

---

**A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE POEMS OF  
HENRY VAUX (C. 1559–1587) IN MS.  
FOLGER BD WITH *STC* 22957.**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements of the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS (ENGLISH)**

of

**RHODES UNIVERSITY**

by

**TIMOTHY CHRISTOPHER HACKSLEY**

December 2008

---

## ABSTRACT

This thesis offers an edition of the English and Latin poems found in *MS. Folger bd with STC 22957*, attributed to Henry Vaux (c. 1559–1587), a recusant, priest-smuggler, and child prodigy. THE TEXT of the edition is preceded by an introduction comprising three parts: a GENERAL INTRODUCTION describing Vaux’s socio-historical and biographical context; a CRITICAL INTRODUCTION describing the Medieval and Early Modern literary contexts of Vaux’s poems and the forms, traditions, *topoi*, and conventions adhered to in them; and a TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION describing the seventeenth-century manuscript copy of the poems used as the source text and explaining and justifying the editorial decisions made. Textual variants and instances of doubtful authorship are also discussed. THE TEXT itself is presented in the original spelling of the MS. and is a diplomatic edition: the scribe’s use of characters that are now defunct (such as long ‘s’ and ‘=’ for ‘-’) has not been modernised. A critical apparatus is provided with THE TEXT. THE TEXT is followed by an extensive COMMENTARY, which glosses unusual or archaic words and phrases, points out allusions and their likely sources, discusses literary forms and conventions which inform the reading of the poems, and observes peculiarities in poetic metre. Translations and commentary are offered for Vaux’s Latin poems. The five appendices following the COMMENTARY comprise a MODERNISED TEXT of the poems, a FACSIMILE OF THE FOLGER MS., a SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE VAUX FAMILY after Henry Vaux’s death, a text JOHN OF PECHAM’S *PHILOMENA PRAEVIA* (a text which informs the reading of Vaux’s “A complaint to the Nightingale”) along with a parallel translation by me, and transcriptions of TEXTUAL VARIANTS. A BIBLIOGRAPHY of works cited, referred to or consulted follows the appendices. A comprehensive GENERAL INDEX of subjects, people, places, and literary works and forms follows this, and an INDEX OF FIRST LINES AND TITLES of Vaux’s poems completes the edition.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge the debt and thanks I owe to the people and institutions without whom this project would not have been completed. Firstly, I acknowledge the two years of funding I have received from the National Research Foundation in the form of a Prestigious Masters Scholarship. Secondly, I extend my thanks to Rhodes University and the Rhodes English Department for the additional funding I have received through Graduate Assistantships. To the Head of Department and staff of the Rhodes English Department I offer my additional thanks for providing a homely environment without which the past two years of research would have been far less enjoyable. To Prof. Gareth Cornwell, my H.O.D., and the secretaries of the English Department, Mrs Carol Booth and Ms Virginia David-Engelbrecht I extend my thanks for their cheerful helpfulness at all times.

Thanks are due to Mr James Greaves of Greaves' Photography for scanning the microfilm copy of the MS. to high resolution digital images, which facilitated my ability to create this edition. To the staff of the Rhodes Library, particularly Mrs Susan Rionda and Mrs Eileen Shepherd, I offer my thanks for their tireless efforts in retrieving material for me from storage and through inter-library loans.

For their kind and interested responses to my questions in private correspondence, thanks are due to Prof. Thomas H. Bestul of the University of Illinois at Chicago, Father Thomas McCoog, S.J., of the Jesuit Archives in London, Father John LaRocca, S.J., of Francis Xavier University (Chicago), Mr Richard Webster of Oxford University, Dr Georgianna Ziegler of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Prof. Steven May, formerly of Georgetown College, Mr Edmund Weiner of the Oxford English Dictionary, and especially to Prof. Victor Houliston of the University of the Witwatersrand, whose familiarity with the primary and secondary reading material in recusancy studies I have regularly drawn upon.

To the staff of the Rhodes Classics Department, Messrs John Jackson, Warren Snowball, and Daniel Malamis, I give my sincere thanks for their assistance in checking my translations and helping me trace particularly obscure allusions. I thank Mr Snowball especially for the time and effort he put into assisting my translation of John of Pecham's *Philomena Praevia*. I am grateful to Father James Fitzsimons, S.J., for pointing out alternative (and often more lucid) translations to Vaux's Latin poems than those I had originally produced.

I also extend my thanks to two emeriti in the Rhodes English Department, Dr Ron Hall and the late Prof. Don Maclennan, for their unsolicited but much appreciated interest and advice for this project. I also thank Prof. Susannah Breitz Monta of the University of Notre Dame (Indiana) and Dr Paul Arblaster of the University of Leiden for their interest and comments.

I dedicate this edition to Lauren and my parents in gratitude for their love, care, advice, and faith in me over the last two years.

And unto the God of the recusant and the Protestant, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων, ἀφθάρτῳ ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ θεῷ, τιμὴ καὶ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONVENTIONS, SIGLA, AND CUE TITLES.....	v
GENERAL INTRODUCTION – <i>The Life and Times of a Recusant</i> .....	vi
CRITICAL INTRODUCTION .....	xxxiv
TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION.....	1
THE TEXT .....	1
COMMENTARY.....	35
APPENDIX A – <i>Modernised Text</i> .....	146
APPENDIX B – <i>Facsimile of MS. Folger Bd with STC 22957</i> .....	173
APPENDIX C – <i>The Subsequent History of the Vaux Family</i> .....	214
APPENDIX D – <i>John of Pecham’s Philomena Praevia with an English Translation</i> .....	217
APPENDIX E – <i>Variant Texts</i> .....	226
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	228
GENERAL INDEX.....	239
INDEX OF FIRST LINES AND TITLES.....	245

## TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>The Coat of Arms Awarded to Nicholas Vaux by Henry VII</i> .....	vi
<i>Map of Sixteenth-Century Recusant Estates in the English South Midlands</i> .....	xxxii
<i>A Select Genealogy of the Vaux Family</i> . .....	xxxiii
<i>The Wheel of Fortune</i> . .....	81
<i>The Sea Route from Troy to Argos</i> .....	105

## CONVENTIONS, SIGLA, AND CUE TITLES

### STYLE:

This thesis follows the style and referencing conventions detailed in the *MHRA Style Guide* of the Modern Humanities Research Association.

### BIBLICAL REFERENCES:

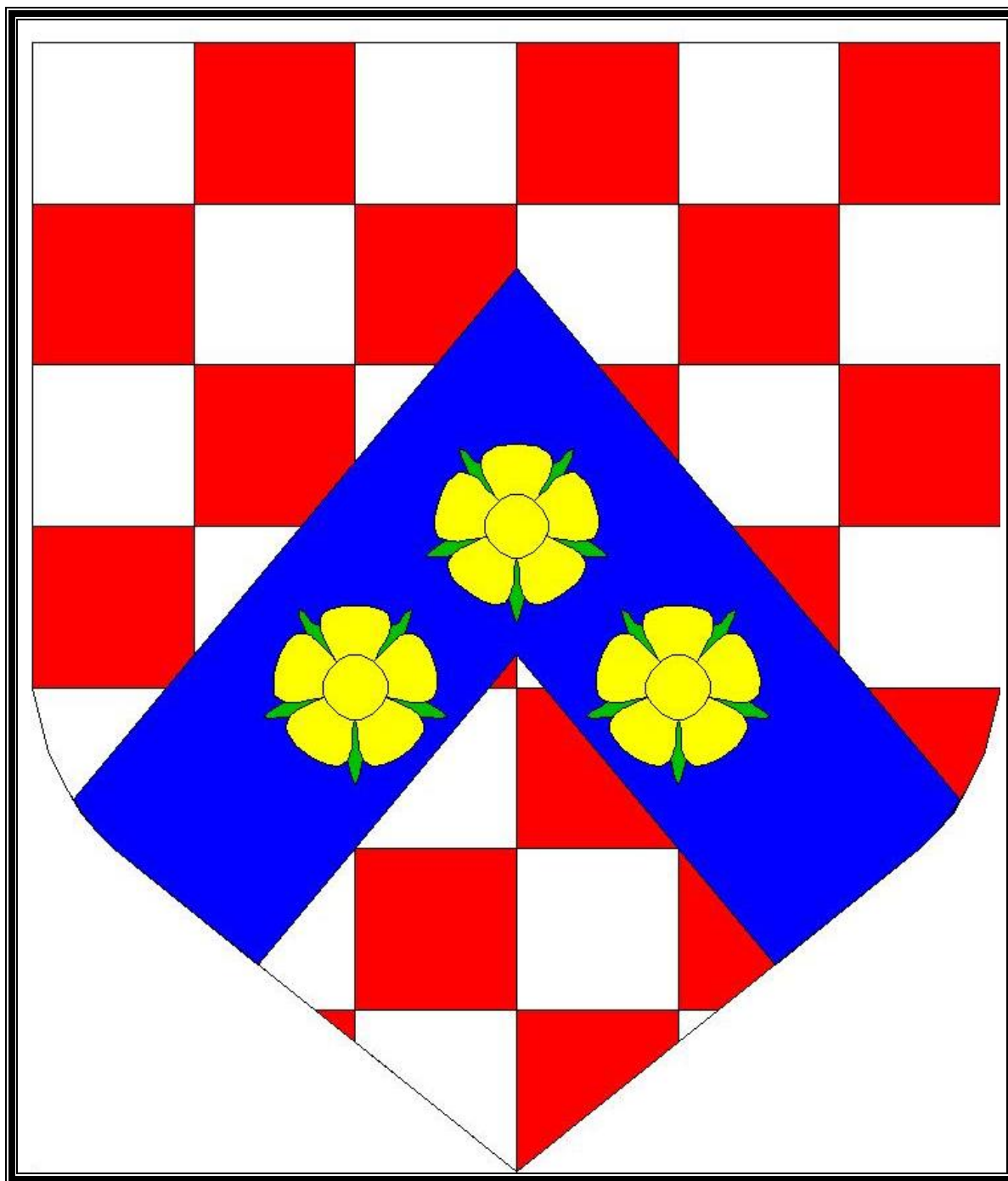
Quotations from books of the Bible are referred to by the abbreviations used in the *New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)* of the Bible (e.g. ‘JN’ for ‘John’, ‘2 SM’ for ‘II Samuel’) followed by chapter and verse number, (e.g. JN 18: 22). Proper names usually follow the spellings used by the *NRSV*. I occasionally offer the original Greek for a New Testament passage where I think it is informative or where attention needs to be drawn to a difference or similarity between it and the *Vulgate* or English translations. Unless otherwise stated, Bible quotations are taken from the Douay-Rheims version of the Bible.

### SIGLA USED IN THE CRITICAL APPARATUS:

A	Godfrey Anstruther’s selection of Henry Vaux’s poems in <i>Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family</i> (Newport: R.H. Johns, 1953).
G	“Despyfed things may liue” in George Gascoigne’s <i>Poesies</i> (London, 1575).
HV	Folger MS. bd with <i>STC</i> 22957.
P	“The complaint of a sorrowfull Soule” attributed to Jasper Heywood in <i>The Paradise of Dainty Devices</i> (London, 1585).

### CUE TITLES:

AV	<i>The Authorised Version</i> of the Bible.
CE	<i>The Catholic Encyclopedia</i> .
ODNB	<i>New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> .
D-R	<i>The Douay-Rheims Version</i> of the Bible.
Encarta	<i>Encarta Encyclopedia</i> .
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary Online</i> .
NIV	<i>New International Version</i> of the Bible.
SE	<i>The Spenser Encyclopedia</i> .
STC	<i>Short-Title Catalogue of English Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> edn)



*The Coat of Arms Awarded to Nicholas Vaux by Henry VII in 1487 after the Battle of Stoke.  
(Blazon: “Chequy Gules and Argent, on a Chevron Azure, Three Roses Or”).*

---

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### *The Life and Times of a Recusant*

Divergent personal religious convictions were a matter of political importance in Tudor England, and for the following reasons. Renaissance Europe was politically divided by the Reformation. The Vatican was a political state and the Pope held all Catholic monarchs in fealty. To deny or promote the Pope's authority thus had political as well as personal ramifications. The Pope could and did sanction wars of religion. The Holy Roman Empire, which was controlled by Catholic Spain, had to contend with Calvinism and Lutheranism in its Dutch and German territories. France was bitterly divided between Catholics and Protestants (called Huguenots). Scotland (still an independent realm at this time) was in a state of continual religious civil war, while Protestant England faced the threat of a Catholic invasion of (and from) its Catholic territory of Ireland. Following decades of internecine conflict in the Wars of the Roses,<sup>1</sup> the memory of civil war was all too green in Tudor England. The country was not yet a world power and could easily be overrun by the vastly superior military might of Spain or France. The rejection of papal authority by Henry VIII in 1533 and again in 1558 by Elizabeth I thus required zero tolerance of religious dissenters, in order for there to be political stability in England. But for many men and women the assumption of spiritual authority by a temporal monarch was one that their consciences could not allow. For convinced Catholics, obeying the monarch instead of the Pope was heretical.

Henry Vaux was born in about 1559. He was the eldest child of William, third Baron Vaux of Harrowden, and his first wife Elizabeth Beaumont, a commoner whose father, John Beaumont (a Leicestershire lawyer) had been Master of the Rolls during the reign of Edward VI.<sup>2</sup> Significantly both Henry Vaux's parents came from determinedly Catholic families.

The Vaux family was of Norman origin and had settled in Northamptonshire in the fourteenth century after acquiring the family seat of Harrowden

---

<sup>1</sup> A period of intermittent civil war (1455–1487) in which two cadet branches of the ruling Plantagenet family, the houses of York (represented by a white rose) and Lancaster (represented by a red rose), contested their rival claims to the English Crown.

<sup>2</sup> He was dismissed from this post after being convicted of defrauding the king of more than £20,000.

(near Wellingborough).<sup>3</sup> Their support of the Lancastrians in the Wars of the Roses destroyed the family's fortune during the ascendancy of the House of York, but on the accession of the Lancastrian, Henry Tudor, to the English throne as Henry VII, in 1485, the Vaux lands were restored. Nicholas Vaux (Henry Vaux's great-grandfather and a keen Tudor courtier)<sup>4</sup> rose swiftly from a knight bachelor in 1487 to a knight banneret in 1497 and,<sup>5</sup> just before his death in 1523, to the peerage as a baron.

The family remained prominent in court life until 1533 when Nicholas Vaux's son and Henry Vaux's grandfather, the poet and courtier, Thomas, second Baron Vaux, retreated from court life after Henry VIII severed the Church of England from papal authority. Although a trusted courtier,<sup>6</sup> Thomas Vaux remained absent from court life and did not take his seat in the House of Lords again until 1554 after the accession of Mary I had returned England to Roman Catholicism. Vaux's retirement from public life because of his religious views was shrewd – within two years both Sir Thomas More (the former Lord Chancellor and an internationally renowned Humanist) and Bishop John Fisher were beheaded for their tacit opposition to Henry VIII's religious policies.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from serving briefly as Governor of Jersey for several months in 1536,<sup>8</sup> Thomas Vaux spent the remainder of his life raising his family, studying

---

<sup>3</sup> The surname was written 'de Vaux' until the late fourteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> He was entrusted with the stewardship of several lordships in the reign of Henry VII, helped to organise the Field of Cloth of Gold meeting between Henry VIII and François I of France in 1520, and was an enthusiastic jousting participant in both court life and in the administration of Northamptonshire.

<sup>5</sup> Anstruther incorrectly claims (p. 11) that this was a hereditary knighthood much like the baronetcy introduced by James I in 1611. In fact, a knight could only be made a banneret on the field of battle by the monarch. It was an entirely military honour and allowed the knight (who was often already a nobleman) to lead a company under his own banner rather than that of the king or another nobleman.

<sup>6</sup> He accompanied Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More on an important embassy to France in 1526 and was made a Knight of the Bath in 1533 on the eve of Anne Boleyn's coronation.

<sup>7</sup> These two figures refused to acknowledge Henry VIII as Supreme Head of the Church of England or recognise his divorce from Katherine of Aragón. Both had significant national as well as international influence. More's *Utopia* (1516) remains a seminal work in western philosophy, whilst Fisher's *Confutatio* (1523) was one of the most widely read refutations of Luther leading up to the Council of Trent. Their refusal to support Henry VIII's break with Rome was crippling to the credibility of the schism.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Vaux sold this post to Edward Seymour, the brother of Jane Seymour (Henry VIII's third wife). Edward Seymour later became Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector during his nephew Edward VI's reign.

the classics and writing poetry.<sup>9</sup> When Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries (between 1536–1540) in order to swell the royal coffers and quash religious opposition, Thomas Vaux did not participate in (or benefit from) the seizures of monastic lands and plate – unlike many other Catholic sympathisers who did, notably his Northamptonshire neighbour, Sir Thomas Tresham.<sup>10</sup> Nor did he participate in the ‘Pilgrimage of Grace’ (a series of disastrous armed uprisings by Catholics in the northern and eastern counties of England in 1536).

In 1553, Henry VIII’s Protestant successor, Edward VI, died. He was succeeded by his Catholic half-sister, Mary I, who immediately returned the English church to Roman Catholicism and married the Catholic king of Spain, Philip II. Thomas Vaux died of plague in 1556 and his eldest son, William,<sup>11</sup> succeeded to the barony as the third Baron Vaux. Whatever hopes the family may have had that England was permanently back in the Roman fold were soon dashed. Mary I died without issue in 1558 and was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth I. Mary’s reign had been unpopular and her attempt to turn the clock back to 1532 through the persecution of Protestants failed badly.<sup>12</sup> The accession of Elizabeth I brought about a new religious settlement, different from the policies of her father’s Anglo-centric Catholicism, the Protestantism of her brother’s regents, and the retrograde Catholic restoration of her sister and Cardinal Pole (the theological mastermind of England’s short-lived Counter-Reformation).<sup>13</sup>

Elizabeth’s church was neither Catholic nor Protestant: it rejected papal authority, but retained the episcopacy; it removed some but not all of the sacraments (retaining Communion and Baptism), it rejected the Zwinglian and Catholic understanding of Christ’s presence in the host (arguing that communi-

---

<sup>9</sup> The first gravedigger in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* misquotes several stanzas of Thomas Vaux’s highly popular “The Aged Lover Renounceth Love” at 5.1.60–63; 69–72 & 89–92.

<sup>10</sup> This Sir Thomas Tresham is not to be confused with his like-named grandson who was to feature prominently in subsequent events relating to the Vaux family.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Vaux had married Elizabeth Cheyne, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheyne and Anne Parr, in 1523. They had four children: William (born in 1535), Anne, Maud, and Nicholas.

<sup>12</sup> Because of her marriage to Philip, Mary had needlessly involved England in Spanish wars with France and so had lost Calais (the English Crown’s last foothold for its ancient claim to lands in France).

<sup>13</sup> Reginald Pole (1500—1558) was a member of the English nobility and was strongly opposed to the English Reformation. He was made a cardinal by Pope Paul III and became Archbishop of Canterbury during Mary’s reign. By a curious coincidence he died on the same day as Mary I (17 November 1558). Consequently, the English Counter-Reformation was simultaneously deprived of both its political and theological heads.

cants *do* partake of the body of Christ, but in a “heavenly and spiritual manner” by faith,<sup>14</sup> rather than through transubstantiation;<sup>15</sup> it also rejected the Apocrypha as a source of doctrine but retained it “for example of life and instruction of manners”;<sup>16</sup> whilst its interpretation of free will, predestination, grace, good works, and justification tended towards the beliefs of Luther and Augustine but away from the Scholastics and Calvinism. Naturally such a compromise was unlikely to please either conservative Catholics or radical Puritans and thus its institution had to be enforced; but instead of executing heretics to ensure religious conformity as her sister Mary had done (famously burning Bishops Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer at the stake in 1555 and 1556 at Oxford), Elizabeth rather employed a system of fines and deprivations. In 1559 Elizabeth’s government passed the *Act of Supremacy* (a revised form of a law passed by Henry VIII in 1534 and later repealed by Mary I) which re-established the English monarch rather than the Pope as the supreme governor of the Church of England and required all priests and bishops to swear allegiance to the Queen in spiritual matters.<sup>17</sup> To ensure the passage of the Act through the House of Lords, all but one of the bishops ordained in Mary’s reign were deprived and replaced with more compliant Lords Spiritual.<sup>18</sup> The ordinary clergy mostly conformed: in the Vaux family’s native Northamptonshire, for instance, only eight of 250 priests resisted the legislation and were deprived of their livings in consequence (see Anstruther, pp. 72–73). Those refusing to swear to the Act or attend Church of England services were termed ‘recusants’ (from the Latin ‘recusare’: ‘to refuse’). Regular attendance at Church of England services and

---

<sup>14</sup> From “Article XXVIII” of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*.

<sup>15</sup> The Elizabeth settlement allowed for a dual nature of the host as both a symbol of Christ’s body and as the incarnate Host. This paradoxical compromise was known as consubstantiation, whereby the substance of Christ’s blood and body exists alongside the elements of bread and wine, rather than through the transubstantiation of the elements.

<sup>16</sup> From “Article VI” of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*.

<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth did not style herself ‘Head’ of the Church as her father had done, because the term ‘Head’ was likely to provoke outrage amongst conservative theologians who did not believe that a woman could be the ‘Head’ of the Church.

<sup>18</sup> From the fourteenth century the English upper house of parliament consisted of Lords Temporal (all barons, viscounts, earls, marquises, and dukes, the ‘Lords Temporal’ who sat in the House of Lords), Law Lords (the highest ranking judges in the realm), and Lords Spiritual (all bishops, archbishops, and – before the dissolution of the monasteries – mitred abbots). Following legislation passed between 1847–1878, only twenty-six bishops currently sit in the Lords.

uniformity of doctrine was guaranteed by the 1559 *Act of Uniformity*, which re-introduced a revised version of Edward VI's second *Book of Common Prayer* (originally published in 1552 but abolished the following year by Mary) and imposed a fine of one shilling per offence for not attending church. This fine was easily payable by wealthy Catholics but was crippling to the common man, with the result that in the 1560s nonconformism became a luxury of the privileged classes and their households. The publication of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* in 1563 served as useful propaganda to demonise Catholics for their persecution of Protestants during Mary's reign.

After escorting Elizabeth from Hatfield to her coronation in London, William Vaux made it his policy to withdraw from the anti-Catholic environment of the Elizabethan court and parliament, just as his father had done in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Interestingly, he appointed a staunch Protestant, Francis Russell, second Earl Bedford, as his proxy. He lived a quiet country life following humanistic pursuits as his father had done before him, patronising bearwards<sup>19</sup> as well as a company of players ('The Lord Vaux's Men').<sup>20</sup> He also focused his attention on raising and educating his children. Like most men of his rank and time he was regularly involved in litigation, being sued in Chancery by one Agnes Acworth in 1562 for debts incurred by his father and in 1576 by his own sister Maud Burroughs for lands allegedly left to her children by her and William's mother.<sup>21</sup>

After Henry Vaux's birth in 1559, William Vaux had three more children by his first wife: Eleanore (later to become the well-known priest-smuggler and recusant, Mrs Brooksby) in 1560, Elizabeth (who became a Franciscan nun in Rouen) in 1561, and Anne (who assisted Eleanore's recusant work under the pseudonym of 'Mrs Perkins') in 1562. After his first wife's death following Anne's birth, Lord Vaux married Mary Tresham in 1563. The new Lady Vaux was a scion of another old Northamptonshire family, the Treshams of Rushton, and the sister of Sir Thomas Tresham who was to become the leading loyalist spokesman amongst Elizabethan recusants. The two families had been cordial

---

<sup>19</sup> Bearwards were the keepers of bears which were used either to perform tricks or in bear-baiting, a popular sixteenth-century public amusement in which dogs were set on a bear.

<sup>20</sup> This company (which survived its patron) was a rival to Shakespeare's own company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men.

<sup>21</sup> See Anstruther, p. 99.

for generations and had often intermarried. William Vaux had five more children by this second marriage: George (whose sons later succeeded to the barony), Edward, Ambrose, Muriel, and Catherine (who appears to have died in infancy). Lord Vaux's eldest two children, Henry and Eleanore, proved to be prodigious learners – so much so, that in 1568 their father hired Edmund Campion,<sup>22</sup> the rising star of Oxford University (and a future Jesuit martyr), to tutor them for several months.

Campion was something of a cult figure amongst his students and private pupils. Richard Simpson, who wrote an extensive biography of Campion, discusses this phenomenon:<sup>23</sup>

After he had taken his degree he had hosts of pupils, who followed not only his teaching but his example, and imitated not only his phrases but his gait. He filled Oxford with “Campionists;” he became, like Hotspur, the glass wherein the youth did dress themselves, whose speech, gait, and diet was the copy and book that fashioned others. Among these Campionists was Robert Turner, afterwards rector of the University of Ingoldstadt, who speaks of his master as the one *qui stilum meum, prius disjectum et libere effluentem extra oram artis et rationis, redegit in quadrum, aut aptius ad normam hanc rectam exegit*;<sup>24</sup> he had pinched up, and pulled out, and squared into shape his pupil's slovenly style. Another was Richard Stanihurst, poet, historian, and divine; and another, Henry, son of Lord Vaux of Harrowden. None of them approach their master in his brief and brilliant phrases, and forcible and lifelike epithets; but they gathered round him and formed a classical public, a brotherhood of scholars, to excite, to appreciate, and to applaud.

(Simpson, pp. 6–7)

From his poems we learn that Henry Vaux was schooled in the Roman and Scholastic Latin authors who were in the educational mainstream in Renaissance England. His poems show a familiarity with Cicero, Ovid, Seneca, St Bonaventure, as well as with the *Vulgate* and Chaucer (although he may not have been familiar with the *Canterbury Tales*). He does not appear to have any familiarity with Greek or either French or Italian. As he had little expectation of participating in court life it is unlikely that he was trained in horse- or swords-

---

<sup>22</sup> Edmund Campion had been schooled in London at Christ's Hospital and St Paul's. He was a star pupil and in 1553 delivered the scholar's oration to Mary I as she rode to her coronation. He was awarded an exhibition by the Grocers' Company to study at Oxford where he read theology and philosophy, graduating M.A. from St John's College to which he was subsequently elected a fellow. During the 1560s he served as public orator and junior proctor of the university, both of which were highly prestigious and important positions.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion: A Biography* (London: John Hodges, 1896).

<sup>24</sup> ‘who drove back my pen, formerly squandered and freely flowing from the coast of art and reason, and returned it four times more attached to this right pattern’ (my translation).

manship or other courtly pursuits. Champion's letter reveals Henry to be primarily a student of letters. Not being educated at a university he would have had little opportunity to study in the 'higher' disciplines of Theology or Philosophy. He therefore appears to have enjoyed a typically Humanistic tutelage in the Classics. His rhetorical precocity is revealed in "Honos alit artes", a twenty-line poem in Latin hexameters, which he composed impromptu before Sir Richard Knightley.<sup>25</sup>

Campion's exhibition required him to be ordained a deacon of St Paul's Cathedral and he was given the living of Sherbourne in Gloucestershire in 1569. Having strong leanings towards Catholicism however, he repeatedly delayed doing any preaching until in 1570 the authorities became suspicious and he left Oxford.

On the eve of his departure for the Continent to study for the priesthood and become a Jesuit, Champion wrote a letter of encouragement to Henry Vaux, his young former pupil. The original is in Latin, and the translation offered here is that of Godfrey Anstruther:

Edmund Champion to the Hon. Henry Vaux  
*Salutem dico plurimam.* [I give you my warmest greetings.]

From the day your Father first asked me to see you and to superintend your education I have become amazingly attached to you. For I marvelled and was almost perplexed when I saw a boy who had not yet completed his ninth year, scion of a notable family, of such pleasant demeanour and refinement; who wrote and spoke Latin so well; who was equally good at prose and verse, accurate and quick at figures, devoted to the study of letters, diligent in application, able to sketch out and arrange his whole course of study. If circumstances had permitted it I should have desired nothing better than to give my enthusiastic help to that celebrated man, your Father, and to you, a boy of such great promise. But since some unknown fate, yours and mine, has deprived you of me and me of you, your Father (by whom I am dearly loved, and whom I particularly revere) has easily persuaded me that my voice and advice should come to you.

Generally speaking, in any one class of men there are very few who accomplish with praiseworthy passage the round of the fine arts. But among men of your rank we very seldom come across any who have even a slight acquaintance with literature. Many are overburdened with leisure; they concern themselves with trifles, waste the possessions of others and squander their own; they ruin their prime of life with women and pleasure. All the more rightly, then, do I congratulate you on your intellectual outlook, your distinguished Father, your Grandmother,<sup>26</sup> your relations and kinsfolk: all of them are and were your teachers. I

---

<sup>25</sup> Sir Richard Knightley was a neighbour of the Vauxes in Northamptonshire and a patron of Puritans.

<sup>26</sup> It is unclear which of Henry Vaux's grandmothers Champion is referring to here. Elizabeth Cheyne (Henry Vaux's paternal grandmother) had died before he was born, but had been a notable lady at Henry VIII's court (her portrait was sketched by Hans Holbein). Elizabeth

congratulate you on the result of their teaching, namely, that you truly count it a thing admirable and splendid, excellent and glorious, to consider the ornaments of virtue and not fleeting imaginings to be the real fame; not to waste your talents in idleness, not to gamble away your life, not to be puffed up, not to live licentiously and for pleasure; but to serve God, to avoid vicious practices, to seek the best in culture and in art.

Consider well the course you have chosen, how you are going, whither you are voyaging. You have sailed out of the rough waters of elementary studies: away as 'twere from the rocks and shoals of the coast-line. And now with billowing sails and a favourable breeze you see as if from afar the harbour of your desires. Speed the ship!

In your own family you have examples to imitate or to emulate: your Grandfather, your Mother, your Sister. Your Grandfather, a man of very wide and expert knowledge of classical and humanistic literature has enriched our English language by poetical compositions in various modes. Your Mother was noted for her admirable shrewdness, her natural ability, and her holiness of life. Your Sister is your rival in study and in work. She shares the same intellectual interests. And I warn you that if you underrate her now, even a little bit, and take things easy, she will achieve renown before and triumph over you.

Exert yourself, then, all the more and strive for this: to keep flying the flag of promise which you carry, and to urge on that very learned and in every way accomplished lady, your Sister, who is now running her course of her own accord. If you follow this path, you and your sister will be a matchless pair; you will reach the delights you so eagerly seek for, you will shine with marvellous lustre, you will be filled with the desire to do your duty and act generously, and you will be surrounded by fame and affection in the sight of all men.

Beware of pride, be modest always, associate with good companions and avoid the company of the wicked like the plague. Love God and serve Him. Honour your parents. Treat your elders with respect and your equals with courtesy.

A more illustrious example of affability and integrity than your Father I do not think it is possible for you to see. Take him as your pattern. During the period of several months when I was a guest at your Father's house, his daily speech and intimate conversation brought home to me the great work he was doing for all men of learning. I was much impressed by his pleasant and easy manner, his anxious and solicitous care for you all, and the fatherly pride he took in your natural gifts. And although I have been separated from him longer than I anticipated, (not [by my] own wish, but by reason of my way of life), by whom I am so sumptuously maintained and so honourably encouraged. Farewell.

Oxford, 28 July 1570.

(Anstruther, pp. 100–102)

The letter reveals several important things about the Vaux family. Firstly it shows them to be highly cultured literary patrons and sincerely devoted to their religion; secondly it reveals that Henry and Eleanore were academically brilliant children and that Henry had started writing Latin poetry before the age of nine; and thirdly, we learn that Thomas Vaux's poems were well known, influential and highly regarded long after his death in 1556, even though most of

---

Beaumont (Henry Vaux's maternal grandmother) however, was still living and was soon to look after Henry and his three sisters (see p. xvi below).

them had not yet appeared in print.<sup>27</sup> It also offers some details about Henry Vaux's education.

Campion's letter reveals that Vaux's education included prose composition and arithmetic in addition to the study of Latin and prosody. From his poems it is possible to glean other details about his education. It seems that he received some instruction in astronomy (judging from his references to the days of complete darkness and light at the Arctic and Antarctic poles in "A commendation of bloomes or blossomes"). There is no specific mention in Campion's letter of Vaux having studied music, but, given the cultured lifestyle he grew up in and the fact that his grandfather's poems were originally composed as songs, it seems likely that he had at least an elementary understanding of that "art". Thus his education appears to have been modelled on the standard Mediaeval and Renaissance *trivium* (rhetoric, grammar and logic) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music). In discussing Edmund Spenser's early education,<sup>28</sup> Colin Burrow offers the following description of what an Elizabethan pupil's regimen is likely to have included:

It is likely [...] that he was required to memorise at least twelve lines of Ovid a week, and he would have read Ovid, Terence, Horace and Virgil as models for verse composition. Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* were favoured starting-points for the study of Latin, and were read side by side with post-classical imitations of them, such as the *Eclogues* of Mantuan. [...]

Students of the classics were also encouraged to make their reading contribute to their writing by constructing 'common-place books' for themselves as they read. These were notebooks divided by headings or 'loci communes' such as 'death', 'marriage', 'chastity', under which readers would record passages from ancient and modern literature. At a later point, if they were to compose an oration or a poem on one of these topics, they would return to the appropriate page in their commonplace-book, which might record the thoughts of a whole variety of authorities, and selectively adapt what they found there to the occasion in hand. The textual integrity of literary authorities was in this culture secondary to present rhetorical needs: if you wanted to write about rivers you might find a passage of Horace and a piece of Ariosto and a section of Ovid all on the same page of your commonplace book, and you might fuse them. If you needed (as Spenser's friend Gabriel Harvey did) to consider how best to govern an unruly province such as Ireland, you might read Livy, pen in hand, in order to draw constructive advice from Roman forms of colonisation.

(Burrow, p. 218)

Campion's letter to Vaux also indicates the importance of the study of virtue in his education. In *Education and Society in Tudor England*, Joan Simon dis-

---

<sup>27</sup> Only two of Thomas Vaux's poems were in print before 1576 (in Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557) when thirteen appeared in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*.

<sup>28</sup> Spenser was born in 1552 and was thus a near contemporary of Vaux.

cusses this theme and its importance in the instruction of young Elizabethan gentlemen (as stressed by the likes of Roger Ascham).<sup>29</sup> ‘Virtue’ in Elizabethan understanding entailed both moral and intellectual excellence, the quality which today we would describe as ‘being well-rounded’. Simon also describes its attainment as including a fairly eclectic syllabus:

To train up young gentlemen in virtue meant [...] a good deal more than a classical regimen combined with study of the scriptures. It meant instruction in arithmetic and natural philosophy, cosmography and navigation, military sciences as well as arts, modern, as well as ancient languages.

(Simon, p. 342)

In 1571 William Vaux moved with his new wife and their children from his home in Irthlingborough to the statelier family seat at Harrowden to suit the grander tastes of the second Lady Vaux. The children of his first marriage were entrusted to the care of their maternal grandmother, at Grace Dieu (a former Augustinian priory in Leicestershire) for a period of ten years. She was provided with £20 annually for Henry and £10 apiece for each of his three sisters. Ever an inefficient manager of his own personal finances, Lord Vaux formed an agreement with Sir Thomas Tresham whereby the knight would receive £100 per annum for a period of fifteen years and provide a dowry of £500 each for Eleanore, Elizabeth and Anne. There is no indication that relations between Lord Vaux’s first set of children and those of his second marriage were congenial or familiar and their early separation would seem to suggest the contrary.

It was probably at Grace Dieu that Henry Vaux wrote those poems of his that have survived, some of them (“No trust in Fortune”, “Beautie is brittle”, and “Meditatio de Passione Christi”) are dated as having been written when he was thirteen (c. 1572) and others (the ‘*Agamemnon* poems’) when he was seventeen (c. 1576) but the similarity in style and subject in the remaining undated poems would appear to suggest that they were also written during his teenage years. Incidentally the Beaumonts of Grace Dieu would subsequently produce two of their own writers, Henry’s two cousins, John and Francis Beaumont, the poet and the playwright,<sup>30</sup> who were also both recusants.

---

<sup>29</sup> Ascham (1515—1568) was a major intellectual figure in Tudor educational theory, the first professor of Greek at the University of Cambridge, and had tutored Elizabeth I when she was still a girl.

<sup>30</sup> The same Beaumont who collaborated with John Fletcher.

In 1568 an event took place that created a crisis for Elizabeth I that plagued her government for almost two decades. Elizabeth's Catholic cousin and rival claimant to the English throne, Mary Queen of Scots,<sup>31</sup> fled to England, after being forced to abdicate the throne of Scotland in favour of her infant son following her defeat in a civil war.<sup>32</sup> In England Mary was seen as a rallying point for disgruntled recusants and was accordingly placed under guarded house-arrest for the next nineteen years.

The year after Mary's arrival in England, many Catholics in the northern counties of England rose up in rebellion against the religious policies of Elizabeth. This 'Northern Rising' was similar to the Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion during Henry VIII's reign (especially in that it was decisively put down and only served to exacerbate the lot of English Catholics). The rebels, led by Charles Neville, sixth Earl Westmorland, and Thomas Percy, seventh Earl Northumberland, sought to depose Elizabeth and replace her with Mary. Lord Vaux did not participate in the revolt, but it was nevertheless suspected that he would have supported it in the event of early successes. In 1568 he had been listed by Elizabeth's government as a supporter of the Scottish Queen (Anstruther, p. 104) and later, in 1571, a conspirator cited Vaux as one of forty nobleman "who professed to be only waiting for an opportunity to declare in arms against Elizabeth" (*ibid.*) There is little to corroborate this assertion, but the continual plotting of certain Catholics placed all Elizabeth's recusant subjects under suspicion. In 1569 the Oath of Supremacy was extended to require adherence by all government officials, including Justices of the Peace,<sup>33</sup> which *per se* included the entire

---

<sup>31</sup> Mary, Queen of Scots, was the great-granddaughter of Henry VII. She and Elizabeth were thus first cousins once removed. By the Second Act of Succession in 1536, Henry VIII had declared Elizabeth and her elder sister Mary to be bastards so that Edward (the son of his third marriage) would succeed to the throne without contest. Although they were later restored to the line of succession in 1544, they were not formally un-bastardised. This made Elizabeth's hold on the throne tenuous in the eyes of many Catholics, who believed Elizabeth a bastard because she was born of Henry VIII's second marriage which was never acknowledged by the Vatican. They therefore considered Mary, Queen of Scots, the rightful Queen of England.

<sup>32</sup> James VI who later became James I of England.

<sup>33</sup> In return for their estates, landowners were required to serve as magistrates (or 'Justices of the Peace') in their communities.

nobility and gentry of England. Lord Vaux duly signed his allegiance to the Queen and thereby his implicit acceptance of the established Church.<sup>34</sup>

In 1570, several leading Catholics plotted to assassinate Elizabeth I and replace her with Mary, Queen of Scots. The plot was the brainchild of Roberto di Ridolfi, an international banker, who aimed to marry Mary to Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (himself a cousin to Elizabeth),<sup>35</sup> and place her on the English throne, after forcibly deposing Elizabeth with the aid of Spanish troops from the Netherlands.<sup>36</sup> The plot was discovered, the conspirators (except for Mary) were executed, and the plight of English Catholics worsened, especially after the arrival in 1570 of Pius V's papal bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which excommunicated Elizabeth on the grounds that she was a heretic. It freed all English Catholics from their allegiance to her in the event of an armed Catholic invasion or rebellion. The bull was intended to assist the Northern Rising but came too late to be of use in that failed enterprise. The effect of the bull was that all English Catholics were considered rebels-in-waiting by both Elizabeth's government and their fellow Englishmen. Protestant fears were further aroused after the wholesale murder of Huguenots by Catholics in Paris and elsewhere in France during the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572.

During this time William Vaux maintained a role in local government matters in Northamptonshire (despite his known recusancy and suspect allegiance). He served as a commissioner for musters in the winter of 1569/1570,<sup>37</sup> sat on a committee that dealt with vagrants<sup>38</sup> and the eating of meat at prohibited times in 1572,<sup>39</sup> and worked on a commission for gaol delivery in 1578–

---

<sup>34</sup> William Raleigh Trimble, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, 1558–1603* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 45.

<sup>35</sup> They were second cousins through their shared descent from Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, and his wife Elizabeth (née Tilney), the maternal grandparents of Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn.

<sup>36</sup> Under the command of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba. He had trouble enough putting down a rebellion in Spain's Dutch provinces and was consequently reluctant to commit troops to an invasion of England.

<sup>37</sup> In Tudor times, musters were periodic censuses by the gentry and nobility of the local availability of men for military service should the English crown need to raise an army.

<sup>38</sup> Following a statute of 1495, vagrants were punished by being put in the stocks for several days and/or being severely whipped.

<sup>39</sup> There were various feast days and seasons (such as Lent and Advent) in the liturgical calendar when the consumption of meat was forbidden. The purpose of this was as much to sup-

1579.<sup>40</sup> In 1572 it was reported by a spy named Herle that Lord Vaux had a Catholic priest employed at his home in Harrowden. For these clandestine services the Vaux family kept a chapel with “splendid fittings” as Adrian Morey itemises them: “six massive silver candlesticks, a silver crucifix, ornaments of silver and gold, rich vestments embroidered with gold and pearls” (Morey, pp. 148–149).<sup>41</sup> Such rich religious articles were forbidden possessions under the prevailing spirit of Puritan iconoclasm. Lord Vaux’s priest would have been ordained in the reign of Mary, as it was only from 1574 onwards that the European seminaries started sending missionary priests to England on the so-called ‘English Mission’.

To bolster the dwindling number of Catholic clergy in England while English recusants awaited the restoration of the Church of England to Papal authority,<sup>42</sup> seminaries for English recusants to study for the priesthood were established on the Continent. The most famous of these was the English College at Douai (then spelt ‘Douay’), established in 1568 by Cardinal William Allen (sometime Proctor of Oxford University and a former principal of St Mary’s Hall). Oxford and Cambridge had initially been centres of theological opposition to the compromise settlement of Elizabeth’s church. Oxford particularly had been a centre for the brief Counter-Reformation of Mary’s reign, but Elizabeth’s ministers countered this resistance by swiftly replacing all Catholic college heads with Protestants. After 1563 it was impossible to teach or graduate at an English university without taking the Oath of Supremacy.<sup>43</sup> In the first ten

---

port the fishing industry and conserve meat (and sometimes dairy) reserves as to promote religious fasting.

<sup>40</sup> Gaol delivery refers to the habitual clearing of local gaols to bring prisoners to trial at the local assizes (until 1971 the periodic sittings in the English counties of commissioned judges for the trying of civil and criminal cases).

<sup>41</sup> Adrian Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1978), pp. 148–149.

<sup>42</sup> Most of whom had been ordained between 1553–1558 during Mary I’s reign.

<sup>43</sup> 5 *Eliz. I. c.1*. In 1581 Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester and Chancellor of Oxford, extended this restriction to include all matriculants entering the universities who were sixteen years or older (see Clare Asquith, “Oxford University and *Love’s Labour’s Lost*”, p. 82). However, many recusant families circumvented this statute by sending their boys to the university before they had reached the age of sixteen and withdrawing them from the university before taking their degrees. See James McConica, “The Catholic Experience in Tudor Oxford” in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits: Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896–1996)*.

years of Elizabeth's reign, more than a hundred senior Catholic academics (including Allen) left Oxford for the Continent. The College at Douai received the patronage of Philip II of Spain in 1570 and was the first of three such English colleges established during the 1560s–1580s in Douai, Seville, and Valladolid (a fourth English college already existed in Rome). These seminaries served as a springboard for a long-lasting mission to keep Catholicism alive in England. The English College at Douai produced an English translation of the Bible based on the Latin *Vulgate* to rival Protestant English translations which were based on the original Greek and Hebrew texts. The New Testament was published in 1582,<sup>44</sup> followed in 1609/1610 by the Old Testament, and in time the full translation became known as the Douay-Rheims version.<sup>45</sup>

In 1580 Edmund Campion and Robert Persons,<sup>46</sup> another English Jesuit, were sent to England by Cardinal Allen and Everard Mercurian,<sup>47</sup> the Jesuit Father General. Their presence in England was to have long-lasting and devastating repercussions for the Vaux family. The purpose of the Jesuit mission was “to strengthen the Catholics' faith and to bring back those who, through ignorance or temptation, had been lost”.<sup>48</sup> The pair reached England in June 1580 and on their arrival in London were met by George Gilbert, a young friend of Persons and the organiser of an association of young, zealous Catholic gentlemen whose task it was “to receive the newly-arrived priests, provide them with horses, money, clothing, and Mass equipment, and to conduct them personally to Catholic houses” (Anstruther, p. 111). Henry Vaux was one of the chief members of this group, along with his brother-in-law Edward Brooksby and Sir

---

<sup>44</sup> See p. xxxiii below.

<sup>45</sup> Between 1578–1593 the English College was forced to relocate to the city of Rheims due to religious upheavals in the Spanish Netherlands.

<sup>46</sup> Robert Persons was a leading recusant writer and later produced *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution* (1582) (more commonly known as *The Christian Directorie* after 1585 – see note on p. xxxviii) as well as an unfinished biography of Campion. He was a principal agitator for Spanish invasion of England.

<sup>47</sup> Mercurian was the fourth Father General of the Society of Jesus, and the first non-Spaniard. During his generalship, from 1573–1580, he established the English and Maronite Jesuit missions.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Graves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, [1981]), p. 873.

Thomas Tresham's brother, William.<sup>49</sup> Richard Simpson explains the necessity of this organisation as follows:

as the safety of the priests required that they should know to whom they were going to trust themselves, and should be protected and conducted on their way from house to house, so did the safety of their host require that he should know whom he was receiving. Missionaries could not carry about with them the certificates of their priesthood, still less the proofs of their honesty. Unknown strangers might be spies or false brothers, or fallen priests, as easily as honest men. It was necessary, then, that missionaries should be conducted by some well-known and trustworthy person, who could answer for their identity and their honesty at the houses where they were introduced. Hence this conductor had to be a gentleman well known and respected throughout the country.

(Simpson, p. 222)

From 1580 until his arrest in 1586, Henry Vaux was continually involved in the sheltering of priests, and when George Gilbert left England in 1583 to study for the priesthood abroad, Vaux became the leader of this association of priest-smugglers.

After their arrival in June, Campion and Persons first stayed with Eleanore and Edward Brooksby in London, (Eleanore Vaux had married Edward Brooksby of Shoby,<sup>50</sup> Leicestershire, in 1577), before retiring to Hoxton (then on London's eastern limit) on 18 July. Here they discussed their mission and, on deciding that their arrest was likely, Persons persuaded Campion to compose a defence of their presence in England that would be published in the event of their being arrested. It was released prematurely, caused a sensation and was soon dubbed 'Campion's Brag'. It challenged the Privy Council to grant the Jesuits the chance to dispute religious questions with the best legal and theological minds of England. Whilst he exhibits in it an almost naïve confidence in the likelihood of their success in such a disputation – in a "kingdom of grammarians and unlearned ears"<sup>51</sup> – Campion also emphasises the Jesuits' awareness of the danger involved in their mission and their preparedness to die for their faith, famously proclaiming: "The expense is reckoned, the enterprise is begun; it is of God, it cannot be withstood" (*op. cit.*, p. 155). Campion protests that the Jesuit mission is spiritual and not political (despite Spain's papally

---

<sup>49</sup> Also in the association were the future conspirators, Anthony Babington and Chideock Tichbourne.

<sup>50</sup> Together they sheltered priests and housed a secret printing press for the dissemination of Catholic religious tracts.

<sup>51</sup> A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559–1582* (London: Sands, 1950), p. 154.

backed invasion of Ireland that same year) but suggests that he could change the Queen's mind, if not in matters of religion, then to allow greater toleration to her oppressed Catholic subjects. He makes it clear that the continued mission to England is unstoppable "while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn,<sup>52</sup> or to be racked with your torments, or consumed with your prisons" (*ibid.*) (Campion was to endure all three the following year.) Protestant refutations of the challenge were quickly penned by William Charke and Meredith Hanmer.

In August 1580, during the Spanish invasion of Ireland, many prominent English Catholics whose loyalty to the Crown was doubted were placed under house arrest to deter Philip II from relying on a rebellion in England as the pretext for an invasion, but Lord Vaux seems to have avoided detention as he is recorded as having signed the certificate of musters for Northamptonshire on 22 September 1580 (Anstruther, p. 113) and making a rare appearance in parliament, in January 1581, to hear the passing of the *Act of Persuasion* (which made conversion to Roman Catholicism a treasonous offence and increased the fine for non-attendance from one shilling per offence to twenty pounds per lunar month,<sup>53</sup> which had the effect of crippling even the wealthiest Catholics financially, among them Lord Vaux). Many Catholics attempted to evade the fines by 'riding up and down' between their estates in different dioceses, thus avoiding the bishops' costly chastisement. In May 1581, however, Lord Vaux and his household were indicted for non-attendance in the visitation book of the archdeacon of Northamptonshire and were fined accordingly.

During the summer of 1580 Persons and Campion split up and toured England separately, preaching and ministering to Catholics in the midlands and west country. They met again in October at Uxbridge, where Campion decided to start composing his apology for the Catholic faith, *Rationes Decem* ('The Ten Reasons'). He completed it in March 1581 and daringly distributed copies of it on the benches of St Mary's (the university church of Oxford) on 27 June. This was a carefully planned move on the part of the Jesuits. Supplicants for Ox-

---

<sup>52</sup> The village of Tyburn on the outskirts of London was for centuries the site of a peculiarly constructed gallows consisting of a horizontal triangular frame supported by three posts, which allowed for multiple hangings to be conducted simultaneously. It was the principal site of public executions in London from Medieval times until late in the Eighteenth Century. The gallows was situated near to where Marble Arch stands today.

<sup>53</sup> In terms of purchasing power this is the equivalent of an increase today from £11.50 to £4,600. (Measuringworth.com)

ford's Bachelor of Theology degree were required to defend two theses before convocation in St Mary's. Edmund Campion had left Oxford before taking his degree in theology, but now presented his defence of ten theses (albeit in print and not in person) on the very day convocation was to meet. The students duly filed into the church and snapped up copies of the tract. It was a publicity stunt that caused a national uproar and the search for Campion and Persons was intensified. Within three weeks Campion was apprehended, and was tortured for several months. He revealed his movements but would not recant his faith. His trial proved such a sensation, as he disputed theology with the best legal and theological minds of the day with nothing but a Bible in his hands (the fingernails of which had been ripped out during torture), that after three sessions the trial was subsequently held *in camera*. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on 1 December 1581 along with two other Jesuits, Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Briant. Robert Persons had meanwhile fled back to the Continent.

On 6 August 1581 the Privy Council charged Sir Walter Mildmay, a Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer, to summon Lord Vaux before them so that he might be questioned about his involvement with Campion. (Campion had alleged under torture that he had stayed at Lord Vaux's home while in Northamptonshire). Lord Vaux was placed in the custody of Sir Edward Montague whose estate of Boughton House was a mere six miles from Harrowden. On 18 August 1581 Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham appeared before the Privy Council to answer under oath whether or not Campion had sheltered at their estates. They refused to swear to this, arguing that they did not wish to perjure themselves unwittingly, but declared that to the best of their knowledge he had not been, though if he had said so in confession then he might have been there without their knowing it. They were subsequently committed to the Fleet for contempt of court,<sup>54</sup> and appeared before the Star Chamber on 15 November

---

<sup>54</sup> Between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries the Fleet (although rebuilt several times) was a notorious London prison on the east bank of the Fleet River. In Tudor times it was used for prisoners of the Star Chamber (see note below). Prisoners had to pay for their food and lodging, but were usually allowed to be visited by their friends and family unless they were restricted to being 'close prisoners' (the Elizabethan near-equivalent to solitary confinement), but in the Elizabethan world bribery was always possible, and so in practice close imprisonment was more bearable than in theory. The Fleet was a significantly more tolerable prison than the Marshalsea and it was even possible sometimes for prisoners to dwell outside the prison with responsible relatives or custodians, but still be attached to the Fleet and live in confinement.

along with Sir William Catesby,<sup>55</sup> another prominent recusant charged with harbouring Campion. The result of this trial was that they were fined heavily (one thousand pounds for Lord Vaux and one thousand marks apiece for Tresham and Catesby).<sup>56</sup> They remained close prisoners of the Fleet indefinitely. During this time Lady Vaux moved up to London to support her husband and brother.

Meanwhile the rest of Lord Vaux's family remained active in recusant affairs. In 1581 Lord Vaux transferred much of his wealth and land to Henry Vaux, who assumed *de facto* guardianship of his unmarried siblings. In March 1582 Elizabeth Vaux entered the Poor Clares (the tertiary Franciscan order) in Rouen as a novice. In the following month Henry sent Edward and Ambrose to visit the English College at Rheims; George followed them later that same year. In 1571 it had become illegal for the Queen's subjects to journey abroad without royal permission and unlicensed travel was punishable by deprivation of possessions and land profits,<sup>57</sup> yet Lord Vaux was never tried for his children's absence from England.

In 1582 Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham were fined for secretly receiving mass in the Fleet on the Feast of Epiphany (6 January). They were interrogated by Richard Topcliffe, the most notorious interrogator during the Elizabethan age and an infamous torturer who was loathed by many a recusant and Jesuit for good reason. In 1584 William Allen published the *True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics* in which he referred to the hardships of English recusants; the work was subsequently translated into Latin and "soon the sufferings of Vaux and Tresham were known all over Catholic Europe" (Anstruther, p. 143).

In April 1583 Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham were released from the Fleet but were confined to the greater London area. Lord Vaux subsequently rented a house in Hackney and most of his family moved to live there as well. From October onwards more and more members of his family were fined for

---

<sup>55</sup> The Court of Star Chamber was an English law court that existed between 1487–1641 for the trial of noblemen charged with treason or political libel.

