hap hath bene to mete or thys:
> beware & say the Judas kysse
> The flyrynge face the Parate gaye,
> The bablynge tongue that hath no staye,
> The fairnes syne that croutcheth lowe,
> The plyant head that bendes lyke bowe,
> Whose nature lykes not freindshyps lawe:
> The gloryous man, the pratynge dawe.
> Tut, tut, I warne thee oversoone,
> Ful longe had nede to be the spoone
> A man should have for every feate
> That wyth the dyvell thynkes to eate:
> For dyvels in these dayes are so ryfe
> And thou must nedes leade out thy lyfe
> Wyth depe dyssemblers every wayes:
> The dyvels are much more to prayse
> Then muffled men that myscheife breedes:

[378] Evans, *Publica Carmina*, p.23.

Who are not knowen but by theyr deeds?
Oh frendshyp thou art much mysused
To be wyth freindes thus abused.
For freyndshyp should wyth open face
Be seene and felt in every place.[379]

Friends who veil their deceit with a smile are worse than the devil himself, according to Churchyard. His tendency to morally advise the reader and his preoccupation with friendship advice reoccurs six years later in the paratextual materials of *De Tristibus* and within the body of the text, which continually checks ambition. The first two books of the *Tristia* deal with themes of friendship most extensively, but should not be seen as deviations from focusing on the poet's identity, rather, as offshoots which help define it. Friendship and obligation make way in order to progress the author 'self'. Churchyard has a perfect model in the *Tristia* because it projects difficult issues in Ovid's voice and removes egotistical bias and reprehensibility from Churchyard. The *Tristia* also gives Churchyard the opportunity to interrogate what makes a successful friendship, which later pervades his work almost to the point of obsession. Furthermore, multiple voices work with and against each other throughout the piecemeal format of Churchyard's compositions, and confuse the reader's reception of them, just as the various *elegia* of the *Tristia* provide a palimpsest of voice and allusion.

- Triumphal Return

Ovid shuns the theatres of Rome but secretly craves acknowledgement for his work. Churchyard too appears to deny any overt aspirations for advancement when that is what clearly motivates him most. Figurative exile enables a need to remain central rather than peripheral, and to create and maintain a clear poetic identity; as such, necessity is reinforced by absence. Out of this arises a new concern, to re-centralise the imagined peripheral poet and to instigate a poetic 'triumphal return' or comeback. This configured comeback takes place in the *Tristia's* 'triumph' scene of Book IV: ii. Earlier references to a dream-like fantastical return appear in Book III: ii, in which Ovid travels back to Rome, is crowned with laurel and views all of the

[379] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Lamentacion of Freyndshyp* (Thomas Colwell: London, 1566), Lines 61-82.

places he used to know. Both sequences appear at the midway point of the *Tristia* as a whole, enhancing their cumulative impact. In this imagined dialogue the augury rather oddly explains the significance of each location, as if Ovid needs educating to their value. The laurel crown is given to Ovid within the same moment that Jove and Augustus are mentioned. All is well, and yet naggingly familiar to a state of exile in its blurry haziness. However, this disorientation is now made inviting when Ovid says:

> ‘di tibi dent, nostro quod non tribuere poetae,
> molliter in patria vivere posse tua.
> duc age! namque sequar, quamvis terraque marique
> longinquo referam lassus ab orbe pedem’ […]
> ‘et Iovis haec’ dixi ‘domus est?’ quod ut esse putarem,
> augurium menti querna corona dabat.
> cuius ut accepi dominum, ‘non fallimur,’ inquam,
> ‘et magni verum est hanc Iovis esse domum.
> cur tamen opposita velatur ianua lauro,
> cingit et augustus arbor opaca comas?
> num quia perpetuos meruit domus ista triumphos,
> an quia Leucadio semper amata deo est?
> Ipsane quod festa est, an quod facit omnia festa?
> Qua tribuit terris, pacis an ista nota est?
> Utque viret semper laurus nec fronde caduca
> Carpitur, aeternum sic habet illa decus?[380]

> [May the gods grant you what they have not vouchsafed our poet, the power to live at ease in your native land – come, lead me; I will follow, though by land and sea I come in weariness from a distant world […] ‘Is this also Jove’s abode’, I said, and for such thought an oaken wreath gave to my mind the augury. And when I learned its master, I said ‘No error is mine; it is true that this is the home of mighty Jove. But why is the door screened by the laurels before it, their dark foliage surrounding the august tresses? Can it be because that home has deserved unending triumph or because it has always been

[380] Ovid, *Tristia.* Book III: i, Lines 23-26; 35-46, pp.102-104.

> loved by the Leucadian god? Is it because the house itself is full of joy or because it fills all things with joy? Is it a mark of that peace which it has given to the world? And as the laurel is ever green with no withering leaves to be plucked away, so does that house possess an eternal glory?']

A figurative reworking of the parameters of Ovid's exile is significant as there are no other instances of this dream-like conversational anecdote taking place, and even the imagined triumph of Caesar documented in Book IV: ii does not provide the same tone or personal-investment of Book III: i. In the second *elegia* of book four events are displayed as historical facts learned by rote, with mentions of an excited populus in the city where Ovid's 'mind will find a place to view the ivory car' and triumphal procession following the defeat over Germany.[381] In the earlier instance, Ovid's poetic muse revisits the city and envisions a totally new world view at play – here all is forgiven, he is crowned laureate with the 'oaken wreath' [quod ut esse putarem,/ augurium menti querna corona dabat]. Ovid's punishment fades away into the haze of this imagined scene. The dialectic format of this section is also important as it is full of connotations of the kind of Roman educative practice Ovid would have received through the call and answer of classical poetry; he is physically creating an environment in which the reader is re-educated as to the situation of his own exile.[382] The audience become vested in a discussion that is ostensibly not about them, but is encouraging them towards a certain point of view, which, in this case is Ovid's own protestation of innocence. 'No error is mine' [non fallimur] asserts this disembodied portrayal of Ovid (purportedly in relation to identifying correctly the house of the Emperor) but the impact suggests a secondary meaning, a reassertion of the blamelessness of the poet and his honest 'carmen et error', and that same original misjudgement that must be construed as naïvely committed.

Exile is fundamentally seen as a place of positivity and licence by the marginalised poet, Churchyard. He sees the utility of the 'pose of decline' fashioned by Ovid in the *Tristia,* and reappropriates it in his own contextual moment in early-modern England. As Woodcock says, it is, 'the restorative, face-saving, or otherwise

---

[381] Ovid, *Tristia.* Book IV: ii, Line 63, p.171.

[382] 'Roman elegy, for its part, preserves in Tibullus and Propertius the dialogue form, but the tendency of these two is toward monologue…The poet addresses a second person in order to exert an influence, to decline a request, or to express his own will.' Lowell Edmunds, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p.83.

positive verbal victory that becomes a characteristic feature of Churchyard's writings. Reconstructing something negative as a positive was, in essence, a variation upon *paradiastole*, the master-trope of the early modern courtier.'[383] These kinds of reconstructions based around the *Tristia* occur in 'Of the Want of Will' from *Churchyardes Chance* which takes preoccupations of Book I's journey into exile and revocalises them. Churchyard dwells on a 'Tristian'-inspired despair in this piece but from out of the sorrow finds moments of redemption, with every negative statement showing evidence of a formerly healthy mental state:

> I lacke no hope, and yet no happ I haue,
> Thus striuying still, againt the streame of strife,
> I feede the harte, and weare awaie the life.[384]

A similar longing to return to one's native land comes through in Churchyard's 'A description of the goodnesse that growes in Cicilia' within *Churchyardes Chance*, where Charybdis and the swelling seas are mentioned, and recall the same desire to taste the 'vines' of Rome that Ovid alludes to in Book III: x of the *Tristia*.[385] This recalls Ovid's desire to taste the pleasures of Rome, from his base in Tomis, where all is barren and unfruitful and ties to the triumphal celebration scenes of Books III and IV.[386] However, a triumphal return is not necessarily needed in line with Ovid's or Churchyard's works, when the poet never in fact 'leaves'. Churchyard's 'Epitaph to Walter Archer' forwards the Horatian idea that a monument via poetry and an etching into brass can overcome all living attempts to erase the poet-self from history. This is most clearly a reinvention of Ovidian and Horatian origin.[387] As long as friends talk of the poet and foes, such as Camell, are goaded into mentioning him,

---

[383] Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard*, p.100.
[384] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chance* (London: 1580), 16v.
[385] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chance* (London: 1580), 17v.
[386] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chance* (London: 1580), 21v.
[387] Horace, *Odes*, 3:30 reads:

> Exegi monumentum aere perennnius
> regalique situ pyramidum altius,
> quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
> possit diruere aut innumerabilis
> annorum series et fuga temporum.

[I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze/ and loftier than the pyramids of kings,/ which neither gnawing rain nor blustering wind/may destroy, nor innumerable series of years, nor the passages of ages]. Horace, *The Complete Odes and Epodes*, trans. W. G. Shepherd. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983), p.164.

he will reach immortal status. As long as epitaphs are written by Churchyard and etched into brass plaques, he will be remembered too, and as part of the 'entourage' of prestigious contemporaries of the Elizabethan state.

Immortality is only desirable if the good reputation of the poet being immortalised is preserved. Making the foreign homely requires a recognition of barbarity and leads to a sharper binary definition of what home 'is' and 'is not'. It therefore breeds and necessitates a desire within Churchyard's translation for this homeland and a triumphal return to it. This is illustrated by the first *elegia,* and the way in which the envoy of the *Tristia* begins at its journey's ending.[388] The opening envoy's winged book roll allows this 'return' to be pictured with relative imaginative ease and provides a cyclical structure within the *Tristia's* narrative which Churchyard reappropriates in the context of figurative exile. Being marginalised figuratively is a repetitive process whilst physical banishment is not. Once condemned as *relegatus* and sent away there is no circularity or rejuvenation, and no return journey, the seasons are complete and perpetual winter ensues. Physical exile ends when the sentenced reaches their destination, figurative exile is endless and internalised even within one's own land or company of friends.

Ovid and Churchyard are similar in that they desire a constant stream of writings coming forth and going back to their readers. The circularity of the *Tristia* is understandably appealing to Churchyard. The writing betrays the author's desire for domesticity who, whilst craving stability and security finds themself constantly on the verge of danger and imminent death. Illness, penury, starvation and plague were as significant threats to life as the battlefield for Churchyard, and illness is a source of constant anxiety in the *Tristia* too. The act of giving place to the book and its envoy betrays a desire of the author's to be in a preferential place themselves; for Churchyard it is a lucrative position at court and for Ovid it is to be with his family and friends in Rome. Just as Ovid believes in his fame living on through his work, Churchyard takes the basis of Ovid's thinking, which is considered and cogently structured, and makes that a starting point for active assertion of the poetic self in a new historical period. There is also a common desire to return to civilisation. Churchyard carefully selects and redistributes these warnings in order to further

[388] Ovid, *Tristia.* Book I: i, Lines 1-128, pp.2-13.

estrangement and alienation as constructive literary positions. The *Tristia* provides a model through which early-modern authors can reinvert the trials that face them.

Notions of language and civility pervade *De Tristibus*, and Churchyard, seeing a confounding of native tongues taking place, uses its confusion of voices to suit his own poetic style, altering the flow of the *Tristia* from elegiac couplets of alternating pentameter and hexameter to fourteener verse. His endearing description of Ovid's neighbours in Tomis presents the Getic:

> Wyth Mantles made of heavy skins expell thy farvent could,
> And only of their hades their faces open housd.
> Their busshes oft wyth isye drops, do make a tinkeling dinne,
> Their beards wyth frost be bright embrude, all hoary at their chinne.[389]

Cut-throat barbarian hoards making a 'tinkeling dinne' as the rain drips from their eyebrows is amusing as Churchyard reads Ovid's descriptions of suffering in Tomis cautiously, not falling prey to any melodramatic sympathy for the poet and instead opting for an entertaining narrative. Whilst the *Tristia* clearly distinguishes between the foreignness of Tomis and the native pleasures of home, Churchyard makes the foreign *homely*, creating a softened version of exile by analysing events intended to alienate and horrify and ameliorating the whole experience to the reader. In doing this, he makes the unknown less formidable and teaches the reader the 'right' way to live.

Writing home becomes a place of freedom for the expelled author, as conflict-victims and journalists to this day testify. Tomis' landscape is painted in vivid contrast to the comforting joys of 'home', where any travel is dangerous, surrounded as the town is by 'The Iazegies, the Colchos eke, and all the Getan rout/ With Metereius whom Danube stream may skant from hence kepe out.'[390] The defences are insufficient, and the town, only recently conquered by Roman forces, still very much 'uncivilised':

> This is the land that latest came to rule of Romayne law,
> And scantly any part thereof, thyne empire neare do draw.
> Wherefore I humbly pray that we, be set in saulfer soyle,
> Least els wyth losse of countrey deare, we liue in endles toyle. [391]

[389] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 25r.
[390] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 13r.
[391] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 13r.

Knowing that reconciliation with Augustus is unlikely, the narrator's plea is to move nearer to Rome, suggesting that this degree of physical separation is having a greater effect than the status of *relegatus* itself. The magnitude of the situation is the tipping point, not the punishment itself - at least, at this stage of Book II that is the case, for *De Tristibus'* tone shifts in desperation as it proceeds. The solitude would be tolerable if only Ovid was placed in a safer location, for 'no man borne of Latian bloud can beare those barberous bandes'.[392] This prompts the question of whether figurative exile only takes place when surrounded by barbarity. It is not society, but civility that provides the antidote to exile; reprieve is not necessarily found by having just anyone nearby, those people have to be educated in what is right and wrong. Therefore exile is not a lone-state at all, but one in which the mind's freedoms are in danger of being smothered by the tunnel-vision of their surrounding community. When language is lost, so is self-identity, and as a result, we can descend into Babel-like chaos. A conscious awareness of language in the *Tristia* positively enables the author to control their own fate. As a translator, Churchyard becomes the orchestrator of a pose of Ovidian selflessness that is subliminally in fact *self-interested*.[393] In addition, there is a need for reclusiveness in the excerpt from Book II above that ends in the return of the self-sufficient attitude consistently underpinning the early-modern *De Tristibus*.

As revealed above, Churchyard continues to draw upon the language and ideas of the *Tristia* throughout his literary career. His *De Tristibus* translation highlights the sheer mental-exposure of its protagonist, but also inflects this sorrow, taking it in a positively self-endorsing direction. It also provides a key example of how sixteenth-century poets reconfigured and saw Ovid. This was not as the lascivious creator of the *Ars Amatoria*, but as a deeply introspective poet. Churchyard's translation exposes the exile's difficulties travelling to a new and barbaric homeland, as well as highlighting Ovid's initial loss of language and personal identity. Such frailty of personal identity strikes a note with Churchyard's other works too. Churchyard

---

[392] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 13v.

[393] 'Ovid exploits this discomfort by constructing a body of verse which, on one reading, confirms every conceivable assumption about the attritional effects of Tomitan exile; on another reading, the exile poetry undermines those very assumptions.' Gareth D. Williams, *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.2.

extracts certain layers of meaning and models from the *Tristia* with which to project himself throughout the rest of his literary career. He had previously shown an interest in the fallibility of friendship and an appreciation for morally guiding the reader in his work, and so the *Tristia* was a natural and obvious choice for Churchyard to translate at this point. The *Tristia* is not a static text only to be seen in terms of physical displacement or exile, but as a model for figurative exile, for banishment and relocation of the self and for the return of the ostracised poet; this triumphal return is nowhere more clearly seen than in the publication of its first English translation.

Churchyard's oeuvre is 'Tristian' because he lays out a monument to himself and prefers to reference his own works, using a writer's power to influence future readership. Paratexts reflect Churchyard's search for patronal acknowledgement and recognition, but also recall and fame. He effects his own form of figurative exile before fashioning an envisioned triumphal return. Recentring himself in this way from a perceived position of estrangement is completed by the excerpting of imagery and ideas from the *Tristia* before making them his own. This 'poetics of exile' excels at taking a position of displacement and refashioning it in a positive light. Churchyard designs his own set of literary conceits out of the exilic situation by appropriating the language of loss and turning it into the language of poetic gain and recall. He stages his own prospective comeback by re-embodying the work of a writer who never managed to revitalise his own poetic career. But this is not the end of the *Tristia's* influence upon Elizabethan literature, for, as Ovid himself prophesied, 'While martial Rome has mountains seuen the conquered world behold,/ My learned workes shall still be read, and fame for aye be told.'[394] Churchyard uses the *Tristia* to regain what is lost, to refashion the poet who has been estranged and to re-identify the potential fame and reward for one who has been overlooked. After 1572 Churchyard forges a new identity for himself, and with this his works' views on friendship alter too, from distrust to something more appreciative and understanding.[395] Churchyard realises the potential for a triumphal return in his

[394] Churchyard, *De Tristibus*, 22v.
[395] As evinced by his stance taken in *A Good Description of a Freende* that 'To freendship maie we come, as to a fountaine sweete'. Taken from *Churchyardes Chance* (London: 1580), 10r.

literary career, even if it is one that begins from a position of imagined and figurative exile.

Churchyard's continued fascination with compiling his earlier works into anthologies helps with tracing the influence that the *Tristia* had over an entire lifetime of literary output. This provides an effective way of analysing the preoccupations of his literary style, which, as argued above, was fundamentally 'Tristian'. His obsession with friendship and its guises finds an Ovidian precursor in Book III. The ability to self-endorse via the 'Tristian' envoy is used to advantage in three works but is most prominent in the *Lamentable Description*. Triumphal return and reconfiguring one's 'lost' poetic voice comes to the fore in passages of verse that long for the comforts of home. Being remembered and memorialised is the first step for Churchyard as self-professed 'hero' and therefore the preservation of his verse in epitaphs (of which he wrote many) is fundamental as part of the process. Ovid uses his fifth book to endorse the unwavering status of the immortal poet, but Churchyard takes that perception of immortality and incorporates his own image and features into the compositions he has published throughout a literary career spanning five decades.

5

SPENSER

Colin's gone home, the glorie of his clime,
The Muses Mirrour, and the Shepheardes Saint;
Spencer is ruin'd, of our latter time
The fairest ruine, Faëries foulest want:
Then his *Time-ruines* did our ruine show,
Which by his ruine we vntimely know:
Spencer therefore thy *Ruines* were cal'd in,
Too soone to sorrow least we should begin.[396]

Spenser had returned home from the rebellion in Ireland to an England deeply fragmented and suffering after the spate of failed harvests throughout the 1590s, and found little solace there, dying within three weeks of his journey from Cork. John Weever's epitaph envisages *Colin Clout* resting easy, the *Shepheardes Calender* rolling through another print-year of pastoral rhyme, but ends in the sombre and dishevelled state associated with *The Ruines of Time*.[397] In tracing the influence of Ovid's *Tristia* upon Spenser, we begin with this point of communal mourning for the poet at Westminster in 1599, noting that Spenser suffered a less barbaric fate than that of Ovid, and was only ever the victim of a figurative exile. Michael Holahan's entry in the *Spenser Encyclopaedia* forthrightly claims that 'Spenser knew Ovid so intimately that to write poetry was to use him'.[398] But which Ovid was it that Spenser knew and how did Spenser use the *Tristia*? The focus of this chapter will be on reading Spenser's minor works in a new way and by looking at the *Amoretti*,

---

[396] John Weever, *Epigrammes in the Oldest Cut, and Newest Fashion* (London: 1599), sig. G3r.

[397] This poem recalls the parting scenes of Ovid's *Tristia* and the tousled locks and tears that his wife sheds as he departs from Rome: 'There on the other side, I did behold/ A Woman sitting sorrowfullie wailing,/ Rending her yeolow locks, like wyrie golde,/ About her shoulders careleslie downe trailing,/And streames of teares from her faire eyes forth railing'. Edmund Spenser, *The Ruines of Time*, Lines 8-12, taken from *Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems* (London: Penguin Classics, 1999), p.167. All subsequent references to Spenser's poems come from this edition.

[398] Michael Holahan, "Ovid" from *The Spenser Encyclopaedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Routledge, 1990), p.522.

Colin Clouts Come Home Againe and the *Shepheardes Calender* proceeding to demonstrate how Ovid's *Tristia* influences and inspired the epic poet. Evidence will be presented for Spenser's direct historical engagement with the text, and literary intermediaries introduced, before a close analysis of 'Tristian' workings in his poetry is covered in the second half of this chapter.

How Spenser Knew Ovid

A variety of historical information and textual evidence make the case for Spenser's engagement with the *Tristia.* Three of these key references will be discussed here: firstly, the contextual information we know about the *Tristia's* usage in the schoolroom during this period, including via the Churchyard translation discussed in chapter four; secondly, the 'Tristian' addendum inscribed in Anne Russell's copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* allegedly written by Spenser himself; and thirdly, the correspondence with Gabriel Harvey which directly cites the *Tristia*.

Raphael Lyne recognises the sheer malleability of Ovid's works and how multiple references to them slip into Spenser's texts without direct citation. They are already part of the consciousness of the poet, who, having studied them in school, cannot help but recall them. Ovid was clearly a formative influence on Spenser, and as Lyne suggests, 'the Ovidian tales seem to impress themselves upon the Spenserian narrative, needing only circumstantial excuses to find their way in'.[399] Spenser had all this Ovidian knowledge on the tip of his tongue, which is unsurprising when taking into consideration the high frequency of Ovid's texts on school curricula at this time. Unlike the citations of Italianate sources in Spenser's work, these Ovidian references are pervasive. Spenser's interaction with Ovid can be seen when co-examining the circulation of the *Tristia* in England and Europe more widely, as shown in chapter one. Ovid's work was a set text on grammar school curricula throughout the sixteenth century (to which Brinsley and Baldwin attest) and the *Tristia* was also being used concurrently in England and France as part of the school syllabuses at the colleges of Paris (1550) and Bury St Edmunds (1551). Spenser's early schooling in the *Tristia* under the tutelage of Mulcaster was therefore similar to that of many of his continental sources, including Du Bellay in Paris. As Wilkinson notes:

[399] Raphael Lyne*, Ovid's Changing Worlds,* p.126.

