A STUDY OF HORATIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE ELIZABETHAN
AND CAVALIER POETS

A THESIS

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I. E.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION.</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous treatment of Horatian influence and related subjects.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method of investigation in this thesis.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method of presentation in this thesis.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of this thesis.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. BRIEF HISTORY OF HORATIAN INFLUENCE.</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. LIFE IS SHORT: SEIZE THE PRESENT HOUR.</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Surety of death.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Shortness of life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Urge for living in the present.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. FORTUNE IS PICKLE: MAINTAIN A CALM MIND.</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. ENJOYMENT IS AN ART: SEEK THE GOLDEN MEAN.</strong></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Praise of the golden mean.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Power of virtue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Pleasures of the poets.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Wine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Love.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Joys of rural life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Praise of contentment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V. POETRY IS IMMORTAL: SEEK THE MUSE.</strong></td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VI. MISCELLANEOUS.</strong></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Praise of patrons.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Similar expressions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VII. PARALLELS IN THE LIVES OF HORACE AND HERRICK.</strong></td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONCLUSION.</strong></td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY.</strong></td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX.</strong></td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Previous Treatment of Horatian Influence and Related Subjects.

The works of the Roman writers have been a source of inspiration and of controversy in English literature—a source of inspiration to the poets, a possibility for controversy in the field of more prosaic writing, in opinions and in research. The works of the poet, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, have been no exception to the above statement. The influence of Horace has been treated in the following works:

*Horace and His Influence, Showerman.*
*Studies in the Influence of the Classics on English Literature, Goldmark.*
*The Influence of Horace on the Chief English Poets of the Nineteenth Century, Thayer.*
*Robert Herrick Contribution a l' etude de la poesie lyrique en Angeleterre au diven septieme siecle, Delattre.*

Professor Grant Showerman pays high praise to the odes, epodes, satires, and epistles of Horace as fountainheads of song through the ages, in his scholarly work, *Horace and His Influence.* This work offers a brief discussion of the dynamic influence of Horace through several ages and climes. The breadth of view of such a small work necessarily forces it to be brief in regard to each period; and Horace's influence on Elizabethan and Cavalier poets is treated within five pages.


Mary Rebecca Thayer devotes a summarizing paragraph to the influence of Horace among the Elizabethans and a short paragraph to the influence of Horace on the Cavalier poets. Under the marginal heading, "With whom may we compare Horace?" she mentions Herrick.
Volume IV of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* treats Elizabethan poetry in a general account as one of the periods of the English lyric. One paragraph records the influence of Horace upon John Donne. Volume VII is given over to the Cavalier poets and five pages treat Horatian influence upon the period and the poet Herrick.

Floris Delattre devotes four pages to the repetition of certain Horatian themes in French and English poetry in his critical study of Herrick.

**Method of Investigation.**

The lack of material available to show Horatian influence on Elizabethan and Cavalier lyricists does not prove that such evidence is lacking in the English poets' works. The author has endeavoured to trace Horatian influence in the Elizabethan and Cavalier poets. The main themes of Horace were found; after these had been classified, these themes were traced in the complete poems of the Elizabethan and the chief Cavalier poets.

The sources of the Elizabethan poems used in this study are not exhaustive but extensive. They include:

- *The Poetical Works of Ben Jonson.*
- *Elizabethan Verse and Prose (Non-dramatic), selected and edited by George Reuben Potter.*

The sonnet sequences constitute the major poetic writings of the Elizabethan poets. The collection of sonnets in *The English Garner* is complete with the exception of Shakespeare's series. The sonnets and
other lyrics of Shakespeare and the complete lyrics of Jonson fill the gap left by this omission in The Garner. Some Longer Elizabethan Poems, Shorter Elizabethan Poems and Elizabethan Verse and Prose contain the other Elizabethan lyrics preserved for us today.

The Cavalier poets whose works were consulted are Donne, Carew, Lovelace, Suckling, and Herrick. The most copious indication of acquaintance with Horace were found in Herrick's lyrics. Finally, a comparison of the evidence found in the Elizabethan and the Cavalier poets was made.

Method of Presentation.

The method of presentation is such that a note of explanation is necessary to the reader. Chapter I gives a general survey of Horatian influence. Four major themes are found to be the centers from which Horace's philosophy radiated; each theme, which finds expression in Elizabethan and Cavalier poems, is treated in one of the following chapters, II, III, IV, V. The chronological order of giving the poems seemed best: the Latin quotation stands first in each group, followed by quotations from Elizabethan poems, and finally by pertinent lines from the Cavalier poems. Chapter VI on miscellaneous trends was necessary since unclassified parallels exist between the Latin and English poems.

Purpose.

The aim of this study is to trace the influence of Horace and his ideals through the lyrics of the Elizabethan and Cavalier poets.
CHAPTER I

BRIEF HISTORY OF HORATIAN INFLUENCE

That art of enjoyment which the Elizabethan and Cavalier poets let trickle gradually into their poetry—those slight draughts from the Bandusian spring—the fountainhead of Horatian philosophy—had their beginnings even before the birth of their chief Latin exponent, Quintus Horatius Flaccus.

That this philosophy was not entirely new but rather old in the history of the world is indicated by Anacreon's use of some of the fundamental ideas in the fifth century B.C. He it was who praised wine, love, and the Muses, and sang of the transient joys of the fleeting moment. The Greek bard went little beyond this idea of futility; he did not touch upon the lasting joys of life as does the Latin poet. Yet this view of life found at least partial adherents in the school of Epicurean philosophy, which passed from the boundaries of Greece to Rome and her provinces in later centuries. The degenerate followers of Epicurus stressed the sensual pleasures of the world; on the other hand, the Stoics praised virtue as the ultimate good.

In 62 B.C., when Catullus was only twenty-two years of age, he began writing his passionate Carmina to Lesbia, which indicate the shortness of life and love. These poems are a link in the continuous chain indicating the transience of life and its joys; they have inspired a wealth of English love poetry in Elizabethan and later times.

Three years earlier had occurred the birth of Quintus Horatius Flaccus, the poet-apostle of a true art of enjoyment—conservative and sometimes austere—which can be realized only with "the exercise of discrimination,
moderation, and a measure of spiritual culture.\textsuperscript{1} What a contrast between
the unrestrained passion and republican interests of the poet of Verona and
the conservative and imperial yet independent verse of the poet of Apulian
Catullus was Epicurean; Horace, more Stoic than Epicurean, more often the
follower of neither school, but the author of a new philosophy. His articu-
lar contribution to the chain of a higher philosophy was the addition of
the cheering notes, "carpe diem," "aequus animus," and "aurea mediocritas."

His contemporaries make little mention of Horace, but the poet was
loved and read for several centuries after his death. The Middle Ages saw
his dynamic thoughts placed under cover of the Church, but not forgotten.
During the Middle Ages, "it was the didactic works of the Roman poet that
attracted most attention; the lyric fell more and more to the background.\textsuperscript{2}
The salient features of Horatian lyric philosophy made no appeal to the
mind of the Middle Ages and were a significant loss.

With the restoration of Latin and Greek to a place of prominence and
the new impulse given by them to thought and activity at the time of the
Renaissance, Horace gained devout followers among the poets. With the
Renaissance came the rebirth of Horace as the "sovereign of the lyric measure,"
as Petrach hailed the poet.

In England, the pagan poet first appealed to the Elizabethans, who
read his lyrics with great zeal and were truly familiar with his meters and
ideas. Shakespeare's "small Latin" does not exclude the mention of Horace
in Titus Andronicus:\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] Showerman, Horace and His Influence, p. 5.
\item[2] Thayer, The Influence of Horace on the Chief English Poets of the
\item[3] IV, ii: 18-23.
\end{footnotes}
Demetrius: What's here? A scroll, and written about?
Let's see:
Integer vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauri jaculis nec arcu.
Chiron: O, 'tis a verse in Horace; I know it well:
I read it in a grammar long ago.

However, the glory of the Elizabethan age was drama; the idealism of
Horace could not be set forth to its full value in dramatic performances.
The era of Elizabeth did not wholly neglect song; the lyric was infused
with a natural spontaneity and reflected the vigorous youthfulness of the
time. Longer poems were infected with artificiality; prose was Euphuistic.
But the source of lyric inspiration of the Elizabethans wrought a perilous
trap for the poets. This snare was the Petrarchan sonnet.

The Petrarchan sonnet is a lyric of fourteen lines, glorifying the
Platonic ideal of love and expressing the spiritual exaltation of the mys-
tical and religious. Refinement of feeling and language characterize the
Petrarchan sonnet. 4

The Italian writers of the thirteenth century had given sonnet writing
a definite shape and character. Dante's Vita Nuova gave a special trend to
the sonnet and sounded the keynote to this type of verse of the Renaissance.
Petrarch devoted his main literary energies to sonneteering; 5 three hundred
poems of this type bear witness to his prolific genius. Moreover, Petrarch
dominated Western Europe; for the next two centuries, Italy, France, Spain,
and England cultivated the Petrarchan sonnet. Sequences of poem after poem
in fourteen lines appeared in profession of love for a certain lady and of
the joys and sorrows of love.

In England, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, pioneered

4 Legouis, Cazemian; A History of English Literature, pp. 113, 278.
5 An English Garner; Elizabethan Sonnets; introduction, p. cix.
in behalf of the sonnet. Although their culture was wide, Petrarch was their great inspiration. Thomas Watson, in the Passionate Centuries of Love and The Tears of Fancia; Edmund Spenser, in the Amoretti; Philip Sidney, in Astrophel and Stella, cultivated this poetry. Daniel's Delia and Constable's Diana form the zenith of the sonnet fashion. "Shakespeare was the greatest poetic genius who was drawn into the sonneteering current of the sixteenth century." Analysis reveals his great debt to Italian writers. Later sonneteers were Lodge, Barnes, Fletcher, and Drayton. Many minor poets fashioned poems after Petrarch or Petrarchan models.

Gradually, there came a change in the fashions of poetry:

There is a return to the greater directness and less ethereal temper of the classic lyric of Anacreon, Catullus, and Horace. The swift decline of the sonnet after the close of the sixteenth century is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the English lyric. The decline was due, in part, to exhaustion; in part, too, to the opposition which the sonnet encountered at the hands of two poets—Jonson and Donne—the impress of whose genius is felt in English poetry far into the seventeenth century. . . .

The classical lyric, as represented, in particular, by the odes of Anacreon and the songs of Catullus and Horace, had been regarded with due respect already in the early days of the renascence. . . . But, until the coming of Ben Jonson, the influence of the classical lyric on English poetry was fitful and uncertain. Its supporters, only too often, had followed wandering fires; and led astray by metrical heresies, their classicism had found expression in the attempt to reproduce in rhymed quantitative verse the Sapphic or Anacreontic measures of antiquity.

Jonson's attitude towards the classical lyric differed widely from that of his predecessors. Caring nothing at all for quantitative measures, he was conscious, in spite of his Fit of Rhyme against Rhyme, of the value of rhyme in English lyric verse; what he admired most of all in the lyric of Rome or Greece was its sense of proportion and structural beauty, its restraint, lucidity and concision of style and its freedom from extravagance and mannerism.

Ibid., p. cx.
It is well known that several of his most famous songs are faithful transcripts of classical models; elsewhere—as, for instance, in the songs from The Masque of Augures or from Mercury Vindicated—he reproduces much of the atmosphere of the ancient world. And, even where there is neither direct imitation nor the reproduction of a classic atmosphere, his lyrics, in virtue of their style, show a certain classic feeling, which was immediately recognized by his contemporaries and successors, ...  

Only slightly removed in time and thought from the spontaneity, freshness, and ingenuity of the Elizabethans are the Cavalier poets, Donne, Suckling, Carew, and Lovelace. All of the Cavalier poets felt the attraction of Horace, but one poet in particular, Robert Herrick, was to use again and again the Horatian train of thought. 

Jonson, who was the medium of the transition from the Elizabethan to the Caroline lyric, was a great dictator of lyric style during his later years; the "sons of Ben," had an opportunity to reflect his influence. Especially does Robert Herrick show his discipleship to Jonson in the utilization of the classic form and Augustan atmosphere. This does not mean that Herrick derived his acquaintance with Horace from Jonson's lyrics, but it signifies that through gentle persuasion and general influence Herrick "followed his master, Ben Jonson, in drawing his inspiration from the classical lyricists of Greece and Rome rather than from those of the renascence."  

Whereas, the poets of the years immediately following the flowering of Elizabethan drama were particularly attracted to the lyrical qualities of the Odes and Epodes, the influence of Horace upon the eighteenth century literature may be found partly in his "function as a teacher of the art of writing" as a result of the study of one of the epistles, entitled the 

8 Ibid., p. 6.  
9 Thayer, op. cit., p. 25.
Ara Postica. Addison, Steele, Pope, Johnson, and others were interested in form and consulted the epistolary selections of Horace. Since that age, Horatian influence has varied from critical and functional to poetic and inspirational.

CHAPTER II
LIFE IS SHORT: SEIZE THE PRESENT HOUR.

A. Surety of Death.

The inevitable approach of death has been faced by many poets, but by none more specifically and persistently than by Quintus Horatius Flaccus and by those who have drawn their chief inspiration from him. Hebrew bard and Greek philosopher sang about and reasoned upon the surety of death. Roman philosopher and poet before Horace dwelt upon the fleeting quality of human existence and the dark realm of Pluto to which every mortal thing is destined to go. The surety of death is a theme of universal interest. Lucretius, in "De Rerum Natura," proclaims to the reader:

Nil igitur mors estad
nos neque pertinet hilum.
Quandoquidem natura
animi mortalis habetur. 1

Catullus, the greatest lyricist of the Ciceronian period, bemoaned the death of his Lesbia's sparrow as well as the loss of his brother. Of the former he says in playful lament:

Lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque
et quantum est hominum venustiorum.
Passer mortuus est meae puellae,
passer, deliciae meae puellae,
....
Qui mune it per iter tenebrosum
illud, unde negant redire quemquam.
At vobis male sit, malae tenebrae
Orci, quae omnia bella devoratis!
Tam bellum mihi passerem abstulistis.
O factum male! Io miselle passer!
Tua mune opera meae puellae
flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli. 2

1 Lucretius, "De Rerum Natura" 830, 831.
In these lines he speaks of his brother:

Multas per gentes et mita per aequora vectus
advenio has miseras, frater, ad inferas,
ut te postremo donarem munere mortis
et mutam nequiquam adloquerer cinerem,
quandoquidem fortuna mihi tete abstulit ipsum,
heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi;
muno tamen interea haec prisco quae more parentum
tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferas
accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu,
atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale. 3

Cicero philosophized on friendship and on old age; he has Laelius say:

Dulius enim iam in hoc desiderio esse non possum; omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse
debent etiam si magna sunt. 4

But, whereas Lucretius was unconcerned, the youthful Catullus was
struck with sincere grief for his brother's death and voiced the ultimate
of all things, and Cicero, looking back over an half-century of troublous
times, was making accessible "the paths of noblest learning," 5 Horace
reiterates from youth to old age the surety of death.

These poignant phrases are so impressive from
their diction and their recurrence that one
British scholar built up an elaborate theory
to explain the underlying strain of melancholy in
the odes of the first three books and another
more recently has declared that Horace "is
frequently obsessed with the fear of death." 6

Miss Haight refuses to agree with the last statement but concedes that
Horace knew what death involves--"the loss of life's possessions and joy." 7

The famous fourteenth ode of the second book addressed to Postumus,

---

3 Ibid., p. 196.
4 Cicero, De Amicitia, p. xxvii.
5 Cicero, De Divinatione, p. ii.
6 Haight, Horace and His Art of Enjoyment, pp. 231, 232.
7 Ibid., p. 232.
presents the impossibility of escape from death:

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni, nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectae
Adferet indomitaque morti;

Non, si trecentis, quotquot ceux dies,
Amice places inlacrimabilem
Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi

Compessit unda, scilicet omnibus,
Quicumque terrae munere vescimur;
Enaviganda, sive reges
Sive inopes erimus coloni.

Frustra cruento Marte carebimus
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
Frustra per autumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuems Austrum;

Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocyos errans et danai genus
Infame damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Aeolides laboris.

Linguenda tellus et domus et placens
Uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te praster invisas cupressos
Ulla brevem domimum sequetur.

Absumet heres Caecuba dignior
Servata centum clavibus et mero
Tinguet pavimentum superbis
Pontificum potiore cenis.10

Robert Herrick, sixteen centuries later, made a partial translation of
this ode and dedicated it to "his peculiar friend" and old Cambridge acquaintance, John Wickes. This "spirited and highly imaginative poem...is one of

8 Further citations from both the Latin and the English poems, bearing out similar ideas but not so clearly, will be found in the Appendix. These are grouped in correspondence with chapter headings and sub-titles.

9 Selections quoted from Horace, the numbers, and the lines are those of the Latin text and are taken from Rolfe's edition of the Satires and Epistles and Bennett's edition of the Odas and Epodes.

the most Horatian lyrics in English literature:11

Ah Posthumus! our years hence flye.12
And leave no sound; no piety,
Or prayers or vow
Can keep the wrinkle from the brow,
As fate do's lead or draw us; none,
None, Posthumus, co'd ere decline
The doome of cruell Proserpine.

The pleasing wife, the house, the ground,
Must all be left, no one plant found
To follow thee,
Save only the curt cipresse tree,
A merry mind
Looks forward, scornes what's left behind:
Let's live, my Wickes, then while we may,
And here enjoy our holiday.

'AVE seen the past-best times, and these
Will nere return; we see the seas
And moons to wain,
But they fill up their ebbs again:
But vanisht men,
Like to a lilly-lost, nere can,
Nere can repululate, or bring
His dayes to see a second spring.

But on we must, and thither tend
Where Anchus and rich Tullus blend
Their sacred seed:
Thus has infernall Jove decreed;
We must be made
Ere long, a song, ere long, a shade.
Why then, since life to us is short
Let's make it full up by our sport.13

Lines seven and eight of Herrick's "His Age" and the exhortation "to
live" echo the thought of Horace's still earlier satires. The satires were
published in 30 B. C., whereas the first three books of the odes came out
in 23 B. C.:

...Sed me
Imperiosa trahit Proserpina; vive valeque.14

11 Ward, Waller; The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. VII,
pp. 10, 11.

12 The quotations and lines of Herrick's poems are taken from the Riverside
Edition of The Hesperides.

13 I Hesperides: "His Age: Dedicated To His Peculiar Friend M. John Wickes,
Under the Name of Posthumus:" 1-32.

The mention of "invisas cupressos" is amplified by Herrick in an address to the yew and the cypress:

Both you two have
Relation to the grave;
And where
The funerall-trump sounds, you are there.

I shall be made,
Ere long, a fleeting shade;
Pray come,
And doe some honour to my tomb.

Do not deny
My last request; for I
Will be
Thankfull to you, or friends for me.\textsuperscript{15}

After reading these poems, one notes the striking parallel of the words of Miss Haight on Horace and those of Rev. A. B. Grossart\textsuperscript{16} upon what Herrick's poems tell of the poet, especially upon his melancholy:

There is—an uplifted shadow of melancholy
that must have lain broad and black over Herrick. Joyousness is not at all in contradiction with this, any more than is the shadow with the real brightness of the light whose shadow it is. Your 'merry' nature—merry toward others, through keen self-repression and self-denial—has often a dark thread interwoven in it. I find this melancholy...in the poetry of Herrick. The intermixture of his Poems...is apt to hide this; but when you read, pencil in hand, you are struck with the fascinating frequency of allusion to 'the end of all;' your ear, once open, catches tones and semi-tones of an unmoving sense of mortality and uncertainty; you see the gleam of tears in the very sunbeams of laughter.

A serious tone pervades the verses of John Donne, and these lines refer to the power of Death:

\textit{O, strong and long-lived Death, how canst thou in?} \textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{15} Hesperides: "To The Yew and Cypress To Grace His Funerall:" 1-12.
2.

A serious but not fatal illness, which fell upon Maecenas in the fall of 31 B.C., called forth the ode in which Horace says:

\[
\text{ibimus, ibimus,}
\text{Ut omnes praecedes, supremum}
\text{Capere iter omnes parati. 18}
\]

True to his premonition, the poet and his patron died in the same year, 8 B.C.

