Anglo-Latin 'Moralizing Lyric' in Early Modern England

The type of poem referred to in this chapter as the 'moralizing lyric' has been produced continuously in English at least from the time of Tottel's miscellany down to the present day; it is the tradition to which Kipling's enduringly popular, if critically unfashionable and easily pastiched poem, 'If –' belongs:

> If you can keep your head when all about you
>   Are losing theirs and blaming it on you,
> If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
>   But make allowance for their doubting too;
> If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
>   Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
> Or being hated, don't give way to hating,
>   And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise:
>
> . . .
>
> If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
>   Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch,
> If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
>   If all men count with you, but none too much;
> If you can fill the unforgiving minute
>   With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
> Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
>   And—which is more—you'll be a Man, my son![1]

Both Latin and English poetry in this tradition was popular in early modernity: several pieces of this type are among the most widely circulated poems of the period, including Walter Raleigh's (c.1552–1618) 'E'en such is time' and Henry Wotton's (1568–1639) 'The Character of a Happy Life', the latter of which I give below:

---

[1] Kipling, *Collected Poems*, 605. The poem was voted the nation's favourite in a 1995 survey and according to Gary Dexter remains in or near the top slot (Dexter, *The People's Favourite Poems*).

How happy is he born and taught
That serveth not another's will;
Whose armour is his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill!

Whose passions not his masters are;
Whose soul is still prepared for death,
Untied unto the world by care
Of public fame or private breath;

Who envies none that chance doth raise,
Nor vice; who never understood
How deepest wounds are given by praise;
Nor rules of state, but rules of good;

Who hath his life from rumours freed;
Whose conscience is his strong retreat;
Whose state can neither flatterers feed,
Nor ruin make oppressors great;

Who God doth late and early pray
More of His grace than gifts to lend;
And entertains the harmless day
With a religious book or friend;

—This man is freed from servile bands
Of hope to rise or fear to fall:
Lord of himself, though not of lands,
And having nothing, yet hath all.

The great popularity of poems of this kind in early modernity is demonstrated primarily by manuscript circulation – Wotton's poetry was not published until 1651 but was circulating very widely in manuscript in the preceding decades. Peter Beal's *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (*CELM*) records 63 copies of 'The Character of a Happy Life' and a huge 116 copies of Raleigh's 'E'en such is time'.[2] In seventeenth-century manuscripts, the single most widely excerpted poem by George Herbert, a poet appreciated today for his devotional lyrics, is the long didactic poem 'The Church-Porch', written in 77 highly quotable stanzas.[3] The poem ends:

---

[2] These are certainly not complete counts in either case. *CELM* does not for instance include the copy of 'E'en such is time' found in Charles Caesar's commonplace book (BL MS Add. 43410, fol. 163ᵛ).
[3] Ray, 'Herbert Allusion Book', v. Ray records 52 allusions to this poem, more than to any other (176).

In brief, acquit thee bravely; play the man.
Look not on pleasures as they come, but go.
Defer not the least virtue: life's poor span
Make not an ell, by trifling in thy woe.
    If thou do ill; the joy fades, not the pains:
    If well; the pain doth fade, the joy remains.

Lyrics of this sort deal in the concise, memorable, rousing and often beautiful expression of conventional wisdom: that riches do not bring happiness or real freedom; that worldly fame and importance are transitory; that virtue is its own reward.

I have chosen to begin with poetry of this sort for several reasons: unlike some other poetic forms discussed in subsequent chapters, which have a discernible 'vogue' and then fall out of fashion or evolve to a significant degree, lyrics of this kind were consistently popular throughout the whole of the period covered by this book – and indeed remain so. They represent a very stable poetic form, in which key examples, composed between the 1530s and the early eighteenth century, from Wyatt to Watts (and indeed well beyond that, far beyond the scope of this book), recognizably belong together. The impersonal tone and moral seriousness of these lyrics set them apart from shorter-lived poetic trends, such as Petrarchan romance, 'metaphysical' wit or Restoration satire, even where they borrow stylistically from the fashions of their day; and though several of the most popular examples were associated with specific events – such as Raleigh's 'E'en such is time', widely believed to have been composed immediately before his execution – they have a 'generalizing' authority which does not depend upon the identity or circumstances of authorship. Indeed, they frequently circulated anonymously or under a range of attributions. Finally, though far from least important, these poems include some of the best lyric poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and many of them retain their power to console nearly five centuries later.

Such poetry has not attracted a great deal of critical comment and has barely been discussed at all in terms of wider literary traditions. As Arthur Marotti has remarked, the poems found most frequently in manuscript collections form 'an interesting combination of texts that it would be difficult to anticipate from the printed volumes of the period or from the literary histories that are based on the products of print culture': a polite way of pointing to the disjunction between the early modern literature we write about, and what was actually read.[4] (Marotti in his turn largely

---

[4] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 126. In his brief discussion of three particularly popular types, Marotti describes as his second category 'poems that express general cultural beliefs or moral truisms or both', and mentions in passing several of the poems discussed in this chapter (129–30).

ignores Latin poetry; and this book, likewise, has set aside several not insignificant genres, such as secular love poetry.) The 'plain' style of most of these poems perhaps strikes many readers as neutrally, almost transparently 'English', and has contributed to critical neglect.[5] But this most ostensibly English of forms has its roots in the translation and imitation of classical poetry, and emerged in the sixteenth century in both Latin and English, with influence moving in both directions. As a starting point for this book, it demonstrates what can be learnt by a serious attention to literary bilingualism: repeatedly, it is the Latin versions of this form, including translations of the best-known English examples *into* Latin, which point to the classical texts that underpin these poems, and the (broadly) Latin lyric context to which they were understood to belong by contemporary readers.

   Poems of this kind have connections both with devotional or religious verse (including scriptural paraphrase), and with the tradition of didactic monostichs, distichs and epigrams, though they form a distinct category of their own.[6] They are longer than the average epigram, typically ranging from around 10 to 50 lines. Latin examples are often (though far from always) in lyric metres; they are not usually part of a sequence or 'conversational' exchange of poems as epigrams often were; they typically do not refer explicitly to specific contemporary events or individuals, though they may well have implicit contemporary purchase and in manuscript sources are quite often given sharper historical force by details of titling or attribution; unlike the typical epigram, they are not characterized by a single 'point' (whether satiric, topical or moralizing), even though they do have a clear didactic message; in terms of classical models, they look towards the long and complex tradition of 'Horatian' lyric rather than to the epigrammatic tradition represented, in early modernity, by the twin streams of Martial and Cato (discussed in Chapter 7).

---

[5] Though see Yvor Winters' very important series of articles on the 'plain style' in sixteenth-century English lyric ('16th Century Lyric in England', Parts I, II and III). Winters identifies a non-Petrarchan 'school' of English verse in the latter sixteenth century, characterized by what he describes as 'aphoristic' lyrics, such as those of Gascoigne and Raleigh. Though Winters is describing a broader phenomenon than the 'moralizing' lyric with which this chapter is concerned, and does not discuss translation or classical influence directly, he remarks that he considers the best poems of this type to be 'among the most perfect examples of the classical virtues to be found in English poetry' (Part I, 263–4).

[6] Devotional and religious verse is discussed in Chapters 3 (psalm paraphrase) and 6 (devotional lyric and scriptural epigram); longer scriptural paraphrase also features in Chapter 11. The link between the seventeenth-century vogue for literary epigram (such as those of Jonson and Owen) and the tradition of short moralizing and didactic verse such as the so-called *Disticha Catonis* is discussed in Chapter 7.

This enduringly popular mode of verse has its roots in classical poetry, but classical poetry grouped in ways which are not standard for modern classicists, and are therefore barely represented in modern classical scholarship or (more problematically) in recent work on 'classical reception'. In early modern England, a cluster of models, centred around Horace but extending well beyond him, were understood to 'belong' together thematically: these included Horace's moralizing lyrics, especially *Odes* 2 and the second epode, and sometimes incorporating extracts from the satires, epistles or the epodes condemning civil war; several of Seneca's tragic choruses; the lyric portions ('metra') of Boethius' prosimetric work *De consolatione philosophiae*; some of the longer and non-satiric of Martial's epigrams (especially 10.47); and a few single poems such as Claudian's 'Old Man of Verona' (*Carmina Minora* 20). In the seventeenth century, this set of classical and late antique texts was increasingly augmented by contemporary Latin authors, especially (in England from the 1630s onwards) the Horatian Latin lyric of the Polish Jesuit poet, Casimir Sarbiewski. In practice, this set of texts often also included scriptural verse paraphrase, most often of key psalms (such as Psalm 1).[7] A 'reception history' or history of translation of any single classical author, even where such exists, is likely to miss the cultural importance – the contemporary *obviousness* – of a cluster of this sort, where the similarities between the texts, rather than the differences in style, tone or historical context, are what lends them authority.

Of the relevant classical authors, Horace has attracted by far the greatest critical attention. The modern perception of Horace, however, tends to be one of a lyric poet of evanescent pleasure, of 'wine, women, and song,' and of a distinctively dispassionate and sometimes ironic tone.[8] Although there are traces of this Horace in early modern English poetry, Horatian imitation in this period is dominated by a quite different version of the Roman poet – as above all a great moralist, both in lyric (the *Odes* and *Epodes*) and hexameter (*Satires* and *Epistles*), and a moralist rooted strongly in the everyday realities of courtly life, the demands of patronage, and the pleasures and compromises of panegyric.[9] Though it is barely mentioned in most modern accounts, a large number of Horace's odes are technically

---

[7] On the poetics of psalm paraphrase, see Chapters 2 and 3.
[8] See for example Harrison, 'Reception of Horace'.
[9] Burrow, 'Wyatt and Sixteenth Century Horatianism' and Moul, *Jonson, Horace*, esp. 9–12. The *Epistles* and *Odes* Book 2, with its moral and philosophical themes, and Book 4, with an emphasis upon panegyric, are accordingly particularly popular in early modern translations and imitations; whereas modern criticism has tended to find those collections less rewarding than Books 1 and 3.

classifiable as hymns, or contain hymnic passages, and the association of
Horace with lyric address to the divine, though not central to this chapter,
is of the utmost importance in early modernity, linking him closely with
the psalmist David: this aspect of the Latin lyric tradition is discussed in
Chapters 3 (on psalm paraphrase), 4 (on the development of formal
panegyric lyric) and 6 (on devotional lyric).

Moralizing Lyric in Tottel's Miscellany

Richard Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (often referred to as 'Tottel's miscel-
lany'), first printed in 1557, was a publishing sensation, and proved
profoundly influential.[10] The collection itself is so heterogeneous that it
has been described by some critics as 'disorienting', though this is arguably
much less the case for anyone accustomed to reading personal manuscript
miscellanies: Tottel resembles a print version of such collections.[11] The
poetry of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and of Thomas Wyatt, both of
whom were writing in the 1530s and 1540s, is significantly represented in
the anthology; and though Mary Thomas Crane has rightly stressed the
'uniform moral message' of the collection as a whole, criticism has focused
on Surrey's and Wyatt's contributions, with the majority of attention
devoted to their sonnets and love lyrics.[12]

   Neither the moralizing verse of Tottel's miscellany, nor its substantial
element of translation and imitation (that is, of paraphrase broadly under-
stood), has received much critical regard. In practice, however, these two
elements – of moralizing verse, and of verse which reworks an existing
poem – frequently overlap: *Songes and Sonettes* includes no fewer than
three versions of *Odes* 2.10 on the 'golden mean', probably the most
famous of all Horace's moralizing odes. None of the three versions,
however, is titled with reference to Horace, but only in general moralizing
terms: 'Praise of mean and constant estate' (no. 32), 'Of the golden mean'

---

[10] Tottel's miscellany was printed twice in 1557. The first edition, in June, contained 271 poems,
expanded to 280 poems. Richard Tottel was the printer, not the editor, of the work. The volume
contained many poems by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and (especially) by Thomas Wyatt, as well
as unattributed pieces. The collection was reprinted in 1559 (twice), 1565, 1567, 1574, 1585 and
1587, with further editions quite likely lost, and is mentioned by Slender in Shakespeare's *The
Merry Wives of Windsor* (I.i.188). A series of similar anthologies followed, including *The Passionate
Pilgrim* (1599), *England's Helicon* (1600) and *A Poetical Rhapsody* (1602). For Tottel's influence
upon mid-Tudor verse, see Heale, *Autobiography and Authorship in Renaissance Verse*, ch. 1; on the
complex textual history of the anthology, see Powell, 'Network behind *"Tottel's" Miscellany*'.
[11] Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, 24   [12] Crane, *Framing Authority*, 169.