> In the first half of the sixteenth century boys in Paris schools read Ovid in the eighth class, and in 1551 we find the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* prescribed for the seventh class in Jesuit colleges. [400]

Along with being a pedagogic resource, Ovid's *Tristia* was utilised as a model for fashioning one's literary career. By the late sixteenth century contemporary writers in England and France beginning to form careers for themselves were using the same sources from their early education. The significance of forging a career has been much examined by critics such as Patrick Cheney who sees Ovid's 'scrambled' attempts at deviation from the career model and breaking down of generic boundaries as being successful.[401] We can add to this that failure is in fact as productive a source of renewed literary inspiration as success might be, something introduced at the beginning of this thesis in relation to the 'poetics of exile'. Spenser's inversion of the above Ovidian career-model is further apparent, and, as Michael Holahan writes, he 'seems to have reshaped Ovid's career within his own, making possible there what was impossible for the exiled Roman poet'.[402] For Spenser, the limitations of Ovid's career serve as a force for encouragement.

The way in which Ovid refashions his authorial persona becomes a keystone in Spenser's poetic archway, and the 'Tristian' downfalls only serve as lessons in freeing the poet from the oppressive forces of royal authority:

> Whether Spenser follows or revises Ovid, his shaping of sources is constant…Spenser, however, has won a new freedom, assimilating to his allegory the Ovidian techniques of recounting and inventing myths. [403]

Such myth-making would be integral to Spenser's progression from the allegory of the shepherds' nation, through to the mythical landscapes of the *Faerie Queene* (which will not feature in this chapter for reasons of space). Ovid's construction of a poetic persona in his instructions within the *Tristia* regarding the already-disseminated *Metamorphoses* acts as a precedent for the editorial practices of E.K. in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*. That is to say, Ovid fashions an image of his own

---

[400] L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled,* p.404.
[401] Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp.29-30.
[402] Holahan, "Ovid", *The Spenser Encyclopedia,* p.521.
[403] Holahan, "Ovid", *The Spenser Encyclopedia,* p.522.

complete and successful career when it is in fact still in progress. Both Spenser and Ovid step out of the narrative frame in order to comment on their own poetic ability, and influence the reader's mode of engagement with the underlying text. In the *Shepheardes Calender* it is the glosses that work as an editorial tool, whilst Ovid uses his own voice to provide a commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, a work written as a younger man. Spenser posits an editorial intermediary to comment on his work, whereas Ovid speaks directly about his work. By including readers within their texts both authors strive to establish their works' authority, and thus their own authority.

Further 'Tristian' connections occur in relation to the scholarly context, with M.L Stapleton finding links between Spenser and the *Tristia* via Churchyard's English translation, which was bought and studied by school pupils in sixteenth-century England:

> *The Three First Bookes* allows us to witness at least one way that the *Tristia* was being read or was heard as English verse. It may well have served as a primer for Spenser about how to be a poet. It helps account for the many images of exile and alienation in the Spenserian corpus from the *Calender* to *Foure Hymnes* and *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. [404]

Churchyard's provision of a 'primer' and the possibility that Spenser read the *Tristia* in English as well as Latin adds an extra layer of interpretation to the complex web of Ovidian allusion. Churchyard's edition, as has been demonstrated in chapter four, was distinctly nationalistic, soldierly and wilfully desirous of a glorification of the vernacular. As we saw above, whilst there are several pastoral allusions in Ovid's *Tristia*, Churchyard anglicises and appropriates them through naming tools and landscapes specific to sixteenth-century England, rather than classical Rome. Making the unfamiliar familiar and near, is part of Churchyard's agenda. How Spenser too straddles this gap between Ovidian myth and strikingly English allusion in his works will be examined further below.

The second piece of historical evidence for Spenser having read the *Tristia* first-hand comes by way of some direct textual references on a manuscript in the possession of Anne Russell (daughter of Francis Russell, the second earl of

---

[404] M. L. Stapleton, *Spenser's Ovidian Poetics* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), p.37.

Bedford). At the conclusion of a fifteenth-century copy of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* we find written two lines of Ovid's *Tristia* in what Rosemund Tuve suggests could be the Italianate hand of Spenser or one of his devotees.[405] However, the positioning of the tag lends it open to suspicion, for surely Spenser would have written 'Ovid' as an attribution to the phrase's right rather than his own name. Taken from a theme covered in Book I: ix of the *Tristia* the annotation reads:

Tempore foelici
multi numerantur amici
Cum fortuna perit
nullus amicus erit
} Spenserus [406]

This crudely-penned entry is not taken verbatim from the original Latin text of the *Tristia*, rather it evokes the matter, as if it has been learned from a volume of Ovidian proverbs circulating in the Elizabethan schoolroom, potentially Cooper's *Thesaurus* (1578) or Estienne's *Dictionarium poeticum* (1552).[407] Spenser's insertion also demonstrates how he uses the text to offer some form of consolation to the Russell family by inscribing the words so visibly and consciously in this prestigious and elaborate illuminated manuscript, which bears little else in terms of annotation on its preceding folios. Spenser's contribution is confidently flourished on the page under Gower's work, lending it the status of an explicit to the main text. This suggests a number of things, not least a certain degree of intimacy with Anne, its owner, and an intention on Spenser's part to advise and protect his potential

---

[405] Rosemund Tuve, *Essays by Rosemund Tuve On Spenser, Herbert and Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970). Tuve's response to this signature is non-committal but veers towards it being incorrectly attributed to Spenser as she says, 'we encounter the following Ovidian album-sentiment, written in an Italian hand too ordinary to identify as Spenser's or not Spenser's', p.139.

[406] These lines are cited from Lady Russell's copy of *Confessio Amantis* and translate as 'While you are safe, the friends you will count are many; If cloudy weather comes, alone you will be'. See Appendix 6, an image of the original manuscript at the Bodleian Library (MS Bodley 902), fol. 184 recto. Further comments are made on this in Andrew Hadfield, *Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.354-5.

[407] Cooper, T. *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578); Estienne, R. *Dictionariolum puerorum, tribus linguis Latina, Anglica & Gallica conscriptum* (London: Reginald Wolf, 1552). T. W. Baldwin lists the books studied at the Merchant Taylors' School (Spenser's alma mater) in 1599, with these texts upon it. That Spenser used Cooper's *Thesaurus* is evidenced in D. T. Starnes and E. W. Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955).

patroness. It may not be conclusively identified as Spenser's hand but there is still an accretive selection of evidence around Spenser's interaction with the *Tristia* to add to this finding, backing the hypothesis that he knew and used Ovid's exile poetry in his work.

That the *Tristia* was chosen by Spenser as a personal motto - the kind of thing that could be circulated amongst friends in an advisory and friendly capacity without shame - is telling. If the Gower manuscript is examined further, three potential owners of the text emerge: John Browghton, Elyzabeth Gardner, and Anne Russell.[408] In its original context, the *Tristia* quote comes from an early missive between Ovid and his wife when he seeks to look after her from afar, but cannot travel to be with her. Spenser in turn writes to Anne as one who knows he will soon be far away from the comforts of the Russells' extensive library and unable to venture such advice.[409] Spenser tells Anne to beware in his absence of those friends who might appear steadfast but who at one's downfall change as readily as the seasons. It is unsurprising that Spenser's memory has been triggered towards Ovid's *Tristia* following on as the annotation does from the penitential narrative of the *Confessio Amantis*. In terms of interaction with the *Tristia* this inscription is significant, as it suggests that Spenser had read Ovid's exile works, not just in full, or via Churchyard's translation, but in proverb-form and had recalled them, and took specific counsel from them. This inscription may have come from an intermediary source text, potentially a schoolbook or a paraphrased *carmina proverbialia*.[410]

---

[408] John Browghton whose sixteenth-century hand is identified on fol.184 verso is Anne's grandmother's first husband, with whom she had three children before marrying into the Russell family. In 1526 Anna Sapcote married John Russell, first Earl of Bedford, with one heir, Francis Russell, who would be Anne Russell's father. Therefore the text may have origins of ownership in Toddington, a small village in Bedfordshire, located six miles from Woburn, before picking up the hand of Spenser in the late sixteenth century.

[409] This manuscript was a valuable possession, having been passed down from Anne's grandmother, Anne Sapcote, a Lady in Waiting to Elizabeth I whose first husband John Browghton had possessed it and signed it at some point. The copy was signed by other prominent figures, to whom it must have been shown, including 'Anniballis Admiralis dominicalis', or Claude d'Annebaut (sometimes spelt d'Hannybal), who was Admiral of France from 1543-1552. The admiral's signature runs up the side of folio 184 recto and must pre-date 1550 by which time he had left for Calais. Admiral Annebaut died in 1552. See Appendix 6.

[410] It is possible that the Latin phrase inserted into Lady Russell's copy of Gower by Spenser was from a book of intermediary proverbs, and not taken directly from Ovid's original text, although the meaning retains an identifiable closeness to the

There are further lines of text beneath the inscription which have been erased from the parchment and a still-visible flourish of ink in the colour and style of the lines of the *Tristia* assigned to 'Spenserus' above it potentially suggests that the reference to the *Tristia* continued on for another two lines.[411] Spenser's insertion of these 'Tristian' lines becomes an exercise in classical reframing, and medieval exegesis, spreading the lesson that maintaining courteous friendships is key to successful progression in Elizabethan society.

The third piece of evidence of Spenser's personal as well as scholarly engagement with the *Tristia* is found in his correspondence with Gabriel Harvey. In a letter of 5th October 1579 from Spenser to Harvey, he specifically cites the fifth book of the *Tristia* when he signs off with '*Qui monet, vt facias, quod iam facis;* you knowe the rest'.[412] The final book of the *Tristia* also forms a prominent part of Du Bellay's *Les Regrets* which is discussed below, linking Spenser to the French poet. This reference to Book V is corroborated in M.L. Stapleton's study on Ovidian influence in Spenser's work and that is where it is left.[413] However, upon looking further into Harvey's return correspondence with Spenser, there is a more convincing reference to Ovid's *Tristia* that ties back to Spenser's annotation in the Gower copy owned by Anne Russell, as well as supporting the earlier-made argument of chapter one that the *Tristia* was used as a school text. Harvey writes out the specific schoolroom exercises set on Ovid's *Tristia* in his letter to Spenser, word for word. The accuracy and specificity of this piece of correspondence is incredibly useful in corroborating the 'Tristian' undertones to Spenser's work, as it suggests that he had a thorough knowledge of it as a young man, but also retained this knowledge throughout his time in Ireland from 1579, and into the late 1590s when he took leave of the Russell family.

Tristia. Identical wording to this occurs in chapter sixteen of Antoine de la Sale's *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, a French romance of the 1450s and in Richard Hill's commonplace book (Balliol MS 354) dating to 1520. H. A. Mason *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980).

[411] See Appendix 6, an image of the folio which details the damage and the scraped out erasure of lines from the parchment. Note the areas which have been scratched off under the *Tristia* quotation, making the parchment translucent.

[412] Ovid, *Tristia*. Book V: xiv, ll.45-46. This excerpt comes from Letter 1 from Spenser to Harvey entitled "To the Worshipfull His Very Singular Good Friend, Maister G. H., Fellow of Trinitie Hall in Cambridge" dated 5th October, 1579. (H. Bynneman: London, 1580).

[413] Stapleton, *Spenser's Ovidian Poetics*, pp.46-47.

This much more extensive use of the *Tristia* in a later letter between the pair of friends, this time written by Harvey, uses Book I: ix specifically as part of a translation exercise. It is taken from 'A Gallant Familiar Letter, Containing an Answere to that of M. Immerito, with Sundry proper examples, and some precepts of our Englishe reformed Versifying', Harvey's nickname for Spenser throughout their joint correspondence being Immerito.[414] The letter refers to a passage from the *Tristia* that Harvey had set as an exercise for one of his pupils. The remarkable correlation between the earlier evidence within Anne Russell's manuscript and this is that the 'Theame' out of Ovid's *Tristia* Book I: ix is identical – it concerns the transience of friends, and the adage that few of those allies will offer support in times of true hardship. Here it is set out in the original format of the 1580 edition printed by Henry Bynneman:

> In the morning I gaue him this Theame out of Ouid, to translate, and varie after his best fashion:
>
> Dum fueris foelix, multos numerabis Amicos,
> Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.
> Aspicis, vt venians ad candida tecta columbae?
> Accipiat nullas sordida Turris Aues?
>
> His translation, or rather Paraphrase before dinner, was first this:
>
> Whilst your Bearnes are fatte, whilst Cofers stuffd with aboundance,
> Freendes will abound: If bearne ware bare, then adled fir a Goddes name

[414] The most interesting section of this letter runs from sigs. Eiii recto – Fi recto. The letter itself spans sigs. Div recto – Fiii recto of the 1580 edition of the Harvey-Spenser correspondence entitled *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed betvveene tvvo vniuersitie men: touching the earthquake in Aprill last, and our English refourmed versifying* (London: H. Bynneman, 1580). Harvey also cites Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book XV in his earlier letter in this printed collection about the earthquake, "Master Hs short, but sharpe, and learned Iudgement of Earthquakes" choosing the same book of Ovid's work which Spenser uses to close his *Shepheardes Calender* before moving to the epilogue heavily reminiscent of the *Tristia*. It seems that there was a natural progression from the final book of the *Metamorphoses* (the final work written by Ovid whilst still a Roman citizen) to the envoy-structured verse from a position of exile contained within the *Tristia.* Chronology is maintained in the way Spenser uses Ovid in the *Shepheardes Calender*, and points to a move from one state of authorial being to another. The emergence of a different type of poet and poetry is already evident in this early work of Spenser's career.

See ye the Dooues they breede, and feede in gorgeous Houses:
Scarce one Dooue doth loue to remaine in ruinous Houses.[415]

Harvey continues to then cite two further translations by the pupil of the same passage from Ovid's *Tristia,* covering both verse and prose styles in an attempt to show Spenser his precocious talent. Certainly the implication here is that there is common grounding in Ovid's *Tristia* between ex-students Harvey and Spenser. Even more significantly for the purpose of this study of 'Tristian' influence in Spenser's works, there follows an interpretation and rearrangement of Spenser's 'October' Eclogue from the *Shepheardes Calender*, which, along with the 'December' Eclogue studied later in this chapter, are the most heavily indebted to the *Tristia* of all his calendrical months. Harvey's natural progression onto this poem is clearly Ovidian in inspiration, and not only does his insinuation suggest a degree of complicity with Spenser regarding the Latin exercise set on the *Tristia,* but the *Shepheardes Calender* content evidently works to seamlessly join classical and contemporary source. The 'October' Eclogue is suggested as the next text for the willing pupil to study, and whilst Harvey effusively praises his friend for the success of the work, 'with that, reaching a certaine famous Booke, called the newe Shephardes Calender: I turned to Willyes, and Thomalins Emblemes, in Marche: and bad him make them eyther better, or worse in English verse'.[416]

Harvey then continues with a further school exercise translating Spenser's emblems from the *Shepheardes Calender* into English verse. Turning a phrase in this dextrous way is first introduced via Ovid but compounded and completed through reference to Spenser's recent work, which itself draws on Ovid. Thus, the excerpt included in the manuscript of Gower alluded to earlier and signed 'Spenserus' is something that Spenser and Harvey had specifically communicated about, with the overwhelming suggestion here that they encountered it in a scholarly environment themselves, and were now re-setting for students the same examples they had

[415] I have reproduced the rest of this letter in full in Appendix 7, as it deals with not only the *Tristia,* but the *Shepheardes Calender,* and specific references to Colin Clout, Cuddy and Hobinoll. Gabriel Harvey, "A Gallant Familiar Letter, Containing an Answere to that of M. Immerito, with Sundry proper examples, and some precepts of our Englishe reformed Versifying", taken from *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters,* sig. Eiii recto.
[416] Harvey, "A Gallant Familiar Letter" sigs. Eiii verso-Eiv recto. Appendix 7 details Harvey's pupil's attempts at translation.

encountered a decade before in their own studies. The *Tristia* is therefore known to Spenser, and to Harvey, and is shown in a pedagogical context. The connection between learning and emblematic phrase is already clear from the ways in which Latin *sententiae* were used, but this letter from Harvey provides vital clarity about how the tasks were set to students in practice; he jovially names the individual student in this letter the Italian master's 'Picciolo Giouannibattista' and even gives an indication of the time allotted to complete the Latin translation task of one hour. In providing examples of paraphrasing from Latin to English, Harvey was also defending the vernacular, something that his schoolmaster Mulcaster had supported, and which was clearly an integral component of Spenser's work too. Such direct textual evidence as this provides a connection not only between Spenser and Ovid, but between the *Tristia* and Spenser's earliest work, the *Shepheardes Calender*, which will be examined in the second half of this chapter.

These first-hand interactions with Ovid's exilic verse constitute physical evidence that Spenser knew the *Tristia*, but also justify the argument that follows; that Spenser's works are imitating the language, ideas and function of the exile poetry. There is an intelligent reading of a deeper character at play here, and Spenser's carefully chosen lines from the *Tristia* form just one piece of this larger collective reading of Ovid in the sixteenth century. The lines dating from Spenser's visit to the Russell family in 1596-7 serve as indicators of a continued interaction with the *Tristia* which had been formed early in his career, attested by his correspondence with Harvey. The influence of Ovid's *Tristia* ran through Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender, Colin Clout* and *Amoretti,* all three of which we turn to in the second half of this chapter. But first, in keeping with the analytical structure of Wyatt's reading in chapter three, we must look at the likely literary intermediaries between Ovid and Spenser, and how they lend weight to the argument for Spenser knowing the *Tristia* in a multitude of ways and forms.

Du Bellay as Intermediary

Taking into account Spenser's skill for French, and the foreign culture he had daily been exposed to whilst growing up, Andrew Hadfield argues for a preoccupation on Spenser's part with the voices and needs of the outsider living in a different socio-political landscape:

> It was a legacy that he would retain throughout his life. Although he is primarily known as an Italianate English author, and he clearly was heavily influenced by Ariosto, Tasso, and Boiardo, and, perhaps, Boccaccio and Dante, it is at last arguable that French and French writing were just as important for Spenser, and that his early translation of Du Bellay influenced what came after. [417]

Mulcaster's influence as Spenser's schoolmaster, and conscious effort to promote the English vernacular as a valid language of poetic composition in tandem with Du Bellay's preference for the French language as a linguistic mode, makes the link more viable between Spenser, and the verse of Du Bellay, which circulated as part of the contemporary teaching resources Mulcaster could have accessed. As Spenser's teacher at the Merchant Taylors' School, he was evidently an advocate of Du Bellay, and support for this is provided in his extremely popular *Elementarie* (1582) where he takes excerpts from *La Deffence* of 1549 by Du Bellay.[418] Spenser's commission to anonymously translate the sonnets from *Les Antiquités de Rome* (published in Paris, 1558) sits contemporaneously with Mulcaster's interaction with Du Bellay.[419] Much has been written on Spenser's clearly identifiable link to Du Bellay's *Antiquités De Rome,* including Coldiron's and Melehy's essays on translation and ruin, but less has been offered connecting *Les Regrets* to Spenser and from thence to Ovid's *Tristia*.[420] The Ovidian inspiration behind Du Bellay's work is common to

---

[417] Andrew Hadfield, "Edmund Spenser's Translations of Du Bellay in Jan van der Noot's *A Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings"* from *Tudor Translation,* ed. Fred Schurink (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.143.

[418] Richard Mulcaster writes, 'There be two speciall considerations, which kepe the Latin, & other learned tungs, tho chefelie the Latin, in great countenance among vs, the one thereof is the knowledge, which is registred in them, the other is the conference, which the learned of Europe, do commonlie vse by them, both in speaking and writing…For is it not in dede a meruellous bondage, to becom seruants to one tung for learning sake, the most of our time, with losse of most time, whereas we maie haue the verie same treasur in our own tung, with the gain of most time? our own bearing the ioyfull title of our libertie and fredom, the Latin tung remembring vs, of our thraldom & bondage? I loue Rome, but London better, I fauor Italie, but England more, I honor the Latin, but I worship the English.' Richard Mulcaster, *The first part of the elementarie vvhich entreateth chefelie of the right writing of our English tung* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1582), pp.253-254. This same patriotism for the 'vulgar' tongue occurs in Du Bellay's *Deffence,* thirty-three years earlier.

[419] Hadfield, "Edmund Spenser's Translations of Du Bellay", p.146.

[420] A. E. B. Coldiron, 'How Spenser Excavates Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*; Or The Role of the Poet, Lyric Historiography, and the English Sonnet', *The Journal of English*

Spenser's poetry too, in terms of content, and in its literary aims. This agenda consists of furthering the poet under the pretext of foregrounding the chaste female; women are used to progress the literary ambitions of the male.

Du Bellay's sonnet sequences were written concurrently whilst abroad, and both were then published by Frederic Morel upon the author's return to Paris from Italy in 1558. The translation of *Antiquités* by Spenser in Jan Van Der Noot's *Theater for Worldlings* of 1569 shows that at least some of Du Bellay's work had travelled to England and was read and used by Spenser early in his literary career. Du Bellay's *Antiquités* would of course be reinvented in Spenser's 1591 translation, *The Ruines of Rome*. We cannot be certain that the two pieces composed by Du Bellay in Rome were printed alongside each other in one volume but the fact that they were printed at the same time, within the same year, and at the same press presents a good chance that Spenser would have known of *Les Regrets* as the companion piece to the figurative exilic framework of the *Antiquités.* Stephen Hinds notices the same tendency to dwell on the familiar and otherworldly in Du Bellay's works on ruin:

> Du Bellay problematizes the humanist contiguity of language, foregrounds the issues of translation and linguistic impersonation, and presents his own post-Ovidian Latin as at once something familiar and something far from home.[421]

In showing such faculty in a foreign tongue, Du Bellay seeks to highlight the desperation of his situation in which he is forced to give up the French vernacular. However, he also simultaneously aligns being abroad with a lack of voice or poetic resonance. Du Bellay reappropriates the exile's pose in the *Tristia,* in which Getic is supplanting Latin, and Spenser, in accordance with both predecessors, speaks in English but is surrounded by Irish dialect and perceived linguistic ineptitude. It does not matter about the distance as all three of these works are founded on the principle of being tongue-tied and land-locked.

---

and Germanic Philology, 101.1 (2002), 41-67. Hassan Melehy, 'Spenser and Du Bellay: Translation, Imitation, Ruin', *Comparative Literature Studies,* 40.3 (2003), 415-438.

[421] Stephen Hinds, "Black-Sea Latin, Du Bellay, and the Barbarian Turn: *Tristia,* Regrets, Translations" in *Two Thousand Years of Solitude; Exile After Ovid,* ed. J. Ingleheart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.76.