Thomas Campion 19 in one of his "Air" speaks to a friend thus:

When thou must home, to shades of underground,
And there arrive, a new admired guest,

A similar expression of thought to the daffodils by Herrick shows the transience of mortal life but lacks the sincere feeling found in the words of Horace:

Faire Daffodils, we weep to see
You haste away so soon;
And yet the early-rising sun
Has not attain'd his noone.
Stay, stay,
Until the hasting day
Has run
But to the even song;
And, having pray'd together, we
Will goe with you along.

18 Ode XVII: 10-12.
19 Interesting quotations from Campion appear in Ducket, Catullus in English Poetry, pp. 43, 47, 73, 149.
20 Campion: "Air," 1, 2. The quotations and lines of poems of the Elizabethans are taken from four volumes of the 1903 edition of An English Garner: Some Longer Elizabethan Poems, Shorter Elizabethan Sonnets Newly Arranged and Indexed, Vol. I, II., and Elizabethan Verse and Prose. Since these volumes are so well indexed, footnotes in this volume give the title of the Elizabethan collection where available and the name of the poem quoted along with the lines. Jonson's and Shakespeare's poems are from the poetical works of poets.
We have short time to stay as you,
We have as short a spring;
As quick a growth to meet decay,
As you, or any things.
We die,
As your hours do, and drie
Away
Like to the summers raine,
Or as the pearles of moring's dew
N'er to be found again.

3.

Readers of Horace go to the epistles, 20 B. C., for the mature and
genial philosophy of the poet. In the sixteenth epistle, the poet, fearing
that Quinctius Hirpinus was too concerned with political favor, reminded him
that virtue alone can bestow true happiness for:

....Mors ultima linea rerum est. 22

After a narrow escape from death by the fall of a tree on the Sabine
farm, Horace wrote:

... sed improvisa leti
Vis rapuit rapietque gentis. 23

Several examples from the Elizabethan poets show that their poems are
 tinged with the Horatian idea of the inevitability of death. The author
of "The Passion of Love" says:

Live as we will, Death makes, of all conclusion. 24

Another unknown author writes:

As euerie thing must dye, that earst was borne. 25

---

21 Hesperides: "To Daffadills:" 1-20.
22 I Epist. XVI: 79.
23 II Odes XIII: 15, 16.
24 "The Passions of Love:" 965.
Benjamin Griffin recalls that since all things are subject to Death, though he is a poet, he is not immune from this final doom:

These did through folly perish all and die:
And, though I know it I even so do.

Fletcher reiterates:

My life must end;

A concise repetition of these statements occurs in Herrick's epigram:

Time is the bound of things, where ere we go;
Fate gives a meeting, Death's the end of woe.

4.

The introductory ode to the six patriotic odes of the third book has been entitled "Frugalitas"; in it the Latin poet speaks of the "equal law for all:"

..... aequa lege Necessitas
Sortitur insignis et imos;
Omne capax movet urna nomen.

Again Horace says:

Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turris, e beate Sesti,
Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
Iam te premet nox fabulaeque manes
Et domus exilis Flutionis; quo simul mearis,
Nec regna vini sortiare talis,
Nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo caele juventus
Nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

The poems attributed to no certain author often hint the concern of those ingenuous and pleasure-loving Elizabethans, as does the following:

26 Griffin, Fidessa: "Sonnet 26:" 13, 14.
27 Fletcher, To Licia: "Sonnet 31:" 12.
28 Hesperides: "Death Ends All Woe:" 1, 2.
29 Ode I: 14-16.
Loe here beholde the certaine ende, of every living wight:
No Creature is secure from Death, for Death will have his Right.
He spareth none: both rich and poore, both young and olde must die;
So fraile is flesh, so short is Life, so sure Mortalitie.\(^{31}\)

The poet, Herrick, wrote:

Some storms w' ave past;
Yet we must all
Down fall
And perish at the last.\(^{32}\)

5.

Horace's acquaintance with nature arose from the early years spent in the countryside of Apulia and later years in the Sabine hills. What is more natural than that:

\begin{quote}
Many similes which enrich his language are based on similarities between the life of man and the life of nature. The elaborate classifications of these made by Eduard Voss and Franz Hawrlant serve to show laboriously how many points of contact on both the physical and the spiritual side the poet found between man and his world. Whether life is represented as a vast sea on which man voyages, or a flowing river bearing everything with it, or whether the generations of men are compared to the generations of leaves on the trees, or man's fitful life is compared to the changing seasons of the year, the poet shows a sense of intimate nearness between the life of man and the outer world, and this feeling of closeness, developed in a score of smaller comparisons suggests an implicit sympathy between man and nature because of all their points in common.\(^{33}\)
\end{quote}

Death claims all: man cannot resist its claims, neither can the leaves of the forest nor the words of man, says Horace in the "Ars Poetica:"

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\(^{31}\) Poems: in divers humors: "An Epitaph upon the Death of his Aunt:" 1-4.  
\(^{32}\) I Hesperides: "Upon The Troublesome Times:" 13-16.  
\(^{33}\) Haight, op. cit., p. 195.
Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
Et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.
Debemur morti nos nostraque. ...34

Herrick parallels the change in nature with that in human existence:

Die ere long, I'm sure, I shall; 35
After leaves, the tree must fall.

All things decay with time: The forest sees
The growth and down-fall of her aged trees;
That timber tall which three-score lusters stood
The proud dictator of the state-like wood--
I mean the sovereign of all plants, the oke--
Droops, dies, and falls without the cleaver's stroke.36

The passing of the seasons warns man of the inevitable doom: and the
early hours of a spring day proclaim the lesson:

Immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alium
Quae rapit hora diem.37

The theme of an earlier ode is the "fair blossoms of the too-short-
lived rose:"

Hec vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
Flores amoenas ferre inae rosae,
Dum res et aetas et sororum
Filia trium patiuntur atra.38

That the Elizabethan poets were alert to beauty is evidenced by their
regret at its fading. An admirer of Sir Philip Sidney wrote a pastoral
elegy upon the death of "the most noble and valorous knight" deploiring the
loss of all that is beautiful:

34 II Epist. III: 60-64.
35 II Hesperides: "After Autumnne, Winter:" 1, 2.
36 I Hesperides: "All Things Decay and Die:" 1-6.
37 IV Ode VII: 7, 8.
38 II Ode III: 13-16.
Death: the devourer of all world's delight.\(^{39}\)

Richard Barnfield expresses the same sentiment in his sonnet:

(But ah what hath not cruel death destroy'd?
Death, that emues this world's felicitie).\(^{40}\)

Where the Latin poet uses the rose as a symbol of evanescent life,
Herrick calls his mistress in turn a tulip, a July-flower, a rose, a vine,
a well, a violet—all of which must meet the same fate:

You are a tulip seen today
But, dearest, of so short a stay,
That where you grew, scarce man can say.

You are a lovely July-flower,
Yet one rude wind, or ruffling shower,
Will force you hence, and in an houre,

You are a sparkling rose i' th' bud,
Yet lost, ere that chaste flesh and blood
Can shew where you or grew, or stood.

You are a full-spread faire-set vine,
And can with tendrills love intwine,
Yet dry'd, ere you distill your wine.

You are like balme inclosed well
In amber, or some chrystall shell,
Yet lost ere you transfuse your smell.

You are a dainty violet,
Yet wither'd, ere you can be set
Within the virgin's coronet.

You are the queen all flowers among,
But die you must, faire maid, ere long
As he, the maker of this song.\(^{41}\)

His address to Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler embodies the same sentiment:

\(^{39}\) "Astrophel: A Pastoral Elegy upon the death of the most noble and Valorous Knight, Sir Philip Sidney:" 265.

\(^{40}\) Barnfield, "Sonnet 12:" 11, 12.

\(^{41}\) "Hesperides: A Meditation For His Mistresse:" 1-21.
For as these flowers, thy joyes must die,  
And in the turning of an eye;  
And all thy hope of her must wither,  
Like those short sweets, are knit together.  

Again it occurs:

As gilly-flowers do but stay  
To blow, and seed, and so away,  
So you sweet lady, sweet as May,  

The brief life of the maiden is compared to that of the tulips:

Bright tulips, we do know,  
You had your coming hither;  
And fading time do's show  
That ye must quickly wither.  

Your sister-hoods may stay,  
And smile here for your houre;  
But dye ye must away,  
Even as the meanest flower.  

Come, virgins, then, and see  
Your frailties, and bemone ye:  
For, lost like these, 'twill be  
As time had never known ye.

or:

The lillie will not long endure,  
Nor the snow continue pure:  
The rose, the violet,—one day  
Seel both these lady-flowers decay;  
And you must fade as well as they.

In a similar mood Herrick questions the blossoms of the trees:

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43 I Hesperides:  "Upon A Lady That Dyed in Child-Bed, and Left a Daughter Behind Her:"  1-3.

44 I Hesperides:  "To A Bed of Tulips:"  1-12.

Faire pledges of a fruitful tree,
Why do yee fall so fast?
Your date is not so past,
But you may stay yet here a while, 
To blush and gently smile, 
And go at last.

What, yee born to be
An hour or half's delight, 
'Twas pitie nature brought yee forth 
Merely to show your worth, 
And lose you quite.

But yee are lovely leaves, where we 
May read how soon things have 
Their end, though ne'r so brave; 
And after they have shown their pride, 
Like you, a while, they glide 
Into the grave. 46

B. Shortness of Life.

1.

The surety of death is found upon the evidence of ever-fleeting time. The idea that "time and tide wait for no man," commonly conceived of as a result of the machine age, was prominent in ancient Rome and tormented the man in the market place and in the business house long before modern machinery caused so much leisure. It is a basic belief of the Roman poet stated generally:

... currit enim ferox
Aetas ... 47

The diverse flowering of poetic genius in Elizabethan times makes allowance for a wide statement of time's hasty flight. Almost no poet neglected to include somewhere in his work at least a hasty suggestion that he was in agreement with the Roman poet's philosophy on time.

46 I Hesperides: "To Blossoms:" 1-18.
47 II Ode V: 13, 14.
Shakespeare utilizes his "Sonnets" to mention "devouring Time" and again "swift-footed Time." In another, he is:

...with Time's injurious hand crushed and o'erworn.

If time is fleeting for Shakespeare, so is its companion, Love:

Ruin hath taught me thus to ruminate,
That Time will come and take my love away
This thought is as a death, which cannot choose
But weeps to have that which it fears to lose.

Samuel Daniel in his sonnet sequence to Delia makes mention of the deteriorating effects of time:

Swift speedy 'Time feathered with flying hours,
Dissolves the beauty of the fairest brow.

John Dowland requests:

Stay Time, awhile, thy flying,
Stay, and pity me dying.

While Thomas Campion says:

Time's fatal wings do ever forward fly.

Sir Francis Bacon makes this observation:

The world's a bubble, and the life of man
Less than a span.

The Cavalier poets, Donne, Carew, Lovelace, Suckling, and Herrick, have placed in their poems mention of this same characteristic of Time.

Herrick echoes:

48 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 19:" 1.
50 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 63:" 2.
51 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 64:" 11-14.
52 Daniel, "Sonnet 34:" 11, 12.
53 Dowland, "A Pilgrim's Solace: Sonnet 7:" 1, 2.
54 Campion, "Song:" 5.
55 Bacon, "The World's A Bubble:" 1, 2.
Time flyes away fast,
Our houres doe waste,
The while we never remember,
How soon our life here
Growes old with the yeere,
That dyes with the next December.\(^{56}\)

Richard Lovelace does not fail to make one mention of this phrase:

\[\text{\ldots all-devouring time.}^{57}\]

nor does Thomas Carew:

As old Time makes these decay
So his flowers must waste away.\(^{58}\)

John Donne embodies in a lyric the futility of mortal life:

\[
\text{O how feeble is man's power,}
\text{That, if good fortune fall,}
\text{Cannot add another hour,}
\text{Nor a lost hour recall}
\text{But come bad chance}
\text{And we join to it our strength}
\text{And we teach it art and length,}
\text{Itself o'er us to advance.}^{59}
\]

2.

The early fading of the day and the quick passing of the night show

the basic changes which characterize natural phenomena:

\[\text{... veluti stat volucris dies,}^{60}\]

Truditur dies die,
Novaeque pergunt interire lunae.\(^{61}\)

Passing day and its changing aspects caused Shakespeare to say:

\(^{56}\) I Hesperides: "To Electra:" 13-18.
\(^{57}\) Lucasta The Poems of Richard Lovelace Esquire: Vol. II, "Peinture A Panegyrick To the Best Picture of Friendship Mr. Pet. Lilly:" 47.
\(^{58}\) Carew, The Poems of Thomas Carew: "Disdain Returned:" 5, 6.
\(^{60}\) III Ode XXVIII: 6.
\(^{61}\) II Ode XVIII: 15, 16.
When I consider every thing that grows
Holds in perfection but a little moment;
That this huge stage presenteth nought but shows
Whereon the stars in secret influence comment;
When I perceive that men as plants increase
Cheered and check'd even by the self-same sky;
Veant in their youthful sap, at height decrease,
And wear their brave state out of memory;
Then the conceit of this inconstant stay
Sets you most rich in youth before my sight,
Where wasteful Time debaseth with Decay,
To change your day of youth to sullied night,
And, all in war with Time, for love of you.
As he takes from you, I engraft you new.  

When I do count the clock that tells the time,
And see the brave day sunk in hideous night;
When I behold the violet past prime,
And sable curls all silver'd o'er with white;
When lofty trees I see barren of leaves,
Which erst from heat did canopy th' herd,
And summer's green, all girded in sheaves,
Borned on the bier with white and bristly beard;
Then of thy beauty do I question make,
That thou among the wastes of time must go,
Since sweets and beauties do themselves forsake,
And die as fast as they see others grow;
And nothing 'gainst Time's scythe can make defence
Save breed, to brave him when he takes thee hence.  

As Horace noted the rush of business in the Forum and along the Appian Way, and as Shakespeare watched the shift upon "this huge stage," so

Herrick saw time's flight and urged the use of the present day.

Now, now's the time; so oft by truth
Promis'd she should come to crown your youth.
Then faire ones, do not wrong
Your joys by staying long,
Or let love's fire go out,
By lingering thus in doubt:
But learn that time, once lost
Is ne'r redeem'd by cost.

63 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 12:" 1-14.
64 Hesperides: "An Epithalamie to Sir Thomas Southwell and His Ladie:" 1-8.
A stream, perhaps the roaring Aufidus of Horace's youth or the Tiber of maturer recollections, furnished the poet with an example of the haste of the age and the extremes of business; so he writes to his friend, Maecenas:

... cetera fulminis
Ritu feruntur, munc medio alveo
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
In mare, munc lapides adesos

Stirpesque raptas et pecue et domos
Volventis una non sine montium
Clamore vicinaque silvae,
Cum fera diluvies quiesos

Inruit ammis. 65

An epistle ridicules the efforts of those who idly wait for the future in order to live:

Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam,
Rusitius expectat dum defluit amnis; at ille
Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum. 66

... tamquam
Sit proprium quicquam, puncto quod mobilis horae
Nunc preco, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte suprema
Permutet dominos et cedat in altera iura.
Sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus, et heres
Heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam
Quid vici prosunt aut horrea? 67

Shakespeare's simile is like that of the Latin poet:

Like as the waves make towards the pebbled shore,
So do our minutes hasten to their end. 68

To his friend, M. John Wickes, Robert Herrick wrote in the same vein:

Time steals away like to a stream,
And we glide hence away with them.

66 IV Epist. II: 38-43.
67 II Epist. II: 171-179.
68 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 60:" 1, 2.
No sound recalls the hours once fled,  
Or roses, being withered: 69

These lines were sent to Herrick's intimate Cambridge friend much as  
Horace's ode was addressed to his patron-friend. Beside the similarity  
of context, a similarity of the relation of the persons addressed is  
significant.

4.

However, the loss of man's hope for lengthened days will be recompensed  
in the joys of the hour not hoped for:

Inter spem curasque, timores inter et iras  
Omnem ore de diem tibi diluxisse supremam;  
Grata superveniet, quae non sperabant hora. 70

For no mortal can assure another that the gods of heaven will give  
another dawn for life:

Quis scit an adiicant hodiernae crastinae summae  
Tempora di superi? 71

A Shakespearean sonnet grants the needlessness of man's hoping to  
stay time and embodies a note of defiance against time's power:

No, Time, thou shalt not boast that I do change:  
Thy pyramids built up with newer might  
To me are nothing novel, nothing strange;  
They are but dressings of a former sight.  
Our dates are brief, and therefore we admire  
What thou dost foist upon us that is old;  
And rather make them born to our desire  
Than think that we before have heard them told.  
Thy registers and thee I do defy,  
Not wondering at the present nor the past;  
Made more or less by thy continual haste.  
This I do vow, and this shall ever be;  
I will be true, despite thy scythe and thee. 72

69 II Hesperides: "A Paranaesticall, or Advisive Verse, To His Friend, M.  
John Wikes:" 22-25.  
70 I Epist. IV: 12-14.  
71 IV Ode VII: 17, 18.  
72 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 123:" 1-14.
Herrick, asking Time upon the wing to stop his flight, was asked:

.... when
False man would be content
To pay again
What God and nature lent? 73

C. Urge For Living in the Present.

1.

Beyond singing of the futility of the years, both Horace and the English poets went in their frequent injunction so well expressed in the phrase, "carpe diem." The full enjoyment of the present smiling hour bids one put no trust in the future. Definitely, this view was a cardinal point in Horace's art of enjoyment for he voices again and again the urge to live in the present.

This injunction connected with his liberal commendation of wine and his practicality antagonized the Middle Ages and brought about the neglect of Horatian manuscripts in the monasteries. The people from the sixth to the twelfth centuries were so neglectful of the joys of nature and of other present possibilities and so highly concerned with their future state that they forgot the fine import of such words as these in which the poet admonishes:

Quid sit futurum eras, fuge quaeere, et
Quem Fons diesrum cumque dabit, lucre
Appone, nec dulcis amores
Sperne puer neque tu choresas,
Donec virenti canities abest
Moras. ... 74

But with the Renaissance came a vision of what the present offers; the initiative and practical judgment of men of the day found complete harmony with Horace's ideas. Herrick epitomizes the sentiment:

74 I Ode IX: 13-18.
Drink wine, and live here blithefull, while ye may:  
The morrowes life too late is; live to day.75

2.

The flowers and "the glimmering lamp of night" remind Horace of life's transient cares and of the opportunities to escape these cares:

... nec trepides in usum

Poscentis aevi apauca: fugit retro
Levis iuventas et decor, arida
Pellente lascivos amores
Canitie facilemque sonnum.

Non semper idem floribus est honor
Vernis, neque uno luna rubens nitet
Volo: quid aeternia minorem
Consiliis animum fatigas?

Cur non sub alta vel platano vel haeo
Pimpiantes sic temere et rosa
Canos odorati capillos,
Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
Potamus uncti?76

He reiterates:

Cona prassentis cape laetus horae ac
Linque sevra.77

What could be more imperative and more Horatian than Shakespeare's command:

Now stand you on the top of happy hours;78

So Herrick also declares that the rose buds and the sun bids virgins "to make much of time;" this poem is truly a "lighter setting to music of an habitual thought in this so blithe and whole-hearted singer."79

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75 II Hesperides: "To Youth:" 1, 2.
76 II Ode XI: 4-17.
77 III Ode VII: 27, 28.
78 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 16:" 5.
79 Herrick, op. cit., memorial-introduction, pp. clxx, clxxl.
Gather ye rose-buds while ye may,  
Old time is still a flying,  
And this same flower that smiles to-day,  
Tomorrow will be dying.

The glorious lamp of Heaven, the sun,  
The higher he’s a getting,  
The sooner will his race be run,  
And nearer he’s to setting.

That age is best which is the first,  
When youth and blood are warmer;  
But being spent, the worse, and worst  
Times still succeed the former.

Then be not coy, but use your time,  
And while ye may, goe marry;  
For having lost but once your prime,  
You may for ever tarry.  

A similar parallel in human life and the cycles of nature appears in  
these lines:

Come, let us goe, while we are in our prime;  
And take the harmless follie of the time.  
We shall grow old apace, and die  
Before we know our liberty.  
Our life is short; and our dayes run  
As fast away as do's the Sunne;  
And as a vapour, or a drop of raine  
Once lost, can ne'r be found againe:  
So when or you or I are made  
A fable, song, or fleeting shade;  
All love, all liking, all delight  
Lies drown'd with us in endless night.  
Then while times serve, and we are but decaying;  
Come, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying.

3.