<sup>56</sup> A mark was two-thirds of a pound. The equivalent of these fines today in terms of purchasing power would be £400,000 for Lord Vaux's fine and £270,000 for Tresham's and Catesby's. (Measuringworth.com)

<sup>57</sup> *13 Eliz. c. 3*. (The acts of the English houses of parliament before 1953 are catalogued according to the year of a monarch's reign and the chapter number of the statute book; thus *13 Eliz. c. 3* is extrapolated as "In the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign, chapter three", i.e. 1571).

non-attendance at church, thus putting a strain on the already depleted family funds. In an attempt to secure the family's financial situation Lord Vaux decided to make a profitable marriage for Henry, his eldest son and heir. Henry refused, however, as he had decided to lead a contemplative life, and perhaps even desired one day to take orders (as John Gerard alleges).<sup>58</sup> In 1585 Henry reluctantly signed an agreement whereby his half-brother George would inherit the lands and wealth attached to the barony whilst he would receive a modest annuity for the remainder of his life. After Henry Vaux's death the title would pass to George or his heir, thus reuniting the barony with the family wealth. Henry's reluctance to sign away his rights and privileges seems to indicate that he had not yet resolved on pursuing the life of a priest. Unfortunately for Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham (who acted as the baron's financial manager), George Vaux secretly married Elizabeth Roper on 25 July 1585,<sup>59</sup> thus thwarting his father's and uncle's plans. He was immediately disowned and the inheritance was settled on his youngest brother, Ambrose, as Edward had died on the very day of George's marriage. Ambrose was visiting the English College at Rheims again at the time, but was recalled to England. As the youngest son of a peer, he had grown up with little expectation and was both a spendthrift and a debtor. What was worse was that he was a brigand.<sup>60</sup> This made him such an unsatisfactory heir that George Vaux and his father were soon reconciled. Sir Thomas Tresham, however, never forgave his nephew's act of defiance, and his subsequent relations with George's wife were marked by insult and acrimony. In 1585 Lord Vaux was unable to pay the levy required of him for the war with Spain. In March of the following year he offered to compound for his recusancy fines and pay a fee of £80 annually.<sup>61</sup> This proposal for partial payment, however, was rejected and he was duly indicted in December that year for non-attendance. In 1592 he and his remaining sons finally conformed albeit "temporarily, [...] to save his estate" (Trimble, p. 213).

---

<sup>58</sup> In *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest* (trans. by Philip Caraman (New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1952)), the Jesuit missionary John Gerard wrote of Vaux: "If he had lived a little longer he would assuredly have been a member of our society" (p. 195).

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Roper was a great-niece (although no blood relation) of Sir Thomas More's eldest daughter, Margaret. Her father later became 1st Baron Teynham in 1616.

<sup>60</sup> In 1591 he was in trouble with the Privy Council for forcefully removing forty loads of barley from a barn in Irthlingborough.

<sup>61</sup> "To settle (a debt) by agreement for partial payment" (*OED*: compound, v. 8a).

Meanwhile, Henry Vaux was deeply involved in the Catholic underground. In August 1584 he was mentioned in a report to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary of State and unofficial spymaster, and from this time onwards his name appeared regularly in confessions and the reports of spies. Henry Vaux was unfortunate in having two apostate priests,<sup>62</sup> Fathers Edward Grateley and Anthony Tyrell, in his employ. By May 1585 the government knew that Henry Vaux was serving as treasurer for the priest-smuggling network. At around that time he attended a large meeting of Jesuits, recusants, and secular clergy in Hoxton at which a fund was established for the support of the Catholic clergy and to which he promised one hundred marks. In 1584 an *Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Other Such Disobedient Persons* (27 Eliz. c. 2) had been passed which made the mere fact of having been ordained a Catholic priest since Elizabeth's accession a treasonous offence punishable by death. Before the bill was passed into law, several leading recusants including Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham and Sir John Arundell petitioned the Queen in protest, craving the right to satisfy their consciences whilst remaining Her Majesty's loyal subjects. Their petition fell on deaf ears. Recusant activity thus had to be far more organised and clandestine in order for Catholics to escape these penalties. To combat the Act, Catholic houses installed 'priest holes' (small hiding places in cellars, attics, and behind wood-panelling in secret passageways and chambers). A policy of equivocation was adopted by priests and recusants: if a priest were to be interrogated as to his true identity and vocation, or a recusant were questioned about harbouring a priest, they would not respond with the full truth. It was a survival technique based on deception rather than mendacity, comparable to the legal principle of not being required to incriminate oneself, and was used to counter the injustice of Elizabeth's government against the Catholic faith. Unfortunately for Catholics, it was consequently easy for Elizabeth's ministers to paint them as liars as well as traitors.

In 1585 several English Catholics, including Anthony Babington, Father John Ballard, and Chideock Tichbourne,<sup>63</sup> entered into a conspiracy with Mary,

---

<sup>62</sup> Many missionary priests, once apprehended, were encouraged to apostatise so as to avoid imprisonment or execution. They provided Walsingham with insider information on recusant and Jesuit activity.

<sup>63</sup> The eighteen-year-old writer of the famous "Tichbourne's Elegy", written in the Tower of London on the eve of his execution.

Queen of Scots, to assassinate Elizabeth and put Mary on the English throne. The plotters' correspondence was intercepted at an early stage and closely monitored by Walsingham who wanted Mary to incriminate herself sufficiently so that Elizabeth would finally consent to her execution. In May of 1585 Anthony Babington visited Lord Vaux in Hackney about purchasing land from him in Nottinghamshire. While seemingly innocent enough, the Vaux family's subsequent association with Babington aroused the suspicions of Walsingham's spy network.

Babington and Ballard were well known to Henry Vaux, whose house was closely watched once Walsingham became aware of the plot, and in August 1586 Henry Vaux was named in a list of Babington's regular associates. Henry Vaux's associations made him highly suspect to Walsingham. Not only was he by now the *de facto* leader of the priest smuggling network since the departure of George Gilbert for the Continent to take orders, but he had been associated in the past with other conspirators such as Tichbourne as well as Francis Throckmorton, a distant cousin who had been executed in 1584 for conspiring to assassinate the Queen in the so-called 'Throckmorton Plot' of 1583.<sup>64</sup> Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham were suspected of being willing to aid the Babington Plot but were both in prison at the time.

In the winter of 1585/1586 Lord Vaux's house in Hackney received needless government attention after an exorcism was performed there by Father William Weston (alias Edmunds) on a servant of Anthony Babington named Marwood. Henry Vaux and his sister Eleanore were present and later related the event as a truly wondrous miracle to Richard Mainey, the brother-in-law of Father John Gerard. This and subsequent exorcisms at other Catholic households in London drew the unwelcome interest of the Lord High Treasurer, William Cecil (Lord Burghley), the Queen's chief advisor.

During the spring of the following year, Robert Persons requested Claudio Acquaviva to send Robert Southwell and Henry Garnett to England.<sup>65</sup> These two future martyrs arrived in England on 23 July 1586. Garnett was housed by Eleanore Brooksby and her sister Anne at Shoby, while Robert Southwell took up residence at Henry Vaux's home in Hackney. Later that year both these

---

<sup>64</sup> They shared a common great-grandfather in Nicholas Vaux, but by different marriages; thus they were half third-cousins.

<sup>65</sup> After Everard Mercurian, the Jesuit Father General from 1581–1615.

houses were raided but neither priest was discovered. Garnett escaped detection at Shoby partly due to the ingeniousness of the priest-holes there and partly due to the plucky courage of Frances Burroughs, Eleanore Brooksby's ten-year-old cousin,<sup>66</sup> who, when the pursuivants arrived unannounced one morning,<sup>67</sup> bought enough time for Garnett and others to hide by confronting Walsingham's henchmen and telling them to put up their swords. On another occasion a pursuivant proffered a dagger at her breast and threatened to kill her if she did not betray the hiding place of the priests, to which she famously retorted "If thou dost, it shall be the hottest blood that ever thou sheddest in thy life" (Anstruther, p. 182). In Hackney, Robert Southwell escaped detection through sheer stamina, standing quietly behind the wood panelling for several hours.

In July 1586 Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham were included in a government list of recusants likely to support an armed foreign invasion of England. While there is no evidence to prove that Lord Vaux or any of his immediate family were disloyal, their associations – while perhaps unavoidable – certainly cast the light of suspicion on them. Later that year, many Catholics petitioned the Queen to be allowed to be exiled to Germany; instead, the government required them to contribute funds to the Queen's army which was raised to suppress Catholic rebellions in Ireland. The confined recusants were asked to sign a protestation of allegiance to the Crown which was a thinly disguised version of the Oath of Supremacy; they refused and instead drafted their own, which, unsurprisingly, was not accepted.

By late 1586 Sir Francis Walsingham had enough evidence finally to rid England of Mary, Queen of Scots. He revealed the Babington Plot to Queen Elizabeth and the Privy Council; the conspirators were arrested and executed; and the Council defied Elizabeth by secretly despatching Mary's death warrant and ensuring she was executed on 8 February 1587 before Elizabeth could rescind it and grant a royal pardon.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Although she already had two children of her own, Eleanore adopted her cousin Frances Burroughs, a plucky little girl of five and the daughter of Eleanore's widowed aunt Maud.

<sup>67</sup> Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries this term was used to refer to agents of the Privy Council who had the power to search and seize property by power of royal warrant.

<sup>68</sup> Elizabeth feared that by executing a fellow monarch she would undermine the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. She had signed the death warrant but had instructed William Davison, Walsingham's colleague in the secretariat, not to send it.

One reason the Privy Council was especially keen to be rid of the threat of Mary's accession is that by February that year they had learned of Spain's assemblage of an armada for the invasion of England. As a safety precaution, all leading recusants were committed to the care of various bishops. Lord Vaux was the only peer to be arrested, and his status was observed by his being entrusted to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury. William R. Trimble offers the following account.

When the news of the Spanish preparations reached England in 1587, Sir Thomas Tresham, Lord Vaux [...], and other leading recusants had been committed to the custody of the state clergy to destroy any illusion which the Spanish might hold of expecting internal help. The prisoners were assured that Queen Elizabeth and the Council understood and appreciated their faithfulness and their desire to fight in their country's defense, to which they – all the leading Catholics – replied that they were willing to be placed in custody wherever the Council saw fit for the best interests of their ruler and the realm, but that they especially desired to fight in the front ranks against the enemy.

(Trimble, 136–137)

From 1586–1587 Robert Southwell had the use of the Vaux house in Hackney. On 4 November 1586 Vaux's apostate priest, Anthony Tyrell, who operated as an undiscovered government spy in the Clink,<sup>69</sup> received information that Father Robert Southwell was in Hackney. The chief magistrate of London, Richard Young, led a search of the Vaux house but could not find Southwell, nor Father Robert Sayer who was also there. They did however arrest Henry Vaux, who was brought before the Privy Council and committed to the Marshalsea.

During the raid, the pursuivants seized many books and papers,<sup>70</sup> amongst which Justice Young found two letters signed 'Robertus', which created a panic that Robert Persons was once more at large in England; however, it was soon discovered that they were in fact penned by Robert Southwell.

After Henry Vaux's arrest, Sir Thomas Tresham and Lady Vaux (Henry's stepmother) met to discuss what to do about Henry's imprisonment (since Lord Vaux was also incarcerated at the time). They both agreed to let him fend for himself. It might well have been impossible for them to have done anything on

---

<sup>69</sup> The Clink was an infamous prison in Southwark from the Middle Ages until the eighteenth century. During Elizabethan times it was used principally for the detention of religious non-conformists (both Catholic and Puritan).

<sup>70</sup> Although Anstruther suggests the contrary (p. 171), this does not explain why manuscript copies of poems by Henry Vaux and Robert Southwell appear together in the Folger MS., which is in a seventeenth-century hand and is thus clearly a copy.

his behalf, but one may suspect – given Tresham’s reluctance to distribute any moneys to the children of Lord Vaux’s first marriage, the likely animosity between them and the second Lady Vaux (Tresham’s sister), and Tresham’s contrivance for the wealth of the barony to pass to Henry’s half-brother, George (Tresham’s nephew) – that Sir Thomas and his baroness sister were not reluctant to let Lord Vaux’s heir (who was not related to them by blood) rot in prison. This is exactly what happened.

On 22 May 1587 Henry Vaux was granted three months’ sick-leave from the Marshalsea. He had contracted consumption (modern-day pulmonary tuberculosis) and went to recuperate at the Brooksby estate of Great Ashby in Leicestershire where he was cared for by his sisters, Anne and Eleanore. Although Eleanore’s husband, Edward Brooksby, had died in 1581, she continued to shelter priests with the aid of her sister. While still convalescing, Henry Vaux died unexpectedly on 19 November 1587 and was buried in the local parish.<sup>71</sup> Father Henry Garnett, who had also attended to his needs (Caraman, p. 44), wrote a decade later in a letter to Claudio Acquaviva that Henry Vaux had uttered the simple vows of a Jesuit priest on his deathbed. Although he is listed as a Jesuit novice on the strength of this,<sup>72</sup> it is widely doubted that he in fact did enter the society. Father John Gerard doubts it, reporting that “‘on his deathbed this was the only thing that caused him regret, viz. that he could not then be admitted into the Society, a thing he desired most earnestly” (Gerard, p. 195). Gerard, though it appears he never knew Henry Vaux, later had the use of his library and offers the following praise: he was a “very learned and studious nobleman, and well known for his piety” (*ibid.*) Robert Persons makes no mention of Henry Vaux having any desire to become a Jesuit, but indicates that he desired to lead a contemplative and celibate life. Persons’s tribute to Henry Vaux is the most admiring extant portrayal of him:

That blessed gentleman and saint, Mr. Henry Vaux, whose life was a rare mirror of religion and holiness unto all that knew him and conversed with him. He died most sweetly and comfortably in England, having resigned long before his death, and in his perfect health, his inheritance to the barony to his younger

---

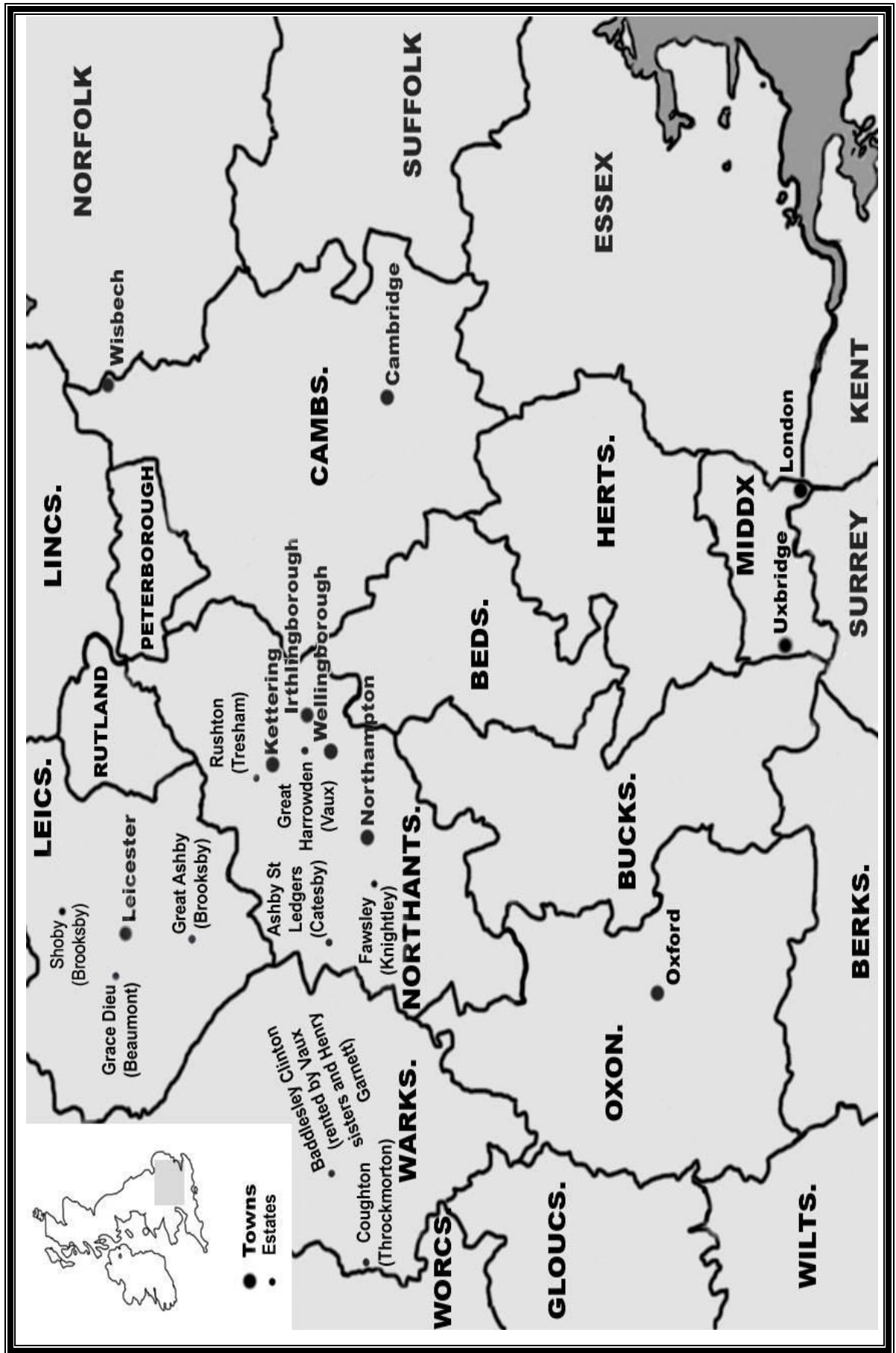
<sup>71</sup> How this was managed is unknown. His burial was not secret as it is recorded in the parish register, “Mr. Henry Vause brother of old Mrs Bruxby, November XIX” (Anstruther, p.182). Eleanore Brooksby might have professed conformity and thus won acceptance for her brother to be buried in sanctified ground.

<sup>72</sup> By Thomas McCoog in *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555–1650* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 319–320.

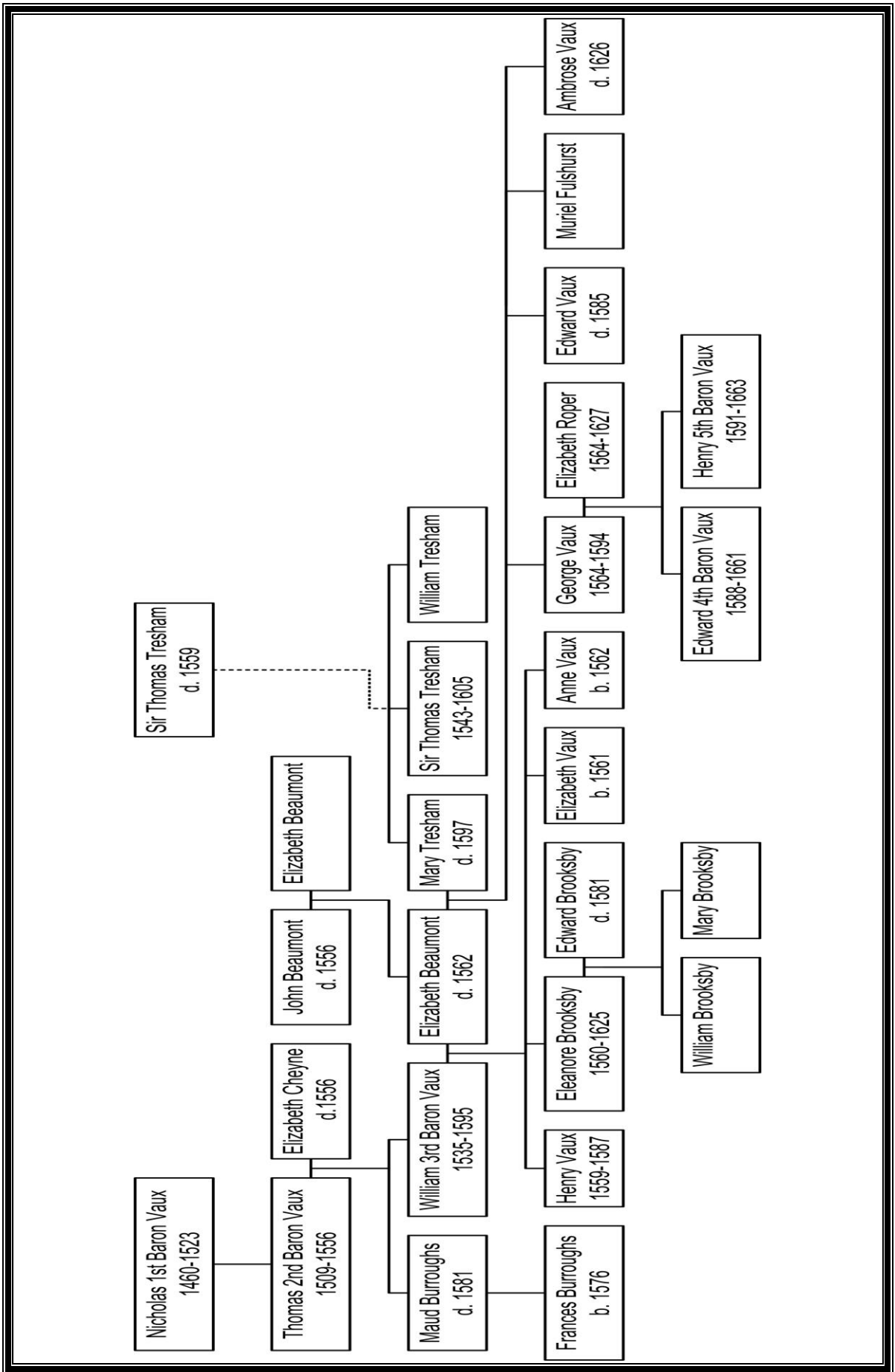
brother, reserving only a small annuity to himself whereby to live in study and prayer all the days of his life, without marrying, as he fully resolved to do.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Robert Persons, "Of the Life and Martyrdom of Father Edmond Campion" in *Letters and Notices*, 12 (1878), pp. 29–30.



Map of Sixteenth-Century Recusant Estates in the English South Midlands as well as Sir Richard Knightley's Estate of Fawsley and Towns Relevant to the General Introduction.



A Select Genealogy of the Vaux Family.

## CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

Henry Vaux's poems survive in a single seventeenth-century manuscript copy bound in at the back of a printed copy of *Saint Peter's Complaint*, a long poem by the Jesuit martyr Robert Southwell (1561–1595). Also in the manuscript is a collection of fifty-six shorter poems by Southwell as well as the long poem, *A Fourefold Meditation on the Last Things* attributed to Philip Howard,<sup>74</sup> Earl of Arundel (1557–1595). All three men were prominent Catholics of similar age and from the upper classes of England.

Despite the fact that there were other Catholic poets (such as Jasper Heywood) writing in the mid- to late sixteenth century, no other poets' names appear in the collection – and it is a *collection*, rather than a miscellany, of poems. A deliberate choice was made by the compiler to select these poets and their poems and not others. The reason for this selection is not stated, but the combination suggests an answer.

All the poems in the collection are religious in theme or tone. There are meditations, such as Henry Vaux's "Meditatio de Passione Christi" and Arundel's poem; there are moral reflections, like Vaux's "Of covetise" and Southwell's "Lewd Love is Losse"; and there are the personal contemplations of a sinner as in Southwell's "A Phansie turned to a sinners complaint" and Vaux's "A Lamentation of a Sinner".<sup>75</sup> While the poems in the collection are religious in theme, they are conspicuous for their lack of invective or direct comment on the Reformation, despite a proliferation of anti-Protestant sentiment in the poems of contemporary recusant and Jesuit poets (such as William Blundell, Henry Fitzsimon, Gregory Martin, and Thomas Pounce) who protest against the injustice, corruption, and perceived heresy of their Protestant persecutors.

Consider, for instance, the following poem by Gregory Martin,<sup>76</sup> the friend and fellow Jesuit of Edmund Campion. It is addressed to a Protestant listener:

---

<sup>74</sup> Howard died while imprisoned in the Tower of London for his conversion to Catholicism and on a charge of high treason.

<sup>75</sup> A variant of this poem is attributed to Jasper Heywood in the 1585 edition of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (and in subsequent editions). See p. liv below.

<sup>76</sup> Martin (1542–1582) was largely responsible for the translation of the New Testament section of the *Vulgate* into English (published as the first instalment of the Douay-Rheims Bible in 1582).

For a thousand yeeres you say,  
 that Papistrie did beare the sway:  
 And during all that space,  
 no Protestant durst shew his face.  
 Who kept the holy Scriptures then,  
 from the hands of wicked men?  
 Who had authoritie to ordaine,  
 or make Priests or Bishops againe?

(from "Questions to the Protestant")

Similarly, Henry Fitzsimon (another Jesuit missionary who proselytised in Elizabethan England) offers the following witty, yet cynical, *reductio* of English devotion:

In Elder times an ancient custume t'was,  
 to sweare in weightie maters by the Masse.  
 But when Masse was put down, as Ould men note,  
 They swore then by the Crosse of this graye grote.  
 And when the Crosse was held like wise in scorn  
 Then Faith, and trowthe, for common oathes weare sworne.  
 But now men banisht have both faith & trowth,  
 So that God damne me, is the common oath.  
 So custome keeps Decorum, by gradation,  
 Loosing masse, Crosse, Faith, trowth, followth damnation.

("Swearing")

Such displays of sarcasm and polemic are absent from the poems in the Folger MS. There are, however, occasional hints of recusant complaints as in Vaux's "Of Frendship", in which the poet possibly alludes to those operating in (or with) Walsingham's spy-network, when he says:

And yet, alas, ful many a man we know,  
 Whom fortune drawes, wil beare a frendly chere,  
 While lucke doth serve, and in prosperous wind doth blowe;  
 As fwalowes swifte in spring time do appere;  
 When stormes arise, farewel, they wilbe gone,  
 They leave him al to finke or swimme alone.

(ll. 37–42)

But nowhere is the invective of Martin's lines, or the cynicism of Henry Fitzsimon's "Swearing",<sup>77</sup> to be found.

Vaux, Southwell, and Howard share a fundamentally similar conception of poetry. For them poetry provides a space for private devotion rather than public polemic, a space in which the moral order of a suppressed faith can be

<sup>77</sup> Both these poems are reproduced in Louise Imogen Guiney's anthology of *Recusant Poets* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1938).

maintained. Without churches in which to receive mass and hear homilies regularly, the Catholic faith had to rely largely on the secret circulation of Catholic tracts, books, and poems. The religious concerns of the Catholic laity were not confined to anti-Protestantism, however: their primary concern was to pursue the faith of their ancestors. This may be seen in the rhetoric of recusant writers such as Sir Thomas Tresham. For him (and recusants like him) the Church of England and the faith of the Protestants are usually accepted (or at the very least tolerated). This, however, is not the case in the writings of most Jesuits – particularly Campion and Robert Persons. For most of the Jesuit missionaries, Protestantism is heresy; to most of the recusants, it is the faith of their neighbours.

This difference in outlook between missionary priest and native recusant is revealed by comparing the following two extracts. The first quotation is taken from Edmund ‘Campion’s Brag’ (see p. xxi above) to the lords of the Privy Council, sensationally circulated in 1580; the second is from a letter of supplication to the Queen by Lord Vaux (Henry’s father), Sir Thomas Tresham, and Sir John Arundell. Campion has:

My charge is, of free cost to preach the Gospel, to minister the Sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reforme sinners, to confute errors – in brief, to crie alarme spiritual against foul vice and proud ignorance wherewith many my dear Countrymen are abused.

(quoted in Southern, p. 154);

whereas the recusant nobility offer:

Suffer us not to be the only outcasts and refuse of the world. Let not us your Catholic native English and obedient subjects stand in more peril for frequenting the Blessed Sacrament and exercising the Catholic religion (and that most secretly) than do the Catholic subjects to the Turk publicly; than do the perverse and blasphemous Jews, haunting their synagogues under sundry Christian kings openly; and than do the Protestants enjoying their public assemblies under divers Catholic kings and princes quietly.

(Tresham, quoted in Anstruther, p. 155)

Tresham and other English Catholics who still resided in England could hardly protest allegiance to the English Crown (as they repeatedly did) whilst regarding their sovereign and fellow Englishmen as heretics and infidels. The conclusion to draw from this is either that Tresham and other recusants were deceitful in their protestation of loyalty (simply biding their time until rebellion, invasion, or the Queen’s death changed matters to their advantage), or that they truly were loyal subjects fully prepared to tolerate theological differences of opinion

with their fellow Englishmen. There is little evidence to suggest that Tresham or Lord Vaux ever contemplated rebellion and they certainly never participated in any conspiracies. It is therefore safe to conclude that they were truly loyal and tolerant. For them and other recusants, there was a golden mean between zealotry and apostasy. Recusancy was often a privilege of the rich, but there were many non-recusant Catholics ('church papists') who attended services of the Church of England to avoid the fines, penalties and deprivations enforced by the Anglican bishops for non-attendance. Many English Catholics thus sat in pews alongside Anglicans. It is improbable that all or even the majority of English Catholics should despise Protestantism and its adherents. This is not to pretend that the divide did not exist, nor to claim that the divide was not often acrimonious. One has only to remember the hundreds of English men and women who were fined, deprived, maimed, tortured, imprisoned, and executed for their faith during Elizabeth's reign to realise that this was not the case. Rather it reveals that a certain degree of toleration did exist. For most English Catholics religion was a matter of personal conscience, not of political affiliation. Between 1533 and 1558 the official religion of Englishmen had alternated so many times between various forms of Catholicism and Protestantism that the majority of Elizabeth's subjects could not help but be ambivalent about denominational niceties. This opinion is shared by Elliot Rose in *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975):

The situation of the less militant Catholic or puritan was much more typical of the ordinary human condition and has more to tell us about that condition. The less militant must have been the majority among Catholics and puritans. If we include absolutely silent sympathizers with each group and add the two together they may well have been a majority of the English nation. By the later sixteenth-century the country had suffered four official changes of religion, well within an ordinary lifetime. The number of people who were privately dissatisfied with the result must have been enormous, though it includes people who were dissatisfied for quite different reasons. Obviously most of them wanted to stay out of trouble; most people always want to, and most of these people actually did. Somewhere between those whose discontent was so strong that it drove them to martyrdom and those whose discontent was so weak that it did not drive them to do anything at all, lay the world of the common Catholic and that of the common puritan – the rank-and-file membership of the party or the subculture that was to be. Life in those worlds involved difficult choices, all the more difficult because the individuals concerned were not temperamentally cut out for militant action. It was sustained by hopes, and threatened by temptations, which did not affect the natural zealots.

(Rose, p. 1)

It should therefore not be surprising that in a culture that operated in a continuum between ardour and indifference, the focus of much recusant poetry (though by no means all) is not on Protestantism but on private devotion.

Devotional poetry has a long history in English literature. The oldest surviving English lyric poetry is that of St Godric who lived in the twelfth century.<sup>78</sup> Religious verse flourished during the Middle Ages alongside songs of love and drinking. There were many hymns to the Virgin Mary, love songs to Christ, contemplations of death and the Last Judgement, laments for the fickleness of fortune and the inconstancy of women, resignations from the world (*contemptus mundi*), as well as reflections on Christ's Passion and the liturgical seasons (especially Lent, Advent, Christmas, and Easter). This tradition in English poetry stemmed from the wealth of Medieval religious Latin verse produced in the British Isles and on the Continent. It was a tradition that could trace its descent from Boethius in the fifth century through St Columba in the sixth to Alcuin in the eighth and beyond to Peter Abelard in the twelfth century.<sup>79</sup> The tradition of short religious lyrics in Latin existed alongside a tradition of long meditations (in Latin verse and prose) on the life, and particularly the Passion, of Christ. A fuller discussion of the genre of poetic meditations will be found in the commentary (see p. 37 ff.) Here follows a brief description of its origins.<sup>80</sup>

Stemming from the rise of Franciscan thought in the thirteenth century there was a renewed focus in Christian devotion on private – rather than collective – religious experience. In *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), F.J.E. Raby observes:

Religion had once more come to find its expression in a personal experience, in an emotion of the heart, in a direct relation between the human soul and Christ. The Franciscan movement [...] appealed to the religious instinct in its simplest and most fundamental form [...] indeed, the ecstasy of gazing on the Passion and the Wounds of Christ was at once a torment and a delight.

(pp. 417–418)

---

<sup>78</sup> See R.T. Davies's *Medieval English Lyrics* (London: Faber, 1963).

<sup>79</sup> See Helen Waddell's *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics* (London: A. Constable, 1948).

<sup>80</sup> For a full discussion on the poetry of meditation see *Texts of the Passion* by Thomas H. Bestul (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996) and Louis Lohr Martz *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954).

This shift in spiritual emphasis required guidance, and an abundance of literary meditations were produced throughout the Continent and Britain to facilitate access to the devotional rather than the sacramental experience of Christian faith. Foremost amongst these were the writings of the Franciscans themselves, particularly those by (or attributed to) Bonaventure.<sup>81</sup> The result of this devotional emphasis was the realisation that faith could be maintained by the individual without dependence on a priest and the sacraments. In the sixteenth century such meditative and devotional works were of critical importance to recusant Catholics, and Jesuit writers were quick to produce new material such as *The Book of Christian Exercise* by Robert Persons<sup>82</sup> and the *Short Rule of Good Life* by Robert Southwell.<sup>83</sup>

In Henry Vaux's poetry we find instances both of religious lyrics and of meditations on Christ's Passion. His extant poetry consists of two such meditations (one in English and the other in Latin), several reflections on the fickleness of fortune and friendship, two contemplations of the last judgement as well as several discussions of vice and virtue.<sup>84</sup> Outside of these two overtly Christian categories, there are also four poems (three in English and one in Latin) written as additions to Seneca's *Agamemnon*.<sup>85</sup> The four poems reflect the Renaissance tradition of imitation.

The practice of literary imitation was standard during the Renaissance. A poet learnt his art by modelling his work on or mimicking "canonized literary models" (G.F. Else, *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*: imitation). Modern considerations of inferiority or plagiarism were not a concern and imitation was regarded as 'the highest form of flattery' to previous authors. Douglas L. Peterson writes in *The English Lyric from Wyatt to Donne*, "the goal of

---

<sup>81</sup> Bonaventure (c. 1217–1274) was Minister General of the Franciscan order and one of the foremost thinkers of the Scholastic age. He was canonised in 1482 and subsequently designated a Doctor of the Church (the 'Seraphic Doctor').

<sup>82</sup> Rouen, 1582. Revised and reissued in 1585 as *The Christian Directorie*, following a plagiarised and Protestantised edition by Edmund Bunny in 1584.

<sup>83</sup> London, 1597. This was composed in the 1580s and published posthumously by Henry Garnett after Southwell's execution in 1595.

<sup>84</sup> "A Lamentation of a Sinner" and "Being sicke in Oxford thus he prayd".

<sup>85</sup> Lucius Annaeus Seneca, 4 BC – 65 AD, the foremost Roman tragedian. His works were highly influential on the development of Elizabethan tragedy (see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought* (New York: Harper, 1961), p. 14, as well as G.R. Hibbard's note on *Hamlet*, 2.2.394–395).

the Tudor literary, or courtly, poet was to write eloquently by emulating the Classical poets or those continental poets whose verse reflected what he thought were Classical qualities” (Peterson, p. 41).

It is likely that Vaux’s poetry was also influenced and informed by contemporary Renaissance writings and publications. In the latter half of the sixteenth century two anthologies of poetry dominated the poetic consciousness of England. The first was Tottel’s *Miscellany* (published as *Songs and Sonnets* in 1557 and running to nine editions by 1587; *STC* 13860). The second was *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (first published in 1576 and running to ten editions by 1606; *STC* 7516). Tottel’s *Miscellany*, for the most part, consists of Petrarchan love poetry (principally that of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and Nicholas Grimald) as well as eulogies and laments on losing favour at court, although there are a few lyrics (mostly by anonymous authors) concerned with death, friendship, the wheel of fortune, marriage, and the contemptibility and mutability of the world. The poems of this latter (smaller) group are the vestiges of the meditative poetic traditions of the Middle Ages (discussed above). In *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (published two decades later) these types predominate, while Petrarchism is notable by its absence. *The Paradise’s* poems are mostly serious and didactic in their tone and subject. Where love poems do occur in the anthology, they warn of the dangers of love, rather than lamenting a separation or unrequited passion. “Proverbial philosophy”<sup>86</sup> and *gravitas* characterise the poems of this anthology. The subjects of the poems are the “certainty of death, the changeability of friends, the importance of education, [and] the hollowness of the Court” (*op. cit.*, p. lxvii).

It is thus possible to appreciate Vaux’s concerns with morality, mortality, and mutability as part of a larger poetic tradition. The themes and subjects of these poems are commonplace: they are standard rhetorical *topoi* and their treatment is usually conventional. Originality and inspiration are not of concern to the poets or their readers. What is important is the poem’s eloquence, its rhetoric.

The study of rhetoric formed part of the core curriculum of Renaissance education, both in the schools and the universities. While Henry Vaux attended neither school nor university it is clear from the prefatory comment to “Honos

---

<sup>86</sup> Hyder Edward Rollins, intro. to *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. lxvi.

alit artes” that Vaux’s tutors had trained him in rhetoric. Students of rhetoric were required to present and defend opposing arguments, or compose verses from a group of standard topics and themes (or *topoi*). As in modern debating societies, it was not the truth of the proposition that was assessed, but the skill of the argument. Poems on the wheel of fortune, the mutability of the world, the destructiveness of romantic love, or the fickleness of friends, are therefore more rehearsals of stock topics rather than original compositions about them. Consider for instance the similarity of the following two poems (on the theme of Ecclesiastes 3) by Vaux and Southwell:

**Southwell, “Times goe by turnes”**

The lopped tree in time may grow againe,  
Most naked plantes renew both fruit and flower:  
The soriest wight may find release of paine,  
The dryest soyle sucke in some moystning shower.  
Times goe by turnes, and chaunces chaunge by course:  
From fowle to faire: from better happe, to worse.

The sea of fortune doth not ever flowe,  
She drawes her favours to the lowest ebbe:  
Her tyde hath equall times to come and goe,  
Her Loom doth weave the fine and coursest webbe.  
No joye so great, but runneth to an end:  
No hap so hard, but may in fine amend.

Not alwaies fall of leafe, nor ever spring,  
No endles night, yet not eternall day:  
The saddest birds a season find to sing,  
The roughest storme a calme may soone alay.  
Thus with succeeding turnes God tempereth all:  
That man may hope to rise, yet feare to fall.

A chaunce may winne that by mischaunce was lost,  
The net that holdes no great, takes little fish:  
In some things all, in all things none are crost,  
Fewe, all they neede: but none, have all they wish,  
Unmedled joyes here to no man befall,  
Who least, hath some, who most hath never all.

**Vaux, “In hope patience”**

Dispiſed thinges may live,  
Although they pine in paine;  
And thinges oft trodden vnder fete  
May once yet rise againe.

The stone which lies ful low,  
May be at last ful hie;  
And stand on toppe of stately Towre  
In sight of ev’ry eie.

The rotes of rotten redes  
In fwelling seas are ſene;  
And when each tide hath tos’t his  
They grow againe ful grene. [worst,

I ſee no ſight on earth  
But it to chaunge inclines;  
And little clowdes do over=cast  
The brightest Sunne that ſhines.

No flower is ſo freſh  
But froſt may it deſace;  
No man ſo fure in any ſeate,  
But he may loſe his place.

Wherfore I ſtand content,  
Though moch againſt my mind,  
To take in woorth this luckeſſe  
That is to me assign’d. [lotte,

The thought in the poems is similar – “All things have their season, and in their times all things pass under heaven” (ECC 3: 1). It is a poetic commonplace with a strong affinity to the emblem of the wheel of fortune found in many poems of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Both use a series of examples from nature,

but the poets' arguments are different: Vaux's poem shifts in the final stanza from the proverbial to the personal, achieving a greater sense of pathos; Southwell shifts from the natural world to the theological and existential, but remains proverbial throughout.

Vaux's poetry is characteristic of the sixteenth century in other ways too. In *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*, C.S. Lewis refers pejoratively to this period as the 'Drab Age' which preceded the 'Golden Age' of Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare. Whether or not it is a relic of the alliterative verse of Anglo-Saxon epic, mid-sixteenth century verse is marked by its repetitive use of alliteration, as in the following lines by Vaux:

The Fæend is fierce and ful of dæpe dæccite,  
His force is moch, his malice most of al;  
And many a time he fliely lurkes in waite  
With fæcret fubtile fnare to make me thrall:

("A complaint to the Nightingale", ll. 157–160)

and by Richard Edwards (the compiler of the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*):

The subtill slily sleights, that worldly men doe worke,  
The frēdly showes vnder whose shade, most craft doth oftē lurke  
Enforceth me alas, with yernfull voice to saie,  
Wo worthe the wily heads that seeks, the simple mans decaie.

(*The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, no. 66, ll. 1–4)

Mid-sixteenth century verse is also characterised by its dependence on anaphora (the repetition of a phrase at the start of successive lines), as seen in the formulaic construction "Since he in [...], and I [...]" in the following stanza:

Goe, tæl my Love I langwish for his love,  
**Since he in** heven, **and I** at brinke of hæl,  
**Since he in** height of roial throne above,  
And I in depth of wretched vale do dwell;  
**Since he in** peace, **and I** in strife and paine;  
**Since he in** blisse, **and I** in woe remaine.

("A complaint to the Nightingale", ll. 13–18)

The stanza above is also marked by the use of balance and antithesis, evident in the apposition of opposite ideas such as "heven" and "hæl", "height" and "depth", "peace" and "strife", and "blisse" and "woe", another hallmark of the poetry of the age.

Such heavy use of rhetorical devices is perhaps what Rollins is referring to when he describes mid-sixteenth-century poetry as relying too heavily on a

“piling up of figures” (Rollins, *op. cit.*, p. lxvii). Vaux’s diction too is occasionally poeticised (he uses archaisms such as “brenne” for ‘burn’ and “wight” for ‘man’ or ‘creature’). Vaux’s style is quintessentially euphuistic.<sup>87</sup> Prolivity<sup>88</sup> abounds alongside anaphora, as in the following stanza from “Against Envie”:

So that no fire of Plutoes burning lake,  
Nor Tytius grype which wastes his growing hart,  
Nor Ixions whele begirt with many a fnake,  
Nor Phineus birdes can match the deadly smart,  
Which Envie bringes to mindes with griefes opprest,  
Whose weale in woe, and life in death doth rest.

(ll. 31–36)

An interesting feature of Vaux’s poetry is that his rhythms never falter from accentual-syllabic stress patterns. English metre had by no means been standardised in the sixteenth century. Poems of the period are often characterised by Skeltonics or various attempts at quantitative scansion (which is based on vowel length rather than on breathed stresses), and sometimes even display a seeming disregard or ignorance of rhythm. Consider the broken and irregular rhythms in the following lines by Nicholas Grimald:

Gorgeous attire, by art made trym, and clene,  
Cheyn, bracelet, perl, or gem of Indian riuer,  
To you I nil, ne can (good Damascene)  
This time of Ianus Calends, here deliuer.

(*Tottel’s Miscellany*, no. 146 [Rollins], “To m. D. A.”, ll. 1–4)

Sir Philip Sidney’s attempt to replicate Anacreontic rhythms in the Second Eclogues of *The Old Arcadia* (c. 1580) also defies natural English rhythms.

My muse what ails this ardour  
To blaze my only secrets?  
Alas, it is no glory  
To sing my own decayed state.  
Alas, it is no comfort  
To speak without an answer.

---

<sup>87</sup> A style of writing that takes its name from John Lyly’s two prose romances *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (London, 1578) and *Euphues and his England* (London, 1580). The *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines it as “an elegant Elizabethan literary style marked by excessive use of balance, antithesis, and alliteration and by frequent use of similes drawn from mythology and nature.” (*Encyclopedia Britannica*: “Euphuism”)

<sup>88</sup> What Renaissance writers would have termed ‘copia’, a “[p]lenitude of thoughts and words, the opposite of brevity” as Lee A. Sonnino defines the term in *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968). Sonnino continues, “The copious style speaks most fully, and enriches its matter with as varied an ornamentation as possible, expanding the subject until nothing can be added to it.” (p. 216)

Alas, it is no wisdom  
To show the wound without cure.

(“My muse what ails this ardour”, ll. 1–8)

In contrast to these poets, Vaux only ever employs a four- or five-beat accentual-syllabic line (if one grants that short metre and poulterers’ measure are essentially governed by four-beat groupings – see below), which displays his innate understanding of the natural rhythms of the English language.

Poulterers’ measure (or ‘sixes and sevens’) is something of a peculiarity in early modern English poetry. Consisting of alternating Alexandrines and ‘fourteeners’ (lines of fourteen syllables), it was established as an English substitute to the Latin hexameter for the elevated poetry of epic and drama. Because of the predominance of the four-beat unit in English prosody, however, poulterers’ measure is rhythmically no different to short metre. There is for example no difference metrically between the following two extracts from poems by Vaux (the first is in short metre, the second in poulterers’ measure).<sup>89</sup>

$s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+$   
 Dis-pi-fēd things may live,  
**o B o B o B [o B]**

$s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+$   
 Al-though they pine in paine;  
**o B o B o B [o B]**

$s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+$   
 And thinges oft trod-den vn-der fete  
**o B o B o B o B**

$s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+$   
 May once yet rise a-gaine.  
**o B o B o B [o B]**

(“In hope patience”, ll. 1–4)

and the following lines:

$s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+$   
 And fhā those blou-die armes their nēw made spoufe em-brace?  
**o B o B o B [o B] o B o B o B o B [o B]**

$s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+ \quad s^- \quad s^+$   
 And fhā Æ-gys-thus dare to fitte in A-ga-mem-nons place?  
**o B o B o B o B o B o B o B o B [o B]**

(“The second chore”, ll.27–28)

<sup>89</sup> In scanning the lines above I employ the system of scansion proposed by Derek Attridge in *The Rhythms of English Poetry* (London: Longman, 1982). Above the line ‘s+’ represents a stressed syllable and ‘s-’ an unstressed syllable, while below the line ‘B’ indicates the line’s beat and ‘o’ the offbeat. ‘[o B]’ (in square brackets) indicates an implied beat and offbeat where a natural pause is felt. What is important to notice in the comparison above is the identical patterning of beats and implied beats.

The ‘sing-song’ effect of this frustrates the austere tone desired for epic and tragic verse. Consequently blank verse<sup>90</sup> and heroic couplets superseded poulterers’ measure.<sup>91</sup>

As stated at the start of this chapter, Vaux is a contemplative rather than a narrative or courtly poet. Consequently he eschews the forms associated with Petrarchan and folk traditions such as the ballad and sonnet forms. His poems are mostly stanzaic. He favours three forms in particular, namely the short metre quatrain, rhyme royal, and the so-called ‘*Venus and Adonis stanza*’ (a sixain in pentameters, rhyming ABABCC). He does, however, also use blank verse, quatrains in long metre, heroic couplets, eight-line stanzas (the ‘octostich’), and poulterers’ measure (as mentioned above).

Vaux’s use of forms is conventional. While he avoids the forms associated with Petrarchism and folk narrative, the forms he does use conform to the traditions of their genres. Thus Vaux uses blank verse and poulterers’ measure for tragic verse, heroic hexameters for his serious Latin verse, longer stanzas (sixains, rhyme royal, and octostichs) for contemplations, and quatrains for epigrammatic *sententiae*.

As mentioned earlier, Vaux regularly makes use of literary allusions. This is particularly the case in his moral poems.<sup>92</sup> For example, consider such lines as

Loe Phyllis breath is stopped with a corde,  
 Loe Iphis hangeth her vpon a beame,  
 Loe Didoes hart is pearced with a sworde,  
 Behold Leander drowned in the streame;  
 Loe thus they fare that fitte at Cupides bourde;  
 This is your fee, thus payeth you your Lord;  
 Thus is your faithful service spent in vaine,  
 Sith your reward is nothing els but paine.

(“A description of Love”, ll. 25–32)

and

This God did teache Duke Iafons wife to flea  
 Her little children with her propre handes;

---

<sup>90</sup> Introduced by Surrey in his translations of Books II and IV of Virgil’s *Aeneid*.

<sup>91</sup> Poultry farmers (or ‘poulterers’) typically sold between twelve and fourteen eggs as a ‘dozen’.

<sup>92</sup> By ‘moral’ I mean the poems of his which convey a proverbial or moral message.

Great beastlines he taught Pafiphaë,  
 And Scylla to betray her fathers landes.  
 What fhold I fay of wickèd Canace,  
 Of Myrrha, Byblis, and Nyctimene?  
 For love Alcides left his lions skinne,  
 And was content with Omphale to spinne.

(*op. cit.*, ll. 41–48)

Vaux's repeated allusions to classical myths (as in the stanza above and elsewhere in his poetry) usually serve the purpose of illustrating a Christian moral. Thus in "Against Envie", Vaux lists Aglaura, Tytius, Ixion, and Phineus as examples from the classical past of people who received due punishment for the atrocities their envy prompted them to commit. Similarly, in "Beautie is brittle" Vaux cites Paris's abduction of Helen, the pride of Queen Cassiopeia, and the disdain of Lysippe, Iphinoë, and Iphianassa for Dionysus as examples of the worthlessness of physical beauty. Occasionally Vaux refers to the gods of Greece and Rome to illustrate their subservience to Jehovah. For example in "Meditatio de Passione Christi" when Vaux tells of the solar eclipse that occurred during the sixth hour of Christ's crucifixion (cf. MT 27: 45, MK 15: 33 & LK 23: 44), he describes the event in terms of Apollo and Diana hiding their faces in sorrow:

Ipsè caput in medio Titan dum ferret Olympo  
 (Cynthia completo fratrem cum redderet orbe)  
 Maerentes vultus obscura nube recondit.<sup>93</sup>

(ll. 59–61)

Vaux's use of classical myths to illustrate Christian truths is typical of early modern poetry in English and is part of a process which began in the ancient world itself. According to Jean Seznec in *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, the Stoic philosophers were troubled by the apparent bawdiness of the Greek myths (many of which are characterised by incest, family murders, rape, and cannibalism) which were supposed to inform their religious philosophy. Consequently, they sought to interpret the myths as metaphors for moral truths. This allegorising was continued and developed by the Neoplatonists and writers like Virgil and Horace. Surprisingly (perhaps), at the encroachment on pagan religion by Christianity, the myths remained, providing the Christian fathers with ample material for Christian parables. Homer, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid were

<sup>93</sup> 'When Titan raises his head in the middle of the heavens then Cynthia returns and covers her brother with her full orb, hiding their grieving faces in a dark cloud' (my translation).

subsequently seen as proto-Christian writers with almost the same standing as the Old Testament prophets of Israel. This syncretism extended the appeal and cultural resonance of an otherwise Judaeo-centric religion, while encouraging the survival of classical literature. The tradition, continued by the Humanists, was used extensively by Renaissance writers. Thus in *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IV, Milton compares the favour Eve enjoys in Adam's sight to the love shared between Jupiter and Juno:

So spake our general Mother, and with eyes  
Of conjugal attraction unprov'd,  
And meek surrender, half embracing leand  
On our first Father, half her swelling Brest  
Naked met his under the flowing Gold  
Of her loose tresses hid: hee in delight  
Both of her Beauty and submissive Charms  
Smil'd with superior Love, as *Jupiter*  
On *Juno* smiles, when he impregns the Clouds  
That shed *May* Flowers; and pressd her Matron lip  
With kisses pure:

(IV. 492–502)

The ability to make such copious allusions to characters from classical mythology draws attention to Vaux's self-consciousness as a poet, intensely aware of the classical 'old masters', as well as to the depth and extent of his reading. The evidence is found both in his poetry and in the accounts of others. Champion expressed his amazement at Vaux's ability when still a young boy "to sketch out and arrange his whole course of study" (see, p. xiii above). John Gerard, who had the use of Vaux's library during the early 1590s, describes him as having been a "very scholarly man".<sup>94</sup> From this we may infer that Vaux's collection of books was a fine one. His reading of the Classics appears to have been limited to Roman authors as there is no evidence that he knew any Greek. He certainly knew Seneca's tragedies and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (probably the *Heroides* as well). Some familiarity with Horace's *Odes* and Cicero's speeches also appears likely, and he would almost certainly have been familiar with Virgil's *Aeneid* as well (although he only refers to Dido only once) since *Aeneid* was universally known in educated circles in the Renaissance.<sup>95</sup> From the preva-

---

<sup>94</sup> *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest* trans. by Philip Caraman (New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1952), p. 195.

<sup>95</sup> This assertion is based both on the number of separate editions and translations of Virgil's works that were published in Renaissance England (the *STC* lists 59 separate editions), and on the deference shown to him by many other authors of the period. It seems improbable

lence of fortune as a theme in his poetry it seems he knew Boethius's *De Consolatio Philosophiae* (or at least Chaucer's translation of it), while from his meditations we may infer that he was familiar with Franciscan devotional works, particularly Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and John of Pecham's *Philomena Praevia*.<sup>96</sup> In English it seems (from his allusions to obscure female figures in "Beautie is brittle") that he had read Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women*. His focus on the theme of fortune also suggests that he was familiar with Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Judging from his style, diction, and choice of forms it also appears likely that he was familiar with *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* and probably Tottel's *Miscellany* as well.

As mentioned before, Vaux's use of classical allusions always upholds the superiority of Christianity and Christian truth rather than offering neo-Pagan fantasies. This strongly reflects Campion's account of him when he wrote,

I congratulate you on the result of [your family's] teaching, namely, that you truly count it a thing admirable and splendid, excellent and glorious, to consider the ornaments of virtue and not fleeting imaginings to be the real fame; not to waste your talents in idleness, [...] but to serve God, [...] to seek the best in culture and in art.

(see p. xiii above)

This concentration on the 'ornaments of virtue' rather than on 'fleeting imaginings' is exactly what we find in Vaux's poetry. In his prayer to God in "Vp drowzie Mufe", Vaux pleads for himself as follows:

Send this vnripe yet rotten Pöete grace  
for want of witte & arte not to deface  
this gracious facte of thine. On thee I call,  
to thee I do appeale from fables all  
of Heathnish hind's, that of their Helicon wel,  
of winged horfe and of Parnafus tell,  
& of thrife Sisters three I wot not what.  
of venus & her blind boy let them chatte,  
& filthy lustes that lecherous love inspaires,  
in lazie lozels breeding lewd defiers.  
One droppe let fal into my barraine penne,  
that from thy sacred word & sprite doth renne,  
wherewith thou makest the suckling babes belch out  
thy praifes al the wilde world round about:

---

that Vaux would have been "devoted to the study of letters" and "able to sketch out and arrange his whole course of study" as Campion claims (see p. xiii above), without including a study of Virgil in his curriculum, the more so since Virgil was regarded as a prophet almost (cf. *Ecloques*, IV).

<sup>96</sup> For the Latin text of Pecham's *Philomena Praevia* with my translation of it, see Appendix D, pp. 214–222.

(ll. 77–90)

The sentiment expressed above is similar to that professed by Southwell in “To the Reader” (the poem which usually prefaces collections of his poems). Southwell states,

Prophane conceites and fayning fits I flie,  
Such lawlesse stuffe doth lawlesse speeches fit:  
With *David* verse to vertue I apply,  
Whose measure best with measured wordes doth sit  
It is the sweetest note that can sing,  
When grace in vertues key tunes natures string.