Initial 'Tristian' source material is found in Du Bellay's *Elegy No 7* which mirrors the opening storms of Ovid's journey to Tomis. Hinds suggests that 'the rough Latin seas which afflict Du Bellay's poetological ship are clearly those of Ovid's simultaneously literal and allegorical voyage to the Black Sea'.[422] Du Bellay's own experience of exile in Italy from his native France led to an increased productivity and consciousness of his own art. He produced four literature collections over the course of four years, three in French and the other in Latin.[423] In a sense this poetical affliction appears to have also acted as an inspiration. Finding strength in adversity is the remit of Du Bellay's use of Ovid in his work from this period. This trope of weathering the storm or overcoming the trials of one's situation is intrinsic to Ovid's *Tristia* and was extracted in the Latin grammars of Spenser's childhood. In order to cement the trajectory of Ovid, Du Bellay and the inevitably regenerative nature of Spenser's poetry, we must turn to the sonnet sequence, *Les Regrets* (1558) in more detail.

Book V of the *Tristia* is clearly drawn upon in Du Bellay's *Regrets 36*, and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* likewise uses Ovid's final book as its protagonists show dissatisfaction with even the best poetry or 'piping' they can muster in the closing 'December' Eclogue. The freedom of poetic expression referred to in this section of the work is more deeply related to artistic licence to sing of love and not just arms and war. The passage common to Du Bellay's reworking and Ovid's *Tristia* relates to the ability to write in non-barbarous terms, and to avoid the state of dejection felt by being far from one's home. This connection in the passages Spenser and Du Bellay select and re-tell from the *Tristia* could be mere coincidence, but in respect of Spenser's knowledge of Du Bellay's other works and aptitude for the French language, seems heavily suggestive of a probable interaction with *Les Regrets* by the poet.

Ovidianisms emerge overtly in many of the 191 sonnets that make up *Les Regrets* but borrowings from the *Tristia* are most apparent in eleven sonnets: 1, 4, 6,

---

[422] Hinds refers particularly to lines 69-76 of *Patriae desiderium.* Hinds, "Black-Sea Latin, Du Bellay, and the Barbarian Turn", p.75.

[423] Greene suggests that Du Bellay wrote his most arresting poetry in these four collections. Albeit sorrowful in nature, there are 'accounts of weariness and lament, of touristic curiosity, of malice, failure, self-doubt, and loneliness, together with repeated gestures of friendship toward friends in Italy and France, as though to improvise a fragile, invisible community.' Greene, *The Light in Troy*, p.221.

10, 31, 39, 77, 82, 87, 148 and 153. Sonnet 6 contains all the dejected spirit of Ovid in the latter half of the *Tristia,* when he realises that he is losing his poetic skill and ardour for writing ['Cette divine ardeur, je ne l'ai plus aussi/ Et les Muses de moi, comme étranges, s'enfuient'].[424] Even clearer evidence of a textual parallel between the two authors is found in the tenth sonnet of the *Regrets* sequence, which deals with one of Du Bellay's recurring motifs, a staunch defence of the vernacular. He fears his native language may be lost in the foreign climate, just as Ovid worries in Book III: xiv of the *Tristia* about his weakening Latin.[425] Du Bellay names Ovid in this sonnet as one who was subject to a barbarous dialect not his own, thus reinforcing the evidence that the *Regrets* is a work that is consciously interspersing Ovidian passages and ideas that stem directly from the *Tristia*:

Ce n'est le fleuve tusque au superbe rivage,
Ce n'est l'air des Latins, ni le mont Palatin,
Qui ores, mon Ronsard, me fait parler latin,
Changeant à l'étranger mon naturel langage.

C'est l'ennui de me voir trois ans et davantage,
Ainsi qu'un Prométhée, cloué sur l'Aventin,
Où l'espoir misérable et mon cruel destin,
Non le joug amoureux, me détient en servage.

Eh quoi, Ronsard, eh quoi, si au bord étranger
Ovide osa sa langue en barbare changer
Afin d'être entendu, qui me pourra reprendre

D'un change plus heureux? nul, puisque le français,
Quoiqu'au grec et romain égalé tu te sois,
Au rivage latin ne se peut faire entendre.

---

[424] Joachim Du Bellay, *Les Regrets,* Sonnet 6, Lines 13 – 14. [That divine ardour, is long gone from me/ And the Muses, like strangers, now are fled]. A.S. Kline, <www.poetryintranslation.com/klineasdubellay.htm>

[425] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book III: xiv, Lines 27-32, pp.154 – 155.

[It's not the Tuscan river with its proud shore
Nor the Latin air, Ronsard, nor the Palatine,
Requires Latin to grace this tongue of mine,
Making my native language strange once more.

It's the tedium of living, three years and more,
Like some Prometheus, chained to the Aventine,
Where cruel fate brought me to serve and pine,
Not love's sweet yoke, wretched here and poor.

What then, Ronsard: if, to far exile subject,
Ovid was forced to claim a barbarous dialect,
To gain a hearing, for this happier change who could

Now, blame me? None, since the French I speak,
Though you may be equal to Roman and Greek,
On these Latin shores is scarcely understood.] [426]

Not only is Du Bellay incredulous to the idea that he could not be forced to speak Latin, he compliments Ovid in the process. If such an esteemed poet as Ovid should feel inclined to lower his expectations in exile and compose in Getic, what hope could there be for a French poet after three years living amongst Latin-speaking people? A conscious pose of inferiority is used by Du Bellay here and lies contiguous to the gravitas of Ovid's authority. Just as Skelton at the beginning of the sixteenth century aligned his own poetry with the *vates* he admired, gaining respectability in doing so, Du Bellay's mid-century works increase their poetic value by referring back to Ovid's *Tristia.*

Du Bellay's opening to the *Regrets* addressed 'A Son Livre' is so close to the wording of the *Tristia's* introductory lines that there cannot be any doubt as to its provenance. To maintain accuracy this dedication is best read in its original French:

Mon livre (et je ne suis sur ton aise envieux),
Tu t'en iras sans moi voir la Cour de mon Prince
Hé, chétif que je suis, combien en gré je prinsse

[426] Du Bellay, *Regrets*. Sonnet 10, Lines 1 – 14.

Qu'un heur pareil au tien fût permis à mes yeux!

Là si quelqu'un vers toi se montre gracieux,
Souhaite-lui qu'il vive heureux en sa province:
Mais si quelque malin obliquement te pince,
Souhaite-lui tes pleurs et mon mal ennuyeux.

[Book (and please don't think that I am jealous)
You are off to the king's court without me.
I only wish I had been as lucky,
To see what you see would have been marvellous!

If anybody there is polite to you,
Wish him all the best when he is at home:
But if some clever customer raises his eyebrows,
Wish him my troubles, I can spare him a few][427]

The first four lines closely mimic the journey of Ovid's text in Book I, and his envy at his envoy being allowed to travel alone back to the palace of Augustus. Here Du Bellay replaces Caesar's palace with the court of his prince back home in France. The two introductions begin to differ as we progress into the second stanza, as Du Bellay appears to be more vindictive, wishing 'mon mal ennuyeux' upon any recipients of his text who do not enthuse about it. Sonnet 1 of the *Regrets* also pays homage to the opening to Book I of the *Tristia* in its personification of the text, and the lack of adornments necessary for something so valuable and otherworldly as Du Bellay's 'art'.[428] There are no gilded bosses or vermilion-stained covers in Du Bellay's opening lines, and this recalls the stark form of Ovid's book on its journey back to Rome:

Je me plains à mes vers, si j'ai quelque regret

[427] Du Bellay, 'A Son Livre', from *Regrets*, Lines 1-8. This introductory address to the book is not included in A. S. Kline's online translations. Du Bellay, *The Regrets*, trans. C. H. Sisson. (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1984), pp. 16 – 17.
[428] Beginning, 'Je ne peins mes tableaux de si riche peinture/ Et si hauts arguments ne recherche à mes vers' Kline translates [I paint not, in my art, so rich a picture/ Those noble themes are absent from my verse]. Du Bellay, *Regrets*, Sonnet 1, Lines 5-6.

Je me ris avec eux, je leur dis mon secret,
Comme étant de mon coeur les plus sûrs secrétaires.

Aussi ne veux-je tant les peigner et friser,
Et de plus braves noms ne les veux déguiser
Que de papiers journaux ou bien de commentaires.

[I moan to my verses, when I feel regret;
I laugh with them; tell them every secret,
As to the closest confidants of my heart.

Therefore I've no wish to adorn the same,
No need to dress them in a finer name
Than news, scraps of the commentator's art.][429]

There is an interaction between author and text that is endearing but disconcerting in its sorrowfulness. The distrustful nature of the author who must only confide and find company in his work ('mon coeur les plus sûrs secrétaires') points us again in the direction of Ovid's paranoia surrounding false friends and harsher critics in the *Tristia*. The exchange of honest words for malicious consequences appears clearly in Du Bellay's Sonnet 39, and is synonymous with Ovid's position, summarising as it does all of the contradictions and insecurities he presents within the *Tristia*.

J'aime la liberté, et languis en service,
Je n'aime point la cour, et me faut courtiser,
Je n'aime la feintise, et me faut déguiser,
J'aime simplicité, et n'apprends que malice:

Je n'adore les biens, et sers à l'avarice,
Je n'aime les honneurs, et me les faut priser,
Je veux garder ma foi, et me la faut briser,
Je cherche la vertu, et ne trouve que vice:

[429] The final couplet of Sonnet 1 recalls poetry's scraps and wrappings enoucntered in Martial's Epigram examined earlier in chapter two. Du Bellay, *Regrets*, Sonnet 1, Lines 9-14.

Je cherche le repos, et trouver ne le puis,
J'embrasse le plaisir, et n'éprouve qu'ennuis,
Je n'aime à discourir, en raison je me fonde:

J'ai le corps maladif, et me faut voyager,
Je suis né pour la Muse, on me fait ménager:
Ne suis-je pas, Morel, le plus chétif du monde?

[I love liberty, and I languish in service,
I hate the court, yet I'm a courtier,
I hate pretence, yet masked I appear;
I love honesty, find only malice.

I dislike property, and serve avarice,
I loathe honours, yet towards them steer,
I would keep faith, yet must break it here,
I seek virtue, and find only vice.

I seek rest, but find there's none for me,
I grasp at pleasure, and only find ennui,
I don't like discourse, reason's my thing:

I'm ill, yet forced to be a traveller,
I'm born for the Muse, yet they make me labour,
Am I not, Morel, a most sorry being?][430]

We can see Ovid's need for masking ('et me faut déguiser') after his fall from grace, his hatred of the public office he had been destined for in Rome ('languis en service') and the hard labour he must endure in Tomis which, as a poet not a soldier, he is unaccustomed to ('Je suis né pour la Muse, on me fait ménager'). The ennui of an exile's solitary existence pervades Du Bellay's Sonnet 39 as much as it consumed Ovid in the *Tristia* and the strident first-person voice encapsulated by Du Bellay's

[430] Du Bellay, *Regrets.* Sonnet 39, Lines 1-14.

repeated use of 'J'aime and Je n'aime' echoes Ovid's penchant for self-referential verse. The dialectic format of this particular sonnet pre-empts the rhetorical play of Spenser's Colin, Piers and Hobbinol throughout his pastoral work. Written in alexandrines which have been split with the aid of comma breaks, and formed of two quatrains and a sestet, this sonnet is particularly inspired by the Petrarchan form; the Ovidian tone is mixed with this Petrarchan formal model, so that the resultant sonnet possesses textual traces that are both classical and modern. In being such, there is little wonder at its appeal to Spenser.

Even if we look at Du Bellay's work on a more elementary level we find it is deeply invested in Ovid's *Tristia*. His intervention, like Spenser's, is both inclined to deep and surface interpretations and manifestations of the *Tristia*. He acknowledges and uses the tropes of exile, but also conceptualises exile through Ovid's eyes. This is indicative of a way of writing with the voices of literary models already in mind. The full title, *Les Regrets* translates as 'the sorrows', and therefore shares a common meaning with its Latin counterpart. The title is French but the location Rome, the author and its poem are out of synchronisation due to a disconnection of language, just as Ovid is detached from his Latin and forced into using local Getic dialects. The form of the *Regrets* follows in separate sonnets, just as Ovid's *Tristia* progresses through a series of distinct *elegia*. Each of these sonnets and elegies form a whole in and of themselves, and a symmetrical structure that is consciously planned by their authors, but also become part of a much greater body of work. As such, they foster a bipartite understanding of the *Regrets* and its model in the *Tristia*.[431] There is a sense of heightened activity to both texts, and many similarities in terms of defending what *patria* is, as well as a stubborn desire in both authors to avoid barbarous terms or bastardization of their native language.

In addition, there is shared content that is 'Tristian' in Du Bellay's *Epithalame* (1559) which was published as one in a series of works inspired by his patroness, Marguerite of France. A classically-inspired compilation of six-line stanzas read by nymph-like figures, it was due to be performed by a cast of singers including four of the children of Jean de Morel (the close friend to whom *Regrets* 39

[431] At least two of Du Bellay's sonnets in the *Regrets*, 'show a chiasmatic structure, the last line of 139 forming a mirror-image of the first, the last line of 140 reversing the thirteenth.' Du Bellay, *Du Bellay: Poems*, ed. Wells and Hall, (London: Grant and Cutler Ltd, 1985), p.76.

was addressed) who had his own connections with the royal household.[432] *Epithalame* appears to be, in content and dedication at least, a French intermediary between the Roman classical and English renaissance attitudes towards marital connection, growing out of Statius' *Epithalamion* and acting as a precursor to Spenser's 1594 work of the same name, which was created for his future wife, Elizabeth Boyle.

Du Bellay's celebratory work was never given the airing it deserved, and still suffers in consequence, trailing behind the better-known *Regrets* and *Antiquités*, with no current English translation and, currently, little connection to Spenser. Du Bellay's patroness was learned in Latin and Greek and married late at 36 and much of the verse of Du Bellay's contemporaries up to this point had also focused on the prolonged chastity of the French princess who had refused to be governed. Furthermore, prior to the alliance with Marguerite, the Duke of Savoy had been suitor to Elizabeth I. Du Bellay's and Spenser's texts centre upon a strong female lead, with whom the writer is enamoured for her strength of character, spirit, wit, intelligence and independent desire to control the immediate environment and courtiers around her.[433] Du Bellay's work is as much an informative retelling of the court and its inner workings as it is the conquering of a female lead and her inevitable submission. Spenser's *Epithalamion* likewise dwells in its closing stanzas on the difficulty of reconciling a lover's real passion with a chaste patron and queen ensconced with ethereal conceits. Elizabeth I and Elizabeth Boyle are presented as embodiments of Diana, the desired and spied-upon chaste figure of Ovidian myth.

However, we must not take these similarities to be indicative of Du Bellay lacking inspiration or using Ovid's rhetorical devices as a conduit through which to

---

[432] Elizabeth Landers, 'Joachim Du Bellay's Occasional Poetry: The Poetics of Female Patronage', unpublished PhD dissertation, (Washington University in St Louis, Missouri, 2011), p.192. Initially intended as a celebratory work to be sung at the wedding of Marguerite to Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, Du Bellay's songs were never to be performed as the tragic death of her brother, Henri II in a joust prevented the nuptial celebrations fully going ahead. Doubtless the levity of such a piece would have been ill-fitting, rather than intrinsically poorly conceived, and there is evidence that Du Bellay was one of a handful of French writers continually admired for their work and employed by Marguerite in the 1550s and 60s.

[433] Landers, 'Joachim Du Bellay's Occasional Poetry' details the content of the *Epithalame* which was not as popular as his *Les Regrets* or *Antiquités De Rome*, the two texts published in quick succession on his return to Paris in January 1558.

speak. Quite the contrary, the *Regrets* assertively position Du Bellay in place of the classical exile, and fashion him as a 'new Ovid' who is as significant a loss to poetry as Ovid was to the literature of the Augustan period. Du Bellay was exiled in Rome, which becomes the complete antithesis of Ovid's situation as he desires to return to Rome, but their works interrelate in a tangential way that is clearly evident when analysing any of the eleven sonnets mentioned above.[434] This tangent has been neglected in terms of both literary criticism on Ovid's sixteenth-century reception, and in relation to Du Bellay's use of classical sources. Spenser's experience later in his career binds his work to these verbalisations of discontent and links the *Epithalamion* and the position of the female with that evinced in Ovid's *Tristia* and Du Bellay's *Epithalame*. Du Bellay clearly knew the *Tristia,* and the *Regrets* are testimony to this in structure and in content. Spenser certainly knew and translated from Du Bellay, as is well-attested, but also had intermediate access to the *Tristia* via his sonnet sequence.

The Shepheardes Calender

The first of Spenser's works to clearly refer back to the *Tristia* is the *Shepheardes Calender*. One area of the *Tristia* most consciously reinvented in renaissance work after Chaucer is that of the book as messenger which presents itself in Spenser's seminal work of 1579. Features of the envoy identified earlier present themselves in the opening to this work: it is written in triplet rhymes, in keeping with vernacular practice, and like both Chaucerian and Ovidian envoys, contains the personification of the book whom Spenser directly addresses. However, the second and third elements of envoy traced in Ovid and Chaucer are absent here in Spenser's work. There is not the same tone of deference to traditional sources and authors, or indeed the anxious fear over interpretation (or lack of it) in the reader. The modesty is explicit in its fakery, the shepherd-swain whose work is being flown off to an eager readership will send more 'after thee' regardless of their humble origin and audience reception. As with the *Tristia* and its repetition of the journey and destiny of its

[434] Particularly evident in Sonnet 31, where Du Bellay longs for the river Loire, not the Tiber, and the Liré rather than the Palatine Hills whilst Ovid's desire for a homecoming in the *Tristia* includes all of these Roman landmarks. The echo in Du Bellay of Ovid's landscape becomes predominant, and the psychological positioning of both writers in exile one and the same. Du Bellay, *Regrets.* Sonnet 31, Lines 9 – 14.

exiled author, there is a sense that we have travelled full circle in Spenser's calendar-year and returned to the source that also encompasses, counterproductively, the death of the poet - Ovid's exilic work.

The *Shepheardes Calender's* dedication to Sir Philip Sidney presents the same shame-faced humility of Ovid's book from exile, this time by the pseudonymous Immerito. Spenser, like Ovid, recognises the importance of avoiding putting his work in unnecessary 'jeopardee'. His work cautiously advances upon the court as Ovid's *Tristia* had tiptoed towards Rome so many centuries earlier:

> Goe little booke: thy selfe present,
> As child whose parent is vnkent:
> To him that is the president
> Of noblesse and cheualree,
> And if that Enuie barke at thee,
> As sure it will, for succoure flee

This passage is also evocative of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* which clearly found its Ovidian inspiration within the opening lines of the *Tristia*. We therefore can illustrate in part a direct link between Chaucer's imitative translation of the *Tristia* and Spenser's re-use of the trope in the *Shepheardes Calender*:

> Vnder the shadow of his Wing.
> And asked, who thee forth did bring,
> A shepheards swaine saye did thee sing,
> All as his straying flocke he fedde:
> And when his honor has thee redde,
> Craue pardon for my hardyhedde.
> But if that any aske thy name,
> Say thou wert base begot with blame:
> For thy thereof thou takest shame.
> And when thou art past ieopardee,
> Come tell me, what was sayd of mee,
> And I will send more after thee.[435]

[435] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, Lines 7-18, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.24.

The envoy traits traced earlier between Ovid, Chaucer and Skelton are mirrored in Spenser's paratextual feature to the *Shepheardes Calender*.[436] The reader is given authority over the creator of the verse but is all the while being schooled as to its meaning; Spenser's poetic intentions are far from clear-cut in this way. The meticulously-edited and performed glosses and emblematic phrases in Latin and Greek reassert this Spenserian dominance over the otherwise 'free' reader and do so whilst hiding behind the mask of fictional intermediaries such as E.K., ('if that any aske thy name/ Say thou wert base begot with blame'). This perfectly parallels Ovid's desperation to know what the Roman public have been saying whilst his ears were burning in Tomis during Book I of the *Tristia*. Through the distance the book's anthropomorphisation provides, the author is spared too great a scrutiny of their scruples and intentions.

An envoy structure which allows authorial distance from culpability ties back to the progression of Spenser's career as a whole. Themes of poetic liberty and self-assertion underpin the *Tristia* and these are manipulated by Spenser throughout his works. Hadfield maintains that there is a certain circularity to Spenser's literary career and refers to the poet's early life spent amongst a community of exiles in support of this.[437] Spenser's early experiences of disparate cultures and beliefs, along with his own position as figurative exile in colonial Ireland illustrate how he crossed the line from being a native host and became the unwelcome stranger. His early contributions to Jan Van der Noot's *Theater for Wordlings* translate, capitulate, refashion and retell what exile is and what it does to the poetic mind. Spenser's formative years growing up in London's Smithfields - where he would have accumulated knowledge of French and Dutch spoken by exiles, refugees, and merchants - help to explain the multi-faceted dialectic approach of the *Shepheardes Calender*.[438] Van der Noot's varied collection proves a fruitful starting point, as we know from it that Spenser knew Du Bellay's work as a young man (as mentioned above) and critically, that Du Bellay revered Ovid's work from exile in turn and

---

[436] As discussed in Gillespie, A. "Unknowe, unknow, Vncouthe, uncouth: From Chaucer and Gower to Spenser and Milton" taken from *Medieval into Renaissance: Essays for Helen Cooper*, (eds.) Matthew Woodcock and Andrew King (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016), pp.18-20.
[437] Hadfield, "Edmund Spenser's Translations of Du Bellay", pp. 143-160.
[438] Hadfield, "Edmund Spenser's Translations of Du Bellay", p.143.

mimicked that style in his four sonnet collections composed during that period spent in Rome.

According to M. L. Stapleton it is 'curiously, earlier works such as the *Calender* that imitate the artistic pessimism of the *Tristia*: young Spenser fashions an old Colin who echoes the banished Naso'.[439] Whether this perceived pessimism is in fact valid is another matter. The Spenserian reading of Ovid's *Tristia* re-imagined in the *Shepheardes Calender* could be an underdeveloped one based upon school study, and not as complex as a full experience of the capacities of the work which would be unearthed later in his career. Stapleton's argument here is that the *Tristia* is a text which grows and develops with its reader the more it is used and re-read, making it perfect for contemplation and even better for conceptualising long-lasting fame. I would extend this premise further, and suggest that it is not 'artistic pessimism' that Spenser is imitating throughout his working-life at all, but its opposite. His contemplative fascination with time and ruins generated out of the exiled position is clear in his *Ruines of Rome* of 1591. Rather than focusing solely on the old haggard Colin of the 'December' Eclogue, as Stapleton does, which yields a wholly pessimistic Ovid, reading the *Tristia* alongside the *Shepheardes Calender* actually provides a model of how to find hope in situations of despair, as is shown in the examples below.