The imperatives of the ninth ode of book one reassert the demand for  
Leuconoe to follow Horace's "carpe diem" policy since no mortal can probe  
the future:

80 I Hesperides: "To The Virgins, To Make Much of Time:‖ 1-16.  
81 I Hesperides: "Corinna's Going a-Maying:" 56-70.
Tu ne quaesieris—scire nefas—quem mihi, quem tibi
Finem di dederint, Leucone, nec Babylonios
Temptaris muneros. Ut melius, quic viderit, patil
Seu pluris hies seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
Quae nunq oppisitis debilitat pumilibus mare
Tyrrenenum. Sapias, vina liques et spatii brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Aetas: Carpe diem, quam minimum eredula postero.82

Supreme wisdom is found in filling up the wine cup and living merrily,
as is attested by the titles as well as by the contents of a series of short
poems, mainly from *The Hesperides*:

**Best To Be Merry.**

Fools are they who never know
How the times away doe goe.
But for us, who wisely see
Where the bounds of black death be
Let's live merrily, and thus
Gratifie the genius.83

**The Changes: To Corinna.**

Time, ere long, will come and plow
Loathed furrowes in your brow:
And the dimness of your eye
Will no other thing imply,
But you must die
As well as I.84

**To Be Merry.**

Let's now take our time,
While we are in our prime,
And old, old age is a farre off;
For the evill, evill dayes
Will come on apace,
Before we can be aware of.85

82 I Ode XI: 1–8.
83 I Hesperides: "Best To Be Merry:" 1–6.
84 I Hesperides: "The Changes: To Corinna:" 13–18.
85 II Hesperides: "To Be Merry:" 1–6.
An End Decreed.

Let's be jocund while we may;
All things have an ending day;
And when once the work is done,
Fates revolve no flax th'ave spun.\(^{86}\)

To Live Merrily, And To Trust to Good Verse.

Now is the time for Mirth,
Nor cheek or tongue be dumbe;
For with the flowrie earth,
The golden pomp is come.\(^{87}\)

The Wassaile

The time will come, when you'll be sad,
And reckon this for fortune bad,
'Tave lost the good ye might have had.\(^{88}\)

The only happy man is he who is wise enough in practical living to lay his hand upon the gifts of "now." He can truly say, "I have lived;" not even Jove himself can revoke his joys. The correspondence of ideas in the ode and citations from The Hesperides and The Noble Numbers are clear:

\[ \ldots \text{Quod adeae memento} \]
\[ \text{Componere aquos; } \ldots \]
\[ \ldots \text{Ille potens sui} \]
Laetus, deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse 'vixi:' oras vel altra
Nube polum pater occupato.
Vel sole pura; non tamen irritum,
Quocumque retro est, efficiet, neque
Diffinget infectumque reddet, \(^{89}\)
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.

Let's feast and frolick, sing and play,
And thus lesse last, then live, our day,
Whose life with care is overcast,
That man's not said to live, but last:
Nor is't a life, seven years to tell,
But for to live that half seven well.\(^{90}\)

\(^{86}\) II Hesperides: "An End Decreed:" 1-4.
\(^{87}\) I Hesperides: "To Live Merrily, and To Trust To Good Verses:" 1-4.
\(^{89}\) III Ode XXIX: 32, 33; 41-48.
\(^{90}\) II Hesperides: "A Paranaestical, Or Advisive Verse, To His Friend, M. John Wicks:" 30-35.
Nor makes it matter Nestor's years to tell,
If man lives long, and if he live not well. 91

6.

In praise of native Tibur, Horace writes to Flaccus and bids his friend enjoy the winter season even though it is chequered by rains:

Albus ut obscurae deterget nubila caelo
Saepe Notus neque parturit imbris
Perpetuos, sic tu sapiens finire memento
Tristitiam vitaeque labores
Molli, Placent, mero, ... 92

Mortals may long for other climes and suppose that a change of skies will bring lasting pleasure, but not so did John Wilbye think, for he questions:

What needeth all this travail and turmoiling,
Shortening the life's sweet pleasure;
To seek this far-fetched treasure,
In those hot climates, under Phoebus broiling? 93

"A New Yeares Gift Sent to Sir Simeon Steward" contains the same admonition to make the most of the present:

Call not to mind those fled Decembers,
But think on these that are t'appeare,
As daughters to the instant years.
Sit crown'd with rose-buds, and carouse
Till liber pater twirls the house
About your ears; and lay upon
The year, your cares, that's fled and gone.
And let the russet swaines the plough
And harrow hang up resting now,
And to the bag-pipe all address,
Till sleep takes place of weariness. 94

6.

The expression, "dum licet" of ode twelve in book four embodies the

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91 Noble Numbers: "His Meditation:" 5, 6.
92 I Ode VII: 15-18.
93 "Madrigal:" 1-4.
meaning of Herrick's expression, "while the milder fates consent" in
"A Lyric to Mirth:"

Verum pone moras et studium lucri
Migrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium
Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
Dulce est desipere in loco. 95

While the milder fates consent,
Let's enjoy our merryment:
Drink, and dance, and pipe, and play:
Kisse our dollies night and day.
Crown'd with clusters of the vine,
Let us sit and quaffe our wine;
Call on Bacchus; chant his praise;
Shake the thyrses, and bite the bayes:
Rouse Anacreon from the dead,
And return him drunk to bed:
Sing o're Horace; for ere long
Death will come and mar the song:
Then shall Wilson and Gotiere
Never sing, or play more here. 96

7.

The ancient custom of marking lucky days with a white stone is
mentioned by Horace:

Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota,
Neu promptae modus amphorae,
Neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum,
Neu multi desint epulis rosae
Neu vivax apium neu breve lilium; 97

Herrick also writes of marking every day with such an emblem:

Drown we our heads with roses then,
And 'noint with Tirian balm; for when
We two are dead,
The world with us is buried.
Then live we free
As is the air, and let us be
Our own fair wind, and mark each one
Day with the white and luckie stone. 98

95 IV Ode XII: 25-28.
96 I Hesperides: "A Lyric to Mirth:" 1-14.
97 I Ode XXXVI: 10-14.
98 I Hesperides: "his Age: Dedicated To His Peculiar Friend M. John Wickes,
Under the Name of Posthumus:" 32-39.
From an ode comes this brief injunction:

... eripe te morae,\textsuperscript{99}

An epigram, entitled "Delay," admonishes:

Break off delay, since we but read of one
That ever prosper'd by cunctation.\textsuperscript{100}

Richard Lovelace sounds a warning:

And we are taught that substance is,
If uninjoy'd, but ta' shade of bliss.\textsuperscript{101}

Thomas Carew counsels his mistress:

Then, Celia, let us reap our joys
Ere time such goodly fruit destroys.\textsuperscript{102}

It is now evident how frequently occur the ideas of the uncertainty
of life and the imminence of death in the poems of the Latin poet, Horace,
from his early satires to his later epistles. These ideas find considerable
expression in the works of the Elizabethan poets, and occur at intervals in
the poems of the Cavalier poets, Lovelace, Donne, Carew, and Suckling. Yet
the poets of the Elizabethan poets and of the Cavalier poets mentioned are
not as thoroughly and vitally infused with Horatian sentiments as are those
of another Cavalier writer, Robert Herrick.

The author has observed that the ideas of surety of death and short-
ness of life recur in the early as well as the later works of Horace. This
observation is likewise true of Herrick's poems.

\textsuperscript{99} III Ode XXIX: 5.
\textsuperscript{100} II Hesperides: "Delay:" 1, 2.
\textsuperscript{101} Lovelace, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. I, p. 101, "Amynter's Grove His Chloris,
Arigo, and Gratiana an Elegie:" 43, 44.
\textsuperscript{102} Carew, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 21, "Song Persuasions to Enjoy:" 5, 6.
A striking parallel in the sentiments of the poets, Horace and Herrick, is not only to be found in their statement of the surety of an end to all things but in their constant rejoinder that man must live today—happy in the present. This admonition, the culminating Horatian sentiment in this chapter, is noticeably lacking in the Elizabethan and other Cavalier poetry. When it appears at all, it is weak and not boldly stated. This would indicate that despite Horatian sentiments in Elizabethan and former Cavalier poets, and despite the possibility of indirect borrowing, Herrick went a step beyond his predecessors and capitalized upon the most Horatian expression in this theme, "carpe diem." This strongly suggests his reliance on Horace as the original source rather than an indirect knowledge of Horatian details through the Elizabethan's statement of life's fleeting qualities.
CHAPTER III

FORTUNE IS FICKLE: MAINTAIN A CALM MIND

Calamity and sorrow called forth many lines intended for consolation and fortitude, so characteristic of the stern doctrine of many Romans who were forced to contend with the fickle turns of human affairs, so often known as the will of Fate or the doings of Fortune.

It is small wonder that Horace, steeped in the stern tradition of his Apulian fathers and early acquainted with the reverses of good fortune to bad should choose to mingle snatches of Fortune's mutability with the other ideas on life and the art of enjoyment.

Characteristic of Roman practicality was the formulation of fortune into a divinity; this belief in a vague, supernatural power which could be attributed only to something beyond the power of the gods or of Providence found ground in the minds of the medieval poets, Dante and Chaucer. The theme is common property by the Renaissance and is repeated in diverse ways in the verses of the Elizabethan and Cavalier poets.

1.

Early Horace struck the note of Fortune's fickle and foolish ways. As the poet looked about Rome in his youthful years, he saw the rich host entertaining with costly food, ostentatious display, and trivial chatter, but with little true hospitality; in the satire this calls forth from the host's friend, Nomentanus, the comment which is truly representative of the poet himself:

... 'Heu, Fortune, quis est orudelior in nos
Te deus? Ut semper gaudes in ludere regus
Humanis! ...'¹

¹ See VIII: 61-63.
Many Elizabethan poets comment on Fortune and her fickle ways:

Richard Barnfield observes:

Of cruel Fortune (mother of despair,)
Well art thou christen'd with a cruel name. 2

Again, he calls a curse down upon Fortune:

O frowning Fortune, cursed fickle dame! 3

Henry Constable writes:

Of Fortune, as thou leant'st to be unkind;
So learn to be unconstant to disdain. 4

Sir William Watson upbraids this deity who opposes him so constantly:

Fie fickle Fortune fie, thou art my foe,
O heepe heape so froward is my chance,
No daies nor nights nor worlds can me advaunce. 5

Noting the foolish ways of mankind, Herrick says in epigram:

Fortune no higher project can devise,
Then to sow discord 'mongst the enemies. 6

These poems of the Elizabethans and of Robert Herrick show a general relationship to Horace but no striking verbal parallels.

2.

A few years of experience in the capital with its changes in political and social circles led the poet to attribute these to Fortune:

... Valet ima summis

Mutare et insignem attemuat deus,
Obscura prones; hinc apioem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet. 7

2 Barnfield, "Cassandra" 319, 319.
3 Barnfield, "My Flocks Feed Not" 10.
4 Constable, Diana: "Sonnet 10" 9, 10.
6 I Hesperides: "Discord Not Disadvantageous" 1, 2.
7 I Ode XXXIV: 12-16.
In repetition of the same idea, Barnfield says:

Lest fickle Fortune should begin to frowne,
And turne their mirth to extreme miseries;
Nothing more certain than incertainties;
Fortune is full of fresh varietie:
Constant in nothing but inconstancy.

Michael Drayton hints to his rival that:

None stands so fast
But may be cast
By Fortune, and disgraced.

Among the longer poems of the Elizabethan collections is this ode, noting the mutability of Fortune:

Whilst as fickle Fortune smilde,
Thou and I, were both beguilde.
Euerie one that flatters thee,
Is no friend in miserie:
Words are easie, like the winde;
Faithfull friends are hard to find:
Euerie man will be thy friend,
Whilst thou hast wherewith to spend:
But if store of Crownes be scant,
No man will supply thy want.
If that one be prodigall,
Bountifull, they will him call.
And with such-like flattering,
Pitty but hee were a king!
If hee bee adiot to vice,
Quickly him, they will intice,
If to women hee be bent,
They have a Commandement.
But if Fortune once doe frowne,
They that sawnd on him before,
Vse his company no more.

With similar feeling, Herrick writes of Fortune's favours and their brief sojourn with one person:

Fortune did never favour one
Fully, without exception;
Though free she be, ther's something yet
Still wanting to her favourite.

8 Barnfield, "The Shepheards Content:" 73-77.
9 Drayton, Odes, With Other Lyric Poesies: "To His Rival:" 25-27.
11 Hesperides: "Fortunes Favours:" 1-4.
The repetition of this idea occurs in the ode, "To Fortune," in which the poet invokes the protection of the goddess for the emperor's expeditions of 27 B.C., one against the Britons, the other against Arabia Felix:

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,  
Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu  
Mortale corpus vel superbos  
Vetere funeribus triumphos,\(^\text{12}\)

The wealth and glory of the great often serve only to hasten reverses; Fortune's characteristic symbol, the wheel, ever turns and ever causes new disasters, observes Sir John Davies in these lines:

And Chance herself her nimble feet upbears  
On a round slippery wheel, that rolleth aye,  
And turns all states with her impetuous sway.\(^\text{13}\)

Since Chance governs the world, Herrick feels that wealth and glory serve only for a burial ground.

All things o'r-rul'd are here by chance;  
The greatest mans inheritance,  
Where ere the luckie lot doth fall,  
Serves but for place of buriall.\(^\text{14}\)

The will of Fortune is capricious and bids man exercise caution in that he take advantage of her joys while they are at hand and attain a state of acquiescence when she flies away. For all men are "the victims of insatiable desire" and "all are alike subject to the uncertainties of Fate. Insolent Fortune without notice flutters her swift wings and leaves\(^\text{15}\) man amid sorry circumstances:

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\(^{12}\) I Ode XXXV: 1-4.  
\(^{13}\) Davies, "Orchestra, or, "A Poem of Dancing:" 411-413.  
\(^{14}\) I Hesperides: "Large Bounds Doe Hut Bury Us:" 1-4.  
\(^{15}\) Showerman, op. cit., p. 46.
Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et
Dudum insolentem ludere pertinax
Transmitat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc mihi, nunc aliis benigna.

Laudo manentem; si celeris quatit
Pinnas, resigno quae dedit et mea
Virtute me involvo probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quaero.16

Though Fate had not favoured Drayton, the poet suggested his unyielding faith and calm mind:

Declare what Fate unlucky stars have given'.
And ask a world upon my life to dwell!
Make known the faith that Fortune could not move!

Shakespeare, although "in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes," is roused to a more comprehensive view of his opportunities by thinking of his friend's faithfulness:

When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,
I all alone beweep my outcast state
And trouble deaf Heaven with my bootless cries,
And look upon myself, and curse my fate,
Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
Feared like him, like him with friends possess'd,
Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope,
With what I most enjoy content least;
Yet in these thoughts myself almost despising,
Haply I think on thee, and then my state,
Like to the lark at break of day arising
From sullen earth sings hymns at heaven's gate;
For thy sweet love remember'd such wealth brings
That then I scorn to change my state with kings.18

Richard Lincke also is not cognizant of his danger on the great sea; his ship is steady for it is his Mind:

16 III Ode XXIX: 49-56.
Weary with serving, where I naught could get;  
I thought to cross great Neptune's greatest seas.  
To live in exile: but my drift was let  
By cruel Fortune, spiteful of such ease.  
The ship I had to pass in, was my Mind:19

Again he says:

All things subjected are to fate;  
Whom this morne sees most fortunate,  
The ev'ning sees in poore estate.20

The poets criticize phases of life and then give the remedy for the very situation—this is a part of their mature philosophy and grew out of the demands of the times. Horace knew that to say, "life is fleeting" is useless, but to suggest "carpe diem" aids the wise man to recognize the possibilities about him. The Elizabethans and Herrick in the same way declared that the present is full of means to make life a pleasure. As each poet points out the fickleness of Fortune, so he glorifies the maintainence of a calm mind. Horace speaks boldly upon "the steadfast mind:"

Sperat intestis, metuit secundis  
Alteram Sortem bene preparatum  
Pectus Informis hiemis reducit  
Iuppiter, idem  
Summonet. Non, si male nunc, et olim  
Sic erit: quondam cithara decentum  
Suscitat musam neque semper arcum  
Tendit apollo.21

Not even Fortune's "fatal law" can disturb the author of this song set by William Byrd:

I fear not Fortune's fatal law.  
My mind is such as may not move.  
For beauty bright nor force of love.22
Herrick, likewise, addressed two short poems to Fortune and declares that the goddess' very unkindness reveals in mortals the need of a calm mind:

Tumble me down, and I will sit
Upon my ruins, smiling yet;
Tear me to tatters, yet I'll be
Patient in my necessity. 23

This is my comfort, when she's most unkind;
She can but spoil me of my means, not mind. 24

5.

He whom Fortune raises to high estate today may be humbled tomorrow:

Qui dedit hoc hodie, cras si volet auferet, ut si
Detulerit fasces indigno, detrahet idem. 25

Herrick suggests the contrary change in human fortune:

But this
Sweet is
In our mourning,
Times bad
And sad
Are a turning;
And he
Whom we
See dejected,
Next day
We may
See erected. 26

That the Elizabethans were fond of this theme is evidenced by the occasional appearance of a translation or phrases from Horace. Sir William Watson made a translation of the Latin poem:

The steadfast mind, that to the end
Is fortune's victor still,
Hath yet a fear, though Fate befriend,
A hope, though all seem ill.
Jove can at will the winter send,
Or call the spring at will.

23 II Hesperides: "To Fortune:" 1-4.
24 II Hesperides: "On Fortune:" 1, 2.
25 I Epist. XVI: 33, 34.
Full oft the darkest day may be
Of morrows bright the aire.
His bow not everlasting
Apollo bends in ire.
At times the silent Muses he
Wakes with his dulcet lyre.

When stormy narrows round thee roar,
Be bold; naught else avails.
But when thy canvas swells before
Too proudly prospering gales,
For once be wise with coward's lore,
And timely reef thy sails.27

An Elizabethan wrote these lines:

Even as her State, so is her Mind
Lifted above the vulgar kind:
It treads proud Fortune under;
Sunlike, it sits above the wind;
Above the storms, and thunder.28

The deep calm of the mind is indicated by Andrew Marvel's lines:

How vainly, men themselves amaze
To win the Palm, the Oak, or Bays!
And their incessant labours see
Crowned from some single herb or tree;
Whose short and narrow-verged shade
Does prudently their toils upbraid:
While all flowers, and all trees do close
To weave the Garlands of Repose.

Meanwhile the mind, from pleasure less,
Withdraws into its happiness.
The Mind, that Ocean where each kind,
Does straight its own resemblance find:
Yet it creates, transcending these,
Far other worlds, and other seas!
Annihilating all that's made,
To a green Thought in a green Shade.29

The poem, commonly attributed to Edward Dyer and set to notes by

Sir William Byrd is suggestive of the same sentiment:

28 Hymns of Astraea: "Of Her Magnanimity:" 1-6.
My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such perfect joy therein I find,
That it excels all other bliss,
That God or Nature hath assigned.
Though much I want, that most I have;
Yet still my mind forbids to crave. 30

Robert Greene sings of the quiet mind that scorns Fortune's angry
crown:

Sweet are the thoughts that savor of content;
The quiet mind is richer than a crown;
Sweet are the nights in careless slumber spent;
The poor estate scorns Fortune's angry frown.
Such sweet content, such minds, such sleep, such bliss,
Begars enjoy, when princes oft do miss.

The homely house that harbors quiet rest;
The cottage that affords no pride nor care;
The mean that 'grees with country music best;
The sweet consort of mirth and music's fare;
Obscured life seets down a type of bliss;
A mind content both crown and kingdom is. 31

Robert Harrick epitomizes the Latin ode:

In all thy need, be thou possesst
Still with a well-prepared brest,
Nor let the shackles make thee sad;
Thou canst but have, what others had.
And this for comfort thou must know,
Times that are ill won't still be so.
Clouds will not ever pour down rains;
A sullen day will cleere again,
First peales of thunder we must heare,
Then lutes and harpes shall stroke the ear. 32

7.