(ll. 13–18)

These lines form the credo for the school of poetry represented by Vaux and Southwell, poetry in which the English contemplative is able to flee the dangers, conflict and worldliness around him, and use the space provided by poetic composition to maintain personal faith and devotion rather than to issue polemics against his Protestant neighbours.

---

## TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

### THE MANUSCRIPT

As mentioned earlier, the only extant poems by Henry Vaux are contained in a manuscript collection bound in at the back of a made-up<sup>97</sup> (or sophisticated)<sup>98</sup> print edition of Robert Southwell's *Saint Peters complaint, with other poems*.<sup>99</sup> The manuscript collection comprises 88 folios with poems by Vaux, Southwell, and Philip Howard. Vaux's poems appear on the last twenty folios of the collection. The volume is housed in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C.

An unknown scribe compiled and transmitted the poems in the collection, eighteen of which are attributed to Vaux. That the poems by Vaux are a selection and not a complete collection is suggested by the collection's prefatory title, "Certain Pöemes of m[aste]r Henrie Vaux, sonne to the Lord Vaux". The size of Vaux's original corpus is unknown. The Folger volume in which Vaux's poems are found was previously in a seventeenth-century calfskin binding, "with both covers detached and the spine worn".<sup>100</sup> It was taken apart and rebound by Robert Lunow at some point after its purchase by the Folger in 1938 as part of the Harmsworth collection, and prior to the note made by D. Mason of the Folger staff on 1 April 1959 (see his note in Appendix B, p. 212).

The twenty sheets of Vaux's poems (fols. 69–88<sup>v</sup> of the MS.) measure 13.1 cm × 17.8 cm. They are closely written on both sides of each leaf and are numbered *recto* in Arabic numerals, pencilled in at the top right-hand corner of each leaf. The numbers appear to be a recent emendation, probably by the Folger staff. The MS. is written in two hands, fols. 69–86<sup>v</sup> in late italic,<sup>101</sup> and fols. 86<sup>v</sup>–88 in a cruder italic hand. For ease of reference the scribe of fols. 69–86<sup>v</sup> is termed 'Scribe A' and the scribe of fols. 86<sup>v</sup>–88<sup>v</sup>, 'Scribe B'. The style of both

---

<sup>97</sup> See the note inserted by D. Mason (Folger staff) after fol. 88<sup>v</sup> (Appendix B, p. 209).

<sup>98</sup> A made-up or sophisticated copy of a text is one in which two or more incomplete copies of the same text are combined to produce a complete, albeit synthetic, copy.

<sup>99</sup> London: Imprinted by John Windet for Iohn Wolfe, 1595 (STC 22955.7).

<sup>100</sup> Mason.

<sup>101</sup> The poems by Southwell and Howard (fols 1–68<sup>v</sup>) appear in the same hand as fols 69–86<sup>v</sup>. In *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 19). James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown describe the hand of fols 86<sup>v</sup>–88<sup>v</sup> as "an irregular childish hand" (p. xlix).

hands suggests that the poems in the MS. were transcribed before the mid-seventeenth century, a supposition which appears to be confirmed by a watermark which closely resembles that of a paper manufactured in 1619.<sup>102</sup> With reference to the dating, Steven May, formerly of Georgetown College and the compiler (with William A. Ringler) of the *Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603*,<sup>103</sup> writes, “I decided that both the hands in the Folger MS. were post-Elizabethan”.<sup>104</sup> Since Henry Vaux died in 1587 it is almost impossible that either Scribe A or Scribe B is in fact Vaux. There is no known holograph of Vaux’s handwriting extant.

The dating of the MS. is potentially problematised by certain peculiarities. On fol. 87 there appears a cryptic note in the upper margin in sixteenth-century secretary script. This was possibly scribbled by an earlier scribe, testing his nib on a clean page. Another possible explanation is that Scribe B, in whose hand the rest of fol. 87 is written, might have written the note in secretary hand. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries scribes often used italic and secretary scripts interchangeably.<sup>105</sup> Another puzzle in the MS. is that Scribe B’s cruder hand, which is in an apparently earlier italic style than that of Scribe A, in fact follows Scribe A’s late italic on the same page (fol. 86<sup>v</sup>). Scribe B’s transcription clearly post-dates Scribe A and it can therefore be inferred that Scribe B wrote his transcription as an addition to what Scribe A had written, but that Scribe B was either an older person or had learnt an earlier style of italic script.

The poems in the MS. are ordered as follows:

1. “A complaint to the Nightingale, taken out of St. Bonaventure.”
2. “A Lamentation of a Sinner.”
3. “In hope patience.”
4. “A description of Love.”
5. “Against Envie.”
6. “Of Friendship.”
7. “Of covetise.”
8. “A commendation of bloomes or blossomes.”
9. “No trust in Fortune.”
10. “Beautie is brittle.”

---

<sup>102</sup> A paper of Nicholas le Be, no. 574 in W.A. Churchill’s *Watermarks in Paper in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertberger, 1935). Cf. McDonald and Brown, p. xlvi.

<sup>103</sup> London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004.

<sup>104</sup> In private correspondence, 24 January 2007.

<sup>105</sup> See Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 9.

11. "Being sicke in Oxford thus he prayd."
- 12–15. "Two Chores and an Epilogue added to the Tragedie of Agamemnon translated out of Seneca.":
  - (12.) "The first Chore."
  - (13.) "The second Chore."
  - (14.) "The Epilogue or Conclusion."
  - (15.) "Of the same argument."
16. "Meditatio de Passione Christi."
17. "Honos alit artes."
18. "Vp drowzie Mufe."
19. A fragment.

Most of the poems are undated, but four of the poems have Latin postscripts indicating Vaux's age at the time of composition. Three were written when he was thirteen ("No trust in Fortune" (fols. 78<sup>v</sup>–79), "Beautie is brittle" (fols. 79–79<sup>v</sup>), and "Meditatio de Passione Christi" (fols. 83<sup>v</sup>–86), while the *Agamemnon* poems were composed when he seventeen. It can only be guessed whether or not all the poems in the MS. were written in Vaux's teenage years. On one hand, it may be argued that Latin postscripts are added only to certain poems to draw attention to the prodigious feat that a young teenager could produce such sophisticated verses in English and Latin. If this is the case then these postscripts may indicate that the other poems were written when Vaux was older. On the other hand, the compiler-scribe might have intended the postscripts to refer to separate groupings of poems and in this case one might assume that all the poems were written by Vaux in his teenage years. Scribe A's choice of which poems to date and which not, might be entirely arbitrary or based on incomplete information about the composition of the poems. Vaux himself might have dated some poems and not others. Whatever the case, there are two likely periods of composition. If all the poems in the MS. were written by Vaux between the ages of thirteen and seventeen then their period of composition is c. 1572–1576. If, however, they were written from the time he was thirteen until his death, then their period of composition is c. 1572–1587. It is perhaps significant that Vaux's neo-classical *Agamemnon* poems are dated as having been written at the age of seventeen, whereas all his poems dated as having been written when Vaux was thirteen are Christian in theme. This perhaps suggests a shift from Christian to neoclassical concerns which would parallel Elizabethan education in which the pupil finished his education with Latin grammar and literature (see Rumboll, p. ix).

As stated earlier, the selection in the MS. contains Henry Vaux's only known poems. None of the poems' first-lines are recorded in Steven May's *Bib-*

*liography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603*. May reasoned as follows: “I decided that both the hands in the Folger MS. were post-Elizabethan and did not index it, so there is no record of an Elizabethan poet named Henry Vaux in my index”.<sup>106</sup> What other poems Vaux might have written is open to speculation, but seeing that his extant poetry is predominantly either Christian or neoclassical in theme and subject it seems likely that whatever poems of his have been lost were of a similar nature to those that have survived.

#### PUBLICATION HISTORY

As the work of a minor recusant, Vaux’s poems would have had little prospect of being published in print in England amidst the prevailing anti-Catholic sentiment of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apart from circulating in manuscript they appear never to have been published in print. The exceptions are two poems of doubtful authorship (see p. liv below). Vaux’s manuscripts are now presumed lost. At some point in the mid-seventeenth century, the poems in the Folger MS. were copied either from Vaux’s originals or copies thereof, all of which have perished in time. The absence of other exemplars of Vaux’s poetry, combined with the fact that the hands in which this MS. is written are almost certainly Jacobean, indicate that the manuscript circulation of the poems was limited and had ceased altogether by the latter half of the seventeenth century. In his edition of John Gerard’s *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*, Philip Caraman mentions that Vaux “was the author of a long poem on the Passion of Christ which is now lost” (p. 252), referring either to the “Meditatio de Passione Christi” or “A complaint to the Nightingale”, although probably the former. Caraman’s knowledge of the poem despite his ignorance of the Folger MS. suggests that Vaux enjoyed at least a limited poetic reputation during his life.

The Folger Shakespeare Library acquired the MS. in 1938 when it purchased the rare book and manuscript collection of Sir Robert Leicester Harmsworth (1870–1937). Robert Harmsworth was a British newspaper publisher and an indiscriminate collector of rare books printed in England between 1475–1640. His collection numbers more than eight thousand of the titles listed in the *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books Printed in England, Scot-*

---

<sup>106</sup> In private correspondence, 24 January 2007.

*land, and Ireland, and of English books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986).

The only other known previous owner of the MS. before Harmsworth is “El. J. Phillips” whose name appears on the title page of the Southwell volume. This assumes that the MS. was bound with the Southwell volume prior to 1774, as Phillips dates his signature in that year. Apart from Godfrey Anstruther’s inclusion of a few of the poems found in the Folger MS. as an appendix in his history of the Vaux family, *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family* (1953), there is no record of any other publication of the MS. It is therefore likely that most of the poems were distributed by limited manuscript circulation during Vaux’s lifetime and/or after his death. Knowledge of them has never been widespread and even in the seventeenth century it appears to have been known only in recusant circles.

Anstruther’s work is aptly described by a reviewer, J.E. Neale, in *The English Historical Review*, as “a study of English Catholics, mainly in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, conveniently if sometimes rather tenuously, centred on the story of one family”.<sup>107</sup> Anstruther’s inclusion of the poems cannot be considered a critical edition since he dismisses the poems as follows: “they all exhibit a youthful immaturity and are probably the work of a boy” (Anstruther, p. 502). He limits his commentary on the poems to assessing them as juvenilia and concluding that “their merit is merely relative” (*ibid.*) Anstruther’s inattentiveness to Vaux’s poems may be seen in his inability to count the number of poems in the MS. accurately. (He counts thirteen instead of eighteen). While his decision to view the four Agamemnon poems as a compound unit is understandable, he nevertheless fails to list “Being ficke in Oxford thus he prayed”, “In hope patience” and “A description of Love”, although he includes all three of these in his selection. He also arbitrarily cuts the 150-line “Meditatio de Passione Christi” at line 74 and is negligent in his attempts at observing the original spelling of the poems in the MS. I have noted where his publication differs from this edition in the critical apparatus.

Two of the poems in the MS. did however appear in print in the sixteenth century and in Vaux’s lifetime, but were published in markedly different forms

---

<sup>107</sup> *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family*, Rev. by J.E. Neale in *The English Historical Review*, vol. 68, no. 269 (Oct., 1953), p. 642.

to their counterparts in the Folger MS. In this edition I have assumed that both are by Vaux.

The poem “In hope patience”, ascribed to Vaux in the Folger MS., appears as the work of George Gascoigne in the latter’s *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres* (1573) and *Poesies* (1575, the posthumous publication of his collected poems). The version attributed to Gascoigne is more than twice the length of the version attributed to Vaux (see Critical Apparatus, p. 9, and Appendix E, p. 227). This necessarily casts doubt on the authorship of these poems. The poems in the Folger MS. indicate that poems Vaux wrote in 1572 and 1576 were circulated in manuscript. It is therefore not impossible that “In hope patience” is in fact Vaux’s work, but I would prefer to err on the side of caution in claiming the work as his. There appear to be several possible explanations: Vaux could have copied from Gascoigne and shortened the poem; Gascoigne could have come across Vaux’s poem and made large interpolations; both versions could be by the same author; and the scribe could have been incorrect in attributing the poem to Vaux and the latter may have had nothing to do with the poem.

“A Lamentation of a Sinner” was published as “The complaint of a sorrowful Soule” in the 1585 edition of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (and in subsequent editions of the anthology) and attributed to the Jesuit missionary and poet, Jasper Heywood (1535–1598). There are 31 differences of word choice (see Critical Apparatus, p. 7 ff., and Appendix E, p. 226) between the two poems, and whereas “A Lamentation of a Sinner” is lineated as short metre, “The complaint of a sorrowful Soule” appears in poulterers’ measure. There is a stronger case for Vaux being the author here than in the case of “In hope patience”. Firstly, Vaux’s poems are likely to have achieved a greater circulation by the 1580s than in the 1570s. Secondly, the differences are fewer and there is a greater affinity between Heywood and Vaux, both poetically and in their lives: Heywood was a Catholic priest; Vaux a priest-smuggler. The authorship of poetry emanating from the Catholic underground was likely to be unclear. A late-sixteenth-century attribution to Heywood, however, may well outweigh a mid-seventeenth-century attribution to Vaux.

The relative accuracy of the scribe’s attribution of poems to Southwell and Philip Howard in the rest of the MS. does strengthen the case for Vaux’s authorship of the two poems in question, but it appears impossible to state categorically that either poem is by Vaux. Searches of the first-line indexes com-

piled by Margaret Crum, the staff of the Folger, that of Steven May and William Ringler, the internet, and key Elizabethan collections including Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557–1587), *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576–1606), *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584), *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), *England's Helicon* (1600), *A Poetical Rhapsody* (1602), and contemporary collections of poems by Gascoigne, Spenser, Sidney and Marlowe, have not yielded any textual or authorial variants other than those mentioned above. There seems no reason therefore to doubt the authorship of Vaux's other poems, except perhaps for "Vp drowzie Mufe" and the fragment of verse which are transcribed by Scribe B immediately after the poems ascribed to Henry Vaux by Scribe A. In the textual introduction to their edition of Southwell's poems, Nancy Pollard Brown and James H. McDonald do not attribute these to Vaux when describing the Folger MS. (see McDonald and Brown, p. xlix). Anstruther, however, does.

#### THE PRESENT TEXT

The text of this edition has been transcribed using professionally scanned images of a microfilm facsimile of the Folger MS. Greyscale images, perforce, limit the editor's ability to observe peculiarities of penmanship, erasures or changes in ink colour. However the uniformity of both hands, their clarity, as well as the fact that the MS. is clearly a copy rather than a holograph suggests that little is lost by way of comment in not using colour facsimiles or the MS. itself for the task of editing. My transcriptions and critical apparatus have, however, been checked against the original in the Folger by Prof. John Gouws.

*Justification, Lineation, Spacing, and Spelling.* My purpose in producing this text has been to provide a clear reading text with the minimum of editorial intrusion. The present text therefore retains, as far as possible, all original spelling, spacing, justification and lineation, except (as noted below) where the scribe's intention is unclear or I have felt an emendation essential. (These are noted in the critical apparatus). It is impossible to know to what extent the Folger MS. is faithful to Vaux's original and there are a subtle differences in the spelling and conventions used by the two scribes, which suggest that their copies may to some extent be flawed. Due to the lack of other significant exemplars of Vaux's work, the text I offer in this edition is necessarily guided more by the evidence of the Folger MS. than considerations of authorial intent.

*Punctuation.* The punctuation of the MS. is retained, but I have occasionally inserted or hazarded a reasonable guess at a character or punctuation mark when an obscurity in the MS. has made it necessary to do so. These intrusions are noted in the critical apparatus. This usually occurs when a punctuation mark or symbol is concealed in the gutter of the manuscript's binding. The scribe regularly uses the convention of an apostrophe to indicate the elision of two syllables, and a diaeresis to indicate the pronunciation of a diphthong as two separate vowels (as in 'Pasiphaë' or 'Ifraël'). Apostrophes in the MS. are often placed not at a point of contraction but loosely above two elided syllables. This edition has moved all apostrophes to the relevant point of contraction or to the actual point of elision. Otiose apostrophes have been removed but their deletion is noted in the critical apparatus.

*Typography.* In producing the text of this edition I have departed from the standard editing practice of normalising characters and punctuation to modern conventions and typesets. The punctuation and character sets of Scribe A and Scribe B have therefore been retained as far as possible within the constraints of a modern word-processor. This has been done because it appears unjustifiable, when producing an 'old spelling' text, to retain the old and irregular spelling of a source document while at the same time modernising and standardising the character set. The distinction between 'e' and 'e' used by Scribe A (who uses 'e' for initial and medial 'e', and 'e' for final 'e') has thus been observed. The distinction made between 'f' and 's' by both scribes has also been retained, as has the irregular use they make of it. The scribes' use of 's' or 'f' does not rigidly follow any convention as Scribe A's use of 'e' and 'e' does. I have also retained 'j' for final 'i' and 'i' for 'j' as well as '&' for 'and', 'et', and 'atque'. Both scribes use 'v' for initial 'u' (e.g. 'vntimely') and initial 'v' (e.g. 'vaine'), 'u' for medial and final 'u' (e.g. 'furcharge') and 'v' for post-initial 'v' (e.g. 'availe') in accordance with standard early modern English orthographic practice. I have also retained the use of the archaic hyphen '=' as well as the tilde ('~')<sup>108</sup> used by Scribe B. By observing these distinctions and conventions I am able to supply a truer edition of the MS. by which the reader is made more aware that the text is a document emanating from the tradition of scribal publication rather than from a sixteenth-century printing press – a consideration which informs the

---

<sup>108</sup> Nasal suspension marker.

reading process. A modernised text (without a critical apparatus) is offered in Appendix A (see pp. 146–172).

*Titles.* All but two of the poems are given titles in the MS. I have provided titles for “Vp Drowzie Mufe” and “Honos alit artes”. These titles consequently appear in square brackets. “Vp Drowzie Mufe” are the opening words of that poem. “Honos alit artes” has no title but rather a prefatory note by the compiler-scribe (or perhaps Vaux himself) which mentions that the poem was produced extempore upon the theme of “Honos alit artes” which therefore seems an appropriate title. The titles of the poems are indented as they appear in the MS.

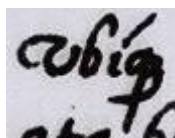
*Variations in font size.* In “A complaint to the Nightingale”, “CHRIST” (l. 204) and “CHRISTO” (l. 205) appear in capitals. These have been rendered as small capitals as: “CHRIST” and “CHRISTO”. Superscript insertions have been expanded and noted in the critical apparatus. Little attempt has been made to represent variations in text size as it is unclear whether or not such variations are deliberate and it is improbable that they arise from anything other than fitting the text to the page. In three places, however, variations in font size have been retained. All poem titles have been represented in 14 pt, as a slightly larger script is used for titles in the MS. The grandiose capitals used occasionally by Scribe B in “Vp drowzie Mufe” are represented as dropped capitals, while the prefatory comment to “Honos alit artes”, which in the MS. appears in a deliberately smaller script than the poem, is presented in 11 pt.

*Line Numbers.* For ease of reference, line numbers have been inserted on the right hand margin of the page.

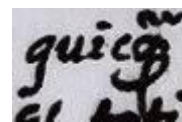
*Contractions.* ‘mr’ and ‘Mr’ have not been expanded but the reader should note that these abbreviations represent ‘master’ rather than the present-day corruption, ‘mister’. The brevigraphs ‘æ’ for ‘ae’ and ‘œ’ for ‘oe’ have also not been expanded as there is no reason to do so other than for the sake of aesthetics and modern convention.

*Editorial intrusions.* Characters that appear to have been omitted through scribal error (such as the ‘r’ in “nôstri” and the second ‘n’ in “omnipotens”) have been supplied. Following the conventions of early modern English orthography, the scribes often place a tilde above an absent (or already present) ‘m’ or (less commonly) another absent or present letter. Such otiose penstrokes and marginalia have been recorded in the critical apparatus but not in the text.

Latin brevigraphs for ‘-que’ and ‘-quam’ (see below) have been silently expanded as it is impossible to represent these symbols with the current character sets of modern word-processors. Basic words such as “are” and “the” have been supplied at points where the metre of the line suggests that an unstressed syllable has been omitted.



‘vbi[que]’



‘quic[quam]’

#### THE POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF ELECTRONIC EDITING

I have sought as far as possible to make use of the modern word processor’s ability to represent more accurately what the scribe has left on the page than previous editing conventions (imposed by the limited character sets of the typewriter and printing press) allowed for. I believe it is an editor’s task faithfully to determine, portray and transmit what was intended by the scribe and the author. To modernise spelling, interfere with grammar, and modernise or alter character usage, is to deny the reader insights into how the scribe or author understood language – even if such interventions may facilitate the reader’s access to the language of the text. To alter a text unnecessarily is to change its language, misrepresent its context, and deny that language is a visual as well as a heard form of communication. In the case of Vaux it is to deny the distinction between scribal and print publication, a distinction which is especially important when considering the clandestine context of virtually all recusant writing. I am therefore of the view that an edited transcription should represent the manuscript as faithfully as concerns of clarity allow. Such an editorial method presents the reader with as much information about the original document as is reasonably possible without producing a facsimile. Attempts to represent the hands of Scribe A and Scribe B by use of different fonts have, however, been rejected as confusing and impractical.

#### CRITICAL APPARATUS

The critical apparatus used in this edition is based upon the conventions established by William Ringer’s and F.E. Hutchinson’s Clarendon editions. All departures from the MS. have been recorded. When the reading is derived from

the MS. or a variant, the lemma is closed with a square bracket and a report of the condition of the MS. or variant is then given. However when the reading is not derived from the MS. or a variant, the lemma is followed by ‘*ed.*’ and closed with a colon followed by a report of the emendation. All comments are followed by sigla identifying the comment with the MS. or a variant. See examples below.

122 vnthankful] vntha[n *partially obscured*  
by erasure]kful HV

**Comment on MS.**

11 floures are purple *ed.*: floures [are *pre-*  
*sumed omitted by scribe, see Commentary*]  
purple HV

**Noting of emendation**

*Certain Poëmes of m<sup>r</sup>. Henrie  
Vaux, sonne to the Lord  
Vaux.*

A complaint to the Nightingale, taken out  
of St. Bonaventure.

Thou worthy bird, thou gentle Nightingale,  
 Leave of a while thy wonted songes, I pray;  
 And lend thine eare to this my doleful tale,  
 And make report of that which I shal say:  
 Since this my barrain verfe is farre to base 5  
 Before my Sovereign Lord to pleade my case.

For wel I know thy fwete melodious throate  
 Wil never cease with warbling tunes ful hie  
 To praife our God with many a pleasaunt note,  
 When senselesse slepe shal close my fainting eie: 10  
 And wel I know thou maist ascēd by right,  
 Where I pore foule dare scarce direct my fight.

Goe, tel my Love I langwish for his love,  
 Since he in heven, and I at brinke of hæl,  
 Since he in height of roial throne above, 15  
 And I in depth of wretched vale do dwell;  
 Since he in peace, and I in strife and paine;  
 Since he in blisse, and I in woe remaine.

Since him I lacke, without whose fight most dere  
 My foule each day for want of fode doth die; 20  
 Since him I lacke, the wel of blisse most clere,  
 My tired ghost is werie, weake, and drie;  
 Since him I lacke, my fole and sov'rein weale,  
 The onely want wherby all ioyes do faile.

Goe say I waile that I ne liv'd that day, 25  
 My blessed Lord beneath in earth to see,  
 In Bethlem borne, and porely couch't in hay,  
 With Shepherdes, and with roial Sages thre;  
 Or in his Circumcision fore to blede,  
 When Marie wept to see that woful dede. 30

Ne yet with Simeon old I might embrace  
 The light, and health, and glorie of man=kind;  
 Ne yet to Ægyptward with spedie pase  
 I plide my fete, my Saviour there to find;  
 Ne yet in midst of learned Doctours found 35  
 My hap was foch to heare his sacred found.

Wold Gód in Nazareth I might have dwelt,  
 In growing age to see my Love most dere;  
 At Iordanes bancke great ioy I might have felt,  
 With Iohn to see the blessed Lambe appere; 40

7 swete] s[w over erasure]ete HV

29 Or in his] [O over erased N][r in his possibly over erasure] HV

The Fathers voice to heare from heven above;  
The holie Ghost to see in fourme of Dove.

What comfort wold have bene to heare him teache  
With wordes most fwete the simple folke each day?  
And toying ev'ry wheare about to preache, 45  
And humbled oft on knees by night to pray?  
To yeeld relief for ev'ry fort of paine,  
And with his voice to raife the dead againe?

With Magdalein perhaps I might have wette  
His fete, and so have washt my foule from blame; 50  
Or with the rest my Lord I should have mette  
At Sion gates triumphing when he came;  
With bowes of palme I should have strew'd the strete,  
Praising my Saviour with Ofanna fwete.

But o fwete feast, o pretious banqwet dere! 55  
Thy secreet ioyes can not be wel exprest;  
Thy mysteries, which holie Angels feare,  
With filence to adore I thinke it best;  
Save that I nedes must muse at his good hap,  
That might have leave to rest in Iesus lap. 60

Yet more I mourne that I ne felt my part  
Of al his paines endured for my sake;  
When ful of deadly drede and inward smart  
His foule was irke the cuppe of death to take;  
And whil'st he praid prostrate vpon his face, 65  
The bloudie droppes ranne trickeling downe a pace.

Of al his dere Disciples sone forsaken  
With battes, with billes, with glaives, and many a light,  
Helplesse alone my libertie was taken,  
Fast bound, and brought in furious wise by night; 70  
To Annas house, where for his anfwere meke  
A boistrous blowe he bare vpon his cheke:

Thence drawne and driven to Caiphas hall anone,  
Where flaundred foule with many a shamelesse lie  
Through witesse false, where truth appered none 75  
Guiltles, alas, they iudge my Life to die;  
Blindfold, bespitte, and bounst with spiteful blowes,  
The restlesse night he spent among his foes.

Yet here a while, with Peter must I wepe,  
That have denide my God so fondrie times, 80  
For lacke of care his sacred lawes to kepe;  
Pardon therfore I pray for al my crimes:

---

62 my fake] [my f over erasure]ake HV

66 trickeling] [tricke over erasure]ling HV

For oft, alas, the cocke hath crow'd me day,  
Whil'st I in finne have slept with long delay.

From Caiphās courte in hast to Pilatēs place 85  
They hale my Lord with fierce felonious mode;  
With forged crimes they charge him to his face;  
Where mild and mute before the Iudge he stode:  
Who finding wel that he ne bred this broile,  
To Herode made him thence againe to toile. 90

The Fathers Woord with many a scornful flowte  
King Herode and his galauntes there abuse;  
In discardes wede disguis'd and led about  
Their Lord and King the franticke Iæwes refuse:  
Not him we choose, but Barabbas, they crie; 95  
Let go the thefe, for Iefus nedes must die.

But woe is me, what creature could abide  
To see my Saviours flesh with scourges torne?  
With purple streames that flow'd on ev'ry side,  
His head besette with crowne of cruël thorne; 100  
And varlettēs vile in signe of great disgrace  
With reede did smite vpon his sacred face.

What iron brest in piēces wold not teare?  
What hart could hold, though made of marble=stone,  
Vpon his weried backe to see him beare 105  
His Crosse of fiftene fote with many a groane?  
O Quene of heven, o Maide and Mother pure,  
How might thine eies this ruth=ful sight endure!

To see those hateful hel=houndes plucke by strength  
His clothes away, with skinne and flesh at ones; 110  
To see them racke his royal limmes at length,  
That sone they might have nombred al his bones;  
With boistrous nailēs and hammers stroakes ful fore  
His precious handes and fete to see them boare?

With roapes to see them hoise his Crosse on hie, 115  
And rudely downe againe to let it fall;  
Even senselesse thinges did mourne to see him die;  
The Earth did quake, the rockes did rive withal,  
The Sunne and Mone from soch a bloudie fight  
With doleful chere withdrew their wonted light. 120

Al this, and more, my blessed Lord endur'd  
For me vnborn, a vile vnthankful wight;  
Whose filthy finnes his paineful death procur'd,

---

85 From Caiphās] Fro[m Ca *partially obscured by inkblot*]iphas HV

93 In ... wede] In discardes wede *over erasure* HV

108 sight endure] [*en obscured by inkblot*]dure HV

122 vnthankful] vntha[n *partially obscured by erasure*]kful HV

Where I was bound to suffer death by right:  
 And yet my lucke was not so good to prove 125  
 Some little paine for al his endlesse love.

Why could I not with Ioseph and his fēeres  
 Have wrapt his lovely linnēs in linnen pure?  
 Why could I not have washt with bitter teares  
 Those woundes which my Rēdemption did procure? 130  
 Why could I not have bought with many a teare  
 In gardners wēde to fēe my Lord appere?

With Magdaleine at dawning of the day  
 I might have fought my hartes dēfire at least;  
 Or els with two Disciples in the way 135  
 I might have entretained a loving gueast:  
 I might perhappes have fēene his wounded fide,  
 His naile=boar'd handes and fete that gapēd wide.

Why went I not to bid my Love farewel;  
 Why did I faile his sacred steppes to kisse; 140  
 When rich with precious spoiles of Death and Hell  
 My Saviour first made entraunce into blisse;  
 Leaving his flocke amidde the raging rowte  
 Of cruēl wolves to walke the world about?

Wherefore lith al my ioy is thus bereaft, 145  
 So that my daies in wery fort are spent;  
 Had not my Christ through special bountie left  
 A fov'reign falve in health=ful Sacrament,  
 His holie Flesh and blessed Bloud I meane,  
 I must have died for inward grefe and paine. 150

Thee therefore, frendly Nightingale, I pray  
 Before my Lord my doleful case to pleade;  
 How dying here for lacke of him each day  
 In defert earth a loathsome life I leade;  
 Most hard bestadde on ev'ry fide with woēs, 155  
 And round about besette with mortal foēs.

The Fēend is fierce and ful of dēpe dēceite,  
 His force is moch, his malice most of al;  
 And many a time he sliely lurkes in waite  
 With sēcret subtile snare to make me thrall: 160  
 Ne doth he cēasse by day and night ful fast  
 His firie dartes against my foule to cast.

The world is false, and with his gawdēs ful gay  
 Eftfōne he sēkes my wand'ring mind to lure;  
 And oft with might and mayne he doth assay 165  
 By fierce afsaultes my ruine to procure:

He lightly laughes, and lone beginnes to loure;  
He profreth swete, his paymentes al are soure.

My Flesh is fraile, and oft she doth repine  
To worke the good most nedeful for my state; 170  
And most against her self she doth incline  
To do the workes that most my soule doth hate:  
And through my gates (these eyes and eares I meane)  
Ful many a gueast she bringes that is vncleane.

My Sprite, that for these harmes shold find redresse, 175  
Is dull and faint, and smally can prevaile;  
And when I strive my rebels to represe,  
Ful lone, alas, I find my force to faile;  
And though I wish sometimes to mount on hie,  
My cage is close, and fourth I cannot flie. 180

Al these my grefes, dere Nightingale, declare,  
That I endure, whil'st here I live alone;  
Where woes be rife, and comfortes be so rare,  
That stil I sobbe and sigh with piteous moane:  
And when I counte my former frutelesse yeres, 185  
Mine eyes ful faine wold melt in floudes of teares.

Receave therefore the summe of my desires;  
That lith in earth my Love I could not see,  
To place of rest, wherto my soule aspires,  
From earthly cage ful lone I may go free; 190  
With thee and other Nightingales to sing  
For evermore in prefence of our King.

Where ioyes abound, and woes be farre away;  
Where blessed soules enioy æternal light;  
Where never night, but ever=lasting daie, 195  
With glorious glitt'ring beames doth shine ful bright;  
Where no misse=hap nor mischefe can befall;  
Where nothing wantes; where God is al in al.

Meane while, dere bird, entreate my heavenly Love  
In secret sorte away my hart to steale; 200  
And with him self to fixe the same above,  
That al desires of earthly goodes may qwaile:  
That more and more my fainting ghost may crie,  
My Life is CHRIST, mine onely gaine to die.

Cupio dissolvi, & esse cum CHRISTO. 205

## A Lamentation of a Sinner.

O soverēin salve for finne,  
 Which dost my foule behold;  
 That seekes her self from tangling faultes  
 By striving to vnfold:  
 What plea shal I put in, 5  
 When thou dost summons fend,  
 To iudge the people of the earth,  
 And geve the world an end?  
 When ev'ry dede and word,  
 And ev'ry secret thought, 10  
 In open view of al the world  
 Shal vnto light be brought?

So many Iudges shal  
 Against me sentence geve,  
 As by example of good workes 15  
 Have taught how I shold live.  
 So many Pleaders shal  
 Confound my careful care,  
 As have in me by found advise  
 Sought to encrease thy grace; 20  
 So many shal that time  
 Against me witnessse beare,  
 As have beheld my fruitlesse Faith,  
 And saw my finnes appere.

Wheron whiles I do muse 25  
 In my amazed mind,  
 Fore=warned through familier foes,  
 Most fierce assaultes I find.  
 My Conscience to my face  
 Doth flattely me accuse; 30  
 My secret thoughtes within mine eares  
 Do whisper stil these newes;  
 Mine Avarice doth bribe,  
 My Pride doth bragge me downe;  
 Mine Envie frettes me like a file 35  
 At other folkes renoune.

---

TITLE. Lamentation of a Sinner.] Lament[ation of a Sinner. *over erasure*] HV The complaint of a  
 sorrowfull Soule. P

1 for] of P

2 Which] who P

7 earth] yearth P

8 an] and P

10 And] yea P

16 Have] hath P

19 me] one P

20 encrease thy] engraft by P

27 Fore=warned through] Froward thoughts P

31 mine] my P

33 doth bribe] and briberie P

Concupiscence inflames,  
     And Luste my limmes infectes,  
 My Meate doth burthen, and my Drinke  
     My weaknesse great detectes; 40  
 My Sclandres rent my fame,  
     Ambicion doth supplant;  
 My Greedinesse is not content,  
     But makes me waile for want;  
 My Mirth but flattery is, 45  
     My Sorowes are vnkind;  
 My Pleasures runne me out of breath,  
     And Griefes oppresse my mind.

Behold, my God, whose might  
     May me a fræeman make, 50  
 These were the frændes, whose counfels curst  
     I was content to take;  
 These were the lawlesse Lordes,  
     Whom I did serue alway;  
 These were the masters, whose madde hestes 55  
     I did too moch obay.  
 Behold my fal most foule,  
     Which folie first did frame;  
 In loving them I shold have loath'd,  
     Whence bredeth al my blame. 60

Now do I loke a loofe  
     With hateful blusshing face  
 On glorie thine, that so I may  
     Discerne mine owne disgrace.  
 My many spottes and great 65  
     Must nedes increafe my guilt,  
 Vnlesse thou wash them in thy Bloud,  
     Which for my fake was spilt.  
 Forgeve the faultes, o Lord,  
     Which I from hart repent; 70  
 And graunt my daies to come may be  
     In thy fwete service spent.

---

38 Luste] [*L over erasure*]uste *HV*    lusts *P*    infectes] infect *P*  
 40 great detectes] doth detect *P*  
 41 rent] rend *P*  
 47 My] Sith *P*  
 48 oppresse] suppress *P*  
 51 the] my *P*  
 57 fal] faults *P*  
 60 blame] bane *P*  
 61 do I] I do *P*    a loofe] aloft *P*  
 62 hateful] bashful *P*  
 64 mine] my *P*  
 67 thy] the *P*  
 68 Which for] Wh[*ich for over erasure*]    that for *P*

---

In hope patience.

Dispifed thinges may live,  
 Although they pine in paine;  
 And thinges oft trodden vnder fete  
 May once yet rise againe.

The stone which lies ful low, 5  
 May be at last ful hie;  
 And stand on toppe of stately Towre  
 In fight of ev'ry eie.

The rottes of rotten redes 10  
 In fwelling feas are fene;  
 And when each tide hath tos't his worst,  
 They grow againe ful grene.

I fee no fight on earth 15  
 But it to chaunge inclines;  
 And little clowdes do over=cast  
 The brightest Sunne that fhines.

No flower is fo fresh 20  
 But frost may it deface;  
 No man fo fure in any feate,  
 But he may lose his place.

Wherfore I stand content,  
 Though moch against my mind,  
 To take in woorth this luckelesse lotte,  
 That is to me assign'd.

---

3 fete] foote *G*

5 which lies] that lieth *G*

6 be] clime *G*

7 on toppe] a loft *G*      Towre] towr's *G*

8–9 eie. ... The] eie. [*ll. 5–6 of G, see Appendix E, p. 224*] / The

12–13 grene. ... I fee] grene. [*ll. 9–16 of G, ibid.*] / I fee

18 may] can *G*

20 lose] leefe *G*

21 Wherfore] So that *G*

23 luckelesse] lothfome *G*

24 That is] which luck *G*      assign'd.] assign'd. [*ll. 23–30 of G follow, ibid.*]

## A description of Love.

The ancient Poëtes meaning to declare  
 That lovers thoughtes can never cloaked be,  
 Did faine that Cupide was of garmentes bare;  
 And said that he was blind and could not see,  
 Bicause who so is catch't within his snare 5  
 Is blind of fense, and seeth not his share;  
 They fained also that he was a boye,  
 To shew that Love is but a folish toye.

They said moreover he had winges to flee,  
 To shew the lightnes of these Lovers thoughtes; 10  
 Which in vaine hope doth mounthe sometimes on hie,  
 But in an houre it goëth vnto nought:  
 Now may these Lovers, if they list, espie  
 How good a God this is for whom they crie.  
 Truly I marveile not though they have ioy 15  
 To serve a blinded flying naked boy.

He that the paines of folish Lovers sees,  
 How some do die through langour paine and woe;  
 And how sometimes they hang them selves on trees,  
 And of a lover oft becomes a foe; 20  
 And marketh how their senses they do lese,  
 And how they burne, and sone againe do freese;  
 May say Love is a goodly Lord to serve,  
 That letteth so his faithful seruautes sterue.

Loe Phyllis breath is stopped with a corde, 25  
 Loe Iphis hangeth her vpon a beame,  
 Loe Didoes hart is pearced with a sworde,  
 Behold Leander drowned in the streame;  
 Loe thus they fare that fitte at Cupides bourde;  
 This is your fee, thus payeth you your Lord; 30  
 Thus is your faithful service spent in vaine,  
 Sith your reward is nothing els but paine.

What doth the name of Cupide signifie?  
 Vntamed lust, and burning hote desire;  
 Friend of al vices, vertues enemye; 35  
 Vnto the witte a frost, to will a fire;  
 Them that him serve God let them never thæe;  
 I thinke soch God in heven cannot be;  
 But rather he an Angel is, that fel  
 With Lucifer from heven vnto hel. 40

9 flæe] flie A

21 læse] lose A

---

This God did teache Duke Iafons wife to flea  
Her little children with her propre handes;  
Great beastlines he taught Pafiphaë,  
And Scylla to betray her fathers landes.  
What shold I fay of wickèd Canace, 45  
Of Myrrha, Byblis, and Nyctimene?  
For love Alcides left his lions skinne,  
And was content with Omphale to spinne.

Loe here the blindnesse of Dame Venus fonne,  
Loe here his winges, loe here his bare aray; 50  
By serving him loe what at last is wanne;  
Loe how he maketh folke to go astray.  
But to conclude who so wold Cupide fhunne,  
With Diane through the mountaines he must runne,  
Or go with Pallas to the fieldes to fight, 55  
Or go vnto the Mufes fountain bright.

---

 Against Envie.

That cancred foe to vertues worthy fame,  
 Which nippes with frostes the heades of fairest floures,  
 Yet burnes like fire, til ruine quench the flame,  
 Whose fmoke doth blind the light of highest powers,  
 Whose thondring stroakes on great estates do fal, 5  
 Whose spiteful mode is arm'd with bitter gal;

More staines with blotte of flame and foule disgrace,  
 More bites with care and pinching blastes of cold,  
 More wastes with heate of flames in ev'ry place,  
 More blindes with fume, more woundes a thousand fold 10  
 That wight which beares this direful snake in brest,  
 Then he whom enemies spite wold reave from rest.

Display Aglauraes brest to open fhow,  
 What els apperes but hellish furious rage?  
 Whence rooted hate in rancoures ground doth growe, 15  
 Whose firie brondes no licour can asswage;  
 Where malice reignes, and envie beareth fway,  
 Whose bloudie iawes stil gape for depe decay.

Soch is the lotte of him whose cruël mind  
 Is bent to make at others harmes a game, 20  
 With endles toile to strive with vertues kind,  
 To spotte their praise, yet winnes him self the blame:  
 He meltes like snow against the shining funne,  
 And drawes with paine the thredes which envy spunne.

In publique wealth he pines away with care, 25  
 In commune woës he thirstes for greater ill,  
 Where others fede he cannot like his fare,  
 While others drinke his thirst endureth stil;  
 When others laugh he bathes his chæekes with teares,  
 And leapes for ioy when cause of griefe apperes. 30

So that no fire of Plutoes burning lake,  
 Nor Tytius grype which wastes his growing hart,  
 Nor Ixions whele begirt with many a snake,  
 Nor Phineus birdes can match the deadly smart,  
 Which Envie bringes to mindes with griefes opprest, 35  
 Whose weale in woe, and life in death doth rest.

---

 19 cruël] cr[u *partially obscured by blot*]ël HV

 24 paine] [pai *over erasure*]ne HV

 36 Whose] [W *over erasure*]hose HV

## Of Friendship.

- The sacred bandes of faithful friendshipes lawes  
 Are broake by force, and fundred al in twaine;  
 The perfect love whom noble vertue drawes,  
 The constant faith which wonted to remaine  
 With stedefast trowth more firme then oath or vowe,  
 In mind of men can scarcely harbour now. 5
- When bright Astræa went to starrie skies,  
 When peace was fled, and pittie plac'd above,  
 When shining trowth was hidde from mortal eies,  
 Yet stil remain'd this faithful frendly love: 10  
 But if this blisful concord were not left,  
 Al earthly hope and ioy were from vs reft.
- Some kind of men inflamed with defire  
 By name of friendship cloake their filthie lust;  
 Some wil be frendes, but not without their hire; 15  
 And some conceale their trefason vnder trust;  
 Yet feld is fene inclos'd in mortal brest  
 For vertues fake a frendly love to rest.
- Foule is the mind where wicked lust doth raigne,  
 And fakes a vaile to hide an ill intent; 20  
 And wicked he whose friendship gapes for gaine,  
 Whose grædie brest to ravine al is bent;  
 But he most curfed wrech that doth assay  
 By painted shew to worke his frendes decay.
- O happie wight that doth enioy a frend, 25  
 Whose stedefast trowth in peril wil not faile;  
 Whose constant love endureth to his end;  
 Against whose mind no fortune can prevaile;  
 Approved long in pore estate, in wealth,  
 In ioy, in woe, in fickenes, and in health. 30
- Then happie Thesæus with his noble feere,  
 And thou Orestes wandring al about,  
 And thou to whom thy Damon was so dere,  
 Whose fixed friendshipes never came in doubt;  
 Oh what it is to have a frend so kind! 35  
 A iewel rare, a trefasure hard to find.
- And yet, alas, ful many a man we know,  
 Whom fortune drawes, wil beare a frendly chere,  
 While lucke doth ferve, and prosperous wind doth blowe;  
 As fwalowes swifte in spring time do appere; 40  
 When stormes arise, farewel, they wil be gone,  
 They leave him al to finke or fwimme alone.

8 plac'd] plac'[ε deleted]d HV

35 kind!] kind A

## Of covetise.

On earth great stoare of gold vnfought was found,  
 When Saturne reigned as a God of might;  
 Vntil his Sonne it hidde within the ground,  
 Bicause that men for it began to fight.  
 Yet now fith it is know'en to ev'ery wight 5  
 That gold within the earth doth lie by kind,  
 Men go to hel this treasure bright to find.

For gold men fel their children and their wives,  
 Their derest frendes, their good renowne, and al;  
 For gold men are content to lose their lives; 10  
 For gold the freeman doth become a thral;  
 For gold the Prince is murd'red in his hal;  
 For love of gold, as comunely we see,  
 A wicked acte wil sone attempted be.

Who so hath gold may have his whole desire; 15  
 For what thing is not done in hope of gaine?  
 Or what is done without reward or hire?  
 Gold maketh men to labour and take paine;  
 Gold raiseth warre, and bieth peace againe;  
 Gold maketh frendes, and caufeth mortal hate; 20  
 It ceaseth strife, and stirreth vp debate.

Men have no cause Agenor for to curse,  
 Which found the mines of gold, as some men fay;  
 What if that some mens God be in their purse,  
 Shold therefore men throw gold into the sea, 25  
 As Crates did? or cast it cleane away?  
 Sith God it gave, men fhold it not refuse,  
 Although the wickèd wickèdly it vse.

A commendation of bloomes or blossomes.

When Memnons woful mother with her teares,  
 And Zephyrus do make the floures to grow;  
 When birdes do make their songes vpon the breres;  
 Then on the trees the blossomes faire do flow:  
 Which I may wel preferre above the rest 5  
 Of flowers, or compare them with the best.

Al other flowres ful low on earth abide,  
 The blossome dwelleth nerer to the skie;  
 And in the grasse her self she doth not hide,  
 But to the sight advaunced is on hie: 10  
 Some other floures purple, yelow, and grene,  
 In blossomes none but white and redde are fene.

White is good life, and redde is honest shame;  
 Those simple coloures are the best of al;  
 Yet bloomes perhappes of some men shal have blame, 15  
 Bicause vnto the ground so fone they fal;  
 Sith that each worldly thing doth fade away,  
 It is no marvaile though that bloomes decay.

When Phœbus beames do parch the earth with heate;  
 When Pole Antartike hath no day, but night; 20  
 When in this Zone our shadowes be not great;  
 When Arctike Pole hath gotten perfect light;  
 Then al the floures do wither, as we see,  
 And then the blossome falleth from the tree.

Yet though the blossomes fal from trees by kind, 25  
 Bicause Apollo shold them never burne;  
 When bloomes be gone their fructe remaines behind,  
 Where others into dust and powder turne:  
 Thus for their place, their colour, fructe, and smel,  
 The blomes of right may beare away the bell. 30

11 floures are purple *ed.*: floures [are presumed omitted by scribe; see Commentary, p. 78] purple HV  
 floures purple A

16 fone] some A

20 Antartike] Antarticke A

22 Arctike] Articke A

---

No trust in Fortune.

Who so doth trust the fained chere  
That smileth foorth by Fortunes lookes,  
When good to him she doth appere,  
To take his life she lay'eth her hookes.

The mariner is most vnwife 5  
That trusteth to the quiet seas,  
For communely great stormes arise  
When as the windes do seme to cease.

Vnder the grasse ful fresh and grene 10  
There lurketh hidde the hurtful Snake;  
Within the baite, as oft is sene,  
Doth lie the hoke the fish to take.

To Fortunes whele there is no trust;  
For he that fittes in hiest place  
Within an houre li'eth in the dust, 15  
If that she shew a froward face.

Thus Fortune turneth vpside downe  
Mans life, and chaungeth each estate;  
She makes the pore man weare a crowne,  
The mightie prince she doth abate. 20

The wise man onely scapeth free,  
Ne subiect is to Fortunes rage;  
Though al estates her seruautes be,  
Yet can she not subdue the fage. Anno ætatis 13<sup>o</sup>.

---

13 To] T[o over erasure] HV

24 13<sup>o</sup> ed.: 13<sup>o</sup> presumed omitted by scribe; used regularly elsewhere in MS. for ordinals] HV

Beautie is brittle.

I mervaile moch why Paris went so farre  
 To fetch away King Menelaus wife;  
 Or why the Grekes for her made tenne yerres warre;  
 Or why the Goddesses shold be at strife,  
 Which caused many a man to lose his life: 5  
 Sith that this mischefe great was first begunne  
 Al for vaine beautie that wil sone be done.

Like as the floures, which were ful fresh in May,  
 In winters seafon fade and be not sene;  
 Even so in age al beautie wil decay, 10  
 And they are foule that some=time faire have bene:  
 Medusaes face was ones ful bright and shene;  
 But when the lawes of honestie she brake,  
 Each golden haire became an ouglie snake.

Fairenes is like the painting of a wall, 15  
 Which sone is rubbed of and done away;  
 And as the painting sheweth not at all,  
 Whether the wal be made of stone or clay,  
 So beauties glasse doth not the life bewray:  
 Oft a faire face moch wickednes doth hide, 20  
 Wherefore in beautie let no wight have pride.

With mighty Iuno in the towne of Troy  
 Antigone for beautie did contend,  
 Wherefore she lost her life and al her ioy,  
 And to a Storke was turned in the end. 25  
 The water=Nymphes a monster houghe did send  
 To wreake the pride of king Cephæus wife  
 At Hammons bidding on her daughters life.

King Prætus daughters here I over passe,  
 With many moe which were too long to tel, 30  
 In which we may behold as in a glasse  
 How al these lovers of their beautie fel:  
 Now thinke you that they were not served wel,  
 Which for a thing that is of little price  
 Wold cause soch hate and discord to arise? 35

Sith therefore beautie is so vaine a thing,  
 Sith it is marred with the funne and wind;  
 Sith for the love of it great illes do spring;  
 I cannot chose but marvaile in my mind  
 What maketh women now to be so blind, 40  
 To flee the smoake of coales, to curl their haire,  
 And paint their faces lovers eies to bleare.      Anno ætatis 13<sup>o</sup>.

Being sicke in Oxford thus he prayeð.

With wayling voice from out the depth of finne  
To thee, o Lord, I feely wrech do crie,  
Wherefore, o Lord, to heare me now beginne;  
Though death approache, let not thy seruaunt die;  
And though my ship be turned vpside=downe, 5  
In seas of finne yet let me never drowne.

As Ionas cri'ed within the fishes maw,  
Even so do I complaine now woeful wight;  
As help from him thou didst not qwith=drawe,  
So let me find some mercie in thy sight; 10  
And as thou cast him safe vpon the land,  
So out of finne Lord pul me with thy hand.

And as thou sav'edst thy Prophet in the cave  
From greedie lions thirsting for their pray,  
So from the Ramping Lion thou me save, 15  
Which goeth about the felie foules to slaye:  
Though death and daunger close me round about,  
Yet know I Lord that thou canst bring me out.

Wherefore, o Lord, to thee I make my prayer;  
Thou Lord of Lordes vouchsafe to heare my voice; 20  
Vnto my griefes bowe downe thy pitæous eare;  
Though now I mourne, yet cause me to reioyce:  
And graunt me Lord to passe these seas of strife,  
That I may come into the porte of Life.

**Two Chores and an Epilogue added to the  
Tragedie of Agamemnon, translated out of Seneca.**

The first Chore.

Woe worth the lecherous brest, which harboureth foule desire,  
 Whose smoldring heate breakes foorth at last in flames of hellish fire:  
 A fire which wastes the corps, and meltes the goodes away,  
 Which foiles the name with blacke disgrace, and bringes the mindes decay.  
 Whose flame like foggie smoake amidde the aire doth flie, 5  
 Whose filthy boastes like cracking sparkes procure revenge from hie.  
 Whose flame with stinking pitch and sulphur stil doth burne;  
 Whose coales shal witnes be of sinne, whose earth to earth shal turne.  
 Whose blasing brandes shal quench with deadly hissing sound;  
 Whose ashes cold shal burne afresh within the holow ground. 10  
 Wherefore woe worth the foe of maides virginitie,  
 And him which vowes to seke the spoile of wifely chastitie.  
 Woe worth the gazing eyes whose lust doth lie in waite  
 To trappe the simple passing by with snares of close deceite. 15  
 Woe worth the forced teares from guileful braine that flow;  
 Woe worth the face that durst attempt such vile conceite to shew.  
 Woe worth that beares dire poison vnder tongue;  
 Whose wordes be swete at first to taste, yet mixt with gal among;  
 Which sweares to serue the most, and semes to love the best;  
 Yet seekes thy losse, procures thy blame, as foe of old profest. 20  
 Woe worth the lavish hand which first did offer gaine,  
 To loofe by giftes the loving knotte of sacred wedlockes chaine.  
 Woe worth the filthy fete, that vndertoke to tread  
 On pure and vndefiled clothes of Hymenæus bed.  
 Woe worth the bird which layes his egges in others nest; 25  
 Woe worth the foxe that can contrive in badgers denne to rest.  
 These woes we wish to fal, yea these and tenne times moe,  
 On thee Ægisthus cursed wrech, the cause of al our woe.

---

1 harboureth] h[ar over erasure]boureth HV      desire] d[er over erasure]ire HV  
 6 revenge] r[er over erasure]venge HV  
 27 moe,] m[oe, over erasure] HV

## The ſecond Chore.

What new defire of chaunge doth cause the Lions make  
 In place of her most hardie ſpouſe the baſtard Pard to take;  
 And not therewith content in pæcces al to teare  
 In cruel fort with bloudie tæeth her onely loving fere?  
 Woe worth the liſtning eares, where wickèd wordes take place; 5  
 Woe worth the curious eies, which vew'd that beaſtly Leachours face.  
 Woe worth the yelding mind, which gave conſent to luſt;  
 Woe worth the woman wanting ſhame, and voide of wifely truſt.  
 Now Iuno qwrite the wrong of Spouſals thus dẽfil'd,  
 Yee Gods do graunt ſome qwicke revenge for truth and faith beguil'd. 10  
 But out alas the reſt in lively fort to paint  
 Each melting hart wold ſone reſolve in floudes of drerie plaint;  
 Each tender ruthful breſt of force with griefe muſt ſwell;  
 Each voice wold faile, and tongue waxe faint ſoch doleful newes to tell.  
 Woe worth the handes which wrought the fatal garment new, 15  
 Wherwith bewrapt like bore in toile our worthy King they flue.  
 Oh Sunne how might'ſt thou beare to ſee ſo vile a dẽde?  
 How might thy golden chariot ſtay from turning backe with ſpede?  
 In middes of purple ſtreames the huſband lie'th on ground  
 Behew'd with womans mortal hand, and ſtab'd with many a wound. 20  
 And al about the King lie'th dead the faithful traine  
 Of ſervauntes ſure and truſtie frẽdes like ſhepe in ſhambles flaine:  
 While ſhe, whoſe guiltie handes even yet diſtil with bloud,  
 Like Tigre madde with wittleſſe rage, or dronke with beaſtly mode,  
 Hath chaung'd her mourening gowne with garmentes nuptial, 25  
 And light her wedding torche with ioy before the funeral.  
 And ſhal thoſe bloudie armes their new made ſpouſe embrace?  
 And ſhal Ægyſthus dare to fitte in Agamemnon's place?  
 And ſhal the tables large with meates againe be ſpred,  
 Whence roſe of late the cruel Quene with flaughter full ifedde? 30  
 Then woe to curſed broode of murd'ring vipers kind;  
 And woe to Venus foule delight, which ſo corruptes the mind.  
 Yea woe againe we crie tenne thouſand times and moe  
 On Clytemneſtra faithles Spouſe, the cauſe of al our woe.