The notion which Stapleton dwells upon that Spenser is marooned from his culture is not quite fitting with the image of Ovid portrayed in the *Tristia,* because he is not fully segregated, as long as his work has wings to carry his verse to those he loves in Rome. His envoy allows him to be everywhere and interpreted by all posterity – verse will emblazon Ovid's name for longer than any ancient stone monument, prone to the harsh Tomitan wind and rain. Spenser appreciates this fascination with ruin and stagnation and understands the longevity that his poetry can have, just as Ovid had asserted in Book V of the *Tristia,* and just as Du Bellay, one of Spenser's earliest influences, focusing likewise on the closing book of the exile poems, had made plain in *Les Regrets*. Hadfield provides a final lead on what to look at regarding translations of Spenser, and his notably exilic writing within the *Faerie Queene*:

[439] Stapleton, *Spenser's Ovidian Poetics,* p.45.

> The interrelated themes of ruin and destruction were to haunt Spenser's writing throughout his literary career. What are probably his last verses, the fragmentary, "imperfect" sections of canto eight that supposedly make up a part of the Legend of Constancy, the subject of the never published Book VII of the *Faerie Queene*, suggest that there may have been a deliberate return to his origins as a poet.[440]

Therefore, as with Ovid, with exile, and the *Tristia* itself, we come full circle on the ambitions, achievements and perpetual fame of the poet in the end. For Spenser too, where exile is akin to a 'Tristian' feeling of endless circularity and equidistance. Exile possesses a kind of palimpsestic structure in Spenser's works; this is found in the early Du Bellay sonnets and in the paratextually-preoccupied *Shepheardes Calender*.

As an author constantly in a transitory state, Spenser's E.K. makes sense; neither fully committal nor totally silenced, this figure crosses the boundary between what is acceptable and punishable, existing in that liberated state Spenser realistically could not inhabit himself. Similarly, the *Tristia's* epistles use a position of literary freedom; in shape and structure, and in the tendency to anonymise his addressees, Ovid is able to voice any concerns covertly. Jane Griffiths' ideas on Skelton find points of convergence with E.K. in the *Shepheardes Calender* because in providing something cryptic under the guise of helpful confidante, the reader is disorientated and doubtful of the value of such assertions. E.K's textual glosses likewise appear to explain exegetically the moral of the eclogues, but in fact remain alien to the truth:

> The gloss traditionally functions as the locus of a source of authority external to the writer, yet in Skelton's case, the glosses do not so much underwrite the text as hint at a subversive diversification of meaning. [441]

The key point here is that the *Tristia* clearly offers a model of licence to Spenser. Skelton sees history as a process or continual narrative, as Chaucer and Ovid had

---

[440] Hadfield, "Edmund Spenser's Translations of Du Bellay", p.152.
[441] Jane Griffiths, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), p.14.

done before him, and is not about to suggest that any one moment is a monument, immoveable and static. Skelton consistently displays in his work a synthesis with the idea of moveable history and a reworking of past ideas, and it is this same accretive tradition that is found in Spenser's writings at the end of the sixteenth century. Spenser's forms of history are flexibly interchangeable and playful, as he provides commentaries on his own interpretations, and rewrites the chronicles of old.

There is a definite amalgamation of classical and renaissance literary positions happening in these texts which is perfectly in line with the surrounding humanist circles Spenser moved in. Rather than a destructive eradication of what went before, Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, even admitting the pseudonymous E.K., is a text concerned with attribution rather than scribal anonymity:

> Visually and linguistically, then, there is a sustained and deliberate attempt within the *Shepheardes Calender* to create a vernacular style. Through use of old-fashioned printing techniques, diction, and orthography, Spenser celebrates an English literary aesthetic rooted in history and spreading across its geographical dominions. Like his predecessors, however, Spenser's vision of English letters does not reject the classical or continental: it merges them with the vernacular.[442]

Spenser's authorial persona is configured in a self-consciously 'Tristian' way; something that is only successfully achieved by being recognised by future generations of readers. By forcing us to add in his 'Tristian' six-line stanza to the already-written *Metamorphoses,* Ovid is re-writing not only the text, but our interpretation of that text, and the necessary historical information fundamental to an appreciation and remembrance of Ovid as author. Editing can be part and parcel of constructing a new literary identity, as we see with Spenser's emblematic structures in the *Shepheardes Calender*:

> So often concerned with the changeability of the world, these Latinate notions speak also to his interests as a poet, for everything he creates is composed of ornament, aspiring to be a monument, and questing

[442] Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, p.230.

> after posterity, immortality, and memory – and at some unimaginable point, perhaps, a transformation into a new form of antiquity.[443]

Ovid and Spenser share a fascination with editorial licence and control in their work and these are displayed by intertextual references, and the paratextual features that create the final image and conception of the works. It is ironic that the increased control over the text enables a sense of poetic liberation to emanate from that work. This freedom is constructed out of the literature of exile, and Spenser is using such structures to figuratively play the part of Ovid in his own poetry.

Whilst the instructions of the *Tristia* serve to reframe Ovid's earlier successful work, the *Metamorphoses*, Spenser's obsession with ruin in the *Shepheardes Calender* prompts a return to youthful ignorance and naivety in a bid to countermand a growing trend for degenerate behaviour. We see this moral high-ground being taken by Ovid in his attack on Augustus's theatres in Book II of the *Tristia*.[444] In both cases, altering a work about change so as to firmly fix it in a later and less illustrious moment of his life also has the effect of retrospectively depriving it of its initial 'art' or liberty. Control does not preclude liberty, rather it provides it and enables it. If the exiled state of mind is channelled into a controlled set of ideals and rhetorical arguments, this lack of place can lead to a closer-centring of the author than has hitherto been expressed. As Syrithe Pugh clarifies, licence and freedom in exile tie into a critical debate around viewing it as a positive and creative place, with its liminality offering potential for poetic experiment:

> Ovid's depiction in the exile elegies of the literary community of his friends, devoid of envy and selfishness, and able to transcend in literature not only physical separation but also political persecution, fortune and death, provides a positive model for Spenser's refashioning of "exile" as a space of artistic freedom and independent authority.[445]

Pugh is fundamentally right here; the *Tristia* tackled envy and selfishness, but Ovid in addition more commonly expresses contentment with his followers rather than

---

[443] Lyne, *Ovid's Changing Worlds*, p.91.
[444] Ovid orders the abolition of the theatres by exclaiming, 'ludi quoque semina praebent nequitiae: tolli tota theatre iube!', Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Lines 279-280, p.74.
[445] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.179.

disdain for those who have faltered. Any vacuum in the 'community of friends' is filled by publicity for the author and this self-exhortation is never jeopardised by dwelling on the identity of friends who have betrayed him.

The authority and liberation allowed by the exile's environment proves a useful tool for Spenser in the *Shepheardes Calender*'s 'October' Eclogue, which takes its motto from the *Fasti* (hardly unusual considering the calendrical format of both works). In the dialogue on love poetry and defence of epic outlined there, Piers says,

> Abandon then the base and viler clowne,
> Lyft vp thy selfe out of the lowly dust:
> And sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of giusts…
> There may thy Muse display her fluttryng wing,
> And stretch her selfe at large from East to West.[446]

In viewing poetry as a monument or vessel through which the author's name might be remembered this eclogue recalls Book II of the *Tristia* when Ovid lists the previous textual authorities underpinning his work, and who have long since died, but whose names and classical resonances live on in the works of others.[447] In the 'December' Eclogue of the *Shepheardes Calender* Spenser creates an indelible monument to the author which reaffirms this example of 'Tristian' connection.

If Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* begins with a preoccupation with the reader's interpretation of its verses, it concludes with a tendency to champion the distance from a comforting serenity of the familiar verse form and meanders away from perceived formal verse into the informal vernacular. This manifests in a 'Tristian' similarity because it deals with the seasonal changes that relentlessly cast figures back to the beginning of their journey once more:

> my boughs with bloosomes that crowned were at firste,
> and promised of timely fruite such store,
> are left both bare and barrein now at erst:
> the flattring fruite is fallen to grownd before,
> and rotted, ere they were halfe mellow ripe:

---

[446] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender*, October Eclogue, Lines 37-39; 43-44, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.130.
[447] This specific passage of the *Tristia's* second book keeps re-emerging in a wide range of sixteenth-century texts. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book II, Lines 421-466.

my harvest wast, my hope away dyd wipe.[448]

The source of Spenser's inspiration dries up in the barren environment in which he is forced to compose – in the same sense, Ovid's opening lines to Book V dwell on how 'the solstice lessens not the nights, and winter shortens not the days'.[449] Time changes the situation of the poet, the images and surroundings that might inspire them, and yet leaves them feeling a sense of depressive stasis in relation to them.

Stapleton sees references to the *Tristia* in the *Shepheardes Calender*, with Colin resembling the exiled Ovid in the 'December' Eclogue.[450] This theory holds true to some extent as the key-change and monotony of existence encountered in the latter books of the *Tristia* find a mirror in the December verses. The closing sequence of the *Calender* compounds a feeling of loss with a desire to avoid anonymity; the final Latin passage, according to Spenser's *Glosse*, comes from Book XV of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and directly precedes the epilogue which is distinctly reminiscent of the *Tristia's* 'Parve nec invideo, sine me, liber' structure.[451] It reads, 'Grande opus exegi quod nec Iouis ira nec ignis, Nec ferrum poterit nec edax abolere vetustas' [Now I have finished my work, which nothing can ever destroy – not Jupiter's wrath, nor fire or sword, nor devouring time].[452] This directly precedes 'Goe little Calender, thou hast a free passeporte'. Spenser's use of the emblem 'workes of learned wits and monuments of Poetry abide for euer' compounds the desire to monumentalise his *Calender* just as Ovid had repurposed the *Metamorphoses*, adding parts to it whilst in Tomis.[453] This self-citation had the additional effect of establishing the fame of Ovid's exilic verses. Spenser is therefore using the techniques of Ovid by cross-referencing texts and recalling an Ovidian chronology that will preserve his own poetry against the hands of time.

This is another instance where we can draw inferences surrounding reading matter and associative memory occurring in the Elizabethan world. Ovid was being

---

[448] Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender,* Lines 103-108, pp.151-152.
[449] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: x, Lines 7-8, p.247.
[450] Stapleton, *Spenser's Ovidian Poetics*, pp.45-47. Bart Van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.96-98.
[451] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender*, December Eclogue, Line 7 of the Epilogue, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.156.
[452] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book XV, Lines 871-872, trans. David Raeburn (London: Penguin Classics, 2004).
[453] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender*, December Eclogue, taken from the Glosse, p.155.

thought of as an exile and an authority on social behaviours (having learned from his own mistakes) in the *Tristia* and was not being defamed for his amatory writings or labelled as a poet obsessed with physical lust.[454] The overall remit of this thesis – to prioritise encounters with a different type of amorous Ovidian nature - continues to bear fruit in printed examples, as it did in manuscripts containing the *Tristia*. As Ovid continues in Book V, 'In my case surely nature has been made anew and she makes all things as tedious as my own sorrows.'[455] Just as the *Tristia* supplies the idea that the defence of one's artistic liberty is made impossible by the continued need to juggle twin priorities, Spenser's eclogues highlight the initial ability of the shepherd's song that has later been forcibly displaced. The *Tristia* bemoans a loss of context and the normality of everyday life:

> Est igitur rarus, rus quicolere audeat, isque
> hac arat infelix, hac tenet arma manu.
> sub galea pastor iunctis pice cantat avenis,
> proque lupo pavidae bella verentur oves.
>
> [Rare then is he who ventures to til the fields, for the wretch must plough with one hand, and hold arms in the other. The shepherd wears a helmet while he plays upon his pitch-cemented reeds, and instead of a wolf the timorous ewes dread war][456]

Spenser's work conforms to this trajectory of thought with the 'December' Eclogue's desire to lock up the sheep safely in their fold, away from the harsh surrounding environment. The ploughman-cum-soldier of Ovid's barren climate resurfaces in Spenser's pastoral world, and the same sense of physical and spiritual lack is forwarded in relation to poetry:

> Delight is layde abedde, and pleasure past,
> No sonne now shines, cloudes han all ouercast.

---

[454] None of the manuscripts and printed texts listed in the bibliography to this thesis have suggested that Ovid is a lascivious poet or cast his work in that light. The only satirical portrait of Ovid emerges in Jonson's *Poetaster* at the turn of the seventeenth century, and this is still heavily indebted to thet *Tristia's* tropes and features rather than the *Amores* or *Ars Amatoria.*

[455] Ovid, *Tristia* Book V: x, Lines 9-10, p.247.

[456] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: x, Lines 23-26, pp. 246-247.

Now leaue ye shepheards boyes your merry glee,
My Muse is hoarse and weary of thys stounde:
Here will I hang my pype vpon this tree,
Was neuer pype of reede did better sounde.
Winter is come that blowes the bitter blaste,
And after Winter dreerie death does hast.[457]

The metaphoric disdain of Spenser's pastoral world is visible in the shortening and lengthening of days and sorrows in the cyclically repetitive format of the *Tristia*.

A 'Tristian' connection in Spenser's works is evidenced in the 'December' Eclogue of the *Shepheardes Calender* and in the wistful tone and alienation felt by the protagonists which issue forth to the reader. This refashioning of exile from the court of Elizabeth is evocative of Ovid's 'pose of decline' encountered in the *Tristia.* As we saw, Griffiths alludes to the 'October' Eclogue in relation to Skelton's work, tying Spenser back into this 'Tristian' trajectory and model.[458] Harvey sees the 'October' Eclogue as a natural pairing for *Tristia*-based translation exercises. The 'December' Eclogue is equally Ovidian in influence, as it deals with a perceived literary and 'living death' of the poet.[459] It contemplates the decay and ruination of Colin in a climate that is 'hoary' with frost and greyness, reminiscent of the bleak surroundings and 'tinkeling dinne' of the icy-bearded Scythians in Churchyard's translation of the *Tristia* analysed in chapter four. Finally, the stanzas end by mirroring tropes of Chaucerian and Ovidian envoy identified earlier in this thesis of self deprecation; concern with reader-interpretation; and liberation of the anthropomorphised text with its 'free passeporte'.[460]

---

[457] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender,* December Eclogue, Lines 137-144, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, pp.152-153.

[458] 'Spenser's allusion to Skelton's persona provides a broader perspective on the poet's dilemma. Like Skelton, Spenser asserts his claim to alternative, compensatory sources of authority in the face of his audience's refusal to grant him a hearing', Griffiths, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority*, p.168. The October Eclogue's emblem is from Ovid's *Fasti* and reads 'Est deus in nobis; agitante calescimus illo'.

[459] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender,* December Eclogue. Ovid pleads for a return to less sorrowful themes and excuses his current songs of sorrow: 'such is the pipe whose notes befit this funeral of mine' [tibia funeribus convenit ista meis]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: i, Lines 48, p.210-211.

[460] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender,* Epilogue, Lines 1-12, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.156:

Loe I have made a Calender for euery yeare,
That steele in strength, and time in durance shall outwear:

Amoretti & Epithalamion

The frontispiece to William Percy's *Coelia* cites Ovid's most famous exhortation from Book I of the *Tristia*, 'Parve nec invideo, sine me liber ibis ad illam. Hei mihi quod domino no licet ire tuo' [Little book, you will go without me – and I grudge it not – to the city. Alas that your master is not allowed to go!].[461] Percy thus introduces the concept of the book travelling as an envoy at the beginning of his love sonnets of 1594, illustrating that the fascination with this authorial conceit had not passed, fifteen years on from the publication of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*.[462] This alliance of Ovidian thought and romantic sonnet-making is taken up again in Spenser's *Amoretti* of 1595. It would further seem that Ovid was being read via the lens of a faithful and expectant husband segregated from a beloved wife, rather than as a figure of over-excited lust for the female form.[463] The lascivious mask that has hidden Ovid from plain view for so long begins to come off when Percy and Spenser's works are examined in relation to one another. Percy's admiration of Spenser's work as well as Ovid's is clearly apparent in this sonnet sequence.[464]

Spenser's reading of Petrarch and Ovid compounds the chastity of the *Amoretti's* central female figure. Laura J. Getty offers some valuable insights in the Ovid-Petrarch-Spenser triad, but I do not agree with her view that Spenser was

---

> And if I marked well the stares reuolution,
> It shall continewe till the worlds dissolution.
> To teach the ruder shepheard how to feede his sheepe,
> And fro falsers fraud his folded flocke to keepe.
> Goe little Calender, thou hast a free passeporte,
> Goe but a lowly gate emongste the meaner sorte.
> Dare not match thy pype with Tityrus hys style,
> Nor with the Pilgrim that the Ploughman played a whyle:
> But followe them farre off, and their high steppes adore,
> The better please, the worse despise, I aske nomore

[461] Ovid, *Tristia*. Book I: i, Lines 1-2, p. 3.

[462] William Percy, *Coelia.* Frontispiece (London: 1594).

[463] Laura J. Getty supports this lens of reading Ovid as faithful husband, and sees the opening sonnets of the *Amoretti* as being aligned to the *Tristia's* beginning sequence in 'Circumventing Petrarch: Subreading Ovid's *Tristia* in Spenser's *Amoretti*', *Philological Quarterly*, 79 (2000), 293-314.

[464] Out of this 'Tristian'-inspired sonnet sequence by Percy stems Ben Jonson's fascination with the rejected and resentful lover, one which will be reanimated in *Volpone*, and his poems addressed 'to Celia' in *The Forest,* compounding Jonson's Ovidian reading referenced in chapter two. Ben Jonson, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson, Vol. V*, eds. D. Bevington, M. Butler and I. Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Songs 5, 6 and 9, pp.222 – 228.

taking part in a competition with Petrarch and Ovid regarding his success with a potential future love. Instead, the case must be made for Spenser's imitation of these writers rather than competition against them. Getty is correct in her assertion that Spenser had to 'step over' Petrarch in order to get back to Ovid; sub-reading is not seen here as a smooth process, but one in which the intermediary's work is seen to be accomplished, but discarded. As a result, Petrarch is alluded to, but diverted from.[465] Spenser certainly understands the interpretation and manifestation of the feminine within Petrarch's *Rime Sparse*, but he adds to this view of women a healthy appreciation for chastity in its fullest sense – as a form of marital conjugal bliss that does not become obsessive and unrequited. Spenser's chaste lady is more than just a statue of virginity, and will remain chaste after their marriage because of his overwhelming respect for her; in Spenser's *Amoretti*, the lady is undoubtedly attainable, and not an exact copy of Petrarch's Laura.

Likewise, Ovid, parted from Rome by so many miles of 'barbarous' landscape repeatedly reaffirms his love for his wife, through expressions of remorse, mistrust, empathy and pity. To simply misinterpret Ovid's mistrust as something that devalues the female figure is too easy, and should be avoided, for that is not what is found in the *Tristia*. Ovid shows his devotion and continuing desire for his wife by caring about what she is doing in his absence. We can go one step further from Getty's position and say that Ovid's and Spenser's approaches to women are correlative but not completely identical, and that this is not a competition in who can love more artfully. Spenser uses Ovid's tropes from the *Tristia* in the *Amoretti* but this is not intended in a combative way, rather, it enables an amplification of Ovid's art, and shows Spenser's admiration for him.

Coelia progresses in an antagonistically bitter and resentful manner but does not directly reference any other part of the *Tristia* within its verses after the initial 'book as envoy' trope found on its cover. Seemingly, Ovid's work was used for its interesting 'parts' in the case of Percy, rather than as a whole text, but we have ample evidence of sixteenth-century scholarly use of paraphrased partial texts and annotated whole texts, as chapter one has covered. Spenser is instead the innovator whose medium, steeped in classical, and more precisely 'Tristian' terminology, inspires and influences such contemporaries as Percy in the late sixteenth century.

---

[465] Getty, 'Circumventing Petrarch', pp.313-314.

The *Tristia* resurfaces in emblematic phrases borrowed from woodcut annotations, and it also pervades the work of Spenser's entire career, providing a grounding for his early pastoral pieces and his later assertive writings from Ireland.

Re-writing the 'envoy' in *Amoretti* 1 is a clear starting point in analysing Spenser's imitation of the *Tristia* but it is in the structure of the sonnet sequence as a whole that we see a mirroring of the formulaically engineered 'Tristian' epistles, which are symmetrically fashioned and interspersed with repeated rhetorical motifs so as to provide a sense of endless circularity to the work. Such structural framing renders the exile's state and the reader's relentlessly tiring, and this physical and mental exhaustion finds parallel in the lover's unfulfilled desire and reiteration of the address to the lady in the *Amoretti.* The *Tristia* can be seen as a text empowering the female voice and eliciting an informed response, rather than drowning it out with generic literary conceits and flawed perceptions of femininity. And so to the *Amoretti*, where an envisioned relationship between Ulysses and Penelope is comparable to recreation of the classical triumphal procession and homecoming. Similar to how Ovid fashions his wife as Penelope in the *Tristia,* Spenser invites the reader to see the object of his devotion in that same virtuously chaste role:

> What trophee then shall I most fit deuize,
> in which I may record the memory
> of my loues conquest, peerelesse beauties prise,
> adorn'd with honour, loue, and chastity?
> Euen this verse vowd to eternity,
> shall be thereof immortall monument:
> and tell her prayse to all posterity,
> that may admire such worlds rare wonderment.[466]

Again, the conquest is Spenser's, lending his sonnet a possessive tone, and the subject of the verse is not his love but the 'trophee' upon which her traits and qualities will be inscribed. Poetry once again becomes the central focus, and its preservation lent as much significance as the preservation of his lady's chastity. Pugh sees points of comparison in the final elegy of the *Tristia* and Spenser's *Amoretti*, corroborating my earlier proposition that Book V of the *Tristia*

[466] Spenser, *Amoretti*, Sonnet 69, Lines 5-12, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.422.

interconnects Du Bellay, Ovid and Spenser and underpins the work of all three writers:

> The short, epilogue-like verse with which Spenser concludes his volume at the end of the *Epithalamion* seems to allude strongly to this culminating poem of Ovid's *Tristia*, with its presentation of the collection of poems as an immortalizing monument to his wife, and a gift offered in lieu of rich jewellery. Ovid goes on to exhort his wife to remain true and thus to deserve his praise[467]

An unwavering commitment is expected from Ovid's wife in exchange for his continuous endorsement of her qualities and fidelity. There is a sense of self-fulfilling prophecy to Ovid's verse as he dispels the doubt and anxiety felt from a long separation and replaces it with faith. This occurs as early as Book III of the *Tristia* before reappearing as a literary device in Book V.[468] It is then reiterated in Book V where Pugh picks up the reference. As a devotional ritual must be repeated as part of its intrinsic force, the ceremony of being a constantly faithful wife has to be revisited and emphasised. That same notion of chaste marriage common to renaissance England is iterated and reiterated in Spenser's *Epithalamion*, but this finds its precursor in the 'Tristian' willingness of Ovid's wife to live apart from but still married to, her exiled husband.