(no. 253), and 'The mean estate is to be accounted the best' (no. 163).[13] A fourth poem with an almost identical title, 'Of the meane and sure estate' (no. 128), is not in fact another version of *Odes* 2.10 but rather Wyatt's translation of the final part of the second chorus from Seneca's *Thyestes*, on how true kingship lies not in power but in self-government and virtuous obscurity:

> Stond who so list upon the slipper wheele,
> Of hye astate and let me here rejoyce.
> And use my life in quietnesse eche dele [*all the time; every bit*],
> Unknowen in court that hath the wanton toyes,
> In hidden place my time shal slowly passe
> And when my yeres be past withouten noyce
> Let me dye olde after the common trace
> For gripes of death doth he to hardly passe
> That knowen is to all: but to him selfe alas
> He dyeth unknowen, dased with dreadfull face.[14]

> Stet quicumque volet potens
> aulae culmine lubrico:
> me dulcis saturet quies.
> obscuro positus loco
> leni perfruar otio,
> nullis nota Quiritibus
> aetas per tacitum fluat.
> sic cum transierint mei
> nullo cum strepitu dies,
> plebeius moriar senex.
> illi mors gravis incubat
> qui, notus nimis omnibus,
> ignotus moritur sibi.
>
>   (Seneca, *Thyestes*, 391–403)

---

13 All are presented anonymously, although no. 32 is known to be by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. For a fuller discussion, see Moul, 'Horace'. The miscellany also includes Wyatt's Horatian epistles (nos. 134, 135 and 136) and a translation of Horace, *Odes* 4.4 ('All worldly pleasures vade', no. 166). Other poets translated or imitated (though without explicit acknowledgement) include Lucretius, Seneca, Martial, Boethius, Ausonius, Petrarch, Bonifacio, Serafino, Sannazaro, Collinutio, Beza, Haddon, Scaliger and Muret. On Grimald's translations of Beza, see Hudson, 'Grimald's Translations'. On the role of translation in this and similar collections, see Greene, 'The Lyric'. Numeration as in Holton and MacFaul (eds.), *Tottel's Miscellany*.

14 All quotations from Tottel are from Holton and MacFaul (eds.), *Tottel's Miscellany*. An alternative version of the same poem, beginning 'Stond who so list upon the Slipper toppe', is found in Arundel Castle, MS Harington 311; see Hughey (ed.), *Arundel Harington Manuscript*. For other English translations of this chorus, see Gillespie, 'Seneca ex Thyestes'.

The overlap in titles reflects connections between the texts. Seneca's moralizing choruses are dependent upon and consciously reminiscent of Horace in metre, theme and often also in specific allusions.[15] In Tottel, the similar titles and thematic overlap point to an 'Horatio-Senecan' zone of classical imitation which would have been obvious to early modern readers, but is far removed from mainstream scholarly perspectives on either Horace or Seneca today.[16]

The title given to Wyatt's poem, 'Of the meane and sure estate', points towards two meanings of the word 'mean': 'lowly' and 'middle' (as in the 'golden mean' of Horace *Odes* 2.10).[17] The overlap reflects a 'blurring' of the source texts too. Horace *Odes* 2.10 uses imagery of the tall pine tree, towers and mountaintops:

> Auream quisquis mediocritatem
> diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
> sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
>   sobrius aula.
>
> Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
> pinus et celsae graviore casu
> decidunt turres feriuntque summos
>   fulgura montis.
>
> (*Odes* 2.10.5–12)

> *Whoever loves the golden mean*
> *Safely avoids the grime*
> *Of a shabby hovel, and soberly does without*
>   *An enviable palace.*
>
> *The great pine is more often rocked*
> *By winds, and lofty towers collapse*
> *With a heavier fall, and lightning strikes*
>   *The mountain tops.*

Several of the imitations in Tottel expand upon the social and political connotations of this imagery, as in Poem 163 ('The meane estate is to be accepted the best') which comments explicitly: 'The higher hall the

---

[15] Compare for instance the combination of 'golden mean' and sailing imagery (indebted to Horace, *Odes* 2.10) in *Oedipus* 882–914 and *Medea* 599–606, and the substantial borrowings from Horace, including *Odes* 1.1 and *Epodes* 2, in *Hercules Furens* 125–204.

[16] See further Moul, 'Horace, Seneca'.

[17] See Holton and MacFaul (eds.), *Tottel's Miscellany*, 449. Other examples of poems in praise of poverty or simplicity of life (a 'mean estate') include 'Of the meane and sure estate written to John Poins' (no. 134, by Wyatt), 'They of the meane estate are happiest' (no. 140), and 'The meane estate is best' (no. 160).

greater fall / such chance have proude and lofty mindes' (19–20).[18] In poems of this kind, the imagery is informed by the tradition of interpretation and response to Horace, including Seneca's chorus. The line 'The higher hall the greater fall' uses a Senecan commonplace to make explicit what is only hinted at in Horace. Similarly, several of the poems on the benefits of virtuous obscurity over wealth and high office – the essential theme of Seneca's kingship chorus – introduce imagery of sailing influenced by Horace.[19]

   The theme of Seneca's chorus is perhaps the single most common one for moralizing lyric of this kind: there are multiple examples in Horace, the most widely imitated of which is *Epodes* 2, often interpreted in early modernity without reference to its ironizing conclusion, and it is also the central message of Claudian's much imitated poem, 'The Old Man of Verona' (*Carmina Minora* 20), of Martial 10.47, and of several of the lyric portions of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*.[20] Indeed, Surrey's version of Martial 10.47 is included in Tottel under the title 'The meanes to attain happy life' (no. 31):

> Martial, the thinges that do attain
> The happy life, be these, I finde.
> The richesse left, not got with pain:
> The frutefull ground: the quiet minde:
> The egall frend, no grudge, no strife:
> No charge of rule, nor governance:
> Without disease the healthful life:
> The household of continuance:
> The meane diet, no delicate fare:
> Trew wisdom joyned with simplenesse:
> The night discharged of all care,
> Where wine the wit may not oppresse:
> The faithfull wife, without debate:
> Such slepes, as may begile the night:
> Contented with thine own estate,
> Ne wish for death, ne feare his might.[21]

---

[18] Compare also Wyatt, 'Who lyst his welth and eas Retayne', in which the first two verses and ominous Latin refrain ('circa regna tonat') come from Seneca's *Phaedra*. The poem incorporates imagery of lofty mountains and steersmanship.

[19] As in no. 169 quoted below: 'they saile in Scillas cost, / Remainying in the stormes tyll shyp and al be lost'; see also no. 160, 'The meane estate is best', 13–18.

[20] On the reception of *Epodes* 2 see Røstvig, *Happy Man*. On versions of this poem in English, see Sullivan, 'Some Versions of Martial'.

[21] First published at the end of Book III in Baldwin, *A treatise of Morall phylosophie* (1547/8). Discussed in Evans, 'The Text of Surrey's "The Meanes to Attain Happy Life"'; McGaw, 'The

In a near-contemporary manuscript now in the British Library, a copy of this same poem, Surrey's translation of Martial, is titled 'The Noble Table of A Quiet Lieff written & made by Martiall the Poet worthy to bee set fourthe in golden verses in eny Mans howse', alongside improving quotations from Euripides (in Latin), Seneca and Cassiodorus.[22] Contemporary or later seventeenth-century translations of Martial 10.47 include those by Ben Jonson, Thomas Randolph, Charles Cotton, Abraham Cowley and John Evelyn, as well as a host of amateur and anonymous poets.[23]

Another of Wyatt's poems in Tottel, titled (possibly with particular reference to Henry VIII) 'He ruleth not though he raigne over realms that is subject to his own lustes' (no. 122), deals overall with the same subject as Seneca's 'kingship' chorus, though it is in fact derived not from Seneca but from the verse portions of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*: the first stanza corresponds to Boethius 3.5, the second 3.6 and the third 3.3. The poem demonstrates that Power, Glory and Riches are all false goods, with no real value.[24]

> If thou wilt mighty bee, flee from the rage
> Of cruel will, and see thou kepe thee free
> From the foule yoke of sensuall bondage,
> For though thyne empyre stretche to Indian sea,
> And for thy feare trembleth the fardest Thylee,
> If thy desire have over thee the power,
> Subject then art thou and no governour.
> (No. 122, 1–7; first stanza, corresponding to Boethius 3.5)

Text of Surrey's "The Meanes to Attain Happy Life" – A Reply' and Edwards, 'Surrey's Martial Epigram'.

[22] BL MS Egerton 2642, fol. 246ʳ. This copy of the poem is not noted in *CELM*. The great majority of this large collection, made by Robert Commaundre, Rector of Tarporley, co. Chester, dates to the latter half of the sixteenth century, with some additions in the early seventeenth. It includes poems on the deaths of Lady Jane Grey, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer; anti-Papal verse; and several dated items referring to events of the 1570s. Quotations are drawn from a wide range of classical, late antique, patristic, medieval and contemporary Latin texts, including extracts from Gower, Mantuan, Sannazaro and Walter Haddon, and Greek literature in Latin translation. This collection is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

[23] For several examples, see Gillespie, *Newly Recovered English Classical Translations*, EP71–EP83. Gillespie's is far from a complete list: this is a very frequently translated poem in the seventeenth century.

[24] Wyatt has changed the order of topics from that found in Boethius, and omits *metrum* 3.4, on Honours, perhaps because in its specific denunciation of Nero it is less generalizing than the others. Wyatt's poem is often considered to be indebted primarily to Chaucer's *Boece*, though this has been contested (see Thomson, 'Wyatt's Boethian Ballade').

Both content and the structure of this poem can be frequently paralleled in later lyrics. Compare for instance Poem 91 in Fulke Greville's *Caelica*, on the illusory rewards of nobility and fame:

> Rewards of earth, Nobilitie and Fame,
> To senses Glorie, and to conscience woe,
> How little be you, for so great a name?
> Yet lesse is he with men that thinks you so.
> > *For earthly Power, that stands by fleshly wit,*
> > *Hath banish'd that Truth which should governe it.*
>
> *Nobilitie, Powers golden fetter is,*
> Wherewith wise Kings subjection doe adorne,
> To make man thinke her heavy yoke, a blisse,
> Because it makes him more than he was borne.
> > Yet still a slave, dimm'd by mists of a Crowne,
> > Lest he should see, what riseth, what puls downe.
>
> *Fame*, that is but good words of evill deeds,
> Begotten by the harme we have, or doe,
> *Greatest farre off, least ever where it breeds,*
> We both with dangers and disquiet wooe.
> > And in our flesh (*the vanities false glasse*)
> > We thus deceiv'd adore these Calves of brasse.[25]

Just as Seneca is indebted to the moralizing portions of Horace, so is Boethius dependent upon Horace and Seneca. The lyrics of these three are united by form as well as content: all wrote primarily in lyric metres, and the majority (though not all) of the lyric metres of Seneca and Boethius are borrowed from Horace. Boethius (c.477–524 AD) is a good example of a poet rarely read by classicists today who had a much more central place in the early modern canon: his poetry was frequently excerpted and translated in manuscript miscellanies.[26] The thematic collection of classical Latin verse extracts prepared by the future Charles I as a gift for his father, for instance, includes two extracts of Boethius 3 *met*. 12 alongside Claudian's 'Old Man of Verona' (*Carmina Minora* 20) under the heading 'De

---

[25] Greville, *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes* (1633), 238. *Caelica* was not published until 1633, though was probably completed by 1618 and elements may date from much earlier. See Parker, 'Fulke Greville and Proportional Form', chap. 2 of *Proportional Form*.

[26] Typical examples include BL MS Egerton 2642 (latter sixteenth century); BL MS Harley 3910 (probably 1620s, discussed below); BL MS Add. 15228 (1630s, discussed below); Bod. MS Eng. poet. f. 16 (1650s); CUL MS Add. 24 (D) (1645); CUL MS Add. 11 (1652); Leeds University Library, MS BC Lt 71 (1690s). On the citation of Boethius as an authority for Latin lyric metres not found in Horace, see Chapter 2.