9 qwrite the wrong *ed.*: qwrite [the *presumed omitted by scribe, see Commentary*] wrong *HV*  
 21 about] about *over erasure HV*

## The Epilogue or Conclusion.

O God which rul'st the restless rowling flie,  
 Whose secrete dome directes the flyding steppes  
 Of this our life, vnworthy that doth runne;  
 How straunge, vnknow'n, and wond'rous are thy waies?  
 How rare eventes of that thy wisdomes workes? 5  
 T'abase the highe, and bring the mightie downe,  
 To blind the wise, and make the strong to fall!  
 Loe Agamemnon here the famous King,  
 Of auncient Arge who bare the roial crowne,  
 Who rul'd by sea twelve hundred failes and moe, 10  
 And led by land the mightie Grecian host;  
 Whom Grekes obey'd as chiefe amongst them al,  
 And Troians dradde, as borne to woorke their woe;  
 So know'n by fame for worthy Martial actes,  
 So blest by giftes of prosperous chaunce in field, 15  
 So rich with spoiles of Ilion late subdue'd,  
 So deckt with laurel=crownes for victorie;  
 That least he fear'd, in mid'st of al his ioy,  
 Vnwares, at home, hath caught his bane too fone:  
 At home, alas, not in the Phrygian fieldes, 20  
 He vanqwisht is, not by Mavors his might,  
 But by impulse of weake Advoutresse hand,  
 And often stroake of feely womans knife:  
 Ne yet with heate of bloudie broile in warre,  
 But carelesse cow'cht in quiet bed to rest: 25  
 Ne overpres't with poise of waightie steele,  
 But wrapt in fleightes of deadly guileful gifte,  
 Through traiterous driftes this King hath lost his bloude:  
 Whom neither Hectors blade might cause to die,  
 Ne Memnons glaive, ne yet the Scythian Quene, 30  
 Ne houghe Sarpedons strength, nor al the rest  
 Of manlie knightes that fought for countreis good  
 Could ones deprive of that his vital breath.  
 And yet how oft, alas, by land, by sea,  
 This worthy Prince hath ent'red ieopardie? 35  
 How oft on fote with sword and glitt'ring shield  
 Amidde the thick'st of Troiane ranckes to fight?  
 How oft on horse with speare and targe in hand?  
 How oft at faulte of mightie walled townes?  
 How like to light ful oft on drowning sandes, 40  
 Or shiv'ring rockes by force of windie wave?  
 And never yet could find a spedie way  
 By wisshed death to end his ling'ring dayes.  
 But now escapt from force of forrein foes,  
 From boisterous windes on furing floudes that beate, 45

---

3 doth runne; *ed.*: doth [. *deleted*]runne; *HV*

25 cow'cht in] cow'cht in *over erasure* *HV*

35 Prince] [Prin *over erasure*]ce *HV*

37 ranckes] r[anck *over erasure*]es *HV*

38 and] a[n *over erasure or smudge*]d *HV*

From thonder=stroake, and flash of lightening flame,  
 From shallow cliffes of high Capharean shoare,  
 When sword and fire, when streame and sturdie storme,  
 When earth and aire did graunt the victour way,  
 Yea Gods and men agreed to worke his will; 50  
 In place of trust hath found vntrustie traines,  
 In frendly foile befette with mortal foes:  
 Wherby surprisid with vntimely death,  
 When first he thought his weried limmes to rest,  
 Within an houre bereft of al his blisse, 55  
 Of princelie power, and regal diademe,  
 Of wealth, of ioy, of life, of land, and al,  
 His fainting ghost he yeldes a sacrifice  
 T'appease the Gods for parentes foule offence.  
 Oh Clytemnestra, ruthles is thy brest, 60  
 Shamelesse thy fame, vnbridled is thy lust,  
 Hard is thy hart as rockes of Taurus mount,  
 And fierce in rage as is th'Ægean sea,  
 Madde were thy moodes, and merciles thy mind,  
 Hatelful thy handes, and armed with despite, 65  
 So stedefast could direct the fatal stroake;  
 Ne trembling loath'd to worke this damnèd dede.  
 Did Priame live, or Hecuba the Quene,  
 Or Priames fonnes, they fure wold waile the case  
 Of Agamemnon ones their deadly foe, 70  
 If ever pitie dwelt in gentle brest.  
 But those thine eies can fhede no trick'ling teares,  
 To faine amendes for this vnkindly fact.  
 Despiteous wight, is this a womans parte?  
 No woman, no, but monster, foe to kind, 75  
 Some Furies bird, not Ledaes daughter fure;  
 Some flippe of hel, no branch of hevenly tree.  
 Wel wickèd, reape the fructe of thy delite;  
 Drive foorth the time with wanton sparkeling toyes;  
 Put backe remorse, let pleasure preafe in place; 80  
 And as for groaning conscience let it slepe;  
 Defend by force that trait'rous sleightes have wunne;  
 Yea force thy realme with weapons al about,  
 And garde thy corps with strength of mighty men.  
 The time shal come, yea short and sodein time, 85  
 When sharp revenge, like stormes of batt'ring haile,  
 From feate of angry Gods shal rayne apace  
 On thee, o wrech, and on thy law=lesse mate.  
 Then ling'ring Nemesis with stealing steppes  
 By rightful dome this sentence shal pronounce; 90  
 Your tender flesh so pamp' red vp in pride  
 With costly cloathes, and fedde with delicatès,

65 armed with despite *ed.*: armed wit[h presumed omitted by scribe] despite HV

67 worke] [w over erasure]orke HV

70 Agamemnon] A[g over erasure]amemnon HV

71 ever] e[ver over smudge or erasure] HV

89 Then] [Th over erasure]en HV

Despoiled, bare, naked of cloathes to lie,  
 As fode, I iudge, for grædie wormes too bad.  
 Your curfèd boanes of wanton ease the foile 95  
 In tract of time shal turne to cindred mould;  
 Your shame with noise shal fil the world so wide,  
 Your crime in bokes for ever shal appere;  
 Your finneful foules of wickèd lust the seate  
 Twixt heate of flames, and cold of frostie snow, 100  
 Shal taste the paines of ever living death.  
 Of Nemefis loe here the dredeful voice;  
 Loe this the end of loathsome lechers life;  
 And right reward of fleshly foule delite.  
 Now worthy wightes that deigne sometime to reade 105  
 This mourneful tale, though cladde in simple verse,  
 For your availe some lessons may you learne  
 By others harmes, and turne them to your good.  
 First way with care what weake and sclender stay  
 Vpholdes the waight of these your sov'reign states; 110  
 What flipp'ry stayes advance your climbing fæete;  
 What stumbling blockes before your regal seates  
 Augment with griefe the sodaine breake=necke fal  
 Of you, which tomble head=long downe from hie:  
 Yea more, what cares attend on princely thrones; 115  
 What ialouse heades the crown of massie gold,  
 What trembling handes the stately scepter bringes;  
 What broken slepes in beddes of finest downe;  
 What restles limmes in royal purple roabe;  
 What ouglie shewes of dredeful dreames by night, 120  
 What woes by day furcharge the werie bræst  
 Of him that weldes the rule of mighty realmes:  
 Now threat'ning warres affright his careful mind,  
 Now guileful peace, ful frendly though she smile,  
 Can yet contrive at home a subtile drift, 125  
 When least he lokes, to reave him of his life.  
 Next learne to shunne the clofe and craftie foe,  
 Whose fawning face forbiddes to doubt the worst,  
 The worme which flowlie wastes the tender frute,  
 The cancred soare through flesh and boane that eatas, 130  
 The scorpion hatcht in mid'st of marble wall;  
 As cannons shotte your buildinges may deface,  
 So poudre clofely prest may vndermine  
 Your strongest walles, and make your towres to fall.  
 As rage of stormes may rent your loftie sailas, 135  
 So trembling earth oft fwaloweth vp in hast  
 Your knightly halles and castels of renoune.  
 As open foes may put your force to foile,  
 And waste your landes with sword and flaming fire;  
 So fained frendes with deadly glofing guile, 140  
 With sugred wordes, yet depe dissembling mindes,  
 With lovely lokes, yet false deceitful hartes,

92 delicat[es] deli[cates over erasure] HV

101 ever living] eve[r living over erasure] HV

Vnwares may worke the plotte of your decay.  
 Then trie to trust, not trust to trie the smart  
 Of Agamemnon trapt in snares of death; 145  
 Ne suffer long within your courtes to dwell,  
 Ne rather ones t'approache your princely gates,  
 These vile advouterers foes to chastitie,  
 Lewd lecherous lowtes and flaves to vaine delite.  
 If Priames towne was level with the foile 150  
 By Grekish handes for Paris sinneful fact;  
 If Ajax flaine by dint of firie darte;  
 If Diomedè expeld from native foile;  
 If Menelaus lost on fleeting streame;  
 If Agamemnons fal might ought declare 155  
 What filthy frutes from cursed lust do spring:  
 Beleve it fure these are the fatal brandes,  
 Wherwith each realme, each towne, each house doth burne;  
 Which qwencht at first their harmeful heate may lose,  
 But kindled more through hedelesse negligence 160  
 With venome fede the flames of your desires.  
 Now last in lieu of iust reward I crave  
 None other gift, but that your noble mindes  
 Wold take in worth this pore advise of mine;  
 Wherin if ought offend your tender taste, 165  
 Not my desert who meant no wight to harme,  
 But your conceite is cause of soch misse=like.  
 Againe though nought you find that may delite,  
 Yet frendly chere vouchsafe I pray to shew  
 On this my worke for guerdon of good will. 170

---

165 if ought] if ought [if ought *struck through*] HV

169 pray to] pra[y to *over erasure*] HV

## Of the fame argument.

Quæ nova nunc rerum facies? Lædæa Virago  
 Vltrices quondam diras hominumque Deûmque,  
 Et tristes meruit gladios vltoris Orestis:  
 Scilicet aufa (nefas) lectum temerare iugalem,  
 Coniugis et magni iugulum profcindere ferro. 5  
 Nec fatis hoc, scelerum pœnas sensisse merentem  
 Criminis infandi; nisi post tot sæcula passim  
 Mæsta Sophoclæo proclamet carmine fontem  
 Melpomene Tragico furas devincta cothurno.  
 Nunc Agamemnonijs traduntur plurima fatis 10  
 Corpora, nec miseris quicquam solennia profunt  
 Vota, nec alma fides toties promissa maritis,  
 Nec pudor, aut Divûm pietas; nec firma tenentur  
 Iura pudicitiaë, quondam sanctissima iura:  
 Obsessumque tenet limen crudelis vbique 15  
 Tyndaris infestam quatiens armata bipennem:  
 Protinus et capta latro dominatur in arce  
 Debilis Ægisthus scelerati maximus auctor  
 Confilij, bello invalidus, sed fortis adulter,  
 Impiger ad Venerem nocturnaue prælia miles. 20  
 Nec tamen vltores gladios intentat Orestes,  
 Nec tamen hos Tragico percussit scena boatu.  
 Sed moneo cæssent, nec pergant plura nocere;  
 Est Deus, est tanti sceleris fortissimus vltor.  
 Aut igitur nubes armabit vindice flamma, 25  
 Aut Agamemnonium furijs incendet Orestem,  
 Qui patris ad tumulum genetricis viscera ferro  
 Transadigat, facto pius et sceleratus eodem.  
 Vtcumque est, certè non impunita relinquet  
 Crimina, sed tristi penfabit magna ruina. 30  
 Sera licet veniat, veniet tamen ira Tonantis,  
 Est gravior vindicta Dei, quò lentiùs vrget.

Anno ætatis 17<sup>o</sup>.

18 maximus] [max over erasure]imus HV

32 Est] E[st over erasure] HV

## Meditatio de Passione Christi.

Supplicium Domini referens, cædemque nefandam, Lugentem Phœbum, mærentia fydera cæli, Ræctorem mundi supplex orabo potentem, Vt clemens primo velit aspirare labori.	
Qui princeps vitæ crudeli cæde peremptus Horrida terrificæ dirupit vincula mortis, Cur mortem subijt divina stirpe creatus?	5
Cúr ve Deus voluit tot fævos ferre dolores? Scilicet infausti post crimina prima Parentis, Belzebub horrendus misero regnabat in orbe;	10
Dæmones immundi primùm se fingere Divos Aufi captabant mentes, varijsque figuris Ludebant miseros divinæ lucis egentés.	
Hinc fluit omne nefas, hinc orta est ferrea proles, Hinc dolus, hinc fraudes, hinc perdens omnia luxus, Hinc furor, impietas, et idolûm cultus inanis.	15
At genus humanum celsa respexit ab arce Ille Parens rerum qui fydera summa gubernat. Ille modum tandem statuens finemque malorum	
Dimifit Natum, rigido qui in stipite pendens Dæmona prosternens Mortem devicit amaram.	20
Quis tam crudelis, vel quis tam barbarus aufus Sacrilega Dominum Christum contingere dextra? Gens Hebræa quidem, gens dura et perfida semper, Gens invisæ Deo, gens nunquam credula veri,	25
Pastorem, Regem, Christum, Dominumque, Deumque, Innocuum demens crudeli morte necavit. Quis Christi poenas referat? Quis vulnera fando Explicet? aut possit lachrymis æquare dolorem?	30
Aspera divinas constringunt vincula palmas; Induitur capiti de spinis facta corona; Sic flagris cæfus, sic duro compede vinctus, Sente coronatus, passus ludibria, sputa, Ipse crucem portans veluti mitissimus agnus	
Ducitur ad mortem fævo damnante Pilato; Affixusque cruci rigidæ sublimis in altum Tollitur (horrendum dictu, miserabile vifu) Confixosque pedes, extensaque brachia gestans Purpureo claros deturpat sanguine vultus.	35
En Princeps mundi, Patris Sapientia vera, Christus, cælesti qui nos vestivit amictu, Perfessus clavis toti miserabilis orbi, Despectus cunctis, nudato corpore pendet; Vt genus humanum vitæ de fonte perenni Gustaret: Dominus qui nobis cuncta ministrat	40 45

2 cæli] coeli A

4 labori.] labori[, *deleted*]. HV11 Dæmones] Dæmones *over erasure* HV20 Dimifit] [D *over erasure*]imifit HV33 ludibria] l[u *over erasure*]dibria HV

Felle litim moriens duroque levavit aceto.  
 Tandem post varias pœnas, post mille dolores  
 Exspirans Christus, Cur me nunc deseris, inquit,  
 Mi pater? hanc animam Deus ô Deus accipe fessam. 50  
 Talia clamanti de corpore spiritus exit.  
 Tunc miles totis contortam viribus hastam  
 In latus infligens costas & pectora ferro  
 Candida traiecit, mixto fluit vnda cruore.  
 Sicque Dei Natus peccato mundus ab omni  
 Immundum fuso purgavit sanguine mundum. 55  
 Sic auctor vitæ mortem moriendo subegit.  
 Interea densis involvunt cuncta tenebris  
 Horrendæ nubes; terræ nox incubat atra.  
 Ipse caput medio Titan dum ferret Olympo  
 (Cynthia completo fratrem cùm redderet orbe) 60  
 Mærentes vultus obscura nube recondit;  
 Pallida Luna fugit Christi miserata dolores;  
 Nec solitam præbent mærentia fydera lucem.  
 Iam non vult mundus Domino pereunte manere;  
 Intremittit horribili tellus quassata tumultu; 65  
 Iamque cadunt vrbes, procumbunt atria regum,  
 Et celsæ turres, et pontes marmore structi.  
 Apparent diræ facies, et visa per vmbras  
 Busta sepulcorum ruptis exire sepulchris.  
 At Sapiens quidam, cùm talia monstra videret, 70  
 Aut, ait, in nihilum iam iam labentibus annis  
 Languida convexi solvetur machina mundi;  
 Aut Deus omnipotens subit atræ spicula mortis,  
 Qui mare, qui terras, qui fydera summa creavit. 75  
 Christus pro nobis tot vulnera passus iniquè  
 Eximium corpus relinquens, obscuraque terræ  
 Abdita claustra petens inferni regna Plutonis  
 Intrat; confestim patet atri ianua Ditis.  
 Protinùs impuræ barathri cessere cohortes, 80  
 Vt Dominum claro fulgentem lumine cernunt.  
 Perrumpit Christus diri penetralia Regis,  
 Et sanctos Patres misero de carcere traxit,  
 Quorum vita fuit nitido spectatior auro,  
 Qui coluere pio cælestia numina cultu; 85  
 Hos tamen obscura Dæmon sub valle tenebat.  
 Hos Christus solvens in regni parte locavit.  
 Hinc quoque terribilem vinclis et compede duro  
 Leviathan stringens serpentem calcatur iniquum.  
 Sic patet Infernum, sic Christus Dæmona vincit,  
 Mancipium populi sic sic lachrymabile cessat. 90  
 At complexa fui corpus miserabile Nati  
 Ante crucem Domini stabat tristissima Mater;  
 Et stabat vultus lachrymis perfusa ferenos  
 Mæsta foror Lazari sparsis post terga capillis;

---

47 Tandem] Tamdem A

73 omnipotens ed.: omnipote[n presumed omitted by scribe]s HV

92 tristissima] [tri over erasure]stissima HV

Stabat Iōannes Domino charissimus ille.	95
His Nicodemus opem præstans, et sanctus Iōseph, Addunt se comites, et fletibus omnia complent, Et Domini corpus condunt exangue sepulchro. Iam lux obscuro fulgebat tertia mundo,	
Cum Christus Ditem linquens invisaque regna Calcat humum plantis, et victa morte resurgens Spem dedit a lætho nos posse resurgere tandem.	100
Vulnera fæva gerit, concretos sanguine crines, Fœdatos vultus, perfessas vulnere palmas, Confixosque pedes, trajectaque pectora ferro.	105
Cumque decus mundi fulgenti lampade Titan Iam bis vicenum cursu lustraverat orbem, Postquam Discipulos dulci sermone levavit, Et graviter pressis tribuit solatia Christus,	
Conscendens montem, mea vos mandata ferentes	110
Ite per immensam celeres, ait, ite per orbem. Ibitis occiduo quæ littora sole tepescunt; Et quæ se rapidus profundit in æquora Ganges; Et quæ Caucaei se tollunt culmina montis, Et gelidæ rupes; et quæ de fonte cadentis	
Abdita fœcundi prorumpunt flumina Nili. Hæc vbi dicta dedit, cernentibus ilicò multis, Ingratam linquens divino numine terram Sydera transcendens intrat cælestia regna;	
Hic Rex Omnipotens sedet, æternumque sedebit, Cum Genitore pio, cum Sancti numine Flatus.	120
Tu modò summe Deus, qui regnas trinus et vnus, Tu Pater Omnipotens, qui Verbo cuncta creâsti; Tuque Dei Patris Verbum et Sapientia Christe, Qui Deus es genitus de numine Patris, homoque	
Propter nos homines sancta de Virgine natus; Tu Paraclete facer divino lumine fulgens; Sic bonus et clemens, precor, et miserere tuorum, Et placidus flentis populi delicta remitte;	
Et coetus miserere tui, populique redempti, Disperis que gregis, quem, si custodia desit, Impia crudeli discerpit Bellua rictu.	130
Tu miserere mei, servi miserere precantis; En venio supplex, en te prostratus adoro. Effice ne lævi me lædat Dæmonis astus,	
Nec me decipiant fallacis retia mundi, Nec caro præcipitem cantu trahat impia blando Per vada, per scopulos devinctum pessima Siren. Sic tibi dum vivam, dum spiritus hos reget artus, Nocte dieque canam sincero pectore laudes.	
Te mortemque tuam semper mea carmina cantent. Parce, precor, cælo Iudex venturus ab alto,	140

104 Fœdatos] F[œ over erasure]datos HV perfessas ed.: perf[o deleted in favour of ε]ssas HV  
palmas,] palmas, over erasure HV

125 homoque] homo[que brevigraph over erasure] HV

131 quem, si] quem[, si over erasure] HV

Cùm patefacta tremet tanto sub iudice tellus;  
 Parce, præcor, tandem, cùm te veniente refurgam;  
 Parce mihi clemens, ferva ne trudar ad Orcum, 145  
 Quà Dolor et Planctus regnat, quà tristis Erinnyis:  
 Sæd fac gaudentem cælestia scandere regna,  
 Et super astra sedens divinum numen adorem,  
 Quà Cherubim, et Seraphim cantu modulantur amœno,  
 Sanctorumque greges resonantes dulciter hymnos. Anno ætatis suæ 13<sup>o</sup>.

146 Dolor] [D over smudge]olor HV

150 ætatis] [æ represented by unusual brevigraph (see below)]tatis HV

*Sanctorumque greges resonantes dulciter hymnos. Anno ætatis suæ 13<sup>o</sup>.*

## [Honos alit artes]

Vpon this theme; Honos alit artes, given  
him by m<sup>r</sup> Pembridge at Fawzēley Sir Ri=  
chard Knightleys house, in præfence of  
the Knight, and m<sup>r</sup> Oxenbridge, and others,  
he made these verses Ex tempore.

Ingenuas artes accēnfa cupidine famæ  
 Mens capit; has veræ conceptas laudis amore  
 Nutrit amor plaufus, dēcoris spēs excitat ingens;  
 Laus fovet, auget honos, ad cælum gloria pollit.  
 Sēd tua, crēde mihi, nulla dulcēdine laudis 5  
 Ars producta venit, nec spe nutritur honoris.  
 Nescis quid fit honos, nec quid fit gloria nōstri.  
 Tantūm Cervina quondam male pastus in aula,  
 Dum violenta famēs, stimulo quæ pungit acuto,  
 Non famæ dulcedo, cibos conquirere technis 10  
 Compulit; hinc varias haufisti callidus artes.  
 Sic mentem fubiere doli, sic ventre magistro  
 Fallere, mēntiri, pērfrieta fronte pudorem  
 Pellere dum tentas, multo nunc doctior vfu  
 Vis pastor fieri plebis, verbique minister 15  
 Aufus et in templis infulfas fundere voces,  
 Vt pēcori tardo pēcudēs sua vellera tradant;  
 Vt reddat populus stultæ tibi præmia linguæ:  
 Et nunc ventris onus, non Christi quæris honorem,  
 Carne magis vesci cupiens, quam pascere verbo. 20

## [Vp drowzie Mufe.]

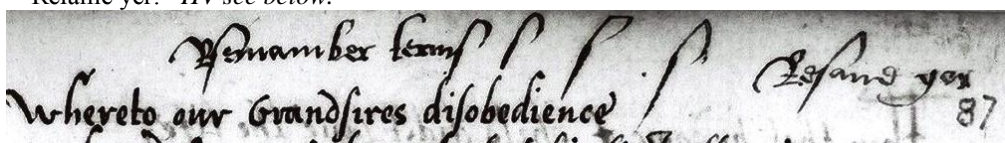
Vp drowzie Mufe pul downe thy harp from pinne  
 Let fingred stringes & warbling voice beginne  
 With iuft accord a facred verfe to frame  
 refounding our Iehovas glorious name.

**A**lmightie Lord, that rulest the restlesse race 5  
 and fway of rolling skies with meafured pace,  
 who with a powerful thought the stately frame  
 of heauen & earth & al thinges in the fame,  
 didest build of nought; on whom thofe hougie hostes  
 & legions waite in th'highest blisful costes; 10  
 millions of Angels in that gorgeous bower  
 attend thy hestes & praife thy awfull power;  
 with facred hymnes blazing thy noble bruite  
 and worthy workes the endelefse heavens throughe.

O glorious God that from thy glittering throne 15  
 bowest downe thy fatherly eare to euery grone  
 of wretched fiñers bound bilow in bale,  
 in carful prifon of this earthly vale,  
 Whereto our Grandfires difobedience  
 condemnd his race through that his first offence; 20  
 & fwetely helpst thy creatures in distrefse,  
 that crie to thee in faithful fothefastnes:  
 Thou that didst pul pore Iofeph from the pitte,  
 & raifedst him with Princes for to fitte: 25  
 Thou that from pining famine to defend,  
 thy Iacobs broode to fruteful foile didst fend,  
 there where the fpring from Eden that doth flow,  
 the harvest stor made in great store to grow:  
 when from proude Pharaös furie to conuay,  
 th'Arabian fondred Sea did yeld them way: 30  
 Thou that from Iessean shepefold tokest the King,  
 famous for touch of harpe & launch of sling,  
 & keepst from Giants crush and murdering pawe,  
 & rage of mad pofsefled fatherinlawe:  
 Thou that the General of th'Afsyrian hoft, 35  
 who with blasphemous tauntes and bragging bost,  
 againft thy mighty power did crack & vaunt,  
 one weak Bethulian widow madest to daunt,  
 & Iudas felde with Babilonian bloud  
 diddest drowne & gavest the fowles their limmes for foode: 40  
 making thereby thy frends & foes to fee  
 no force to be of force t'encounter thee:

10 blisful costes] blissful [*erased*]costes

19 Whereto ... difobedience] *marginalium in secretary hand inserted above*: Remember term f f f .f  
 Refame yer. *HV see below*:



40 for foode:] foode: *inserted above for HV*

Thou that by dome of child didst faue the life,  
 & clear the name of chaft Helchias wife:  
 Thow that from Lions hongrie iawes didst take 45  
 thy Prophet throwen vnto them for thy fake:  
 Thow that the wrath of Perfian King didst fwage  
 Shielding thy people from proud Amans rage;  
 & madest that wretch be caught in the snare  
 which he for Iudæs remnaunts did prepare: 50  
 Thou that in firi fornace diddest defend  
 from scorching flames, & gracious help didst lend  
 to those three youthes, that stoutely did denye  
 the honour due vnto thy maiestie  
 to give to th'Idol of a mortal slave, 55  
 whom beaftly pride beaftes shape & feeding gaue,  
 Thou that for all the world orewhelmd with vice  
 condemnd to hel exilde from paradise,  
 enemie to thee, foe of al vertues lore,  
 when as no falue could cur thire curelesse fore, 60  
 a fovereigne help & precious bath didst make,  
 the rote of al their illes from them to take,  
 of that most precious bloud wich thine owne word  
 & onely sonne incarnate did afford  
 by stroke of wips & stretch of crofse to fhede, 65  
 & from his naileboard handes & feete did blede,  
 & from the heart, wich love of man did brenne  
 fpearepearst & thirled foorth amaine did renne,  
 & wich his holie thornpricke hed powrd downe  
 that curfed Iewes with platted breere did crowne; 70  
 yet al these crofses pincht him not fo fore,  
 but love of vnkind man hath paid him more:  
 Thow that hast holpe dost help & wilt help fstill,  
 al those whose willes are buxome to thy will  
 Even thou, fwete Lord, of whom while I doe write, 75  
 help me, good God, this verfe for to indite.  
 Send this vnripe yet rotten Poëte grace  
 for want of witte & arte not to deface  
 this gracious facte of thine. On thee I call,  
 to thee I do appeale from fables all 80  
 of Heathnish hind's, that of their Helicon wel,  
 of winged horfe and of Parnafus tell,  
 & of thrife Sisters three I wot not what.  
 of venus & her blind boy let them chatte,  
 & filthy lufes that lecherous love inpires, 85  
 in lazie lozels breeding lewd defiers.  
 One droppe let fal into my barraine penne,  
 that from thy facred word & fprite doth renne,  
 wherewith thou makeft the fuckling babes belch out

42 of force] of f[or *over erasure*]ce HV      thee: *ed.*: thee[: *inserted*] HV

48 Shielding] Sh[i *inserted with caret*]elding HV

49 snare] snare[. *presumed otiose pen mark*] HV

72 man hath paid *ed.*: man [hath *inserted*] paid HV

75 of whom] of [/ *otiose penstroke*] whom HV

---

thy praifes al the wilde world round about: 90  
 Werewith the old long cared drudging beast  
 of that lewd Prophet, roming by request  
 of th'impious King to curfe thy chofen crue  
 whose fame & feare, & nombre daylie grew,  
 thou madest to ſpeake, his maifter to reprove: 95  
 & in the wifards lippes puttst wordes of love,  
 in lieu of hate; & forcedst him to bleſe  
 the race of Ifraël in the wilderneſſe,  
 in ſtede of curfinges hatched in his mind;  
 thy Sprite his tongue far otherwiſe inclinde. 100  
 So didst thou then, & ſo now canst thou doe.  
 Help me therefore this verſe to bring vnto  
 his wiſhed end: which if it be thy wil,  
 with thy ſweete hand to guide my ſkilleſſe quill,  
 & file the point of my rude ſcribbling penne; 105  
 both worke & workman I behote thee then,  
 & vow to offer to thy name for aye  
 ſoch praifes as my barraine ſtore can pay.

---

93 to curſe] to [to *deleted*] curſe HV

100 tongue] tong[*u inserted interlineally above*]e HV

## [Fragment]

See here how Mercie God him self doth make  
to come from heaven in virgines wombe to dwell,  
the cure of Adams broode to vndertake  
whom frute forbidden damned vnto hell,  
An Angell comes vnto that maide to tell  
[...]

5

## COMMENTARY

### General Note on the Commentary

In the style and formatting of commentary notes I have followed F.E. Hutchinson's edition of George Herbert's works (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941). First the line number is given, followed by the lemma (word, phrase or passage in question) in italics, followed by a gloss or comment; for example:

- l. 28. *Shepherdes*. The shepherds who worshipped the infant Christ, cf. LK 2: 8–20.  
*roial Sages*. The Magi (also known as the “wise men”, or “three kings”) who bore gifts of gold, myrrh and frankincense to the infant Christ, cf. MT 2: 1–12.  
*roial*: royal.  
*Sages*: wise people.

Line numbers are not repeated unless the first lemma comprises more than one line and the next lemma occurs in a line within that passage, as in the following example:

- ll. 11–12. *And wel ...direct my fight*. Christ ascends to Heaven because he is God and has his seat at the right hand of God the Father. The nightingale may seek him there because it is a blameless member of nature, but the poet is a sinful man and cannot enter Heaven until after physical death (if even then).  
l. 12. *pore*: poor.

In a lemma comprising more than two words in sequence or a continuous passage, ellipses are used between the head- and final word of the lemma. In longer passages this rule is relaxed to include the first few words and the last few words (see example above).

In citing the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* the full details of the location is given, using the abbreviation ‘OED’ (as elsewhere in this edition), for example:

- l. 8. *warbling*: “singing ... with ... quavering notes” (OED: warbling, *ppl.* a.<sup>1</sup>1.)

When, in reference to the pronunciation of a word, I refer to ‘Dobson’, I am referring to the second edition of E.J. Dobson's seminal two volume work, *English Pronunciation 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

When a preterite or participial “-ed” is pronounced as a separate syllable where the modern reader would expect it to be elided, the number of syllables in the word is indicated thus:

---

l. 138. *gapēd*. Disyllabic, “-ēd” voiced.

When a word or phrase is elided I observe Derek Attridge’s distinction between ‘elision by coalescence’ (in the case of vowel elision) and ‘elision by contraction’ (in the case of a ‘dropped’ vowel or consonant) as set forth in his work *The Rhythms of English Poetry* (London: Longman, 1982). The syllable count is given as follows,

l. 9. *many a*. Disyllabic by elision through coalescence.

or:

l. 14. *heven*. Monosyllabic by elision through contraction.

It has occasionally been necessary to provide phonetic transcriptions when the pronunciation of a word is called into question. The transcriptions are my own, but the orthography followed is that laid down by the editors of the 1989 print edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. I enclose the transcriptions in square brackets thus:

l. 168. *foure: sour*. Monosyllabic [saʊr], not disyllabic [saʊ-wər].

The translations of Vaux’s Latin poems are my own. I have sought to attain a balance between readability and accuracy at all times and do not pretend that the translations have any literary merit.

---

**“Certain Pöemes of m<sup>r</sup>. Henrie Vaux, sonne to the Lord Vaux” (fol. 69)**

COLLECTION TITLE. *Poëmes*: Poems.

*m<sup>r</sup>*: master.

*sonne*: son.

---

**1. “A complaint to the Nightingale, taken out of St. Bonaventure”**  
(fols. 69–73)

A reference to a nightingale in poetry calls to mind the myth of Philomel, a female figure in classical legend who, after she had been brutally raped and maimed by having her tongue cut out, metamorphosed into a nightingale through the intervention of the gods. (The tale is told in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, VI. 424–674). Following this myth, the nightingale (as a martyrological symbol of violated innocence) is Christianised in Medieval poetry into Philomena, a poetic representation of the virtuous Christian soul<sup>109</sup> suffering the evils of a fallen world and longing to be reunited with Christ in heaven.<sup>110</sup> The outrageous suffering of Philomel came to be associated with the suffering of Christ (another innocent victim of unspeakable barbarity) and the early Christian martyrs (whose martyrdom often involved maiming of some kind).<sup>111</sup> Just as Philomel’s suffering leads to her apotheosis through metamorphosis, so the outcome of Christian martyrdom is entry into heavenly bliss. As a bird the nightingale is able to cross boundaries (spatial, social – and by extension spiritual), moving across the divide caused by human sin that separates God from man. As a songbird what she utters is always pleasing and as a member of the natural world she is untainted by the corruption in human society. It is then a natural step for the imagination to see the nightingale as a mediator between God and sinners, a witness both of the woe of the world and the joy of heaven – a Mary

---

<sup>109</sup> See Thomas Bestul’s *Texts of the Passion : Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p. 63.

<sup>110</sup> For a detailed study of this tradition and its evolution from ancient literature through to the Victorian poets see Jeni Williams’s *Interpreting Nightingales: Gender, Class and Histories* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

figure praying to Christ on behalf of sinful man, uttering to him what sinners cannot or do not know how to say. Coupled with the associations of the maimed Philomel, Philomena is an apt symbol of the struggle to communicate in suffering.

The sorrow and intense suffering of Christ's mother, Mary, is a standard embellishment in Passion narratives, forming the tradition of the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa". Jeni Williams makes the following observation:

The ... emphasis on the physical suffering of the fleshly Christ was seen as part of a double, gendered passion: the blood of Christ and the tears of the Virgin mother. Thus the female victim, weeping her dead child, metaphorically pierced to the heart by the spear thrust into Christ's side, reappears at the same time as the interest in the body. The religious nightingale is no longer depicted as singing in a space outside the human but illustrates an internal division within it through its association with the weeping Virgin.

(Williams, p. 52)

Vaux's use of the nightingale as his addressee invokes a strong sense of an 'ave Maria' working as a subtext throughout the "Complaint" as the virginal songbird intercedes on behalf of sinful man.

The heightened sense of Christ's suffering conveyed in Vaux's poem is typical of the tradition of Medieval Passion poems. The concern arose largely through the profound change in religious writing and experience brought about by Franciscan thought during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries (see p. xxxviii above). The new focus on private devotion demanded a high level of emotional involvement on the part of the believer who now strove to suffer empathetically with Christ in the Passion, with Mary in her sorrow, and with the disciples (particularly Peter) in their anguish. To facilitate this empathetic quest, a plethora of Passion narratives was produced, based on the gospels and church tradition. Christian scripture itself, written by early Christian writers whose priority was evangelism and the survival of their faith rather than quiet contemplation, does not provide many details of Christ's suffering before or during the crucifixion, beyond a mere outline of events: he was scourged, mocked, beaten and crucified. The Franciscan mindset required more. Many details were gleaned from other passages of scripture, particularly from the Old Testament and most especially from Psalm 22 (21 in *Vulgate & D-R*) and the book of Isaiah. An embellishment in one narrative would often become stan-

---

<sup>111</sup> The fourth-century martyr St Romanus of Caesarea, for instance, also endured a glossectomy – as did the seventh-century Celto-Flemish martyr, St Livinus.

dard in subsequent accounts of the Passion, and a cycle of intertextual self-propagation or ‘tradition’ ensued. Each stage of the Passion was elaborated upon with additional details. In every detail Christ is made to suffer excruciatingly.<sup>112</sup> For example, in Bonaventure’s *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, when Christ’s gory garments are stripped from his scourged body they pull the newly formed scabs with them, thus reopening the wounds; according to Thomas Bestul, in John of Hoveden’s *Philomena* Christ’s hands are bound so tightly that blood spurts from his fingernails (Bestul, p. 63),<sup>113</sup> while in Bernard of Clairvaux’s *De meditatione passione Christi per septem diei horas libellus*, the holes of the cross are too far apart and Christ’s body must be stretched so that his shoulders are dislocated and his hands reach the holes (*op. cit.*, p. 55).

Apart from being “dense with biblical allusion” (*op. cit.*, p. 41), Medieval Passion poems are characterised by being “reliant upon apostrophe, direct exhortation to the reader, and interior dialogue” (*ibid.*) Like Pecham’s *Philomena* and Vaux’s “Complaint”, they are “often in carefully balanced rhymed periods, [...] designed to create a mood of intimacy with the reader and to heighten the emotional effect”. The poets express regret “for not having lived to experience directly the Passion of Christ” (*op. cit.*, p. 36), and this is “coupled with a strong desire now to be an active participant in it”, a sentiment that has its origins in the prayers of Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109) and Paul’s letter to the Galatians where he writes, “Christo confixus sum cruci” (GAL 2: 19, “With Christ I am nailed to the cross”). Of Anselm’s contribution Bestul writes,

The nature of the so-called transformation was a fresh interpretation of the Incarnation that led to a new understanding of the importance of Christ’s propitiatory sacrifice of himself as a human on behalf of the whole human race. This in turn led to a heightened emphasis on Christ’s suffering humanity, and an intense interest in all aspects of Christ’s life in human flesh [...]

(Bestul, p. 35)

“A complaint to the Nightingale” is Vaux’s longest extant poem. Contrary to what the title suggests, the poem is in fact not inspired by any writing of Bonaventure, but rather by John of Pecham’s *Philomena Praevia*. (See Appendix D for the poem with my translation, pp. 217–217). John of Pecham (1240–1292) was archbishop of Canterbury (1279–1292) and like Bonaventure also a

---

<sup>112</sup> For a fuller account of the development of this tradition from one author to the next see Bestul.

<sup>113</sup> Not to be confused with the like-named contemporary poem by John of Pecham.

Franciscan. Many of his writings, including the *Philomena Praevia* were erroneously attributed to Bonaventure, a figure who looms so large over thirteenth-century Catholic writing that more works have been ascribed to his authorship than his pen ever issued. The only critical edition of the poem is printed in the *Opera Omnia* of Bonaventure (Quaracchi: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1898).

In the *Philomena Praevia*, the poet calls upon a nightingale to convey his greetings to Christ in heaven, a place where the nightingale may go but sinful man cannot. Pecham then explains his reasons for sending the nightingale: it is because of a folktale he has heard. The tale runs that when the nightingale knows its death is near, it ascends to the topmost branch of a tree and sings from sunrise to midday (growing louder and more passionate all the while) until it suddenly rends its organs and eventually dies at the ninth hour of daylight. The tale is an allegory related to the crucifixion of Christ (who also died at the ninth hour). This story is then shown by the speaker to be useful as a guide through a day-long series of meditations on Christ's life and Passion following the four working or 'little' hours of the liturgical day (Prime, Terce, Sext and None). At Prime, as the bird alights on the tree, the reader is to reflect on the Creation and the birth of Christ; at Terce, on Christ's incarnation and his time on Earth; at Sext, when the nightingale is on the topmost branch, on Christ's sufferings during the Passion; and at None, on Christ's death. The nightingale's ascent of the tree mirrors Christ ascending the cross and serves as a guide to the reader's meditational ascent of the cross with Christ.

Pecham's poem might well have been inspired by Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, which moves chronologically through one hundred stages of Christ's incarnation (from the annunciation, through his ministry and Passion, to the ascension and sending of the Holy Spirit) and instructs the reader to meditate on particular aspects of the narrative of Christ's life. Vaux writes "A complaint to the Nightingale" as a response to Pecham's poem, but it appears likely that he was familiar with Bonaventure's *Meditationes* as well. In his response, Vaux is consumed by a personal longing to have been a participant in, and eye-witness to, the events of Christ's life. This longing is not a feature of Pecham's poem, but is the penultimate meditation (ch. XCIX) of Bonaventure's *Meditationes*, entitled: "The Exciting of Desire for the Heavenly Country through a Longing for Death".

The real similarity between Pecham's poem and Vaux's (apart from the fact that a nightingale is addressed in each and great attention is paid to the crucifixion in each) is that both poets repeatedly voice a longing to have been closely associated with Christ during his incarnation. Vaux pays far greater attention to the details of Christ's life, and his poem is structured not according to the liturgical hours, but in three parts. These are: an invocation to the nightingale (ll. 1–24) in which the speaker complains to the nightingale, lamenting his mortal separation from Christ through sin; a message for the nightingale to convey to Christ (ll. 25–180), divided into two parts: a complaint that the speaker was not a participant in Christ's life (ll. 25–144) and a lament (ll. 145–180) deploring the evil of the world without the incarnate Christ; lastly Vaux gives his salutation (ll. 181–205) and takes his leave of the nightingale.

In the complaint,<sup>114</sup> Vaux narrates the chronology of Christ's life, from birth to death and resurrection, but concentrates principally upon the Passion, focusing little on Christ's ministry, resurrection and ascension and omitting mention of the annunciation. In the lament the speaker bewails his plight as a mortal sinner separated from Christ by his innate sinfulness, particularly his frailty against the Devil's might (ll. 157–162), the world (ll. 163–168), his own flesh (ll. 169–174), and the fallenness of the world around him. After the salutation the poem concludes with the motto: "Cupio dissolvi, & esse cum CHRISTO" ('I wish to be dissolved and be with Christ'), a common Latin rendering of PHIL 1: 23: "But I am straitened between two: having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, a thing by far the better".

The "Complaint to the Nightingale" comprises thirty-four sixains in iambic pentameters with an ABABCC rhyme scheme – essentially a composite form consisting of a quatrain and a couplet (one of Vaux's favourite forms) – and concludes with a Latin postscript. The number thirty-four is possibly significant as Christ is traditionally believed to have died in his thirty-fourth year. The sixain allows Vaux more space in which to contain and structure the thoughts of a dramatic monologue than would be possible in the quatrain, while at the same time being self-contained enough for him to structure the narrative of his

---

<sup>114</sup> I make this distinction between a 'complaint' and a 'lament' because in ll. 25–144 the speaker is complaining about being denied a longed-for but impossible context, whereas in ll. 145–180 he laments his current position in a godless world. Although nice, the distinction concerns the nature of the subject: the complaint is characterised by fanciful regret, the lament by immediate fear.

thoughts and emotions logically and progressively. The couplet at the end of every stanza allows him to add a summation to the preceding four lines of discussion or description. In this regard it is worth noting that Vaux regularly punctuates the end of the stanza's fourth line with a heavy pause (using either a colon or semi-colon). The six lines of the stanza also allow (and perhaps encourage) him to employ syntactic parallelisms (particularly anaphora), as seen in the following example.

Goe, tēl my Love I langwish for his love,  
**Since he** in heven, **and I** at brinke of hel,  
**Since he** in height of roial throne above,  
**And I** in depth of wreched vale do dwell;  
**Since he** in peace, **and I** in strife and paine;  
**Since he** in blisse, **and I** in woe remaine.

(ll. 13–18)

The poem is also particularly rich in alliteration as can be seen in such lush lines as “Blindfold, bespitte, and bounst with spiteful blowes” (l. 77) and “From Caiphās courte in hast to Pilates place” (l. 85) as well as in phrases like “crown of cruēl thorne” (l. 100), “varlettes vile” (l. 101), and “hateful hel=houndes”.

TITLE. St.: Saint.

l. 2. *wonted*: usual, customary.

l. 3. *doleful*: distressful, gloomy.

ll. 5–6. *Since this ... pleade my case*. A typical rhetorical device of affected modesty: the ‘inadequacy topos’. (See Ernst Robert Curtius’s *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, pp. 83–85).

l. 5. *barrain*: barren, “Bare of intellectual wealth” (*OED*: barren, *a.* II. 6.)

*to*: too.

*base*: unworthy.

l. 6. *Sovereign Lord*. Jesus Christ.

l. 7. *melodious*. Trisyllabic by elision through coalescence.

l. 8. *warbling*: “singing [...] with [...] quavering notes” (*OED*: warbling, *ppl.* *a.*<sup>1</sup> 1.)

*hie*: high.

l. 9. *many a*. Disyllabic by elision through coalescence.

l. 10. *fainting*: fading, dying away.

*ēie*: eye.

ll. 11–12. *And wel ... direct my fight*. Christ ascends to Heaven because he is God and has his seat at the right hand of God the Father. The nightingale may seek him there because it is a blameless member of nature, but the poet is a sinful man and cannot enter Heaven until after physical death (if even then).

l. 12. *pore*: poor.

l. 13. *Love*. The speaker refers to Christ as his lover, following biblical tradition (particularly the Psalms and Song of Songs).

l. 14. *heven*. Monosyllabic by elision through contraction.

ll. 15–6. *Since he ... do dwell*. Christ is in his glory on his throne in Heaven while the poet is passing through the psalmist's "valley of the shadow of death" (AV, Ps 23: 4, *Vulgate* & *D-R*: Ps 22: 4).

l. 16. *vale*: valley.

l. 17. *peace*. Heaven is a place of rest and Christ is the "Prince of Peace" (ISA 9: 6).

*strife*. The struggle of trying not to sin, while being naturally sinful.

l. 18. *blisse*. The joy of Heaven.

*woe*. The woe of being innately sinful.

l. 19. *him*. Christ.

*lacke*: be without, not to have.

*dere*: beloved, precious.

l. 20. *want of fode*. This is possibly a reference to recusants being unable to enjoy the sacrament of holy communion regularly but only occasionally (and then only in secret and at great personal peril from the law). Cf. ll. 148–149 n.

*fode*: food.

*wel of blisse most clere*. Christ is the well of "living water", the source of pure joy. Cf. JN 4: 13–14.

l. 22. *tired*. Disyllabic, "–ēd" voiced.

l. 23. *wæale*: weal, well-being, welfare. Rhymed with "faile" (l. 24), see Dobson, p. 413.

l. 24. *ioyes*: joys.

l. 25. *ne*. An archaism frequently used by Vaux for 'not' or 'nor' (*OED*: †*ne*, *adv.*<sup>1</sup> and *conj.*)

*ne liv'd*: did not live.

- l. 27. *Bethlem*: Bethlehem. Disyllabic.

*Bethlem borne*. Cf. MT 2: 1 & LK 2: 4–6.

*poerly*: poorly.

*couch't*: couched, laid.

*poerly ... hay*. Cf. LK 2: 7.

- l. 28. *Shepherdes*. The shepherds who worshipped the infant Christ, cf. LK 2: 8–20.

*roial Sages*. The Magi (also known as the “wise men”, or “three kings”) who bore gifts of gold, myrrh and frankincense to the infant Christ, cf. MT 2: 1–12.

*roial*: royal.

*Sages*: wise men.

- ll. 29–30. *Or in his Circumcision ... woful dede*. Cf. Bonaventure, ch. VIII, “Of the Circumcision, and Weeping of our Lord”.

- l. 29. *Circumcision*. Cf. LK 2: 21.

- l. 31. *Ne yet*: nor yet.

*Simeon*. An elderly man who took the infant Jesus into his arms in the Temple and praised God that he had seen salvation brought to Israel. His prayer of thanksgiving for having lived to see the Messiah (see the ‘Nunc dimittis’, LK 2: 29–32) forms part of the office of Compline (said before retiring to bed). Disyllabic by elision through coalescence. Cf. ll. 7–12 of Southwell’s “The Presentation”,

Old Simeon, cheape penny worth and sweete  
Obteind when thee in armes he did imbrace,  
His weeping eies thy smiling lookes did meete,  
Thy love his heart, thy kisses blest his face,  
O eies, O hart, meane sights and loves avoyde,  
Base not your selves, your best you have enjoyde.

- l. 33. *Ægyptward*: to Egypt; cf. MT 2: 13–14.

- l. 34. *Saviour*. Christ.

- l. 35. *learned Doctours*. The Jewish teachers of the law in the Temple of Jerusalem with whom Christ discussed the Jewish Law when still a mere boy. See LK 2: 41–51.

*learned*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

- ll. 37–38. *Wold Gód ... dere.* Of Christ’s adolescence and early manhood we know virtually nothing, except that it was presumably spent in Nazareth, since he is referred to as coming from there.
- l. 37. *Wold:* would that, if only.
- Nazareth.* Ancient town in northern Israel where Jesus grew up. Cf. MT 2: 23.
- l. 39. *Iordanes:* Jordan’s. The river between present-day Jordan and Israel in which John the Baptist baptised Jesus. Cf. MT 3: 13–17, MK 1: 9–11, LK 3: 21–22, JN 1: 31–34.
- bancke:* bank (riverbank).
- l. 40. *Iohn:* John the Baptist, prophet and harbinger of Christ’s coming, cf. l. 39 n. above.
- Lambe.* Christ. Cf. JN 1: 29.
- l. 41. *Fathers:* Father’s.
- Fathers voice.* Cf. MT 3: 13–17, MK 1: 9–11, LK 3: 21–23, JN 1: 29–39.
- l. 42. *holie Ghost.* the Holy Spirit, third person of the Trinity. Cf. JN 16: 13–15.
- Dove.* At his baptism Jesus “saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove, and coming upon him” (MT 3: 16).
- fourme:* form, shape.
- l. 42. *ev’ry wheare:* everywhere.
- ll. 43–48. *What comfort ... each day?* These lines make brief mention of Christ’s teaching ministry.
- l. 46. *humbled oft ... pray?* Christ is mentioned several times as going apart to pray (cf. MT 14: 23, 26: 36, 26: 39, MK 1: 35, LK 22: 41, & JN 17: 1).
- l. 47. *yæld rælif ... paine.* This refers to Christ’s many acts of healing such as that of a demon-possessed man (MK 1: 21–28; LK 4: 31–37), a leper (MT 8: 2–4; MK 1: 40–45; LK 5: 12–16); and a paralytic (MT 9: 2–8; MK 2: 1–12; LK 5: 17–26).
- yæld:* yield.
- l. 48. *voice ... dead.* This refers to Christ’s acts of bringing the dead back to life. For Christ’s raising of Lazarus, see JN 11: 1–46.
- ll. 49–50. *With Magdalein ... blame.* Nowhere in scripture is it recorded that it was Mary Magdalene who anointed Christ and washed his feet, but Christian tradition has often identified her as such. Cf. Bonaventure, ch. LXX, “How the Lord Jesus returned to Bethany,

where Mary Magdalene anointed His Feet”, MK 14: 3, and LK 7: 37–38.

- l. 49. *Magdalein*: Mary Magdalene, a follower of Christ, see LK 8: 2; in Christian tradition, the exemplar of the contrite sinner.
- ll. 51–54. *Or with the rest ... Ofanna fwete*. These lines refer to Christ’s triumphant entry into Jerusalem. Christians commemorate this event on Palm Sunday (the last Sunday before Easter). Cf. MT 21: 1–17, MK 11: 1–11, LK 19: 29–44, JN 12: 12–19.
- ll. 52–54. *Sion ... fwete*. Cf. JN 12: 12–16.
- l. 52. *Sion*. Zion, metonym for Jerusalem (as in 2 SAM 5: 7) and often for heaven.
- l. 53. *bowes*: boughs, branches.
- l. 54. *Ofanna*: Hosanna, an exclamation of praise to God (MT 21: 9 & 15; MK 11: 9–10; JN 12: 13). Originally a call for salvation, cf. Ps 118: 25 (Ps 117 in *D-R & Vulgate*).
- l. 55. *pretious banqwet*. The Last Supper (see MT 26: 26–29, MK 14: 12–25, LK 22: 7–20, & JN 13: 1–8).
- pretious*: precious.
- banqwet*: banquet.
- l. 57. *mysteriēs*. The Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation states that through a heavenly mystery the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine become the actual flesh and blood of Christ during the Mass.
- l. 60. *Iefus lap*: Jesus’ lap. This is a reference to the disciple of Jesus “whom he loved” (JN 13: 23), usually assumed to be St John the Evangelist.
- ll. 61–78. *Yet more I mourne ... among his foes*. These lines relate Christ’s agony in Gethsemane, his arrest and appearance before the Chief Priest and the Jewish Sanhedrin (the highest tribunal of the Hellenistic Jews). See MT 26: 36–75, MK 14: 43–65, LK 22: 47–53, JN 18: 1–14 & 19–24.
- l. 61. *ne felt*: did not feel.
- l. 62. *painēs*: scourging and crucifixion, cf. MT 27: 27–56, MK 15: 15–41, LK 23: 26–47 & JN 19: 1–30.
- endured*. Trisyllabic, “-ed” voiced.
- l. 63. *drēde*: dread, fear.
- l. 64. *irke*: irk, weary.

*cuppe of death.* In his prayers in Gethsemane on the eve of his Passion, Christ refers to his imminent suffering and death as “ποτήριον” (LK 22: 42), a ‘drink’ (or “cup” as the *Vulgate* (“callicem”), *D-R*, and *AV* translate it).

l. 65. *praid*: prayed.

ll. 65–66. *praid ... a pace.* Cf. LK 22: 44.

l. 66. *bloudie*: bloody. Bloody here means ‘blood-like’ following the simile in LK 22: 44, “And his sweat became **as** drops of blood” (*D-R*), found as a simile in both the *Vulgate* (“Et factus est sudor eius **sicut** guttae sanguinis”) and the original Greek (“καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος”).

*a pace*: apace, swiftly.

l. 67. *forfaken*: abandoned. Christ’s disciples fled the garden of Gethsemane in fear when he was arrested. See MT 26: 56. Disyllabic through elision by contraction (‘k’ suppressed), cf. l. 69 n. below.

l. 68. *With ... light.* Cf. MT 26: 47 & Mk 14: 51. In its Roman context this list of late-Medieval weapons is anachronistic.

*battes*: bats, clubs.

*billes*: bills, long handled axe-like weapons similar to halberds, used by infantry.