Ovid's early work focused on Corinna and domination and possession of the female by the male – she is shared between two unworthy men in the *Amores* – but this gives way to a poetics of female enablement and entitlement in the *Tristia.*

---

[467] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.168.

[468] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III: iii, Lines 21-28, pp.110-111:

> si iam deficiam, suppressaque lingua palato
> vix installato restituenda mero,
> nuntiet huc aliquis dominam venisse, resurgam,
> spesque tui nobis causa vigoris erit.
> Ergo ego sum dubius vitae, tu forsitan istic
> iucundum nostril nescia tempus agis? Non agis,
> adfirmo. Liquet hoc, carissima, nobis,
> tempus agi sine me non nisi triste tibi

[If I were to fail now and my tongue cleaving to my palate were scarcely to be revived by drops of wine, let someone announce that my lady has come, I'll rise, and the hope of you will be the cause of my strength. Am I then uncertain of life, but are you perhaps passing happy hours yonder forgetful of me? You are not; I assert it. This is clear to me, dearest, that without me you pass no hour that is not sad.]

Likewise in the exceptionally even-tempered *Amoretti* 59, Spenser realises something similar to the Ovid of exile, that as Pugh puts it:

> loving and admiring her for her independent mind and capacity for free and virtuous self-government, realizing that such respect and autonomy is a better ground for enduring love than the ideology of conquest and domination implied by his earlier rhetoric.[469]

Ovid endorses an unwavering commitment from an exile to his wife in the *Tristia* and Spenser takes that spousal fidelity to a husband and turns it into a devoted author's appreciation of the self-sufficient and yet dedicated, female lover. This can only be appreciated by reading *Amoretti* 59 in full:

> Thrise happie she, that is so well assured
> Vnto her selfe and setled so in hart:
> That nether will for better be allured,
> Ne feard with worse to any chaunce to start,
> But like a steddy ship doth strongly part
> The raging waues and keeps her course aright:
> Ne ought for tempest doth from it depart,
> Ne ought for fayrer weathers false delight.
> Such selfe assurance need not feare the spight
> Of grudging foes, ne fauour seek of friends:
> But in the stay of her owne stedfast might,
> Nether to one her selfe not other bends.
> Most happy she that most assured doth rest,
> But he most happy who such one loues best.[470]

Book I: vi of the *Tristia* displays the kinds of source material for a sonnet such as *Amoretti* 59. In it Ovid openly admires his wife's tenacity for speaking up to Augustus' wife, Livia about shortening the terms of his *relegatus*. Book IV:iii displays doubts of her capacity to keep faith in him and petition the emperor and his wife. In following Ovid's tender address to his wife for being resilient to their shared adversaries in Book I:vi ('Penelope's fame would be second to thine') and loving

---

[469] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.169.
[470] Spenser, *Amoretti*, Sonnet 59, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.417.

last words and epitaph of Book III: iii this lends some confusion to Ovid's state of mind at this point. Ovid's combined adoration and desperation present a model for later Petrarchan and Spenserian sonnet forms. The key revelation here is that the *Tristia* is not just structurally influential but also provides a model for matrimonial love that is not erotic, which Spenser picks up and works with in his *Amoretti*.

After thinking of the parallel between Spenser forsaking his Queen for Elizabeth Boyle, his worldly wife, and Ovid forsaking Augustus for praise of his wife, Pugh says of the *Tristia*:

> Indeed, the exile elegies repeatedly assert that this literary immortality is achieved, the final elegy of the *Tristia* representing the whole collection in retrospect as a monument to his wife, assuring to her an undying name on the strength of his confidence in his own enduring fame. [471]

Spenser's obsession with the monumentalising capacity of poetic verse is widely acknowledged and the *Amoretti* is not the obvious place to find such allusions, but they do appear in Sonnets XXII and XXVII. In Sonnet XXII, 'Her temple fayre is built within my mind,/ in which her glorious ymage placed is,' and the lady is envisaged as the author of the poet's fate. Spenser will 'builde an alter to appease her yre' in an attempt to be remembered and momentarily share the stage.[472] Invoking the image of a funeral pyre with the roles reversed, Spenser threatens to destroy himself in order to monumentalise his sacred love and make her the author of his fate. In conferring the authority on her, he is highlighting the control of the poet – in this instance, a control of mortality and contemplation of a poet with as much devotion as the worship of an idol within a religious ceremony. The responsibility for the poet's immortality has been shifted from the 'auctor' to the recipient of this sonnet, with the guarantee that in doing so, poetry is kept in as sacred a place as items of physical and spiritual value.

Sonnet XXVII of the *Amoretti* renounces the fragility of earthly beauty, much as Ovid advises Perilla to do in the *Tristia*, and contemplates a different kind of idolisation. The flesh will be 'forgot as it had neuer beene,/ that many now much worship and admire' whilst 'this verse that neuer shall expire,/ shall to you purchas

---

[471] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.176.
[472] Spenser, *Amoretti*, Sonnet 22, Lines 5-6 & 10, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.398.

with her thankless paine'. The poem concludes with a lesson on the posterity of literature, and renunciation of physical existence urging Perilla to, 'Faire be no lenger proud of that shall perish,/ but that which shal you make immortall, cherish.'[473] Spenser turns away from using Petrarchan conceit as an intermediary and also reneges on the Virgilian approach of monarchic 'eternal praise', instead choosing to glorify the everyday beauty of his wife, rather than the ethereal majesty of his Queen:

> Like the *Tristia*, Spenser's volume will be an "endlesse monument" to the poet's wife, flaunting the poet's power to confer immortality through his own enduring fame and his ability to neglect and marginalize, in the eternity of verse, those who wield political power over him.[474]

In accordance with Ovid's authorial progression, not only is there a shift from Spenser's fascination with worldly power and political manoeuvring, but also an acceptance of a different kind of approach towards love, one that is conjugal, reciprocal and satisfying, rather than torment-filled, forbidden, inherently flawed or idealistic. With this Richard Neuse is in agreement, who posits a shift from 'an essentially Platonic to a sacramental mode of symbolism'.[475] An interpretation of Ovid that deviates from the established critical consensus begins to emerge when noting the elements of his literature extracted by Spenser and to be 'Ovidian' is no longer to conduct abusive or domineering practices.

This element of marital constancy found in the *Tristia* and *Amoretti* is reinforced in *Epithalamion*. In this work Spenser's reusage of Ovidian themes continues from Du Bellay's song sequence *Epithalame* in which the suitor remains at Marguerite's behest even after she has no need of him. Spenser's speaker succumbs in similar fashion to the fancies of Elizabeth Boyle and implicitly to his distanced queen, in *Epithalamion.* The extended metaphor of marital happiness for political harmony positions Spenser's work in support of all kinds of 'Tristian' elements such as the plea from Ovid to his wife and congratulation of Augustus and, more

---

[473] Spenser, *Amoretti* Sonnet 27, Lines 7-8 & 11-14, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.401.
[474] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.177.
[475] Richard Neuse, "The Triumph Over Hasty Accidents: A Note on the Symbolic Mode of the *Epithalamion*", from *Spenser: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Harry Berger, Jr (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1968), p.48.

specifically, his wife Livia, on maintaining a stable Roman Empire in Book I: vi.[476] Mutual devotion enables the trust and respect of a strong nation in both works and, as Holahan says, 'If the *Epithalamion* concerns marriages and unions and generations in more than the literal sense, then Ovid's "happy influence" has been to help create Spenser's calendar of love'.[477]

A different kind of Ovidian 'amor' emerges from parallel study of the *Tristia* and Spenser's 'calendar of love' as alluded to here. It is not the epistolary Heroidian dramatic despair that Spenser turns to his advantage in wooing Elizabeth Boyle in his *Epithalamion,* it is the devoted poet at a loss for expression, and seeing such struggles in Ovid's linguistic choices – Getic over Latin, or the alien over the vernacular – he provides a strong model as to how to overcome such difficulty. The *Tristia's* epistles are never so bleak as the *Heroides* when dealing with loss because there is an unstinting belief in those few that do still hold faith with him, even in his status as *relegatus*. Pugh, in accordance, sees Spenser's love poems to his wife encapsulated in the *Epithalamion* and compares this to Ovid's sense of distanced idolisation of his wife whilst in exile in the *Tristia.* Noting that a vast period of time elapses before the *Tristia's* models resurface, Pugh suggests, 'the only prominent example before Spenser being Ovid's frequent epistles to his wife in the exile elegies'.[478] Clearly this connection is persuasive when the 'Tristian' material is so conjugally devotional, taking its models for a relationship beset by adversity from Homer's *Odyssey* with Ovid proclaiming that, 'Chastity was born on this day of thine, virtue and uprightness, and loyalty'.[479] In recognising the unjust circumstances of exile, Ovid illuminates his wife's honour even further when he continues:

> Nata pudicitia est, virtus probitasque, fidesque,
> At non sunt ista gaudia nata die,
> Sed labor et curae fortunataque moribus impar,
> Iustaque de viduo paene querella toro.

---

[476] Livia is held up as a mirror of greatness for Ovid's wife to aspire towards. This is clearly apparent in Book I: vi which says, 'that first of women…teaches thee to be the model of a good wife and by long training has made thee like herself – if 'tis lawful to liken great things to small'. Ovid, *Tristia,* Book I: vi, Lines 25-28, pp.36-37.

[477] Holahan, "Ovid", *Spenser Encyclopedia,* p.522.

[478] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid,* p.167.

[479] 'Nata pudicitia est, virtus probitasque, fidesque', Ovid, *Tristia,* V: v, Lines 45, pp.230-231.

Scilicet adversis probitas exercita rebus
Tristi materiam tempore laudis habet.
Si nihil infesti durus videsset Ulixes,
Penelope felix sed sine laude foret.

[Assuredly uprightness schooled by adversity in time of sorrow affords a theme for praise. Had sturdy Ulysses seen no misfortune, Penelope would have been happy but unpraised.][480]

The argument for a non-lascivious yet still amorous characterisation of Ovid in the sixteenth century is easily substantiated by reading Spenser's sonnet sequences to Elizabeth Boyle, and the particular resonances from the *Tristia* that they convey. Verses 23 and 24 dwell on the immortal monument that he has created for his wife – littered with classical imagery, and wooded echoes of past pleasures:

Poure out your blessing on vs plenteously,
And happy influence vpon vs raine,
That we may raise a large posterity,
Which from the earth, which they may long possesse,
With lasting happinesse,
Vp to your haughty pallaces may mount,
And for the guerdon of theyr glorious merit
May heauenly tabernacles there inherit,
Of blessed saints for to increase the count.
So let vs rest, sweet loue, in hope of this,
And cease till then our tymely ioyes to sing,
The woods no more vs answer, nor our echo ring.

Song made in lieu of many ornaments,
With which my loue should duly haue bene dect,
Which cutting off through hasty accidents,
Ye would not stay your dew time to expect,
But promist both to recompense,
Be vnto her a goodly ornament,

[480] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book V: v, Lines 45-52, pp.230-231.

> And for short time an endlesse monument.[481]

Spenser is talking about the furtherance of his family line by having children with his future wife in his marriage verses to her, but there is also a sense that the words on the page and the poetic life he inscribes will bring future regeneration and growth to their recipients. Put another way, the plaques on the walls will bear the names of the poet and his heirs, just as they will feature his poetry and chaste and godly praise of his wife; she is therefore a figure in a theatre of imagined literary posterity, acting as his muse and ultimately glorifying Spenser's art for him. The Ovidian desire to monumentalise comes through Spenser's amatory works here, but always has a second agenda linked to the career of the aspiring poet himself which ties it even more completely to the *Tristia*.

As models of marital co-dependency, Spenser's works are therefore synonymous with the *Tristia.* Such a dynamic is essential in establishing long-term harmony:

> In Ovid's exile epistles to his wife, then, Spenser finds a model of virtuous fidelity and of respect for female autonomy to replace the flawed relationships of the *Amores* and of the early part of the *Amoretti*. His persona's progress over the course of the sequence mirrors that of Ovid's literary persona from hypocritical and lustful young lover to faithful husband.[482]

There is a literary coming-of-age taking place in Ovid's and Spenser's works – they both follow the same progression in their love lyrics from the unattainable Petrarchan female who is veiled in illusion, to the real-life companionship, fidelity and desires of an independent woman. The later poetry of both poets' careers displays an appreciation of the ability for the female to exist outside of this love relationship and allow her the freedom to pursue her own interests and agenda. Pugh acknowledges that the *Amoretti* and the *Tristia* are intimately linked from the very opening verses, suggesting a political and amatory connection:

---

[481] Spenser, *Epithalamion,* Lines 415-433, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, pp.448-449.
[482] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.169.

> the ambivalence of the discourse, the way it balances the political and the amatory, is already a feature of the Ovidian text, a feature whose purpose is a subtle and suggestive joke about power.[483]

This recalls Arthur Marotti's argument that ambition and social status are central concerns within the renaissance love-poem, and brings us back to Simpson's reasoning on how elusive poetry 'about love' is so very often saturated with political agency.[484] In light of these examples from the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*, a shift must be made from Ovid's association with immorality, to one of an obsession with immortality. How this aspect of the Ovidian pervades the English renaissance poetic imagination also then becomes clearer.[485] The counter-Augustan moves of Ovid's *Tristia* of valuing poetry as a free and living thing, dwelling upon conjugal happiness, and valuing friendships in spite of constricting political environments, all become foundations of Spenser's work.

Colin Clouts Come Home Againe

In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* the connection with Ovid's *Tristia* is a clear one; Spenser uses it to affirm and validate a position of figurative rather than physical exile from the court. The tenor of this affirmation is triumphant, rather than dejected or mournful which acknowledges its source, but it also presents a disconnection with the *Tristia's* unhappy ending. *Colin Clout* is a work that lies in a liminal state, suspended between the comforts and conversations of home, and the discomforting trials of being all at sea in a foreign land where those dialogues are restricted and manipulated artificially into something less than truthful. *Colin Clout* has a problematic conception of where home lies. Evidence of mirroring the structure of the *Tristia's* fifth book occurs in the concluding stanza of Spenser's poem. An enamoured Colin ends this verse dialogue dwelling on his love's beauty and the inevitable distance between them, which is not just physical but spiritual and intangible:

---

[483] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.172.
[484] Arthur Marotti, 'Love is Not Love: Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order', *English Literary History*, 49.2 (1982), 396-428.
[485] 'Through such echoes, Spenser seems to gesture towards the exiled Ovid as founder of love poetry to a wife, and to assert their kinship in the tiny community of an almost stillborn literary tradition, which he now seeks to revive in opposition to its flourishing but pernicious twin, Petrarchism.' Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.167.

> Such grace shall be some guerdon for the griefe,
> And long affliction which I haue endured:
> Such grace sometimes shall giue me some reliefe,
> And ease of paine which cannot be recured.
> And ye my fellow shepheards which do see
> And heare the languours of my too long dying,
> Vnto the world for euer witnesse bee,
> That hers I die, nought to the world denying,
> This simple trophe of her great conquest.[486]

Colin's distance from the lady in these closing lines also signifies the decentring felt at being away from the court. An elevation of the lover's 'grace' serves to lower the state of desolate abandon of its author. Such rhetorical posturing and 'too long dying' recalls Ovid's relentless desire to be heard from Tomis, but also evokes the faithfulness of one who has been banished from a lifestyle of glory and personal fame, where 'trophes' were ostentatious, and material gain abundant.[487] Spenser's poetry forwards the basic but irrefutable power of a simple piece of verse amidst this vainglorious display of pomp and ceremony. It therefore shuns the very court that it is purportedly glorifying through the figure of the desired female, just as Ovid spurned the theatres and games of Rome whilst eulogising his wife's purity in a bid to make Augustus listen to logic, reason and his personal defence of poetic freedom in Book II of the *Tristia*.

Lyne proposes the idea that figurative exile in renaissance England acts as a surrogate form of estrangement linked to the classical model of exile, whilst all the while diverging from it, which supports this relationship between Spenser and Ovid's texts. Spenser presents a renaissance perception of the classical world which is figurative, and never fully cognisant of how Roman exile tangibly worked. This same insecurity emerges in a number of other medieval intermediaries used by Spenser, compounding the difficulty of establishing what exile is in a post-classical, Christian world:

> Spenser's anxiety about his relationship with the Romans and Greeks is akin to a form of exile that Bartlett Giamatti has attributed to

---

[486] Spenser, *CCCHA*, Lines 942-950, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.371.
[487] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book I: vi, Lines 1-36, pp.35-36.

> Petrarch, and which is characteristic of Renaissance minds that engage deeply with their debts to the classics. [488]

Spenser's pastoral technique in the *Shepheardes Calender* attempts to solve this problem by being both classical and faithfully Protestant and, loathing false honours and vice but being tainted by them anyway, and Colin Clout bewails this same situation in his dialogues.[489] In an attempt to gain prestige and rank, all of those at court have been practising their rhetoric and shows of fidelity, luring acquaintances into a sense of security before publicly proclaiming their indiscretions in an attempt to discredit them.

Philip Hardie also makes a comparison between Colin Clout's figurative world and that of the physically exiled, in which Colin's friends conflate to Ovid's 'Tristian' correspondents.[490] The figure of the Elizabethan courtier described by Colin resonates with a sketch from Castiglione or Machiavelli, which is then decisively denigrated:

> He doth soonest rise
> That best can handle his deceitfull wit,
> In subtil shifts, and finest sleights deuise,
> Either by slaundring his well deemed name,
> Through leasing slews, and fained forgerie:
> Or else by breeding him some blot of blame,
> By creeping close into his secrecies;
> To which him needs, a guilefull hollow hart,
> Masked with faire dissembling curtesie,
> A filed toung furnish with tearmes of art,
> No art of schoole, but Courtiers schoolery.[491]

In its reaffirmation of a need to honour existing allegiances, Spenser's shepherd-nation mirrors Ovid's repeated assertions on a need for friendship and *amicitia*

---

[488] Lyne*, Ovid's Changing Worlds,* p.89.
[489] Katherine C. Little, "Pastoral", from *Edmund Spenser in Context*, ed. Andrew Escobedo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[490] According to Hardie, 'Colin's circle of friends back home (and in "exile" from the court of Cynthia) is analogous to the society of loyal friends with whom the exiled Ovid exchanges his correspondence'. Philip Hardie, "Spenser and Ovid", from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, eds. J. Miller and C. Newlands (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), p.302.
[491] Spenser, *CCCHA*, Lines 692-702, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.364.

which had been plundered by medieval exegetes in the centuries prior to Spenser's interaction with the text. Spenser is intrigued by poetic form and plays with a mixture of models that are owing to the Ovidian throughout his career, and shunning the public stage like this is a typical conceit of the *Tristia*, evocative of Book IV: x where Ovid spurns the honours of public office and refuses to progress up the senatorial ranks.[492] It appears that an early-modern curiosity with poetic art itself, and the classical mode of oration and rhetorical proficiency conflates once more with a study of Ovid's poetry from exile.

Love keeps a respectful distance from its object of desire in *Amoretti 59* and Spenser shows a mature and refreshing capacity for understanding an individual's prerogative and free will in this work. Such morality continues into *Colin Clout*, where the courtiers who lust after partners are mocked and recoiled at in disgust for their inappropriate and deceitful behaviour:

> For with lewd speeches and licentious deeds,
> His mightie mysteries they do prophane,
> And vse his ydle name to other needs,
> But as a complement for courting vaine.
> So him they do not serue as they professe,
> But make him serue to them for sordid vses,
> Ah my dread Lord, that doest liege hearts possesse,
> Auenge thy selfe on them for their abuses.[493]

Professing a love for the ladies of the court that is not genuine, these courtiers insult Cupid himself through their lascivious behaviour. By feigning a position of heartache, they attempt to woo and seduce their victims in a way that is completely unimaginable to the faithful and naïve Colin. What is inescapably Ovidian about Spenser's work is the fascination with memorialisation of the female, who is consistently used as the basis of a contemplation that is sacrosanct and will embellish

---

[492] Ovid, *Tristia*, Book IV: x, Lines 35-38, pp. 198-199:

> Curia restabat: clavi mensural coacta est;
> maius erat nostris viribus illud onus.
> Nec patiens corpus, nec mens fuit apta labori,
> sollicitaeque fugax ambitionis eram.

[The senate house awaited me, but I narrowed my purple stripe: that was a burden too great for my powers. I had neither a body to endure the toil nor a mind suited to it; by nature I shunned the worries of an ambitious life.]

[493] Spenser, *CCCHA*, Lines 787-794, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, pp.366-367.

the author's name for all posterity. The focus must be upon the poet throughout the following passage, even though it is ostensibly about the lover, which makes it so 'Tristian' in inflection:

> For when I thinke of her, as oft I ought,
> Then want I words to speake it fitly forth:
> And when I speake of her what I haue thought,
> I cannot thinke according to her worth.
> Yet will I thinke of her, yet wil I speake,
> So long as life my limbs doth hold together,
> And when as death these vitall bands shall breake,
> Her name recorded I will leaue for euer.

The *Tristia's* imagined physical structures that will decay and be worn smooth as the stone once engraved with fresh epitaphs has done, are reinvoked in the bark of Spenser's saplings, the hopeful tone of his shepherd's lay altering the way in which such memorialisation is received by the reader.