Felicitate' ('On Happiness').[27] Richard Fanshawe's verse translations, dating from the 1630s, include 21 verse translations from Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, but also translations of almost the complete sequence of the metrical portions of Boethius, thirteen of Martial's epigrams, and Psalm 45.[28] Similarly, Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* (1633) includes two translations from the metrical portions of Boethius as well as six English psalm paraphrases.[29]

In Tottel, similar generalizing titles are given for translations and expansions of Horace, Seneca, Boethius and Martial, as well as pieces such as Grimald's 'Prayse of measurekepying' (no. 108), in fact a translation of Beza's *Elegia* 2 (that is, a contemporary Latin poem in the same tradition), or 'The pore estate to be holden for best' (no. 169), which incorporates an acrostic on the name of Edward Somerset, who had fallen from power in 1549 and was executed in 1552:

> **E** xperience now doth shew what God us taught before,
> **D** esired pompe is vaine, and seldome doth it last:
> **W** ho climbes to raigne with kinges, may rue his fate full sore.
> . . .
> **S** uch as with oten cakes in poore estate abides,
> **O** f care have they no cure, the crab with mirth they rost,
> **M** ore ease fele they then those, that from their height down slides
> **E** xcesse doth brede their wo, they saile in Scillas cost,
> **R** emainying in the stormes tyll shyp and al be lost.
> **S** erve God therefore thou pore, for lo, thou lives in rest,
> **E** schue the golden hall, thy thatched house is bes **T**.[30]

The last line of this poem alludes to *Odes* 2.10, but the sustained and explicit moralizing is closer in tone to Seneca or Boethius.

Hudson, noting how the translation of contemporary (neo-)Latin verse shaped Grimald's 'epigrammatic' English style, remarks that 'these qualities belong to the Latin sources from which he translates; and we are pointed to sixteenth-century Latin poetry as a factor in some of the most important tendencies in English poetry in the early Renaissance'.[31] This perceptive comment has not been taken up by subsequent scholarship, but the moralizing verse which is such a marked element of Tottel's miscellany

---

[27] BL MS Royal 12 D VIII, fols. 37ʳ–8ʳ. Three further quotations of Boethius 3.9 and 3.12 are under 'De Deo' (fols. 27ᵛ–9ᵛ).

[28] BL MS Add. 15228; Davidson (ed.), *Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*.

[29] Fletcher, *Purple Island* (1633).

[30] The last letter of the poem is capitalised to indicate the final letter of the acrostic-telestic, spelling out 'Edward Somerset'.

[31] Hudson, 'Grimald's Translations', 394.

was certainly a popular Latin form. For a near-contemporary Anglo-Latin example we could turn, for instance, to Walter Haddon's poem 'Perpetua est mutatio tum animi tum corporis', printed in his *Lucubrationes* (1567):

> Lubricus incertis iactatur motibus orbis,
> Posteriora nouos apportant tempora casus.
> Ipse homo, diuinum, solers, ratione refertum
> Est animal, partes & circumspectat in omnes.
> Sydereis mens lapsa polis, est numine plena.
> Iungitur humorum concordi semine corpus,
> Ordine membrorum praestans, formaeque decore.
> Tempora sed tacitis praeterlabentia pennis.
> Forma ruit, vires languent, artusque fatiscunt.
> . . .
> Ergò deus mentes nobis, & corpora iunxit,
> Per quae continui fluxus, motusque peragrant.[32]
>
> <div align="center">(1–2)</div>

> *The slippery world is tossed by unpredictable motion*
> *As later ages bring new kinds of disaster.*
> *Man himself is a divine animal, intelligent, filled with reason*
> *And he looks around himself carefully on all sides.*
> *His mind, fallen from the starry heavens, is filled with god.*
> *His body is assembled by the seeds of the humours in harmony,*
> *Pre-eminent in the arrangement of its parts, and in the beauty of its form.*
> *But time slides past on silent feathers.*
> *Beauty is lost, strength fades, limbs totter.*
> *[. . .]*
> *Therefore god joined our minds and our bodies,*
> *Through which flows continuously flux and motion.*

Haddon's poem begins with that tell-tale Senecan word 'lubricus' ('slippery'), linking it to the kingship chorus of the *Thyestes* ('Stet quicumque uolet potens / aulae culmine **lubrico**', 391–2; 'Stond who so list upon the slipper wheele, / Of hye astate').

Poems of this sort were an enduringly popular kind of early modern lyric, representing some of the most widely circulated poems in manuscript miscellanies; they are closely related to the classical tradition, as the overlap between translation and looser imitation in Tottel's volume demonstrates, but they have barely been considered in terms of classical reception because they do not fit well into the models of classical imitation which have been most influential in recent years. By paying attention to how poems of this

---

[32] Haddon, *Lucubrationes*, 'Poemata', 61–3.

sort were composed in (or translated into) Latin as well as English, we can see how they were understood at the time in relation to the classical Latin lyric tradition derived from Horace.

Classical Allusion and Translation

Analyses of allusion and intertextuality usually work by breaking a poem down into constituent and contributing elements, often emphasizing, at least in the more interesting readings, a sophisticated 'conversation' or even competition created between distinct allusions. Such an approach has been influential in the study of both classical Latin poetry and the reception of classical poetry in early modern literature.[33] It works well for a great deal of classicizing literature, but it is not a satisfactory model for poetry of the sort discussed in this chapter. What is effective and memorable about these generalizing lyrics is not usually their allusive structure: in most cases, there is no real sense of an allusive 'dialogue' between elements derived from Horace, Seneca, Martial, Claudian, Boethius and scriptural or contemporary sources. The power of these poems derives rather from the force of their authority, an impression created by the very familiarity of the theme: a sense of multiple overlapping precedents, each in themselves morally as well as aesthetically authoritative. This 'conventional' mode of literary authority is augmented, in some instances, by the counterpoint between general sentiments and the specific contexts in which such poems were placed not only (or even mostly) by their authors, but also by those who read, transcribed and circulated them.

The congruence of the translation and imitation of Horace, Seneca, Boethius, Martial, Claudian and contemporary or near-contemporary Latin poetry such as that of Beza and Haddon has attracted little critical attention partly because it is found most obviously in the kind of widely circulated lyrics which, though appearing in multiple print and manuscript miscellanies, have not often been included in modern anthologies; but also because our modern patterns of education and scholarship, both in classics

---

[33] Greene, *Light in Troy*, for instance, focuses upon the tension created by 'dialectical' imitation; this concept is linked to Pigman's 'eristic' imitation (Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation'). These readings, in which an individual poet grapples with and outdoes authoritative earlier texts, stress authorial personality and individual 'self-fashioning'. (Pigman's discussion of his other categories of imitation, 'transformative' and 'dissimulative', still tends to emphasize an author's unique response to one specific – even if concealed – model.) This approach works well for many early modern poets, including Ben Jonson, discussed at length by Greene, *Light in Troy*, 264–93 (see also Moul, *Jonson, Horace*).

and English literature, make the existence of a substantial zone of 'Horatio-Senecan-Boethian' lyric, and the links between this kind of poem and the psalms – a point which must have been obvious to the point of banality to educated early modern readers – hard to discern. There are several reasons for this. First, the elements of Horatian lyric least popular today, both in teaching and scholarship – hymns, moralizing, and panegyric lyric – map almost exactly onto the most widely appropriated poems in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Second, Seneca's drama is no longer a centrepiece of early classical education, as it was in early modernity; and work on Seneca's influence upon the development of Renaissance drama has paid relatively little attention to the lyric qualities of the Senecan chorus, or the frequency with which such passages were excerpted and translated.[34] Late antique Latin poetry is rarely taught by Anglophone classics departments, so both Boethius and Claudian are unfamiliar to many classically educated readers of English poetry.

Moreover, studies of English poetic culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have largely ignored neo-Latin verse, despite the great quantity of Latin material found in both print and manuscript sources of the period. This refusal to engage with what we actually find in early modern literary sources helps to obscure the classical roots of the 'moralizing' lyric: time and again, a resonant English lyric which does not look or sound markedly 'Horatian' or 'Senecan', especially to the reader who associates Seneca with drama (not lyric) and Horace with erotic or sympotic (not moralizing or political) verse, is found in contemporary manuscripts accompanied by a Latin version, or Latin companion poem, which, whether by metre or diction or both, makes the associations of the piece with the classical tradition of moralizing lyric quite plain.

The cultural centrality of paraphrase – discussed in the introduction – is key to this phenomenon. Tottel makes no distinction between translations, freer imitations, and 'original' poems. None of the titles in the volume indicates that the poem is or is not a translation, imitation, or response. Both print and manuscript sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflect this: translations, imitations, responses or

---

[34] Particularly important here is the influence of popular contemporary anthologies of extracts such as Mirandula, *Illustrium Poetarum Flores* (1507) (influential revised edn, 1538); Maior, *Sententiae veterum poetarum* (1534); Dornavius, *Amphitheatrum sapientiae* (1619); Langius, *Anthologia* (1625). On Seneca's use of Horace, see Spika, *De imitatione Horatiana*; Degl'Innocenti Pierini, '*Aurea mediocritas*'; Stevens, 'Seneca and Horace'. On Boethius and Horace, see Tarrant, 'Ancient Receptions of Horace'. Gillespie, *Newly Recovered English Classical Translations*, includes sections on both Horace and Seneca.

sequences of such poems frequently appear in volumes alongside moralizing lyrics which belong to the same tradition, and are presented as such, but which are in modern terms 'original' rather than versions of existing poems.

Sequences and Clusters of Moralizing Lyric in Manuscript Sources: BL MS Harley 3910

British Library Harley MS 3910 is a typical example from the middle of the period covered by this book; a small paper book of 147 leaves, it contains a large variety of English and Latin poetry in various hands, with many examples of bilingual presentation of both classical and contemporary Latin verse.[35] None of the entries is dated, although the poems included, and events referred to, suggest that it dates from the 1620s.[36] The sequence most relevant to this chapter begins on fol. 76^v, with an eight-line extract from the opening of Horace, *Odes* 3.3, accompanied on the facing page (fol. 77^r) by an English translation:

> A Just and setled man, resolued aright;
> Not Ciuicke rage forcing to things vnfitt,
> Not cruell'st Tyrants terrifying sight
> Nor feircest stormes wch the swolne ocean splitt;
> Nor Thundring Joues high hand can e're affright
> Or shake his solid mind from her fix't plight
> Yea, though the shatter'd world in peeces fall,
> The ruines strike him, not appall'd at all.

This portion of Horace is very commonly excerpted and translated in miscellanies of the period.[37] The following double-page spread (fols. 77^v–8^r)

---

[35] For instance, a Latin poem by William Alabaster with an English translation by Hugh Holland (fols. 51^v–2^r); Latin epigrams with English translations (fols. 56^{r-v}); a Latin song from John Barclay's *Euphormio* (first published 1605) with an English translation on the facing page (fols. 75^v–76^r). The consistent bilingualism, in which Latin texts are accompanied by English versions, is a feature of manuscript culture from around the second quarter of the seventeenth century onwards, a development discussed further in Chapter 11. This is a relatively early example of systematic translation into English.

[36] See the entry for this manuscript in *CELM*. The final section of the volume contains many poems in Latin and English commemorating the death of Thomas Murray, Secretary to Charles, Prince of Wales, who died in 1623. This sequence is the subject of a recent article (Doelman, 'Daring Pen of Sorrow'). Stuart Gillespie dated two of the translations in this manuscript to the early eighteenth century (Gillespie, 'Seneca ex Thyestes') but personal correspondence with him has confirmed that this was based on a transcription error. He now concurs with a dating from around 1620; this is reflected in Gillespie, *Newly Recovered English Classical Translations*.