Horace in mock seriousness praises his own virtues and the qualities
of the righteous man, whose protection is assured:

30 Dyer, "My Mind To Me A Kingdom Is:" 1-6.
31 Greene, Fareweil To Folly: "Maesia's Song:" 1-12.
32 *Hesperides:* "Good Precepts, or Counsell:" 1-10.
Integer vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce, pharetra,

Sive per Syrtis iter aastuosas
Sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum vel qua loca fabulous
Lambit Hydaspes. 33

As though in translation of the original, Thomas Campion writes:

The man of life upright
Whose guiltless heart is free
From all dishonest deeds
Or thought of vanity:

The man whose silent days
In harmless joys are spent,
Whom hope cannot delude,
Nor sorrow discontent:

That man needs neither towers
Nor armours for defence;
Nor secret vaults to fly
From thunder's violence.

He only can behold
With unafrighted eyes,
The horrors of the deep
And terrors of the skies.

Thus storming all the cares,
That fate or fortune brings;
He makes the heaven his book,
His wisdom, heavenly things.

Good thoughts, his only friends;
His wealth a well-spent age:
The earth, his sober Inn,
And quiet Pilgrimage. 34

Richard Alison gives another translation:

33 I Ode XXII: 1-8.
The man upright of life, whose guiltless heart is free
From all dishonest deeds or thought of vanity:
That man whose silent days in harmless joys are spent,
Whom hopes cannot delude, nor sorrow discontent:
That man needs neither towers nor armour for defence,
Nor secret vaults to fly from thunder's violence.

He only can behold with unafrighted eyes,
The horrors of the deep, and terrors of the skies,
Thus scorning all the cares, that Fate or Fortune brings,
He makes his heaven his book, his wisdom heavenly things;
Good thoughts, his only friends; his wealth, a well-spent age;
The earth, his sober inn, and quiet pilgrimage.

Benjamin Griffin counsels:

But upon virtues, fix a stayed mind.

The reiterative theme of Sir John Davies' poem, "Noscere Ipsum," is the
maintenance of a calm mind:

And yet, alas, when all our lamps are burned,
Our bodies wasted, and our spirits spent;
When we have all the learned volumes turned,
Which yield men's wits, both help and ornament;
What can we know? or what can we discern?....
For this, few know themselves for merchants broke,
View their estate with discontent and pain;
And seas are troubled, when they do revoke
Their flowing waves into themselves again.
And while the face of outward things we find,
Pleasing and fair, agreeable and sweet;
Th these things transport and carry out the mind,
That with herself, herself can never meet.
Yet if Affliction once her wars begin
And threat the feeble Sense with sword and fire;
The Mind contracts herself, and shrinketh in,
And to herself she gladly doth retire,
As spiders touched, seek their web's inmost part;
As bees in storms, unto their hives return;
As blood in danger, gathers to the heart;
And men seek towns, when foes the country burn.

35 Alison, "An Hour's Recreation in Music:" 1-12.
36 Griffin, Fidessa; "Sonnet 20:" 11.
If ought can teach us ought, Affliction's looks
(Making us look into ourselves so near)
Teach us to know ourselves, beyond all books,
Or all the learned schools that ever were!

Therefore of Death, we think with quiet mind;

If we these rules unto ourselves apply,
And view them by reflection of the mind;
All these True Notes of Immortality,
In our hearts' tales, we shall written find! 37

To this far-sighted Elizabethan true self-knowledge implies a calm mind in
the midst of the most harrassing circumstances.

With true Roman fortitude Herrick praises the Christian militant.

Of Herrick's devotion to classicism, The Cambridge History of English
Literature38 says:

More than once, too, we are made to feel that there
was more of the Roman flamen than the Christian priest
in Herrick, and, even, in his Christian Militant, we
discern more of Roman stoicism than of the sermon on the
mount.

This Roman stoicism is mainly the claiming of a calm mind and "one face"
despite all changes—Horatian in all phases.

From the far-sighted Elizabethan true self-knowledge implies a calm mind in

A man prepar'd against all ills to come,
That dares to dread the fire of martirdom;
That sleeps at home; and sayling there at ease,
Pears not the fierce sedition of the seas;
That's counter-proofe against the farms mis-haps,
Undreadfull too of courtly thunderclaps;
That weares one face, like heaven, and never showes
A change when fortune either comes, or goes;
That keeps his own strong guard, in the despight
Of what can hurt by day or hame by night;
That takes and re-delivers every stroake
Of chance, as made up all of rock and oake;
That sigs at other's death, smiles at his owne
Most dire and horrid crucifixion,—
Who for true glory suffers thus, we grant
Him to be here our christian militant. 39

37 Davies, "Nosce Teipsum."
38 Vol. VII, p. 11.
Herrick reiterates in the Noble Numbers:

Adverse and prosperous fortunes both work on
Here for the righteous man's salvation.
Be he oppos'd, or be he not withstood,
All serve to th' augmentation of his good. 40

Felicity and adversity are states of mind and prove:

Or both our fortunes, good and bad, we find
Prosperity more searching of the mind: 41

8.

The "anima aequus" must be preserved when Jove gives and even when
he takes away, the poets decree as a part of their philosophy:

Sed satis est orare Iovem, quae ponit et auferit;
Det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo. 42

It is sufficient if we pray
To Jove who gives and takes away,
Let him the land and living finde;
Let me alone to fit the mind. 43

9.

Likewise, both of the poets, Horace and Herrick, commend patience.

Thus writes the Latin poet:

Durum: sed levius fit patientia,
Quicquid corrigere est nefas. 44

Among the Songs of Sundrie Natures set by William Byrd is this prayer
for constancy:

40 Noble Numbers: "All Things Run Well For the Righteous:" 1-4.
41 II Hesperides: "Felicite Knowes No Fence:" 1, 2.
42 II Epist. XVIII: 111, 112.
43 I Hesperides: "His Wish:" 1-4.
44 I Ode XXIV: 19, 20.
But to resist, give fortitude,
Give patience to endure,
Give constancy that always "shine
I may persever sure."

But Herrick's terse statements upon one's bearing a hard fate is more
nearly stoic than Christian, as is the verse set by Byrd.

Do's fortune rend thee, Beare with thy hard fate:
Vertuous instruction ne'r are delicate.46

In similar epigramatic vein, Herrick writes of the "sauce for sorrowes:"

Although our suffering meet with no reliefe,
An equall mind is the best sauce for griefe.47

We know that Herrick was sometimes oppressed with "dull Devonshire,"
but his adaptibility enabled him to find satisfaction there and to express
this Horatian sentiment, founded upon the quotation from ode twenty-four
in book one:

For all our workes a recompence is sure.
'Tis sweet to thinke on what was hard t' endure.48

From the poems of the other Cavalier poets, two short passages from
Carew's poems set forth the fickle nature of Fortune and the need for
calmness:

Thou shalt confess the vain pursuit
Of human glory yields no fruit.
But an untimely grave. If Fate
Could constant happiness create
Her ministers, Fortune and Worth
Had here that miracle brought forth.49

45 Byrd, Songs of Sundrie Natures: 9-12.
46 II Hesperides: "Suffer That Thou Canst Not Shift:" 1, 2.
47 II Hesperides: "Sauce For Sorrowes:" 1, 2.
48 II Hesperides: "Satisfaction For Sufferings:" 1, 2.
49 Carew, op. cit., p. 81, "Siste, Haspes, Sive Indigena, Sive Advena,
Vicissitudinis Rerum Memor, Fauca Pellige:" 4-9.
But a smooth and steadfast mind,
Gentle thoughts and calm desires,
Hearts with equal love combined,
Kindle never-dying fires. 50

Richard Lovelace speaks of the "stable breast" in the midst of sorrows:

As smooth'd them to a calme, which still withstood
The ruffling passions of untamed blood
Without a wrinkle in thy face to show
Thy stable breast could a disturbance know. 51

Horatian concern with the "aequus animus" makes this one of the recurring motifs in the poems of the Latin poet and marks his philosophy with a new stability. Through acquaintance with Latin manuscripts, the idea of Fortune's changeableness was firmly imbedded in the mind of the Elizabethans and appears in much Elizabethan literature. It was common in drama. 52

That it permeated the emotional life of the Elizabethan poets is indicated by its restatement in many lyrics. The Cavalier poets, especially Herrick, utilized this theme, but it cannot be said that their statement of this theme reflects direct acquaintance with Horatian ideas and with Horace's works since they may have taken earlier English poets as indirect source of these ideas. This theme, the fickleness of Fortune and the necessity of maintaining a calm mind, by the time of Charles I, was common to poetry and a favorite plaint of the poets.

50 Ibid., p. 24, "Disdained Returned:" 7-10.
52 Alden, Master Spirits of Literature Shakespeare, p. 36.
CHAPTER IV
ENJOYMENT IS AN ART: SEEK THE GOLDEN MEAN

A. Praise of the Golden Mean.

The art of enjoyment in Horace's language comprised much; it was synonymous with the poet's philosophy of life—the sum of his doctrine on work and pleasure, ambition and content, virtue and happiness. The touchstone of his daily round was "Seek the golden mean: keep a moderation in all things." The Aristolean school of philosophy may have given him this keynote; this keynote to moderate living was enhanced by the counsel of his father and by a rich life-experience.

Since the days of his schooling at Athens, Horace had been a student of philosophy. His apparent devotion to wine, music, and love mark Horace as the perfect Epicurean to many. Horace recommends simplicity, virtuous living, and calmness, as the constituents of happiness, precisely the view held by the genuine Epicurean.

In his praise of wine, music, and love, the Roman poet argued for temperate mirth. The countryside was the scene of greatest content since here the mean of life was most surely attained.

1.

His final declaration is embodied in the thought that virtue is the mean between the extremes and must be sought in all activities:

Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum.\(^1\)

Among the Love Posies, found in a collection of about 1598, is this epigrammatic admonition:

\(^1\) I Epist. XVIII: 9.
Keep a mean! 2

Richard Barnfield repeats:

The mean is best, and that I mean to keep; 3

These quotations are far from being peculiarly Horatian.

Robert Herrick, lured on by the fine sense of proportion of the mean, incorporated this in a wedding song:

.... Virtue keeps the measure. 4

An epigram praises a central course:

In things a moderation keeps; 5

In similar vein, John Donne writes:

.... Mean's blest. .... 6

2.

This sound advice appears not only in the early odes but in the more mature writings, the epistles, in which Horace gave all of his energies to the study of philosophy:

Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum. 7

A sonnet set to music by William Byrd advises the reader of the reason for his choice of the mean:

2 Love Posies. The ms. in which this collection is found was written about 1696. Harl, MS 6910.
3 Barnfield, "The Encomion of Lady Pecunia:" 19.
4 II Hesperides: "Connubii Flores, or the Well-Wishes at Weddings:" 25.
5 II Hesperides: "Moderation:" 1.
Extremes are counted worst of all;  
The golden mean, between them both,  
Doth surest sit and fears no fall.  
This is my choice, for why? I find  
No wealth is like the quiet mind.  

Richard Barnfield speaks of the golden mean:

I cannot keepe the Meane: for why ( alas)  
Griefes have no meane, though I for meane doe passe.  

The Hymns of Astraea record one who, though exalted in power and
pleasures, practices moderation:

Beauty's Crown though She do wear;  
Exalted into Fortune's Chair;  
Throned like the Queen of Pleasure;  
Her virtues still possess her ear,  
And counsel her to Measure  
Reason (if She incarnate were)  
Even reason's self could never bear  
Greatness with Moderation!  

A further note on moderation by the Cavalier poet, Herrick, refers to
love:

Let moderation on thy passions waite;  
Who loves too much too much the lov'd will hate.  

and Horace took his principle of the golden mean even into literary
criticism:

In vitium ducit culpae fuga, si oaret arte.  

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam  
Viribus.  

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9 Barnfield, "The Shepheards Content:" 13, 14.
10 Hymns Astraea: "Of Her Moderation:" 5-12.
11 Hesperides: "Moderation:" 1, 2.
13 Epist. III: 38, 39.
The recurrence of this theme in the works of both Horace and Herrick is so consistent that it is like a refrain:

Nimimum sapere est ... utile ...
.................................
Sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.\textsuperscript{14}

Richard Tofte calls out to his Laura from:

... doubtful dangerous extreme,  
Wretch that I am! myself am sore afraid;  
And doubt of thee, so far from Golden Mean:  
Nor know I well out of this depth to wade.  
Lest that my life be shortened, or I die;  
Whether it heavy, falls; or light, ascends on high.\textsuperscript{15}

Herrick says:

Our heat of youth can hardly keep the mean.\textsuperscript{16}

The Latin poet states the fate of foolish men:

Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.\textsuperscript{17}

Herrick comments on the necessity of restraint:

Men must have bounds how farre to walke, for we  
Are made farre worse by lawless liberty.\textsuperscript{18}

Although Horace was an imperial favorite and was aiding Augustus in his reforms in social morality, religion, and patriotism, he stresses the necessity of "recte vivere" and "aurea mediocras," neither of which he meant to confine to courtly circles or to his own time. His sense of proportion and balance of mind make his ideas universally applicable. The address to Licinius is significant:

\textsuperscript{14} II Epist. II: 141-144.  
\textsuperscript{15} "Laura," part II: 7-12.  
\textsuperscript{16} II Hesperides: "The Meanes:" 2.  
\textsuperscript{17} I Ser. II: 24.  
\textsuperscript{18} II Hesperides: "Rules For Our Reach:" 1, 2.
Rectius vives Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
Cantus horrescis, mimium premendo
Litus iniquum.

Auream quisquis mediocratatem
Diligat, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.

Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
Pins et celae graviora cas
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
Fulgura montis.

*****

Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare: sapienter idem
Contrahes vento mimium secundo
Turgida vela.19

Numerous translations of this ode were made by Elisabethan poets.

One of Sidney's poetical translations is the address to Licinius.

You better sure shall live, not evenmore
Trying high seas; nor while seas rage, you flee,
Pressing too much upon ill harbooured shore.

The golden mean who loves, lives safely free
From filth of foes worn house; and quiet lives,
Released from Court, where envy needs must be.

The winds most oft the hugest pine tree grieves;
The stately towers come down with greater fall;
The highest hills, the bolt of thunder cleaves.

Evil haps do fill with hope; good haps appal
With fear of change, the courage well prepared;
Four winters, as they come; away, they shall!

Though present times and past with evils be snared,
They shall not last: with oither, silent Mise,
Apollo wakes; and bow, hath sometimes spared.

In hard estate; with stout show, valour use!
The same man still, in whom wise doom prevails.
In too full wind, draw in thy swelling sails! 20

Richard Alison records in a short poem the final fall of the greatest:

The sturdy rock, for all his strength,
By raging seas, is rent in twain;
The marble stone is pierced at length,
With little drops of drizzling rain;
The ox doth yield unto the yoke,
The steel obeyeth the hammer's stroke:

The stately stag that seems so stout
By yelping hounds at bay is set;
The swiftest bird that flies about;
At length is caught in fowler's net;
The greatest fish, in deepest brook
Is soon deceived with subtle hook.  21

In a later generation, Richard Lovelace echoed:

Frank, wilt live unhandsomely? trust not too far
Thy self to waving seas: ....

Yet settle near your rest, and take your estate
And in calm halcyon's nest ev'n build your fate:
Prethee lye down securely, Frank, and keep
With as much noyse the inconstant deep
As its inhabitants; may, stedfast stand,
As if discover'd were a New-found-land,

Nor be too confident, fix'd on the shore:
For even that too borrows from the store
Of her rich neighbour, since now wisest know
(And this to Galileo's judgement ow),
The palee earth it self is every jot
As frail, inconstant, waving, as that blot
We lay upon the deep, that sometimes lies
Chang'd, you would think, with's bottoms properties;
But this eternal, strange Ixion's wheel
Of giddy earth no' er whirling leaves to reel,
Till all things are inverted till they are
Turn'd to that antick confus'd state they were.

20 Sidney, Sonnets and Poetical Translations: "Translated from Horace, which begins Rectius vives!" 1-18.

21 Alison, "An Hour's Recreation:" 1-12.
Who loves, the golden mean, doth safely want
A cobwebb'd cot and wrongs entail'd upon't;

The blust'ring winds invisible rough streak
More often shakes the stubborn'st prop'rest oak;
And in proud turrets we behold withal,
'Tis the imperial top declines to fall:
Nor does Heav'n's lightning strike the humblg yales,
But high-aspiring mounts batters and scales.

Herrick makes mention of only one instance in which supreme fortune falls soonest:

While leanest beasts in pastures feed,
The fattest oxe the first must bleed.

4.

No craving for wealth and luxury enticed Horace; a simple meal will celebrate the emperor's birthday, says the Roman in his invitation to Manlius Torquatus, whom he asks:

Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?

The entire ode to Sallust elaborates the Stoic doctrine of happiness in wisdom and few desires:

Nullus argento color est avaris
Abbito terris, inimice lamnae
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
Splendeat usu.

Vivet extento Proculeius aevo,
Notus infratres animi paterni:
Illum aget pinna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.

Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quam si Libyaam remotis
Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenas
Serviat uni.

---

22 Lovelace, op. cit. pp. 85-87, "Advise To My Best Brother Coll. Francis Lovelace:" 1, 2; 5-11; 17-30; 41-46.
23 I Hesperides: "Supreme Fortune Falls Soonest:" 1, 2.
24 I Epist. V: 12.
Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
Nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
Fugerit venis et aquosus albo
Corpore languor.

Redditum Cypri solio Phraaten
Dissidens plebi numero beatorum
Eximit Virtus populumque falsis
Dedocet uti.

Vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
Deferens uni propriamque laurum,
Quisquis inentis oculo inretorto
Spectat acervos. 25

A note of moderation and caution is found in a sonnet set by William
Byrd:

Care to dispense, according to thy store, 26

What could be more Horatian than these words on the "golden measure:"

To shun the first, and last extremes;
Ordaining that thy small stock find no breach,
Or to exceed thy tether's reach;
But to live round, and close, and wisely true
To thine owne selfe, and knowne to few.
Thys let thy rural sanctuary be
Elizium to thy wife and thee;
There to disport your selves with golden measure;
For seldom use commends the pleasure. 27

Imparitie doth ever discord bring:
The meane the musique makes in every thing. 28

The poems of Richard Lovelace contain this discriminating line:

Its use and rate values the gem. 29

28 II Hesperides: "The Meane:" 1, 2.
29 Lovelace, op. cit., p. 96, "To Chloe Courting Her For His Friend:" 13.
Horace in his *Sermones* displays his frugal and austere nature which in the joys of the table aid in keeping the middle course:

... quin corpus omum
Hesternis vitis animum quoque praegravat una,
Atque adfigit humo divinae particulam aurem. 30

Accipe mun, victus tenus quae quantaque secum
Adferat... 31

Richard Tofte questions:

And know'zt not, sweet extremes do sudden kill? 32

The writer of "The Passion of Love" warns:

Who surfeits, hardly lives 33

A panegyric to his patron, Sir Lewis Pemberton, praises the temperate mirth and frugal measure of the English countryside:

But temperate mirth deahth forth, and so discreetly
that it makes the meate more sweet,
And adds perfumes unto the wine, which thou
do'st rather pour forth then allow
By cruse and measure,—thus devoting wine,
As the Canary Isles were thine,
But with that wisdome and that method as
No one that's there his quilty glasse
Drinks of distemper, or he's cause to cry
Repentance to his liberty. 34

Herrick further speaks in concise epigrams:

Excesse is sluttish: Keepe the meane; for why?
Vertue's clean conclave is sobriety. 35

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30 *II Ser. II*: 77-79.
31 *II Ser. II*: 70, 71.
32 Tofte, "Laura:" Part IV: 8.
33 "The Passions of Love:" 890.
34 *Hesperides*: "A Panegerick To Sir Lewis Pemberton:" 80-86.
35 *Hesperides*: "Excesse:" 1, 2.
Health is no other, as the learned hold,  
But a just measure both of heat and cold.\textsuperscript{36}

Praise of the golden mean had become a favorite theme with the Eliza-
dabethans, through whom Robert Herrick may have become acquainted with this
theme.

B. Power of Virtue.

1.

Intimately associated with the golden mean is the power of virtue in
Horace's poems since this very quality is a protection and brings a reward.
Unlike the Stoics, Horace did not praise the abstract quality of virtue but
that practical and active upright spirit, "the positive virtues of per-
formance as well as the negative virtue of moderation,"\textsuperscript{37} of which the
poet speaks in the ode to Fuscus, quoted on page 43.

In strong parallel to the opening lines of the ode are these lines
from \textit{The Hesperides}:

\begin{quote}
A wise man ev'ry way lies square,
And like a surly oke with storms perplex,
Growes still the stronger, strongly vext.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

2.