We also see the immortality of verse, and the ability for an author to provide their own epitaph - as Ovid had done in the third book of the *Tristia* - inscribed as part of a process of devotion to his stylised love, Cynthia:

> Her name in euery tree I will endosse,
> That as the trees do grow, her name may grow:
> And in the ground each where will it engrosse,
> And fill with stones, that all men may it know.
> The speaking woods and murmuring waters fall,
> Her name Ile teach in knowen termes to frame:
> And eke my lambs when for their dams they call,
> Ile teach to call for Cynthia by name.
> And long while after I am dead and rotten:
> Amongst the shepheards daughters dancing rownd,
> My layes made of her shall not be forgotten,
> But sung by them with flowry gyrlonds crownd.
> And ye, who so ye be, that shall surviue:
> When as ye heare her memory renewed,
> Be witnesse of her bountie here aliue,

Which she to Colin her poore shepheard shewed.[494]

This is evocative of Skelton's *Garland of Laurel* in which he immortalises his female patrons by order of wealth, but enables his own chaplet of laurel to be the main focus of the poem. The oxymoronic juxtaposition of roundelays as a form of rural dance associated with pagan ritual and fertility with the eulogizing nature of Spenser's 'layes' that will be sung after death in order to memorialise the wooing of Colin's shepherdess heightens the impact of decay and ruin in a verse that should be joyful. The memory of Cynthia is ostensibly the foremost conceit of this sonnet, yet it ends by centring our attention back on the written word, and the ways in which future generations should be reading Spenser's work. The object of this passage is undeniably the lady, but the subject of this oration is the poet, Spenser himself. The lady's characterisation and physical attributes are bypassed in a way that is unfamiliar when read alongside the Petrarchan sonnets of the *Amoretti*, because the impact of this section of *Colin Clout* has to be Spenser's immortalising verse and talent in embodying what he sees as perfection.

Antony Miller has analysed the notion of triumph in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, but another of his works preoccupied with this trope is *Colin Clout.*[495] Reworking the main character of Colin from Skelton's work, Spenser adds to an accretion of literature around the returning hero. In this he retains the 'Tristian' motif of welcoming a wronged but redeemed saviour, just as Ovid sees himself as a living embodiment of Ulysses in the *Tristia*, a fact compounded by the repeated comparisons of his wife to Penelope. The unwavering fidelity and veracity of the central figures is implanted in the reader's mind by their own testimony. Ovid recounts an imagined meeting with old friends and foes and sets this in an idealised Rome, strewn with tearful crowds and classical regalia, whilst Colin lends himself prowess by belittling his enemies at court at the close of Spenser's dialogue. But this scene of potential triumph for the honest man is short-lived and unconvincing, for Colin does not prosper, rather he ends his speech in dissonant embittered verse. However much Spenser's *Colin Clout* contains traces of Ovid's *Tristia* it also differs in its triumphal ending, something supported by Stapleton's analysis when he says:

---

[494] Spenser, *CCCHA*, Lines 624 – 647, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, pp.362-363.
[495] Antony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early-Modern English Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p.104.

> Spenser's later writing can be said to possess the wistful, resigned, and somewhat bitter quality of the Pontic poetry in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* or in the *Complaints*, but not in all ways. Colin, after all, is allowed to come home, and is not marooned several thousand miles from his culture [496]

Returning to Miller, references to the barbaric and unsatisfactory nature of Roman ceremony alongside historical events of Spenser's own career in Ireland serves to explain such a relationship with 'triumph', and in the *Faerie Queene*, 'The disgrace of Artegall converts Faeryland, as the disgrace of Lord Grey converts England, from triumphal centre into the place of barbaric outrage'.[497] Spenser's preoccupation with the transience of triumph and fall from grace recalls the comments made in Anne Russell's manuscript – one should never be too assured of their own popularity at court or see themselves as impervious to social disgrace. There is an underlying anxiety and fear of misplaced faith in the 'great' victors who in fact provide nothing more than barbarisms gilded in false glory and achievements that are mirages of valour. *Colin Clout* is consistently familiar and evocative of a previous time and retrospectively analyses and cogitates on the behaviour of its central figure, just as Ovid does in all five books of the *Tristia*.

This transition from safety to barbarity displays itself in the perceived state of linguistic inability equally resonant in Ovid's and Spenser's poetic statuses.[498] Their new roles as faithful lovers and husbands require increased authority and responsibility because they are now creators of a chaste rather than barbaric realm. Ovid's reinstatement in Roman society under Augustus depends upon this display of valour and trustworthiness, just as Spenser's Colin relies on conveying a sense of poetic truth in order to be successful with his suit. As Pugh says,

> Like the married love and loyal friendship celebrated in Ovid's exile epistles, [Colin Clout] offers a counter-example to the social organization of what is presented as an inclement and domineering monarchy, the poet offering himself as a moral and spiritual guide to

---

[496] Stapleton, *Spenser's Ovidian Poetics*, p.45.
[497] Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early-Modern English Culture*, p.105.
[498] Ovid's problematic position as poet estranged from Rome is shown by 'Siqua videbuntur casu non dicta Latine, in qua scribebat, Barbara terra fuit' [If any expression perchance shall seem not Latin, the land wherein he wrote was a barbarian land]. Ovid, *Tristia*, Book III:i, Lines 17-18, pp.100-101.

> his public readership with an authority that bypasses the Queen's. The poet's new conception of his position and role in society implied here is articulated more directly in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. [499]

Such spiritual guidance as Colin Clout disseminates is not armed with the language of courtly artifice that enables his rivals to gain traction in the renaissance court, and in this sense it remains increasingly counter to the domineering monarchy. Likewise, Ovid's principled attack upon Augustus in Book II of the *Tristia* draws attention to the dishonesty of literary sources that preceded him. Ovid's own incredulity surrounding their continued success and his own personal failure and exile is clearly apparent. Colin's shepherd-nation lies outside of Elizabeth's jurisdiction, just as Ovid's realm of Tomis lies away from Augustus' on the very edge of the Roman empire.[500] Therein lies the freedom for both authors which gives them 'the authority deriving from recognition of the poet's inspiration, giving Colin his respected place at the centre of the shepherd's nation' and 'the power to bestow, through the survival of his own verses, immortal fame, notoriety or oblivion on others'.[501]

The ostracised writer is only able to envisage their triumphal return because of their ostracization, and, antithetically, lack is defined by a prior knowledge of abundance. Pugh's state of oblivion is the constant threat to the exiled writer in solitude, as much as it is a danger for those whom the poet might or might not write about. Mortality and the figure of 'Tempus' with his scythe war against the immortal and memorialising nature of poetry and poetic voice. Remembrance of the lover comes through an imagining of the central female figure in *Colin Clout* just as it does in the closing book of the *Tristia* where Ovid exclaims 'Quanta tibi dederim nostris monumenta libellis,/ o mihi me coniunx carior, ipsa vides' [what a memorial I have reared to thee in my books, O my wife, dearer to me than myself].[502] As with the 'Tristian' rhetoric seen in Book V, therefore, Spenser is self-serving in his intentions which are created out of initial feelings of love and respect for the female. A perfect form is encapsulated within a poem of return and spiritual replenishment. The only difference between Spenser and Ovid is that Colin returns successfully to his origins - however basic they might be - whilst Ovid physically does not,

---

[499] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.177.
[500] Spenser, *CCCHA*, Lines 640-642, taken from *The Shorter Poems*, p.362.
[501] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid*, p.198.
[502] Ovid, *Tristia* Book V: xiv, Lines 1-2, pp.258-259.

perpetually yearning for that great comeback. Both poets serve to illuminate their own poetic prowess but have different ideas on how that heightened sense of fame might be achieved.

As seen above, Spenser used the *Tristia's* well-known opening envoy in the *Shepheardes Calender*, its closing books and IV: x in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe,* and the epistles to Ovid's wife and daughter in *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion,* thus illustrating a proficient knowledge and reconfiguring of Ovid's exilic work throughout his career. This interaction between Spenser and the *Tristia* did not begin and end with references exchanged between old university friends or commendations to correspondents as varied as Gabriel Harvey and Anne Russell. The *Tristia* is used in different ways in these disparate works: to advise and encourage, and teach caution to personal friends; to forward the poet's aims; and to defend the immortal nature of proper verse in a barbaric and linguistically fractured environment such as he faced at the close of his career. *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* uses the *Tristia* to morally instruct in a way that recalls the *Ovide Moralisé* tradition, but it does not use Ovid as the culprit whose mistakes should be avoided, rather Ovid is instead a symbol of good practice. The *Tristia,* for the figuratively exiled poet, is a means by which they can reframe their own existence and accumulate power. The *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* reinvigorate the language of constancy and marital fidelity intrinsic to the *Tristia,* bridging a gap of many centuries in which this model was not clearly used by any of his medieval predecessors. Thus, there are continuities and ruptures with past imbrications of the *Tristia* in Spenser's work. He also finds and uses passages of the *Tristia* that defend poetry's longevity over mortal beauty's fragility such as the epistle to Perilla in Book III: vii. The dynamics between Ovid and his female correspondents and Spenser's dialectic in his address to his future wife Elizabeth Boyle present a form of relationship grounded upon mutual respect and trust, rather than sexual desire or lust.

The texts studied here throw into relief Spenser's figurative exile against an Ovidian legacy of enforced exile. As Burrow says, the humanist tendency to notice the widening chasm between literary contemporaries and the classical authors of the past, grows at this time and, 'the figure of Ovid whose physical exile anticipated the temporal exile of humanist writers from their sources came to be central to his

reception'.[503] Giamatti furthers the case for a preoccupation with mutability in Spenser's entire age, not just within his own body of work, and links this to a desire to endorse individual poetic identity and project an appearance of everlasting fame.[504] Patterning one's literature on the model of the ancients, and upon Ovid's *Tristia* seems apt in Spenserian terms. In England's new religious practices attempts were being made to maintain a vestige of continuity (and therefore justification of the Protestant faith) whilst removing the all-too-visible institution of the Catholic Church. Just as the old faith had to metamorphose into a new, but fundamentally intrinsic one, the physical exile of Ovid and the terminology, techniques and rhetorical structures of his *Tristia* were becoming moralised, de-sacralised and re-appropriated into a pose of triumphal celebration and amatory satisfaction by Spenser in the sixteenth century. Ovid's work was not being re-used blindly by a diligent E.K. figure, glossing word-for-word his meanings, but the universality of his creations was being admired, evaluated and fed into verse that had to learn to deal with increasing conflicting religious tensions and belief-systems.

Spenser chose to use Ovid whilst living in colonial Ireland surrounded by Catholic iconography and perceived barbarity, not just as an early resource in his career. If Ovid 'seeks in exile to shape an image of his poetic career that will guarantee his lasting fame' then so does Spenser during his period of estrangement from the court of Elizabeth.[505] Myers' observation supports the direction of this chapter; that Spenser's preoccupation with literary fame followed an Ovidian model which can be first traced in the *Tristia*. The period spent in Ireland fosters a literary return to the poems of Spenser's youth and the exilic works he translated for Mulcaster as a schoolboy re-emerge as ruins of his harsh colonial life, the only difference being that he is now the displaced writer away from the comforts of home, and unable to be complacent in his treatment of the local population who might rise up against him. For Spenser at this stage, Ovid is his model, and Scythia his new home. Giamatti's distinction between travelling of one's own prerogative, willingly never returning home, and non-consensual banishment from that point of origin

---

[503] Colin Burrow, "Re-embodying Ovid: Renaissance Afterlives" from *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid,* ed. P. Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.308.
[504] Giamatti, *Exile and Change*, Preface, p.x.
[505] Myers, "Ovid's Self-Reception in His Exile Poetry", p.8.

suggests that the poetic mind needs exile to breathe and create exemplary verse. Crucially, this exile may be self-imposed and viewed as much-needed creative space, as Nagle has also concluded in her comprehensive work on the poetics of exile introduced at the beginning of this thesis.[506]

Spenser's estranged characters are provided as an illustration of peripatetic identities, but, returning to the key point of Giamatti on displacement encountered earlier, where exile is a means by which greater self-consciousness is achieved, 'the process of civility involves both going out and coming back, displacement and homecoming'.[507] The opposition of the civility of a returning traveller and the proscribed barbarity of an exile without a homeland therefore becomes less clearly defined in Giamatti's logic. Is Ovid denied such civility in the status he bears as *relegatus*? Spenser's translations of French verse work with the newly-emerging genre of emblem books and his early roots in London with exiles and their literature binds up the civilised with a life and literature of exile. The epistles of the *Tristia* which inspire the *Shepheardes Calender, Amoretti, Epithalamion* and *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* contain an exilic code that is formidable yet favourable, providing welcome literary resilience to a poet distanced from his patroness. Like Ovid, Spenser's figurative exile can now enable him to claim back vestiges of power that were prohibited whilst in close proximity to the court, imaginatively and physically. The position of the exiled poet therefore enables a triumphal return to public memory, at little personal cost, and Ovid's *Tristia*, as Pugh agrees, 'bequeaths to Spenser's poems of 1595 not only a model of complaint and satire but an idea of the poet as an independent moral authority whose power bypasses that of the monarch'.[508]

The *Tristia* does not inspire barren landscapes in Spenser's early verse to be spurned when laid against the glorious colour of the *Faerie Queene*, but texts that should be looked at as converging on some common themes: the underlying preoccupation with the pose of exile, with the situation of the poet as creator and editor of his own myth and fiction, and with the obsessive desire to monumentalise and project literary fame where the poet is no longer visible himself. Spenser used the *Tristia* differently to his forebears and in a much more compelling way,

---

[506] Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile,* p.108.
[507] Giamatti, *Exile and Change,* p.95.
[508] Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid,* p.199.

embedding it into his literary consciousness and composing with it as a tool in his arsenal, rather than just cutting and pasting aphorisms. By the latter half of the sixteenth century, an English appreciation of Ovid was not focused on the exegetical manuscript tradition or the emblem-literature of Whitney; spurning the amorous caricature, Ovidian reception began to take on an intelligent identity of its own. Spenser's reworking of the *Tristia* functions in such a way as to make Ovid a three-dimensional entity again, not merely a distant echo from a classical past with which the renaissance courtier had no connection or knowledge. Ovid's identity as a serious author, and figure of literary contemplation on mortality and myth had been articulated by Spenser and would be much more difficult to obscure henceforth.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has demonstrated the great variety and complexity of early-modern English readings, responses and reappropriations of the *Tristia*. As has been shown, the *Tristia* was used not only in scholarly contexts, and as the basis of moral commentary, but as a rich source of inspiration and imitation for early-modern literary authors. The *Tristia* has a direct influence upon multiple genres in the sixteenth century. In Whitney's work for example, one of the earliest texts of emblem book culture engages with, and is heavily reliant upon, a series of aphorisms from Ovid's *Tristia*. This is about moral edification and 'lessons' to be learned, not an interaction with close textual details or linguistic specificities of translation or poetic 'form'. Morality for its readers, and greater social awareness and responsibility are the key precepts. Skelton used the envoy structure from the *Tristia* to foster a literary persona via a distanced and non-culpable anthropomorphic voice, with the ultimate aim of acquiring fame, and re-centring the individual author. Jonson used Book IV: x of the *Tristia*, and Ovid's perceived 'autobiographical' details of his own exile, to comedic effect in his play, *Poetaster*, completing a triad of different early-modern genres utilising Ovid's work from exile.

As discussed in chapter three, despite the complicating factor of Petrarch's presence as an intermediary, a persuasive case can be made for identifying Wyatt's direct use of the *Tristia* in his translations of the *Canzoniere*. Furthermore, Wyatt's other works were equally 'Tristian' in composition, and his knowledge of Ovid's exile poems was not just limited to reading via Petrarch. Churchyard's translation of the *Tristia* continues the tradition examined in chapter one of reading the work as a pedagogic tool. This particular usage is attested by the early-modern booksellers' lists, and numerous manuscript copies and early printed grammars in existence today which make up a proportion of what might originally have been in circulation. We saw above how the *Tristia* was used by Churchyard as a source for his writings on poetic identity and friendship, and as a model for how the author could launch (or re-launch) his literary career using the example of Ovid's triumphal textual return found in the *Tristia*.

The influence of Ovid's *Tristia* upon the works of Edmund Spenser has been shown to extend beyond more obvious imitations such as the epistle to the

Shepheardes Calender, resurfacing in models of matrimonial love contained within the *Epithalamion* and *Amoretti.* As with Wyatt's use of Petrarch, Spenser's use of Du Bellay - whose reworking of the *Tristia* was discussed in chapter five - complicates our understanding of Ovidian reception. Sub-reading 'Tristian' inflections in Wyatt and Spenser through Petrarch and Du Bellay is complex and can never be infallible, but, knowing that the latter two poets read the *Tristia* helps trace elements of Ovid's work in the English literary output of the sixteenth century. Clear examples of an Ovidian envoy structure, and classical resonances grounded in an Ovidian rather than Virgilian model support the suggestion that the *Tristia* had far more of an impact than has hitherto been appreciated. Ovid's exile poetry endorsing marital constancy and conjugal love is key to understanding Spenser's inheritance of these concepts. This challenges the current understanding of Ovid in critical studies as a poet synonymous with the *Amores*, which is clearly not indicative of an early-modern English reception of the *Tristia*. Thus, all three author-based chapters demonstrate that the *Tristia* continued to be a rich literary source throughout the sixteenth century.

Having examined many examples of the *Tristia's* reception in sixteenth-century English literature, we may draw the following conclusions. Firstly, that the *Tristia* performs an alternative set of functions to the rest of Ovid's canon. In seeing its effect and reusage from manuscript reception to sixteenth-century poetry and drama, the arguments presented by Moss and Cheney predicated upon Ovid as a one-dimensional lascivious poet can be contested, and the notion that Nashe's epigrams were the most relevant reincarnation of his work reinterpreted. This study disproves a mythology around Ovid that has too long existed, which, like the erroneous *Nux* tradition which was founded on a misappropriation of his character in medieval allegories, must be put to rest.

Secondly, the term 'Ovidian' as it is understood in relation to sixteenth-century readings and responses to Ovid, needs to be re-evaluated. An author must be seen for their corpus of works, not one aspect of their output, because this is not a true indication of the progression and capacity of any writer. The *Tristia* is about the sorrows of its protagonist and a period of self-reflection which enable a fashioning of poetic identity, and the wilful desire to return to one's former standing in society. As such, it encompasses and assimilates a vast number of concerns preoccupying early-modern England and the works of Wyatt, Churchyard and Spenser. To be 'Tristian'

is to embody these concerns, and to be 'Ovidian', is to be amorous or conjugally faithful, or sorrowful, not just lascivious or simplistic.

Thirdly, the 'poetics of exile' is evinced through a sustained progression of textual witnesses in early-modern England. Whilst the failings of Ovid are recognised, the potential for reinstatement is highlighted too, engaging with Nagle's ideas on the intrinsic creative licence and liberation of exilic verse. As shown in chapter four, and in relation to the language used to describe patronal relationships in the early-modern period, the *Tristia* provides a model for authors of the period on how to negotiate positions of displacement, disenfranchisement, or marginality. Just as Ovid had to impress his reader with the suggestion that his exile was an epochal event which would reinvigorate his literary career and prompt his recall from Tomis, Wyatt uses the exile poetry for personal advancement, Churchyard fashions the *Tristia* into a poetic career-launch, and Spenser sets out his seminal work, the *Shepheardes Calender*, using the 'Tristian' envoy.

This study draws to a close at the end of the sixteenth century with Jonson's *Poetaster*. The natural extension of this research project would be to examine the reception and influence of the *Tristia* in the seventeenth century. Ovid's work was taken up repeatedly by early-modern writers of sermons, inspiring homiletic composition and oration across the country throughout the seventeenth century. To this end, and has been shown above, there are at least nineteen editions of printed sermons directly invoking the *Tristia* between 1600 and 1640. Following full five-book translations of the *Tristia* by Saltonstall (1633) and Catlin (1639), a whole new generation of readers would have the opportunity to access and use the literary, thematic, and rhetorical resources of Ovid's boundlessly multivocal poem. The impact of the 'poetics of exile' on English literature showed no signs of dissipating, and looking ahead to what the *Tristia* represents to a seventeenth-century audience compounds the continuing appreciation of an explicitly recognised 'Tristian' chronology.

In sum, this study shows for the first time the extent of the *Tristia's* circulation and reading in Tudor England and provokes re-evaluation of Ovid in this period. It illustrates that the *Tristia* was a fertile resource for writers of multiple genres, and finally, it demonstrates the importance of a re-appreciation of how the Ovid of the *Tristia* enriches our understanding of the early-modern reception of the Roman poet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

M376 - Tristia, c.1300-1400

O.B.5.1 - Opera omnia praeter Metamorphoses, c.1100-1200

London, British Library

Additional MS 6158

Additional MS 15821

Additional MS 18384

Additional MS 21169

Additional MS 49368, Holkham Vol. XVIII

Kings MS 26

Royal MS 17D IX

Oxford, Balliol College

Balliol MS 354

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Auct. MS F 1.17

Auct. MS F.2.14

Bodley MS 571

Bodley MS 902

MS.Canon.Bib.Lat.1

Rawlinson MS B214

PRIMARY MATERIAL

Ascham, R. *Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany 1553.* London: John Daye, 1570.

The Scholemaster. London: John Daye, 1570.

Toxophilus. London: Edward Whytchurch, 1545.

Boethius, A. *The Consolation of Philosophy.* London: Penguin Classics, 1999.

Brinsley, J. *Ludus Literarius* or *The Grammar Schoole.* London: Humphrey Lownes, 1612.

Cardano, G. *Cardanus Comforte*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1573.

Catullus, *The Poems of Catullus,* trans. Peter Whigham. London: Penguin Classics, 1987.

Chaucer, G. *Troilus and Criseyde*, (ed.) Stephen A. Barney. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2006.

Troilus and Criseyde: A New Translation, trans. Barry Windeatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.188.

Churchyard, T. *Chance*. London: John Kyngston, 1580.

Chippes Contayninge Twelue Severall Labours. London: Thomas Marshe, 1578.

Lamentable, and pitifull description, of the wofull warres in Flaunders. London: Henry Bynneman, 1578.

Lamentacion on Freyndshyp. London: Thomas Marshe, 1566.

Musicall consort of heauenly harmonie (compounded out of manie parts of musicke) called Churchyards charitie. London: Arnold Hatfield, 1596.

Pithy Pleasaunt and Profitable workes of Maister Skelton, Poete Laureate (introduction). London: Thomas Marshe, 1568.

Pleasant Conceite. London: Roger Warde, 1593.

Thre First Bookes of Ovid's De Tristibus. London: Thomas Marshe, 1572.

Thre First Bookes of Ovid's De Tristibus. London: Thomas Marshe, 1580.

Cicero, *De Amicitia,* trans. William Armstead Falconer. London: Heinemann, 1923.

Cooper, T. *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae.* London: Henry Bynneman, 1578.

Du Bellay, J. *Du Bellay: Poems,* eds. K. M. Hall and M. B. Wells. London: Grant & Cutler Ltd., 1985.

Les Regrets, trans. A. S. Kline. <www.poetryintranslation.com>

The Regrets, trans. C. H. Sisson. Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1984.

The Regrets: A Bilingual Edition, trans. David R. Slavitt. Evanston: North Western University Press, 2004.

Elyot, T. *The Boke Named the Gouernour (1531).* London: J.M. Dent, 1907.