[37] Compare for instance a translation of the same passage in CUL MS Dd. XIV. 8, fol. 25^v.

contains the Latin text, with facing translation, of the section from the 'kingship' chorus of Seneca's *Thyestes* already discussed above: indeed, the opening eight lines of *Odes* 3.3 is one of the identifiable sources for Seneca's chorus, as the sequence of entries here suggests.[38] This notebook, however, records not one but two distinct versions of the Senecan chorus, the first considerably longer than the second (thirty-two compared to twelve lines), though both apparently indebted to Wyatt's version.[39]

These three classical translations – one of *Odes* 3.3 and two of the 'kingship' chorus – are in fact only the beginning of a sequence, all with facing Latin text, of passages from Seneca, Horace, Martial and Boethius, namely: the second chorus of Seneca's *Medea*; the first chorus of the *Agamemnon*; *Phaedra* 483–558; Horace, *Odes* 2.3, 2.14, 2.15, 3.23, 4.7, 4.9; Martial 9.17, 10.47 and 11.40; Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* 1.4 and 3.6.[40] There is an obvious thematic coherence to this selection; compare for instance the translation of the first chorus of the *Agamemnon* (fol. 84ʳ, translating lines 57–74), which begins:

> O deceitfull kingdomes Fate,
> In their greatest, and best estate
> Placing their high-crested state
> Doubtfully, precipitate.
> Scepters n'ere in quiet sway
> Nor e're kept their certaine day
> Care on care doth them perplex
> And new stormes their minds still vexe:
> Not the Lybicke sea so raues
> Rowling roaring waues on waues;
> Nor the Euxine so turmoiles
> Or from his huge depth so boiles
> When the frosty neighbour-Pole

---

[38] Compare Horace, *Odes* 3.3.1–8 and Seneca *Thyestes*, 348–64. For discussion of the Horatianism of this chorus, see Tarrant (ed.), *Seneca's Thyestes*, 137.

[39] BL MS Harley 3910, fols. 77ᵛ–9ʳ. Both of these are printed in Gillespie's recent short anthology of translations just of this passage (Gillespie, 'Seneca ex Thyestes'). I have not been able to identify the author of these poems. Translations of this passage survive by many English poets; Gillespie also prints examples by Jasper Heywood, Robert Sidney, Abraham Cowley, Matthew Hale, Andrew Marvell, John Wright, John Norris of Bemerton, Robert Dobbins, John Rawlet, Richard Bulstrode, Daniel Baker, George Granville, Thomas Morrell, John Cotton, Richard Polwhele and Goldwin Smyth, as well as several anonymous versions.

[40] BL MS Harley 3910, fols. 76ᵛ–99ʳ. Boethius, *Cons.* 3 *met.* 6 is incorporated into Wyatt's 'He ruleth not though he raigne over realms that is subject to his own lustes' (no. 122), discussed above. Some further translations (e.g. of Catullus 63 and Horace, *Odes* 4.7) appear in the more varied material (including a large amount of contemporary Latin verse) elsewhere in the volume, outside this thematically coherent sequence.

> Doth his freer course countroul
> As the state & port of kings
> Fortune wheeling, headlong flings
> To be feared they feare, desire,
> Night to them no safe retyre . . .

with the version of Boethius, Cons. 1.4 (fol. 93ʳ):

> He that is still, in setled state
> And vnderfoote hath trode proud Fate,
> And either Fortune can behold
> with an undaunted looke & bold,
> Him, no seas rage, nor threatning surge
> Wᶜʰ from the bottome stirr'd doth vrge
> Nor mountaines casting smoake & fire,
> from horrid riftes, wᶜʰ all admire,
> Nor feircest lightnings from aboue,
> vsd to strike highest towres, shall moue
> why doe fond men so much admire,
> Madd Tyrants rage, & strengthlesse ire?
> Lay by vaine Hope, & Feare, & then
> Thou shalt disarme the rage of men.
> But he that feares, or wishes; hee
> Being vnsetled, and not free,
> Hath Lost his sheild, & place; and knitt
> A Chaine, to be drag'd-on by itt./

and that of Horace, *Odes* 2.3 (fol. 94ʳ), beginning:

> Still keepe an euen mind in thy distresse,
> And temper'd from loose mirth in good successe;
> Thou art to Dye, whether in discontent
> And wasting sadnes all thy tyme be spent . . .

In this series, the original Latin texts have significant overlaps in theme and tone, but these are emphasized and augmented by the translations, which reuse certain words and phrases ('And so **precipitate** with all', translating Seneca, *Thyestes* 341–2; 'Doubtfully, **precipitate**', translating Seneca, *Agamemnon* 58; 'He that is **still**, in **setled state**', Boethius, *Cons.* 1.4.1; '**Still** keepe an even mind', Horace, *Odes* 2.3.1; 'Meane **estat's** doe longer last', translating *Agamemnon* 102; 'In their greatest and best **estate**', translating *Agamemnon* 57). The Latin that stands behind these overlapping translations is often quite different: towards the end of the version of the *Agamemnon* chorus, for instance, the English line 'Meane estat's doe longer last' (fol. 86ʳ) translates the Latin line *modicis rebus longius aevum est*

(fol. 85ᵛ, *Agamemnon* 102). Here 'estat's' translates Latin *rebus* ('things,' 'matters,' 'situation'). At the beginning of the same poem, the line 'In their greatest, and best estate' (fol. 84ʳ) uses the same English word ('estate') to translate the Latin phrase *magnis ... bonis* (*Agaememnon* 57) , which means literally 'great goods'. The sense of ethical coherence is intensified by the close relationship between the English words 'estate' and 'state', both of which had a different and wider range of meanings in early modern English than they do today.[41] The word 'state' recurs particularly frequently in the sequence: the phrase 'setled state', for instance, appears both in the translation of Boethius, *Cons.* 1.4.1 – 'He that is still, in setled state' translating *Quisquis composito serenus aevo* (fols. 92ᵛ–3ʳ) – and in the translation of Horace, *Odes* 4.9 ('From her right and setled state', fol. 98ʳ), linking by vocabulary two ostensibly rather different poems.[42]

These repeated words and phrases have a cumulative force, partly by virtue of their recurrence in the sequence, and partly by their ethical and literary resonance, reaching back, via Jonson, to Elizabethan and Tudor lyric, and indeed (as in 'Meane estat's doe longer last') to Tottel's miscellany itself. The translations are also quite substantial expansions, as the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript makes clear. Some pages have as few as 8 lines on the left (Latin) side against 23 on the right, and the translation is most expansive in the moralizing passages most closely related to the 'theme' of the collection: in the translation of the *Agamemnon* chorus, for instance, the memorable phrase 'as the state & port of kings' (15) expands the much less striking *regnum casus* (*Agamemnon* 71). The line from the translation of Horace, *Odes* 4.9, 'From her right and setled state' (fol. 98ʳ), already discussed above, is also a significant expansion: the only Latin word to which the phrase corresponds directly is the single adjective *rectus* ('upright', *Odes* 4.9.36). In this way, a set of ancient poems which already share elements of theme and tone are brought further together by details of translation. Whereas modern readers and scholars might tend to stress the *individuality* of authors – emphasizing for instance the differences in style, tone and political context of Horace and Seneca, and the

---

[41] See for instance *OED* 'state,' obsolete usages related to wealth, status, and the natural or proper condition of something, often with an overlap with 'estate': I.1.b. (b), 2.a., 5.a., 5.b., 6.a., 6.b., 7.a., and II.15, 18, 19, 22, 23. The word could even mean the royal throne itself (II.17.a.).

[42] The author of this sequence may have been influenced by Ben Jonson in particular, in whose work 'state' recurs frequently and with a resonant and ethically significant range of meaning (see Moul, *Jonson, Horace*, 190 and n42). Compare Vaughan's similar opening to his translation of Boethius, *Cons.* 1 *met.* 4: 'Whose calme soule in a settled state / Kicks under foot the frowns of Fate', published in *Olor Iscanus* (1651), 46.

role of Seneca's lyrics as dramatic choruses – the typical early modern reader values the sense of a common purpose and a moral consensus, and translates or excerpts accordingly.

Several of these translations are successful English poems in their own right, though the parallel text format (which is maintained throughout) and the inclusion of some lines, such as 'Doubtfully, precipitate', which are hard to follow without reference to the Latin, imply a close relationship with the original. Such sequences, found commonly in seventeenth-century miscellanies, demonstrate the shared literary associations which linked lyrics by Horace, Seneca, Boethius and a selection of other individual pieces, such as Martial 10.47, Claudian's 'Old Man of Verona' and versions of the Psalms. (In sixteenth-century sources, such thematic sequences are equally common, but less frequently include parallel translation.) Verse translation, however, is not a very fashionable area of literary study, and where such material has been discussed, it is usually in reference to individual authors (whether classical or early modern). Stuart Gillespie's recent *Newly Discovered Classical Translations*, for instance, restores to visibility a great wealth of forgotten translations, many of very high quality, but is (understandably) organized by classical author; similarly, the scattered classical translations of well-known English poets, such as Jonson or Wyatt, are edited for inclusion in collected works, leaving little sense of the original manuscript context in which they are often found surrounded not by other poems by the same author, but by thematically related items from a wide chronological range: such excerpting and editing of translations makes it harder to see how individual poems, authors or, as here, 'types' of poems were commonly associated by readers, translators and imitators in early modernity.

Where such sequences are found in sources dating from the Civil War period, the selection of translated material often reflects the political upheaval: John Polwhele's (c.1606–72) notebook, for instance, begins with a typical 1630s blend of tributes to Ben Jonson and George Herbert alongside Horatian translations (*Odes* 1.1, 2.14, and a fragment of the *Ars poetica*) before, apparently in direct response to the events of 1649, breaking suddenly into an extraordinary sequence of heavily revised and explicitly politicized versions of Horace (*Odes* 1.14 [twice], 1.33, 4.9; *Epodes* 5, 7 and 16; *Epistles* 1.18) and Boethius (*Cons.* 1, *met.* 2–7; 2, *met.* 1–8; 3, *met.* 1–6, twenty translations).[43] In a typical example, Polwhele

---

[43] Stuart Gillespie is preparing an edition of the Horatian translations ('John Polwhele's Horatian Translations').

expands and elaborates four rather generalizing lines in *Cons.* 1. *met.* 5 on the injustice of fortune:

> Premit insontes
> Debita sceleri noxia poena,
> At perversi resident celso
> Mores solio sanctaque calcant
> Iniusta vice colla nocentes.
> Latet obscuris condita virtus
> Clara tenebris iustusque tulit
> Crimen iniqui.
>
> (29–36)

> *The innocent endure the pains that are properly the punishments for wickedness; evil practices occupy the lofty throne and wicked men trample underfoot sacred necks, in an unjust reversal of fortune. The clear brightness of virtue lies hidden in darkness, and the righteous man is charged for the crime of the wicked.*

In an otherwise fairly straightforward and little-corrected translation, Polwhele has revised these lines intensely, with a confusing series of further possibilities added at the end; a semi-diplomatic transcription gives a sense of the intensity of revision, and of how the patterns of expansion and reworking are politically inflected:

> the Gothes, & Vandalls tread vppon
> most sacred necks to mounte the throne
> Barbarian Gothes mounte on the throne
> behead the Lords annointed one
> Patritians in exile hide
> att home true Patriotts haue dyed
> for treason
> The <ostro>=Gothes <doe> ^ and Vandals tread vppon
> most sacread necke & mounte the throne[44]

Such a version bears only a remote resemblance to the original. Nothing in the Latin corresponds to 'behead the Lords anointed one', which obviously refers to the execution of Charles I.

In the early eighteenth century, the poetry composed by Reverend Daniel Baker (d. 1722) and collected after his death by his nephew, reflects changed literary fashions – he looks to Cowley as well as Herbert as a model, and many of his English poems are in Cowleian Pindarics – but also substantial continuity. The second item in the collection, 'The

---

[44] Bod. MS Eng. poet. f. 16, fol. 18ᵛ.

Retreat', is a standard moralizing poem on the benefits of obscurity, indebted to both Claudian and Horace, with a marginal reference to Martial 2.90:

> Pardon me, Friend, that I so soon
> Forsake this great tumultuous town:
> And on the sudden hasten down.
>
> That I preferment court no more
> But all my hopes and cares give o'er
> While I'm young, and while I'm poor.
>
> . . .
>
> Thus, Oh! Thus let me obscurely lie!
> Thus let my well-spent Hours slide by!
> Thus let me live! Thus let me Die![45]

Baker's large collection of classical translations includes 5 pieces of Horace, 16 of Martial's epigrams and (yet again) a translation of the kingship chorus from Seneca's *Thyestes*.

The thematically coherent sequences of moralizing translations in the notebooks of Fanshawe, Polwhele, Baker and the anonymous compiler of British Library Harley MS 3910 all consist mainly of translations made apparently by the compiler themselves; many similar sequences, however, either incorporate or depend largely upon the poems and translations of others: Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 173, for instance, dating from about 1705, contains several of Dryden's translations of Horace alongside John Glanville's version of the *Thyestes* chorus.