*glaiues*: broadswords, or halberd-like pole-arms with curved blades at the tip.

l. 69. *taken.* Monosyllabic by contraction (‘k’ suppressed), cf. l. 67 n. above.

ll. 69–76. *my libertie ... my Life.* Rather than a change in speaker or person, these phrases should be understood to mean ‘Christ is my liberty and my life’. Without Christ’s crucifixion there could be no redemption for mankind, i.e. no liberty from sin or hope of eternal life. Cf. “Fathers Woord” (l. 91).

ll. 70–71. *brought ... house.* Cf. JN 18: 13.

l. 71. *Annas house*: Annas’ house.

*Annas*: High priest of Jerusalem (6–15 AD), see JN 18: 13.

l. 72. *blowe ... cheke.* Cf. JN 18: 22.

l. 73. *Caiphaz*: Caiaphas’, the son-in-law to Annas and the High priest of Jerusalem from 18–37 AD, cf. MT 26: 57 & JN 18: 24. Disyllabic by elision through coalescence.

*driven*. Monosyllabic by elision through contraction.

*anone*: later. Rhymed with “none” (l. 76), see Dobson, p. 505.

ll. 74–75. *Where flaundred ... appered none*. Cf. MT 26: 59–61 & MK 14: 56.

l. 74. *flaundred*: slandered.

l. 75. *appered*. Trisyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

ll. 76–77. *Guiltles ... blowes*. Cf. MT 26: 66–67, MK 14: 65, LK 22: 63–65, & JN 18: 22.

l. 76. *Guiltles ... die*. This line begins with a trochee:

/    ˘    ˘    /    ˘    /    ˘    /    ˘    /  
Guilt-les, a-las, they iudge my Life to die.

*my Life*: Christ. As the poet’s saviour from eternal damnation, Christ is his life.

l. 77. *Blindfold ... blowes*. This line begins with a trochee (cf. l. 76 n. above):

/    ˘    ˘    /    ˘    /    ˘    /    ˘    /  
Blind-fold, be-spitte, and bounst with spite-ful blowes.

*Blindfold*: blindfolded, cf. MK 14: 65 & LK 22: 64.

*bespitte*: having been spat upon. *OED* does not list a passive usage of ‘bespit’.

*bounst*: having been beaten (see *OED*: bounce, *v.* I.) .

ll. 79–84. *Peter ... times*. Cf. MT 26: 31–35, 69–75; MK 14: 66–72; LK 22: 54–62; & JN 18: 15–18, 25–27.

l. 80. *fondrie*: sundry; several, various. The speaker confesses that like Peter he has also denied Christ, although indirectly, through his failure to adhere to Christ’s commandments.

ll. 85–102. *From Caiphaz ... sacred face*. Cf. LK 22: 66–71 & MT 26–31.

l. 85. *hast*: haste.

*Pilates*: Pilate’s. Pontius Pilate, Roman procurator of Judaea (26–36 AD).

*place*: palace. The Roman governor’s residence in Jerusalem.

ll. 85–86. *From Caiphaz ... mode*. Cf. MK 15: 1, LK 23: 1, & JN 18: 28.

l. 86. *hale*: drag.

*felonious*: criminal. Trisyllabic by elision through coalescence.

*mode*: manner.

l. 87. *forged crimes*. Cf. MK 15: 3 & LK 23: 2.

*forged*: made, done, fashioned, but possibly Vaux is playing on the alternative meaning of ‘forged’ with its connotations of deception. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

- l. 88. *mute*: silent. Jesus made no response to the false accusations brought against him, cf. MT 27: 14 & MK 15: 5.  
*stode*: stood. Rhymed with “mode” (l. 86), see Dobson, p. 676 n. 1.
- ll. 89–90. *Who finding ... to toile*. Cf. LK 23: 4–7.
- l. 89. *ne*: did not.  
*bred*: began.  
*broile*: broil; quarrel.
- ll. 91–92. *The Fathers ... abuse*. Cf. LK 23: 11.
- l. 91. *Fathers*: Father’s.  
*Woord*: Word. Christ is called the λόγος in JN 1: 1 ff.  
*flowte*: flout; “A mocking speech or action” (*OED*: flout, *n.*<sup>1</sup>)
- l. 92. *galauntes*: gallants; men “of fashion and pleasure” (*OED*: gallant, *a.* and *n.* B. *n.* 1. a.)
- ll. 93–96. *Their Lord ... die*. Cf. MT 27: 15–26, MK 15: 12–15, LK 23: 18–24, & JN 18: 38–40.
- l. 93. *In discardes ... led about*. Cf. Lk 23: 11, “And Herod with his army set him at nought and mocked him, putting on him a white garment: and sent him back to Pilate”.  
*discardes*: discard’s, vagrant’s.  
*wede*: weed, clothing.
- l. 94. *their Lord and King*. Christ was the Messiah, the saviour of the Jews, whose advent was foretold by several Old Testament prophets.  
*franticke*: frantic, crazed.  
*Iewes*: Jews. In much Christian tradition, the people blamed for seeking Christ’s death.
- l. 95. *crie*: cry.  
*Barabbas*. Dactyl. The primary stress is on the first syllable [ˈBæ-rə-bis], not the second.
- l. 96. *thefe*: thief.  
*Iefus*: Jesus.  
*nedes*: needs, necessarily, must.
- l. 99. *Saviours*: Saviour’s.  
*scourges*: whip blows. Cf. LK 23: 16 & JN 19: 1.
- l. 100. *bessette*: beset, surrounded “with hostile intent” (*OED*: beset, *v.* 2.)  
*crowne ... thorne*. Cf. MT 27: 29.

- l. 101. *varlettes*: varlets, servants, rogues (*OED*: varlet, 1. & 2.)
- l. 102. *With reede ... face*. Cf. MT 27: 30.
- ll. 105–106. *Vpon ... groane?* Victims of Roman crucifixion were sometimes made to carry their crosses in order to tire them and thus hasten their deaths. Cf. MT 27: 32, MK 15: 21, LK 23: 26, & JN 19: 17. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*: crucifixion.
- l. 106. *fiftene fote*: fifteen foot. The significance of the number fifteen is unclear here. There is no reference in the New Testament to Christ's cross being fifteen feet in height. Bonaventure mentions that "Tradition says the cross was fifteen feet high" (*Meditationes*, ch. LXXVII, p. 264). Fifteen does have several religious symbolisms that might have been known to Vaux and/or Bonaventure. There were fifteen steps between the Ezrat Nashim (the women's courtyard) and the Temple Courtyard in Jerusalem. On these steps the Levites (the Jewish priestly caste) stood and sang during the offering of sacrifices. For each step the Levites ascended they sang a different psalm – the 'gradual' psalms, Ps 120–134 (Ps 119–133 in *D-R* and *Vulgate*). Another symbolism of fifteen is that in the Hebrew numbering system, this number is not written as a compound of ten and five (yod, י, and he, ה) because this spells out the first two letters of the tetragrammaton (the unutterable name of God), Yahweh or Jehovah (יהוה – yod-he-vav-he), and the number is instead written as a compound of nine and six (tet, ט, and vav, ו). Alastair Fowler notes, "fifteen [...] conventionally signifie[s] ascent to heaven" (Fowler, p. 173) and this could be related to Christ's cross in that through Christ's Passion on the cross, mankind can enter into heaven. Not all of these interpretations are particularly pertinent to the poem. Vaux is probably following Bonaventure or tradition.
- l. 107. *Quene of heven ... Maide and Mother pure*: the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus, a symbol of purity and devotion in Christianity and especially amongst Roman Catholics who afford her primacy amongst the saints.
- ll. 109–110. *To fee ... at ones*. This reference to flesh and skin being plucked off with clothing is not found in the New Testament. According to

Thomas H. Bestul in *Texts of the Passion* this detail is supplied in a Passion narrative (of disputed authorship) entitled *De meditatione passione Christi per septem diei horas libellus*. He explains it as follows: “his clothing ... had stuck to his body because of the blood from the scourging [and] was ripped off” (Bestul, p. 55).

- l. 110. *ones*: once. Rhymed with “bones” (l. 112), see Dobson, p. 405.
- l. 111. *racke*: rack, “To stretch the joints of (a person) by tugging or pulling, esp. with intention to cause severe pain” – as on the torturer’s rack (*OED*: rack, *v.*<sup>3</sup> 1.) This is probably an adherence to a tradition in Medieval Passion narratives that Christ’s arms were stretched in order to reach the nail-holes, expounded most notably by Ludolphus of Saxony in his *Vita Christi*. See Bestul, p. 59.
- l. 112. *sone*: soon.  
*nombred*: numbered, counted. Vaux follows another common tradition in Passion narratives here, alluding to Ps 22: 17 (*D-R*: Ps 21: 18) which is often understood to be prophetic of Christ’s crucifixion and is consequently the most quoted psalm in the New Testament (according to the editors of the *NIV Study Bible*). In the *D-R* the verse reads “They have numbered all my bones”, translating the *Vulgate*’s “Numeravi omnia ossa mea”. As Christ was stripped naked before he was crucified, his ribs would have been visible under his skin. Authors of Passion narratives traditionally maintained that “Christ’s body was so stretched that all his bones could be seen” (Bestul, p. 148).
- l. 113. *boistrous*: “painfully rough [...] violent” (*OED*: boisterous, *adj.* †4. & †6.)
- l. 114. *handes ... boare*. That Christ was nailed to the cross rather than tied is suggested by Thomas’s request to see the holes in his hands (JN 20: 25).  
*boare*: bore, pierce.
- l. 115. *With roapes ... hie*. If Christ was nailed to the cross while it was lying on the ground then once he was attached to it it would have to be hoisted up with ropes so as to stand vertically.
- l. 116. *And rudely ... fall*. Once raised, the base of the cross would have been dropped into a slot in the ground to keep it upright. Such a jolting action would undoubtedly result in immense pain for the crucified

person. The alleged miracle of Christ's cross falling and levitating above the ground would have been unknown to Vaux unless he knew of the apocryphal Gospel of Mary Magdalene, the MS. of which was first discovered in 1896.

ll. 117–120. *Even senselesse ... wonted light*. At the time of Christ's death there was a solar eclipse (cf. MT 27: 45, MK 15: 33 & LK 23: 44) and an earthquake (cf. MT 27: 51), understood by Christians to be a portent of the cosmic significance of Christ's death. See l. 118 n. and ll. 119–120 n. below.

l. 117. *Even*. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

l. 118. *The Earth ... withal*. Cf. MT 27: 54.

*rive*: tear apart.

*withal*: "Along with the rest; in addition; besides; moreover; likewise; as well" (*OED*: *withal*, *adv.* and *prep.* A. 1.)

ll. 119–120. *The Sunne ... light*. Cf. MT 27: 45, MK 15: 33, & LK 23: 44.

ll. 123–124. *Whose filthy ... procur'd*. A central tenet of Christian doctrine. The Catholic version of the Nicene Creed states "propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de coelis [...] Crucifixus etiam pro nobis" ("Credo", *Sarum Rite*) – "he descended from heaven for us men and for our salvation [...] He was also crucified for us" (my translation).

l. 123. *procur'd*. Christ's salvation of man is often described in fiscal terms like 'redemption'. The speaker here refers to the exchange Christ made of his life for that of mankind.

l. 124. *by right*. Without redemption, mankind is destined for eternal damnation through his innate sinfulness.

l. 125. *luck*. By the doctrine of Predestination, the election of the saved and the damned is seemingly arbitrary and therefore a matter of luck.

*prove*. Half-rhymed with "love" (l. 126), see Dobson, p. 325 & pp. 509–510 n., and cf. "Vp drowzie Mufe", l. 96 n., as well as ll. 13–14 of Shakespeare's Sonnet 32

But since he died and poets better prove,  
Theirs for their style I'll read, his for his love.

On the other hand in northern English 'love' is still pronounced [lʊv].

- l. 126. *little*. Here Vaux apparently means, ‘I was not so fortunate as to cause Christ only a little pain but instead have caused him a great deal of pain’.
- ll. 127–130. *Why could I not with Ioseph ... did procure*. Cf. MT 27: 57–60, MK 15: 46, LK 23: 50–56, & JN 19: 38–42.
- l. 127. *Ioseph*. Joseph of Arimathea who buried Christ’s body in the tomb he had prepared for himself.
- fæeres*: feres, companions. Nicodemus (JN 19: 39), women from Galilee (LK 23: 55), Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of Joseph (MK 15: 47, MT 27: 61) – probably the Galilean women of St Luke’s account – are all said to have accompanied Joseph of Arimathea in his burial of Jesus.
- ll. 131–132. *Why could I not have bought ... Lord appere*. Mary Magdalene, when confronted by Christ beside the tomb at first did not recognise him and assumed him to be the gardener. Cf. MK 16: 9–11 & JN 20: 11–16.
- l. 131. *have bought*: “Ransomed, gained by a sacrifice” (see *OED*: bought, *ppl. adj. b. fig.*)
- ll. 134–5. *With Magdaleine ... at least*. Cf. MK 16: 1 & JN 20: 1.
- l. 134. *least*. Rhymed with “gueast” (l. 136), see Dobson, p. 471.
- ll. 135–136. *Or els ... loving gueast*: Christ’s appearance to two disciples on the road to Emmaus. Cf. LK 24: 31–35.
- l. 135. *entretaind*: entertained.
- l. 136. *gueast*: guest.
- ll. 137–138. *I might ... gaped wide*. These lines refer to Thomas’s doubting of Christ’s resurrection. Cf. LK 24: 39–40, JN 20: 20.
- l. 138. *gaped*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.
- ll. 139–144. *Why went I not ... to walke the world about?* These lines refer to Christ’s ascension into heaven. Cf. LK 24: 50–53 & ACTS 1: 3–8.
- ll. 141–142. *When rich ... into blisse*. Following 1 PT 3: 19, the Apostles’ Creed states “descendit ad inferna”. Christians commonly believe that Christ descended into Hell between the time of his crucifixion and resurrection and “brought salvation to the souls held captive there since the beginning of the world” (*CE*: Harrowing of Hell).

- ll. 143–144. *Leaving his ... world about*. Cf. MT 28: 16–20, MK 16: 19–20, & LK 24: 50–53.
- l. 143. *route*: rout, “A disorderly, tumultuous, or disreputable crowd of persons”, but also “Riot, disturbance, stir, uproar” (*OED*: rout, *n.*<sup>1</sup> 8.)
- ll. 145–198. *Wherfore fith ... where God is al in al*. These stanzas form a personal reflection on the part of the speaker. They do not directly rely on a particular section of the *Meditationes*, but rather form a response to that work.
- ll. 148–149. *A fov'reign ... I meane*. The sacrament of Holy Communion.
- l. 148. *salve*: “A remedy (esp. for spiritual disease, sorrow, and the like)” (*OED*: salve, *n.*<sup>1</sup> 2. a.)
- l. 149. *meane*: think, consider. Rhymed with “paine” (l. 150), see Dobson, p. 773.
- l. 154. *desfert*: wilderness, desolate place. For the speaker earth is a desert because it is no longer inhabited by the incarnate Christ.
- loathfome life*. The speaker here voices the common Medieval sentiment of ‘contemptus mundi’ (contempt for the world) found in such poems as “Where beth they, beforen us weren” (Davies, p. 56) and “Why is the world beloved, that fals is and vain” (Davies, p. 173).
- l. 155. *bestadde*: bestead, beset (with foes).
- l. 157. *Fæend*: fiend, Satan.
- deceite*. Rhymed with “waite” (l. 159), see Dobson, pp. 241 & 650.
- l. 160. *thrall*: “One who is in bondage to some power or influence” (*OED*: thrall, *n.*<sup>1</sup> (a.<sup>1</sup>) I. 1. b. *fig.*)
- l. 162. *firie*: fiery. Disyllabic by suppression of diaeresis.
- l. 163. *gawdes*: gauds, “device[s] to deceive” but also “Showy ceremonies, ‘pomps and vanities’” (*OED*: gaud, *n.*<sup>2</sup> †1.)
- l. 164. *Eftfone*: again, soon afterwards.
- l. 165. *mayne*: main, “physical strength” (*OED*: main, *n.*<sup>1</sup> I. 1. a.)
- l. 166. *ruine*. Disyllabic through diaeresis.
- l. 167. *loure*: lour (also spelt ‘lower’), “To frown, scowl; to look angry or sullen” (*OED*: lour, lower, *v.* 1.) Monosyllabic through suppression of diaeresis.
- l. 168. *profreth*: “utters” (*OED*: profer, *v.* 1.) and possibly ‘proffers’ with the meaning of to “propose or suggest a course of action”. It is

unlikely that it means to “attempt to inflict (injury, a blow, etc.)”  
(*OED*: proffer, *v.* †3.)

*foure*: sour. Monosyllabic [saʊr], not disyllabic [ˈsaʊ-wər].

- l. 169. *My Flesh is fraile*. Cf. “The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak” (MT 26: 41).
- l. 175. *Sprite*: Spirit.
- l. 176. *fmally*: “In only a slight or small degree; to a small or limited extent; not much, very little” (*OED*: smally, *adv.* 3. a.)
- l. 180. *clofe*: “Of closed or shut up state or condition” (*OED*: close, *a.* and *adv.* A. *adj.* I.)
- l. 181. *grefes*: griefs. The preceding complaints about not being a contemporaneous participant in the life of Christ.
- l. 184. *piteous*. Disyllabic by elision through coalescence.
- l. 196. *glorious*. Disyllabic by elision through coalescence.
- ll. 199–205. *Meane while ... gaine to die*. Cf. Bonaventure ch. XCIX, “The Exciting of Desire for the Heavenly Country through a Longing for Death”.
- l. 199. *Meane while*: meanwhile.  
*hevenly*. Disyllabic by elision through contraction.
- l. 200. *forte*: sort, “Manner, method, or way” (*OED*: sort, *n.*<sup>2</sup> III.)  
*steale*: “To gain possession of, or to entice away (a person’s heart, affections, etc.)” (*OED*: steal, *v.*<sup>1</sup> 4. f.) Rhymed with “qwaile” (l. 202). Dobson is unhelpful here, but presumably this is also a result of the great vowel shift by which the Modern English [sti:l] would have been pronounced as [stɛ:l] in the sixteenth century as it still is in the English spoken in Ireland.
- l. 205. *Cupio ... CHRISTO*. This line is not in verse but is a common adaptation of PHIL 1: 23 in the *Vulgate* and translates, ‘I desire to be dissolved and be with Christ’. Cf. PHIL 1: 23: “coartor autem e duobus desiderium habens dissolvi et cum Christo esse multo magis melius” (*Vulgate*; the *D-R* translates this as “But I am straitened between two: having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, a thing by far the better”). Compare also ll. 1–6 of Southwell’s “Marie Magdalens complaint at Christs death”,

---

Sith my life from life is parted:  
 Death come take thy portion.  
 Who survives, when life is muredred,  
 Lives by meere extortion.  
 All that live, and not in God:  
 Couch their life in deaths abod.

---

## 2. “A Lamentation of a Sinner” (fols. 73<sup>v</sup>–74<sup>v</sup>)

Fear of the Final Judgement is a common subject in Medieval poetry, some prime examples of which are “Gay, gay, gay, gay / Think on dredful Domesday” (Davies, p. 156), “Passio Christi conforta me” (Davies, p. 171) and Dunbar’s “I that in heill wes, and gladnes”. Christ’s redemptive act in dying on the cross for the sins of mankind is the supreme cure for sin. In this poem the speaker addresses himself to Christ as witness to his struggle against his own sinful nature. He asks how he should make his defence at the final judgement when all his sins are laid bare before the saints who overcame worse spiritual obstacles than he has had to face. The speaker is aware that he will be accused not just by these holy judges but also by the people he has failed and by his own conscience. He therefore sees his condemnation as inevitable. He admits his own culpability and confesses his sins and his failure to be truly good. Only two of the seven cardinal sins in his accusation against himself, viz. wrath and sloth, are absent. Following the tradition of the Medieval morality plays (particularly *Everyman*) Vaux personifies his sins as acquaintances – “frændes” (l. 51), “Lordes” (l. 53) and “masters” (l. 55) – fully cognisant and repentant of his fault in succumbing to them. Deeply convinced of his sin and guilt, he acknowledges that he is entirely dependent on Christ’s redemption if he is to be saved for service to God in heaven and he earnestly entreats Christ to forgive him. Throughout this poem Vaux employs the conceit of the court-room, using the terms “plea” (l. 5), “fummons” (l. 6), “iudge” (l. 7), “sentence” (l. 14), “cafe” (l. 18), “witnessse” (l. 22), “accufe” (l. 30), “fræeman” (l. 50), “counfels” (l. 51), “lawlesse Lords” (l. 53, a play on “law lords”), and “guilt” (l. 66).

This poem (which may not be by Vaux – see Textual Introduction, p. liv ff.) comprises six twelve-line stanzas each written in triple short metre. The second and fourth line of every quatrain rhyme, and although other rhymes and half-rhymes do occasionally occur elsewhere, these are irregular and probably coincidental. Once again Vaux makes copious use of parallelisms.

- l. 1. *foverein falve for finne*: the blood of Christ which is the supreme cure for sin. Through his Passion Christ provides remission of guilt for penitent sinners.
- foverein*: sovereign, supreme; but also ‘powerfully healing’ (see *OED*: sovereign, *n.* & *a.* II. 3.)
- l. 4. *unfold*: straighten out, disentangle.
- l. 8. *geve*: give.
- l. 22. *beare*. Rhymed with “appere”, see Dobson, p. 615.
- l. 23. *fruitlesse*: fruitless. Etymologically ‘fruit’ is derived from the Latin ‘fructus’ via Old French ‘fruit’ or ‘fruit’ (see *OED*: fruit, *n.*, FORMS), hence Vaux’s strange (although not uncommon) spelling of the word.
- l. 26. *amazed*. Trisyllabic, “-ed” voiced.
- ll. 29–33. *My Conscience ... thefe newes*. Vaux’s conscience and secret thoughts are the “frendes” he mentions in l. 51.
- l. 30. *flattely*: flatly, “without ambiguity, ...; plainly, bluntly” (*OED*: flatly, *adv.* 3. a.)
- ll. 33–48. *Mine Avarice ... opresse my mind*. Vaux’s avarice, pride, envy, concupiscence, lust, and greed (all cardinal sins), along with his other natural desires are the “Lordes” and “masters” he refers to in ll. 53 & 55.
- l. 33. *Avarice*: “Inordinate desire of acquiring and hoarding wealth” (*OED*: avarice).
- l. 34. *bragge*. Possibly an error by the copyist for ‘dragge’. This would furnish a better sense construction, but I would argue *lectio difficilior*: “My Pride doth bragge me downe” continues the wordplay initiated in the previous line: “Mine Avarice doth bribe”. The meaning then of “My Pride doth bragge me downe” is that the sin of pride leads to the sin of boasting.
- l. 35. *frettes*: wastes, corrodes, wears down (see *OED*: fret, *v.*<sup>1</sup> 3. b.)
- l. 37. *Concupiscence*: “Eager or vehement desire; ... the coveting of ‘carnal things’”, especially “[l]ibidinous desire” (*OED*: concupiscence, 2.). In Catholic moral theology concupiscence is understood to be the opposition of appetite against reason (see *CE*: Concupiscence).

- l. 39. *Mēate*: food.  
*burthen*: burden, to “encumber” but also “To charge (a person) with (an accusation)” (*OED*: burden, burthen, *v.* 1. b.)
- l. 41. *Sclandres*: slanders.  
*fame*: reputation, but also playing on the Latin ‘fama’ (rumour).
- l. 42. *Ambicion*: ambition.
- l. 44. *for want*: due to a lack of.
- l. 45. *flattery*. Disyllabic by elision through contraction.
- l. 46. *vnkind*: unnatural.
- ll. 47–48. *My Pleasures ... my mind*. Vaux distinguishes here between sins of the body and sins of the mind.
- l. 47. *runne me out of breath*: exhaust me. The pleasures of the flesh exhaust the speaker who consequently is left without energy for God’s work.
- l. 50. *freeman*: One “who is personally free; ... [and] not a slave or serf” (*OED*: freeman, *n.* 1.), but also ‘free man’ as in one who has been acquitted. God may ‘free’ the speaker from the bonds of mortal sin and eternal damnation if the speaker is penitent and resolved to serve God and not his own earthly desires.
- l. 53. *lawlesse Lordes*. Lords who know no restraint and do not submit to the king (in this case, God). This is also a play on a feature of the English judiciary: the House of Lords in the English (and subsequently British) parliament, in addition to being the highest legislative body of the country, acts as one of the highest courts of appeal in the land and traditionally tried peers of the realm; only certain of its members are qualified to participate in judicial affairs and these are known as ‘Law Lords’ (currently consisting of the judges of the Court of Appeal and the High Court of Justice). Vaux’s accusers are his own vices which he terms “lawlesse Lordes” because they work his destruction by overpowering his fortitude.
- l. 55. *madde*: mad.  
*hestes*: behests, commands, injunctions. Cf. “Vp drowzie Mufe”, l. 12 n.
- ll. 57–58. *my fal ... most foule ... folie first did frame*. The alliteration of these lines emphasises the crux of Vaux’s dilemma that it is through his own wilful stupidity that he sins.

- l. 58. *folie*: folly. The subject of “frame” is “folie” and not “fal” (l. 57).  
*frame*: bring about.
- l. 60. *bredeth*: is “brought into existence” and developed (*OED*: breed, *v.* I. 4.)
- ll. 61–64. *Now do I loke ... mine owne disgrace*: ‘Now I look on your glory, separated from you by my shame and self-loathing, so that I may recognise my fault.’
- l. 61. *a loofe*: aloof, apart from; cf. “a pace” in “A complaint to the Nightingale”, l. 66 n.
- l. 62. *hateful*: in self-reproach.  
*blushing*: out of shame.
- l. 65. *spottes*: spots, moral stains, especially disgraces (*OED*: spot, *n.*<sup>1</sup> I. 1. a.)
- ll. 67–72. *Vnlesse thou wash ... swete service spent*. Both the image of being washed in the blood of Christ and the appeal to henceforth serve God in trueness of heart are common in the rhetoric of many hymns.
- l. 67. *Vnlesse*: unless.
- l. 70. *hart*: heart.
- l. 71. *graunt*: grant, allow.  
*daies*: days.

---

### 3. “In hope patience” (fols. 74<sup>v</sup>–75)

This poem is the first of a series of short meditative or devotional lyrics. As in “A Lamentation of a Sinner” the poet uses short metre. The poem fits into the tradition of consolation poems inspired by Ecclesiastes 3 and the concept of the wheel of fortune (common in classical, Medieval and Renaissance poetry) whereby fortune and misfortune alternate in a cycle (see “No trust in Fortune”, l. 13 n.) The poem may be compared with Robert Southwell’s “Times go by turns” in its central idea of the ebb and flow of fortune (see Critical Introduction, p. xli). The title is adapted from 1 THESS 1: 3 in which St Paul refers to the Thessalonians’ “sustinētiaē spei” (*Vulgate*) or “patience of hope” (*AV*).

The poem is structured simply into six stanzas, stanzas 1–5 forming a list of examples of possible instances of change in nature and human affairs. In the first three stanzas these changes are from misfortune or ignominy to resurrection and prominence, while in stanzas 4–5 they are changes from fortune to

misfortune. In the final stanza the speaker concludes in an envoi that he will accept the hazard of chance and fortune that is assigned to him, a resolution between the conflicting notions of chance (or fortune) and divine order. Like “A Lamentation of a Sinner” the authorship of this poem is uncertain (see Textual Introduction, p. liv ff.)

l. 1. *Dispifed*: despised. Trisyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

l. 2. *pine*: languish, waste away (often with longing, see *OED*: pine, v. 3. a.)

l. 3. *oft*: often.

*fete*: feet.

l. 4. *yet*: again.

*rise againe*. An allusion to the Christian belief in resurrection and to the resilience of true believers, cf. ISA 40: 31, “But they that hope in the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall take wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint”.

ll. 5–8. *The stone ... ev'ry eie*. This image is an echo of Ps 118: 22 (*D-R*: 117: 22), “The stone which the builders rejected; the same is become the head of the corner”, taken in the New Testament to be a prophecy of Christ’s elevation to glory (see LK 20: 17, 1 PET 2: 7, & ACTS 4: 11).

l. 5. *ful*: fully, completely (see *OED*: full, a., n.3, adv. B. 1. a.)

l. 7. *Towre*. Monosyllabic by elision through contraction.

l. 8. *ev'ry*: every. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

l. 9. *rotēs*: roots.

*rēdēs*: reeds.

l. 10. *fene*: seen.

l. 11. *tide*. Vaux deliberately chooses this word for its connotations of a ‘period’ or ‘season’.

l. 14. *But*: that ... not.

l. 15. *clowdēs*: clouds.

*over=cast*: overcast, cover.

l. 17. *Flower*. Disyllabic, cf. l. 7 n. above.

ll. 19–20. *No man ... his place*. Possibly a comment on the danger of holding any position of authority in the Elizabethan age when so many

peers and courtiers lost their lands and/or lives at the whim of Elizabeth I's Privy Council. It was a particularly perilous time for Catholics of rank and wealth; Vaux's own father was all but bankrupted by recusancy fines and on one occasion was brought before the Star Chamber and imprisoned (see General Introduction, p. xxiii). This concern with 'riches to rags' is also common to many Medieval poems on the transience of fortune.

l. 19. *fure*: secure.

*seate*: position.

l. 22. *Though moch against my mind*. The poet speaks of a conflict between his contentment to be patient and the reluctance of his mind to be so. This is a principal dilemma for Christians, who although assured of their eternal salvation must nevertheless endure the trials of their mortal lives on earth. Cf. Milton, "On His Blindness", as well as Ps: 27: 14, "Expect the Lord, do manfully, and let thy heart take courage, and wait thou for the Lord" (*D-R*: Ps 26: 14).

*moch*: much.

l. 23. *in woorth*: in worth, as worth something.

*this luckelesse lotte*. Man's life on earth which is full of misfortunes but is allotted by God.

*luckelesse*: luckless, full of misfortune.

*lotte*: portion, destiny, but also "lot" in its sense of a "lottery stake". Life is paradoxically a game of chance in which the end result is a foregone conclusion.

#### 4. "A description of Love" (fols. 75–76)

Following the emerging anti-Petrarchan tradition, in this poem Vaux satirises romantic love. The poem falls into the tradition of "definition poems"<sup>115</sup> in which a common subject (such as love, death, or sleep) is described and either praised or dispraised. Rosamond Tuve lists such poems as Raleigh's "Now what is Love" and Marvell's "The definition of Love" in a long tradition of poems defining love. She also includes poems by Robert Greene, Samuel Daniel, and Thomas Lodge (see *Elizabethan and Renaissance Imagery*, pp. 302–303). The

<sup>115</sup> See E.S. Donno's *Andrew Marvell: The Complete Poems* (London: Penguin, 1972), p. 232.

tone of the title should be understood as scathingly ironic. Vaux makes his assault by associating romantic love with the pagan god, Cupid, and revealing the destructive evil that this god (or demon as he later suggests – see ll. 38–40) works for his devotees. The implicit contrast is against the true love that subsists between the Christian God and mankind. Vaux structures his argument logically, referring first to the classical poets (whose works he alludes to in his catalogue of unfortunate lovers) and asserts that the traditional depiction of Cupid as a naked, blindfolded boy with wings is allegorical: lovers are blind to their peril and do not have their feet on the ground. He then speaks of how lovers in general are blind to see how they are betrayed by Cupid as they destroy themselves through despair, enmity, and lust, while Venus’s son looks on unmoved, perhaps even finding perverse enjoyment in their troubles. Vaux gives several instances in classical myth of lovers dying tragically and suggests that this is the price lovers must pay to their god. In the fifth stanza Vaux presents his conclusion that Cupid is in fact a demon as he is associated with “Vntamed lust, and burning hote dēfire” (l. 34), while being the “Frend of al vices” and “vertues enemie” (l. 35), and suggests that anyone who serves Cupid is unworthy to be an acolyte of Christ. In the sixth stanza he catalogues the perverse crimes of lovers in mythology – infanticide, bestiality, patricide, betrayal, incest and effeminacy. In the final stanza Vaux reiterates the first stanza’s decoding of the true symbolism of Cupid’s physical attributes and recommends that anyone wishing to “fhunne” Cupid’s destructiveness should follow the example of Diana, Pallas Athene, and the Muses, by remaining chaste. (On the moral complexity of Cupid as a character, see Thomas Hyde’s essay in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, pp. 201–202.)

The poem comprises seven eight-line stanzas (octostichs) written in iambic pentameter, rhyming ABABAACC – an unusual pattern which seems to strive towards the rhyming intricacy of the soon-to-be-developed Spenserian stanza (which rhymes ABABBCBCC).

l. 3. *Cupide*. Youthful Roman god of sexual love, identified with the Greek god, Eros.

*faine*: feign, pretend.

l. 5. *catch’d*: caught. Cf. “Vp Drowzie Mufe”, l. 49 n.

l. 6. *fæeth*. Disyllabic through diaeresis.

*share*: portion, lot – the true nature of what he has been given (*OED*:  
share, *n.*<sup>3</sup> 1. a.)

l. 7. *fained*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

*boye*. Cupid was understood to be the son of Venus and was depicted as a boy or youth. The association of Cupid with a plump infantile cherub is a later anachronism.

l. 8. *fhew*: show.

*folish*: foolish.

l. 9. *flee*. Rhymed with “hie” (l. 11). Dobson is silent here, but it is likely that Vaux intends ‘fly’ and not ‘flee’.

l. 10. *thoughtes*. Half-rhymed with “nought”.

l. 12. *goëth*. Disyllabic through diaeresis.

*nought*: naught, nothing.

l. 13. *list*: wish.

*espie*: espy, see.

ll. 15–16. *Truely ... naked boy*. Ironic, cf. ll. 23–24.

l. 15. *marveile*: marvel.

l. 16. *blinded flying naked boy*. In Greek and Roman art Cupid (or Eros) is generally depicted as naked and winged.

l. 19. *them selves*: themselves.

l. 21. *lese*: lease, let out (*OED*: lease, *v.*<sup>3</sup> 1.); here closer in meaning to its etymology from the French ‘laisser’ (to release or let go of).

ll. 23–24. *May fay ... sterve*. Compare the sarcasm of these lines with that of ll. 15–16.

l. 23. *Love*. Cupid.

l. 24. *fervauntes*: servants.

*sterve*: starve, die (see *OED*: starve, *v.*, FORMS); cf. Dutch ‘sterven’ (‘to die’). Rhymed with “serve” (l. 23), see Dobson, p. 26.

ll. 25–28. *Phyllis ... the streame*. Vaux cites four

l. 25. *Phyllis*: Phyllis’. Minor figure in Greek mythology who loved Demophon but he “wickedly betrayed her, and she hanged herself in grief” (*Oxford Companion to Chaucer*: Phyllis). Ovid narrates her tale in *Heroides*, II, as does Chaucer in *The Legend of Good Women* (“The Legend of Phyllis”, ll. 2394–2561).

*stoppæd*. Disyllabic, “-æd” voiced.

l. 25. *Lœ*: lo, behold.

l. 26. *Iphis*: Iphis’. He appears in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* as a shepherd who kills himself in despair after he is scorned by Anaxarete, the woman he loves. See *Metamorphoses*, XIV. 698–771.

*hangæth hær*: hangs herself.

l. 27. *Didoes*: Dido’s. In Roman legend Dido was a Tyrian queen of Carthage who fell upon her lover Aeneas’s sword (*Aeneid*, IV. 663–665) after he left her for Italy to found a new Troy as ordered by the gods.

*pearcæd*: pierced. Disyllabic, “-æd” voiced.

l. 28. *Læander*: in Greek mythology he was the lover of Hero, a priestess of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. Leander would swim across the Hellespont nightly and make love to Hero until one night during a storm the waves drove him off-course and the winds blew out the lamp in her tower window, causing him to lose his way and drown. In grief Hero committed suicide by throwing herself from the tower. Ovid relates the story through two letters exchanged between the lovers in *Heroides*, XVIII and XIX.

*drownæd*. Disyllabic, “-æd” voiced.

l. 29. *fare*: eat (*OED*: fare, *v.*<sup>1</sup> II. 8).

*Cupides*: Cupid’s. See l. 3 n. above.

*bourde*: board, a table (*OED*: board, *n.* II.)

l. 34. *Vntamæd*. Trisyllabic, “-æd” voiced.

*hote*: hot.

l. 35. *vertuæs*: virtue’s.

l. 36. *Vnto the witte ... fire*. The parallelistic syntax of this line is matched by careful alliteration.

*witte*: wit, “the faculty of thinking” (*OED*: wit, *n.* I. 2. a.)

l. 37. *God ... thæe*. Vaux implores God not to accept vain followers. This is an adaptation of the sentiments expressed in MT 6: 24: “You cannot serve God and mammon”.

l. 38. *God*: Cupid.

ll. 39–40. *Angæl ... vnto hæl*. It is widely inferred in Christian tradition from such verses as GEN 6: 4, ISA 14: 12–15, EZEK 28: 14, LK 10: 18, JUDE 1: 6, and REV 12: 7–9, that Lucifer (also known as Satan or “the

Devil”) was an angel who had fallen from grace and was served by other fallen angels. Vaux here makes the traditional Christian argument that any manifestation by a pagan god must have been a manifestation by a demon (cf. Milton, *On the Morning of Christ’s Nativity*, ll. 165–228).

- l. 41. *Iafon’s*: Jason’s. In Greek mythology Jason was the leader of the Argonauts in their quest for the Golden Fleece. In this quest he was aided by the sorceress Medea who bore him two sons but whom he later abandoned to marry Creusa, the daughter of Creon (the king of Corinth). In revenge Medea poisoned Creusa and then killed the children of her own union with Jason. Euripides’s *Medea* is based on and portrays this tale. (*Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*: Jason<sup>[1]</sup>)

*Iasons wife*. Medea, see above.

*flea*: slay. See above.

- l. 42. *propre*: proper, own (see *OED*: proper, *a.* II. 4.)
- l. 43. *Pasiphaë*. Tetrasyllabic through diaeresis, [pæ-’si-fai-,ɪ]. In Greek mythology Pasiphaë was the wife of King Minos of Crete. When Minos refused to sacrifice a bull to the sea-god Poseidon as he had promised to do, the god caused Pasiphaë to fall in love with the bull. She subsequently had intercourse with it through means of a specially created hollow cow in which she crouched. The offspring of this coupling was the monstrous Minotaur. Chaucer mentions the tale in *The Canterbury Tales* (“The Wife of Bath’s Prologue”, III. 733–736).
- l. 44. *Scylla*. In Greek mythology Scylla was the daughter of Nisus, king of Al-cathoë. Infatuated with King Minos of Crete (who was besieging her father’s city), “she cut off a purple lock of her father’s hair on which the safety of his realm depended, and offered it to Minos” who “refused it in honour” (*Oxford Companion to Chaucer*: Silla). Ovid tells her story in *Metamorphoses*, VIII. 1–151, and Chaucer mentions her in *The Legend of Good Women*, ll. 1908–1920.

*betray ... landes*. See above.

- l. 45. *Canace*. Trisyllabic, [’kæ-nə-,sɪ:]. In Greek mythology Canace was the daughter of Aeolus and Enaret. She fell in love with her brother,

Macareus, and subsequently slew herself with the sword her father Aeolus sent her in disgust at their incest. There is a lament by her in Ovid's *Heroides*, XI, and she is mentioned by both Gower and Lydgate. Chaucer mentions her in the prologue to his *The Legend of Good Women*, "Prologue", l. 265 (text F) & l. 219 (text G) and in the "Man of Law's Tale" in the *Canterbury Tales* (II. 77–80).

- l. 46. *Myrrha*. In Greek mythology Myrrha was the mother of Adonis by her own father, Cinyras. She was later transformed into the myrrh tree. Ovid relates the story in *Metamorphoses*, X. 298–502, and Chaucer mentions her in *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV. 1139.

*Byblis*. In Greek mythology Byblis was the daughter of Miletus. She fell in love with her twin brother, Caunus, who spurned her love. Maddened by her sorrow and unfulfilled lust she was transformed into a spring. The story is related in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, IX. 454–665.

*Nyctimene*. Tetrasyllabic, [nək-'tɪ-mə-,nɪ:]. In Greek mythology Nyctimene was the daughter of Epopeus, king of Lesbos. She had sexual relations with her father and was transformed into an owl by Athena. Ovid mentions her story in *Metamorphoses*, II. 589–595.

- l. 47. *Alcides*. Trisyllabic, [əl-'saɪ-dɪz]. In Greek mythology 'Alcides' is the patronymic name for Heracles (the grandson of Alcaeus), the greatest of the heroes in Greek mythology. After performing the twelve labours imposed on him out of hatred by Hera (which included killing the Nemean lion whose pelt he subsequently wore) he was temporarily enslaved to Omphale, the queen of Lydia, and made to wear female clothing while helping her and her maidservants spin wool while she wore his lion's pelt. He suffered this humiliation in punishment for killing Iphitus, the son of Eurytis, in anger. According to Ovid (*Heroides*, IX. 54), Heracles had sexual relations with Omphale and fathered a child by her. *Heroides* IX forms a letter of reproach from Heracles's wife, Deianira, to her husband for making himself ridiculous.

*left*: lay aside.

*lions skinne*: lion's skin. See l. 47 n. above.

- l. 48. *Omphale*. See l. 47 n. above.

*spinne*: spin wool. See above.

l. 49. *Dame*: mother.

*Venus*: Venus's. See l. 7 n. above and "The second Chore", l. 32 n. below.

l. 50. *bare aray*: nakedness, lack of clothing.

*aray*: array, clothing.

l. 51. *wanne*: won.

l. 53. *wold*: would.

*shunne*: shun, deliberately avoid.

ll. 54–56. *With Diane ... fountain bright*. It is interesting to note that these goddesses, apart from all being symbols of virginity, are patronesses of the aristocratic pursuits of hunting, learning, warfare, and art.

l. 54. *Diane*. Disyllabic, [dai-'an], not trisyllabic [dai-'an-ə]. Diana was the Roman goddess of chastity and the hunt.

l. 55. *Pallas*. In Greek mythology Pallas Athene was the virgin goddess of wisdom, crafts and war.

l. 56. *Mufes*: Muses'. In Greek mythology the nine muses were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne and were the patron goddesses of the arts and sciences. Like Diana and Pallas Athene, they were virgin goddesses.

*fountain*. The Muses lived on Mount Helicon where the Pierian Spring, the source of poetic inspiration, flowed. Cf. "Of the fame argument", l. 9 n., and "Vp drowzie Mufe", l. 1 n., l. 81 n., l. 82 n., & l. 83 n.

## 5. "Against Envie" (fols. 76–77)

This poem is a condemnation of the cardinal vice of envy. The poet describes the destructive nature of envy, how it destroys both victim and perpetrator because it is a powerful demonic power that is only satisfied with ruin. In ll. 13–30 Vaux explores the nature of envy and the consequences of being envious. Envy is a companion to other vices such as wrath, hatred and malice. It consumes those who harbour it because they are never fully satisfied with the misfortunes of others, but are always resentful of their fellows' having anything at all, be it wealth, food, or even good humour (see Ronald B. Bond's entry on

“envy” in the *Spenser Encyclopedia*). The consequence of this is that happiness and love become impossible for the envious man who suffers as if he really were in Hell.

The poem is written in Vaux’s preferred form: iambic pentameters, grouped in sixains, rhymed ABABCC – the so-called “*Venus and Adonis stanza*”. Vaux again makes use of parallelisms, but his use of classical allusions and alliteration is relatively sparse compared to some of his other poems.

- l. 1. *cancrēd*: cankered, “Infected with evil” (*OED*: cankered, *adj.* 3).  
 l. 2. *nippēs*: nips, “check[s] the growth or development of (something), as by pinching off the buds or shoots of a plant” (*OED*: nip, *v.*<sup>1</sup> IV. 13. a).

*floures*: flowers. Monosyllabic by elision through coalescence.

- l. 3. *qwench*: quench.  
 l. 4. *powers*. Monosyllabic by elision through coalescence.  
 l. 5. *thondring stroakes*: thundering strokes.  
 l. 7. *staines*: stains, “defile[s] or corrupt[s] morally” (*OED*: stain, *v.* 5. a.)  
*blotte*: blot, moral stain, disgrace (*OED*: blot, *n.*<sup>1</sup> 2. a.)  
 l. 9. *wastes*: “consume[s] or destroy[s] (a person, [...])” (*OED*: waste, *v.* I. 4. a.)  
 l. 11. *direful*. Disyllabic through elision by coalescence.  
 l. 12. *Then*: than.

*enemies*. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*reave*: “To despoil, rob, or forcibly deprive (usu. a person) of something” (*OED*: reave, *v.*<sup>1</sup> 2. a.), not to be confused with ‘reeve’ (*OED*, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, to fasten through a hole).

- l. 13. *Aglauræs*: Aglaura’s. Trisyllabic, [ə-ˈglɔə-rəz]. Aglaura (commonly Aglaulus or Aglauros) was the daughter of Cecrops and the sister of Herse, who was in love with Mercury. Aglaura angered Minerva by prying into one of the goddess’s secrets and by demanding payment in gold from Mercury to allow him access to Herse. Minerva subsequently made Aglaura envious of her sister’s happiness and Mercury transformed her into a statue. Her tale is told in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, II. 737–832.

*breſt to open ſhow*: to reveal the envy in her heart.

- l. 14. *furious*. Disyllabic by elision through coalescence.
- l. 15. *rooted*: “firmly implanted” (*OED*: *rooted*, *ppl. a. 2. a.*)  
*rancoures*: rancour’s, enmity’s.
- l. 16. *brondes*: brands, burning pieces of wood.  
*licour*: liquor, liquid.  
*asswage*: assuage, quench.
- l. 17. *beareth fway*: controls, has power.
- l. 18. *iawes*: jaws.  
*depe*: deep.  
*decay*: moral decay.
- l. 19. *Soch*: such.  
*cruël*. Disyllabic through diaeresis.
- l. 20. *bent*: inclined.  
*others*: others’.
- l. 22. *spotte*: corrupt, tarnish.
- l. 24. *And drawes ... envy spunne*. The image is of a personified Envy sitting at a spinning wheel while the envious man draws and gathers the spun thread. The import of this metaphor is that personal pain is the result of being envious.  
*drawes*: pulls.  
*thredes*: threads.
- l. 25. *publique*: public.
- l. 26. *commune*: common.
- l. 27. *fede*: feed.  
*fare*: food, nourishment.
- l. 30. *apperes*: appears.
- l. 31. *Plutoes*: Pluto’s. Pluto was the Roman god of the dead and the underworld.  
*burning lake*. REV 20: 14 refers to Hell as a “pool of fire” (*Vulgate*: “stagnum ignis”).
- l. 32. *Tytius*. In Greek mythology Tityus was a giant, the son of Gaia, and was killed for attempting to rape the goddess, Leto, a consort of Zeus and the mother of Apollo and Artemis. In Book XI of Homer’s *Odyssey*, Odysseus sees Tityus in the underworld stretched over nine plethra (about 280 metres) of ground while two vultures tear

at his liver. The reference to Tityus's heart is unclear, but Vaux might have substituted heart for liver, either knowingly or by a failure of memory.

*grype*: a griffin or vulture (as in the myth of Tityus) (*OED*: gripe, *n.*<sup>3</sup> 1. & 2.), but also a "covetous person" (*OED*: gripe, *n.*<sup>1</sup> 6. b.)

- l. 33. *Ixions*: Ixion's. In Greek mythology Ixion was the king of the Lapithae, a Greek tribe of northern Thessaly. Zeus pardoned his killing of his father-in-law, but the ingrate Ixion later attempted to seduce Zeus's wife, Hera. For these crimes he was bound in Hades to an eternally spinning fiery wheel. The reference to snakes is unclear and might be an imagining of Vaux's. Ovid mentions his punishment in the *Metamorphoses*, IV. 461.

*whele*: wheel.

*begirt*: girded, encompassed.

- l. 34. *Phineus*: Phineus'. In Greek mythology Phineus was a Thracian king who had his two sons blinded after their stepmother falsely accused them of incest. Zeus punished Phineus by blinding him also and allowing the Harpies (monstrous birds with women's heads and terrible claws) to harass him; hence Vaux's reference to Phineus's "birdes". Ovid narrates the tale in the legend of Perseus in *Metamorphoses* V. 1 – VII. 4.

*smart*: stinging pain.

---

## 6. "Of Frendship" (fols. 77–77<sup>v</sup>)

In this poem Vaux laments that friendship has been corrupted into something no longer characterised by love, constancy, virtue and honesty, but instead by pretence and feigning and is occasionally a guise for homosexual relations (which Vaux terms "filthie lust" in l. 14). Vaux alludes to the departure of the Roman goddess Astraea from the Earth at the end of the golden age, an event which symbolised the utter fallenness of mankind. Yet even in their wickedness and fighting, men were still bound to some of their fellows by friendship. The poet warns that the disappearance of brotherly love will lead to the destruction of human society. Vaux attacks false friendships of the homosexual, self-serving, and treacherous kinds. In stanzas 5–6 Vaux celebrates the blessedness

of having a true friend and lists a few famous friendships from classical myth, but nevertheless concludes in the final stanza that in his present time most friendship is feigning or treacherous.

It is an uncharacteristically cynical poem for Vaux as he offers very little by way of resolution or hope apart from the implicit suggestion of the adverbs “fearcely” (l. 6) and “feld” (l. 17) that occasionally true friendship is still found, a possibility which is also implicitly acknowledged in the *beatus ille* sentiment of stanza 5. Much of this cynicism no doubt stems from Vaux’s experiences growing up in a determinedly anti-Catholic society. Most prominent Catholic households and persons were spied on by the vast intelligence network of the Queen’s privy councillor Sir Francis Walsingham (many of whose agents feigned recusancy to gain entry into Catholic circles). It was often through these agents that recusants were prosecuted and missionary priests arrested (as was the case with Edmund Campion). To be a Catholic in Elizabethan society required one to be especially careful whom one trusted.

Once again Vaux utilises the sixain form and regularly alliterates words in associative pairs.

l. 1. *frendshippes*: friendship’s.

l. 2. *fundred*: sundered, separated.

*in twaine*: into two, apart.

l. 5. *trouth*: most likely ‘truth’, but ‘troth’ (meaning ‘loyalty’) is also possible.

*then*: than, cf. “Against Envie”, l. 12 n. A common sixteenth-century spelling.

l. 6. *harbour*: entertain, have in mind.

l. 7. *Astræa*. Trisyllabic, “-ed” voiced. According to Roman mythology Astræa was the last goddess to dwell with mankind on earth during the Golden and Silver Ages. She left to live in the heavens during the Bronze Age when men started slaughtering one another. Ovid mentions her departure in *Metamorphoses*, I. 149–150. According to Margarita C. Stocker (*SE*: Astraea), Astraea was often associated with the Virgin Mary in Renaissance poetry. In England she was linked with the virginal Elizabeth I. There is perhaps an irony in the poem that instead of Elizabeth being the restorative *Astraea*

*redux* of the golden age (from a recusant's perspective) even the consolation of friendship has now departed.

- l. 8. *pittie plac'd above*. The implication is that there is no pity left on Earth.
- l. 13. *inflamed*. Trisyllabic, “-ed” voiced.
- l. 14. *cloake*: cloak, hide.
- l. 15. *hire*: price, reward.
- l. 17. *fēld*: seldom.
- l. 19. *raigne*: reign, hold sway.
- l. 20. *vaile*: probably ‘veil’, but ‘vale’ (valley) is also possible (see FORMS in *OED*: veil, *n.*<sup>1</sup> and in vale, *n.*<sup>1</sup>)
- l. 21. *gapes*: open wide, usually used of the mouth.
- l. 22. *ravine*: rapine, plundering, ravishment.
- l. 23. *wrech*: wretch, miserable creature.
- l. 24. *fhew*: show, display.  
*friendes*: unclear: either [friend's] or [friends'].  
*worke*: orchestrate.  
*decay*: demise.
- l. 25. *eniouy*: enjoy.
- l. 26. *stedefast*: steadfast, resolute.
- l. 28. *fortune*: ‘chance’, but also ‘bribe’.
- l. 29. *Approved*: tested, sure. Trisyllabic, “ed” voiced.  
*estate*: worldly condition.
- l. 30. *fickenes*: sickness.
- l. 31. *Theſeus*. Disyllabic by elision through coalescence. Theseus was a legendary Athenian hero in Greek mythology. Amongst his more famous exploits was the slaying of the Cretan Minotaur, a ferocious bull-headed man, and the kidnapping from the underworld of Persephone, the goddess-wife of Hades. In the latter task he was assisted by his “noble fēere” (l. 31), Pirithous, the Lapith king. Gaius Julius Hyginus (Augustus's librarian of the Palatine Library) tells the tale of their attempted abduction of Persephone in his *Fabulae*, ch. LXXIX, and mentions their friendship in ch. CCLVII.  
*fēere*: fere; companion.
- l. 32. *Orestes*. In Greek mythology Orestes was the son of Agamemnon, the king of Mycenae and leader of the victorious Greek army in the

Trojan War. On his return home Agamemnon was murdered by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus. When Orestes was of age he later avenged his father's death by killing both his mother and her paramour. As a result of his actions he was hounded by the Furies for committing matricide. In carrying out the murder he was assisted by his friend Pylades and his sister Electra. Aeschylus tells the full saga in his series of tragedies, the *Oresteia*, as do Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca in various of their tragedies. Hyginus lists Orestes and Pylades as friends in his *Fabulae*, ch. CCLVII. See notes on the *Agamemnon* poems, pp. 90–93.

- l. 33. *thou to whom thy Damon was fo dere*. In ancient Greek legend Damon was a “Syracusan of the 4th century whose friend Pythias (also called Phintias) was sentenced to death by Dionysius I. Damon stood bail for Pythias, who returned just in time to save him, and was himself reprieved” (*Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable: Damon*). This example of friendship under tyranny was as well known and proverbial in classical times as was that of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Cicero briefly tells the story in his *De Officiis*, III. x (45). Richard Edwards wrote a play, *Damon and Pythias*, which was printed in 1571.

*dere*: dear, beloved.

- l. 34. *fixed*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

- l. 36. *iewel*: jewel. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

- l. 38. *drawes*: attracts.

*beare*: have, maintain (see *OED*: bear, *v.*<sup>1</sup> I. 10.)

- l. 39. *prosperous*. Disyllabic by elision through contraction.

*ferve*: endure.

- l. 40. *As fwalowes ... do appere*. Vaux here is not referring to the migration of swallows (unknown in Renaissance times) but is alluding to a common sixteenth-century proverb, “Swallows, like false friends, fly away upon the approach of winter” (see Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, S1026).

- l. 41. *gone*. Rhymed with “alone” (l. 42), see Dobson, p. 505.

---

l. 42. *al*: all, entirely.