Horace's independent spirit and firm resolve to resist any faction,
despot, or raging element appears in these lines:

\begin{quote}
Iustum et tenacem propositi virum  
Non civium arduor prava iubentium,  
Non voltus instantis tyranni  
Mente quatit solida neque Auster,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Hesperides: "Health."} 1, 2.  
\textsuperscript{37} Showeman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 59.  
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Hesperides: "A Country Life: To His Brother, M. Tho. Herrick."}  
98-100.
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
Neo fulminantis magna manus Iovis;
Si fractus inlabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae.39

The repetition occurs in these lines on "A Just Man:"

A just man's like a rock that turns the wroth
Of all the raging saves into a froth.40

That Herrick gave true recognition to Horace for this practical
sentiment sent to the Earl of Westmoreland is indicated by:

Paulum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus ...41

Vertue conceal'd, with Horace you'll confess,
Differs not much from drowzie slothfulnesse.42

That Robert Herrick may have referred to Horace in his poems upon the
power of virtue is indicated by the evidence presented in this section.

C. The Vanity of Ambition.

Within the realm of philosophy, the Roman poet's "supreme interest
lies in Ethical problems," Professor D'Alton contends:43

Horace's interest in Ethical questions was
undoubtedly accentuated by the evils of his
Age, to which he was keenly alive. He describes
(Ep. I. i. 53, 77; ii. 44; xi. 27) for us
the mad race for wealth, the unscrupulous legacy-
hunting, the fruitless search for happiness
in large villas and constant change of scene, which
characterized the society of his day. ....

40 Hesperides: "A Just Man:" 1, 2.
41 IV Ode IX: 33, 34.
42 Hesperides: "To The Right Honourable Mildmay, Earl of Westmoreland;"
13, 14.
Horace would find in Philosophy (Ep. I. i. 34; cf. ibid. ii. 36) a specific for all these ills. Again in showing a predilection for Ethical questions the poet is following the bent of the national character. The Roman was nothing if not practical and showed little zeal for the solution of the merely speculative problems of philosophy.

1.

So Horace treats the inherent drive of ambition and its useless fury:

Sed fulgente trahit constictos Gloria curru
Non minus ignotes generosi. ...44

Richard Barnfield degrades Ambition:

Fie on ambition, fie on filthy pride,
The roote of ill, the cause of all my woe:
On whose fraile yce my youth first slipt aside:
And falling downe, receiu'd a fatall blow.45

Herrick, a lover of concise expression, perhaps derived his form of epigram from Martail, but the content is Horatian; the fitness of this thought to epigrammatic form is illustrated by the many quoted in this section:

In wayes to greatness think on this,
That slippery all ambition is.46

2.

To Virgil, the "animae dimidium meae," Horace addressed the third ode of book one in which he sets forth the nature of the human race;

Audax omnia perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.47

44 I Ser. VII; 23, 24.
45 Barnfield, "Cassandra:" 325-328.
46 II Hesperides: "Ambition:" 1, 2.
William Smith reiterates this theme in English:

Although the flint most hard contains the fire,
By force we do his virtue soon obtain:

For with a steel you shall have your desire,
This man may all things by industry gain.48

Giles Fletcher, upon seeing the high cedar tossed by the wind and
men, spurred by ambition in the midst of a storm, declines a kingdom and
a crown:

I wish sometimes, although a worthless thing,
Spurred by ambition, glad for to aspire,
Myself a Monarch, or some mighty king:
And then my thoughts do wish for to be higher.
But when I view what winds the cedars toss,
What storms men feel that covet for renown;
I blame myself that I have wished my loss:
And scorn a Kingdom, though it give a Crown.49

Horace closes his ode with these lines:

Nil mortalibus ardui est;
Caelum ipsum petimus stultitia, neque
Per nostrum patimur soleus
Iraaunda Iovem ponere fulmina.50

The restatement in Herrick is clear:

In Man ambition is the common' st thing;
Each one by nature loves to be a king.61

Nothing comes free-cost here; Jove will not let
His gifts go from him if not bought with sweat.52

A slightly different turn in the thought of an epistle attracted
Herrick for it finds expression in varied ways: this urges steadfast
preserverance but not ruthless ambition:

49 Fletcher, To Licia: "Sonnet 12:" 1-8.
50 I Ode III: 25, 26.
51 I Hesperides: "Ambition:" 1, 2.
52 II Hesperides: "Nothing Free-Cost:" 1, 2.
Begin with Jove, then is the worke halfe done,
And runnes most smoothly, when tis well begunne. 54

If well thou hast begun, goe on fore-right;
It is the end that crownes us, not the fight. 55

Hast thou begun an act? Ne're then give o're
No man despaires to do what's done before. 56

Attempt the end and never stand to doubt;
Nothing's so hard, but search will find it out. 57

Conquer we shall, but we must first contend;
'Tis not the fight that crowns us, but the end. 58

Other than the quotations from Barnfield and Fletcher, no references
were found on the vanity of ambition in the volumes consulted. Herrick's
consistent use of this theme in epigram indicates a possibility of close
study of both the Latin poets, Horace for content; Martial for form.

D. The Pleasures of the Poets.

1. Wine.

Many songs in praise of Bacchus and of his gift, wine, have been
written by ancient and modern poets. A great number of these have been
literary drinking songs or inspirations of a bout, and so their value may
be questioned on moral grounds.

Certain quotations from the Latin poet, Horace, illustrate his praise
of the blessings which wine brings—rather conventional pieces of Anacreonitic
verse:

53 I Epist. II: 40, 41.
54 I Hesperides: "Evensong:" 1, 2.
55 II Hesperides: "The End:" 1, 2.
56 II Hesperides: "Perserverance:" 1, 2.
57 II Hesperides: "Seek and Finde:" 1, 2.
58 II Hesperides: "The End:" 1, 2.
Ben Jonson praises Bacchus and his beneficent influence in dispelling care:

For, Bacchus, thou art freer
Of cares, and overseer
Of feast and merry meering,
And still beginn'est the greeting;
See then thou dost attend him,
Lyaeus, and defend him,
By all the arts of gladness,
From any thought like sadness.
So mayst thou still be younger
Than Phoebus, and much stronger,
To give mankind their eases,
And cure the world's diseases. 62

Robert Herrick wrote in the same vein:

'Tis not Apollo can, or those thrice three
Castalian sisters, sing, if wanting thee.
Horace, Anacreon both had lost their fame,
Had'st thou not fill'd them with thy fire and flame. 63

O thou the drink of gods and angels! Wine
That scatter'st spirit and lust: ...64

'Tis thou, above nectar, O divinest Soul
(Eternall in thy self) that canst controule
That which subverts whole nature, grief and care,
Vexation of the mind, and damn'd despair. 65

59 III Ode XXI; 14-16.
60 III Ode XXI: 17, 18.
61 II Ode XI: 18, 19.
62 Jonson, Underwoods: "The Dedication of the King's New Cellar to Bacchus:" 13-20.
63 I Hesperides: "His Farewell to Sack:" 29-32.
64 Ibid.: 11, 12.
65 Ibid.: 19-22.
Horace joins wine and songs as pleasures:

Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
Defirmis aegrimoniae dulcisibus alloquis. 66

Oblivioso levia Massico
Ciboria exple, ... 67

Herrick also mentions these care-dispellers jointly:

O Bacchus! let us be
From cares and troubles free;
And thou shalt hear how we
Will chant new hymns to thee. 68

Another series of verses advises caution lest Bacchus' gifts be profaned in excess—a principle in accord with Horace's touchstone, "aurea mediocritas;"

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborum
Circa mita solum Tiburis et moenia Catili;
Siccisomnia nam duras propeusit neque
Mordaces aliter diffugient sollicitudines.
Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?
Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus?
As nequis modico transiliat munera Liberii,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
Debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euhius,
Cum fas atque nefas exiguum fine libidinum
Discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide Bassari,
Invitum quatiam nec variis obsita frondibus
Sub divum rapiam. Saeva tene cum Berezintio
Cornu tympana, qua subsequetur cæsus Amor sui
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem
Arcanique fides prodige, per lucidior vitro. 69

Robert Herrick shows his accord with the golden mean in these verses:

Bacchus, let me drink no more;
Wild are seas that want a shore.
When our drinking has not stint
There is no one pleasure in't. 70

66 Epode XIII: 17, 18.
67 II Ode VII: 21, 22.
70 Hesperides: "A Hymne To Bacchus:" 1-4.
Richard Barnfield praises the moderate use of wine:

The fuye of grapes, which is a souereigne Thing
To cheere the hart, and to reuiue the spirits;
Being use in moderatly (in surfeiting)
Rather Dispraise, then commendation merits.71

Herrick's praise of wine cannot be traced directly to Horace since former English poets recommend the moderate use of wine.


From Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon, Horace may have drawn much of his inspiration for his songs in praise of music, one of the pleasures which serve to brighten human existence:

... minuentur atrae
Carmine curae.72

Among the Elizabethan Poems: in divers humors is this in praise of music:

If Musique and sweet Poetrie agree,
As they must needes (the Sister and the Brother)
Then must the Love be great, twixt thee and mee,
Because thou lou'st the one, and I the other.73

Robert Herrick numbered among his acquaintances the foremost musicians of the court, William and Henry Lawes, Ramsay and Lanier.74 Many of his songs were set to music by these musicians of Charles' appointment. A Song praises music and her beneficient influence:

Musick, thou queen of heaven, care-charming spel,
That striketh stillnesse into hell;
Thou that tam'st tygers, and fierce storms that rise,
With thy soule-melting lullabies;
Fall down, down, down, from those thy chiming spheres,
To bharme our soules as thou enchant'st our cares.75

72 IV Ode XI: 35, 36.
74 Ward, Waller; or. cit., Vol. VII, p. 5.
75 Hesperides: "To Music A Song:" 1-6.
To Apollo, who presided over song, the poets look for inspiration:

O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
Grata testudo Iovis, o laborum
Dulce lenimen Medicumque, salve
Rite vocant Phoebus, when that I a verse
Of some numbers more rehearse,
Tune my words that they may fall
Each way smoothly musique;
For which favour, there shall be
Swans devoted unto thee.

These poems indicate that Herrick drew directly from the Latin poet
his inspiration.

3. Love.

Thus far we have traced Horatian influence alone in the poems of the
Elizabethans and of the Cavalier poets; but the influence of one Latin poet
on English poets may indicate further reading and thought-gathering from the
field of the classics. In the case of Robert Herrick, where Horatian
influence has been strongly marked, Catullus and the writers of Roman elegy,
Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid may have left deep impressions on the works
of the poet.

Many poems from The Hesperides are modelled upon those of the Roman
elegaic poet, but the question of influence of elegaic poetry is not of
prime import in this thesis.

The Cambridge History of English Literature speaks definitely upon
the relation of Catullus to Herrick:

He (Herrick) draws inspiration from Catullus
in his epithalamia, and probably wrote his elegy
Upon The Death of His Sparrow in imitation of
Catullus's Lucibus in morte passeris; moreover,

76 I Ode XXXII; 13-16.
77 I Hesperides: "To Apollo A Short Hymne;" 1-8.
some of his love-lyrics to Julia and Anthea
are reminiscent of the famous songs to Lesbia;
But he lacks the passion and poignancy of the Veronese
lyrist, though he rivals him in terse precision of
style.

The same source states definitely that "there is not much of Horace
in Herrick's love-songs." However, a closer study of Horace and Herrick
reveals definite indications of Horatian influence in the amorous songs
of Robert Herrick. Far beyond the ken of Catullus or the Roman elegists
is the note of content in the country of the happy pair mentioned in
reflects the theme of this ode:

Felices ter et amplius,
Quos inupta tenet corpula nec malis
Divulsus querimoniiis
Suprema citius solvet amor die. 79

Live and live blest, thrice happy pair$ let breath,
But lost to one, be th' others death:
And as there is one love, one faith, one troth,
Be so one death, one grave to both,
Till when, in such assurance live$ we may
Nor fears, or wish your dying day. 80

The original Ode to Lydia reads:

Donee gratus eram tibi,
Nee quisquam potior bracchia candidae
Cervici iuvenis dabat,
Persarum vigui regis beatior.

Donec non alia magis
Arsisti, neque erat Lydia post Chloen,
Multi Lydia nominis
Romana vigui clarior Ilia.

79 Ode XIII: 17-20.
80 ---

Me mune Thraessa Chloe regit,
Dulcis docta modos et citharae sciens,
Pro qua non me tuam mori,
Sin parcent animae fata superstiti.

Me torrat face matua
Thurini Calais filius Ornythi,
Pro quo his patiar mori,
Si parcent puero fata superstiti.

Quid si prisca reddit Venus
Diductaque inugo cogit aenea,
Si flavus excubitus Chloe
Reiectaque patet iama Lydias?

The only poem among The Hesperides which is dated and which is conceded
by Herrick as a translation is the dialogue between Horace and Lydia, composed
before the poet took orders and left London for Devonshire:

Hor. While, Lydia, I was lov'd of thee,
Nor any was preferr'd 'fore me
To hug thy whitest neck, then I
The Persian King liv'd not more happily.

Lyd. While thou no other didst affect,
Nor Cloe was of more respect,
Then Lydia, far-fam'd Lydia,
I flourisht more then Roman Ilia.

Hor. Now Thracian Cloe governs me,
Skilfull i'th harpe and melodye;
For whose affection, Lydia, I,
So fate spares her, am well content to die.

Lyd. My heart now set on fire is
By Orntyves sonne, Young Calais;
For whose commutuall flames here I,
To save his life, twice am content to die.

Hor. Say our first loves we sho'd revoke
And sever'd jayne in brazen yoke;
Admit I Cloe put away,
And love againe love-cast-off Lydia?

Lyd. Though mine be brighter then the star,
Thou lighter then the cork by far,
Rough as th' Adratic Sea, yet I
Will live with thee, or else for thee will die.

81 III Ode IX: 1-20.
82 I Hesperides: "A Dialogue Betwixt Horace and Lydia, Translated Anno
1527, and Set by Mr. Ro. Ramsey:" 1-24.
Horace builds the sixteenth ode of book three around the story of Danae and her godly lover, while Herrick follows the same story:

Inclusam Danaen turris aenea
Robustaque fores et vigilum canum
Tristes excubiae munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris,

Si non Acrisium virginis abditae
Custodem pavidum Iuppiter et Venus
Risissent; fore enim tutum iter et patens
Converso in pretium deo.

Aurum per medios ire staellites
Et perrempe amat saxa potentius
Ictu fulmineo: ....

Hear, ye virgins, and I'te teach
What the times of old did preach.
Rosamond was in a bower
Kept, as Danae in a tower:
But yet love, who subtile is,
Crept to that, and came to this.
Notwithstanding love will win,
Or else force a passage in.

The passages cited in this section show that Herrick made one translation direct from Horace and modelled another poem on the Danaean story as found in an Horatian ode. These are indications of Horace's influence upon Herrick in amorous poetry: the influence is slight but definite.

In fact, Horatian influence in The Hesperides in regard to the pleasures of the poets, wine, music, love was definite and direct but a minor phase of his dynamic power.

E. Joys of Rural Life.

With the restoration of the state to peace in 31 B. C., came the attempt on the part of Augustus to restore to the Roman people a sense

83 III Ode XVI: 1-11.
84 I Hesperides: "To Virgins:" 1-8; 11, 12.
of religious and moral duty which had been sadly neglected in Italy on account of wars and internal dissension. The Emperor also encouraged agriculture; and in accordance with Maecenas' suggestion, in 29 B.C. Virgil wrote the Georgics, a composition of poetic beauty and of practical nature in its advice to the farmer. Virgil was not happy in Rome; his retiring nature found sure peace in his estate near Naples, a gift from the Emperor; here the poet wrote in praise of country life:

O fortunatos, nimium, sus si bona norint. Agricolas! ... 

Are we to suppose that Horace's love of the country was so great as to call for complete absorption in the simple life of nature? Upon casual acquaintance with Horace's poems one finds that Horace praises the country; but a close reading of these passages reveals that the rational "aurea mediocritas" of Horace would not allow him to go into absurd and unreserved praise of rural life. His early life in the countryside of Apulia, where life was stern and a livelihood was earned with hard work kept him from too effusive utterance.

Professor Boissier writes of Horace's reaction to the country:

Professor Boissier writes of Horace's reaction to the country:

Horace will never pass for one of those great lovers of Nature whose happiness is to lose themselves in her. He was too witty, too indifferent, too rational for that. I add that up to a certain point his philosophy turned him from it. He several times rebelled against the madness of those morbid minds who are forever running about the world in search of internal peace. ...

Virgil, Georgic II: 458, 459.

The Country of Horace and Virgil, pp. 16, 17.
It seemed to him then that those people who pretended to be passionately fond of the country, and who affected to say that there alone one can live, went much too far, and on one occasion he very slyly laughs at them. One of his most charming Epodes, the work of his youth, contains the liveliest and perhaps the most complete eulogy of rustic life that was ever penned.

The beginning verses of this epode read:

Beata ille qui procul negotiis,
Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis
Solutus omni faenore, 87

Boissier 88 continues:

But let us wait till the end; the last lines have a surprise in store for us; they teach us, to our amazement, that it is not Horace we have been listening to. "Thus spoke the usurer Alfius," he tells us; "immediately resolved to become a countryman, he gets in all his money at the Ides. Then he changes his mind, and seeks a new investment at the Klends."

The poet, then, has been laughing at us, and what adds cruelty to his pleasantry, the reader only perceives it at the end, and remains a dupe down to the last line. Of all the reasons that have been given in explanation of this Epode, only one seems to me natural and probable. He was irritated at seeing so many people frigidly admiring the country. He wanted to laugh at the expense of those who, having no personal opinion, thought themselves obliged to assume every fashionable taste and exaggerate it.

However, Horace liked to escape the burning months in Rome and to enjoy the quiet of his farm. In the tenth epistle of book one he tells Aristius Fuscus the advantage of country life, yet he concedes that each one should be free to follow his own likes.

87 Epode II: 1-4.
We gather that Horace was delighted with Maecenas' presentation of
the Sabine farm for he says:

Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magus,
Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus igitur aquae fons
Et paullum silvae super his foret. Auctius atque
Di melius fecere. Bene est. Nil amplius oro. 89

After a few words in praise of friendship, the inspiration of the
Muse, and the possession of the Sabine farm, the poet says:

... nihil supra
deos lascesso ... 90

Of the Elizabethan poets, William Byrd praises country life:

What pleasure have great princes
More dainty to their choice,
Than herdmen wild? who careless,
In Quiet life rejoice;
And fortune's fate not fearing,
Sing sweet in summer morning.

O happy who thus liveth!
Not caring much for gold;
With clothing which sufficeth
To keep him from the cold.
Though poor and plain his diet;
Yet merry it is, and quiet. 91

Campion sings:

Now, you courtly Dames and Knights!
That study only strange delights;
Though you scorn the homespun gray,
And revel in your rich array:
Though your tongues dissemble deep,
And can your heads from danger keep;
Yet, for all your pomp and train,
Securer lives the silly swain. 92
Horace's love of the country is reflected in the verses of Herrick, but that the country was not essential to the English poet's happiness is suggested by his great joy upon his return to London in 1660. Nevertheless, when Thomas Herrick, a brother of the poet, retired to the country and settled on a farm, Robert called upon his muse for one of his "most Horatian and sustained poems." These verses, entitled, "A Country Life: To His Brother, M. Tho. Herrick," "the first draft of which belongs to his 'prentice years, are directly modelled in thought and expression, upon the famous Beatus ille epode." This poem contains precepts on the golden mean, and on content. The opening lines read:

Thrice, and above blest, my soles halfe, art thou,
In thy both last and better vow:
Couldst leave the city, for exchange to see
The countie's sweet simplicity;
And it to know, and practice, with intent
To grow the sooner innocent,
By studying to know vertue, and to aime
More at her nature than her name.  

To the influential Endymion Porter, Herrick wrote much as Horace had written in his epistle to Aristius Fuscus:

Sweet country life, to such unknown
Whose lives are others, not their own!