Estienne, R. *Dictionariolum puerorum, tribus linguis Latina, Anglica & Gallica conscriptum.* London: Reginald Wolf, 1552.

Foxe, J. *Actes and Monuments.* London: John Day, 1563.

Harvey, G. *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, 1573-1580* (ed.) E. J. L. Scott from MS Sloane 93. New York: Reprint Society, 1965.

Horace, *The Complete Works of Horace,* (ed.) John Marshall. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1937.

The Complete Odes and Epodes, trans. W. G. Shepherd. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.

The Odes of Horace. trans. James Michie, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976.

Jonson, B. *Ben Jonson's Plays* 2 vols., (ed.) Felix Schelling. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1960.

Poetaster, (ed.) Tom Cain. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1995.

The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson, Vols. I – VII, eds. D. Bevington, M. Butler and I. Donaldson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Leland, J. *Genethliacon illustrissimi Eadverdi Principis Cambriae*. London: Reynerum Vuolfium, 1543.

Naeniae in mortem Thomae Viati equitis incomparabilis. London: Reynerum Vuolfium, 1542.

Martial, M. *Epigrams.* trans. D. R. Shackleton-Bailey. London: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Milton, J. *Areopagitica.* London: 1644. Taken from *Famous Pamphlets 1644-1795,* (ed.) Henry Morley. London: Routledge, 1889.

Montaigne, M. *The Complete Essays*, trans. M. A. Screech. London: Penguin Classics, 2003.

Mulcaster, R. *Elementarie.* London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1582.

Positions. London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1581.

Ovid, *Amores,* trans. Grant Showerman. London: Heinemann, 1963.

De Tristibus or Mournefull Elegies in Five Bookes trans. Zachary Catlin. London: Thomas Cotes, 1639.

De Tristibus libri quinque. Copy in Plantin-Moretus Museum [A3300]. Antwerp: Michaelem Hillunium, 1540.

De Tristibus libri quinque. Copy in Plantin-Moretus Museum [A3273]. Antwerp: Joannem Hillenium, 1543.

De Tristibus libri quinque. Part of a sammelband. Copy in Plantin-Moretus Museum [B3609]. Antwerp: Joannes Latius, 1563.

Fastorum libri VI. Tristium V. De Ponto IIII. (ed.) Jacobus Micyllus. Copy in Plantin-Moretus Museum [B1122]. Basel: Joannem Hervagium, 1550.

Fastorum lib VI. Tristium lib V. De Ponto lib IV. Copy in Plantin-Moretus Museum [A214]. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1561.

Heroides. trans. Harold Isbell. London: Penguin Classics, 1990.

Metamorphoses. trans. David Raeburn. London: Penguin Classics, 2004.

Opera. Copy in Plantin-Moretus Museum [R32.11]. Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 1474.

Ovidi Opera. (King George III's copy, in three volumes) Bologna: Balthesar Azoguidi, 1471.

Ovidi Opera. (Thomas Grenville's copy, in two volumes) Bologna: Balthesar Azoguidi, 1471.

Ovidii Nasonis sulmonensis poete de nuncio sagaci liber incipit. Antwerp: Mathias van der Goes, 1483.

Ovidius de tristibus cum commento. Commentary by Bartholomaeus Merula. Venice: Ioannes de Cereto, 1499, (two copies of this edition have been worked from, one in the BL, the other in the Bodleian).

Ovidius de tristibus cum commento. Commentary by Bartholomaeus Merula, Venice: Ioannes de Cereto, 1511.

The Poems of Exile: Tristia and the Black Sea Letters. trans. Peter Green. California: University of California Press, 1994.

The Works of Ovid. Preface by Bonus Accursius. Venice: Xp̃oforũ de Pensis de Mandello, 1492-98.

Tristia, trans. Wye Saltonstall. London: Thomas Cotes, 1637. (Bodleian copy).

Tristia and Ex Ponto, trans. Arthur Leslie Wheeler. London: Heinemann, 1924.

Tristibus lib.V (ed.) Andreas Naugerius. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1566.

Petrarch, F. *Petrarch's Secret,* trans. William H. Draper. London: Chatto and Windus, 1975.

Pindar, *The Complete Odes*, trans. Anthony Verity. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Plutarch, *Moralia* trans. Frank Cole Babbitt (in sixteen volumes). London: Heinemann, 1928.

Pontanus, J. *Iacobi Pontani de Societate Iesv In P. Ovidii Nasonis poetarvm ingeniosissimi, Tristivm et De ponto libros novi commentarii*. Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1610.

Propertius, S. *The Poems,* trans. W. G. Shepherd. London: Penguin Classics, 1985.

Shakespeare, W. *The RSC Shakespeare: Complete Works.* Eds. J. Bate and E. Rasmussen. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Silius Italicus, *Punica. Vol. I,* trans. J. D. Duff. London: Harvard University Press, 1934.

Skelton, J. *The Complete English Poems of John Skelton (Revised).* (ed.) J. Scattergood. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015.

Spenser, E. *Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems.* London: Penguin Classics, 1999.

Edmund Spenser's Poetry (Fourth Edition), eds. Hadfield and Prescott. London: W. W. Norton, 2013.

The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Edmund Spenser, Vol.1, (ed.) Alexander B. Grosart. London: Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1882-4.

The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, The Minor Poems, Vol.1, eds. Greenlaw, Osgood, Padelford and Heffner. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1943.

The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, The Minor Poems, Vol.2, eds. Osgood, Lotspeich and Mason. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1947.

The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, Index, compiled by C. G. Osgood. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1957.

Strato, "Musa Puerilis" from *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton. London: Heinemann, 1918.

Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1989.

Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1 – 6,* trans. H. R. Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold. London: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Virgil, *Aeneid 7-12, The Minor Poems,* trans. H. R. Fairclough, London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1942.

Virgilii Moretu: Ouidii nux: summa cum diligentia castigate. Venice: Maphei Pasyni, 1525.

Whitney, G. *A Choice of Emblemes*. Leiden: Franciscus Raphelengius, 1586.

Wyatt, T. *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David*. London: Thomas Raynold and John Harington, 1549.

Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969.

The Complete Works of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, Vol. 1, (ed.) Jason Powell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

SECONDARY MATERIAL

Ahnert, R. *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Baldwin, T. W. *Shakespere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944.

Barchiesi, A. *The Poet and the Prince: Ovid and Augustan Discourse*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Barkan, L. *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1986.

Bartlett, K. *The English in Italy 1525-1558*: *A Study in Culture and Politics.* Moncalieri: Slatkine, 1991.

Baswell, C. *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Bate, J. *Shakespeare and Ovid*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Bath, M. *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture.* London: Longman, 1994.

Bayer, P. "Madam de la Martinville, Quercitan's Daughter and the Philosopher's Stone: Manuscript Representation of Women Alchemists" in K. P. Long, *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Culture.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, 165-190.

Beck, R. 'Ovid, Augustus and a Nut Tree', *Phoenix* 19.2 (1965), 146-152.

Boyd, B. W. (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Ovid.* Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Braden, G. "Translating the Rest of Ovid: The Exile Poems" in *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, eds. Karen Newman and Jane Tylus. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015, 45-55.

Brammall, S. *The English Aeneid: Translations of Virgil, 1555-1646*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.

Brooks, E. *Sir Christopher Hatton Queen Elizabeth's Favourite.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1946.

Brown, C. C. *Friendship and its Discourses in the Seventeenth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Brown, G. *Redefining Elizabethan Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Burrow, C. "Re-embodying Ovid: Renaissance Afterlives" in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, (ed.) Hardie, P. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 301-319.

Caine, B. (ed.) *Friendship: A History.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

Calabrese, M. A. *Chaucer's Ovidian Arts of Love*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994.

Cheney, P. *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Reading Sixteenth Century Poetry. Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2011.

Claassen, J. M. *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius.* London: Duckworth, 1999.

Ovid Revisited: The Poet in Exile. London: Duckworth, 2008.

Clark, J. G. Introduction and, "Ovid in the Monasteries: The Evidence from Late Medieval England", taken from *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, eds. Clark, Coulson and McKinley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 177-196.

Clarke, K. P. *Chaucer and Italian Textuality.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Coldiron, A. E. B. 'How Spenser Excavates Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*; Or The Role of the Poet, Lyric Historiography, and the English Sonnet', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 101.1 (2002), 41-67.

Copeland, R. *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Cooper, H. "Chaucer and Ovid: A Question of Authority" taken from *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Art and Literature from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century,* ed. Charles Martindale. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 71-82.

Pastoral: Medieval into Renaissance. Ipswich: D. S. Brewer, 1978.

Coulson, F. T. "Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the School Tradition of France, 1180 – 1400" taken from *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, eds. Clark, Coulson and McKinley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 48-107.

Crane, M. T. *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Curtius, E. R. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1953.

Dasenbrock, R. W. 'Wyatt's Transformation of Petrarch', *Comparative Literature*, 40.2 (1988), 122-133.

Davis, J. B. 'Thus I Restles Rest in Spayne: Engaging Empire in the Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt and Garcilaso de la Vega', *Studies in Philology,* 107.4 (2010), 493-519.

DeMolen, R. L. 'Richard Mulcaster and the Profession of Teaching in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 35.1 (1974), 121-129.

De Nolhac, P. *Joachim Du Bellay: Lettres.* Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1974.

Dibdin, T. F. *Bibliotheca Spenceriana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century and of Many Valuable First Editions in the Library of George John Earl Spencer, Volume 2.* Reprinted edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Donaldson, I. *Ben Jonson: A Life.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Drinkwater, M. 'Which Letter? Text and Subtext in Ovid's *Heroides', American Journal of Philology*, 128.3 (2007), 367-387.

Dutelescu, G. L. *Romanian-English Dictionary*. London: IBS Books, 2011.

Edmunds, L. *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Ellis, R. *The Second Book of Ovid's Tristia (A Public Lecture Delivered in the Hall of Corpus Christi College Wed. 28th May 1913).* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913.

Evans, H.B. *Publica Carmina: Ovid's Books from Exile.* London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Fairweather, J. 'Ovid's Autobiographical Poem, *Tristia* 4.10', *Classical Quarterly*, 37 (1987), 181-196.

Filelfo, F. *On Exile*, trans. W. Blanchard and J. De Keyser. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Fish, S. *John Skelton's Poetry*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965.

Fox, C. *Ovid and the Politics of Emotion in Elizabethan England.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Fränkel, H. *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds.* Berkeley: California University Press, 1945.

Franklin-Harkrider, M. *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519-1580.* Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008.

Fredericks, B. R. '*Tristia* 4.10: Poet's Autobiography and Poetic Autobiography', *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* 106 (1976), 139-154.

Fyler, J. *Chaucer and Ovid.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

Gaertner, J. F. "Ovid and the Poetics of Exile: How Exilic is Ovid's Exile Poetry" taken from *Writing Exile: The Discourse of Displacement in Greco-Roman Antiquity and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, 2007, 155-172.

Garrett, C. *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938.

Geldner, F. *Deutsche Biographie - Gryphius, Sebastian.* Neue Deutsche Biographie 7 (1966), S.55 f. <www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116902566.html>

Genette, G. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Gerber, A. *Medieval Ovid: Frame Narrative and Political Allegory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Gersh, S. (ed), *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform.* Netherlands: Brill, 2003.

Getty, L. J. 'Circumventing Petrarch: Subreading Ovid's *Tristia* in Spenser's *Amoretti*', *Philological Quarterly*, 79 (2000), 293-314.

Ghisalberti, F. 'Mediaeval Biographies of Ovid', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 9 (1946), 10-59.

Giamatti, A. B. *Exile and Change in Renaissance Literature.* London: Yale University Press, 1984.

Gibbons, K. *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris.* Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2011.

Gillespie, A. "Unknowe, unknow, Vncouthe, uncouth: From Chaucer and Gower to Spenser and Milton" taken from *Medieval into Renaissance: Essays for Helen*

Cooper, Woodcock, M. and King, A. (eds.) Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016, 13-33.

Gillespie, S. and Cummings, R. 'A Bibliography of Ovidian Translations and Imitations in English', *Translation and Literature*, 13.2 (2004), 207-218.

Gillespie, S., Braden, G. and Cummings, R. (eds.) *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2: 1550-1660.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Green, I. *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

Greene, T. M. *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982.

Greenhut, D. S. *Feminine Rhetorical Culture: Tudor Adaptations of Ovid's Heroides*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1988.

Griffiths, J. *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006.

Hadfield, A. *Edmund Spenser: A Life.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Hamilton, A. C. *The Spenser Encyclopedia*. Toronto: Universty of Toronto Press, 1990.

Hammond, M. *The Augustan Principate in Theory and Practice During the Julio-Claudian Period.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1968.

Hardie, P. *Classical Literary Careers and their Reception.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Barchiesi, A. and Hinds, S. eds. *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on the Metamorphoses and its Reception.* Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1999.

"Spenser and Ovid", taken from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid,* eds. J. Miller and C. Newlands. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014, 291-305.

The Cambridge Companion to Ovid. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Hartley, T. E. (ed), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, Vol.II 1584-1589.* Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995.

Heath, J. 'The Stupor of Orpheus: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 10.64-71', *The Classical Journal,* 91.4 (1996), 353-370.

Heavey, K. *The Early Modern Medea: Medea in English Literature 1558 – 1688.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Helgerson, R. *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Hexter, R. *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's Ars Amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum*. Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1986.

Helzle, M. 'Ovid's Poetics of Exile', *Illinois Classical Studies* 13.1 (1988), 73-83.

Hinds, S. 'Booking the Return Trip: Ovid and *Tristia* 1', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society,* 31 (1985), 13-32.

Hoffmeister, G. *Petrarkistische Lyrik*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973.

Holdsworth, J. *Directions for a Student in the Universitie (1620)* taken as appendices from H. F. Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton.* Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1961. pp. 623-655.

Horvath, R. P. 'Chaucer's Epistolary Poetic: The Envoys to Bukton and Scogan', *The Chaucer Review*, 37.2 (2002), 173-189.

Huskey, S. "Approaches to Teaching Ovid's *Tristia*" from *Approaches to Teaching the Works of Ovid and the Ovidian Tradition,* eds. B. Weiden Boyd and C. Fox. New York: MLA Press, 2010, 73-79.

Ingleheart, J. *2000 Years of Solitude; Exile After Ovid.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

A Commentary on Ovid, Tristia, Book 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Jansen, L. *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Johnston, E. *Writing and Illuminating and Lettering (18th Impression).* London: Pitman and Sons, 1939.

Kambasković-Sawers, D. 'Never Was I the Golden Cloud: Ovidian Myth, Ambiguous Speaker and the Narrative in the Sonnet Sequences by Petrarch, Sidney and Spenser', *Renaissance Studies*, 21.5 (2007), 637-661.

Keating, L. C. *Joachim du Bellay*. New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1971.

Keen, C. "Ovid's Exile and Medieval Italian Literature: The Lyric Tradition" taken from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, eds. J. Miller and C. Newlands. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014, 144-160.

'Va Mia Canzone: Textual Transmission and the Congedo in Medieval Exile Lyrics', *Italian Studies*, 64.2 (2009), 183-197.

Keith, A. *Metamorphosis: The Changing Face of Ovid in Medieval and Early Modern Europe.* Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007.

Kenney, E. J. *Ovid and the Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Kinney, A. *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986.

Kintgen, E. *Reading in Tudor England.* Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996.

Knapp, B. L. *Exile and The Writer: Exoteric and Esoteric Experiences.* Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.

Knight, J. T. *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.

Knox, P. (ed.) *A Companion to Ovid.* Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2009.

Kroeker, G.G. (ed.) *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile.* London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014.

Lockey, B.C. *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans.* Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2015.

Loewenstein, J. *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Lyne, R. *Ovid's Changing Worlds: English Metamorphoses, 1567-1632.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Marotti, A. F. 'Love is Not Love: Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order', *English Literary History*, 49.2 (1982), 396-428.

Martelli, F. *Ovid's Revisions: The Editor as Author.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Mason, H. A. *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959.

Sir Thomas Wyatt: A Literary Portrait. Bristol: Bristol University Press, 1986.

Melehy, H. 'Spenser and Du Bellay: Translation, Imitation, Ruin', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 40.3 (2003), 415-438.

Migraine-George, T. 'Specular Desires: Orpheus and Pygmalion as Aesthetic Paradigms in Petrarch's Rime Sparse', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 36.3 (1999), 226-246.

Miller, A. *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Minnis, A. *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages. Revised 2nd Edition.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Morini, M. *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Moss, D. *The Ovidian Vogue: Literary Fashion and Imitative Practice in Late Elizabethan England.* London: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

Mostert, M. *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: A Study of the Ideas about Society and Law of the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement.* Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1987.

Moul, V. *Jonson, Horace and the Classical Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Myers, K. S. "Ovid's Self-Reception in His Exile Poetry" taken from *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, eds. J. Miller and C. Newlands. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014, 8-21.

Nagle, B. R. *The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto of Ovid.* Brussels: Latomus, 1980.

Neuse, R. "The Triumph Over Hasty Accidents: A Note on the Symbolic Mode of the *Epithalamion*" taken from *Spenser: A Collection of Critical Essays,* (ed.) H. Berger Jr. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1968, 163-174.

Newlands, C. E. *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995.

'The Other John Gower and the First English Translation of Ovid's *Fasti*', *Hermathena*, 177/178 (2004/2005), 251-265.

Nicolas, H. *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Christopher Hatton*. London: Richard Bentley, 1847.

Nisbet, R. G. M. 'Great and Lesser Bear (Ovid Tristia 4.3)', *Journal of Roman Studies,* 72 (1982), 49-56.

Oakley-Brown, L. *Ovid and the Cultural Politics of Translation in Early Modern England.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006.

Translation and Nation: Towards a Cultural Politics of Englishness. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001.

Overell, A. *Italian Reform and English Reformations 1535 – 1585.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Owen, S. G. 'On Some Passages of Ovid's *Tristia*', *The Classical Quarterly*, 8 (1914), 21-32.

Pairet, A. "Recasting the *Metamorphoses* in Fourteenth century France: The Challenges of the *Ovide Moralisé*" taken from *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, eds. Clark, Coulson and McKinley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 83-107.

Pearcy, L. T. *The Mediated Muse: English Translations of Ovid, 1560 – 1700.* Hamden: Archon Books, 1984.

Petrie, J. *Petrarch: The Augustan Poets, the Italian Tradition and the Canzoniere*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press Ltd, 1983.

Posch, S. *P.Ovidius Naso, Tristia I: Interpretationen.* Innsbruck: Universitätverlag Wagner, *1983*.

Powell, J. 'Thomas Wyatt's Poetry in Embassy: Egerton 2711 and the Production of Literary Manuscripts Abroad', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67.2 (2004), 261–82.

Pugh, S. *Spenser and Ovid.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Reid, L. A. *Ovidian Bibliofictions and the Tudor Book.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.

Renwick, W. L. 'Mulcaster and Du Bellay', *Modern Language Review*, 17 (1922), 282-287.

Roberts, J. "The Latin Trade" taken from *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV, 1557-1695*, Barnard, J. and McKenzie, D. F.(eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 141-173.

Robinson, C. E. *A History of Rome 753 BC – AD 410.* London: Methuen and Co., 1946.

Rossiter, W. T. "In Spayne: Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Poetics of Embassy" from *Authority and Diplomacy from Dante to Shakespeare*, Powell, J. and Rossiter, W. T. (eds.) London: Routledge, 2013, 101-120.

Wyatt Abroad: Tudor Diplomacy and the Translation of Power. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014.

Rowse, A. L. *The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society.* London: Macmillan, 1950.

Scattergood, J. *John Skelton: The Career of an Early Tudor Poet.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014.

Schaff, B. (ed.) *Exiles, Emigrés and Intermediaries: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions.* New York: Rodopi, 2010.

Schoeck, R. J. 'Go Little Book – A Conceit from Chaucer to William Meredith', *Notes and Queries*, (1952), 370-372.

Schurink, F. and Ingleheart, J. 'The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early-Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 345-361.

(ed.) *Tudor Translation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Segel, H. B. *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Shrank, C. *Writing the Nation in Reformation England 1530-1580.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Simon, J. *Education and Society in Tudor England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Simpson, J. 'Breaking the Vacuum: Ricardian and Henrician Ovidianism.' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 29.2 (1999), 325-355.

Reform and Cultural Revolution, 1350-1547. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Stamatakis, C. *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Stapleton, M. L. *The Cambridge Guide to English Literature.* London: Cambridge University Press and Newnes Books, 1983.

Spenser's Ovidian Poetics. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013.

Starn, R. *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy.* London: University of California Press, 1982.

Summers, J. *Late Medieval Prison Writing and the Politics of Autobiography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Swann, J. *Exile, Imprisonment, or Death: The Politics of Disgrace in Bourbon France, 1610-1789.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Tatlock, J. S. P. 'The Epilog of Chaucer's *Troilus', Modern Philology*, 18 (1921), 625-659.

Taylor, A. B. (ed.) *Shakespeare's Ovid: The Metamorphoses in the Plays and Poems.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Thomson, P. 'The First English Petrarchans', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 22.2 (1959), 85-105.

Sir Thomas Wyatt and His Background. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.

Wyatt: The Critical Heritage. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.

Touw, M. 'Roses in the Middle Ages', *Economic Botany*, 36.1 (1982), 71-83.

Tuve, R. *Essays by Rosemond Tuve: On Spenser, Herbert and Milton*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Van Es, B. *Spenser's Forms of History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Venuti, L. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London: Routledge, 1995.

Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice. London: Routledge, 2013.

Walker, G. *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Washburn, D. *Banishment in the Later Roman Empire 284-476 CE*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Watson, G. G. *The English Petrarchans: A Critical Bibliography of the Canzoniere*. London: Warburg Institute, 1967.

Wells, M. B. *Du Bellay: A Bibliography*. London: Grant & Cutler Ltd., 1974.

Wenzel, S. "Ovid from the Pulpit" taken from *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, Clark, Coulson and McKinley (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 160-176.

Wiedemann, T. 'The Political Background to Ovid's *Tristia* 2', *Classical Quarterly*, 25 (1975), 264-271.

Wilkinson, L. P. *Ovid Recalled.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955.

Williams, G. D. *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Woodcock, M. *Thomas Churchyard: Pen, Sword, and Ego.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Wyatt, M. *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Zim, R. *The Consolations of Writing: Literary Strategies of Resistance from Boethius to Primo Levi.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

THESES & UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Allen, K. ‘An Apology for Thomas Churchyard’, unpublished PhD dissertation, Georgia State University, Atlanta, 2009.