---

7. "Of covetise" (fols. 77<sup>v</sup>–78)

In this poem Vaux examines how the corruption of man is linked to the acquisition of gold (here a symbol for money). He begins by alluding to the prelapsarian 'Golden Age' of classical mythology in which men neither laboured nor fought for riches, a situation which was reversed, however, through man's own greed. To end the conflict Zeus hid gold deep within the ground so that it became hard to find and extract, but this measure was a weak deterrent as there is no length to which men will not go to acquire wealth, even betraying those closest to them. The possession of wealth is shown to be the source of mortal power and therefore desired above all else. In the final stanza, however, Vaux concludes that it is not wealth or the possession thereof that is inherently evil, but man's abuse and misuse of it. The poem appears to be inspired by the following passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I. 127–150:

[...] Of yron is the last  
 In no part good and tractable as former ages past.  
 For when that of this wicked Age once opened was the veyne  
 Therein all mischief rushed forth: then Fayth and Truth were faine  
 And honest shame to hide their heades: for whom crept stoutly in,  
 Craft, Treason, Violence, Envy, Pride and wicked Lust to win.  
 The shipman hoyst his sailes to wind, whose names he did not knowe:  
 And shippes that erst in toppes of hilles and mountaines had ygrowe,  
 Did leape and daunce on uncouth waves: and men began to bound  
 With dowles and diches drawn in length the free and fertile ground,  
 Which was as common as the Ayre and light of Sunne before.  
 Not onely corne and other fruites, for sustnance and for store,  
 Were now exacted of the Earth: but eft they gan to digge,  
 And in the bowels of the ground unsaciably to rigge  
 For Riches coucht and hidden deepe, in places nere to Hell,  
 The spurres and stirrers unto vice, and foes to doing well.  
 Then hurtfull yron came abrode, then came forth yellow golde,  
 More hurtfull than the yron farre, then came forth battle bolde,  
 That feightes with bothe, and shakes his sword in cruell bloody hand.  
 Men live by ravine and by stelth: the wandring guest doth stand  
 In daunger of his host: the host in daunger of his guest:  
 And fathers of their sonne in lawes: yea seldome time doth rest,  
 Betweene borne brothers such accord and love as ought to bee.  
 The goodman seekes the goodwifes death, and his againe seeks shee.  
 The stepdames fell their husbandes sonnes with poyson do assayle.  
 To see their fathers live so long the children doe bewayle.  
 All godlynesse lies under foote. And Ladie Astrey, last  
 Of heavenly vertues, from this earth in slaughter drowned past.  
 And to th'intent the earth alone thus should not be opprest,  
 And heaven above in slouthfull ease and carelesse quiet rest,  
 Men say that Giantes went about the Realme of Heaven to win  
 To place themselves to raigne as Gods and lawlesse Lordes therein.

(Golding, I. 143–174)

The poem, comprising four stanzas, is in rhyme royal, a seven-line verse form first used by Chaucer (in *Troilus and Criseyde*) and much used in the sixteenth century. It has a more sophisticated and less distracting rhyme scheme (ABABBCC) than Vaux's usual sixain (ABABCC).

TITLE. *covetise*: archaic form for 'covetousness', the "[i]nordinate or excessive desire" for "what belongs to another" (*OED*: †*covetise*, 2.)

l. 1. *stoare*: store, supply.

*vnfought*: unsought, unlooked-for.

l. 2. *reigned*. Disyllabic, "-ed" voiced.

*Saturne*. In Roman mythology Saturn was the god of the universe before his son Jupiter overthrew him. Saturn then fled to Italy, where he ruled over the Golden Age, a time of perfect peace and happiness. Ovid discusses his rule and overthrow in *Metamorphoses*, I. 89–124.

l. 3. *Sonne*: son. Jupiter.

*hidde*. Vaux is referring to the end of the Golden Age and man's discovery of veins of gold in the earth. Cf. *Metamorphoses* I. 154–158 in Golding's translation above.

l. 4. *Bicause that*: because.

l. 5. *fith*: since.

*know'en*: known. Monosyllabic.

l. 6. *by kind*: through Nature's doing.

l. 7. *hel*: Hell. There is a conflation of the geographical and moral senses of the word.

l. 8. *fel*: sell.

l. 9. *renowne*: renown, reputation.

l. 11. *thral*: thrall, slave, "One who is in bondage to a lord or master" (*OED*: thrall, *n.*<sup>1</sup> (*a.*<sup>1</sup>) I. 1.)

l. 12. *hal*: hall, palace.

l. 13. *communely*: commonly, cf. "Against Envie", l. 26 n.

l. 15. *Who fo*: whoso, whoever.

l. 17. *hire*: payment.

- l. 19. *raiseth*: stirs up, causes (see *OED*: raise, *v.*<sup>1</sup> I. 5. a.); also ‘pays for’, i.e. ‘raises funds’ (*OED*: raise, *v.*<sup>1</sup> III. 27. a.)  
*bieth*: buyeth.
- l. 20. *mortal hate*: deadly hate; hatred between mortals.
- l. 22. *Agenor*. In Greek mythology Agenor was the father of Thasos who colonised the island of Thasos where some of the most lucrative gold mines of ancient Greece were worked. (The Greek mainland did not have rich natural gold reserves.)
- l. 23. *Which*: who.
- l. 25. *fæa*. Rhymed with “fay” (l. 20) and “away” (l. 26). See Dobson, p. 515.
- l. 26. *Crates*. Crates of Thebes was a cynic philosopher (a follower of Diogenes) who believed in maintaining a life of poverty and gave all his wealth to the poor (cf. Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI. 87). It is unclear why Vaux suggests that he propounded that gold should be thrown into the sea, but it probably serves as a hyperbolic illustration of the philosopher’s belief in poverty and his distribution of his own wealth to others; however the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* comments that “he did not insist on the complete renunciation of wealth” (*OCD*: Crates<sup>2</sup>).

---

### 8. “A commendation of bloomes or blossomēs” (fols. 78–78<sup>v</sup>)

This poem celebrates the superior excellence of blossoms over other flowers in beauty, position and purpose. The poem may be divided thematically into two halves, a spring section (ll. 1–15) and a summer section (ll. 16–30). Vaux starts by stating that he prefers the blossoms of springtime to any other flowers and then offers a comparison: blossoms are superior because they grow on trees rather than on the ground. While other flowers display a multitude of gaudy colours, blossoms are only white and red (Vaux is speaking here exclusively of fruit trees common in sixteenth-century England – apples, pears, cherries and plums all have white, pink and/or red blossoms).<sup>116</sup> Vaux answers any possible criticism that blossoms are ephemeral since mortality is the property of all earthly creatures: although they wither and fall in summer they leave behind

---

<sup>116</sup> The adjective pink seems not to have become current in English until the seventeenth century. Pink would then probably have been regarded as a shade of red.

their fruits which are of far greater use to man than flowers, and they are therefore to be considered the best of blooms. The poem is possibly allegorical and one might easily understand blossoms as representing the embodiment of Christian virtues.

This poem is in iambic pentameters, grouped in sixains and following an ABABCC rhyme scheme. It belongs to a tradition of ‘flower poems’, like Thomas Phillipps’s “I love a flowre” and Henry VIII’s “Grene groweth the holy”. In this tradition the colour and nature of a particular flower (often a lily or a rose) makes the flower a symbol of moral truth or of the beauty and virtue of the poet’s beloved.

- l. 1. *Memnons woful mother*. In Greek mythology Memnon was an Ethiopian king who fought on the Trojan side during the Trojan War. His mother was Eos, the goddess of the dawn. Ovid tells of his mother’s grief at his death in *Metamorphoses*, XIII. 576–622.

*Memnons*: Memnon’s.

*woful*: woeful.

*teares*. Memnon was killed in battle. In weeping for him, Eos’s tears form the morning dew. Cf. *Metamorphoses*, XIII. 621–622.

- l. 2. *Zephyrus*. In Greek mythology Zephyros was the personification of the west wind. A fructifying force, the west wind was considered the gentlest of the winds. In Hesiod’s *Theogeny*, 379, the poet describes the west wind as “ἀργέστην Ζέφυρον” (‘cleansing Zephyros’), cf. Chaucer’s General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*,

Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breeth  
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth  
The tendre croppes

(ll. 5–7)

- l. 3. *breres*: briars, “prickly, thorny bush[es] or shrub[s] in general” (*OED*: brier, briar, brere, *n.*<sup>1</sup> 1.)
- l. 4. *show*: appear.
- l. 6. *flowers*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.
- l. 7. *flowres*. Monosyllabic, see l. 2 n. above.
- l. 9. *her self*: herself.

- l. 10. *advauuced*: advanced. Trisyllabic, “-ed” voiced.
- l. 11. *Some ... grene*. The line makes sense if taken elliptically to mean “Some other flowers [are] purple, yellow and green”.  
*floures*. Disyllabic.  
*grene*. Soft Rush flowers are green and occur in northern England. See Laurie Fellows, *Wild Flowers and Where to Find Them in Northern England: Acid Uplands* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), p. 83.
- l. 12. *white and redde*. On the liturgical symbolism of red and white the *Catholic Encyclopedia* states that red is “the language of fire and blood, [and] indicates burning charity and the martyrs’ generous sacrifice” while white is “the symbol of light” and “typifies innocence and purity, joy and glory” (*CE*: Liturgical Colours).
- l. 15. *have blame*: be criticised or reproached.
- l. 19. *Phœbus*: Phoebus’. In Greek and Roman religion Phoebus Apollo was the god of the sun.
- l. 20. *When Pole Antarctike hath no day, but night*. The south pole is in virtual darkness during the height of the northern hemisphere’s summer. Summer follows spring and is the time when blossoms wither.  
*Antarctike*: Antarctic.
- l. 21. *When in this Zone our shadowes be not great*. In summertime shadows are not as long as during winter, however ‘shadowes’ might also refer to the length of nights which are shorter in summer than in winter.  
*this Zone*: this latitude, England.  
*greate*. Rhymed with “heate” (l. 19). See Dobson, pp. 608–9.
- l. 22. *When Arctike Pole hath gotten perfect light*. During the northern hemisphere’s summer months (cf. l. 20 n.) It is likely that Vaux would have been familiar with reports of travellers who had been to northern Russia and Scandinavia and who had experienced white nights within the Arctic Circle.  
*perfect light*: unending daylight.
- l. 23. *floures*. Monosyllabic, see l. 2 n. above.
- l. 25. *fal*: fall.

l. 26. *Bicause Apollo fhold them never burne.* Because they wither at the end of spring, blossoms do not feel the full heat of the summer sun.

*fhold*: should.

l. 30. *blomes*: blooms.

*of right*: rightfully, justly.

*beare away the bell*: “to take the first place” (*OED*: bell, n.<sup>1</sup> III. 7. a.), see Tilley, B275.

## 9. “No trust in Fortune” (fols. 78<sup>v</sup>–79)

In this poem Vaux reveals the deceitful nature of fortune, how misfortune and evil lurk in things that seem well and concludes that it is unwise to trust in chance. Central to this poem is the belief in the wheel of Fortune (see l. 13 n. below), by which it is understood that there is no security in happiness, but rather that fortune and misfortune alternate unpredictably, irrevocably, and inescapably. In stanzas 1–5 the poet outlines the folly in trusting matters to chance, using common illustrations such as ‘the calm before the storm’, ‘a snake in the grass’, the hook in a fisherman’s bait, and Fortune’s wheel itself. The Roman goddess Fortuna is presented as a capricious agent of change, elevating the lowly and bringing down the mighty. Only the “wise man” escapes this cycle, claims Vaux, presumably because he trusts his affairs to reason rather than to chance.

The poem is in long metre and falls into the well-known tradition of poems on fortune. In Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*, ll. 834–854, Pandarus and Troilus debate the nature of fortune. There are many Medieval poems on the subject, such as Robert Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid* and the “A! mercy, Fortune”.

l. 1. *Who fo*: whoso, whoever.

*chere*: cheer.

l. 2. *foorth*: forth.

*Fortunes*: Fortune’s.

*lookes*: looks.

ll. 9–12. *Vnder the grasse ... fish to take*. Cf. ll. 1–4 of Southwell’s “Fortune’s Falsehoode”:

In worldly meriments lurketh much miserie,  
 Slie fortunes subtilties in baites of happinesse  
 Shrowde hookes, that swallowed, without recoverie  
 Murder the innocent with mortall heavinesse.

l. 9. *Vnder*: under.

*ful*: full.

l. 10. *lurketh*: “lie[s] in ambush” (*OED*: lurk, *v.* 1. a.)

*baite*: bait, “Food used to entice a prey ... allurement, temptation” (*OED*: bait, *n.*<sup>1</sup> I. 2.)

l. 12. *hoke*: hook.

*take*: “seize, ... catch” (*OED*: take, *v.* II.)

l. 13. *Fortunes whele*: Fortune’s wheel. Fortuna, the Roman goddess of fate, is universally portrayed in Renaissance culture alongside a spinning wheel. David O. Frantz, writing in the *Spenser Encyclopedia*, comments, “The popularity of this once-pagan deity in a Christian world testifies to the persistent effort to explain the phenomenon of unmerited adversity which Fortune’s change and chance could inflict” (*SE*: Fortune). The late-Roman philosopher Boethius wrote of Fortune spinning her wheel as she pleases (*The Consolation of Philosophy*, II. 30) as did the Roman orator and statesman Cicero (*In Pisonem*, X. 21).



l. 14. *hiest*: highest. Disyllabic through diaeresis.

l. 16. *froward*: “Disposed to go counter to what is demanded or is reasonable; [...] Adverse” (*OED*: froward, *a., adv., prep.* A. 1. & 2. a.)

l. 20. *abate*: destroy or lower in stature (*OED*: abate, *v.*<sup>1</sup> I. & II. 5. & 6.)

l. 21. *scapeth*: escapes.

l. 22. *Ne*: nor.

*rage*: madness.

l. 23. *estates*: ranks or social classes, but also worldly properties (see *OED*: estate, *n.* 3. a.)

l. 24. *subdue*: overcome.

*the sage*: the wise. cf. “A complaint to the Nightingale”, l. 28 n.

*Anno ætatis 13<sup>o</sup>*: “[composed in his] thirteenth year of age”, cf. “Beautie is brittle” l. 42 n., “Of the fame argument” l. 32 n., and “Meditatio de Passione Christi” l. 150 n. This would date the poem as having been composed c. 1572.

---

### 10. “Beautie is brittle” (fols. 79–79<sup>v</sup>)

In this poem Vaux wonders at the folly of vainly following after beauty. He cites the story of the Trojan War to illustrate beauty’s potential for harm. He also draws attention to its changeability and ephemerality by comparing the loss of human beauty in old age with the decay of flowers in winter. He mentions Medusa who was transformed from a beautiful woman into a gorgon. In the third stanza Vaux criticises beauty because, like a painting on a wall, it does not show the true nature of what lies beneath it. Vaux then cites instances in classical myth of the personal destruction which vanity brings upon people. He suggests ironically that vain people are well served by the ruin they bring upon themselves. He concludes by returning to his opening statement and confessing that he cannot help but marvel that, with nothing but vanity to commend their actions, women try to make themselves more beautiful with cosmetics and curling tongs. Cf. George Gascoigne’s Epilogue to *The Steele Glas* (1576),

Beholde (my lorde) what monfters muster here,  
 With Angels face, and harmefull helifh harts,  
 With fmyling lookes, and depe deceitful thoughts,  
 With tender skinnes, and ftony cruel mindes,  
 With stealing steppes, yet forward feete to fraude.  
 Behold, behold, they neuer ftande content,  
 With God, with kinde, with any helpe of Arte  
 But curle their locks, with bodkins & with braids,  
 But dye their heare, with fundry subtill fleights,  
 But paint and flicke, til fayreft face be foule,  
 But bumbaft, bolfter, frifte, and perfume:  
 They marre with muske, the balme which nature made,  
 And dig for death, in dellicateft difhes.

(ll. 5–17)

The poem comprises six stanzas in rhyme royal.

TITLE. *Beautie*: beauty.

- l. 1. *Paris*. In Greek mythology, Paris was the son of King Priam of Troy. He kidnapped Helen (subsequently ‘Helen of Troy’), the wife of King Menelaus of Sparta, which outrage sparked the Trojan War.

*farre*: far.

- l. 2. *Menelaus*: Menelaus’. Tetrasyllabic through diaeresis. See l. 1 n. above.
- l. 3. *Grekēs ... ten yerēs warre*. The Trojan War was fought on one side by a league of Greek kings and their armies avenging the disgrace of the aggrieved Menelaus, and on the other by the Trojans defending their city and Paris’s stolen bride. The story is told in various of its stages in Homer’s *Iliad* as well as in many Greek tragedies.

*tenne*: ten.

*yerēs*: years’.

*warre*: war. Rhymed with “farre” (l. 1), see Dobson, p. 331.

- l. 4. *Goddeſses*: goddesses. The primary stress is on the first syllable. In Greek myth the goddesses Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite asked Paris to judge which of them was the most beautiful. Paris judged Aphrodite the most beautiful because she promised him the most beautiful woman in the world, which led to his abduction of Helen and the subsequent Trojan War (see l. 1 n. and l. 3 n. above). Ovid recounts the judgement of Paris in *Heroides*, XVI. 71–73.

- l. 5. *caused*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

*lose his life*. In the Trojan War.

- l. 6. *Sith*: since, after.

*mischefe great*. The abduction of Helen.

- l. 7. *Al*: al; in the sense of ‘only’.

*vaine*. Vaux plays on both meanings of vain: ‘inordinately proud’ and ‘worthless’.

*done*: finished.

- l. 8. *floures*: flowers. Monosyllabic through elision by coalescence.

*ful fresh in May*: in springtime.

- l. 10. *in age*: in time.

- l. 11. *foule*: foul; loathsome.

*some=time*: sometime(s).

- l. 12. *Mēdufaēs*: Medusa's. In Greek mythology Medusa was a beautiful young woman, the only mortal in her family. When she defiled Athena's temple in an act of passion with Poseidon, Athena changed her into a gorgon, a horrifying winged creature in female form with claws and with writhing serpents for hair, whose visage turned any onlooker into stone. Ovid relates the story of her transformation in *Metamorphoses*, IV. 794–803.

*shene*: sheen, beautiful, bright (*OED*: sheen, *a.* 1. a; cf. German 'schön').

- l. 13. *honestie*: chastity (*OED*: honesty I. 3. †b).  
 l. 14. *ouglie*: ugly.  
 l. 15. *Fairenes* ... *wall*. The simile is unusual. Frescoes and mural paintings were common in English churches before they were whitewashed by (sometimes unwilling) iconoclasts during the English Reformation (see Stephen Friar, *A Companion to the English Parish Church*, p. 384), though Vaux is probably referring to the gradual effacement of murals through natural decay.

*Fairenes*: fairness.

- l. 16. *rubbed*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.  
*of*: off.  
*done away*: destroyed.  
 l. 17. *sheweth*: showeth (shows).  
 l. 18. *wal*: wall.  
 l. 19. *beauties*: beauty's.  
*glafse*: glass; mirror.  
*bewray*: reveal.  
 l. 20. *moch*: much.  
 ll. 23–25. *Antigone* ... *in the end*. There were three Antigones in classical legend. Vaux is referring not to the Antigone of the Oedipus myths, nor to the wife of Peleus, but rather to the daughter of the Trojan Laomedon,

[...] who durst of pride contende  
 In beutie with the wife of Jove: by whome she in the ende  
 Was turned to a Storke.

(Golding, VI. 112–114)

The story is told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, VI. 93–97.

- l. 25. *turned*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

ll. 26–28. *The water=Nymphs ... daughters life*. In ancient Greek legend the Ethiopian king, Cepheus, had a wife, Cassiopeia, who angered the Nereids by boasting that she was more beautiful than them. In punishment for this Poseidon sent a sea monster, Cetus, to plague the Ethiopian coast. To appease the wrath of the beast, Ammon, the oracle of Zeus, instructed that Cepheus's virgin daughter Andromeda should be chained to a rock on the shore and sacrificed to Cetus. She was subsequently rescued by the hero, Perseus. Ovid tells the story in *Metamorphoses*, IV. 668–764.

l. 27. *wreake*: take vengeance on.

*Cepheus*: Cepheus'. Trisyllabic. The second syllable is stressed.

l. 28. *Hammons*: Ammon's.

l. 29. *King Prætus daughters*. Proetus shared the kingship of Argolis with his twin brother Acrisius. His three daughters, Lysippe, Iphinoë and Iphianassa offended Dionysus by refusing to acknowledge his divinity and were consequently driven mad. Ovid mentions their madness (but not their names) in *Metamorphoses*, XV, ll. 358–360.

*Prætus*: Proetus'.

*over passe*: pass over, ignore.

l. 30. *moe*: more.

*too long to tel*: it would take too long to mention them and tell their stories.

l. 31. *In which ... a glasse*. Vaux ironically suggests holding up a mirror (a symbol of vanity) to beauty to reveal its true nature.

l. 32. *of*: by, because of.

*fel*: fell, experienced a demise.

ll. 33–35. *Now thinke ... to arise?* This is intentional sarcasm. Cf. "A description of Love", ll. 13–14 & 20–21.

l. 33. *ferved*. Disyllabic, "–ed" voiced.

l. 34. *price*: prize, value, (not 'price' as in 'cost'). Rhymed with "arise" (l. 35).

l. 37. *marred*. Disyllabic, "–ed" voiced.

*wind*. Rhymed with "mind" (l. 39) and "blind" (l. 40), see Dobson, pp. 479–480.

l. 38. *illes*: ills; evils.

*spring*: arise.

l. 39. *chose*: choose.

*marvaile*. In his final stanza, Vaux repeats the same main verb that he used in the first stanza.

l. 41. *To flee ... curle their haire*. The sense of this is unclear. Vaux may be referring to the practice of ladies curling their hair with hot curling tongs. Alternatively Vaux might be referring to two separate actions rather than intending a causal link between the women fleeing the smoke of coals and curling their hair.

l. 41. *fmoake*: smoke.

l. 42. *paint their faces*. This is a derisive reference to the application of makeup to the face. Cf. Gascoigne above, “They neuer stande content, [...] But paint and slicke til fayrest face be foule” (l. 14).

*lovers*: lovers’.

*bleare*: cloud, dim, deceive. Rhymed with “haire” (l. 41). See Dobson, p. 636.

*Anno ætatis 13<sup>o</sup>*: “[composed in his] thirteenth year of age” (c. 1572), cf. “No trust in Fortune”, l. 24 n., “Of the fame argument”, l. 32 n., and “Meditatio de Passione Christi”, l. 150 n.

## 11. “**Being sicke in Oxford thus he prayd**” (fols. 79<sup>v</sup>–80)

The title of this poem offers the only extant information for what occasioned it. The circumstances surrounding Vaux being sick can only be guessed at. It is possible that he wrote this poem soon before his death while journeying on sick leave from the Marshalsea to convalesce Shoby, but a journey from London to Leicestershire is unlikely to have taken him through Oxfordshire and the style and rhetoric of the poem is so similar to Vaux’s other poems as to suggest that they were also written during his minority.

In this poem Vaux prays to God to save him from sin and sickness. As is typical of Vaux’s shorter poems, the poet lists examples to navigate cyclically towards a conclusion which is the same as his opening assertion or (in this case) request. (This is in keeping with rhetorical amplification and typical of euphuistic style.) He begins the poem by echoing the opening of Ps 130 (*D-R & Vulgate*: Ps 129), “Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord” – the ‘de profun-

dis'. Although the 'de profundis' is sung weekly during Vespers, it is primarily recited in the

prayers for the dead; it is the psalm of the holy souls in purgatory, the words of the Psalmist applying well to the longing and sighing of the souls exiled from heaven. It is recited at funerals by the priest, before the corpse is taken out of the house to the church.

(CE: De Profundis)

Starting with this idea in mind Vaux illustrates his condition with allusions to Biblical characters being trapped in a perilous depth of one kind or another. Thus the reader is reminded of God saving Jonah in the whale's stomach and protecting Daniel in the lions' den. Vaux depicts his life as a ship striving not to be overturned in a sea of sin (ll. 5–6). In the final stanza he prays that he may come safely into the port of eternal life. Each stanza ends with an appeal to God to pity and save him, as in a litany (cf. the 1544 English litany: "O God, the father of heaven, have mercie upon us miserable sinners"). The poem, one of Vaux's shortest, is written in *Venus and Adonis* stanzas. It is in the tradition of the 'moriturus lyric'<sup>117</sup> (in which the speaker contemplates his imminent death, cf. Tichborne's elegy and Donne's "Hymn to God My God, in My Sickness").

TITLE. *ficke*: sick.

l. 1. *wayling*: wailing.

*depth of sinne*. Following the psalmist tradition Vaux likens sinfulness to something deep, and therefore overpowering. Cf. Ps 129 (D-R: Ps 130).

l. 2. *Lord*. God.

*sæely*: pitiful (see OED: seely, a. 6.)

l. 3. *Wherfore*: wherefore.

*beginne*: begin.

l. 4. *Though*: even if.

ll. 5–6. *And though my ship ... let me never drowne*. Vaux uses the image of a capsized ship to describe the extent to which his life is capable of being spiritually endangered by his sinfulness. The conceit of the

---

<sup>117</sup> See John Gouws, "Fact and Anecdote in Fulke Greville's Account of Sidney's Last Days" in *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* ed. by Jan van Dorsten (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), p. 66.

ship representing the self is a common motif in classical and Renaissance poetry.

- l. 7. *Jonas*: Jonah. A minor Old Testament prophet who wilfully disobeyed God's injunction that he preach to the wicked people of Nineveh. He was punished by being cast into the sea and swallowed by a great fish in whose stomach he was imprisoned for three days and three nights until, having repented of his disobedience and resolved to go to Nineveh and preach to the people there, he was spewed out. The story is told in JON 1: 1 – 2: 10.

*fisshes*: fish's.

*maw*: mouth.

- l. 8. *woeful wight*. This is in apposition to "I".

- l. 9. *qwite*: quite, fully.

*with=drawe*: withdraw.

- l. 12. *finne*: sin.

*pul*: pull.

- l. 13. *save'dst*: save(d)st (save). Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

*thy Prophet in the cave*. The Old Testament prophet Daniel was thrown into a den ('cave') of lions for praying to God during a thirty-day royal ban on praying to any god other than the Persian emperor, Darius. But God protected Daniel and he survived unscathed. Cf. DAN 6: 1–28.

- l. 15. *the Ramping Lion*: the Devil. 1 PT 5: 8 cautions believers to "Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour".

*thou me save*: save me.

- l. 16. *goeth*. Monosyllabic through elision by coalescence.

*felie*: seely, cf. l. 2 n. above.

*flaye*: slay, kill.

- l. 17. *daunger*: danger.

*close*: entrap, besiege.

- l. 19. *Lord of Lordes*. One of God's titles; used in DEUT 10: 17 and elsewhere.

- l. 20. *vouchesafe*: vouchsafe, "give, grant, or bestow in a gracious or condescending manner" (*OED*: vouchsafe, *v.* I. 2.)

- l. 21. *Vnto*: unto.

---

*bowe*: bow, lower.

*piteous*: “Full of piety; godly, devout” (*OED*: piteous, *adj.* †3.)

*εare*: ear. Rhymed with “prayer” (l. 19.), see Dobson, p. 743 n. 4 and 646 n. 5.

- l. 22. *Though now ... reioyce*. This is based on Christ’s promise in the beatitudes, “Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted” (MT 5: 5).

*reioyce*: rejoice.

- l. 23. *passe*: cross, overcome.

*feas of strife*. his physical sickness, but also his struggle against sin.

- l. 24. *porte of Life*. Heaven, the home of God who is the creator of life.

*porte*: port, harbour.

---

**12–15. “Two Chores and an Epilogue added to the Tragedie of Agamemnon, translated out of Seneca” (fols. 80–83<sup>v</sup>)**

This series of poems is, as their prefatory title suggests, an addition by Vaux to Lucius Annaeus Seneca’s (c. 4 BC – 65 AD) tragedy, *Agamemnon*. The final poem is dated as having been written when Vaux was seventeen years old and it is likely that this indicates that all four poems were written c. 1576. An English translation of the play composed by John Studley (a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge) appeared in 1566, written in poulterers’ measure, as are the two chorus sections by Vaux. Vaux’s epilogue is written in blank verse. The stylistic similarities between Studley’s translation and Vaux’s additions (particularly the high bathos, distracting use of rhetoric, and near obsessive use of alliteration) suggest that Vaux knew the translation. Following Vaux’s two choruses and epilogue there is a poem in Latin hexameters, entitled “Of the same argument”, in which the punishment that awaits Aegisthus and Clytemnestra is foretold. Seneca’s Latin play draws heavily on the Greek tragedian Aeschylus’s *Oresteia* trilogy which portrays the death of Agamemnon and Orestes’s revenge on his mother and her lover.

In Greek legend Tantalus, a son of Zeus and king of Lydia, served the flesh of his son Pelops to the gods on Mount Olympus to test their omniscience. His deceit was discovered and the gods restored Pelops to life and damned Tantalus to eternal suffering in Tartarus. Pelops’s line was cursed, however, when he drowned the charioteer Myrtilus in an act of rage. Pelops had two sons, Thyestes and Atreus. Thyestes seduced the wife of Atreus and in revenge Atreus cooked and served Thyestes’s sons to their father at a banquet. Thereafter, intent on exacting retribution at all costs, Thyestes obeyed the Delphic oracle and sired another son, Aegisthus, by his own daughter Pelopia. Aegisthus later murdered Atreus in revenge for the slaughter of his brother-uncles.

Atreus’s two most famous sons were Menelaus and Agamemnon. Menelaus’s wife was abducted by Paris which ignited the Trojan War. Agamemnon was the leader of the Greek armies in that conflict. On the point of embarking across the Aegean, the Greek fleet was stayed by a strong north wind and Agamemnon was compelled by an oracle to sacrifice his eldest daughter, Iphigenia, to gain favourable winds. Upon his triumphant return to his native Argos, his wife Clytemnestra and Aegisthus (by now her lover) slew Agamemnon and his

Trojan concubine, the prophetess Cassandra, in revenge for Iphigenia's death and to hide their adultery. Agamemnon's son Orestes fled and later returned as an adult to kill his mother and Aegisthus for their heinous crime. Though he was assisted in this act by his sister, Electra, he alone was hounded to the ends of the earth by the Furies for having committed the outrage of matricide.

Seneca's play starts with the ghost of Thyestes lamenting the suffering he endures in Hades for having committed incest and eaten his own sons. He has returned to the realm of mortals to witness vengeance and foretells the destruction that is to befall his brother Atreus's line. A chorus of Argive women then appears and complains that fortune always plagues rulers with troubles, that the nature of politics is continual feuding, and that fortune lays low those whom she has first raised.

In the next scene Clytemnestra consults with her soul why she should waver in killing Agamemnon when she is already tainted by her adultery with Aegisthus. Her nurse counsels her to delay whatever course of action she is contemplating, but Clytemnestra states that her passions are too strong to delay and then discusses the nature of chance, the conflict between repentance and perseverance in doing evil, and the conflict between parental and spousal duties. Clytemnestra grieves for her slain daughter Iphigenia and justifies her intention to kill Agamemnon by claiming she is acting in vengeance for his infanticide and hypocrisy since, after he had conquered Priam he took the Trojan king's daughter, Cassandra, for his concubine. In the vein of Shakespeare's *Lady Macbeth* she exhorts her soul to steel itself towards her coming crime and reproaches herself for hesitating. The nurse urges restraint, pointing out Agamemnon's might and the outrage his death will cause throughout Greece. Aegisthus then emerges and counsels himself against fear, reasoning that he must either kill Agamemnon or be killed by him. Aegisthus exhorts Clytemnestra to carry out their plot but she wavers. He points out Agamemnon's infidelity, fierce nature and tyranny as incentives to kill him before he punishes her for her adultery, but Clytemnestra counters with a hopeful notion of mutual forgiveness which Aegisthus scoffs at. Clytemnestra suggests hiding their adultery by bribing those members of the palace who have knowledge of it, but Aegisthus points out that this is futile. She rebukes him for counselling her to do evil when she is repenting her past sins and she derides his supposedly royal and divine ancestry as incestuous. When Aegisthus is willing to endure exile or suicide for her sake,

Clytemnestra melts. She accepts her shared complicity with him and determines to help execute their plot.

Next a festive Argive chorus comes on stage and invokes the Muses, Apollo (the god of poetry), Juno (the patroness of Argos), Minerva (the enemy of Troy), Diana (whose island of Delos gave safe anchorage to the Greek fleet), and Jupiter (the father of all) to join in celebrating Agamemnon's victorious return. Eurybates (Agamemnon's servant and soldier) comes on stage, rejoicing to be back home and informs Clytemnestra that the great king is on his way. Clytemnestra feigns joy and asks after Menelaus and Helen. Eurybates replies that the Greek fleet was scattered in a storm and describes their homeward journey.

Cassandra then appears with a chorus of weeping Trojan women and urges them to grieve for themselves not her, but they reason that shared woes are more easily borne. Cassandra irreverently tears the fillets of Apollo from her hair. Her woes are so great that they overcome her fear of the gods; besides, with Troy's menfolk killed and her mother transformed to a dog (cf. Euripides, *Hecuba*, ll. 1262–1273), she is utterly alone. She then has a vision of the slaughter being planned by Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. She collapses as Agamemnon returns, rejoicing to be home and enquires why Cassandra has fainted. Cassandra foretells his doom and points out the ironic parallels between his present situation and Troy's destruction:

AGA. [...]
   
This day is festival.
   
CAS. At Troy so was it wont to be.
   
AGA. Let us to th' altars worship give.
   
CAS. At th' altars died my sire.
   
AGA. Pray we to Jove.
   
CAS. To Jove whose grace divine doth me inspire?
   
AGA. Dost thou suppose that Troy thou seest?
   
CAS. And Priam eke I see.
   
AGA. Troy is not here.
   
CAS. Where Helen is, there I take Troy to be.

(Studley, 4. 1)

Cassandra next tells of the slaughter within the house. Electra then appears and tells Orestes to flee, entrusting him to Strophius. Electra then berates her mother for her adultery and the murder of Agamemnon, while Clytemnestra in turn falsely accuses her daughter of being a shameless whore, and chides her impiety in being uncivil to her mother. Electra refuses to tell her where Orestes is. Aegisthus enters, chides Electra, and determines to imprison her in dark-

ness. Clytemnestra then orders Cassandra's death, but the prophetess welcomes it and prophesies Clytemnestra's destruction.

Seneca's tragedy is unusual in that it has two distinct chorus groups, one of Trojan women and another of Argive women. Both Vaux's choruses are Argive in their sympathies. It is unclear where Vaux intended to insert these. Seneca's original contains no epilogue, but its translator, John Studley, provided a fairly lengthy one in the mouth of Eurybates. In it he berates the Furies for continuing to urge the senseless bloodletting from generation to generation, summarises the action of the tragedy, and foretells Orestes's revenge. This act of adding to the play inspired the seventeen-year-old Vaux to try his hand at imitation.

The *Agamemnon* poems are distinct in mood and subject from his other extant poems. They appear to belong to a different period and are dated as having been written when he was seventeen (c. 1576) rather than thirteen (the 'date' given for several of his other poems). Perhaps Vaux felt the lack of these choruses and epilogue in Seneca's original. Although it is unlikely, his father's acting company, "The Lord Vaux's Men" (see p. xi), may have required additions for a performance of the play (they are recorded as operational at least as early as 1579). Making interpolations and excisions in play-scripts were common enough practices at the time. The poems display an intensity of feeling and sometimes verge on the hyperbolic, but they display Vaux's awareness of the dramatic and, like his other longer poems, they evoke a strong sense of pathos in the reader.

## 12. "The first Chore"

Vaux begins "The first Chore" by condemning lust because it leads to the destruction of goodness, reputation and order. The chorus then condemns the deliberate and deceitful orchestration of such ruin (plotting, seduction and infidelity) and concludes by cursing Aegisthus who is guilty of all this.

TITLE. *Chore*: chorus. This obsolete form is unusual. Its true English meaning seems to be a 'choir', 'band', or 'company'. Vaux here clearly uses it in place of the Latin 'chorus'. (See *OED*: †chore, chor, n.<sup>1</sup> 1–4.)

ll. 1, 13, 15–17, 21, 23, & 26. *Woe worth*. Anaphora.

l. 1. *Woe worth*: woe betide, may calamity come upon.

*worth*: may it be (*OED*: worth, *v.*<sup>1</sup> B. 1. b.), cf. Dutch ‘worden’ and Latin ‘utinam’.

*lecherous*: excessively lewd, obscene. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*harboureth*: shelters, protects (see *OED*: harbour, harbor, *v.* I. 3. a.) Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

l. 2. *fmoldring*: smouldering. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*heate*: lust.

l. 3. *corps*: corpse, but in the sense of body rather than carcass.

*the goodes*: that which is good.

l. 4. *foiles*: dishonours (see *OED*: foil, *v.*<sup>1</sup> III. †7.) Possibly an error by the copyist for ‘foiles’ (or ‘besmirches’).

*name*: reputation.

*mindes*: mind’s.

ll. 5–10. *Whose*. Anaphora.

l. 6. *boastes*: boasts (of sexual conquests).

*sparkes*: sparks.

l. 7. *stinking ... burne*. Following GEN 19: 24 and PS 11: 7 (PS 10: 7 in *Vulgate & D-R*) Hell is typically portrayed as a place of fire and brimstone (sulphur, which is malodorous). Vaux here is describing lust in hellish terms.

*stil*: still, always.

l. 8. *coales*. An embellishment of Hell’s depiction as a fiery place.

*earth to earth*. The sense here may be that ‘the body which is earth returns to the earth to decay into earth’ (cf. GEN 3: 19, “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth out of which thou wast taken: for dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return”). Compare also *OED*: earth, *n.*<sup>1</sup> IV. 13. c., meaning ‘the human body’. “Earth” might possibly be an error by the copyist for ‘hearth’, which would maintain the fiery imagery of ll. 3–10 and be understood as ‘A fire whose hearth shall turn to dust’, conveying a sense of the self-destructiveness of sin – a regular theme in Vaux’s poems and a common concern of the age.

- l. 9. *blafing*: blazing.  
*brandes*: firebrands.
- l. 11. *maidēs*: maid's, possibly maids'.
- l. 12. *ſeke*: seek.  
*spoile*: spoil, corruption.  
*wifely chastitie*: marital faithfulness and sexual fidelity, cf. "virginitie" (l. 11 above) and *SE*: chastity.
- l. 14. *trappe*: trap.  
*deceite*. Rhymed with "waite" (l. 13). Cf. "A complaint to the Nightingale", l. 157 n.
- l. 15. *forced*. Disyllabic.  
*guileful*: deceitful.
- l. 16. *durst*: dares.  
*ſoch*: such.  
*conceite*: excessive sense of self-worth.
- l. 18. *mixt*: mixed.  
*gal*: gall.
- l. 19. *ſwearēs*: swears.  
*ſeemes*: seems.
- l. 20. *ſeekēs*: seeks.  
*profest*: professed.
- l. 22. *loofe*: untie.  
*giftēs*: gifts, bribes.  
*wedlockes*: wedlock's, marriage's.  
*chaine*: bond.
- l. 24. *undefiled*: undefiled. Tetrasyllabic, "-ed" voiced.  
*Hymenæus bēd*. Hymen was the Roman god of marriage. Tetrasyllabic, "-ed" voiced.
- l. 25. *bird ... nēst*. The cuckoo, which lays its eggs in other birds' nests, is a figure of marital infidelity (see *Brewers Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*: cuckold).
- l. 26. *Woe worth the foxe ... reſt*: another symbol of adulterous behaviour. Foxes and badgers both make their homes underground. It is plausible that a fox could occupy a badger's sett. No proverbial source for this allusion has been traced but, considering the refer-

ence to cuckoos in the previous line, there might well have been one which is now lost.

*badgers*: badger's.

*denne*: den.

ll. 27–28. *These woes ... al our woe*. Cf. “The ſecond Chore”, ll. 33–34.

l. 28. *Ægisthus*. Aegisthus was Agamemnon's cousin and murderer (see p. 90 above).

*the cause of al our woe*. Compare the standard final condemnation of a bad king in the books of Kings in the Old Testament, that he “made Israel to sin” (cf. 1 KINGS 14: 16 inter alia).

### 13. “The ſecond Chore”

Whereas in “The first Chore” the chorus condemns seduction, in “The ſecond Chore” its members condemn adultery and murders resulting from adultery, calling on Juno to punish adulterers. They deplore the heinousness of Clytemnestra's murderous deed, condemn her and her co-conspirators' evil plotting, and conclude by cursing her. As in “The first Chore”, Vaux makes heavy use of anaphora to heighten the urgency of the chorus's imprecations against Clytemnestra and Aegisthus.

ll. 1–2. *What new defire ... Pard to take*. According to Pliny, the leopard was the bastard of the lion and the pard (panther). See his *Historia Naturalis*, VIII. 42.

l. 1. *chaunge*: change.

*Lions*: lion's. According to Hope B. Werness, in *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York: Continuum, 2004), “Lion symbolism [includes] association with the sun, regal power, justice, and resurrection, [and] their roles as guardians” (Werness, p. 255). It was a common heraldic emblem for kings in the Middle Ages and is a natural emblem to ascribe to Agamemnon, the ‘king of kings’ or “rex ille regum” (*Agamemnon*, l. 39).

*make*: mate, spouse.

l. 2. *hardie*: brave.

*Pard*: panther or leopard – an animal known for its deadly stealth.

l. 3. *pæccēs*: pieces.

*teare*. Half-rhymed with “*fere*” (l. 4). Dobson is silent on this.

l. 4. *fort*: manner.

*fere*: companion.

l. 5. *listening*. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*take place*: find a place, take root.

ll. 5–8, & 15. *Woe worth*. Anaphora. Cf. “The first Chore”.

l. 6. *curious*. Disyllabic through elision by coalescence.

*vew’d*: viewed.

*Leachours*: lecher’s, obscene person’s.

l. 7. *yelding*: yielding.

l. 8. *wanting*: lacking.

*voide of*: lacking.

l. 9. *Now Iuno ... defil’d*: Now may Juno punish those who defile marriages in this way.

*Iuno*: Juno. In Roman religion Juno was the protectress of marriage, guardian of women, and consort to the philandering king of the gods, Jupiter.

*qwite*: quit, requite, punish.

*qwite the wrong*. MS. reads “*qwite wrong*”, but this leaves the line a syllable short of the twelve required in the first line of a poulter’s measure, and disrupts the rhythm of the line by awkwardly inserting a spondee in the third foot. I have therefore assumed this to be an error on the copyist’s part. See below:

~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ /  
 Now Ju-no quite [the] wrong of spou-sals thus de-filed,  
 ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ /  
 Ye Gods do grant some quick re-venge for truth and faith be-guiled.

*Spoufals*: marriages.

l. 10. *Yee Gods*. A standard Latin imprecation: “*Di immortales!*”

*quicke*: quick, speedy.

*beguil’d*: beguiled, tricked, corrupted.

ll. 11–12. *But out ... drerie plaint*. This line should be understood as ‘But – out! alas! – if one painted the rest in lively sort each melting heart would soon resolve in floods of dreary plaint’.

- l. 11. *out*. Used here as an interjection indicating abhorrence or dismissal (*OED*,  
out, *int.* 1.)  
*the rest*: all other adulterers.  
*in lively fort to paint*: to describe as lively rather than to condemn all  
adulterers outright.
- ll. 12–14. *Each*. Anaphora.
- l. 12. *melting*: softening.  
*refolve*: melt (see *OED*: resolve, *v.*, I. †1.)  
*floudes*: floods.  
*drerie*: dreary.  
*plaint*: lamentation.
- l. 13. *ruthful*: pitiful, sorrowful.  
*must*: ‘cannot help but’.
- l. 14. *waxe*: grow.
- l. 15. *the fatal garment*. Clytemnestra threw a net (which she herself had  
woven) over Agamemnon so that Aegisthus could stab him, much  
as a Roman retiarius would do. Cf. Seneca ll. 887–889.
- l. 16. *Wherwith bewrapt*: wrapped up in which.  
*bore*: boar. Seneca uses the same simile, cf. Seneca ll. 892–894:

at ille, ut altis hispidus silvis aper  
cum casse vincus temptat egressus tamen  
artatque motu vincla et in cassum furit.

Studley renders this as,

He, as it were a bristled boar, entangled in the net  
Among the briers in bushy woods, yet trieth out to get  
With struggling much the shrinking bands more straitly he doth bind.

*toile*: a hunter’s net (*OED*: toil, *n.*<sup>2</sup> 1.), but also toil in the sense of ‘strug-  
gle’ (*OED*: toil, *n.*<sup>1</sup> 2.)

*flue*: slew.

- l. 17. *Sunne*: sun.  
*dæde*: deed.
- l. 18. *turning backe*. The image is of time moving backwards. This is appropri-  
ate in the Agamemnon myth as his father, Atreus, won back his  
kingdom from his brother Thyestes through winning a bet that the  
sun would in fact move backwards. (In this miracle he was aided

by Apollo.) Electra tells of this event in Euripides's *Orestes*, ll. 1000 ff.

l. 19. *middes*: midst.

*purple streames*: arterial blood.

*ground*. Rhymed with "wound" (l. 20). There is nothing in Dobson on this but a strong northern accent would render the rhyme as [gru:nd] and [wu:nd].

l. 20. *Behew'd*: cut with sword blows.

*womans*: woman's. Clytemnestra's corruption of marriage and peaceful womanly virtue, in her act of impious defiance against patriarchy, is intended to elicit a response of outrage in the reader or audience.

*mortal*. A pun, Clytemnestra's hand is the hand of a mortal but it is also deadly.

*stab'd*: stabbed.

*many a wound*. Cf. Seneca, ll. 890–905.

l. 21. *faithful traine*. Agamemnon's entourage and bodyguard.

l. 22. *fure*: loyal.

*shambles*: butcher's yard, slaughterhouse.

l. 23. *guiltie*: guilty.

*handes ... distil with bloud*. Clytemnestra's hands are covered in blood.

*even*. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction and coalescence.

*distil*: "to drip with" (*OED*: *distil*, *v.*, 1. b.)

l. 24. *Tigre*: tiger. A proverbial figure of rage, cf. "As wood [i.e. fierce] as any Tiger" (B.J. Whiting, T290).

*wittelesse*: witless, senseless.

*dronke*: drunk.

*mode*. This is unclear. Possibly "mood" if "bloud" (l. 23) is to be pronounced [blu:d], or "mode" (manner) if it is to be pronounced [blød]. See Dobson, pp. 508–511. Perhaps Vaux merely intends a half-rhyme at this point.

l. 25. *chaung'd*: exchanged.

*mourening*: mourning.

*gowne*: garment.

*with*: for.

l. 26. *light*: lit.

*wedding torche*. In Roman custom, after the wedding ceremony the bride and groom were escorted to the groom's dwelling by flute-players and torch-bearers.

ll. 27–29. *And fhal*. Anaphora.

l. 28. *place*: seat at table, but presumably also his throne.

l. 29. *large*: lavishly.

*meates*: food dishes.

*again be spred*. Vaux is pointing to the incongruity of replacing Agamemnon's homecoming feast with the feast of his murderers' marriage. Cf. Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, I. II. 180–181, "The funeral baked meats / Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables".

l. 30. *ifedde*: fed. This is an archaic form of the passive past participle.

l. 31. *broode*: offspring. Robert Graves mentions Aegisthus and Clytemnestra having a daughter known as the 'second Helen', whom Orestes also slew (see Graves, *The Greek Myths*, 113. *k*). No likely source of this detail would have been available to Vaux. It is mentioned by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, ch. 190, but this work only became available in print in 1601 (printed in Augsburg by David Hoeschel). Vaux is probably assuming progeny for Clytemnestra and Aegisthus rather than specifically referring to the 'second Helen'.

*vipers*: viper's, snake's.

*kind*: nature, type.

l. 32. *Venus*: Venus'. Venus was the Roman goddess of love, her "foule delight" is adultery, of which she was famously guilty, regularly cuckolding her husband Vulcan (cf. *Odyssey*, VIII. 266–367).

ll. 33–34. *Yea woe againe ... al our woe*. Cf. "The first Chore", ll. 27–28.

l. 34. *faithles*: unfaithful, adulterous.

#### 14. "The Epilogue or Conclusion"

In this poem Vaux uses the example of Agamemnon's downfall to create a homily on the dangers of lust and being incautious with enemies. The poet begins by addressing God and declaring his ways to be truly mysterious. This opening al-

lows Vaux to cite the example of Agamemnon who, although he was a mighty king, fell by the treacherous wickedness of Clytemnestra. Vaux makes much of the irony that Agamemnon survived ten years of bitter warfare and a disastrous voyage home only to be murdered in his own palace by his wife. Lamenting the deed, he condemns Clytemnestra and promises that the vengeance of the gods will come on her and Aegisthus. After describing how their corpses will rot and their souls burn, the speaker addresses his audience in a two-part admonition. First he warns them to be careful about who or what they depend on for their security. ll. 115–126 reflect on how burdened any ruler is by fears of being overthrown. Secondly he warns that enemies should be kept at a distance so that they cannot feign friendship while plotting one's overthrow. Vaux also warns of the dangers of adultery, pointing out that it caused both the Trojan War and the tragic history of the house of Atreus. (Vaux may be alluding to Henry VIII's adultery with Anne Boleyn which resulted in religious turmoil in England, the painful effects of which the Vaux family had experienced). The speaker concludes with an *adhortatio*, a plea that the audience take his advice to heart.

Unlike the two choruses, Vaux's epilogue is in blank verse, a form invented by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey in his translations of books II and IV of Virgil's *Aeneid* (c. 1540). After being introduced into English drama by Norton and Sackville in their tragedy *Gorboduc* (1561) it became the standard form for English dramatic verse.

l. 1. *rul'st*: rulest. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

*restles*: restless.

*rowling*: rolling. Clouds roll in the wind, but in classical mythology Atlas is said to hold up the sky and turn it on his shoulders.

*skie*: sky.

l. 2. *dome*: the dome of the sky, but also "dome" in its Latin sense of 'home': the dome of the sky is the home of God.

*flyding*: sliding.

*steppes*: steps.

l. 4. *straunge*: strange

*unknow'n*: unknown.

*wond'erous*. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*waiies*: ways.

- l. 5. *eventes*: events, results (*OED*: event, *n.*, 3. b.)  
*that*: that which.
- l. 6. *T<sup>r</sup>abafe*: to abase.  
*abafe*: make lower in rank or prestige, demote.
- l. 9. *auncient*: ancient.  
*Arge*. A variant form of Argos, an ancient city on the Peloponnesian peninsula and the capital of ancient Mycenae, the land over which Agamemnon ruled.  
*bare*: bore.  
*roial*: royal.
- l. 10. *ru'l'd*: ruled.  
*twelve hundred failles*. Seneca writes of Agamemnon leading “mille [...] rates” (a thousand ships, see Seneca, *Agamemnon*, l. 40) against Troy.
- l. 11. *mightie Grecian host*: the Greek army.
- l. 13. *Troians*: Trojans.  
*dradde*: dreaded (archaic past participle, see *OED*: dread, *ppl. a.*, FORMS).  
*borne*: born.  
*woorke their woe*: bring about their destruction.  
*woorke*: work, orchestrate.
- l. 14. *Martial*: warlike (relating to Mars, the Roman god of war).
- l. 15. *blest*: blessed.  
*prosperous chaunce*: good luck.  
*in field*: in battle.
- l. 16. *spoiles*: spoils, plunder.  
*Ilion*. Ilium was an alternative name for Troy, after its founder Ilus, son of Tros. Disyllabic through elision by coalescence.  
*subdus'd*: subdued, conquered.
- l. 17. *deckt*: decked, adorned.  
*laurel=crownes*. In the classical world the laurel wreath was awarded to conquering generals and winners of the Olympic games.
- l. 19. *Vnwares*: unwares, being unaware, “unobserved” (*OED*: unawares, *adv.* 1. b.), secretly.  
*bane*: fated destruction.

- l. 20. *Phrygian fieldes*. In Homeric times most of the Anatolian peninsula (the eastern part of modern-day Turkey) comprised the kingdom of Phrygia. The Phrygian fields referred to here are the plains around Troy where the battles of the Trojan War were fought.
- fieldes*. Monosyllabic through elision by coalescence.
- l. 21. *vanquisht*: vanquished.
- Mavors*: Mars. The Roman god of war, identified with the Greek god Ares.
- Mavors his*: Mavors's. Vaux here uses an alternative possessive to the genitive inflection ('s), common between 1400–1750. (See *OED*: *his*, *poss. pron.*, 3rd sing. masc. and †neut. B. 4.)
- l. 22. *impulse*: force.
- weake*. This adjective is often applied to women in Renaissance poetry, cf. 'the weaker sex'.
- Advoutresse*: advoutress, adulteress.
- l. 23. *often*: repeated.
- stroake*: stroke, the act of striking.
- ſeely*: wretched, miserable (*OED*: *seely*, *a.* 6.)
- l. 25. *carelesse*: careless, free from cares.
- cowch't*: couched, lying down.
- l. 26. *overpres't*: over pressed, excessively weighed down.
- poise*: weight.
- waightie*: weighty, heavy.
- l. 27. *wrapt*: wrapped.
- ſleightes*: sleights, acts of deceptive cunning.
- l. 28. *traiterous*: traitorous, treacherous. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.
- driftes*: plots, schemes (*OED*: *drift*, *n.*, I. †5.)
- l. 29. *Hectors*: Hector's. Hector was the greatest Trojan warrior and Agamemnon's most deadly enemy.
- l. 30. *Memnons*. See "A commendation of bloomes or blossomēs", l. 11 n.
- glaive*: a pole-arm with a curved blade at its end, similar to a halberd. Cf. "A complaint to the Nightingale" l. 68 n.
- Scythian Quene*: Penthesilea. At the time of the Trojan War Penthesilea was queen of the Amazons, the tribe of female warriors who lived

in Scythia (an ancient region north and east of the Black Sea). She led an army to Troy to assist the Trojans, but was later slain in battle by Achilles. Her death is often depicted on Greek vases and drinking vessels. Apollodorus tells her story in his *Epitome*, V. 1–2, but no edition of this work had been printed in England by the time of Vaux's death, so it is unclear where he learnt of it. *OED* records no reference to her between 1423 and 1798.

l. 31. *houge*: huge.

*Sarpedons*. Sarpedon was the brother of King Minos of Crete and commanded the Lycian contingent of Priam's allies against the Greeks in the Trojan War. Cf. *Iliad*, II. 877.

l. 32. *countréis*: country's.

l. 35. *Prince*. In the sense of ruler rather than heir apparent, cf. Latin 'princeps' the title taken by the Roman emperor Augustus.