Content in the simple fare of the country is expressed in these lines:

Here, here I live with what my board
Can with the smallest cost afford.
Though ne'er so mean the viands be,
They well content my Prew and me:

94 Ibid., p. 10.
95 Cf. pp. 49-58.
96 Cf. pp. 75-80.
98 Hesperides: "The Country Life. To The Honoured M. End. Porter, Grooms of The Bed Chamber to His Maj:" 1, 2.
Or pea, or bean, or wort, or beets,
What ever oomes, content makes sweet.
Here we rejoice, because no rent
We pay for our poore tenement,
Wherein we rest, and never feare
The landlord or the usurer.
The quarter-day do's ne'r affright
Our peaceful slumbers in the night.
Because we feed on no mans score;
But pitie those whose flanks grow great
Swel'd with the lard of others meat.
We bless our fortunes, when we see
Our own beloved privacie,
And like our living, where w'are known
To very few, or else to none.\(^99\)

and again:

How well contented in this private Grange
Spend I my life that's subject unto change:\(^100\)

One element in Herrick's poems of the country is so characteristic
of the English countryside that it cannot be an outgrowth or influence
of the classic poets. This is his Shakespeare-like proudness of being
an Englishman and "comes out very delightfully in the fulness and fine
credulity of his celebration of English superstitions."\(^101\) Those songs:

...of brooks, of blossoms, birds, and bowers,
Of April, May, of June and July flowers.
...of May-foles, Hock-carts, Waissails, wakes,\(^102\)
speak of the English village life of his Dean Prior years.

Horace's and Herrick's poems show a true interest in the country and
real purpose in their having been written. The Elizabethan poems are
comparatively inconsequential in their showing any bridge between the Latin
post and his English imitator.

\(^100\) Hesperides: "His Grange:" 1, 2.
\(^101\) Herrick, The Complete Poems of Robert Herrick, memorial introduction,
p. clxx.
\(^102\) Hesperides: "The Argument of His Book:" 1-3.
F. Praise of Contentment.

So intricately connected with the joys of rural life is the praise of contentment that they are almost one in many statements of the poets. The farm in Sabina and the vicarage of Devon were the scenes of rural content, but Horatian philosophy also pervades the atmosphere of the poems written while Horace and Herrick were surrounded by the bustle of commerce and social life. This state of satiety reached by the poets finds expression in complete resignation to:

Otium ...
... non gemmis neque purpura venale neque auro.103

Richard Barnes, an Elizabethan, questions the reader on the abodes of content:

Ah, sweet Content! where is thy mild abode,
Is it with Shepherds, and light-hearted Swains,
Which sing upon the downs, and pipe abroad,
Tending their flocks and cattle on the plains,
Ah, sweet Content! where dost thou safely rest,
In heaven, with angels, which the praises sing
Of Him that made, and rules at his behest,
The minds and hearts of every living thing.
Is it in churches, with Religious Men,
Which please the gods with prayers manifold;
And in their studies meditate it then,
Whether thou dost in heaven, or earth appear;
Be where thou wilt! thou wilt not harbour here!104

Robert Herrick says of content:

... 'tis not th' extent
Of land makes life, but sweet content.105

From the strenuous life of the Apulian peasant and his economical father, Horace the observer learned the lesson of thrift and content:

103 II Ode XVI: 5, 6.
Cum me hortaretur, parce frugaliter atque
Vive rem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset; 106

Elizabethan lyrics are not lacking in praises of a content found in
the mind not in circumstances. In a song set by William Byrd this picture
of satiety is given:

I wish but what I have at will,
I wander not to seek for more.
I like the plain, I climb no hill
In greatest storms, I sit on shore
And laugh at them that toil in vain
To get what must be lost again.107

Phillip Rossetter set this lyric to music:

What hearts' content can he find
What happy sleeps can his eyes embrace
That bears a guilty mind?
His taste, sweet wines will abhor,
No music's sound can appease the thoughts
That wicked deeds deplore.
The passion of a present fear,
Still makes his restless motion there;
And, all the day, he dreads the night.
And, all the night, as one aghast, he fears the morning light.
But he that loves to be loved,
And, in his deeds, doth adore heaven's power,
And is with pity moved;
The night gives rest to his heart,
The cheerful beams do awake his soul
Revived in every part.
He lives a comfort to his friends,
And heaven to him such blessing sends,
That fear of hell cannot dismay
His steadfast heart that is (?).108

Another poet bewails mankind's inconsistency:

The things we have, we most of all neglect;
And that we have not, greedily we crave.
The things we may have, little we respect;
And still we covet, that we cannot have.
Yet, howsoever, in our conceit, we prize them;
No sooner gotten, but we straight despise them.109

106 I Serm IV: 107, 108.
107 Byrd, Sonnets and Pastoral: "Pastoral:" 7-12.
Shakespeare also says:

Those that much covet are with gain so fond,
For what they have not that which they possess
They scatter, and unloose it from their hand
And so, by hoping more, they have but less; 110

Dekker praises content and poverty in these lines:

Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?
Oh sweet content!
Art thou rich, yet is thy mind perplexed?
Oh punishment!
Dost thou laugh to see how fools are vexed
To add to golden numbers, golden numbers?
Oh sweet content! Oh sweet, oh sweet content!
Work apace, apace, apace, apace;
Honest labor bears a lovely face;
Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny nonny!

Canst drink the waters of the crisped spring?
Oh sweet content!
Swimm'st thou in wealth, yet sink'st in thine own tears?
Oh punishment!
Then he that patiently want's burden bears
No burden bears, but is a king, a king!
Oh sweet content! Oh sweet, oh sweet content!
Work apace, apace, apace, apace;
Honest labor wears a lovely face;
Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny nonny! 111

The exhortation to small needs appears in The Hesperides:

Live with a thrifty, not a needy fate; 112

Greater gifts entail greater care; small means insures content:

...Multa petentibus
Deunt multa; bene est, cujusque obtulit
Parca quod satis est manu. 113

Happy's that man to whom God gives
A stock of goods, whereby he lives
Neer to the wishes of his heart;
No man is blest through ev'ry part. 114

110 Shakespeare, "Othello" 141-143.
111 Dekker, "Art Thou Poor?" 1-20.
112 I Hesperides: "Expenses Exhaust;" 1.
113 III Ode XVI: 42-44.
114 Noble Numbers: "None Truly Happy Here;" 1-4.
To teach man to confine desires;
And know that riches have their proper stint
In the contented mind, not mint.
And can't instruct, that those who have the itch
Of craving more, are never rich.
These things thou know'st to th' height, and dost prevent
That plague, because thou art content
With that Heav'n gave thee with a warie hand. 115

The reitera.tion of this sentiment in an ode corresponds with Herrick's epigrammatic observations in the West:

Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
Ab dis plura feret; 118

Why sho'd we covet much, when as we know W've more to beare our charge then way to go? 117

Let's live with that small pittance that we have;
Who covets more is evermore a slave. 118

Who with a little cannot be content,
Endures an everlasting punishment. 119

Richard Lovelace comments on the vanity of riches as sources of true "Blisse:"

It is not, y' are deceiv'd, it is not blisse
What you conceive as happy living is:
To have your hands with rubies bright to glos,
Then on your tortoise-bed your body throw,
And sink your self in down, to drink in gold,
And have your looser self in purple roll'd;
With royal fare to make the tables graon,
Or else with what from Lybiok fields is mown,
Nor in one vault guard all your magazine,
But at no cowards fate t' have frighted bin;
Nor with the peoples breath to be swol'n great,
Nor at a drawn stiletto basely swear.
He that dares this, nothing to him's unfit,
But proud o' th' top of fortunes wheel may sit. 120

116  III Ode XVI: 21, 22.
117  Hesperides: "Not To Covet Much Where Little Is The Charge:" 1, 2.
118  Hesperides: "The Covetous Still Captives:" 1, 2.
119  Hesperides: "Again:" 1, 2.
120  Lovelace, op. cit., pp. 130, 131, "Pentadii:" 1-14.
The second epistle of book one cautions:

Quod satis est cui contingit, nihil amplius optet. 121

Herrick urges complete acquiescence:

Learn this of me, whe'er thy lot doth fall, 122
Short lot, or not, to be content with all.

The poets illustrate the uncertainty of riches and their inharmony with content and happiness:

...Siciscet improbae
Creasont divitiae; tamen
Curtae necio quid semper abest rei. 123

Things are uncertain, and the more we get,
The more on ycie pavements we are set. 124

But for Horace and for Herrick:

Peace is neither in the repose of the fields nor in the bustle of travelling. It may be found everywhere when the mind is calm and the heart healthy. The legitimate conclusion of this moral is that we carry our happiness within us. 125

This brings us back to the center of all Horatian philosophy: "aurea mediocritas" and the "aequus animus," the principles of which Horace, the Elizabethans, and Herricks briefly state the theme thus:

... quod petis hic est,
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus. 126

Bent to content 127
Content makes all ambrosia. 128

121 Epist. II: 46.
122 Hesperides: "Lots To Be Liked:" 1, 2.
123 III Ode XXIV: 62-64.
124 II Hesperides: "Things Mortall Still Mutable:" 1, 2.
125 Boissier, op. cit., p. 16.
126 Epist. XI: 29, 30.
128 Love Posies. The ms. in which this collection is found was written about 1596. Harl, MS 6910.
In praise of content sang many English poets. This Horatian theme was caught up by the Elizabethans and was reiterated in numerous lyrics of that day. Among the Cavalier poets, Robert Herrick and Richard Lovelace declared that content was free from limiting circumstances and inherent in the mind.
CHAPTER V

POETRY IS IMMORTAL: SEEK THE MUSE.

It is natural that the poet should be much concerned with the fate of his poetry for this is his means of perpetuity through the ages. Verse, to Horace, as well as to Shelley, was the poet's "trumpet of a prophecy." Horace's poetry has been an "unextinguished hearth" whose fires burned low in certain eras but were fanned into a living flame in others until he became a dynamic power in "the formation of the literary ideal, upon the actual creation of literature; and, upon living itself."²

The age of Pope and Dryden well illustrates the Latin poet's effect upon the literary ideal; but the poets of Elizabeth's time and Robert Herrick typify best the Roman poet's influence that operated to inspire living in accord with his rule and the art of adaptation and creation.

That the poet was aware of his qualities as a poet is suggested by Professor Showerman:³

From infancy he has been set apart as the child of the Muses. At birth Melpomene marked him for her own. The doves of ancient story covered him over with the green leaves of the Apulian wood as, lost and overcome by weariness, he lay in peaceful slumber, and kept him safe from creeping and four-footed things, a babe secure in the favor of heaven. The sacred charm that rests upon him preserved him in the rout at Philippi, rescued him from the Sabine wolf, saved him from death by the falling tree and the waters of shipwreck.

¹ Shelley, "Ode to the West Wind."
² Showerman, op. cit., pp. 130, 131.
³ Ibid., p. 70.
Such is the protection under which this singer of verse moves; he is the child of Melpomene. His real self will ever soar above mankind as he voices in the last ode in book three, the epilogue to his books published in 23 B.C.

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis.
Annorum series et fuga temporum.
Non omnia moriar multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam: usque ego posterum
Crescam laude recens, Dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex,
Dicer, qua violens obstrepit Aflidus
Et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
Regnavit populorum, ex humili potnes
Principis Asolium carmen ad Italos
Dedisse modos. Sume superbiam
Qua esset meritis et mihi Delphica
Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.4

The immortality of poetry is a theme common to many Elizabethan poems. No matter how neglectful the poet was of his works, he took great pleasure in voicing the idea that his poetry should live for all ages. The actors might cut and manacle his lines of drama; the manuscripts of his poems might be burned or plagiarized, yet he sang unconcernedly of his poetry which should outlast Time.

Shakespeare repeatedly made this declaration. As though in translation of Horace's ode, Shakespeare wrote:

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme;
But you shall shine more bright in these contents
Than unswept stone, besmear'd with sluttish time.
When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry.

4 III Ode XXX: 1-16.
Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire
shall burn—
The living record of your memory.
'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity,
Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wear this world out to the ending doom.  

Michael Drayton in his collection, Idea, expresses the same idea:

So shalt thou fly above the vulgar throng,
Still to survive in my immortal song.

Richard Barnes writes in dedication of his "right noble Lord Henry:"

Deign, mighty Lord! these verses to persuade,

...which shall outwear
Devouring Time itself, if my poor Muse
Divine aright; ...

Again he praises the inspiration of the muse:

Whose lasting Chronicles shall Time outwear!

When reading these assertions of the ancient poet or of the Elizabethans, Herrick may not have sincerely hoped to find immortality in his delicate and unreprouachable poems--the golden apples of the West although his publisher unskillfully mixed in his manuscripts of epigrams and the "Book of the Just" and thus "contributed to the weeds and thorns and nettles and pestilential growths of Hesperides;" nevertheless, he writes in the fashion of former poets.

Professor Grosart further remarks on the quality of his poet's work:

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5 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 55;" 1-12.
7 Barnes, Dedicatory Sonnets: "To the right noble Lord Henry, Earl of Northumberland;" 1, 7-9.
8 Barnes, Parthenophil and Parthenopae: "Canzon 1;" 94.
10 Ibid., p. cxxviii.
Horace has nothing to equal, much less surpass, "His Poetrie His Pillar." The light-hearted Latin poet knew little of the pathos of the unsurpassable little poem, if his shout of 'exegi' tells us he has the Post's lofty self-estimate.

The poem reads:

Fames pillar here at last we sat,
Out-during marble, brasse, or jet;
Charm'd and enchanted so,
As to withstand the blow
Of overthrow:
Nor shall the seas,
Or outrages
Or storms orebear
What we up-rear.
The kingdoms fal,
This pillar never shall
Decline or waste at all,
But stand for ever by his owne
Firme and well fixt foundation.

Again Herrick indicates that time is fleeting yet verses are an eternal monument:

Onely a little more
I have to write,
Then Ile give o're,
And bid the world good-night.

'Tis but a flying minute
That I must stay,
Or linger in it;
And then I must away.

O time that cut'st down all!
And scarce leav'st here
Memorial
Of any men that wer,
How many lyse forgot
In vaults beneath,
And piece-meale rot
Without a fame in death!

Behold this living stone
I reare for me,
Ne'r to be thrown
Downe, envious Time, by thee.

II Hesperides: "The Pillar of Fame:" 1-14.
Pillars let some set up,
If so they please:--
Here is my hope,
And my Pyramids. 12

The Latin poet reiterates the thought of his immortal verse and urges confidence in the Muse:

... Non ego, pauperum
Sanguis parentum, non ego, quae vocas,
Dilecte Maecenas, obibo
Neo Stygia cohicebor unda. 13

Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori
Caelo Musa beat. 14

Ne forte credas interitura, quae
Longe sonantem natus ad Aetnam
Non ante volgatas per artis
Verba loquor socianda chordis:

This comment upon the poet's praise of their works from the Harvard Shakespeare 16 is significant:

This was a customary way of speaking among sonnet-writers of that age, and so is not to be taken as if the Poet really had any such conceit or forecast of immortality, but merely as an allowed train of poetical license.

Shakespeare, despite his utter neglect of manuscripts, wrote many lines upon the surety that his works would outlive Time:

Yet, do thy worst, Old Time; despite thy wrong
My love shall in my verse ever live young.17

But thy eternal summer shall not fade,
Nor loose possession of that fair moment;
Nor shall Death brag thou wander'st in his shade,

12 Hesperides: "His Poetrie His Pillar:" 1-24.
13 II Ode XX: 5-8.
14 IV Ode VIII: 28, 29.
15 IV Ode IX: 1-4.
16 p. 97.
17 Shakespeare, "Sonnet 19:" 13, 14.
When in eternal lines to time thou growest:
So long as men can breathe or eyes can see,
So long lives this and this gives life to thee.\(^{18}\)

"Shakespeare alone excepted, no sonneteer repeated with greater emphasis than Spenser, Ronsard's favourite conceit that his verses are immortal, and give immortality to those they commemorate."\(^{19}\)

Even this verse, vow'd to eternity,
Shall be the roof immortal monument;
And tell her praise to all posterity,
That may admire such world's rare wonderment.\(^{20}\)

My verse your virtues rare shall eternize.
And in the heavens write your glorious name.\(^{21}\)

Michael Drayton, in carrying out a sonnet sequence, found it appropriate to include these lines on his poetry:

To keep thee from oblivion and the grave
Ensuing ages yet my rhymes shall cherish,
Where I entomb'd my better part shall save;
And, though this earthly body fade and die,
My name shall mount upon eternity.\(^{22}\)

Daniel attributes to his verse power to eternize his mistress:

That grace which doth more than enwoman thee
Lives in my lines and must eternal be.\(^{23}\)

The implication is present in Richard Tofte's verses that though the elements be disturbed, the laurel confers protection upon the poet:

\(^{18}\) Shakespeare, "Sonnet 18:" 9-14.
\(^{20}\) Spenser, Amoretti and Epithalamion; "Sonnet 69:" 9-12.
\(^{21}\) Ibid., "Sonnet 75:" 11, 12.
\(^{23}\) Daniel, Delia: "Sonnet 42:" 13, 14.
The heavens begin, with thunder, for to break
The troubled air; and to the coloured fields,
The lightning for to spill their pride doth threat.
Each thing unto the furious tempest yields.
And yet, methinks, within me I do heare.
A gentle voice hard at my heart, to say:
"Fear nothing, thou; but be of merry cheer!
Thou only safe, 'fore others all shalt stay.
To save thee from all hurt, thy shield shalt be
The shadow of the conquering Laurel Tree."24

Robert Herrick followed the same conceit:

Some parts may perish; dye thou canst not all:
The most of thee shall soape the funerall.25

Thou shalt not all die; for while love's fire shines
Upon his altar, men shall read thy lines;
And learn'd musicians shall to honour Herrick's
Fame and his name, both set and sing his lyriks.26

Who will not honour noble number, when
Verses out-live the bravest deeds of men?27

Here I my selfe might likewise die,
And utterly forgotten lye,
But that eternall poetrie
Repullulation gives me here
Unto the thirtieth thousand yeere,
When all now dead shall re-appeare.28

Trust to good verses then;
They onely will aspire,
When pyramids, as men,
Are lost i'th' funerall fire.

And when all bodies meet
In Lethe to be drown'd,
Then onely numbers sweet
With endlesse life are crown'd.29

24 Tofte, "Laura:" Part III.
25 Hesperides: "On Himselfe:" 1, 2.
26 Hesperides: "Upon Himselfe:" 1-4.
27 Hesperides: "Verses:" 1, 2.
28 Hesperides: "Poetry Perpetuates the Poet:" 1-6.
29 Hesperides: "To Live Merrily, and to Trust to Good Verses:" 45-62.
Thou art a plant sprung up to wither never,
But, like a laurel, to grow green for ever. 30

Live, by thy muse thou shalt, when others die,
Leaving no fame to long posterity:
When monarchies trans-shifted are and gone,
Here shall endure thy vast dominion. 31

Within the poems of Horace and Herrick are evidences of patient and
genuine workmanship: each constitutes an address to a mistress:

O metra pulchra filia pulchrior,
Quem criminosis cumque voles modum
Pones lambis, sive flama
Sive mari libet Hadriana. 32

Julia, if I chance to die
Ere I print my poetry,
I most humble thee desire
To commit it to the fire;
Better 'twere my book were dead,
Than to live not perfected. 33

Horace may have been following a fad of the capital when he wrote his
odes, praising his works and showing signs of a "superiority complex" in
the poets, but by the time the Elizabethan poets had interwoven this thread
back and forth through the fabric of their poems, it had become a "conceit."
Robert Herrick, hardly as a result of impartial judgment and foresight,
thoroughly sprinkles his fruit of the West with these favorable estimates
of his works.

That these poems were composed while Herrick sat with the lines from
Horace before him cannot be said. They undoubtedly betray Horatian senti-
ments and expressions, but that these may have come through the Elizabethan
poets is possible.

30 [Hesperides: "To His Booke;" 1, 2.
33 [Hesperides: "His Request to Julia;" 1-6.
CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS.

A. Praise of Patron.

The similarity of the poets, Horace and Herrick, in regard to royal patronage is evidenced by remarks and addresses in the poems. Many Elizabethan poets mention their patrons as their inspiration, but few poems found in the collection of Elizabethan verse used in this study pay tribute to the poets' patrons. Horace was closely connected with Maecenas, the great promoter of literature in accord with the beneficent policy of the emperor Augustus. From him, Horace received the Sabine farm and other courtesies; to him, Horace dedicated the three books of the odes and made more minute references to his patron. This relation with Maecenas brought Horace into close connection with the royal household; and, like Virgil, the author of the odes aided much in promoting Augustus' policy of reconstruction. In 17 B.C., Augustus chose Horace to celebrate in song the saeculum ending in that year; in this capacity as poet laureate the poet celebrates his sovereign and praises the policies inaugurated by him.¹

To Augustus, Horace looked as the hope and deliverer of the state in the second ode of book one:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae} \\
\text{Grandinis misit Pater et rubente} \\
\text{Dextera sacras iaculatus arcas} \\
\text{Terruit urbem,} \\
\text{Terruit gentis, grave ne redirect} \\
\text{Saeulum Pyrrhae nova monstra questae,} \\
\text{Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos} \\
\text{Visere montes,}
\end{align*}
\]

¹ No quotation is given here since no reference is made to Augustus, but we know that the poem indirectly honors the emperor.
Piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo
Nota quae sedes fuerat columbis,
Et superiacto pavidae natarunt
Aequore dammae.