Baron, H. ‘Sir Thomas Wyatt’s Seven Penitential Psalms: A Study of Textual and Source Materials’, unpublished PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1977.

Fuchs, G. ‘Renaissance Receptions of Ovid’s *Tristia*’, unpublished PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 2013.

Landers, E. ‘Joachim Du Bellay’s Occasional Poetry: The Poetics of Female Patronage’, unpublished PhD dissertation, Washington University in St Louis, Missouri, 2011.

Lyne, R. ‘Studies in English Translation and Imitation of Ovid, 1567-1609’, unpublished PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1996.

Appendix 1: The Figure of the Exile

1. The Figure of the Exile. According to Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (Rome, 1603), the exile should be represented with the costume and the staff of a pilgrim; the falcon's hood and tethered feet signify that its master has been condemned to exile by a prince or a republic. The inscription on this mid-sixteenth century engraving by Enea Vico reads: *Extorris patriam dulcesque relinquo penates* ("Driven into exile, I leave sweet hearth and home behind").

Image taken from Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. (London: University of California Press, 1982), p.44. A mid sixteenth-century engraving by Enea Vico (1523-1567).

Appendix 2: Image of British Library Add MS 18384

Appendix 3: Table of Benedictine *Tristia* Editions

Benedictine catalogues and assorted sources taken from a search of the Bodleian Library. <http://tinyurl.com/jqn3zs8> This is a much more comprehensive overview than that cited by Wenzel, covering a longer period from Canterbury, c.1180 - Westminster, 1542.

Table A) Copies of Ovid's *Tristia*

Catalogue Entry	Catalogue
A20.1031a (identified from second folio)	Augustinian Canons – Leicester. Catalogue 15th cent.
BA1.1457b	Benedictines – Canterbury St Augustine's. Catalogue 15th cent.
BC1.167	Benedictines – Canterbury Christ Church. List of schooltexts, c. 1180
BM1.403a	Benedictines – Dover, St Martin's. John Whitfield's catalogue, 1389
BP21.95c (gl.)	Benedictines – Peterborough. catalogue late 14th cent.
BP21.142c	Benedictines – Peterborough catalogue late 14th cent.
BP21.143a	Benedictines – Peterborough catalogue late 14th cent.
FA8.482c	Friars – York Austin Friars. Catalogue 1382, with additions
K412.6	Henry De Kirkestede – Catalogus c.1360
SC288.32d	Secular Institutions. Secular colleges, Rotherham. Books from Archbishop Rotherham, after 29th May 1500.
UC48.232 = UC48.274 (Two copies of same text)	University of Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library, Catalogue 24th December 1418.

Table B) Ovid's Works/Unspecified

Catalogue Entry	Catalogue
BA1.1480b (*Ovidius sine titulo*)	Benedictines Canterbury, St Augustine's. 15th cent.
H2.403 (*Opuscula Ouidii*)	Libraries of King Henry VIII, Westminster. Inventory of the Upper Library, 1542

Appendix 4: A list of printed books for 1620 including a separate list of schoolbooks, one of which being Ovid's *Tristia.*

This list of printed books illustrates that an affordable four pence version of *De Tristibus* was available in London and a six pence copy in Dublin, (Thomas Downes: Dublin, 1620). Thomas Downes and Felix Kyngston held the office of 'Printer General' for Ireland from 15th July 1620 as attested by a supplementary document of that date, 'prohibiting all others to imprint, bynde, sell, or put sale any of the premises vpon forfeiture and confiscation of the said Bookes'. Anyone found selling or binding books were subject to imprisonment and payment of a fine of 10 Irish shillings.

BOOKES as they are ſold bound,

	At LONDON. li.	ſh.	d.	At DVBLIN. li.	ſh.	d.
CHurch Bible in *folio* Boſt, Buft, and Claſpt	1	12	00	2	00	00
Communion and Pſalmes *folio* bound	0	07	00	0	09	00
Bible in *12°* with Pſalmes & Geneal. in fill.	0	06	06	0	08	00
Bible in *fol.* Roman old with notes fill.	1	00	00	1	04	00
Bible in *folio* median with Pſalmes and Genealog. fill.	1	00	00	1	04	00
Bible in *quarto* great Rom. new, with Pſal. & Geneal. fill.	0	14	06	0	18	00
Bible in *quarto* ſmall Rom. with fillets	0	11	06	0	13	04
Bible in *quarto* new Engl. with Pſal. and Geneal. fill.	0	11	06	0	13	04
Bible in *octauo* Pſal. & Geneal. fillets with Seruice	0	07	00	0	08	06
Teſtament and Pſalmes in *quarto* fill.	0	05	06	0	06	08
Teſtament and Pſal. in *octauo* boords claſp.	0	02	06	0	03	00
Communion Booke and Pſalmes *quarto* fill.	0	04	00	0	05	00
Communion Booke and Pſalmes *oct.* claſp.	0	02	08	0	03	04
Communion Booke and Pſalmes *16°* claſpt	0	01	10	0	02	04
Ciceronis Officia *octauo* ſheepes leather,	0	01	00	0	01	04
Ciceronis Sententiæ in *duodecimo* bound	0	01	00	0	01	04
Ouidij Metamorphoſis *oct.* bound	0	01	00	0	01	04
Ouidij Epiſtolæ *octauo* bound	0	01	00	0	01	04
Pallingenius in *octauo* bound	0	01	02	0	01	06
Setoni Dialectica in *octauo* bound	0	01	00	0	01	06
Apthonius in *octauo*	0	01	00	0	01	04
Saluſtij Hiſtoria in *octauo* bound	0	01	00	0	01	04
AEſopi Fabulæ in *oct.* bound	0	00	07	0	00	10
Mantuanus in *octauo* bound	0	00	07	0	00	10
Caſtaleonis Dialogi *oct.* bound	0	00	10	0	01	02
Terentius *octo* bound	0	00	09	0	01	0
Primmers plaine	0	00	04	0	00	04
Other ſmall Schoole-bookes.						
Corderius in *octauo*	0	00	04	0	00	04
Iſocratis ad Demonicum in *oct.*	0	00	04	0	00	06
Nowelli Catechiſmus medius.	0	00	04	0	00	06
Ouidius de Triſtibus	0	00	04	0	00	06
Sturmij Epiſtolæ *octauo*	0	00	04	0	00	04
Viuis Exercitationes Ling. Lat.	0	00	04	0	00	06
Catones in *octauo*	0	00	03	0	00	04
Epitome Colloquiorum Eraſmi	0	00	03	0	00	04

With all other Priuiledged Bookes according to theſe differences in their prizes.

Appendix 5: Chronological List of Sermons Citing the *Tristia*

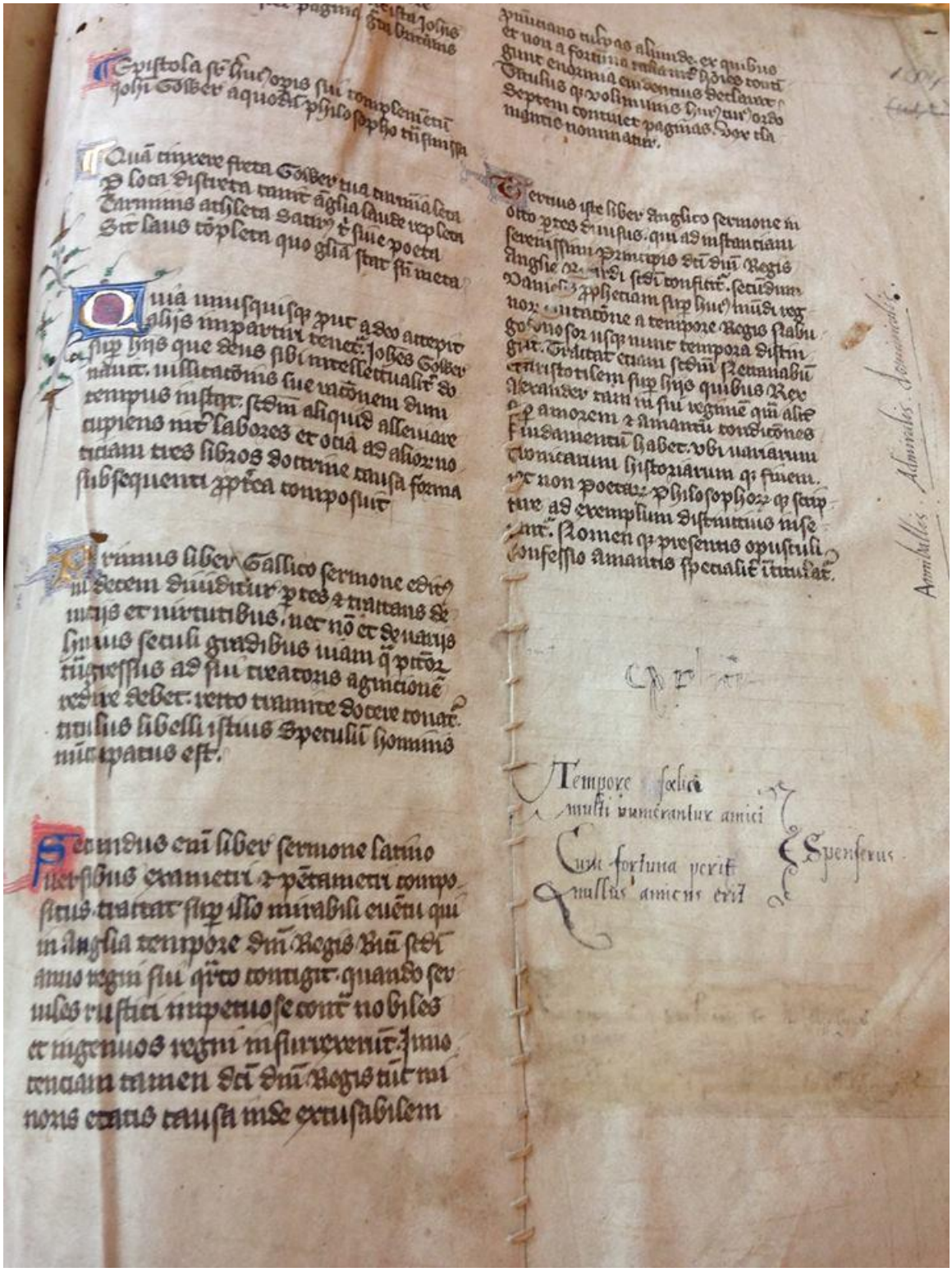
Results taken from Early English Books Online spanning 1600-1640

- *An exposition vpon the prophet Ionah Contained in certaine sermons, preached in S. Maries church in Oxford* by George Abbot. (1600) **[Book I: ii]** x 1 reference
- *Brotherly reconcilement preached in Oxford for the vnion of some, and now published with larger meditations for the vnitie of all in this Church and common-wealth* by Egeon Askew. (1605) **[Book II]** x 1 reference
- *Spirituall odours to the memory of Prince Henry in foure of the last sermons preached in St James after his Highnesse death, the last being the sermon before the body, the day before the funerall* by Daniel Price. (1613) **[Book I: ii]** x 1 reference
- *The clearing of the saints sight A sermon preached at Cundouer neere the religious and ancient towne of Shrevvsbury* by Sampson Price. (1617) **[Book IV: iii]** x 1 reference
- *Tvvo sermons preached in Scotland before the Kings Maiesty the one, in his chappell royall of Holy-Roode-house at his Highnesse comming in: the other, in the church of Drumfreis at his Highnesse going out* by William Cowper. (1618) **[Book V: xiv]** x 1 reference
- *The happines of the church, or, A description of those spirituall prerogatiues vvherewith Christ hath endowed her considered in some contemplations vpon part of the 12. chapter of the Hebrewes…being the summe of diuerse sermons preached in S. Gregories London* by Thomas Adams. (1619) **[Book I: xxi]** x 1 reference
- *Gods parley vvith princes with an appeale from them to him. The summe of two sermons on the 3. last verses of the 82. Psalme; preached at Sergeants-Inne in Fleet-Streete* by Thomas Gataker. (1620) **[Generic sententiae]** x 2 references
- *The delights of the saints A most comfortable treatise, of grace and peace, and many other excellent points. First deliuered in a sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the second day of December, being the second Sunday of the Parliament. And in other sermons within the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, London* by Gryffith Williams. (1622) **[Book V: i]** x 1 reference
- *The ioy of the iust vvith the signes of such. A discourse tending to the comfort of the deiected and afflicted; and to the triall of sinceritie. Being the enlargement of a sermon preached at Black-Friers London; on Psal. 95. 11* by Thomas Gataker. (1623) **[Book IV: iii & Book V: i]** x 3 references
- *Tvvo sermons, upon that great embassie of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ recorded by his Euangelist, Saint Matthew, Chap. 10.V.16* by John Scull. (1624) **[Book III: v]** x 1 reference
- *The Christian mans care A sermon on Matth. 6. 33* by Thomas Gataker. (1624) **[Book III: vii]** x 1 reference
- *The white wolfe, or, A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse, Feb. 11 being the last Sonday in Hillarie tearme* by Stephen Denison. (1627) **[Book I: i]** 1 x reference

— *Foure sea-sermons, preached at the annuall meeting of the Trinitie Companie, in the parish church of Deptford* by Henry Valentine. (1635) **[Book I: ii]** x 3 references
— *The iudges scripture, or, Gods charge to charge-givers A sermon preached in St. Nicholas Church of Newcastle upon Tyne, before the judges, justices, and gentlemen of the towne and countrey, at the assises holden there the three and twentieth day of July, 1635* by Francis Gray (1636) **[Book I: i]** x 1 reference
— *Certaine sermons, first preached, and after published at severall times, by M. Thomas Gataker B. of D. and pastor at Rotherhith. And now gathered together into one volume.* (1637) **[Book III: vii, Book IV: iii, Book IV: viii, Book V: i]** x 8 references
— *The booke of lamentations; or Geennelogia a treatise of hell Wherein is shewen, the nature of it; the place where it is, so farre as probably may be conjectured; the severall punishments of the damned therein, and aggravations of the same; the justice of God maintained in sending the wicked thither; with divers other things. Being the summe of two sermons, preached in the Cathedral Church of Lincolne by Thomas Phillips.* (1639) **[Book I: i, Book I: iv, Book II, Book III: i, Book III: iii, Book III: x, Book IV: i, Book V: i, Book V: iii, Book V: ix, Book V: xiii]** x 14 references
— *The worthy communicant rewarded Laid forth in a sermon, on John 6.54. Preached in the Cathedrall of St. Peter in Exeter, on Low-Sunday, being the 21. of Aprill* by William Sclater (1639) **[Book II]** x 1 reference
— *A sermon preached at St. Pauls March 27. Being the anniversary of his Majesties happy inauguration to his crowne by* Henry King (1640) **[Book II]** x 2 references
— *A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soule of man* by Edvvard Reynoldes (1640) **[Book III: v]** x 1 reference

Appendix 6: Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (MS Bodley 902)

With inserted phrase from the *Tristia* and erasure underneath, both potentially Spenser's. D'Annebaut's signature to right-hand margin.



Appendix 7: Gabriel Harvey's Letter to Spenser

from *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters,* (London, 1580)

Transcript of sigs. Eiii recto - Fi recto:

'But myne owne leisure fayleth me: and to say troth, I am lately become a maruellous great straunger at myne olde Mistresse Poetries, being newly entertained, and dayly employed in our Emperour Iustinians seruice (sauing that I haue already addressed a certaine pleasurable, and Morall Politique Naturall mixte deuise, to his most Honourable Lordshippe, in the same kynde, wherevnto my next Letter, if you please mee well, may perchaunce make you privie:) marrie nowe, if it lyke you in the meane while, for varietie sake, to see howe I taske a young Brother of myne, (whom of playne Iohn, our Italian Maister hath Cristened his Picciolo Giouannibattista,) Lo here (and God will) a peece of hollydayes exercise. In the morning I gaue him this Theame out of Ouid, to translate, and varie after his best fashion.

> Dum fueris foelix, multos numerabis Amicos,
> Tempora si fuerint nubile, solus eris.
> Aspicus, vt venians ad candida tecta columbis?
> Accipiat nullas sordida Turris Aues?

His translation, or rather Paraphrase before dinner, was first this:

> Whilst your Bearnes are fatte, whilst Cofers stuffd with aboundance,
> Freendes will abound: If bearne ware bare, then adled fir a Goddes name
> See ye the Dooues they breede, and feede in gorgeous Houses:
> Scarce one Dooue doth loue to remaine in ruinous Houses,

And then forsoth this I to make profe of his facultie in pentameters too affecting a certain *Rithmus* withall.

> Whilst your Ritches abound, your friends will play the Placeboes,
> If your wealth doe decay friend, like a feend, will away,
> Dooues light, and delight in goodly fairetyled houses:

If your House be but olde, Dooue to remoue be ye bolde.

And the last and largest of all, this:

If so be goods increase, then dayly encreaseth a goods friend.
If so be goods decrease, then straite decreaseth a goods friend.
Then God night goods friend, who seldome prooueth a good friend,
Giue me the goods, and giue me the good friend, take ye the goods friend.
Douehouse, and Louehouse, in writing differ a letter:
In deed scarcely so much, so resembleth an other an other.
Tyle me the Doouehouse trimly, and gallant, where the like storehouse?
Fyle me the Doouehouse: leaue it vnhansome, where the like poorehouse?
Looke to the Louehouse: where the resort is, there is a gaye showe:
Gynne port, and mony fayle: straight sports and Companie faileth.

Beleeue me, I am not to be charged with aboue one, or two of the Verses: and a foure or fiue words in th' rest. His afternoons Theame was borrowed out of him, who one in your Coate, they say, is as much beholding vnto, as any Planet, or Starre in Heauen is vnto the Sunne: and is quoted as your self best remember, in the Glose of your October.

Giunto Alessandro ala famosa tomba
Del fero Achille sospirando disse,
O fortunato, che sichiara tromba
Touasti.

Within an houre, or there aboutes, he brought me these foure laste Hexameters, altered since not past in a worde, or two.

Noble Alexander, when he came to the tombe of Achilles,
Sighing spake with a bigge voice: O thrice blessed Achilles
That such a Trump so great, so loude, so glorious hast found,
As the renoaned, and surprizing, Archpoet Homer.

Uppon the viewe whereof Ab my Syrrha, quoth I here is a gallant exercise for you in deede: we haue had a little prettie trial of you Latin, and Italian Translation: Let me

see now I pray, what you can coin? Your owne Tongue: And with that, reaching a certaine famous Booke, called the newe Shephardes Calender: I turned to Willyes, and Thomalins Emblemes, in Marche: and bad him make them eyther better, or worse in English verse. I gaue him an other howres respite: but before I looked for him, he suddainely rushed vpon me, and gaue me his deuise, thus formally set downe in a faire peece of Paper.

1. Thomalins Embleme.
   Of Honny, and of Gaule in Loue there is store,
   The Honny is much, but the Gaule is more.

2. Willyes Embleme.
   To be wize, and eke to Loue,
   Is graunted scarce to God aboue.

3. Both combined in one.
   Loue is a thing more fell, than full of Gaule, than of Honny,
   And to be wize, and Loue, is a worke for a God, or a Goddes peere.

With a small voluntarie Supplement of his owne, on the other side, in commendation of his most gratious, and thrice excellent Maiestie:

Not the like Virgin againe, in Asia, or Afric, or Europe,
For Royall Vertues, for Maiestie, Bounties, Behauious.

Raptim, vti vides.

In both not passing a worde, or two, corrected by mee. Something more I haue of his; partly that uery day begun, and partly continued since: but yet not so perfitly finished, that I dare committee the uiewe, and examination thereof, to Messer Immeritoes Censure, whom after those same two incomparable and miraculous Gemini, Omni exceptione maiores, I recount, and chaulk vppe in the Catalogue of our uery principall Englishe Aristarchi. Howbeit, I am nigh halfe perswaded, that in tyme (siquidem vltima primis respondeant) for length, bredth, and depth, it will not come far behind your Epithalamion Thamesis: the rather, hauing so fayre a president, and patterne before his Eyrs, as I warrant him, and he presumeth to haue of that: both

Master Collinshead, and M. Hollishead too, being together therein. But euer, I euer, me thinks your great Catoes, Ecquid eris pretig, and our little Catoes, *Res age que prosuns*, make suche a buzzing, a ringing in my head, that I haue little ioy to animate, I encourage either you, or him to goe forward, vnlesse ye might make account of some certaine ordinarie wages, at the leastwise have your meate, and drinke for your days works. As for my selfe, howsoeuer I haue toyed, and trifled heretofore, I am nowe taught, and I trust I shall shortly learne, (no remedie, I must of mere necessitie giue you ouer in the playne field) to employ my trauayle, and tyme wholly, or chiefely on those studies and practises, that carrie as they saye, meate in their mouth, hauing euermore their eye vppon the Title *De pane lucrando*, and their hand vopn their halfpenny. For I pray now, what saith M. Cuddie, alias you know who, in the tenth AEglogue of the foresaid famous new Calender:

> Piers, I haue piped erst so long with payne,
> That all myne Oten reedes been rent, and wore,
> And my poore Muse hath spent his spared store,
> Yet little good hath got, and much lesse store,
> Yet little good hath got, and much lesse gayne.
> Such pleasaunce makes the Grasshopper so poore,
> And ligge so layde, when winter doth her strayne.
>
> The Dapper Ditties, that I woont deuize,
> To feede youths fancie, and the flocking fry,
> Delighten much: what I the bett for thy?
> They han the pleasure, I a selender prize.
> I beate the bushe, the birdes so them doe flye
> What good thereof to Cuddy can arise?

But Master Collin Clout is not euery body, and albeit his old Companions, Master Cuddy, and Master Hobbinoll be as little beholding to their Mistresse Poetrie, as euer you lust: yet he peraduenture, by the meanes of hir special fauour, and some personally priuiledge, may happily liue by dying Pellicanes, and purchase great lands, and Lordshippes, with the money, which his Calender and Dreames haue, and will affourde him. Extra iocum, I like your Dreames passingly well: and the rather, because they fauour of that singular extraordinarie veine and inuention, whiche I euer fancied moste, and in a manner admire onelye in Lucian, Petrarche, Aretine,

Pasquill, and all the most delicate, and fine conceited Grecians and Italians: (for the Romanes to speake of are but uerye Ciphars in this kinde:) whose chiefest endeuour, and drifte was, to haue nothing vulgare, but in some respecte or other, and especially in liuely Hyperbolicall Amplifications, rare queint, and odde in euery pointe, and as a man woulde saye, a degree or two at the leaste, aboue the reace, and compasse of a common Schollers capacitie.'