*ent'řed*: entered.

*ieopardie*: jeopardy, danger.

l. 36. *glitt'ring*: glittering. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*glitt'ring shield*. This is a stock epithet in Homer's *Iliad*. The shields of various Greek and Trojan warriors as "ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης". (A more accurate translation is 'bossed shield'; Chapman prefers "round shield").

l. 37. *thick'st*: thickest. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

*ranckes*: ranks, lines of soldiers.

l. 38. *targe*: light shield.

l. 39. *faulte*: assault.

*walled*. Disyllabic, "-ed" voiced.

l. 40. *like*: likely.

*light*: alight, land.

*ful oft*: very often.

*drowning sandes*. The intended image is of a ship running aground on a sandbank and her crew drowning.

l. 41. *shiv'ring*: shivering, shattering.

*shiv'ring rockes*: rocks that will tear open a ship's hull.

l. 42. *spedie*: speedy, convenient.

- l. 43. *wifshēd*: wished. “wished death” makes sense if it is understood that according to the heroic credo the greatest death for a warrior is to die in battle. Alternatively in his many hardships Agamemnon may have wished for death only to meet it now that his hardships are finally at an end and he has returned home. It could be conjectured that “wished” here may mean ‘certain’ or ‘sure’ (cf. German ‘gewiß’ and Dutch ‘gewis’), although, when consulted about the expression, Edmund Weiner, deputy chief editor of the *OED*, did not agree with this reading. Disyllabic, “-ēd” voiced.

*ling’ring*: lingering. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

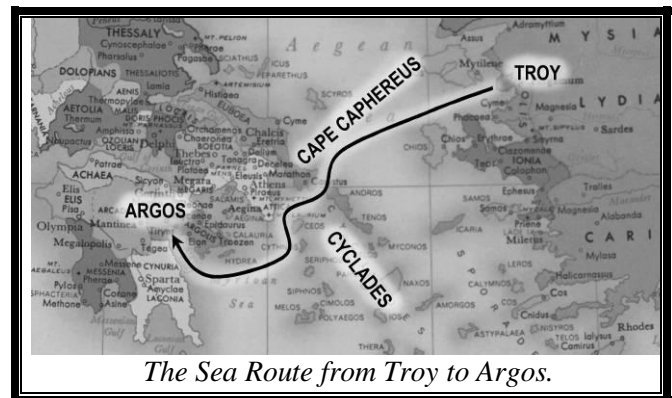
- l. 44. *escapt*: escaped.

*forrein*: foreign.

- l. 46. *thonder=stroake*: thunder-stroke.

- l. 47. *Capharean*. Cape Caphereus is a promontory on the south-western coast

of Euboea. To sail from Greece to Troy past Cape Caphereus, navigators had to avoid the dreaded Cyclades, a group of islands



*The Sea Route from Troy to Argos.*

said to revolve like a wheel and which were consequently perceived as dangerous to seafarers.

*shoare*: shore.

- l. 48. *streame*: current.

*sturdie*: sturdy, violent.

- l. 50. *Yea*: indeed. Possibly ‘Ye’, but unlikely in the context as Vaux does not appear to be addressing anyone directly.

*worke*: achieve, perform.

- l. 51. *traines*: snares, traps (*OED*: †train, *n.*<sup>2</sup> 2).

- l. 53. *surprised*. Trisyllabic, “-ēd” voiced.

*untimely*: untimely, ill-timed.

- l. 54. *weried*: wearied.

*limmes*: limbs.

- l. 55. *berēft*: robbed.
- l. 56. *princēlie*: princely, royal, that which is of the ruler.  
*rēgal*: kingly.  
*diadēme*: diadem, crown.
- l. 58. *ghost*: spirit, soul.  
*yēldes*: yields.
- l. 59. *T'appease*: to appease.  
*parentes*: parent's, or less likely, parents'.  
*foule offence*. Unclear. Vaux may be referring either to Agamemnon's infanticide in sacrificing his own daughter, Iphigenia, at Aulis to achieve favourable winds, or to Atreus serving Thyestes his own children to eat (see p. 90 above). It is possible that Vaux intends to allude to both these events in the Atreid history.
- l. 60. *ruthles*: ruthless.  
*brēst*: breast, the seat of the heart and tender emotions.
- l. 62. *Taurus mount*. The Taurus mountain range extends through ancient Lycia and Cilicia along the southern coast of present-day Turkey.  
*Taurus*: Taurus'.
- l. 63. *th'Ægean*. Elided.
- l. 65. *armed*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.  
*dēspite*: malice, hatred.
- l. 67. *damned*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.  
*loath'd*: was reluctant.
- l. 68. *Priame*: Priam, the elderly king of Troy during the Trojan War.  
*Hecuba*: Priam's queen.
- l. 69. *Priames jonnes*: Priam's sons. Hecuba bore Priam fifty sons, most of whom died in the Trojan War. They included Hector, Paris, Troilus, Helenus and Deiphobus. Priam fathered a further fifty sons through his concubines.  
*fure*: certainly.  
*waile*: bewail, lament.  
*case*: what has transpired.
- l. 72. *fhede*: shed.  
*trick'ling*: trickling. Vaux may be punning on the words ‘trickle’ and ‘trick’ here, suggesting that any of Clytemnestra's tears would be

insincere and form part of some act of deception. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*teares*: tears.

l. 73. *amendes*: amends.

*fact*: deed, action (cf. Latin 'factum').

l. 74. *Despiteous*: malicious.

*parte*: part, role.

l. 76. *Furies*: Fury's.

*Furies bird*. The Furies (or Eumenides) were bird-like monsters in female form who pursued those who had killed their own blood relative(s). Clytemnestra is compared to a Fury because she has exacted vengeance on Agamemnon for killing their daughter, Iphigenia.

*Ledaes*: Leda's. Leda was the wife of Tyndareus, the King of Sparta. She was the mother of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) as well as of Helen of Sparta (later of Troy) and Clytemnestra – the two most beautiful women of the ancient world. Pollux and Helen were the immortal children of Zeus whereas Castor and Clytemnestra were the mortal issue of Tyndareus.

*fure*: certainly.

l. 77. *flippe*: slip, "scion or descendant" (see *OED*: slip, *n.*<sup>2</sup> c.), but the word also has connotations of diminution and insufficiency (*OED*: slip, *n.*<sup>2</sup> 2. a.)

*no branch of heavenly tree*: not of divine ancestry.

l. 78. *Wel*: very, truly (*OED*: well, *adv.* IV. 16. a.)

*delite*: delight.

l. 79. *wanton*: self-indulgent, lascivious.

*sparkeling*: sparkling. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

l. 80. *Put backe*: cast aside.

*preafe in*: press in, supplant.

*in place*: in its place.

l. 81. *flepe*: sleep.

l. 82. *sleightes*: acts of cunning and/or deception.

*wunne*: won.

l. 83. *force*: reinforce.

- l. 84. *garde*: guard.
- l. 85. *ʃhort and ʃodein time*: soon. This should be read as an adverbial phrase.  
*ʃodein*: sudden.
- l. 86. *ʃharp*: acute, bitter.  
*batt'ring*: battering. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.  
*haile*: hail.
- l. 87. *ʃeate*: seat, throne.  
*angry Gods*. Clytemnestra's actions are likely to invoke the anger of the gods.  
*rayne*: rain down.
- l. 88. *law=lesse*: lawless, without principle or fear of God or man; also 'unlawful' because Clytemnestra and Aegisthus are adulterers not marriage partners.  
*mate*: spouse. Aegisthus.
- l. 89. *Nemefis*. In Greek mythology Nemesis was the goddess who apportioned misery and happiness in equal measure to individuals, wrought disaster on anyone who enjoyed too much good fortune and punished criminals.  
*stealing*: surreptitious, unnoticed.
- l. 90. *dome*: doom, fate.
- l. 91 ff. *Your*. Vaux shifts here from addressing Clytemnestra to addressing both her and her "law=lesse mate", Aegisthus.
- l. 92. *delicates*: delicacies, fancy cuisine.
- l. 93. *Despoiled ... to lie*. An unusual line for Vaux, it should be scanned as follows:
- ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ ~ / ~ /  
 Dε-spoi-led, bare, na-ked of cloathes to lie,
- Despoiled*: stripped. Trisyllabic: "-ed" voiced.
- l. 95. *boanēs*: bones.  
*wanton eaʃe*: lustful lazing about.  
*ʃoile*: soil, earth. Monosyllabic through elision by coalescence.
- l. 96. *In tract of time*: in due course (*OED*: tract, *n.*<sup>3</sup> I. 1. c.)  
*cindred*: cindered, burnt to ashes. The suggestion that Clytemnestra's corpse will both burn and decay enforces the idea of her utter destruction in retribution for her crimes.  
*mould*: rot.

- l. 97. *fil*: fill.
- l. 98. *bokes*: books, literature.
- l. 99. *finneful*: sinful.  
*soules*: souls.
- l. 100. *Twixt*: amongst.  
*heate ... snow*. A common perception of Hell as a place where the soul suffers extreme agony. Cf. Plutarch's *On the Delays of Divine Vengeance* (section 30), "there were lakes lying side by side, one a seething lake of gold, a second, piercing cold, of lead, and a third of rugged iron" (translation by de Lacy and Einarson, p. 295). Alan E. Bernstein refers to this passage in his account of the development of the human conception of Hell – see *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993). As in "The first Chore" l. 7, Vaux is referring to lustfulness in terms of the extremes of Hell.
- l. 101. *taste*: experience.  
*ever living death*: the paradoxical state of being but not being.
- l. 102. *Nemefis*. See l. 89 n. above.  
*dredeful*: dreadful.
- l. 103. *lechers*: lecher's.
- l. 104. *right*: just.
- ll. 105–6. *Now worthy ... mourneful tale*: 'Now you of good character who will one day deign to read this account'.  
*deigne*: deign, condescend.  
*sometime*: at some point in the future.
- l. 106. *cladde*: clad, clothed.
- l. 107. *availe*: avail, benefit.
- l. 109. *waye*: weigh in a balance so as to prove its worth, (*OED*: weigh, *v.* II. 12. a.)  
*sclender*: slender.  
*stay*: support, security (*OED*: stay, *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1. b.)
- l. 110. *Vpholdes*: upholds.  
*waight*: weight.
- l. 111. *flipp'ry*: slippery, untrustworthy.  
*stayes*: stays, see l. 109 n. above.

*climing*: climbing.

*fēete*: feet.

l. 112. *ſeatēs*: seats.

l. 113. *ſodaine*: sudden.

*breake=necke*: breakneck, dangerously fast.

l. 114. *tomble*: tumble.

*head=long*: headlong.

l. 115. *attend on*: accompany. There is a subtle irony here of troubles waiting on rulers.

l. 116. *What ialouse ... gold*: ‘What jealous heads attend the crown of massy gold’.

*ialouse*: jealous.

*massie*: massy, massive, heavy.

*scepter*: sceptre, the staff of office carried by monarchs as a symbol of their authority. Subject of “bringes” (l. 117).

l. 118. *ſlepēs*: sleeps, periods of sleep.

*beddes*: beds.

*downe*: down, the soft feathers used to stuff pillows and mattresses.

l. 119. *royal purple roabe*. Due to its scarcity and expense in former times, purple dye was reserved by sumptuary laws for the robes of Roman emperors and medieval kings.

l. 121. *furcharge*: overload.

l. 122. *him*: God or Jupiter. Vaux is deliberately being syncretic.

*weldes*: wields.

l. 123. *threat'ning*: threatening. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*affright*: frighten.

*careful*: worried, full of cares.

l. 125. *ſubtile*: subtle, “treacherously ... cunning” (OED: subtle, *a.*, †10. *b.*)

*contrive*: devise.

*drift*: plot.

l. 126. *lokēs*: looks.

l. 127. *ſhunne*: shun, avoid.

*clofe*: secretive (OED: close, *a.* and *adv.* A. 7.)

*foe*: the devil. Anyone seeking another’s destruction under the guise of friendship or goodwill.

- l. 128. *Whofe fawning ... doubt the worst*: 'it is impossible not to see the falsity and evil of a fawning, sycophantic friend'.  
*fawning*: flattering.  
*forbids*: hinders (*OED*: forbid, *v.* 2. a.)  
*doubt*: suspect.
- l. 129. *flowlie*: slowly.  
*frute*: fruit.
- l. 130. *foare*: sore, wound.  
*boane*: bone.  
*eates*: eats.
- l. 131. *hatcht*: hatched. Scorpions in fact give birth to live young, but living in a non-temperate climate, Vaux is unlikely to have known this.
- l. 132. *cannons*: cannon's.  
*shotte*: shot, projectile.
- l. 133. *poudre*: gunpowder.  
*prest*: pressed.
- l. 134. *towres*: towers.
- l. 135. *rent*: rend, tear apart.  
*loftie*: lofty, high.
- l. 136. *trembling earth*: an earthquake.  
*swalloweth*: swalloweth.
- l. 137. *halles*: halls. In Medieval and Tudor England, the hall was the main room in a large house or castle. It was used for dining and entertaining guests. Here, however, it refers in a looser sense, simply to large dwellings such as manor houses.  
*castels*: castles.  
*renoune*: renown.
- l. 138. *open foes*: undisguisedly hostile enemies.  
*foile*: foil, repulse, defeat.
- l. 140. *glofing*: glozing, flattering.
- l. 141. *fugred*: sugared, flattering.  
*dissembling*: disguising one's true sentiments or intentions.
- l. 143. *plotte*: plot, conspiracy.
- l. 144. *trie to trust*: test or prove the trustworthiness of.  
*trust to trie*: expect to survive.

- l. 145. *trapt*: trapped.
- l. 146. *suffer*: allow.
- l. 147. *rather*: even, “in contrast to a preceding statement” (*OED*: *rather*, *adv.* III. 9. c).  
*t’approache*: to approach.
- l. 148. *advouterers*: advoutrers, adulterers.
- l. 149. *lowtes*: louts, aggressive and ill-mannered people.
- l. 150. *Priames*: Priam’s.  
*towne*: town, i.e. Troy.  
*level*: flattened.
- l. 151. *Grekish*: Greek.  
*Paris*: Paris’s.  
*fact*. The deed referred to is Paris’s abduction of Helen of Sparta.
- l. 152. *Ajax*: Ajax, the greatest of the Greek warriors in the Trojan War after Achilles. He became angry when the Greek generals refused to give him the slain Achilles’s armour. In his rage he was struck mad by Athena and fell on his own sword.  
*dint*: blow or stroke.  
*darte*. The bolt Athena used to madden Ajax.
- l. 153. *Diomede*. Diomedes was a great Greek warrior in the Trojan War. When he returned home to find his wife had been unfaithful to him, he left his native Argos and resettled in Apulia. He is a central character in Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*.  
*native foile*: home country, i.e. Argos.
- l. 154. *Menelaus*. Spartan king, the brother of Agamemnon, and the cuckolded husband of Helen. On his return home after the Trojan War his ship was carried off course by a storm. He endured a series of adventures in the eastern Mediterranean before finally returning to Sparta. In Seneca’s *Agamemnon*, Eurybates tells of the Greek fleet’s homeward voyage in ll. 421–588.
- l. 155. *Agamemnons*: Agamemnon’s.  
*ought*: aught, anything.  
*declare*: show, teach.
- l. 156. *cursed*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.
- l. 157. *Beleve*: believe.

*fure*: truly.

*these*. The results of lust.

l. 158. *Wherwith each ... burne*. Vaux creates a gradation from the national to the local to the domestic here: “rēalme” – “towne” – “house”.

l. 159. *qwēncht*: quenched.

l. 160. *kindlēd*: ignited, roused, set in motion.

*hedēlesse*: heedless, incautious, paying no attention to warning.

l. 161. *venome*: venom, poison.

l. 162. *in lieu of*: in place of, as a substitute for, or in payment for.

*iust*: just, fair.

*crave*: desire, wish for.

l. 163. *None other*: no other.

l. 164. *take in worth*: take at its true value (*OED*: worth, *n.*<sup>1</sup> †6.)

*advise*: advice.

l. 166. *dēfert*: blame, fault (*OED*: desert, *n.*<sup>1</sup> 1.)

l. 167. *conceite*: conception (*OED*: conceit, *n.* I. †1.)

*misse=like*: dislike, dislike.

l. 169. *chere*: humour, mood.

l. 170. *guerdon*: reward.

*good will*: goodwill.

## 15. “Of the fame argument”

### TRANSLATION:

What do we see today that is new? The Ledaean heroine once brought down upon herself the vengeful Furies of men and Gods, as well as the grim swords of Orestes the avenger; for she dared (accursed wretch) to defile her marriage bed and slit with iron blade the throat of her great husband. Yet it was not enough that she should feel the penalty fit for her crimes of unspeakable wickedness, but, after so many ages, grieving Melpomene still proclaims her guilt far and wide in Sophoclean song, her calves enclosed in the tragedian’s buskin.

Nowadays many bodies are given over to the same fate as Agamemnon, and their wonted prayers do not avail the wretched at all, nor does the kindly trust vowed so often to spouses, nor the shame or duty owed to the gods; and

nor do the laws of modesty – once most sacred – hold firm any longer. Everywhere the cruel daughter of Tyndareus holds the threshold besieged, armed for violence and brandishing her battle-axe. Meanwhile, feeble Aegisthus lords it in the captured citadel, the mighty author of this wicked plot, a weakling in battle, but a brave adulterer and tireless soldier in Venus’s nocturnal battles. Neither does Orestes yet hold out the swords of vengeance, nor does the stage ring crash them with Tragic lamentation.

But I warn them to desist and do no more harm; it is God who is the strongest avenger of such evil. Therefore he will either arm the clouds with avenging fire or else by the power of the furies he will inflame Agamemnonian Orestes to pierce his mother’s flesh with iron blade beside the tomb of his father, a son both loving and wicked in the same act. However it comes to pass, he will surely not leave these crimes unpunished, but will devise a great downfall for the wretched man. It may be long in coming, yet the wrath of the Thunderer will come, and the more slowly it comes, the heavier will be the vengeance of God.

TITLE. *argument*: subject matter.

l. 1. *nova ... rerum*. The revolution of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra which overthrew Agamemnon as ruler of Mycenae.

*Lædæa Virago*. Clytemnestra was the daughter of Leda. “Virago” here is closer in meaning to ‘protagonist’ than ‘heroine’.

l. 2. *Vltrices ... diras*. The avenging Furies who punish murder.

l. 3. *ultoris Orestis*. Orestes killed his mother and her lover, Aegisthus, in vengeance for their murder of his father, Agamemnon.

l. 5. *Coniugis*: spouse, Agamemnon.

l. 6. *pœnas*. Aegisthus’s and Clytemnestra’s punishment was their death at Orestes’s hands.

l. 7. *Criminis infandi*. Aegisthus’s and Clytemnestra’s acts of adultery, murder, usurpation and tyranny. The slaughter of Agamemnon, Cassandra, and their entourage violated not only the laws of family but also the unwritten laws of hospitality, which are of crucial importance in the Homeric world (see Naoko Yamagata, *Homeric Morality*, pp. 163–164).

- l. 8. *Mæsta Sophoclæo*. Along with Aeschylus and Euripides, Sophocles was one of the three great masters of tragedy in fifth-century Athens. His *Electra* is a play about Orestes's revenge on Aegisthus and Clytemnestra.
- l. 9. *Melpomene Tragico*. Of the nine Muses said to reside on Mount Parnassus, Melpomene was the patroness of tragedy. Cf. "A description of Love", l. 56 n., and "Vp drowzie Mufe", l. 1 n., l. 81 n., l. 82 n., & l. 83 n.
- furas*: the calves of the legs.
- cothurno*. Tragic actors in classical times wore buskins (high thick-soled boots bound around their calves). The buskin (or 'cothurnus' in Latin) has consequently become a metonym for tragic drama.
- l. 10. *Agamemnonijs fatis*. His followers and those who oppose his killers' rule suffer the same fate as Agamemnon (i.e. being killed by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus).
- l. 11. *profunt*: are useful or of advantage to.
- ll. 15–16. *crudelis ... Tyndaris*. Clytemnestra's father was Tyndareus, king of Sparta.
- l. 16. *bipennem*. According to Seneca in the prologue given by Thyestes's ghost, Clytemnestra cut off Agamemnon's head with an axe (see *Agamemnon*, l. 46).
- l. 21. *Nec tamen ... Orestes*. The action of Seneca's play ends before Orestes returns to Argos seeking vengeance.
- l. 22. *Nec tamen ... boatu*. The action of Seneca's play represents what happened before the events depicted by Sophocles or any of the other Greek tragedians. Vaux here paradoxically positions his pseudo-Senecan sixteenth-century poem as pre-Sophoclean and contemporaneous with the events it describes, yet prophetically knowing what course events will take in the house of Atreus.
- l. 24. *Deus*. Jupiter.
- l. 26. *Agamemnonium furijs*. The avenging Furies who will drive Orestes to avenge Agamemnon's death and in turn hound him for killing his mother.
- l. 27. *patris ... tumulum*. Orestes and Electra were reunited at the tomb of Agamemnon where they plotted for Orestes to slay their mother in

---

the great hall of the palace, the same place in which Agamemnon had been slain.

- l. 31. *Tonantis*. Jupiter, principal among the Roman gods, is often associated with thunder and lightning, as in *Iliad* I, l. 5.
- l. 32. *Anno ætatis 17<sup>o</sup>*: '[composed in his] seventeenth year of age', cf. "No trust in Fortune", l. 24 n., "Beautie is brittle", l. 42 n., and "Meditatio de Passione Christi", l. 150 n.
-

**16. “Meditatio de Passione Christi” (fols. 83<sup>v</sup>–86)**

For a discussion of the tradition of Passion narratives and poems see the commentary on “A complaint to the Nightingale”, pp. 37–39. Vaux composed this poem when he was thirteen years old, consequently much of the material is derivative.

**TRANSLATION:**

As a suppliant recalling the sacrifice of the Lord and his foul murder, how Apollo mourned him, and the stars of the sky grieved for him, I pray to the mighty ruler of the world that in his mercy he will deign to show favour to my first labour. The prince of life, he has burst the chains of fearful death by dying a cruel death himself. Why, born of divine stock, did he submit to it? And why should God wish to bear so many hard pains? This is surely why, after the first sin of our wretched forefather Adam, the dreadful Beelzebub ruled over the pitiful world; his unclean demons, having first dared to feign divinity, now took hold of men’s minds and by various devices deceived the poor wretches, bereft as they were of holy light. From this flowed every sin. From this was born a savage progeny: trickery, deceits, ruinous debauchery, wrath, blasphemy, and the vain worship of idols. But the Father of all, who governs the highest stars, looked upon mankind from his lofty citadel and resolved at last to set a measure and a limit on evil. So he sent down his Son who, hanging on a rough tree-trunk, cast down the demons and conquered bitter death.

Who would be so cruel or so savage as to have dared touch Christ the Lord with their sacrilegious hands? The Hebrew race, no less: ever an obdurate and perfidious race, a race hateful to God, a race never credulous of the truth! Senselessly they killed their blameless Shepherd, King, Messiah, Lord, and God by a cruel death. Who would recall Christ’s pains? Who could tell of his wounds with words or match his grief with tears? Rough cords bind his sacred hands; a crown made of thorns is placed on his head; thus, scourged with lashes; thus, bound in hard shackles and crowned with briar, he endured derision and spittle, carrying his own cross. By the cruel sentence of Pilate he is sent to die, led away like a lamb. Nailed to the rigid cross he is raised up high, enduring – too dreadful to report, too piteous to behold – his feet to be nailed together and his arms stretched out, his beautiful countenance ruddied in his crimson blood.

Behold the Prince of the World, the true Wisdom of the Father, Christ who has robed us in heavenly raiment. Drained by the nails and totally abandoned, wretched, despised of all men, he hangs there, stripped naked, all so that the human race might taste the well of eternal life. Dying, the Lord who provides us with all things relieves his thirst with gall and bitter vinegar. At last, after countless pains, after a thousand griefs, breathing his last, Christ asks, "Why have you deserted me now, my Father? O God, my God, receive my weary spirit!" Exclaiming thus, his spirit leaves his body. Then a soldier thrusts his spear into Christ's side with all his strength, twisting it as he does so and piercing the ribs and fair breast with the iron blade: out flows water mixed with blood. Thus then by his blood did the stainless Son of God cleanse the stained world from every sin. Thus, by dying, the author of life overcame death.

Meanwhile, threatening clouds wrap everything in thick darkness; dark night settles on the land. When Titan raises his head in the middle of the heavens then Cynthia returns and covers her brother with her full orb, hiding their grieving faces in a dark cloud. The pale moon flees in pity for Christ's sorrows and the grieving stars do not display their wonted light. With its Lord passing away, the world wishes to endure no more. Now the earth trembles, shaken in dreadful tumult. Now cities fall and the halls of kings and their high towers are laid low. So too are the bridges made of marble. Dire apparitions emerge, and through the shadows are seen to leave their memorials, their tombs shattered. But the wise man, seeing such portents, says, "Either the frail action of the vaulted world is disintegrating into oblivion with the passing of the years or God Almighty who created earth, sea and highest stars is raining down his bolts of dark death".

Having unjustly suffered so many wounds for us, Christ leaves his excellent body and seeks the dark hidden gates of the world below. He enters the realms of Pluto and at once the doors of dark Dis lie open. At once the unclean cohorts of the underworld give way as they behold the Lord gleaming in his pure light. Christ bursts through the inner chambers of the fearful king, and leads the holy fathers out from their wretched prison, they whose lives were of truer worth than shining gold and who had worshipped the heavenly powers with pious reverence, yet the Devil holds them in a dark valley. Christ finds them in this part of the realm and frees them. Here too he tramples the terrible Leviathan underfoot, binding the evil serpent in chains and strong fetters. Thus Hell

lies open. Thus Christ conquers Satan. Thus he ransoms his people. Thus he ends our servitude.

But before the cross stands the most sorrowful mother of the Lord, embracing the poor body of her Son; and with her stands the grieving sister of Lazarus, her serene face wet with tears, her hair spread loose behind her back. There too stands John, most beloved of the Lord. With them as companions are Nicodemus (assisting in all matters) and the saintly Joseph. Fulfilling all their tasks with tears, they inter the lifeless body of the Lord inside the tomb.

Yet on the third day light shines forth on the dark world when Christ forsakes Hell and tramples the ground of its hateful realms underfoot. Rising again from conquered death, he gives us hope that we too may rise again from Lethe. He still bears his cruel wounds – his hair stiff with gore, his face ruddied, hands crippled by their wounds, his feet pierced, and his breast stabbed with iron blade. Then, when Titan, the glory of the world, had twice bathed our neighbouring globe with his gleaming torch, after Christ roused his disciples in sweet conversation and gave comfort to the sorely oppressed, he ascended a mountain and said, “Bearing my commandments, swiftly go! Go through the measureless world! You will journey to where the shores bask under the western sun, to where the fast flowing Ganges rushes forth into the sea, where the summits of the Caucasus Mountains and their icy cliffs rise upwards, and where the waters of the fertile Nile burst forth from their hidden spring”. When he had given these commands, with many people looking on, he left the ungrateful earth, surmounting the stars through his divine power and entering his celestial kingdom. Here the omnipotent king sits enthroned and will sit forever with his loving Father by the power of the Holy Spirit.

You alone are God on high who reigns as three in one. You are the Father Omnipotent who created everything by a word; and you, O Christ, are the word and wisdom of God the Father – you who are both God begotten by the Father’s power, and a man born of the holy Virgin for us men – and you are our sacred advocate, shining in divine light. To you who are holy and merciful I therefore pray. Have mercy on your people and gently forgive the failings of your weeping children. Have mercy on your churches and your redeemed people; and so too on the scattered flock, whom the impious Beast would tear asunder in its terrible jaws were your protection to end. Have mercy on me, have mercy on your servant pleading. Behold I come as a suppliant. Behold, lying prostrate, I wor-

ship you. Let it not come to pass that the cunning of the cruel Devil should harm me, nor the snares of the beguiling world deceive me. Nor let the wicked Siren overpower me with flattering song, drawing me headlong through the rocks and shallows. Thus while I live for you, while your spirit rules these limbs of mine, by night and by day let me sing your praises with true heart. And may my hymns always sing of you and your death. Spare me, I pray, O judge, when you come from high heaven, when the earth trembles, laid bare before its great judge. Spare me, I pray, when at last I rise at your coming. Be merciful and spare me, save me lest I be shunted to Hell where sorrow and wailing reign, and the sad Erinyes dwell. But bring me to ascend the celestial realms rejoicing and, sitting above the stars, let me worship your divine power, there where Cherubim and Seraphim make music with delightful song and hosts of saints sweetly echo their hymns.

TITLE. *Meditatio ... Christi*: A Meditation on Christ's Passion.

- ll. 1–2. *Supplicium Domini ... fydera cæli*. Vaux describes how the whole universe mourns the death of Christ, even Phoebus Apollo, a pagan sun god.
- l. 3. *Rectorem ... potentem*: God.
- l. 4. *primo ... labori*: man, who in the creation account in GEN 2 is the first of God's creatures to be created.
- l. 5. *crudeli cæde*: Christ's crucifixion, cf. MT 27.
- l. 7. *divina stirpe*: Christ is believed to be the son of God, hence he is 'born of divine stock'. Cf. Nicene Creed: "Credo in [...] Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum" ("Credo", *Sarum Rite*) – 'I believe in [...] Christ, the only begotten Son of God').  
*stirpe*: branch.
- l. 8. *tot fævos dolores*. Christ suffered the physical pains of scourging and crucifixion as well as the emotional pains of fear and betrayal and abandonment by those he loved. Cf. MT 26–27.
- l. 9. *infausti ... crimina prima Parentis*: the sin of Adam, cf. GEN 3.  
*infausti*: unfortunate.
- l. 10. *Belzebug horrendus*: Beelzebub (the 'Lord of the Flies'); here Satan, although often one of his arch-demons. (Different biblical authors

and succeeding church writers vary on this point, see *CE*: Beelzebub). The sinfulness of Satan infected all creation after the fall of Adam.

- l. 11. *immundi*: unclean, impure.
- l. 14 ff. *Hinc fluit omne nefas*. The devil and the fall of Adam are understood to be the source of all evil.
- l. 15. *luxus*: debauchery.
- l. 18. *qui fydera fumma gubernat*. As the omnipotent creator and governor of the world, God controls even the motion of the stars and celestial bodies.
- l. 19. *arce*: Heaven. In the Psalms, Heaven is often referred to as God's holy city or citadel.
- l. 20. *Dimifit Natum*: the incarnation of Christ for the redemption of mankind.  
*rigido qui in stipite pendens*: Christ's cross is often referred to as a tree, thus linking it to the tree of life in Paradise (see GEN 2: 9 & 3: 22).
- l. 21 *Mortem ... amaram*. By Christ's act of redemption on the cross, mankind has access to eternal life.  
*prosternens*: casting down.
- ll. 22–27. *Quis tam crudelis ... morte necavit*. In a sixteenth-century context, there is nothing extraordinary about Vaux's anti-Semitism. He is merely expressing a commonplace Medieval and Early Modern Christian view of Jewish people as the murderers of Christ. The editors of *Encarta* record "Since the 4th century AD (and possibly before), Jews have been regarded by Christians as the killers of Jesus Christ" (*Encarta*: Anti-semitism). Condemnation of the Jews is also a standard feature of Medieval Passion narratives (see Bestul, pp. 69–110). Between 1290–1650 Jews were not officially allowed to live in England, so it unlikely that Vaux ever met any. The sixteenth century was a period of great persecution for Jews on the Continent.
- l. 26. *Pastorem ... Deumque*. These are all titles Jesus is given in the New Testament. He is "shepherd" in JN 10: 14, "king" in MT 2: 2, "Christ" in MT 1: 16, "Lord" in MT 7: 21, and Christ's divinity as 'God' is accepted as implicit throughout the New Testament.
- l. 29. *lachrymis*: lacrimis.

- l. 30. *Aspera ... palmas*. Cf. MT 27: 2, “And they brought him bound and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor”.
- l. 31. *Induitur ... corona*. Cf. MT 27: 29, “And plating a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand”.  
*spinis*: thorns.
- l. 32. *Sic flagris caesus*. Cf. MT 27: 26, “and having scourged Jesus, [Pilate] delivered him unto them to be crucified”.
- l. 33. *Sente*: briar.  
*pafsus ludibria, sputa*. Cf. MT 27: 29–30, “And bowing the knee before him, they mocked him, saying: Hail, King of the Jews. And spitting upon him, they took the reed and struck his head.”
- l. 34. *crucem portans*. It was a common feature of Roman crucifixions that the victim was made to carry his own cross to the site of execution, cf. LK 23: 26.  
*agnus*. Jesus is commonly referred to as the “Lamb of God” because of his innocence and sacrifice on the cross for the propitiation of sins, cf. JN 1: 29.
- l. 35. *Pilato*. Pontius Pilate. See “A complaint to the Nightingale”, l. 85 n.  
*faevo damnante*: crucifixion.
- ll. 36–39. *Affixusque cruci ... sanguine vultus*. These details of Christ’s crucifixion are not recorded in the gospels but would have been a part of his ordeal.
- l. 43. *nudato corpore pendet*. To make crucifixion more humiliating, the Romans stripped the victim before binding him to the cross, cf. MT 27: 35.
- l. 44. *vitae de fonte perenni*. Jesus is the source of living water (eternal life), cf. JN 4: 6–15, especially verse 14.
- l. 46. *Felle ... aceto*. Just before he died, Jesus drank a little wine-vinegar, cf. JN 19: 28–30.  
*Felle*: gall.
- ll. 48–49. *Cur me nunc deferis ... accipe fessam*. The last words of Christ, according to MT 27: 46 & LK 23: 46.
- ll. 51–53. *Tunc miles ... vnda cruore*. Cf. JN 19: 34, “But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side: and immediately there came out blood and water.”

- ll. 57–63. *Interea densis ... fydera lucem*: an elaborate description of the solar eclipse said to have accompanied the final hours of Christ’s crucifixion. Cf. LK 23: 44–45, “And it was almost the sixth hour [mid-day]: and there was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour [mid-afternoon]. And the sun was darkened”.
- l. 59. *Ipse caput ... ferret Olympo*. At midday.  
*Titan*: Apollo, the god of the sun. Although Apollo was an Olympian rather than a Titan god, like his sister Diana he had several alternative names including Helios (originally the name of the Titan sun-god).  
*Olympo*: Mount Olympus, the dwelling place of the Greek and Roman gods.
- l. 60. *Cynthia*: an alternative name for Diana (or Artemis), the goddess of the moon in Greek and Roman mythology.  
*completo ... orbe*. As mentioned above, Diana’s brother is Phoebus Apollo, the god of the sun. A solar eclipse occurs when the earth, moon and sun are in conjunction. Thus the shadow of the moon is surrounded by a corona of sunlight.
- l. 65 ff. *Intremitt ... tumultu*. Cf. MT 27: 51, “And behold the veil of the temple was rent in two from the top even to the bottom: and the earth quaked and the rocks were rent.”
- l. 65. *Intremitt*: tremble.
- ll. 68–70. *Apparent diræ ... exire sepulchris*. Cf. MT 27: 52–53, “And the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints that had slept arose: And coming out of the tombs after his resurrection, came into the holy city and appeared to many.”
- ll. 76–90. *obscurâque terræ ... lachrymabile cessat*. Vaux here describes the harrowing of Hell (see “A complaint to the Nightingale”, ll. 141–142 n.)
- l. 77. *inferni regna Plutonis*: Hell, or Hades, which in classical mythology was conceived of as a subterranean kingdom of the dead ruled by Pluto (also known as Dis, Hades, or Orcus).
- l. 88. *Leviathan*: the oldest symbol of evil in the Old Testament. He is first mentioned in the book of Job and is usually depicted as a sea serpent. He is often understood to be Satan or another creature of

Hell. Here Vaux equates Leviathan with the snake that the offspring of Eve (i.e. Christ) would crush under his feet (cf. GEN 3: 15 & ROM 16: 20).

*stringens*: binding.

*calcat*: tread upon, trample underfoot.

l. 90. *Mancipium*: a formal purchase.

l. 92. *tristissima Mater*: Mary the mother of Jesus, who stood before the cross.

The “Stabat mater dolorosa” is a liturgical poem (written in the Middle Ages) that describes Mary’s anguish. Mary’s anguish is not mentioned in the gospel accounts of the crucifixion. Historically it has served several liturgical functions, the most pertinent of which (for this poem) is as part of the Stations of the Cross. (See *Encarta*: Stabat Mater Dolorosa and *CE*: Stabat Mater.)

l. 94. *foror Lazari*: presumably Mary of Bethany, a close follower of Jesus and one of the sisters of Lazarus, the man whom Jesus raised from the dead (see JN 11: 5, 41–44, & 12: 1–11). The gospels do not mention her presence at the crucifixion, but MT 28: 1 speaks of “the other Mary” accompanying Mary Magdalene to Christ’s tomb on the morning of his resurrection.

l. 95. *Iöannes Domino charissimus*: John the Evangelist, see l. 92 n. above & JN 21: 20.

l. 96. *Nicodemus*: a leader of the Jews who visited Jesus one night and became a follower, cf. JN 3: 1 ff., 7: 50, & 19: 39.

*sanctus Iöseph*: Joseph of Arimathea. He provided his own tomb for Christ to be buried in, cf. MT 27: 57–59. Joseph of Arimathea has a special place in English Christian legend. He was reputed to have established a small Christian community on Glastonbury Tor in Somersetshire where he brought the Holy Grail and planted his staff in 63 AD. His staff took root and grew into the Glastonbury Thorn, a peculiar variety of hawthorn that flowers twice a year, once at Christmas and once in May. Glastonbury Abbey was one of the most ancient and sacred monasteries in England before it was destroyed in 1539 by agents of Thomas Cromwell during the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Before its destruction it was a

- regular destination for pilgrims. The hawthorn still survives. See *CE*: Glastonbury Abbey.
- ll. 99–105. *Iam lux ... pectora ferro*. Vaux is referring to the resurrection of Christ on the third day after the crucifixion (counting inclusively), cf. MT 16: 21 & 28: 1–10.
- l. 102. *lætho*: Lethe, the river of forgetfulness in Hades.
- ll. 106–121. *Cumque decus ... numine Flatus*. Vaux here narrates the ascension of Christ to Heaven and his commission to his disciples to spread the gospel across the world, cf. MT 28: 18–20. The words he attributes to Christ are not biblical, but an elaboration of Christ's commission to the twelve apostles, "Going therefore, teach ye all nations" (MT 28: 19).
- ll. 106–107. *Cumque decus ... lustraverat orbem*: after two full moons. ACTS 1: 3 limits Christ's post-resurrection ministry to forty days (approximately one-and-a-half lunar months and therefore a sufficient period for the appearance of two full moons).
- l. 107. *vicenum ... orbem*: the moon, which neighbours the earth.
- ll. 112–116. *Ibitis occiduo ... flumina Nili*. Vaux here gives the western, eastern, northern and southern limits of Christendom from the time of the Roman empire until the Renaissance.
- l. 112. *occiduo ... tepescunt*: western Europe.
- l. 113. *quà fe ... Ganges*. The fast-flowing Ganges runs along the southern slopes of the Himalayas and has its mouth in present-day Bangladesh. It rises 6706 metres above sea level and falls 67 metres per kilometre on its path to the sea (see *Encarta*: Ganges).
- ll. 114–115. *quà Caucafei ... gelidæ rupes*. The Caucasus mountains run across the neck of land between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea.
- ll. 115–116. *et quà de fonte ... flumina Nili*. The River Nile has its mouth on the northern coast of Egypt. The regions bounded by the Caucasus mountains, the Ganges and the Nile (Russia, Asia, and North Africa) represent the limits of the civilised world to a sixteenth-century mind. They also mark the eastern extent of Christendom before the rise of Islam in the Middle East and North Africa, but it is unclear whether or not Vaux knew this.
- ll. 119–127. *Sydera transcendens ... lumine fulgens*. Cf. the Nicene Creed.

- l. 127. *Paraclete*. A common Greek name for the Holy Spirit is “ὁ Παράκλητος” (the ‘Comforter’ or ‘Advocate’).
- ll. 128–150. *Sic bonus ... dulciter hymnos*. This section forms a prayer for mercy.
- ll. 130–32. *Et cœtus ... Bellua rictu*. This is likely a reference to the plight of persecuted Catholics in England. The ‘Beast’ would then represent the Church of England and other Protestant churches. It was a common device by both Reformers and Catholics to paint each other as the Apocalyptic beast, as the *Catholic Encyclopedia* records: “To the ‘reformers’ particularly the Apocalypse was an inexhaustible quarry where to dig for invectives that they might hurl them against the Roman hierarchy” (*CE: Apocalypse*).
- l. 131. *Disperfiq̄ue gregis*. During the last supper Jesus quotes ZECH 13: 7 to his disciples to predict his abandonment by them, “I will strike the shepherd: and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed” (cf. MT 26: 31).
- l. 132. *Impia ... Bellua*. In REV 13, John of Patmos writes of the apocalyptic beast of the Earth who sees that “whosoever will not adore the image of the beast [of the sea] should be slain” (REV 13: 16).
- discerpēt*: tear to pieces.
- Bellua*: beast.
- rictu*: open mouth or jaws.
- l. 135. *astus*: cunning.
- l. 136. *decipiant*: deceive.
- retia*: nets.
- l. 137. *blando*: flattering.
- l. 138. *Siren*. In Greek mythology the Sirens were sea nymphs who would lure sailors by the sweetness of their singing and dash their ships against submerged rocks. In Homer’s *Odyssey*, Odysseus lashes himself to the mast and stops his sailors’ ears with beeswax so that he may hear their song, (see *Odyssey*, XII. 165–200). A ‘siren’ is thus commonly used to refer to a dangerously beguiling woman.
- l. 142. *cælo Iudex ... ab alto*. The allusion is to Christ’s second coming when he will come to judge the living and the dead, cf. MT 24: 27–51 & 25: 31–46.

l. 143. *tremet ... tellus*. Cf. MT 24: 7.

l. 146. *Planctus*: wailing.

*tristis Erinnyes*: the Furies, hellish spirits who, in classical mythology, avenge crimes against society (particularly family homicides).

l. 149. *Cherubim, et Seraphim*. These are types of angels who in Judaeo-Christian belief form choirs and sing to God in Heaven.

l. 150. *Sanctorumque greges*: the elect in Heaven.

*Anno ætatis fuæ 13<sup>o</sup>*: '[composed in the] thirteenth year of his age', cf. "No trust in Fortune", l. 24 n., "Beautie is brittle", l. 42 n., and "Of the fame argument", l. 32 n.

### 17. "Honos alit artes" (fols. 86–86<sup>v</sup>) – 'Honour nourishes the arts'

"Honos alit artes" is a poem composed "Ex tempore" and is clearly meant to impress the reader with the facility of Vaux's mind. The Latin is more difficult than in his other poems, but that is to be expected considering the circumstances of its composition. It was composed orally before Sir Richard Knightley and a few of the knight's friends. Sir Richard (1533–1615) was a leading puritan. His family estate was Fawsley in Northamptonshire. Although an anti-papist, he was sympathetic to the plight of Catholics (*ODNB*: Knightley, Sir Richard). What occasioned a teenage recusant to be required to compose an impromptu poem in Latin for the benefit of a neighbouring Puritan landowner can only be guessed.

#### TRANSLATION:

Kindled by desire for fame, the mind takes up the noble arts; which, conceived by love of true praise, are nourished by love of applause, and a great hope for honour spurs it on. Praise nurtures it, honour raises it, and glory urges it to Heaven. But, believe me, art does not come about through any of your sweetness of praise nor is it nourished by any hope of honour.

You do not know what honour is, nor what constitutes our glory, badly fed at court on venison alone. Yet it is fierce hunger, which pricks with a sharp goad, and not a desire for fame, which compels you to seek out your meals by trickery; hence you have imbibed the various arts through your cunning. Thus deceptions have sneaked into your mind. Thus, with your belly as your master,

you cheat and lie while you feel shame beating on your chafed brow, wiser now by long experience.

You wish to be a shepherd of the people, a minister of the Word, and have dared to pour forth your foolish utterances in the churches so that the sheep will pass on their wool to a dull flock, so that the people reward you for your stupid tongue. Now you seek weight in your belly rather than Christ's honour, desiring to feed on meat more than on his word.

TITLE. *Honos alit artes*: Honour nourishes the arts.

MOTTO. *m<sup>r</sup> Pembridge*. The identity of this person remains unknown.

*m<sup>r</sup> Oxenbridge*. This person's identity is also unknown.

*he made these verses Ex tempore*. It is interesting to speculate about the circumstances in which the son of a leading recusant Catholic should perform a poetic impromptu for a leader of the Puritan movement. Was it at a dinner party? Was it merely to impress Sir Richard Knightley and his friends? Was there some greater purpose behind it, such as the advancement of Vaux's writing talent? It is unlikely that we shall ever know. Both Fawsley and Harrowden are in Northamptonshire and it is likely that relations between the Vauxes and the Knightleys were cordial. Certainly neither Lord Vaux nor Sir Richard were hostile to those of different religious persuasions.

- l. 1. *accensa*: kindled.
  - l. 3. *plausus*: clapping, applause.
  - l. 4. *pollit*: polishes, makes bright.
  - l. 8. *Cervina*: cervina, venison.
  - l. 9. *pungit*: stings, stabs.
  - l. 10. *conquirere*: gather.
  - l. 11. *callidus*: clever.
  - l. 13. *perfricta*: blushing.
  - l. 16. *insulfas*: insipid, stupid.
  - l. 17. *vellera*: shorn wool, fleece.
  - l. 20. *vesci*: thin.
-

**18. “Vp drowzie Mufe”** (fols. 86<sup>v</sup>–88<sup>v</sup>)

This poem is a prayer to God in which the poet asks that he be saved from imitating the pagan literature of classical times and that he should only write works that glorify God. He begins with an invocation to his Muse to aid him in praising God, an instance of Renaissance syncretism of paganism with Christianity. Vaux then addresses himself to God, praising his glorious power and mercy. He cites instances in scripture when God supplied help to his servants and offers the examples of Joseph, Moses, David, Judith, Susanna, Daniel, Mordecai, Esther, as well as Shadrak, Meshak, and Abednego. All these (coupled with the Israelites' flight from Egypt and the redemption of all men by Christ's crucifixion), point to instances in which God redeemed those who were persecuted for righteousness. These references almost certainly point to the plight of recusants in Vaux's day. It is interesting to note that several of the passages alluded to are from the Apocrypha, the authority of which was a major point of contention during the Reformation (see ll. 43–44 n.); it was vehemently affirmed in recusant circles (cf. Campion's *Decem Rationes*).

The logical Christian progression from the Old Testament and Apocrypha is made and the incarnation and crucifixion of Jesus are presented as the salvation of all men since then. In ll. 75–108 the poet presents a petition for personal help in his literary endeavours, wishing to maintain a sanctity of subject matter and wishing to shun paganism. He uses the story of Balaam as an illustration of God's ability to turn a voice intent on blasphemy to a voice of blessing and praise. He makes his final plea in ll. 101–108, arguing that God can aid him because he has aided others and he begs God to make his poetry worthy of the Almighty's glory even though as a poet he is unworthy.

The poem is written in heroic couplets. This poem (and the fragment of verse following it) appears in a different hand to the preceding poems and there is a strong possibility that it is not by Vaux (MacDonald and Brown do not ascribe it to Vaux), although its position in the MS would suggest that it is by him.

ll. 1–4. *Vp drowzie ... glorious name*. These lines form an invocation to the poet's muse.

- l. 1. *Vp drowzie Mufe*. The poet envisages his muse as sleeping. Vaux is addressing Urania, the classical muse claimed as the patroness of Christian poetry from the time of the Renaissance onwards. In classical times she was the patroness of astronomy while Euterpe was the patroness of lyric (pagan) poetry. Vaux's injunction to "pul downe thy harp from pinne" is typical of the ancient association of lyric poetry with the lyre. Praising the Lord on the harp is a common motif in the Psalms (cf. Ps 33, 43, 49, 57, 71, 81, 92, 98, 108, 137, 147, 149 & 150).

*pinne*: a peg or nail on a wall. Cf. Horace's "Vixi puellis" (*Odes*, III. xxvi), "barbiton hic paries habebit" (l. 4, 'This wall shall hold my lyre').

- l. 2. *Let ... beginne*. Greek and Latin lyric poetry was written to be sung to accompaniment on the lyre. Early modern poetry (particularly at Henry VIII's court) was also often composed to musical accompaniment.

*fingred stringes*. The harp (or lyre) is played by the plucking of its strings with one's fingers.

- l. 3. *iuft*: just, right.

*accord*: harmony.

- l. 4. *Iehovas*: Jehovah's.

- ll. 5–108. *Almightie Lord ... can pay*. After l. 4 the poem becomes a prayer to God in Heaven.

- l. 5. *rulest*. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

*race*: course, path.

- l. 6. *fway*: motion.

*rolling skies*. The skies roll both in the sense that through its rotating motion the earth experiences day and night, and in the sense that the night sky changes as the earth orbits the sun and other stars and planets move in their orbits with measured pace. Vaux, however, would almost certainly have been an adherent to geocentrism, and thus would have believed that the skies rather than the earth revolved. A reference to clouds rolling in the sky is also possible. Cf. "The Epilogue or Conclusion", l. 1 n.

- ll. 7–9. *who with ... of nought*. In the first chapter of Genesis the doctrine of 'creatio ex nihilo' is propounded which states that God created the

world out of nothing except his own power. Cf. GEN 1: 1–2a, “In the beginning God created heaven, and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters”.

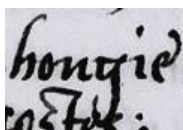
*powerful*. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*thought*. The Bible states that God spoke the world into being (see GEN 1: 3–27).

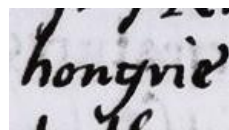
l. 8. *heauen*: Heaven. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

l. 9. *didest*. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

*hougie*. Graphology unclear: “[h/b]o[n/u]gie”; conjecture: *hougie* (‘hugy’, archaic adj. of huge). Possibly “hongie”, scribal error for ‘hongrie’ (hungry). ‘hungry’ makes sense if taken to mean ‘yearning for’ or ‘desirous of’ God, although this is not very satisfactory. ‘bougie’ (a wax candle, or a type of medical instrument) makes no sense at all, either syntactically (as it is an adjective which is required, not a substantive) or in the context. Cf. “hongrie” (l. 45) below.



(Line 9)



(Line 45)

Possibly Vaux is using a word which is now lost to other records of English, although cf. *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (London, 1584):

And for to reape a bugie heape  
which youthful yeares did fow

(“I which was once a happie wight”, ll. 23–24).

*hostes*: hosts, multitudes.

l. 10. *legions*. A Roman legion traditionally numbered six thousand soldiers. In MT 26: 53 during his arrest, Jesus rebukes Simon Peter for drawing his sword and refers to having more than twelve legions of angels at his disposal, saying “Thinkest thou that I cannot ask my Father, and he will give me presently more than twelve legions of angels?”

*th’highest*: the highest. Elided.

*costes*: coasts, regions; ‘costs’ (meaning ‘splendour’) is a less likely alternative meaning.

- l. 11. *bower*: shady enclosure, or inner apartment. Monosyllabic by elision through contraction.

*millions*. Disyllabic through elision by coalescence.

- l. 12. *attend*: obey, perform.

*hestes*: behests, commands.

*awfull*: ‘awesome’, not ‘fearful’.

*power*. Monosyllabic by elision through contraction.

- l. 13. *with facred ... noble brute*. Metrical inversion; the line should be scanned as follows:

~ / ~ /        / ~ ~ / ~ /  
 with fac-red hymnes bla-zing thy no-ble brute.

*blazing*: proclaiming.

*bruite*: report, fame. Half-rhymed with “through” (l. 14).

- l. 14. *endelesse heavens*. Because it is outside space and time, Heaven is eternal and infinite in size.

- l. 15. *glittering throne*. In the book of Revelation the throne of God is described as follows “And there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald [...] And from the throne proceeded lightnings [...] And there were seven lamps burning before the throne” (REV 4: 3 & 5).

*glittering*. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

- l. 16. *bowest*. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

*fatherly*. God is the Father of all creation. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.

*euery*: every. Disyllabic through contraction.

*grone*: groan. It is mankind’s lot to suffer under the yoke of sin.

- l. 17. *fīners*: sinners.

*bound bilow*. Confined on earth.

*bale*: misery.

- l. 18. *carful*: care-filled, full of troubles.

*vale*. Cf. Ps 23: 4 (*Vulgate*: Ps 22: 4) in which life is compared to passing through “the valley of the shadow of death” (*AV*; the *Vulgate* has “valle mortis”).

- l. 19. *Grandfires*: grandsire's, ancestor's. Adam, the biblical father of all mankind. Disyllabic through elision by coalescence.  
*difobedience*. Adam's breaking of God's injunction not to eat from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (cf. GEN 3). Pentasyllabic through diaeresis.
- l. 20. *condemnd*: condemned. Mankind was condemned to perpetual sinfulness by his first disobedience.
- l. 21. *fwetely*: sweetly.  
*helpst*: helpst, help.  
*creatures*: created beings.
- l. 22. *foothfastnes*: soothfastness, faithfulness, truthfulness.
- ll. 23–24. *Thou that ... to fitte*. The story of Joseph is told in GEN 37 & 39–50. Joseph, the eleventh son of Jacob, was his father's favourite child. Out of spite, his elder brothers threw him in a pit and then sold him into slavery. He was taken to Egypt where, after being enslaved and imprisoned, he was brought to the attention of the Pharaoh because of his ability to interpret dreams. He soon became the keeper of the royal seal and viceroy of all Egypt.
- l. 23. *Iofeph*: Joseph.  
*pitte*: pit.
- l. 24. *fitte*: sit.
- ll. 25–26. *Thou that ... didst fend*. When the land of Canaan experienced a severe famine, Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to purchase grain. They were reunited there with their now powerful younger brother.
- l. 25. *pining*: wasting away.
- l. 26. *Iacobs*: Jacob's. Through his twelve sons, Jacob, the son of Isaac, was the immediate ancestor of the twelve tribes of Israel. See ll. 23–24 n. and ll. 25–26 n. above.
- l. 27. *there*: Egypt, through which the Nile flows.  
*where ... flow*. According to the first-century Jewish historian, Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, ch. I, par. 3), the Nile river was one of the four rivers listed as flowing through the paradisaal land of Eden in GEN 2: 10–14: "And the name of the second river is Gehon: the same is it that compasseth all the land of Ethiopia".