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Litore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire, dieictum mommenta regis
Templaque Vestae,

Iliae dum se nimium querenti
Iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
Labitur ripa, Love, non probante, uxorius
ammis.

Audiet civis acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persae melius perierent,
Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara iuventus.

Quem vocet divum populus ruentis
Imperi rebus? Prece qua fatigent
Virgines sanctae minus audientem
Carmina Vestam?

Cui dabit partis sceleus expiandi
Iuppiter? Tandem venias, preeamur,
Nube candentis umeros amictus,
Augur Apollo;

Sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
Quam iocum circum volat et Cupido;
Sive neclectum genus et nepotes
Respiciis, uxor,

Heu nimis longo satiate ludo,
Quem ivuet clamor galeaeque leves
Acer et Marsi peditis cruenta
Voltus in hostem.

Sive mitata iuvenem figura
Ales in terris imitaris aliae
Filii Maiæ, patiens vocari
Caesaris ultor;

Seras in caeleum redeas, dixue
Laetus interis populo Quirini,
Neve te nostris vitiss iniquom
Ocior aura.
Robert Herrick, like a good Englishman, shows his loyalty to Charles I and to other patrons, among whom were the influential courtiers—Endymion Porter, Mildmay Fane, earl of Westmoreland, and Philip Herbert, earl of Pembroke. Although he received no court appointment, he says that to them he owed "the oil of maintenance:"

Let there be patrons; patrons like to thee,
Brave Porter! Poets ne'er will wanting be:
Fabius, and Cotta, Lentulus, all live
In thee, thou man of men! who here do'st give
Noe onely subject-matter for our wit,
But likewise oyle of maintenance to it;
For which, before thy threshold, we'll lay downe
Our thyrse, for scepter; and our bâies for crown.
For to say truth, all garlandes are thy due;
The Laurell, Mirtle, Oke, and Ivie too. 3

After receiving the vicarage of Dean Prior, Herrick maintained a keen interest in his king and celebrated his sovereign in various poems.

He celebrated the victories of Charles in the western campaigns of 1643-5, wrote a beautiful dirge on the death of lord Bernard Stuart, slain at the battle of Rowton heath in 1646, and still clung to hope when Charles came to reside, a virtual prisoner, at Hampton Court, in 1647.

Welcome, great Cesar, welcome now you are,
As dearest peace after destructive ware;
Welcome as slumbers, or as beds of ease
After our long and peevish sicknesses.
O pome of glory! welcome now, and come
To re-possess once more your long'd-for home.
A thousand altars smoke, a thousand thighs
Of beeves here ready stand for sacrifice.

2 Ode II: 1-52.
3 Hesperides: "To The Patron of Poets, M. End. Porter:" 1-10.
Enter and prosper, while our eyes doe wait
For an ascendent throughly auspicate;
Under which signe we may the former stone
Lay of our safeties now foundation
That done, O cesar! live, and be to us
Our fate, our fortune, and our genius,
To whose free knees we may our temples tye
As to a still protecting deitie:
That sho'd you stirre, we and our altars too
May, Great Augustus, goe along with you.
Chor. Long live the king! and to accomplish this,
We'll from our owne addde far more years to his. 5

This poem accords Charles the honour of a Caesar and contains sentiments
like those in the ode addressed by Horace to Augustus.

The beneficence of the king is also indicated in these lines:

To find the tree of life whose fruits did feed
And leaves did heale all sick of human seed;
To find Bethseda, and an angel there,
Stirring the waters, I am come; and here
At last I find, after my much to doe,
The tree, Bethesda, and the angel too;
And all in your last hand, which has the powers
Of all those suppling, healing herbs and flowers.
To that self charm, that spell, that magick bough,
That high enchantment, I betake me now;
And to that hand, the branch of heaven's faire tree,
I kneele for help. 0! lay that hand on me,
Adored Cesar, and my faith is such,
I shall be heald'd if that my king but touch
The evill is not yours; my sorrow sings:
Mine is the evill, but the cure the kings. 6

If when these lyricks, Cesar, you shall heare,
And that Apollo shall so touch your eare,
As for to make this that, or any one
Number your owne by free adoption,
That vers, of all the verses here, shall be
The heire of this great realme of poetry. 7

An elaborate compliment is embodied in these words of Horace:

5 II Hesperides: "To The King, Upon His Welcome To Hampton-Court, Set
and Sung;" 1-20.

6 I Hesperides: "To The King, To Cure the Evill:" 1-16.

7 I Hesperides: "To The King:" 1-6.
Divis orte bonis, optume ἐκμαλαε
Custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;
Maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
Sancto concilio redi.

Lucoem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae;
Instar veris enim voltus ubi tuos
Adfulsit populo, gratior it dies
Et soles melius nitent.

In The Ἱεσπερίδες we read a similar compliment:

Give way, give way; now, now my Charles shines here,
A publike light in this immense sphere.
Some starres were fixt before; but these are dim,
Compar'd in this my ample orbe to him.
Draw in your feeble fiers, while that he
Appears but in his meaner majestie;
Where, if such glory flashes from his name,
Which is his shade, who can abide his flame?
Princes, and such like publick lights as these,
Must not be lookt on but at distances:
For, if we gaze on these brave lamps too neer,
Our eyes they'Il blind, or if not blind, they'Il bleer.

But underlying this loyalty to patrons in the poems of each poet is a dis-interestedness and independence of spirit which attest displeasure in mere obsession and subservience. Both poets set forth in their lives the fine art of courtesy and friendship that made for happiness and was a great motor force in their writing. Many Elizabethan poets pay tribute to their patrons, but no quotation showing borrowings from Horace was found in the volumes used.

B. Similar Expressions.

The surety of the influence of one writer upon another cannot be determined by a few similar expressions, but as a final indication of the effect of Horace's poems upon Herrick the following groups are submitted.

---

8 IV Ode V: 1-8.
9 II Ἱεσπερίδες: "To The King!" 1-12.
10 Haight, op. cit., p. 269.
III robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus, ... 11

A heart thrice wall'd with oke, and brasee that man
Had, first durst plow the ocean. 12

... namque deos didici securum agere sevum, 13

The gods are easie, and condemme
All such as are not soft like them. 14

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
Victas et urbes increpuit lyra, 15

Cynthius plucks ye by the eare,
That ye may good doctrine heare.
Play not with the maiden-haire,
For each ringlet there's a snare. 16

The mere mention of the name of Horace chiefly in the Bacchanalian
verse of Herrick is not sufficient to become a criterion for judging
influence but its presence indicates at least an acquaintance with the
Latin author, as is indicated in an ode, written by Herrick, the particular
form of poetry which Horace immortalized:

Here we securely live and eate
The cream of meat;
And keep eternal fires,
By which we sit, and doe divine,
As wine
And rage inspires.

11 I Ode III: 9-12.
15 IV Ode XV: 1, 2.
16 I Hesperides: "Dissuasions From Idleness;" 1-4.
If full we charme, then call upon
Anaacreon
To grace the frantick Thryse;
And having drunk, we raise a shout
Throughout,
To praise his verse.
Then cause we Horace to be read,
Which sung or seyd,
A goblet to the brim,
Of lirick wine, both swell'd and crown'd,
A round
We quaff to him.

This, thus we live, and spend the houre
In wine, and flowers,
And make the frollick yeere,
The month, the week, the instant day,
To stay
The longer here.17

The mention of Horace in another of Herrick's poems occurs in an
address to the Earl of Westmoreland,18 as well as in the following ode
by Michael Drayton:

Or him that Rome did grace,
Whose Airs we all embrace:
That scarcely found his peer; Horace, first of the
Nor giveth PHOEBUS place, Romans, in that kind.
For strokes divinely clear.19

Ben Jonson says:

Let me be what I am; as Virgil cold,
As Horace fat, or as Anaacreon old;
No poet's verses yet did ever move,
Whose readers did not think he was in love.20

In another part of the Underwoods, Jonson writes "A Speech According
To Horace." Jonson, in his book of epigrams, makes a play upon the name
of Verus and of Horace in addressing Sir Horace Vere:

18 Cf. p. 59.
19 Drayton, Odes, 1606: "Ode I: To Himself, and the Harp:" 66-70.
Which of thy names I take, not only bears
A Roman sound, but Roman virtue wears,
Illustrious Vere, or Horace, fit to be
Sung by a Horace, or a muse as free;

The parallels between Horace's and Herrick's praise of their patrons is definite; it is sufficient to call attention to Herrick's close study of his Latin model. A corresponding conformity to Horatian style and content is found in the quotations under the similar expressions.

CHAPTER VII

PARALLELS IN THE LIVES OF HORACE AND HERRICK.

Of all the English poets treated in this study, one poet has displayed as much or more of Horace's influence than all of the rest together; that is Herrick. Not only has Herrick imitated more lines of Horace's verse, he has exhibited an adherence to the main tenor of the Roman poet's philosophy and in all things proves himself spiritually akin to Horace. There is, moreover, a striking similarity in many of the external circumstances of their lives, relationship to patrons, environments, and poetry-development--all of which serve to accentuate their relationship.

The poet-patron relations of the seventeenth century English court were singularly similar to those of the Augustan age. The coterie of brilliant young poets at the court of Charles I resembles, in several ways, the group gathered about Maecenas and Augustus. As Virgil and Horace made public the reconstruction principles of Augustus, gave him their personal friendship, and celebrated him in ode and epic, so the Cavalier poets gave their loyalty to their prince and patron, showed an interest in his state policies and affairs, and hailed him as the Caesar of their age.

But the parallel between Horace and Herrick extends beyond the poet-patron similarity and is even more striking in poet-environment and poetry-development analysis.

Since a poet can be better understood when known in his setting, let us turn to the relation of poet and environment, and the poetry-development parallels between Horace and Herrick.
Each poet loved the capital of his time. Horace loved Rome and its customs, and we see him wandering along the Sacred Way, and mingling with his worthy friends on the Esquiline. Herrick loved London and sang its praises when he returned from the West; and we surmise that he frequently joined Ben Jonson, Charles Cotton, Denham, and other wits at the Mermaid Tavern or the Dog, where were held:

... those Lyrick Feasts,
Made at the Sun,
The Dog, the triple Tunne;¹

But for each poet a love of rural retreats and of simple fare far outweigh the short-lived joys found in the strife and restless activity of the city.

Horace, the son of a freedman of Apulia, was early trained to the simplicity and thrift of southern Italy by his father, who sold out his bank, invested his meager savings so that he and his son might go to Rome for the latter's education and live on the income from the investments.

After defeat at the battle of Philippi in opposition to Octavian, Horace found himself deprived of his father's Venusian estate by an allotment of lands to Octavian's soldiers. So the youthful Horace betook himself to the capital, where he obtained a clerkship in the state treasury.

At this time a few satires and lampoons, the work of leisure time, came from the pen of the young poet, who, at this stage of his experience, was particularly fond of regarding himself as an interested observer of

¹ Hesperides: "An Ode For Him:" 4-6.
those about him. Smilingly, he noted the over-zealous ambition of statesman, merchant, and artisan; the futility of all human desires beyond bare necessity; the ever-changing tide of Dame Fortune; and the short span of life. These earlier observations of Horace the spectator appear in the Sermones, discourses easily adapted to this purpose. These satires are not bitter, but they embody a definite spirit of independence against Octavian.

Virgil and Varus introduced the independent Venusian to Maecenas in the hope that the latter would be favourably impressed with the poet's efforts and become Horace's patron. Not until the year, 33 B.C., five years after the first meeting of poet and patron, did Maecenas secure for Horace the Sabine farm, twenty-eight miles from Rome, and leisure for writing. This occurred only after the poet had ceased to rebel against the regime of Octavian and had given his support to the policy of the Emperor.

Most of Horace's pieces, satires, epistles, and lyrics, were written after Horace had left the city to live at ease among his books and hills. In Rome, Horace had pointed out the vanity of ambition, care and anxiety in regard to other men; in the Sabine hills, he became more than a spectator of mankind, for he pointed to himself as an example of the power of virtue and hard work. In the Sabine hills, the flowers reminded him not alone of the Venusian landscape of boyhood but again of the fleeting quality of mortal joys. There the poet formulated for himself the commands: live today; maintain a calm mind; injunctions which were to be mellowed by his years in quiet contentment. For later, the poet saw the
worth-whileness of content, the rich joys of the country, and, finally, the immortal monument for himself in his verse. The discovery of these substantial joys led to his embodying in his poetry further hints on the art of enjoyment; in these he went beyond Anacreon, the Epicureans, and the other schools known to the Romans.

Just as Horace found the source of the Baudian spring on his estate, so he found the source of happiness and poetry; and repeatedly he calls to the reader of his poems that he seek the golden mean and the Muses for poetic inspiration as the ultimate good and the source of everlasting glory. With this view of the immortality of the poet found in his ever-living verse, is it to be wondered at that Horace never married or sought to perpetuate his family line? No absorbing passion filled his life; and, although Horace was considered immoral by the authorities of the Middle Ages, yet he was consistent in declaring until his death that love, as well as wine, was a pleasure to be enjoyed moderately.

Let us now turn to the English poet, Herrick, who was born in Cheapside, London, in 1591. He, the son of a goldsmith, was counseled in youth by his conservative uncle and guardian, Sir William Heyrick of Beaumanor, much as Horace had been by his father. Although we know that Horace received unusual educational advantages, critics do not agree whether Herrick attended Oxford or not.

Nevertheless, after taking the holy orders, he was presented in 1629 with the vicarage of Dean Prior in Devonshire, a second Sabine farm in its opening the fountain-head of poetry for the Englishman. For in Devon,
this young vicar "acquired that love of flowers and of fragrance which imparted to his verse the beauty of one and the sweetness of the other." For nineteen years the king maintained this post for Herrick and made possible the fruits of the West, The Hesperides. The ever-flowing river of Denborem, "rockie" and "rude," and the rosebuds of the Devon garden furnished illustrations for his verses of the transient joys of life. One of the sources of poetic inspiration was the Odes of Horace found along with other Latin works on the shelves of the clergyman's library. That the Englishman had read Horace's poems previous to his removal to Devon we do not know, but that he had written some verse during his earlier years in London Herrick affirms in his own lines:

Before I went
To banishment
Into the loathed West,
I could rehearse
A lyric verse,
And speak it with the best.

The long winter evenings in Devon furnished much time for the vicar to peruse his favorite poets. As he read more widely, Herrick discovered the consistency of Horace's philosophy and became a living disciple of the Roman poet's art of living.

Like Horace, who had used the satire, Herrick early embodied in apt and pointed epigrams remarks of Herrick the observer on nodding parishioners, the uselessness of over-ambition, and the substantial joys of the countryside and of small possessions.

---

2 Herrick, Hesperides: or Works Both Humane and Divine, biographical notice, p. 6.
3 Ibid., p. 6.
Modeling his content on that of Horace, the English poet prophesied either in line with literary convention or as a detached and judicial estimate of his work the immortality of his poems. As in the case of Horace, Herrick looked to no other source for the preservation of his name.

The Englishman lived a conventional and modest life under the scrutinious gaze of parishioners who were more Puritan than Cavalier. Herrick lived and wrote for the rest of his years at Dean Prior with the exception of twelve years spent in London during the time of the Protectorate. His restoration to the vicarage in 1660 lasted until his death in about 1674, the year conjectured as that of his death.

I have noted a similarity in the outward circumstances of the poets' lives: a likeness in their relationships to patrons, a similarity in their environments, and finally a similitude in the development of their poetry.

The great parallel, however, lies not in the actual events of the poets' lives or in the form of their works but in the recurrence of similar ideas: in the English poet's utilization of the Latin poet's even temper and sense of proportion, which are epitomized in the expression "carpe diem," "aequus animus," "aurea mediocritas."
CONCLUSION

The solution to every research problem is beset by certain limitations. The problem, in order to be reliably presented, must be narrowed to definite bounds but must be broad enough to allow comparisons.

The problem in this study is narrowed to Horatian influence in the Elizabethan and Cavalier poets. The evidences in this thesis suggest a chain of influence, although not unbroken, from Horace to the Elizabethan poets and into and through the Cavalier poets. In the poems of Robert Herrick are found the best and most prolific illustrations of Horatian philosophy among the poets of Elizabethan and Caroline England.

The great design of Horatian philosophy is brought out in a triple motif: "carpe diem," "aequus animus," "aurea mediocris." The belief in the immortality of poetry and a high self-estimate characterized the English poets of the Elizabethan and Cavalier ages. The recurring admonition to seek the Muse for inspiration and immortality completes the four themes from which Horatian devotion chiefly arises.

A summary of the findings of each chapter is appropriate here. The restatement of Time's fleeting quality occurs in the Elizabethan poets quite variedly, but these writers do not capture the most Horatian phrase, "carpe diem," as does the Cavalier poet, Herrick, who repeatedly urges his reader to make the most of the present hour. This indicates a deeper study of Horace by Herrick than had been carried forward by the Elizabethan poets and the other Cavalier poets.

Fortune's ever-circling wheel held the attention of the Elizabethan
poets in the midst of the most varied poetic attractions, and they urged
the maintainence of a calm mind. Robert Herrick may well have gone to his
English predecessors in place of referring to the original Latin for his
poems on Fortune. However, no conclusive evidence can be offered that he
did not consult Horace since so many of his poems follow closely the
thought of the original Latin.

The art of enjoyment with its "aures mediocritas" is such a fruitful
field for study that its treatment by subdivisions is necessary. That the
Elizabethans did not neglect the praise of the golden mean is evidenced by
the citations quoted.

The lack of quotations from Elizabethan poems signifies their passing
by, in the main, the theme, the power of virtue.

Numerous Elizabethan poets enlarged upon the vanity of pursuing ambi-
tious schemes. Whether their deductions were derived from Horatian philos-
ophy, wide reading, or life experience is difficult to say.

A comparative dearth of material bearing on the pleasures of the poets,
wine, music and love, is noticeable in Elizabethan poets. Herrick's motto
is in accord with the golden mean and reflects a direct acquaintance with
his Latin model. His translation of "A Dialogue Betwixt Horace and Lydia,
Translated Anno 1627, and Set By Mr. Ro. Ramsey," being the only acknowledged
rendition of Horace's works into English, is significant.

The joys of rural life were sincerely and effectively treated by
Horace and in turn by Herrick. The poems found in the sources consulted
show that the Elizabethan poets did not grasp the true significance of
Horace's love for the country. Their view of rural life was pastoral and
artificial; Horace's and Herrick's views were realistic in that they knew the Sabine farm and Devonshire and the opportunities for quiet.

The Elizabethans were able to appraise and to appropriate to their poetry Horace's idea of content; from them, Herrick may have derived his use of this theme.

The immortality of verse is an especially common theme on which Elizabethan writers dwelt. Their lack of copyright laws and disregard of original manuscripts did not deter them from speaking of their eternal glory to come to them through their poems. From Spenser to Herrick are indications of this theme of Horatian philosophy, not once in each poet, but many times.

Shakespeare's fiftieth sonnet follows Horace's thirtieth ode of book three closely. Herrick may have sought the original or he may have used a poem of his predecessors for his poem, "The Pillar of Fame."

In spite of the possibility that Herrick may have consulted English poems, it is particularly significant that not only do his works contain the most lines showing Horatian influence but his poems embody the essence of Horatian philosophy most clearly. Herrick neglects no single phase of the Horatian themes treated in this study, while the quotations from no other poet are found under all of the themes. This indicates that Herrick went to the original source for a clear understanding of Horatian philosophy rather than that bee-like he gathered his honey from many flowers and sought both the Latin poet and his English predecessors as models.