Beyond Translation

The popularity of the 'moralizing lyric' can also be traced beyond the (porous) boundaries of translation, whether of individual pieces or in sequences, and into the larger realm of English lyric, both in printed collections and in manuscript sources. In a few cases, the classical roots are obvious: Michael Drayton's *Odes* are an ambitious early attempt to import the Horatian (or rather neo-Horatian and humanist) lyric 'book' into English.[46] Drayton's work is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4,

---

[45] BL MS Add. 11723, fols. 7ᵛ–8ʳ.
[46] On the humanist verse 'book', compared to the later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tendency towards mixed collections, see Chapter 2.

but his fourth ode, though not a translation or imitation of any specific model, is a good example of the moralizing lyric:

> Uppon this sinfull earth
> if man can happy be
> and higher then his birth
> (Frend) take him thus of me:
>
> Whome promise not deceiues
> that he the breach should rue,
> nor constant reason leaues
> opinion to pursue.
>
> . . .
>
> Noe man can be so free
> though in imperiall seate
> nor Eminent as hee
> that deemeth nothing greate.
> (1–8, 37–40)[47]

Drayton's interesting preface acknowledges the role of moralizing verse within the overall economy of what he describes as Horatian 'mixed' lyric: that is, a lyric collection which, like those of Horace, incorporates both the grandest panegyric lyric of the Pindaric kind, as well as the lighter mode of erotic or love lyric associated in Greek with Anacreon.[48]

Where passages of conventional moralizing verse appear within larger works, they have often been marked by early readers, probably for the purposes of excerpting into commonplace books. The twelfth and final Canto of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*, for instance, opens with a moralizing poem on the blessedness of a simple rural existence. In the British Library copy of this work (which has been digitized by *EEBO*), the whole of this song (stanzas 2–6) has been pointed as gnomic in the margin.[49]

Lyrics of this sort are not usually well represented in modern anthologies of Renaissance poetry, but they are ubiquitous in early modern manuscript miscellanies. Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 31, dating from c.1620–33, is a typical example: identified authors include Sir John Harington, Henry Wotton, Ben Jonson, John Donne and Edward Herbert, and the material by

---

[47] Drayton, 'To my worthy frend; Master Iohn Sauage of the Inner Temple', from *Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall* (1606), sig. B6ᵛ–B7ᵛ.
[48] Drayton, *Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall*, 'To the Reader', no signature.
[49] Fletcher, *Purple Island*, 159–60. BL 239.i.23.(1.).

Donne and Jonson in particular has attracted scholarly attention.[50] This manuscript collection includes, on adjacent pages, two examples of the tradition we are tracing here: Henry Wotton's popular poem, 'How happy is he born and taught' (fol. 5ʳ, quoted above) and Thomas Campion's 'The man of life upright' (fol. 5ᵛ), the latter of which I give below:

> The man of life upright,
>   Whose guiltless hart is free
> From all dishonest deedes,
>   Or thought of vanitie,
>
> The man whose silent dayes
>   In harmless joyes are spent,
> Whome hopes cannot delude,
>   Nor sorrow discontent,
>
> That man needes neither towers
>   Nor armour for defence,
> Nor secret vautes to flie
>   From thunders violence.
>
> Hee onely can behold
>   With unafrighted eyes
> The horrours of the deepe,
>   And terrours of the Skies.
>
> Thus, scorning all the cares
>   That fate, or fortune brings,
> He makes the heav'n his booke,
>   His wisedome heev'nly things,
>
> Good thoughts his onely friendes,
>   His wealth a well-spent age,
> The earth his sober Inne,
>   And quiet Pilgrimage.[51]

Campion's poem takes its cue (and, in manuscript versions, often its title, 'Integer Vitae') from Horace, *Odes* 1.22, which begins 'Integer vitae

---

[50] Several of the pieces by Jonson or his associates (e.g. Jonson's translation of Horace, *Epodes* 2; 'To Sir Robert Wroth,' a related poem; and a partial translation of Horace, *Epistles* 1.18) have a moral force and belong more broadly to this tradition, though their longer length, the sharpness of their allusive relationship with Horace in particular, and their use of prominent named addressees, represent a distinct, albeit related, kind of poem. Jonson's poems of this kind are some of the best-studied moralizing verse of this period, but they are not 'moralizing lyrics' of the generalizing (and often anonymous) type considered here.

[51] Text cited from Davis (ed.), *Works of Thomas Campion*. Campion's poem was first published as no. 18 in his *Booke of Ayres* (1601).

scelerisque purus' ('The man whose life is wholesome and free of wicked-ness'). The opening four stanzas of Campion's poem loosely paraphrase the first eight lines of the Horatian ode (similar to the relationship between Seneca, *Thyestes* 348–64 and Horace, *Odes* 3.3.1–8, noted above). But the focus and unity of Campion's lyric are quite different from the Horatian ode which (typically for Horace) moves after line 8 from the idea that the good man is safe from harm, to a related but distinct suggestion that the lover in the grip of his obsession is equally protected even in the harshest of environments. The irony is augmented by Horace imagining *himself* (not Fuscus, the addressee of the poem) as the preoccupied lover:

> Integer vitae scelerisque purus
> non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
> nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
>   Fusce, pharetra,
> sive per Syrtis iter aestuosas
> sive facturus per inhospitalem
> Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
>   lambit Hydaspes.
> Namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
> dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
> terminum curis vagor expeditis,
>   fugit inermem . . .
> Horace, *Odes* 1.22.1–12

> *The man of upright life and free from sin*
> *requires no Moorish spear nor bow*
> *and quiver laden with poisoned*
>   *arrows, Fuscus,*
> *whether his route lies through*
> *the sweltering Syrtes or inhospitable*
> *Caucasus or regions the fabulous*
>   *Hydaspes laps.*
> *For as I wandered free from care*
> *singing of Lalage in Sabine*
> *woods, unarmed, beyond my bounds,*
>   *there fled a wolf.*[52]

The tone of these two poems is quite different: there is nothing arch about Campion's account of what the good man might hope to escape, whereas Horace's list (2–8) is markedly over-the-top – both this passage and a subsequent description of exotic wanderings (17–24), are probably

---

[52] Translation Shepherd, *Horace: Complete Odes and Epodes*, 89.

indebted to Catullus 11.1–12; and Horace's poem is also linked metrically to Catullus 11 and 51 (the latter itself a version of an earlier poem by Sappho). Two of Catullus' most famous poems about Lesbia, these have often been read as the beginning and end of the 'Lesbia cycle'.[53] The alert reader discerns literary self-consciousness, a suggestion of erotic adventure and a degree of irony in Horace's poem well before its explicit 'turn' to the erotic from line 10 onwards. Campion's popular poem, by contrast, raises no such uncertainties of tone, and in both form and content has links to later hymnody. Indeed, *Odes* 1.22 was often associated with the first psalm: as we have seen, psalm paraphrases are frequently found included in sequences of 'moralizing lyric'.[54] The tonal stability and moral serious-ness of Campion's poem, despite its obvious debt to Horace, are not ultimately particularly Horatian: but both those characteristics *are* typical of Senecan choruses, the metrical portions of Boethius and the broadly (but not precisely) 'Horatian' tradition of moralizing lyric indebted to all three. This type of verse draws heavily upon Horace metrically, lexically and thematically, but has a quite different tone and 'feel' from anything that Horace actually wrote.

John Ashmore's *Certain Selected Odes of Horace, Englished* (1621), often cited as the first collection of English translations of Horatian lyric, demonstrates both the moral associations of the *Odes* at this period, and the sense of a moralizing subgenre of poems on how to live well, of which Horace himself is only a part. The subtitle of the book continues: *With Poems (Antient and Modern) of divers Subjects, Translated. Whereunto are added, both in Latin and English, sundry new Epigrammes, Annagramms, Epitaphes*, and the work is in fact divided into four parts: the translations and imitations of Horace (1–28); a section of mostly contemporary epigrams, presented in Latin and English (29–79, by far the longest); a section entitled 'The Praise of a Country Life' (81–7) including poems and extracts by Martial and Virgil as well as neo-Latin examples; and a final section 'Of a Blessed Life' (91–6), once again a mixture of ancient and modern pieces.

The selection of Horace's lyric that Ashmore chooses to translate is typical of the period in its emphasis upon moral themes, and the relative

---

[53] Ancona, *Time and the Erotic*, 113–21 and 168 (n33).
[54] On links between Psalm 1 and *Odes* 1.22, see Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 67–8. On psalm paraphrase in general, see Chapter 3. There is evidence of Campion's poem influencing translations of Horace's ode: the translation of *Odes* 1.22 by 'Sir T. H.' printed in Alexander Brome's *Poems of Horace* (1666), for instance, alludes to Campion's poem in its opening line ('Who lives upright, and pure of heart', p. 30), though the tone of the translation as a whole is much closer to that of Horace.

prominence of odes from Books 2 and 4.[55] (In contrast to modern critics and teachers, who tend to prefer *Odes* 1 and 3.) He also includes *Epodes* 2. In this way his selection of Horatian translations sets up the moralizing themes of the final two sections, on the 'Country Life' and the 'Blessed Life'. The latter of these, 'Of a Blessed Life', includes an English lyric with a Latin title, 'Lipsii laus, & vota Vitae beatae' ('Lipsius' praise and prayer for a blessed Life'):

> He's like the gods, and higher then
> The rest-less Race of mortall Men,
> That wisheth not, or (in despaire)
> The doubtfull Day of Death doth feare.
> In whom Ambition doth not raigne,
> That is not vext with hope of Gaine,
> That trembles not at Threats of Kings,
> Nor Darts that angry *Iove* down flings:
> But, firmely seated in one Place,
> Vulgar Delights doth scorne, as base:
> That of his Life one *Tenor* keeps;
> Secure that wakes, secure that sleeps.
>   If I might live at mine owne pleasure,
> I would no Office seek, nor Treasure;
> Nor captive Troups should me attend,
> As to my Charret I ascend
> Drawne by white Steeds, with Shouts and Cries;
> A Spectacle to gazing Eyes.
>   In Places I remote would be:
> Gardens and Fields should solace me:
> There, at the bubbling waters noyse,
> I with the Muses would reioyce.
>   So, when my *Lachesis* hath spun
> The thread of Life, she well drew on;
> Not unto any man a Foe,
> I full of Years from hence would goe,
>   And Date my dayes in quiet state,
>   As my good *Langius* did of late.[56]

This is, as the title suggests, a translation of a Latin poem by Justus Lipsius:

---

[55] The Horatian translations are *Odes* 1.1, 5, 13, 22, 23, 26; 2.10, 14, 15, 16, 18; 3.9, 30; 4.3, 7, 8 and *Epodes* 2. *Odes* 2 has the largest number of moralizing odes; *Odes* 4, written ten years after *Odes* 1–3, has the largest number of grand panegyric odes, and is a particularly important model for political panegyric in early modernity, as discussed in Chapter 4.
[56] Ashmore, *Certain Selected Odes of Horace*, 94–5.

Ille est par superis Deis,
Et mortalibus altior
Qui fati ambiguum diem
Non optat levis, aut timet.
  Quem non ambitio impotens
Non spes sollicitat lucri:
Quem non concutiunt metu
Regum praecipites minae
Non telum implacidi Iovis.
Uno sed stabilis loco   10
Vulgi ridet inania:
Securoque oritur dies,
Securo cadit & dies.
  Vitam si liceat mihi
Formare arbitriis meis:
Non fasces cupiam aut opes,
Non clarus niveis equis
Captiva agmina traxerim:
  In solis habitem locis,
Hortos possideam atque agros,   20
Illic ad strepitus aquae
Musarum studiis fruar.
  Sic cum fata mihi ultima
Pernerit Lachesis mea;
Non ulli gravis aut malus,
Qualis Langius hic meus,
Tranquillus moriar senex.