The chief difficulty in working out this study was obtaining a complete collection of Elizabethan lyrics. Library facilities restricted Elizabethan
lyrics to four volumes of *The English Garner, Elizabethan Verse and Prose*, and *The Poetical Works of William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson*. It is evident that these volumes cover the field of Elizabethan lyrics comprehensively though not exhaustively.

The restriction of the Cavalier poets to Donne, Carew, Suckling, Lovelace, and Herrick is arbitrary but necessary. However, the use of the complete works of these poets makes this study reliable in the field of the Caroline lyric.
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APPENDIX

The Appendix includes additional source material from both the Latin and English poets, bearing out similar ideas as found in the text, but not so specifically. The poems are grouped in correspondence with chapter headings and sub-titles.

CHAPTER II

LIFE IS SHORT: SEIZE THE PRESENT HOUR.

A. Surety of Death.

1.

Cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
Villaque, flavos quam Tiberis lavit,
Cedes, et exstructis in altum
Divitiis potietur heres.

Divesne, prisco natus ab Inacho,
Nil interest an pauper et infima
De gente sub divo moreris;
Victima nil miserantis Oroi.

Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
Versatur urna serius olius
Sors exitura et nos in aeternum
Exsilium impositura cumbae.\(^1\)

Mors et fugaces persequitur virum
Nec parcit imbellis iuventae
Poplitibus timidove tergo.\(^2\)

Nulla certior tamen
Rapacis Oroi fine destitata
Aula divitem manet
Erum. Quid ultra tendis? Aequa tellus

Pauperi recluditur
Regnumque puera, nec satelles Oroi
Callidum Promethea
Revenit auro captus. Hic superbum

\(^1\) Ode III: 17-28.
\(^2\) Ode II: 14-16.
Tantalum atque Tantalī
Genus coeroxet, hic levare functum
Pauperem laboribus
Vocatus atque non vocatus audit.3

Te maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenas
Mensorem cohibent, Archytas,
Pulveris exigui prope litora Matinum
Miner, nec quicquam tibi prodest

Aerias temptasse domos animique rotundum
Percurrisses polum moritura.4

Cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
Fecerit arbitria,
Non, Torquat, genus, non te facundia, non te
Restituet pietas;

Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicium
Liberat Hippolytum,
Neo Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
Vincula Pirithoos.5

Inactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae
Caementis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apuliis;

Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.6

... Sed omnis una manet nox,
Et calcanda semel via leti.7

3 II Ode XVIII: 29-40.
7 I Ode XXVI: 15, 16.
What is a day, what is a year
Of vain delight and pleasure?
Like to a dream, it endless dies,
And from us like a vapour flies. 8

Beauty is but a blooming,
Youth in his glory entombing,
Time hath a while, which none can stay: 9

The weary year his race now having run,
The new begins his compass'd course anew: 10

5.

... mortalia facta peribunt,
Nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax. 11

Thus I
Passe by
And die
As one
Unknown
And gone:
I'm made
A shade,
And laid
I'th grave;
There have
My cave:
Where tell
I dwell.
Farewell. 12

Thousands each day passe by, which wee,
Once past and gone, no more shall see. 13

Go I must; when I am gone,
Write but this upon my stone:-- 14

I do believe that die I must,
And be return'd from out my dust: 15

8 Rosseter, Songs Set by Philip Rosseter: "Song:" 1-4.
9 Ibid., "Song:" 6-8.
10 Spenser, Amoretti: "Sonnet 62:" 1, 2.
12 Hesperides: "Upon His Departure Hence:" 1-16.
13 Hesperides: "Once Seen, and No More:" 1, 2.
14 Hesperides: "To His Tomb-Maker:" 1, 2.
15 Noble Numbers: "His Creed:" 1, 2.
C. Urge For Living in the Present.

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliariibus
Ornare pulvinar decorum
Tempus est dapibus sodales.16

'Carpem viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando
Mortalis animas vivent sortita, neque ulla est
Ant magno aut parvo leti fuga; quo, bone, circa,
Dum licet, in rebus incundis vivebeat,
Vive memor, quam sis aevi brevis.'17

Vive, vale, si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperii; si nil, his autere mecum.18

'O fortes peioraque passi
Mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite euras;
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.'19

Born I was to be old,
And for to die here:
After that, in the mould
Long for to lye here.

But before that day comes,
Still I be housing;
For I know in the tombs
There's no carousing.20

Praise they that will times past, I joy to see
My selfe now live; this age best pleaseth mee.

I Fear no earthly powers,
But care for crowns of flowers;
And love to have my beard
With wine and oile besmear'd.
This day Ie drowne all sorrow;
Who knowes to live to-morrow?21

16 I Ode XXXVII: 1-4.
17 II Ser. VI: 93-97.
18 I Epist. VI: 67, 68.
19 I Ode VIII: 30-32.
21 II Hesperides: "The Present Time Best Pleaseth," 1, 2.
Let's live in hast, use pleasures while we may;
Go'd life return, 'twod never lose a day. 23

While fates permit us, let's be merry;
Passe all we must the fatall ferry;
And this our life too whirls away
With the rotation of the day. 24

This is to live, and to endear
Those minutes Time has lent us here.
Then, while the fates suffer, live thou free
As is that eyre that circles thee. 26

CHAPTER III

FORTUNE IS FICKLE: MAINTAIN A CALM MIND.

1.

Ludumque Fortunae ... 26

2.

Unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae, 27

Ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
Ne currente retro funis erat rota. 28

Was it decreed by Fate's too certain doom
That under Cancer's Tropic (where the Sun
Still doth his race, in hottest circuitrun)
My mind should dwell (and in none other room),
Where comforts all be burnt before the bloom,
Was it concluded by remorseless Fate
That underneath th' Erymanthian Bear,
Beneath the Lycaonian axletree
(Where ceaseless snows, and frost's extremity
Hold jurisdiction) should remain my Fear;
Where all mine hopes be nipt before the Bear,
Was it thus ordered that, till my death's date,
When Phoebus runs on our meridian line,
When mists fall down beneath our hemisphere,

23 Hesperides: "To Live Freely:" 1, 2.
24 Hesperides: "To Enjoy The Time:" 1-4.
25 Hesperides: "A Paranaesthetic, Or Advisive Verse, to his Friend,
M. John Wicks:" 15-18.
26 Ode I: 3.
27 Ode VI: 9.
28 Ode X: 8, 9.
And Cynthia, with dark antipodes doth shine,
That my Despair should hold his Mansion there,
Where did the fateful Sisters this assign,
Even then the judgement to them was awarded;
The silent Sentence issued from her eye,
Which neither pity, nor my cares regarded. 29

3.

Si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis
Vivis et urtica, sic vives protimus, ut te
Confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret,
Vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit,
Vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora. 30

4.

Fortune's a blind profuser of her own;
Too much she gives to some, enough to none. 31

To him that has, there shall be added more;
Who is penurious, he shall still be poor. 32

Quo nos omque feret melior fortuna parente,
Ibimus, o socii comitesque! 33

5.

If well the dice runne, let's applaud the cast;
The happy fortune will not always last. 34

30 Epist. XII: 7-11.
31 Hesperides: "Fortune:" 1, 2.
32 Hesperides: "Once Poor, Still Penurious:" 3, 4.
33 Ode VII: 25-27.
34 Hesperides: "Good Luck Not Lasting:" 1, 2.
Soandit aeratas vitiosa navis
Cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,
Oior cervis etasente nimbos
Oior Euro. 35

6.

.... Est animis tibi
Rerumque prudens et secundis
Temporibus dubiisque rectus, 36

.... Quocirca vivite fortes
Fortiique adversis opponite pectora rebus. 37

Et mihi res, non me rebus, subiungere conor. 38

Aequam memento rebus in archis
Servare mentem, non secur in bonis
Ab insolenti temperatem
Lastitis, moriture Delli,

Seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,
Seu te in remoto gramine per dies
Festos reclinatum bearis
Interiore nota Falerni. 39

Frui paratis et valido mihi,
Letoe, dones, et, precor, integra
Cum mente, nec turpem senectam
Degere nec cithara carentem. 40

But if that reason rule thy will
And govern all thy mind,
A blessed life then shalt thou lead
And fewest dangers find. 41

7.

.... Vitanda est improba Siren
Desidia, aut quicquid vita meliore parasti
Ponendum sequo animo. .....42

35 II Ode XVI: 7-32.
36 IV Ode IX: 34-36.
37 II Ser. II: 135, 136.
38 I Epist. I: 19.
40 I Ode XXX: 17-20.
41 Byrd, Songs of Sundrie Natures: "Song:" 17-21.
42 II Ser. III: 14-16.
Live here:--but know 'twas vertue, and not chance,
That gave thee this so high inheritance. 45

8.
Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus,
Quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,
Respon sare cuidindibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, et in se ipsu totus ....
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna. .... 44

9.
In the hope of ease to come,
Let's endure one martyrdom. 45

CHAPTER IV
ENJOYMENT IS AN ART: SEEK THE GOLDEN MEAN.

A. Praise of the Golden Mean.

Nimirum hic ego sum; nam tuta et parvola laudo,
Cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:
Verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
Vos sapere et solos aic bene vivere, quorum
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis. 46

Quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque
Curas, .... 47

Though frankinsence the deities require,
We must not give all to the hallowed fire;
Such be our gifts, and such be our expence,
As for ourselves to leave some frankinsence. 48

Scribendi recte sapere est: et principium et fons: 49
B. Power of Virtue.

Ad summam: sapiens uno minor est love, dives, Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum, Praecipue samus, ... .

Though a wise man all pressures can sustaine, His vertue still is sensible of paine:51

Odorunt peccare boni virtutis amore.52

Virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima Stultitia caruisse. ... .53

True mirth resides not in the smiling skin; The sweetest solace is to act no sin.54

Virtus, repulsae nascia sordidae, Intaminatis fulget honoribus, Nec sumit aut ponit securis Arbitrio popularis aurae.

Virtus, recludens immitteris mori Caelum, negata temptat iter via, Coetusque volgaris et udam Spernit humum fugiente pinna.55

Virtutem incolulemen odimus, Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus, invidi.56

He lives, who lives to virtue: men who cast Their ends for pleasure, do not live, but last.57

Each must in vertue strive for to excell: That man lives twice that lives the first life well.58

.... Virtue dies when foes
Are wanting to her exercise, but great
And large she spreads by dust and sweat.59

51 I Hesperides: "Virtue Is Sensible of Suffering:" 1, 2.
52 I Epist. XVI: 52.
53 I Epist. I: 41, 42.
54 Noble Numbers "Mirth:" 1, 2.
56 III Ode XXIV: 31, 32.
57 II Hesperides: "On Himself:" 9, 10.
58 I Hesperides: "Vertue:" 1, 2.
Where pleasures rule a kingdom, never there
Is sober virtue seen to move her sphere.60

.... 'tis never known
Vertue and pleasure both to dwell in one.61

Vir bonus est quis?
'Qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat,
Quo multae magneaeque secantur indice lites,
Quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur.62

Vilius argentum est aurico, virtutibus aurum.63

C. Vanity of Ambition.

.... avidusque futuri,64

.... Haec est
Vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique.
His me consolor victorium suavius, ac si
Quaeusor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisse.65

.... Caret tibi pectus inani
Ambitione? Caret mortis formidine et ira?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miraculis, sagas,
Nocturnos leumures portentaque Thessala rides?
Natalis grata numeras? ignoscis amisicis?

Lenior et melior his accedente senecta?
Quid te exempta iuvat spinis de pluribus una?
Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
Luxisti satis edisti satis atque bibisti;
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo
Rideat et pulset lasciva decensu etas.66

Retire my soul, consider thine estate,
And justly sum: thy lavish sin's account,
Time's dear expence, and costly pleasure's rate.
How follies grow, how vanities amount.
Write all these down in pale Death's reckoning tables.
Thy days will seem but dreams, thy hopes but fables.67

60 II Hesperides: "Pleasures Pernicious:" 1, 2.
61 II Hesperides: "Choose For The Best:" 1, 2.
62 I Epist. XVI: 40-43.
63 I Epist. I: 52.
64 II Epist. III: 172.
66 II Epist. II: 206-216.
And Covetous, I never mean can keep
In craving, wishing, and in working this;68

By time and counsell doe the best we can
Th' event is never in the power of men.69

D. Pleasures of the Poets.

1. Wine

Quid non ebrietas dissignat? Operta recludit,
Sollicitis animis omis exinit, addocet artis,
Facundii calices quem non fecere discretum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?70

.... Dulce periculum est,
O Lenaee, sequi deum
Congentem viridi tempora pampino.71

Curem metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat
Dulci Lyaeo solvere.72

Fill me a mighty bowle
Up to the brim,
That I may drink
Unto my Jonsones scule.73

Brisk methinks I am and fine,
When I drinke my capring wine:
Then to love I do encline,
When I drinke my wanton wine:
AndI wish all maidens mine,
When I drinke my sprightly wine:
Well I sup, and well I dine,
When I drinke my frolick wine;
But I languish, lowre, and pine,
When I want my fragrant wine.74

68 Barnes, Parthenophil and Parthenophe: "Sonnet 97:" 12, 13.
69 I Hesperides: "Event of Things Not In Our Power:" 1, 2.
71 III Ode XXV: 18-20.
72 Epode IX: 37, 38.
73 II Hesperides: "A Bacchanalian Verse:" 1-4.
74 II Hesperides: "Anacreontick Verse:" 1-10.
3. Love

My sweetest Lesbian! Let us live and love!
And though the sager sort our deeds reprove,
Let us not weigh them! Heaven's great lamps do dive
Into their west, and straight again revive:
But soon as once, is set our little light;
Then must we sleep one ever-enduring night!
If all would lead their lives in love like me
Then bloody swords and armour should not be
No drum, nor trumpet, peaceful sleeps should move,
Unless alarm came from the Camp of Love:
But fools do live, and waste their little light;
And seek, with pain, their ever-during night.
When timely death, my life and fortunes ends,
Let not my hearse be vest with mourning friends! 75

But love whilst that thou may'st be loved again!
Now, whilst thy May hath filled thy lap with flowers!
Now, whilst thy beauty bears without a stain!
Now, use thy summer smiles, ere Winter lowers!
And whilst thou spread'st unto the rising sun,
The fairest flower that ever saw the light;
Now joy thy time, before thy sweet be done!
And DELIA! think thy morning must have night!
And that thy brightness sets at length to West;
When thou wilt close up that, which now thou showest!
And think the same becomes thy fading best,
Which, then, shall hide it most, and cover lowest!
Men do not weigh the stalk, for that it was;
When once they find her flower, her glory pass. 76

For where chaste love and likeing sets the plant
And concord waters with a firm goodwill,
Of no good thing there can be any want.
Pari Jugo dulcis tractus. 77

E. Joys of Rural Life.

Rure ego viventem, tu dicas in urbe beatum: 78
Quam scit uterque, libens, censebo, exerceat artem. 79

75 Campion, "Song:" 1-14.
76 Daniel, Delia: "Sonnet 35:" 1-14.
78 I Epist. XIV: 10.
79 I Epist. XIV: 44.
Of all the kindes of common Countrey life,
Me thinkes a Shepherds life is most Content;80

F. Praise of Contentment.

Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum; rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui deorum
Mineribus sapienter uti

Duramque callet pauperiem pati
Peiusque leto flagitium timet,
Non ille proceris amicis
Aut patria timidos perire.81

Laudas Fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem,
Si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses.82

Leetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,83

.... Atqui
Hic est aut musquam quod quaerimus. ....84

Desiderantem quod satis est neque
Tumultuosum sollicitat mare
Nec saevos Arcturi caedentis
Impetus aut orientis Haedi,

Non verberatae grandine venae
Fundusque mendax, arbote munc aquas
Culpace, munc torrentia agros
Sidera, munc hienes iniquae.85

.... Sed Timor et Minae
Scandunt eodem quo dominus, neque
Decedit aerata treiremi et
Post equitem sedet atra Cura.

Quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
Nec purpurarum sidere clairior
Delenit usus nec Falerna
Vitis Achaemeniumque costum:

80 Barnfield, "The Shepherds Content:" 1, 2.
81 IV Ode IX: 46-62.
83 I Epist. X: 44.
84 I Epist. XVIII: 39, 39.
85 III Ode I: 25-32.
Cur invidendis postibus et novo
Sublime rite moliar atrium?
Cur valle permater Sabina
Divitias operosiorum? 86

Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est. 87

' ..... est locus uni
Cuique suus.' ..... 88

..... Di tibi formam,
Di tibi divitias dedere artemque fruendi. 89

Like to the income must be our expence:
Man's fortune must be had in reverence. 90

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
Seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa
Contentus vivat, .... 91

Inde fit, ut raro, qui se visisse beatum
Dicit et exacto contentus tempore vita
Cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus. 92

So bitter is their sweet, that True Content,
Unhappy men, in them may never find:
Ah! but without them, none. Both must consent,
Else uncouth ere the joys of either kind.
Let us then praise their good, forget their ill
Men must be men; and women, women still. 93

Once attain, Astrael them, from heaven to earth descend!
And couch safe, in their behalf, these errors to amend!
Aid from heaven must make all even, things are so out of frame,
For let man strive all he can, he needs must please his dame.
Happy man! content that gives; and what he gives enjoys!
Happy dame! content that lives; and breaks no sleep for toys! 94

87 I Epist. VIII: 96.
88 I Ser. IX: 51, 52.
89 I Epist. IV: 6, 7.
90 I Hesperides: "Reverence to Riches!" 1, 2.
93 Campion, "Light Conceits of Lovers:" 13-18.
I see that plenty surfeits oft
And hasty climbers soonest fall;
I see that such as are aloft,
Mishap doth threaten most of all:
These get with toil, and keep with fear,
Such cares my mind can never bear.

I presse to bear no haughty sway,
I wish no more than may suffice;
I do no more than well I may,
Look what I want, my mind supplies;
Lo thus, I triumph like a king,
My mind content with anything.95

Honour and Pleasure both are in thy Mind,
And all that in the world is counted Good.96

Whatever comes, let's be content with all:
Among God's blessings there is no one small.97

Give want her welcome if she comes; we find
Riches to be but burthens to the mind.98

Give me honours, what are these
But the pleasing hindrances,
Stiles, and stops, and stayses, that come
In the way 'twixt me and home?
Cleer the walk, and then shall I
To my heaven lesse run then flie.99

When one is past, another care we have:
Thus woe succeeds a woe, as wave a wave.100

Though hourely comforts from the gods we see
No life is yet life-proofe from miserie.101

96 Davies, "Nosce Teipsum:"
97 Noble Numbers: "Welcome What Comes:" 1, 2.
98 II Hesperides: "Poverty and Riches:" 1, 2.
99 Noble Numbers: "Honours Are Hindrances:" 1-6.
100 I Hesperides: "Sorrowes Succeed:" 1, 2.
101 I Hesperides: "Miseries:" 1, 2.
CHAPTER V

POETRY IS IMMORTAL: SEEK THE MUSE.

... Siquid vaoui sub umbra
Lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum
Vivat et pluris age dic Latinum,
Barbite, carmen.102

But what this verse, that never shall expire,
Shall to your purchase with her thankless pain!
Fair: be no longer proud of that shall perish,
But that, which shall you make immortal, cherish.103

Vivit post funera virtus.104

Thou gav'st me life, but mortall; for that one
Favour, Ile make full satisfaction;
For my life mortall, rise from out thy verse,
And take a life immortall from my verse.105

Our mortall parts may wrapt in seare-cloths lye:
Great spirits never with their bodies dye.106

Live by thy muse thou shalt, when others die,
Leaving no fame to long posterity:
When monarchies trans-shifted are and gone,
Here shall endure thy vast dominion.107

If mongst my poems, I can see
One onely worthy to be washt by thee,
I live for ever; let the rest all lye
In dennes of darkness, or condemn'd to die.108

A Funeral stone,
Or verse, I covet none;
But onely crave
Of you that I may have
A sacred laurel springing from my grave,
Which being seen,
Blest with perpetuall greene,
May grow to be
Not so much call'd a tree,
As the eternall monument of me.109

102 Ode XXXII: 1-4.
104 "The Complaint of Poetria for the Death of Liberalitie:" Motto.
105 I Hesperides: "To The Reverend Shade of His Religious Father:" 13-16.
106 I Hesperides: "Great Spirits Supernive:" 1, 2.
107 I Hesperides: "n Himselje:" 1-4.
108 I Hesperides: "To Cedars:" 1-4.
109 I Hesperides: "To Laurels:" 1-10.