Lipsius' lyric was very popular: in Ben Jonson's copy of Lipsius, the entire poem is underlined, and other translations are found in manuscript.[57] Despite a witty Catullan allusion in the opening line, it is derived in particular from Seneca. Indeed, a contemporary work, Philip Camerarius' *Operae horarum subcisivarum*, quotes Lipsius' poem (which is reproduced in full) in a chapter, titled 'Commendatio privatae vitae' ('Praise of a private life') which begins by quoting Seneca, *Phaedra* 483–95 (p. 341) and then comments explicitly on the links between Lipsius' lyric and the metrical portions of Boethius (p. 342).[58] Lipsius' phrase *ambitio*

---

[57] Bryan and Evans, 'Jonson's Response to Lipsius', notes that this is one of the most heavily marked pages. Other translations in manuscript circulation include Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 62, fols. 41ᵛ–2ʳ, a manuscript dating from between 1627 and 1643 and apparently belonging to someone in Cambridge; the translation is not the one found in Ashmore.

[58] *Operae horarum subcisivarum, sive meditationes historicae*, first published in Nuremburg in 1591, with several further editions. The page numbers refer to the 1609 Frankfurt edition of this work. Translations were produced in French (1610), English (1610) and German (1625–30).

impotens ('powerless ambition', 5) is borrowed from the same chorus of the *Thyestes* so often translated and imitated at this period ('quem non **ambitio impotens**', 350). Lipsius' poem transforms the 'never stable' popular favour of Seneca's chorus into the true stability of the wise man ('uno sed stabilis loco', 10; 'firmly seated in one Place'); while the fickleness of the mob in Seneca ('vulgi praecipitis') is transferred to the unpredictability and violence of royal power ('regum praecipites minae', 8; 'Threats of Kings'). There are several further parallels between Lipsius' poem and the final two choruses of Seneca's *Oedipus*, which themselves draw on Horace: *Oedipus* 882–910 is written in the same unusual stichic glyconic metre used here by Lipsius (which is also the single most frequent metre in Boethius), and the subject of the *Oedipus* chorus is fate and the virtues of the 'middle path'.[59] Ashmore's collection points to a bilingualism in moralizing lyrics typical of the seventeenth century: original Latin and English poems stand alongside English translations from both classical and neo-Latin.

Indeed, the Latin 'feel' and associations of English lyrics in this tradition, far from obvious to the modern reader, are reflected in the contemporary habit of translating English poems of this type into (almost, as it were, 'back' into) Latin verse. Henry Wotton (1568–1639), for instance, whose ubiquitous 'The Character of a Happy Life' has already been mentioned, was one of the masters of the suggestive moralizing lyric in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. His works have largely slipped out of the lyric 'canon', but copies appear in manuscript collections throughout the seventeenth century – the *CELM* lists 63 copies of 'The Character of a Happy Life' – and many Latin translations of his poems are also found in manuscript sources.[60]

---

[59] On the glyconic metre and the 'golden mean' in *Oedipus* 882–914 see Geiger, 'Horatian and Senecan Metrics', 177–8, and Tarrant, '*Custode rerum Caesare*'. The metre is used by Boethius at 1.6, 2.8, 3.12, 4.3 and 5.4. For a seventeenth-century example, see George Herbert, *Musae responsoriae* 25. *Oedipus* 980–97 is not in the same metre but includes many of the same tropes. I am grateful to Kathrin Winter for pointing out the links to the *Oedipus* here.

[60] On the manuscript transmission of this poem see Main, 'Wotton's "The Character of a Happy life"' and Pebworth, 'New Light on Sir Henry Wotton's "The Character of a Happy Life"'. Maren-Sofie Røstvig's *Happy Man* is an invaluable study of one particular (though broadly interpreted) version of the 'happy life' lyric, focused on or at least incorporating a rural setting. She looks only at examples from 1600 onwards and does not consider sixteenth-century texts such as those included in Tottel's miscellany. She also does not consider the relationship of these poems to the broader class of 'moralizing' lyrics, in both English and Latin, though her work deserves much more credit than it has received for insisting upon the importance of neo-Latin as well as classical and English authors.

Perhaps the most striking example of the translation of English into Latin lyric concerns Wotton's fine poem, found in many manuscripts with varying titles, and published posthumously in Izaak Walton's *Reliquiae Wottonianae* of 1651 in the following form:

> Upon the sudden Restraint of the Earle of Somerset, then falling from favor.

> Dazel'd thus, with height of place,
> Whilst our hopes our wits beguile,
> No man markes the narrow space
> 'Twixt a prison, and a smile.

> Then, since fortunes favours fade,
> You, that in her armes doe sleep,
> Learne to swim, and not to wade;
> For, the Hearts of Kings are deepe.

> But, if Greatness be so blind,
> As to trust in towers of Aire,
> Let it be with Goodness lin'd,
> That at'least, the Fall be faire.

> Then though darkned, you shall say,
> When Friends faile, and Princes frowne,
> *Vertue* is the roughest way,
> But proves at night a *Bed of Downe*.[61]

This poem was probably written, as the title in this edition indicates, about the spectacular fall in 1616 of Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset; a royal favourite for around a decade, he was charged and convicted of the murder by poison of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had opposed his marriage to his wife Frances. Extant examples of the poem in both print and manuscript, however, often give it either a generic title ('On the sudden restraint of a favourite') or link the poem to the fall of another prominent individual, such as Walter Raleigh (imprisoned for marrying without the Queen's permission in 1591; later executed for treason in 1618); Francis Bacon (found guilty of taking bribes in 1621); George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (impeached in 1626, eventually assassinated in 1628); and even William Davison (secretary to Queen Elizabeth I, who was made the

---

[61] Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 522.

scapegoat for the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587).[62] In some instances, the poem is in fact attributed to the unfortunate favourite, as in one Bodleian manuscript where it is titled 'By yᵉ moste Illustrious Prince George Duke of Buckingham &c.', or a copy in the Leeds Archives which ascribes the poem to Sir Walter Raleigh.[63]

This is a lovely and memorable poem, which is at once timelessly imprecise and politically highly suggestive. It belongs recognizably to the kind of politico-moral 'generalizing lyric' under discussion. Nevertheless, there is nothing very obviously Horatian about the English poem, especially from the perspective of a modern classicist: it is not a translation, or even a close imitation, and it has no marked classicizing touches. In the only existing article dedicated to the poem, Ted-Larry Pebworth does not relate it in any way to the classical tradition.[64] But contemporary readers *did* read the poem as part of that broadly Horatian tradition of moralizing lyric which is the subject of this chapter. 'Dazel'd thus, with height of place' is found in at least five manuscripts (to my knowledge) accompanied by multiple Latin translations, and in each case the choice of metre and vocabulary, as well as specific allusions, make the association with Horace and Seneca explicit. I give below an edited transcription of one stanza, alongside the Latin translations which accompany it in four of the five sources. The Latin on the right is in sapphic stanzas, on the left in alcaics.[65]

---

[62] The two copies relating the poem to 'Secretary Davison' are both in the same manuscript in the Bradford Archives (MS 32D86/17, fols. 26ᵛ and 124ᵛ). For full details of the various ascriptions of the poem, see Pebworth, 'Sir Henry Wotton's "Dazel'd Thus"'.

[63] Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 166, p. 83. West Yorkshire Archive Service, MS 156/237, fol. 56ᵛ.

[64] Pebworth, 'Sir Henry Wotton's "Dazel'd Thus"'.

[65] Four sources reproduce the poems in this format, with essentially the same Latin texts (bar minor differences in spelling and punctuation) (BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 44ʳ⁻ᵛ; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 110ʳ; BL MS Add. 72439, fol. 149ʳ and Nottingham University Library, MS PwV 518). The fifth manuscript (Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 166, p. 82) contains a further three (different) Latin translations, two of which include 'alternative' translations for one stanza (in one case the first stanza, in another the last). This probably reflects some kind of informal translation competition among friends. Several of Wotton's other poems are also found translated into Latin at this period; these include his 'Ode to the King' (Bod. MS Sancroft 89, pp. 57–8) and his widely-circulated poem on the Queen of Bohemia (Bod. MS Douce 357, fol. 19ʳ; BL MS Add. 47111, fol. 24ᵛ; Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.103, Part I, fol. 53ʳ⁻ᵛ; The Family Album, Glen Rock, Pennsylvania, [Wolf MS], p. 3). It is likely that others are extant but unidentified, given the limited indexing of Latin verse. All five manuscripts add a fifth stanza, not reproduced here, but discussed by Pebworth, 'Sir Henry Wotton's "Dazel'd Thus"', 161–3, who considers it a later addition.

> Then though darkened he may say
> While friends sinke & princes frowne
> Vertue is the hardest way
> Yet at night a bed of Downe

Tunc lapsus alto culmine gloria   Tunc amicorum fugiat corona
Dum cauta fallit turba clientium   Et necem princeps rigido minetur
  Et rex minatur; dura, cantet,   Ore, cantabit, placidum est cubile
    Dulce parat pietas cubile.   Ardua virtus.[66]

The striking *mise-en-page* of these double translations, with the sapphic
and alcaic versions of the poem set alongside one another in the same way
in all four manuscripts, immediately suggests a markedly Horatian inter-
pretation of the poem. Indeed, the Latin versions are full of echoes of
Horace: in this section, the phrase *turba clientium* ('crowd of clients',
2 on the left) is borrowed from *Odes* 3.1.13, which is also in alcaics. But
these lines are forcefully Senecan as well: the phrase *tunc lapsus alto
culmine gloriae* ('then fallen from the high gable of glory', 1 on the left)
borrows from the same much-imitated passage, the second chorus of
Seneca's *Thyestes*, with which this chapter began: *stet quicumque volet
potens | aulae **culmine lubrico*** (391–2, 'Stond who so list upon the
slipper wheele, / Of hye astate'). The translator at this point has in fact
conflated two separate passages of the *Thyestes*, blending the second
chorus – which implies but does not explicitly state the possibility of
falling from high office (*culmine lubrico*, 'on the slippery gable') – with
Thyestes' speech near the end of the play, where he describes himself as
ex alto culmine lapsum ('fallen from a high gable', 927). The translation in
this way combines Horace's non-specific disdain for popular favour with
a much sharper reference to the memorably horrific evocation of personal
disaster in the *Thyestes*. (Thyestes ends up unwittingly eating his own
children.) The Latin translation of Wotton's poem reflects the origin of
the 'moralizing lyric' in the translation of these classical texts, while also
suggesting the personalized force of a poem widely interpreted at the time
as being about (or even by) a particular victim of spectacular
political misfortune.

---

[66] The text here is based on Harley MS 6038, with minor emendations based on the other witnesses.
Pebworth notes only the two Harley manuscripts and does not discuss the Latin translations. The
Latin versions are anonymous, though may be the work of Georg Weckherlin (1584–1653), a
German poet resident in London. Reasons for this possible attribution are discussed in Moul,
'Dazel'd Thus with Height of Place'.

This oscillation between specific and generalizing effect is a feature of many of the poems belonging to this tradition that were written and published, especially by royalist authors, under pressure of the English Civil War (1642–51) and its immediate aftermath. Verse collections by Robert Herrick (*Hesperides*, 1648), Mildmay Fane (*Otia Sacra*, 1648), Richard Lovelace (*Lucasta*, 1649 and *Posthume Poems*, 1659) and Henry Vaughan (*Silex Scintillans*, 1650 and *Olor Iscanus*, 1651) all reflect an engagement with this tradition, sharpened by circumstance. Robert Herrick's 'His Age: Dedicated to his Peculiar Friend, Mr John Wickes, under the name of Postumus', first published in *Hesperides*, is one example of this kind of poem which is found in contemporary manuscript miscellanies as well as in print: *CELM* records ten copies. In common with many of the longer lyric poems of the period – such as Lovelace's 'The Grassehopper', 'Advice to my best Brother' and even (though to very different political effect) Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' – Herrick's poem has a well-recognized Horatian base: the opening lines follow Horace, *Odes* 4.7 (the ode to Postumus), though Herrick continues by imitating a series of Horace's moralizing passages, both lyric (*Odes* 2.16 and 2.18) and hexameter (*Satires* 2.6 and *Epistles* 1.10).[67]

Observations of this sort, however, are of limited help in understanding the strength and success of the English poem: for all the scholarly satisfaction in 'spotting' the Horatian allusions, the overall effect of Lovelace's poem is not very much like reading Horace at all. None of Horace's *Odes* are devoted so uniformly to moralizing, and the moralizing sentiments which in Herrick's poem are piled up, one after another, are found individually in Horace, often at the beginning or the end of a given poem, and almost always distanced or complicated by what follows or precedes. Moreover, the handful of Horace's *Odes* which are of anything close to the length of Herrick's poem are his grandest panegyric celebrations of public office and achievement. Formally, the closest analogues for this almost obsessive appropriation of Horatian motifs are found outside Horace himself: Herrick's poem is indebted stylistically to the more insistently moralizing Horatianism of Seneca and Boethius and their sixteenth-century imitators (such as the Lipsius lyric discussed above) but also, most proximately, to the mid-seventeenth-century vogue for extended

---

[67] The most important Horatian sources are *Odes*, 1.4, 2.14 and 4.7, with elements derived also from *Satires* 2.6, *Epistles* 1.10, and *Odes* 2.16 and 2.18; see the fine discussion in Martindale, 'Best Master'. Lovelace, 'Advice to my best Brother' is based loosely upon *Odes* 2.10, a poem which probably also stands behind Mildmay Fane's 'How to ride out a Storm' (*Otia Sacra*, 161–3).

philosophical and moralizing 'Horatian' poems exemplified by the Latin odes of the enormously popular Jesuit poet Casimir Sarbiewski (1595–1640).[68]

Similar observations can be made about Richard Lovelace's 'The Grasse-hopper. To my Noble Friend, Mr. Charles Cotton. Ode', first published in *Lucasta* (1649). This well-known and still frequently anthologized poem has often been described as Horatian, and does indeed have an Horatian core: the two stanzas addressed directly to Cotton (21–8) are based on Horace, *Odes* 1.9 and perhaps also *Epodes* 13.1–8, and the whole poem, as Joanna Martindale puts it, 'suggests' the Soracte ode.[69] Scholars have been quick to note that the opening twelve lines on the grasshopper are based not upon Horace but rather a poem from the Greek *Anacreontea* 43.[70] Except that, as Martindale pointed out in passing, Lovelace's model is almost certainly not directly Anacreon, but rather Sarbiewski's own Anacreontic grasshopper poem, *Odes* 4.23, given here with a translation by John Chatwin dating from the early 1680s:

> O quae populeâ summa sedens comâ,
> Caeli roriferis ebria lacrymis,
>   Et te voce, Cicada,
>   Et mutum recreas nemus.
>
> Post longas hiemes, dum nimium breuis
> Aestas se leuibus praecipitat rotis,
>   Festinos, age, lento
>   Soles excipe jurgio.
>
> Vt se quaeque dies attulit optima,
> Sic se quaeque rapit: nulla fuit satis
>   Vmquam longa voluptas,
>   Longus saepiùs est dolor.

---

[68] On Sarbiewski, see Schäfer (ed.), *Sarbiewski*. His odes appeared from 1625; the first published English translations are in G. H[ils], *Odes of Casimire* (1646), though English enthusiasm demonstrably precedes this publication by at least a decade. Hils' selection prints 25 odes, 3 epodes and 6 epigrams, all with facing translations. A prefatory English poem imagines Horace and Sarbiewski seated together upon the summit of the Muses' hill. Quotations of the Latin in this chapter are from Sarbiewski, *Lyricorum Libri IV* (1634).

[69] Martindale, 'Best Master', 74. Don Cameron Allen sensitively remarks: 'The remedy for the moment is provided by the doctrine of Horace [i.e. in stanzas 6–7], although the inner conviction of an infinite present, once satisfaction is procured, is totally Christian' (*Image and Meaning*, 154). Allen does not mention Sarbiewski, but his remark applies equally well to Sarbiewski's verse.

[70] See McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 128; Allen, *Image and Meaning*, 80–92. Abraham Cowley's 'The Grasshopper,' is an imitation of the Greek lyric, on which see Mason, 'Abraham Cowley and the Wisdom of Anacreon'. On the vogue for the Anacreontea, see O'Brien, *Anacreon Redivivus*.

Thrice happy Thou! Who on the Poplar's Boughs,
Sit'st drunk with Heav'n's Ambrosial Dews.
And with thy Notes thyself, dost please,
And all the num'rous Throng of list'ning Trees.

After long Colds and odious Winters past,
On nimble Wheels the Summers hast;
Blame its unkindness, gently say –
The Sun too soon withdraws his chearing Ray.

As ev'ry happy Day itself does show,
So in a trice it leaves us too,
No pleasure over long remains
For short-liv'd joys We meet with lasting pains.[71]

Lovelace's image of the grasshopper drinking the tears of dew, which has been described as an original elaboration on his part, in fact comes directly from Sarbiewski (*Caeli roriferis ebria lacrymis*, 'drunk with the dew-bearing tears of heaven', 2). Most relevant to this chapter, however, is the blend of elements in the final stanza of the poem:

Thus richer than untempted Kings are we,
   That asking nothing, nothing need:
Though Lord of all what Seas imbrace; yet he
   That wants himselfe, is poore indeed.

The first couplet here, as Scodel has noted, is close to three lines from that most ubiquitous of models, the kingship chorus of Seneca's *Thyestes*: *Rex est qui metuet nihil, / rex est qui cupiet nihil: / hoc regnum sibi quisque dat* ('He is king who shall fear nothing, / He is king who shall desire nothing: / Each man grants this kingdom to himself', 388–90), itself a popular trope (compare for instance Sarbiewski *Odes* 4.3, 'Regnum sapientis', 'The Kingdom of the wise man').[72] But Lovelace's conclusion combines Seneca not, as we might have expected, with Horace directly, but rather with lines drawn once again from the 'Polish Horace', Sarbiewski (here given with Hils' translation):

---

[71] Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 94, fols. 223–6. One of six English translations printed in Fordoński and Urbański (eds.), *Casimir Britannicus*, 112.

[72] Scodel, *Excess and the Mean*, 232. Modern scholarship considers lines 388–9 to be possible interpolations (Tarrant (ed.), *Seneca's Thyestes*, 146); they were accepted as authentic, however, by the poets and translators under discussion.

Pauper est, qui se caret; & superbè
Ipse se librans, sua rura latam
Addit in lancem, socioque fallens
            Pondus in auro,
Ceteris paruus, sibi magnus vni,
Ipse se nescit . . .

               (*Odes* 4.34.9–14)

He's poore that wants himselfe, yet weighs
Proudly himselfe; in this scale layes
His lands, in th'other broad one, by,
The false weight of his gold doth lye,
Great to himselfe; to others small,
That never knows himselfe at all.[73]

The importance of Sarbiewski's lyrics to English poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been noted several times, usually in reference to the strikingly large number of English translations from this period. Poets of the mid-seventeenth century who engaged directly with Sarbiewski, in translation or imitation, include Mildmay Fane, Henry Vaughan, Abraham Cowley, Sir Edward Sherburne, Edward Benlowes and Andrew Marvell as well as Lovelace and Herrick.[74] But the stylistic influence of Sarbiewski extends well beyond specific translations or imitations: Sarbiewski's odes are markedly Horatian in their metre and diction – they are inconceivable without Horace; but Sarbiewski himself cited Martial and Seneca as his most important influences after Horace, and

---

[73] The combination of Seneca and Sarbiewski at the end of the poem is discussed briefly by McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 138. Neither Scodel nor McDowell notes the existence of Sarbiewski's 'grasshopper' poem, perhaps because *Ode* 4.23 is not one of those printed and translated in George Hil's 1646 English edition. McDowell claims 'the first three stanzas [of Lovelace's poem] are derived from *Anacreontea* 43' (128). He also suggests that Lovelace's poem is a response to Stanley's version of *Anacreontea* 43, published in 1647, which he discusses at some length (128–30).

[74] Seven paraphrases were published in Vaughan's *Olor Iscanus* (1651); seven also in Sherburne, *Poems and Translations* (1651). There are at least seven English versions of Sarbiewski, *Odes* 2.5, including versions by Abraham Cowley and Isaac Watts. Lovelace, *Lucasta* (1649) includes a translation of *Odes* 4.13 ('To his Deare Brother Colonel F. L.', 110–11), a poem also translated, among English poets alone, by Vaughan, Watts and Thomas Yalden (on which see Arens, 'Sarbiewski's Ode Against Tears'). John Hall's 1649 elegy for Henry, Lord Hastings, published in *Lachrymae Musarum*, is also an adaptation of Sarbiewski's *Ode* 4.13 (see Clarke, 'Royalists Write the Death of Lord Hastings'). On Sarbiewski and English poetry, see, briefly but effectively, Davidson, *Universal Baroque*, 31–2; Røstvig, *Happy Man* and 'Benlowes, Marvell, and the Divine Casimire'; Fordoński and Urbański (eds.), *Casimir Britannicus*; Gömöri, 'Polish Swan Triumphant'; Money, 'Aspects of the Reception of Sarbiewski'; Birrel, 'Sarbiewski, Watts and the Later Metaphysical Tradition'; Brown, 'Towards an Archaeology of English Romanticism' (on Coleridge and Sarbiewski). The influence of Sarbiewski is discussed further in Chapter 6.

his critical writings make considerable use of Seneca.[75] Sarbiewski's odes are on average significantly longer than those of Horace, and in their meditative circling around a given ethical point resembles Seneca's moralizing choruses more than any of Horace's own lyrics. They are much more consistently moralizing than Horace, both in the proportion of poems devoted to moral themes, and in the lack of any tendency to turn aside from or aslant to the moral which is so distinctive of Horace's own lyric output.[76] His explicitly Christian and often devotional lyrics repeatedly start from Horace, but also seek to augment and sometimes directly confront the pagan poet, as in his third epode, 'Palinodia. Ad secundam libri Epodon Odam Q. Horatii Flacci. Laus otii Religiosi' ('Palinode. On the second ode in Horace's book of Epodes. Praise of religious leisure') which rewrites *Epodes* 2, beginning: *At ille, Flacce, nunc erit beatior, / Qui mole curarum procul / Paterna liquit rura, litigantium / Solutus omni iurgio* ('But that man, Flaccus, will now be even more blessed / Who far removed from weight of cares / Leaves his ancestral lands, released / From all the quarrels of litigants'). In other words, both the Horatian and un-Horatian elements of his style closely resemble the similar points made above about Herrick and Lovelace.

Sarbiewski's *Ode* 3.4, for instance, bears the kind of generalizing title typical of Tottel's miscellany: 'Ad Egnatium Nollium. Aequo semper rectoque animo adversus Fortunae inconstantiam standum esse', translated by Hils as 'To Egnatius Nollius. That we ought to be of an even and upright mind, against the inconstancy of fortune.' It is a very beautiful but typically 'one-note' poem that draws extensively and recognizably upon Horace and the wider 'Horatian' lyric tradition but which, in its unironized moralizing, rhetorical structure and marked use of alliteration in the final stanza, is closer to Kipling than to Horace himself:

> Siue te molli vehet aura vento,
> Siue non planis agitabit vndis;
> Vince Fortunam, dubiasque NOLLI,
>   Lude per artes.
> Riserit? vultum generosus aufer.
> Fleuerit? dulci refer ora risu:
> Solus, & semper tuus esse quouis
>   Disce tumultu.

---

[75] See Li Vigni, *Poeta quasi creator*; Stawecka (ed.), *Sarbiewski. Dii Gentium Bogowie Pogan*, e.g. 176, 190, 280.

[76] 'The lyrics of the "divine Casimire" single out *beatus ille* motifs with much greater frequency than had previously been the case and also fuse them more fervently with Christian ideas' (Røstvig, *Happy Man*, 14).

> Ipse te clausam modereris vrbem
> Consul aut Caesar; quoties minantûm
> Turba Fatorum quatient serenam
>   Pectoris arcem.
> Cum leues visent tua tecta Casus,
> Laetus occurres: praeeunte luctu
> Faustitas & Pax subeunt eosdem
>   Saepe penates.
> Dextra sors omnis gerit hoc sinistrum,
> Quod facit molles: habet hoc sinistra
> Prosperum, quem non ferit, imminentes
>   Durat in ictus.
> Ille qui longus fuit, esse magnus
> Desinit moeror. facilem ferendo
> Finge Fortunam; levis esse longo
>   Discit ab vsu.

Again with Hils' translation:

> Art thou blow'n on, with gentle gale,
> Or in rough waters forc'd to sayle?
> Still conquer Fortune, make but sports
> Of her, and her uncertain Arts.
> Laughs shee? turne bravely away thy face.
> Weeps she? bring't back, with smiling grace:
> When shee's most busie, be thou than
> Retyr'd, and alwayes thine own man.
> Thus close shut up, thine owne free state
> Thou best mayst rule, chiefe Magistrate;
> When the fierce Fates shall most molest,
> The serene palace of thy brest.
> When light mischance, thy sort, or thee
> Shall visit; meet it merrily:
> Good luck, and peace, in that house stay
> Where mourning, first, hath led the way.
> In dext'rous chance, this hurt we see,
> It makes us soft: Extremity –
> This, prosperous hath, wheresoe're it hits,
> It hardens, and for danger fits.
> The griefe that hath been of such length,
> Doth 'bate its violence and strength.
> By bearing much, make fortune free;
> Shee learnes, by custome, light to be.

An enormous commonplace book, now in Cambridge University Library, demonstrates exhaustively which Latin poets seemed to readers in the

mid-seventeenth century to 'belong' together. The anonymous compiler repeatedly draws upon various combinations of Horace, Boethius, Seneca and 'Casimir' (i.e. Sarbiewski) under moralizing headings.[77] The page for 'Aequabilitas, aequanimitas' ('Equanimity'), for instance, contains four main entries, two of which are accompanied by further cross-references.[78] The first is an extract from Horace, *Odes* 2.3: *Aequam memento rebus in arduis / Seruare mentem, non secus ac bonis / Ab insolenti temperatam / Laetitia* ('Remember to keep a level head, / In difficult times, and in good ones restrain / Yourself from intemperate joy'), with a cross-reference to *Odes* 2.10, on the golden mean. A further cross-reference, without quotations, refers us to Sarbiewski's *Odes* 3.4 (given above) and 4.13. The next extract is also from Horace (though not attributed to him) – this time from the *Epistles*, the most systematically philosophizing of all Horace's works. The third is from Boethius *Cons.* 1 *met.* 4: *Quisquis composito serenus aeuo / fatum sub pedibus &c.* ('He who has ground proud fate beneath his heel / Calm in his own well-ordered life', translated in BL MS Harley 3910 and discussed above). This is accompanied by further references, without quotations, to Boethius *Cons.* 2. *pros.* 2, and Sarbiewski *Odes* 2.6, 4.3 and 4.13: Sarbiewski 4.13 is the same poem to which Horace *Odes* 2.3 was also linked. The final extract under this heading is a five-line quotation from Seneca's *Herc. Oet.*

The order of entries suggests that the compiler of this manuscript, having already begun a commonplace book, at some point read Sarbiewski with great enthusiasm, and set about adding cross-references from Sarbiewski, as on this page, to many of the existing entries.[79] Here we have a vivid glimpse of what it was like to encounter Sarbiewski for the first time in England in the seventeenth century, and with which earlier poets and texts he was naturally associated by his readers. Indeed, Sarbiewski's lyrics – and especially the subset of them most often translated or imitated

---

[77] CUL MS Dd. IX. 59. The catalogue describes the manuscript as c.1700, but this is misleading (a paper slip available in the manuscripts room describes it more accurately as 'seventeenth century'). Though mostly in Latin, the commonplace book includes extracts also in Greek and English. Identifiable printed sources include a large number from between the late 1620s and mid-1630s, though none datable definitely to after 1635. It was therefore very probably put together in the mid-1630s. Drayton is the most frequently cited poet in English; Sarbiewski and Buchanan are the most frequently cited post-classical Latin poets.

[78] CUL MS Dd. IX. 59, fol. 10ᵛ.

[79] Similar discernible 'layers' of entries are drawn from Buchanan's Latin verse drama and from Thomas Farnaby's collection of Greek epigrams, *Florilegium epigrammatum Graecorum* (1629), in which each Greek epigram is accompanied by a Latin verse translation (many by Farnaby himself). The compiler of the manuscript has copied both Greek and Latin passages and adds the attributions of the Latin as in the printed text.

in England – fit precisely within the blended tradition of Latin moralizing lyric which is the subject of this chapter, a point which no doubt partly explains their great popularity. Sarbiewski offered English readers a 'Christian Horace' who accorded more closely than Horace himself with the most influential aspects of the 'Horatian' tradition at the time.

Just as Lovelace's 'Grasse-hopper' ends with a highly conventional quatrain which sounds (and indeed in a sense is) broadly 'Horatian' but which in its details is drawn most directly from Seneca and Sarbiewski (that is, a Christianized Horatianism), so in several collections of this period we find Sarbiewski standing in for Horace in sequences of translation: Henry Vaughan's *Olor Iscanus* (1651), for instance, juxtaposes translations of Ovid's exile poetry, Boethius and Sarbiewski.[80] Such sequences demonstrate how the stock of popular poems of this general type is updated over time.

We find the same phenomenon in relation to original poems as well as translations. First published as the closing song of his 1650s play *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses*, James Shirley's (1596–1666) 'The glories of our blood and state' quickly circulated widely as a lyric in this tradition:

> The glories of our blood and state
>   Are shadows, not substantial things;
> There is no armour against Fate;
>   Death lays his icy hand on kings:
>   Sceptre and Crown
>   Must tumble down,
> And in the dust be equal made
> With the poor crooked scythe and spade.
>
> Some men with swords may reap the field,
>   And plant fresh laurels where they kill:
> But their strong nerves at last must yield;
>   They tame but one another still:
>   Early or late
>   They stoop to fate,
> And must give up their murmuring breath
> When they, pale captives, creep to death.

---

[80] Four translations from Ovid's *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*; twelve of the metrical portions of Boethius; seven of Sarbiewski. Boethius' work had particular resonance in the 1650s: both Sir Edward Spencer's summary and commentary (1654) and Theodor Poelman's complete edition (1655) were published in this decade in London.

> The garlands wither on your brow;
>   Then boast no more your mighty deeds!
> Upon Death's purple altar now
>   See where the victor-victim bleeds.
>   Your heads must come
>   To the cold tomb:
> Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in their dust.[81]

Though composed a century later, Shirley's poem plays upon the suggestive ambiguity of 'state' in the same way as the moralizing lyrics in Tottel's miscellany.

Like Wotton's lyric before it, Shirley's poem was also translated into Latin. Leeds Brotherton Collection MS Lt 55, a miscellany of mainly satiric verse from the 1670s, includes a double translation of Shirley's poem first into hexameters, and then into rather effective sapphic stanzas, two per English verse. The final English stanza is translated as follows:

> Frontibus marcent virides coronae
> Temperent se facta loqui superbi
> En jacet mortis tepidum piamen
>   Victor in aras
> Frigidas omnes veniunt ad urnas
> Facta sed justi generosa solum
> Post necem fragrant, vegetoque semper
>   Pulvere florent.[82]

As in the Latin translations of Wotton's 'Dazel'd thus with height of place', the choice of sapphic stanzas points towards the Latin lyric history of the form, and inserts Shirley's poem as it were 'back' into the nexus of classical and classicizing models from which it emerges. If the form is similar to the Wotton translations of the 1620s, however, the style of the Latin is quite different: the Latin poem shares with its English model a metaphorical boldness typical of its period. In this way we see how the striking continuities of the moralizing lyric form, in terms of tone and content, run alongside changes in style.

Such 'fashionable' iterations of the moralizing lyric extend also to matters of form. A collection of verse assembled by one John Watson

---

[81] Shirley, *Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1659), end of Act III; Gifford and Dyce (eds.), *Dramatic Works and Poems*, vol. VI, 369–97. *CELM* records 41 copies, some accompanied by music, in manuscripts dating from the 1660s to the late eighteenth century.

[82] Leeds University Library, MS BC Lt 55, fol. 10ʳ. The *CELM* entry for this manuscript (ShJ 163.5) recognizes that the Latin poem in hexameters is a translation of Shirley's poem (which follows it), but not that this sapphic ode is also a translation of it.

between 1667 and 1673 preserves a Latin translation of Shirley's poem into rhyming, stress-based stanzas rather than classical quantitative metre:

> Natalium Lux et Magnificentia
> Res sunt umbraticae Minimèque Entia ;
> Nil contra Fatum praevalent Arma
> Aurea nec Reges proteget Parma,
>   Sceptra & Caesariae Trabeae
>   Invasae dirâ Mortis rabie
> Plebi jungentur et inanes
> Amborum capiet Urna manes.
> (lines 1–8, corresponding to the first English stanza)[83]

The use of end rhyme obviously recalls the English poem, though it does not precisely reproduce the rhyme scheme of Shirley's original (ABABCCDD): instead, the Latin poem consistently groups the rhyming words together (AABBCCDD; in the first stanza only, AA and BB also rhyme, though more weakly). Though generally associated with medieval Latin verse, rhyming Latin poetry and songs were produced throughout early modernity, a point discussed further in Chapter 8, and indeed appear to have been particularly popular in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the period to which this manuscript belongs. This is also the period in which we find the greatest quantity of Latin poems which are translated from English. In both these respects, then, Watson's manuscript reflects the fashions of its day.

Half a century later, Isaac Watts, a dissenting poet and the first of the great English hymn-writers, turns to Sarbiewski, a Polish Jesuit, alongside and in some respects more readily than to Horace himself. Watts made many translations of Sarbiewski, and his early English poetry includes dozens of pieces which belong clearly to the tradition traced in this essay, such as this extract from his poem 'To Mr. John Lock Retired from The World of Business':

> He that has Treasures of his own
> May leave the Cottage or the Throne,
> May Quit the Globe, and dwell alone
>   Within his spacious Mind.[84]

Indeed, by the mid-eighteenth century Watts himself had been assimilated into sequences of moralizing verse in manuscript miscellanies: a Latin and

---

[83] BL MS Add. 18220, fol. 47ʳ, one of several instances of Latin verse translations of English poetry in this manuscript.
[84] Watts, *Horae Lyricae* (1706), 118. *Horae Lyricae*, Watts' first published collection, went through many subsequent editions and contains some Latin as well as (mostly) English poetry. On Watts and Latin religious verse, see Chapter 6.

English collection by the Quaker John Kelsall (1683–1743) includes a paraphrase of Horace, *Odes* 2.10 (on the golden mean), four English psalm paraphrases translated from Buchanan's Latin, several original moralizing poems ('On Obedience' and 'On Contentment') in both English and Latin versions, and an English paraphrase of one of Watt's own hymns ('On Parting with carnal Joys. Paraphras'd from Watt's Hymn 10 Book 2').[85]

Wotton's 'Dazel'd thus' is a beautiful example of a type of poem which is immediately recognizable to any sensitive and experienced reader of English poetry, a mode of verse which has persisted relatively unchanged through successive waves of poetic fashion: this is not the poetry of Elizabethan sonneteers or love elegists; nor is it 'metaphysical' verse or Augustan satire. Poetry of this kind has an enduring, if enduringly unfashionable, role in English literature: Kipling's poem 'If –', quoted at the start of this chapter, is an expansion of the theme – of consistent virtue and restraint in the face of both good and ill fortune – which is the subject of Seneca's most widely translated chorus (*Thyestes* 336–403) as well as the opening lines of Horace, *Odes* 4.9, and indeed Sarbiewski's *Odes* 2.1. 'If –' was voted Britain's favourite poem in a 1995 BBC opinion poll; Wotton's 'How happy is he born and taught' was apparently George Washington's favourite hymn; and the hymns of Watts and Wesley are still sung regularly in Christian churches of many denominations around the world.[86]

Kipling is almost as out of fashion as Wotton and Watts, but he was a fine reader of Horace, and his memorable immortalization of a peculiarly English brand of stoicism descends directly, via Jonson, Wotton and the English hymn book, from Horace.[87] Recent classical criticism has shown little interest in Horace's moral and philosophical lyrics (less so than in the philosophical content of his hexameter verse), and has done almost nothing with Horace as a religious poet, although many of his odes are formally hymns, a point of great importance for his early modern readers. This hymnic element of Horatian lyric forms the foundation for its use in psalm paraphrase, to which the next two chapters turn. But to gain a sense of the moralizing tradition of 'Horatian' lyric, we do best to read not the criticism of our own day, but poetry: the poetry of Seneca and Boethius, but also of Wyatt, Wotton, Sarbiewski, Lovelace, Vaughan and Watts.

---

[85] Society of Friends Archive, MS Vol S 193/5.   [86] Spann and Williams, *Presidential Praise*, 5–8.
[87] Kipling wrote several poems titled as odes from 'Book V' of Horace; on Kipling's Horace, see Medcalf, 'Horace's Kipling'.