- l. 28. *the harvest ... to grow*. This may refer to the repeated trips made by Joseph's brothers to Egypt to purchase wheat.
- l. 29. *proude Pharaös furie*. In later generations the Egyptians enslaved the Israelites living in Egypt, but they were led out of Egypt to the land of Canaan by the prophet Moses. Pharaoh became angry at their flight and sent his troops after them. See EX 14: 3–8.  
*Pharaös*: Pharaoh's. The Pharaoh was the ruler of the kingdoms of Egypt.
- l. 30. *th'Arabian ... them way*. God miraculously parted the waters of the Red Sea when Moses raised his staff. The Israelites were thus able to flee the Egyptian army pursuing them.  
*th'Arabian*: the Arabian. Elided. Trisyllabic through elision by coalescence.
- ll. 31–34. *Thou that ... fatherinlawe*. Vaux is referring here to King David who started out in life tending his father Jesse's sheep, but rose to prominence through his skill as a harpist. While still a youth he daringly challenged and slew the gigantic champion of the Philistine army, Goliath, with his slingshot. He was a close friend of King Saul's son, Jonathan, and married one of Saul's daughters, Michal. Saul became demon possessed and mad with jealousy at the people's love for David, and tried to kill him. After warring with Saul, David later became king of Judah and eventually of all Israel. Cf. 1 SAM 16–18 and 2 SAM 2 & 5.
- l. 31. *Iessean*: Jessean. David's father was Jesse, the son of Obed (cf. RUTH 4: 17). Disyllabic through elision by coalescence.  
*shepefold*: sheepfold.  
*tokest*: tookest, took. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.
- l. 32. *touch of harpe*: skill at playing the harp.  
*launche of sling*: skill at using a slingshot.
- l. 33. *keepst*: keepest, keep.  
*Giants*: giant's. Goliath (cf. ll. 31–34 n. above).  
*murdering*. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.
- l. 34. *pofsefsed*. Saul was afflicted by a demon and summoned David to play the harp for him so as to soothe his spirit. Trisyllabic: “-ed” voiced.

*fatherinlawe*: father-in-law. See ll. 31–34 n. above. Trisyllabic through elision by contraction.

- ll. 35–42. *Thou that the General ... t'encounter thee*. Vaux is referring here to the story of Judith and Holofernes as told in the book of Judith in the Apocrypha. The Assyrian king, Nebuchadrezzar II (more commonly known as 'Nebuchadnezzar'), sent his general Holofernes to punish the western nations (including Israel and Judah) for refusing to aid him in his war against the Medes. His army, laying waste to everything in their wake, eventually laid seige to the city of Bethulia where there lived a chaste and beautiful widow called Judith. She entered the Assyrian camp and, pretending to seduce Holofernes, made him drunk and cut off his head. On discovering the death of their general the Assyrians fled in disorder, pursued mercilessly by the Israelites.
- l. 35. *General*. Holofernes. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.  
*th'Afsyrian*: the Assyrian. Trisyllabic through elision by coalescence.  
*hoft*: host, army, multitude. The army of Holofernes numbered one hundred and twenty thousand infantry and twelve thousand archers and cavalry (JDT 2: 5).
- l. 36. *blasphemous ... bost*. In JDT 6: 4 Holofernes rebukes Achior, an Ammonite captain, for speaking of the might of the God of Israel. He then blasphemes against God by saying, "thou shalt find that Nabuchodonosor is lord of the whole earth".  
*bost*: boast.
- l. 37. *crack*: boast.  
*vaunt*: boast.
- l. 38. *Bethulian widow*: Judith.  
*Bethulian*. Trisyllabic through elision by elision by coalescence.  
*madest*. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.  
*daunt*: frighten.
- l. 39. *Iudas*: Judah's. After the reign of King Solomon the tribes of Judah and Benjamin formed their own kingdom in the south of Israel, known as the kingdom of Judah and separate from the kingdom of Israel in the north.

*Babylonian*. In the Old Testament the terms Assyrian and Babylonian are often used synonymously.

*bloud*. Rhymed with “food” (l. 40), see Dobson, p. 510.

l. 40. *drowne*: drench.

*fowles*: birds, here probably vultures.

l. 41. *frends*: friends.

l. 42. *t'encounter*: to encounter. Elided.

ll. 43–44. *Thou that by dome ... Helchias wife*. Vaux refers to the Apocryphal tale of Susanna and the elders, found in the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox versions of the book of Daniel which is based on the Hellenistic Greek text (the *Septuagint*) not the Hebrew text of scriptures. Susanna was the beautiful and chaste wife of Joakim (*D-R* & *AV*: Joacim), and the daughter of Hilkiah (*D-R*: Helcias, *AV*: Chelcias). Two elders and judges of the people tried to blackmail her into sleeping with them by threatening to denounce her as an adulteress if she would not. Refusing their entreaties she was duly brought to trial and sentenced to death, but while she was being led out to be stoned, they passed by the prophet Daniel, who (though only a boy at the time) rebuked the people for not trying her properly and upon his cross-examination of the two elders it was found that she was innocent. The elders were put to death for their wickedness. Cf. DAN 13 (*Vulgate* & *D-R*).

l. 43. *dome*: doom, judgement.

*child*: the boy Daniel.

*faue*: save.

l. 44. *chast*: chaste, unadulterous.

*Helchias wife*. Vaux appears to have confused Susanna's husband (Joakim) with her father (Hilkiah). See ll. 43–44 n. above.

*Helchias*: Helchias'. See above.

ll. 45–46. *Thow that from Lions ... thy fake*. Darius, the king of Babylon, had the prophet Daniel thrown into the lions' den (DAN 6: 1–28). See “Being ficke in Oxford thus he prayed”, l. 13 n.

*Thow*: Thou.

l. 45. *hongrie*: hungry.

l. 46. *Prophet*: Daniel.

*throwen*: thrown.

*for thy sake*. Daniel refused to stop worshipping God, despite being ordered to worship Darius instead. See “Being ficke in Oxford thus he prayed”, l. 13 n.

ll. 47–50. *Thow that the wrath ... did prepare*. Vaux refers to an incident in the book of Esther 1–7. The Persian king Ahasuerus (also known as Xerxes I) became enraged when his wife, Queen Vashti, refused to come into his presence “with the crown set upon her head, to show her beauty to all the people and the princes: for she was exceeding beautiful” (ESTH 1: 11). He subsequently sought a more beautiful woman to replace Vashti as queen of Persia, and filled his harem with many beautiful virgins including the Jewess Esther, the adopted daughter of Mordecai. She was so beautiful that Ahasuerus made her his new queen, not knowing that she was a Jewess. Mordecai later discovered a plot by two chamberlains to kill Ahasuerus and immediately informed the king of it.

Ahasuerus had advanced a Persian noble, Haman, above all other princes of the realm, and decreed that all men bow down to Haman in homage, but Mordecai would not do so. This greatly angered Haman who sought to kill Mordecai and every Jew in Persia. He promised the king ten thousand talents of silver should he be able to punish everyone who did not obey this injunction. The king consented and a decree was issued to the effect. But Queen Esther approached the king, unbidden and therefore at great risk to her own life, and invited him and Haman to a banquet she had prepared for them.

Haman found little joy in this signal honour because he was still irritated by Mordecai sitting at the king’s gate in sackcloth and not moving or standing up for him. He therefore erected a gallows and determined to ask the king before the banquet if he might hang the insolent Mordecai on it. When he went to see the king he found him perusing his records. When he approached the king, Ahasuerus asked him, “What ought to be done to the man whom the king is desirous to honour?” (ESTH 6: 6). Haman, thinking the king was about to honour him, suggested that such a man be

clothed in the king's apparel, be seated on the king's horse, and be led and proclaimed through the streets by the greatest of the king's princes. Ahasuerus then instructed him to see that all these honours were bestowed on Mordecai who had earlier saved his life. Haman was deeply humiliated and disappointed but nevertheless went to Queen Esther's banquet. At the banquet the king asked Esther what she desired and she asked that she and her people might be spared from the foe who sought their death. Not knowing she was a Jewess, Ahasuerus asked who would do such a thing, and she pointed to Haman. He was then hanged from the gallows he had erected to hang Mordecai from. Esther's thwarting of Haman and the salvation of the Hebrew people in Persia is still celebrated by Jewish people in the annual feast of Purim.

- l. 47. *Perfian King*: Ahasuerus (Xerxes I).

*fwage*: assuage.

- l. 48. *Shielding*. Monosyllabic through elision by coalescence.

*Amans*: Haman's.

- l. 49. *caught*. Disyllabic, "-ed" voiced. Archaic variant past participle of 'catch' (see *OED*: catch, *v.*, FORMS).

*fnare*. The gallows Haman had erected for Mordecai.

- l. 50. *Iudæs remnaunts*. The Jewish people were scattered throughout the Persian empire after being taken into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, cf. DAN 1: 1–2.

*Iudæs*: Judah's. See l. 39 n. above.

*remnaunts*: remnants.

- l. 51. *Thou that in firi fornace ... feeding gaue*. King Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon erected a golden statue upon the plain of Dura in Babylon and ordered all his subjects to bow down and worship it, on pain of death. Three young Hebrew men, Shadrak, Meshak, and Abednego, who refused were thrown into a fiery furnace, but God protected them and they were able to walk about amid the flames and praise God, much to the astonishment of the king. Cf. DAN 3.

*fornace*: furnace.

- l. 53. *three youthes*: Shadrak, Meshak, and Abednego.

*stoutely*: stoutly, bravely, resolutely.

- l. 54. *due unto thy maiestie*. Parenthetical. Thus: ‘they did not give the honour due to thy majesty to Nebuchadnezzar’s golden statue’.  
*maiestie*: majesty. Rhymed with “denye” (l. 53). Nothing in Dobson.
- l. 55. *th’Idol*: the Idol.  
*mortal slave*. Vaux is not suggesting that Nebuchadnezzar was a slave, but rather that idol worship is servile.
- l. 56. *whom beaftly pride beaftes shape & feeding gaue*. Nebuchadnezzar was punished by God for his pride by being driven mad for seven years and made to crawl about on all fours, eating grass like an ox. See DAN 4.  
*beaftes*: beast’s.  
*gaue*: gave.
- ll. 57–72. *Thou that for all the world ... paind him more*. Vaux refers to the redemption of sinful man through the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. See GEN 1–3, the gospels, and ll. 123–124 n. of “A complaint to the Nightingale”.
- l. 57. *orewhelmd*: overwhelmed. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.  
*vice*: sin.
- l. 58. *exilde*: exiled.  
*paradife*: Eden.
- l. 59. *enemie to thee*. Because Adam and Eve disobeyed God, mankind is in a state of enmity with God.  
*enemie*. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.  
*vertues*: virtue’s.  
*lore*: teaching.
- l. 60. *when as*: when.  
*cur*: cure, heal.  
*thire*: their.  
*curelefse fore*. Man’s sinfulness is incurable.
- l. 61. *bath*: healing bath.
- l. 62. *rote*: root.
- l. 63. *bloud*. The blood which Christ shed on the cross for man’s salvation.  
*wich*: which.  
*word*: Christ, cf. JN 1: 1 and “A Complaint to the Nightingale” l. 91 n.  
 Rhymed with “afford” (l. 64), see Dobson, p. 489 n. 2.

- l. 64. *onely*: only.  
*fonne*. In Christian understanding Christ is the son of God.  
*incarnate*: made flesh, made mortal.
- l. 65. *wips*: whips. Christ was scourged before being crucified. Cf. LK 23: 16  
and JN 19: 1.  
*stretch of crosse*. In crucifixion the limbs of the victim are diagonally or  
vertically stretched so as to ensure eventual asphyxiation when the  
victim can no longer support the weight of his body with his legs.  
*shede*: shed.
- l. 66. *naileboard*: nail-bored, pierced with nails.  
*handes & feete*. In crucifixion the feet and lower arms are bound or  
nailed to the gibbet.  
*blede*: bleed. Rhymed with “fhede” (l. 65). Vaux is using an obsolete  
form of the past tense, ‘did bled’ rather than the modern ‘did  
bleed’ or ‘bled’.
- l. 67. *love of man*. Christ died out of love for his fallen creation.  
*brenne*: burn (archaic, see *OED*: burn, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, FORMS).
- l. 68. *fppearepearst*: spear-pierced. Christ’s death was confirmed by the issuing  
forth of blood and water from his side when a Roman soldier  
stabbed his corpse with a spear (see JN 19: 34).  
*thirled*: pierced (*OED*: thirl, *v.*<sup>1</sup> 1.) Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.  
*amaine*: forcefully.  
*renne*: run (archaic, see *OED*: run, *v.*, FORMS), pour.
- l. 69. *holie*: holy.  
*thornpricke*: thorn-pricked. The Roman soldiers made Christ wear a  
crown of thorns in mockery of his title “King of the Jews”, cf. MT  
27: 29.  
*hed*: head.  
*powrd*: poured.
- l. 70. *curfed Iewes*. In Medieval and Renaissance understanding the Jews were  
eternally cursed for crucifying Jesus and refusing to acknowledge  
the verity of the gospel. Cf. ll. 22–27 & n. It was in fact the Roman  
soldiers who plaited the crown of thorns for Jesus’s head (cf. MT  
27: 27–30).  
*Iewes*: Jews.

*platted*: plaited.

*breere*: briar, see “A commendation of bloomes or blossomes” (l. 3 n.)

Monosyllabic through elision by coalescence.

l. 71. *pincht*: pinched, hurt.

*fo fore*: so much.

l. 72. *love ... more*. Christ as God had to endure the agony of being rejected and condemned to death by his own creation. In the MS. this line reads: “but love of vnkind man paind him more” which does not scan, being a syllable short of Vaux’s unwaveringly decasyllabic line. I have therefore conjectured that the scribe has omitted ‘hath’ before “paind”:

    ˘ / ˘ / ˘ / / ˘ /  
but love of vnkind man paind him more (MS.)

    ˘ / ˘ / ˘ / / ˘ / ˘ /  
but love of vnkind man [hath] paind him more (My text)

*paind*: pained, caused pain.

ll. 73–108. *Thow that hast holpe ... my barraine store can pay*. In this final section of the poem, Vaux pleads with God to bless his weak poetic endeavours, acknowledging him and not the pagan deities as the true source of artistic inspiration.

l. 73. *holpe*. Archaic past tense of ‘help’ (see *OED*: help, *v.*, FORMS).

*wilt*. Archaic second person singular form of ‘will’.

l. 74. *willes*: wills, volitions.

*buxome*: tractable, obliging.

l. 75. *Even*. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

*doe*: do.

l. 76. *God*. Vaux appears to be changing addressee at this point from his muse to God.

*indite*: write, compose.

l. 77. *vnripe yet rotten*. A paradoxical self-condemnation: ripeness generally precedes rottenness. Vaux is dismissing his ability as a poet, not only acknowledging his literary immaturity but denying his future potential as well, if Christ does not act as his muse. Cf. *As You Like It* 3.2.109–110 “you’ll be rotten ere you be ripe and that’s the right virtue of a medlar.”

*grace*. Vaux’s only hope to succeed as a poet depends on God’s grace.

- l. 78. *witte*: intellectual worth.  
*arte*: poetic worth.
- l. 79. *facte*: deed, act (cf. “The Epilogue or Conclusion”, l. 73 n.) Vaux is asking for God’s help to prevent him from ‘defacing’ with his poor verse what God has done.
- l. 81. *Heathnish*: pagan.  
*hind’s*: hinds, serfs, servile people.  
*Helicon wel*. On Mount Helicon (where the Muses dwelt) there flows the Pierian Spring, whose waters inspired all who drank from it with the poetic art. Cf. “A description of Love”, l. 56 n., and “Of the fame argument”, l. 9 n.
- l. 82. *winged horfe*: Pegasus. In Greek mythology the winged horse Pegasus sprang from the neck of Medusa when she was decapitated by Perseus. Shortly thereafter Pegasus struck his foot on Mount Helicon and immediately the Pierian Spring sprung from that spot (cf. Robert Graves, 75.b). See l. 81 n. above.  
*winged*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.  
*Parnafus*. Mount Parnassus in central Greece had the oracle of Delphi at its base, the prophetic but enigmatic voice of the god Apollo. It was also an alternative home for the Muses (*Encarta*: Parnassus).
- l. 83. *thrive Sisters three*: the nine muses.  
*wot*: know, (cf. Dutch ‘weten’ and German ‘wissen’).  
*what*. Rhymed with “chatte” (l. 84), see Dobson, pp. 529–535.
- ll. 84–86. *of venus ... lewd defiers*. Vaux is condemning the amatory poetry of the Tudor court poets who emulated the poetry of Catullus, Ovid and Petrarch.
- l. 84. *venus & her blind boy*. Venus and her often blindfolded son Cupid were the Roman gods of romantic and erotic love as well as of youthfulness and beauty (*Encarta*: Venus (Mythology) & Cupid, and cf. notes on “A description of Love”).
- l. 85. *lecherous love*: lust.  
*lecherous*. Disyllabic through elision by contraction.
- l. 86. *lazie*: lazy, slothful.  
*lozels*: losels, worthless people (*OED*: losel, *n.* and *a.* A.)  
*defiers*: desires, lusts.

l. 87. *droppe*: drop (of inspiration).

*barraine*: barren, unfruitful, yielding nothing of worth.

l. 88. *facred word*: scripture.

*sprite*: spirit, here the Holy Spirit.

l. 89. *makeft*: makest. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

ll. 91–100. *the old long cared ... far otherwise inclinde*. The reference is to the story of Balaam, found in the book of Numbers 22–24. Balak, the king of the Moabites, became alarmed by the entry of the Israelites into his lands and summoned Balaam, a Gentile prophet, to curse the people of Israel. On his way to the king, Balaam and his donkey were intercepted by the angel of the Lord. The donkey stopped. Not seeing the angel, Balaam became angry that his donkey would not move any further and so he beat it. The donkey then famously rebuked him in human speech and the angel of the Lord appeared to Balaam as well, rebuking him both for beating his donkey and for what he was about to do against the Israelites. Thereupon Balaam prophesied the future happiness and ascendancy of Israel.

*long cared*: troubled or burdened for a long time.

*cared*. Disyllabic, “-ed” voiced.

l. 91. *drudging beast*: Balaam’s donkey.

*beast*. Rhymed with “request” (l. 92), see Dobson p. 354.

l. 92. *lewd Prophet*. Balaam was a Gentile, not a Jewish, prophet.

*by request*. King Balak had sent for Balaam.

l. 93. *th’impious*: the impious. Elided. Disyllabic through elision by coalescence.

*thy chofen crue*. The idea that the ancient Israelites were God’s chosen people is found throughout the Old Testament, but is stated most clearly in DEUT 7: 6 ff.: “Because thou art a holy people to the Lord thy God. The Lord thy God hath chosen thee, to be his peculiar people of all peoples that are upon the earth”.

*crue*: crew, group of people.

l. 94. *whofe ... grew*. The Israelites became more and more powerful and numerous (see Balaam’s prophecy in NUM 24).

l. 95. *maifter*: master. Balaam.

*reprove*: rebuke, censure.

- l. 96. *wifards*: wizard's. Vaux refers to Balaam as a wizard (a wise man) but not as a prophet of God.

*lippes*: lips.

*love*. Rhymed with "reprove" (l. 95), see Dobson, p. 325 & pp. 509–510 n. 3, and cf. "A complaint to the Nightingale", l. 125 n.

- l. 98. *Ifraël*. Trisyllabic through diaeresis.

*the wilderness*: desert. The Israelites wandered through the wildernesses of the Sinai peninsula on their way to Canaan. Elided: 'th'wilderness'.

- l. 99. *in stede*: instead.

*hatched*. Disyllabic, "-ed" voiced.

- l. 100. *inclinde*: inclined, bent, changed.

- l. 103. *wifshed*: wished, desired. Disyllabic, "-ed" voiced.

*end*: finish, (but also) purpose.

- l. 104. *skillefse*: lacking skill.

*quille*. The goose quill was the standard writing implement from the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century.

- l. 105. *file*: sharpen. The end of a goose quill had to be carefully cut to form a nib with which to write. See l. 104 n. above.

*rude*: unskilled.

- l. 106. *worke*: the poet's poem and poetry.

*workman*: the poet.

*behote*: promise, dedicate.

- l. 107. *for aye*: forever.

- l. 108. *store*: supply, potential.

## 19. "Fragment" (fol. 89<sup>v</sup>)

These five lines of verse appear at the end of "Vp drowzie Mufe", but do not logically form part of that poem. They appear to be part of another poem, or perhaps they were lines that the poet intended to work into the preceding poem later but never did. This is unlikely as the lines follow a different rhyme scheme. Their subject seems to be the incarnation of Christ.

l. 1. *himself*: himself.

l. 2. *heaven*. Monosyllabic through elision by contraction.

*virgines*: virgin's. The reference is to Christ being born of the Virgin Mary by the miracle of parthenogenesis. Cf. LK 1: 34–35.

l. 3. *cure*: salvation.

*Adams*: Adam's. In GEN 4 Adam is presented as the male ancestor of all mankind.

l. 4. *forbidden*. Adam and Eve ate of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and were thereby condemned (along with all subsequent generations) to a labouring mortality and perpetual sinfulness, the penalty of which is eternal damnation. Cf. GEN 3: 14–23.

l. 5. *Angell*. The Angel Gabriel announced to Mary (often styled as the second Eve) that she would give birth to Jesus. Cf. LK 1: 26–38.

*maide*: virgin.

---

---

**APPENDIX A***Modernised Text*

*Certain Poems  
of  
Mr Henry Vaux,  
Son to the Lord Vaux.*

## **A Complaint to the Nightingale, Taken out of St. Bonaventure**

- Thou worthy bird, thou gentle nightingale,  
 Leave off a while thy wonted songs, I pray;  
 And lend thine ear to this my doleful tale,  
 And make report of that which I shall say:  
 Since this my barren verse is far too base 5  
 Before my sovereign Lord to plead my case.
- For well I know thy sweet melodious throat  
 Will never cease with warbling tunes full high  
 To praise our God with many a pleasant note,  
 When senseless sleep shall close my fainting eye: 10  
 And well I know thou mayest ascend by right,  
 Where I, poor soul, dare scarce direct my sight.
- Go, tell my Love I languish for his love,  
 Since he in heaven, and I at brink of hell,  
 Since he in height of royal throne above, 15  
 And I in depth of wretched vale do dwell;  
 Since he in peace, and I in strife and pain;  
 Since he in bliss, and I in woe remain.
- Since him I lack, without whose sight most dear  
 My soul each day for want of food doth die; 20  
 Since him I lack, the well of bliss most clear,  
 My tired ghost is weary, weak, and dry;  
 Since him I lack, my sole and sovereign weal,  
 The only want whereby all joys do fail.
- Go say I wail that I ne lived that day, 25  
 My blessèd Lord beneath in earth to see,  
 In Bethlehem born, and poorly couched in hay,  
 With shepherds, and with royal sages three;  
 Or in his circumcision sore to bleed,  
 When Mary wept to see that woeful deed. 30
- Ne yet with Simeon old I might embrace  
 The light, and health, and glory of mankind;  
 Ne yet to Egyptward with speedy pace  
 I plied my feet, my Saviour there to find;  
 Ne yet in midst of learned doctors found 35  
 My hap was such to hear his sacred sound.
- Would God in Nazareth I might have dwelt,  
 In growing age to see my Love most dear;  
 At Jordan's bank great joy I might have felt,  
 With John to see the blessèd Lamb appear; 40  
 The Father's voice to hear from heaven above;  
 The Holy Ghost to see in form of Dove.

What comfort would have been to hear him teach  
 With words most sweet the simple folk each day?  
 And toiling everywhere about to preach, 45  
 And humbled oft on knees by night to pray?  
 To yield relief for every sort of pain,  
 And with his voice to raise the dead again?

With Magdalene perhaps I might have wet  
 His feet, and so have washed my soul from blame; 50  
 Or with the rest my Lord I should have met  
 At Sion gates triumphing when he came;  
 With boughs of palm I should have strewed the street,  
 Praising my Saviour with Osanna sweet.

But O sweet feast, O precious banquet dear! 55  
 Thy secret joys cannot be well expressed;  
 Thy mysteries, which holy angels fear,  
 With silence to adore I think it best;  
 Save that I needs must muse at his good hap,  
 That might have leave to rest in Jesus' lap. 60

Yet more I mourn that I ne felt my part  
 Of all his pains endured for my sake;  
 When full of deadly dread and inward smart  
 His soul was irk the cup of death to take;  
 And whilst he prayed prostrate upon his face, 65  
 The bloody drops ran trickling down apace.

Of all his dear disciples soon forsaken  
 With bats, with bills, with glaives, and many a light,  
 Helpless alone my liberty was taken,  
 Fast bound, and brought in furious wise by night; 70  
 To Annas' house, where for his answer meek  
 A boisterous blow he bare upon his cheek:

Thence drawn and driven to Caiaphas' hall anon,  
 Where slandered foul with many a shameless lie  
 Through witness false, where truth appeared none 75  
 Guiltless, alas, they judge my Life to die;  
 Blindfold, bespit, and bounced with spiteful blows  
 The restless night he spent among his foes.

Yet here a while, with Peter must I weep,  
 That have denied my God so sundry times, 80  
 For lack of care his sacred laws to keep;  
 Pardon therefore I pray for all my crimes:  
 For oft, alas, the cock hath crowed me day,  
 Whilst I in sin have slept with long delay.

From Caiaphas' court in haste to Pilate's place 85  
 They hale my Lord with fierce felonious mode;  
 With forgèd crimes they charge him to his face;  
 Where mild and mute before the judge he stood:

- Who finding well that he ne bred this broil,  
To Herod made him thence again to toil. 90
- The Father's Word with many a scornful flout  
King Herod and his gallants there abuse;  
In discard's weed disguised and led about  
Their Lord and King the frantic Jews refuse:  
Not him we choose, but Barabbas, they cry; 95  
Let go the thief, for Jesus needs must die.
- But woe is me, what creature could abide  
To see my Saviour's flesh with scourges torn?  
With purple streams that flowed on every side,  
His head beset with crown of cruel thorn; 100  
And varlets vile in sign of great disgrace  
With reed did smite upon his sacred face.
- What iron breast in pieces would not tear?  
What heart could hold, though made of marble-stone,  
Upon his wearied back to see him bear 105  
His cross of fifteen foot with many a groan?  
O Queen of Heaven, O Maid and Mother pure,  
How might thine eyes this ruthful sight endure!
- To see those hateful hellhounds pluck by strength  
His clothes away, with skin and flesh at once; 110  
To see them rack his royal limbs at length,  
That soon they might have numbered all his bones;  
With boisterous nails and hammer's strokes full sore  
His precious hands and feet to see them bore?
- With ropes to see them hoise his cross on high, 115  
And rudely down again to let it fall;  
Even senseless things did mourn to see him die;  
The earth did quake, the rocks did rive withal,  
The sun and moon from such a bloody sight  
With doleful cheer withdrew their wonted light. 120
- All this, and more, my blessèd Lord endured  
For me unborn, a vile unthankful wight;  
Whose filthy sins his painful death procured,  
Where I was bound to suffer death by right:  
And yet my luck was not so good to prove 125  
Some little pain for all his endless love.
- Why could I not with Joseph and his feres  
Have wrapped his lovely limbs in linen pure?  
Why could I not have washed with bitter tears  
Those wounds which my redemption did procure? 130  
Why could I not have bought with many a tear  
In gardener's weed to see my Lord appear?

With Magdalene at dawning of the day  
I might have sought my heart's desire at least;  
Or else with two disciples in the way 135  
I might have entertained a loving guest:  
I might perhaps have seen his wounded side,  
His nail-bored hands and feet that gapèd wide.

Why went I not to bid my Love farewell;  
Why did I fail his sacred steps to kiss; 140  
When rich with precious spoils of death and Hell  
My Saviour first made entrance into bliss;  
Leaving his flock amid the raging rout  
Of cruel wolves to walk the world about?

Wherefore sith all my joy is thus bereft, 145  
So that my days in weary sort are spent;  
Had not my Christ through special bounty left  
A sovereign salve in healthful Sacrament,  
His holy Flesh and blessèd Blood I mean,  
I must have died for inward grief and pain. 150

Thee therefore, friendly nightingale, I pray  
Before my Lord my doleful case to plead;  
How dying here for lack of him each day  
In desert earth a loathsome life I lead;  
Most hard bestad on every side with woes, 155  
And round about beset with mortal foes.

The fiend is fierce and full of deep deceit,  
His force is much, his malice most of all;  
And many a time he slyly lurks in wait  
With secret subtle snare to make me thrall: 160  
Ne doth he cease by day and night full fast  
His fiery darts against my soul to cast.

The world is false, and with his gauds full gay  
Eftsoon he seeks my wandering mind to lure;  
And oft with might and main he doth assay 165  
By fierce assaults my ruin to procure:  
He lightly laughs, and soon begins to lour;  
He profereth sweet, his payments all are sour.

My flesh is frail, and oft she doth repine  
To work the good most needful for my state; 170  
And most against herself she doth incline  
To do the works that most my soul doth hate:  
And through my gates (these eyes and ears I mean)  
Full many a guest she brings that is unclean.

My sprite, that for these harms should find redress, 175  
Is dull and faint, and smally can prevail;  
And when I strive my rebels to repress,  
Full soon, alas, I find my force to fail;

- And though I wish sometimes to mount on high,  
My cage is close, and forth I cannot fly. 180
- All these my griefs, dear nightingale, declare,  
That I endure, whilst here I live alone;  
Where woes be rife, and comforts be so rare,  
That still I sob and sigh with piteous moan:  
And when I count my former fruitless years, 185  
Mine eyes full fain would melt in floods of tears.
- Receive therefore the sum of my desires;  
That sith in earth my Love I could not see,  
To place of rest, whereto my soul aspires,  
From earthly cage full soon I may go free; 190  
With thee and other nightingales to sing  
For evermore in presence of our King.
- Where joys abound, and woes be far away;  
Where blessèd souls enjoy eternal light;  
Where never night, but everlasting day, 195  
With glorious glittering beams doth shine full bright;  
Where no mishap nor mischief can befall;  
Where nothing wants; where God is all in all.
- Meanwhile, dear bird, entreat my heavenly Love  
In secret sort away my heart to steal; 200  
And with himself to fix the same above,  
That all desires of earthly goods may quail:  
That more and more my fainting ghost may cry,  
My life is CHRIST, mine only gain to die.  
*Cupio dissolvi, et esse cum CHRISTO.* 205

### **A Lamentation of a Sinner**

- O sovereign salve for sin  
Which dost my soul behold  
That seeks herself from tangling faults  
By striving to unfold, 5  
What plea shall I put in,  
When thou dost summons send  
To judge the people of the earth  
And give the world an end,  
When every deed and word  
And every secret thought 10  
In open view of all the world  
Shall unto light be brought?
- So many judges shall  
Against me sentence give  
As by example of good works 15

Have taught how I should live. So many pleaders shall Confound my careful case As have in me by sound advice Sought to increase thy grace.	20
So many shall that time Against me witness bear As have beheld my fruitless faith And saw my sins appear.	
Whereon whiles I do muse In my amazèd mind, Forewarnèd through familiar foes, Most fierce assaults I find.	25
My conscience to my face Doth flatly me accuse.	30
My secret thoughts within mine ears Do whisper still these news. Mine avarice doth bribe, My pride doth brag me down.	
Mine envy frets me like a file At other folks' renown.	35
Concupiscence inflames, And lust my limbs infects. My meat doth burthen, and my drink My weakness great detects.	40
My slanders rent my fame, Ambition doth supplant, My greediness is not content, But makes me wail for want.	
My mirth but flattery is, My sorrows are unkind, My pleasures run me out of breath, And griefs oppress my mind.	45
Behold, my God, whose might May me a freeman make,	50
These were the friends, whose counsels cursed I was content to take. These were the lawless lords, Whom I did serve alway.	
These were the masters, whose mad hests I did too much obey.	55
Behold my fall most foul, Which folly first did frame: In loving them I should have loathed, Whence breedeth all my blame.	60
Now do I look aloof With hateful blushing face On glory thine that so I may Discern mine own disgrace.	

My many spots and great  
     Must needs increase my guilt  
 Unless thou wash them in thy Blood  
     Which for my sake was spilt.  
 Forgive the faults, O Lord,  
     Which I from heart repent,  
 And grant my days to come may be  
     In thy sweet service spent.

65

70

### **In Hope Patience**

Despisèd things may live,  
     Although they pine in pain,  
 And things oft trodden under feet  
     May once yet rise again.

The stone which lies full low  
     May be at last full high  
 And stand on top of stately tower  
     In sight of every eye.

5

The roots of rotten reeds  
     In swelling seas are seen,  
 And when each tide hath tossed his worst  
     They grow again full green.

10

I see no sight on earth  
     But it to change inclines,  
 And little clouds do overcast  
     The brightest sun that shines.

15

No flower is so fresh  
     But frost may it deface,  
 No man so sure in any seat,  
     But he may lose his place.

20

Wherefore I stand content,  
     Though much against my mind,  
 To take in worth this luckless lot  
     That is to me assigned.

### **A Description of Love**

The ancient poets, meaning to declare  
 That lovers thoughts can never cloakèd be,  
 Did feign that Cupid was of garments bare  
 And said that he was blind and could not see  
 Because who so is caught within his snare  
 Is blind of sense and seeth not his share.

5

They feignèd also that he was a boy,  
To show that love is but a foolish toy.

They said moreover he had wings to fly,  
To show the lightness of these lovers' thoughts, 10  
Which in vain hope doth mount sometimes on high,  
But in an hour it goeth unto naught.  
Now may these lovers, if they list, espy  
How good a god this is for whom they cry.  
Truly I marvel not though they have joy 15  
To serve a blinded flying naked boy.

He that the pains of foolish lovers sees,  
How some do die through languor, pain, and woe,  
And how sometimes they hang themselves on trees, 20  
And of a lover oft becomes a foe,  
And marketh how their senses they do lease,  
And how they burn, and soon again do freeze;  
May say love is a goodly lord to serve  
That letteth so his faithful servants starve.

Lo Phyllis' breath is stoppèd with a cord, 25  
Lo Iphis' hangeth her upon a beam,  
Lo Dido's heart is piercèd with a sword,  
Behold Leander drownèd in the stream –  
Lo thus they fare that sit at Cupid's board.  
This is your fee, thus payeth you your lord. 30  
Thus is your faithful service spent in vain,  
Sith your reward is nothing else but pain.

What doth the name of Cupid signify?  
Untamèd lust and burning hot desire,  
Friend of all vices, virtue's enemy, 35  
Unto the wit a frost, to will a fire.  
Them that him serve, God, let them never Thee.  
I think such god in heaven cannot be,  
But rather he an angel is, that fell  
With Lucifer from heaven unto hell. 40

This god did teach Duke Jason's wife to slay  
Her little children with her proper hands.  
Great beastliness he taught Pasiphaë,  
And Scylla to betray her father's lands. 45  
What should I say of wicked Canace,  
Of Myrrha, Byblis, and Nyctimene?  
For love Alcides left his lion's skin  
And was content with Omphale to spin.

Lo here the blindness of dame Venus' son,  
Lo here his wings, lo here his bare array, 50  
By serving him, lo what at last is won.  
Lo how he maketh folk to go astray.  
But to conclude: who so would Cupid shun,

With Dian through the mountains he must run,  
 Or go with Pallas to the fields to fight, 55  
 Or go unto the Muses' fountain bright.

### **Against Envy**

That cankered foe to virtue's worthy fame,  
 Which nips with frosts the heads of fairest flowers,  
 Yet burns like fire, till ruin quench the flame,  
 Whose smoke doth blind the sight of highest powers,  
 Whose thundering strokes on great estates do fall, 5  
 Whose spiteful mode is armed with bitter gall;

More stains with blot of shame and foul disgrace,  
 More bites with care and pinching blasts of cold,  
 More wastes with heat of flames in every place,  
 More blinds with fume, more wounds a thousand fold 10  
 That wight which bears this direful snake in breast,  
 Than he whom enemy's spite would reave from rest.

Display Aglaura's breast to open show,  
 What else appears but hellish furious rage?  
 Whence rooted hate in rancour's ground doth grow, 15  
 Whose fiery brands no liquor can assuage;  
 Where malice reigns, and envy beareth sway,  
 Whose bloody jaws still gape for deep decay.

Such is the lot of him whose cruel mind  
 Is bent to make at others' harms a game, 20  
 With endless toil to strive with virtues kind,  
 To spot their praise, yet wins himself the blame:  
 He melts like snow against the shining sun,  
 And draws with pain the threads which envy spun.

In public wealth he pines away with care, 25  
 In common woes he thirsts for greater ill,  
 Where others feed he cannot like his fare,  
 While others drink his thirst endureth still;  
 When others laugh he bathes his cheeks with tears,  
 And leaps for joy when cause of grief appears. 30

So that no fire of Pluto's burning lake,  
 Nor Tytius' gripe which wastes his growing heart,  
 Nor Ixion's wheel begirt with many a snake,  
 Nor Phineas' birds can match the deadly smart,  
 Which envy brings to minds with griefs oppressed, 35  
 Whose weal in woe, and life in death doth rest.

## Of Friendship

- The sacred bands of faithful friendship's laws  
 Are broke by force and sundered all in twain;  
 The perfect love whom noble virtue draws,  
 The constant faith which wonted to remain  
 With steadfast truth more firm than oath or vow,  
 In mind of men can scarcely harbour now. 5
- When bright Astraea went to starry skies,  
 When peace was fled and pity placed above,  
 When shining truth was hid from mortal eyes,  
 Yet still remained this faithful friendly love: 10  
 But if this blissful concord were not left,  
 All earthly hope and joy were from us reft.
- Some kind of men inflamèd with desire  
 By name of friendship cloak their filthy lust;  
 Some will be friends, but not without their hire; 15  
 And some conceal their treason under trust;  
 Yet seld is seen enclosed in mortal breast  
 For virtue's sake a friendly love to rest.
- Foul is the mind where wicked lust doth reign  
 And seeks a veil to hide an ill intent; 20  
 And wicked he whose friendship gapes for gain,  
 Whose greedy breast to ravine all is bent,  
 But he most cursèd wretch that doth assay  
 By painted show to work his friend's decay.
- O happy wight that doth enjoy a friend, 25  
 Whose steadfast truth in peril will not fail;  
 Whose constant love endureth to his end;  
 Against whose mind no fortune can prevail;  
 Approved long in poor estate, in wealth,  
 In joy, in woe, in sickness and in health. 30
- Then happy Theseus with his noble fere,  
 And thou Orestes wandering all about,  
 And thou to whom thy Damon was so dear,  
 Whose fixèd friendships never came in doubt –  
 Oh what it is to have a friend so kind! 35  
 A jewel rare, a treasure hard to find.
- And yet, alas, full many a man we know,  
 Whom fortune draws, will bear a friendly cheer  
 While luck doth serve and prosperous wind doth blow;  
 As swallows swift in springtime do appear, 40  
 When storms arise, farewell, they will be gone,  
 They leave him all to sink or swim alone.

## **Of Covetousness**

On earth great store of gold unsought was found  
 When Saturn reignèd as a god of might;  
 Until his son it hid within the ground,  
 Because that men for it began to fight.  
 Yet now sith it is known to every wight 5  
 That gold within the earth doth lie by kind,  
 Men go to hell this treasure bright to find.

For gold men sell their children and their wives,  
 Their dearest friends, their good renown, and all. 10  
 For gold men are content to lose their lives.  
 For gold the freeman doth become a thrall.  
 For gold the prince is murdered in his hall.  
 For love of gold, as commonly we see,  
 A wicked act will soon attempted be.

Whoso hath gold may have his whole desire, 15  
 For what thing is not done in hope of gain?  
 Or what is done without reward or hire?  
 Gold maketh men to labour and take pain.  
 Gold raiseth war, and buyeth peace again.  
 Gold maketh friends, and causeth mortal hate. 20  
 It ceaseth strife and stirreth up debate.

Men have no cause Agenor for to curse,  
 Which found the mines of gold, as some men say.  
 What if that some men's god be in their purse,  
 Should therefore men throw gold into the sea, 25  
 As Crates did, or cast it clean away?  
 Sith God it gave, men should it not refuse,  
 Although the wicked wickedly it use.

## **A Commendation of Blooms or Blossoms**

When Memnon's woeful mother, with her tears,  
 And Zephyrus do make the flowers to grow;  
 When birds do make their songs upon the briars;  
 Then on the trees the blossoms fair do show,  
 Which I may well prefer above the rest 5  
 Of flowers, or compare them with the best.

All other flowers full low on earth abide,  
 The blossom dwelleth nearer to the sky;  
 And in the grass herself she doth not hide,  
 But to the sight avancèd is on high. 10  
 Some other flowers purple, yellow and green,  
 In blossoms none but white and red are seen.

White is good life, and red is honest shame.  
 Those simple colours are the best of all,  
 Yet blooms perhaps of some men shall have blame 15  
 Because unto the ground so soon they fall:  
 Sith that each worldly thing doth fade away,  
 It is no marvel though that blooms decay.

When Phoebus' beams do parch the earth with heat,  
 When Pole Antarctic hath no day, but night, 20  
 When in this zone our shadows be not great,  
 When Arctic Pole hath gotten perfect light,  
 Then all the flowers do wither, as we see,  
 And then the blossom falleth from the tree.

Yet though the blossoms fall from trees by kind, 25  
 Because Apollo should them never burn;  
 When blooms be gone their fruit remains behind,  
 Where others into dust and powder turn:  
 Thus for their place, their colour, fruit, and smell,  
 The blooms of right may bear away the bell. 30

### **No Trust in Fortune**

Whoso doth trust the feignèd cheer  
 That smileth forth by Fortune's looks,  
 When good to him she doth appear,  
 To take his life she layeth her hooks.

The mariner is most unwise 5  
 That trusteth to the quiet seas,  
 For commonly great storms arise  
 When as the winds do seem to cease.

Under the grass full fresh and green  
 There lurketh hid the hurtful snake. 10  
 Within the bait, as oft is seen,  
 Doth lie the hook the fish to take.

To Fortune's wheel there is no trust,  
 For he that sits in highest place  
 Within an hour lieth in the dust, 15  
 If that she show a froward face.

Thus Fortune turneth upside down  
 Man's life and changeth each estate.  
 She makes the poor man wear a crown,  
 The mighty prince she doth abate. 20

The wise man only 'scapeth free,  
 Ne subject is to Fortune's rage,  
 Though all estates her servants be,  
 Yet can she not subdue the sage. *Anno aetatis 13<sup>o</sup>.*

**Beauty is Brittle.**

I marvel much why Paris went so far  
 To fetch away King Menelaus' wife,  
 Or why the Greeks for her made ten years' war,  
 Or why the goddesses should be at strife,  
 Which caused many a man to lose his life, 5  
 Sith that this mischief great was first begun  
 All for vain beauty that will soon be done.

Like as the flowers, which were full fresh in May,  
 In winter's season fade and be not seen,  
 Even so in age all beauty will decay 10  
 And they are foul that sometime fair have been:  
 Medusa's face was once full bright and sheen;  
 But when the laws of honesty she brake,  
 Each golden hair became an ugly snake.

Fairness is like the painting of a wall, 15  
 Which soon is rubbèd off and done away;  
 And as the painting showeth not at all  
 Whether the wall be made of stone or clay,  
 So beauty's glass doth not the life bewray:  
 Oft a fair face much wickedness doth hide, 20  
 Wherefore in beauty let no wight have pride.

With mighty Juno in the town of Troy  
 Antigone for beauty did contend,  
 Wherefore she lost her life and all her joy,  
 And to a stork was turnèd in the end. 25  
 The water nymphs a monster huge did send  
 To wreak the pride of King Cepheus' wife  
 At Hammon's bidding on her daughter's life.

King Proetus' daughters here I overpass,  
 With many more which were too long to tell, 30  
 In which we may behold as in a glass  
 How all these lovers of their beauty fell:  
 Now think you that they were not servèd well,  
 Which for a thing that is of little prize  
 Would cause such hate and discord to arise? 35

Sith therefore beauty is so vain a thing,  
 Sith it is marrèd with the sun and wind;  
 Sith for the love of it great ills do spring;  
 I cannot choose but marvel in my mind  
 What maketh women now to be so blind, 40  
 To flee the smoke of coals, to curl their hair,  
 And paint their faces lovers' eyes to blear.

*Anno aetatis 13<sup>o</sup>.*

**Being Sick in Oxford Thus He Prayed**

With wailing voice from out the depth of sin  
To thee, O Lord, I seely wretch do cry,  
Wherefore, O Lord, to hear me now begin:  
Though death approach, let not thy servant die;  
And though my ship be turned upside down, 5  
In seas of sin yet let me never drown.

As Jonah cried within the fish's maw,  
Even so do I complain now, woeful wight;  
As help from him thou didst not quite withdraw,  
So let me find some mercy in thy sight; 10  
And as thou cast him safe upon the land,  
So out of sin, Lord, pull me with thy hand.

And as thou savedst thy prophet in the cave  
From greedy lions thirsting for their pray,  
So from the ramping lion thou me save, 15  
Which goeth about the seely souls to slay:  
Though death and danger close me round about,  
Yet know I, Lord, that thou canst bring me out.

Wherefore, O Lord, to thee I make my prayer;  
Thou Lord of Lords vouchsafe to hear my voice; 20  
Unto my griefs bow down thy piteous ear;  
Though now I mourn, yet cause me to rejoice:  
And grant me, Lord, to pass these seas of strife,  
That I may come into the port of Life.

## ***Two Choruses and an Epilogue Added to the Tragedy of Agamemnon, Translated out of Seneca***

### **The First Chorus**

Woe worth the lecherous breast, which harboureth foul desire,  
 Whose smouldering heat breaks forth at last in flames of hellish fire:  
 A fire which wastes the corpse, and melts the goods away,  
 Which foils the name with black disgrace, and brings the mind's decay.  
 Whose shame like foggy smoke amid the air doth fly, 5  
 Whose filthy boasts like cracking sparks procure revenge from high.  
 Whose flame with stinking pitch and sulphur still doth burn;  
 Whose coals shall witness be of sin, whose earth to earth shall turn.  
 Whose blazing brands shall quench with deadly hissing sound;  
 Whose ashes cold shall burn afresh within the hollow ground. 10  
 Wherefore woe worth the foe of maid's virginity  
 And him which vows to seek the spoil of wifely chastity.  
 Woe worth the gazing eyes whose lust doth lie in wait  
 To trap the simple passing by with snares of close deceit.  
 Woe worth the forcèd tears from guileful brain that flow. 15  
 Woe worth the face that durst attempt such vile conceit to show.  
 Woe worth that bears dire poison under tongue;  
 Whose words be sweet at first to taste, yet mixed with gall among,  
 Which swears to serve the most, and seems to love the best,  
 Yet seeks thy loss, procures thy blame, as foe of old professed. 20  
 Woe worth the lavish hand which first did offer gain,  
 To loose by gifts the loving knot of sacred wedlock's chain.  
 Woe worth the filthy feet that undertook to tread  
 On pure and undefilèd clothes of Hymenaeus' bed.  
 Woe worth the bird which lays his eggs in others' nest. 25  
 Woe worth the fox that can contrive in badger's den to rest.  
 These woes we wish to fall, yea these and ten times moe  
 On thee, Aegisthus, cursèd wretch, the cause of all our woe.

### **The Second Chorus**

What new desire of change doth cause the lion's make  
 In place of her most hardy spouse the bastard pard to take;  
 And not therewith content in pieces all to tear  
 In cruel sort with bloody teeth her only loving fere?  
 Woe worth the listening ears where wicked words take place; 5  
 Woe worth the curious eyes which viewed that beastly lecher's face.  
 Woe worth the yielding mind which gave consent to lust.  
 Woe worth the woman wanting shame and void of wifely trust.  
 Now Juno quite the wrong of spousals thus defiled,  
 Ye Gods do grant some quick revenge for truth and faith beguiled. 10  
 But – Out! Alas! – the rest in lively sort to paint  
 Each melting heart would soon resolve in floods of dreary plaint;  
 Each tender ruthless breast of force with grief must swell;  
 Each voice would fail and tongue wax faint such doleful news to tell.

Woe worth the hands which wrought the fatal garment new, 15  
 Wherewith bewrapped like boar in toil our worthy king they slew.  
 Oh sun, how mightest thou bear to see so vile a deed?  
 How might thy golden chariot stay from turning back with speed?  
 In midst of purple streams the husband lieth on ground  
 Behewed with woman's mortal hand and stabbed with many a wound. 20  
 And all about the king lieth dead the faithful train  
 Of servants sure and trusty friends like sheep in shambles slain:  
 While she, whose guilty hands even yet distill with blood,  
 Like tiger mad with witless rage, or drunk with beastly mode,  
 Hath changed her mourning gown with garments nuptial, 25  
 And light her wedding torch with joy before the funeral.  
 And shall those bloody arms their new-made spouse embrace?  
 And shall Aegysthus dare to sit in Agamemnon's place?  
 And shall the tables large with meats again be spread,  
 Whence rose of late the cruel queen with slaughter full yfed? 30  
 Then woe to cursèd brood of murdering viper's kind;  
 And woe to Venus' foul delight, which so corrupts the mind.  
 Yea woe again we cry, ten thousand times and moe,  
 On Clytemnestra, faithless spouse, the cause of all our woe.

### **The Epilogue or Conclusion**

O God which rulest the restless rolling sky,  
 Whose secret dome directs the sliding steps  
 Of this our life, unworthy that doth run;  
 How strange, unknown, and wondrous are thy ways!  
 How rare events of that thy wisdom works! 5  
 To abase the high, and bring the mighty down,  
 To blind the wise, and make the strong to fall!  
 Lo Agamemnon here, the famous king,  
 Of ancient Arge who bare the royal crown,  
 Who ruled by sea twelve hundred sails and moe, 10  
 And led by land the mighty Grecian host,  
 Whom Greeks obeyed as chief amongst them all,  
 And Trojans drad, as born to work their woe;  
 So known by fame for worthy martial acts,  
 So blest by gifts of prosperous chance in field, 15  
 So rich with spoils of Ilion late subdued,  
 So decked with laurel crowns for victory,  
 That least he feared, in midst of all his joy,  
 Unwares, at home, hath caught his bane too soon:  
 At home, alas, not in the Phrygian fields, 20  
 He vanquished is, not by Mavors's might,  
 But by impulse of weak advoutress' hand,  
 And often stroke of silly woman's knife:  
 Ne yet with heat of bloody broil in war,  
 But careless couched in quiet bed to rest: 25  
 Ne overpressed with poise of weighty steel,  
 But wrapped in sleights of deadly guileful gift,  
 Through traiterous drifts this king hath lost his blood:  
 Whom neither Hector's blade might cause to die,

Ne Memnon's glaive, ne yet the Scythian queen, 30  
 Ne huge Sarpedon's strength, nor all the rest  
 Of manly knights that fought for country's good  
 Could once deprive of that his vital breath.  
 And yet how oft, alas, by land, by sea,  
 This worthy prince hath entered jeopardy? 35  
 How oft on foot with sword and glittering shield  
 Amid the thickest of Trojan ranks to fight?  
 How oft on horse with spear and targe in hand?  
 How oft at assault of mighty wallèd towns?  
 How like to light full oft on drowning sands, 40  
 Or shivering rocks by force of windy wave?  
 And never yet could find a speedy way  
 By wishèd death to end his lingering days.  
 But now escaped from force of foreign foes,  
 From boisterous winds on surging floods that beat, 45  
 From thunder stroke and flash of lightning flame,  
 From shallow cliffs of high Capharean shore,  
 When sword and fire, when stream and sturdy storm,  
 When earth and air did grant the victor way,  
 Yea gods and men agreed to work his will; 50  
 In place of trust hath found untrusty trains  
 In friendly soil beset with mortal foes:  
 Whereby surprisèd with untimely death,  
 When first he thought his wearied limbs to rest,  
 Within an hour bereft of all his bliss, 55  
 Of princely power and regal diadem,  
 Of wealth, of joy, of life, of land, and all,  
 His fainting ghost he yields a sacrifice  
 To appease the gods for parent's foul offence.  
 O Clytemnestra, ruthless is thy breast, 60  
 Shameless thy fame, unbridled is thy lust,  
 Hard is thy heart as rocks of Taurus' mount,  
 And fierce in rage as is the Aegean sea,  
 Mad were thy moods and merciless thy mind,  
 Hateful thy hands and armèd with despite, 65  
 So steadfast could direct the fatal stroke  
 Ne trembling loathed to work this damnèd deed.  
 Did Priam live, or Hecuba the Queen,  
 Or Priam's sons, they sure would wail the case  
 Of Agamemnon once their deadly foe, 70  
 If ever pity dwelt in gentle breast.  
 But those thine eyes can shed no trickling tears,  
 To feign amends for this unkindly fact.  
 Despiteous wight, is this a woman's part?  
 No woman, no, but monster, foe to kind, 75  
 Some Fury's bird, not Leda's daughter sure;  
 Some slip of hell, no branch of heavenly tree.  
 Well wicked, reap the fruit of thy delight;  
 Drive forth the time with wanton sparkling toys;  
 Put back remorse, let pleasure press in place; 80  
 And as for groaning conscience let it sleep;  
 Defend by force that traitorous sleights have won;

Yea force thy realm with weapons all about,  
 And guard thy corpse with strength of mighty men.  
 The time shall come, yea short and sudden time, 85  
 When sharp revenge, like storms of battering hail,  
 From seat of angry gods shall rain apace  
 On thee, O wretch, and on thy lawless mate.  
 Then lingering Nemesis with stealing steps  
 By rightful dome this sentence shall pronounce; 90  
 Your tender flesh so pampered up in pride  
 With costly clothes, and fed with delicates,  
 Despoiled, bare, naked of clothes to lie,  
 As food, I judge, for greedy worms too bad.  
 Your cursèd bones of wanton ease the soil 95  
 In tract of time shall turn to cindered mould;  
 Your shame with noise shall fill the world so wide,  
 Your crime in books forever shall appear;  
 Your sinful souls, of wicked lust the seat,  
 'Twixt heat of flames and cold of frosty snow 100  
 Shall taste the pains of ever living death.  
 Of Nemesis lo here the dreadful voice;  
 Lo this the end of loathsome lecher's life;  
 And right reward of fleshly foul delight.  
 Now worthy wights that deign sometime to read 105  
 This mournful tale, though clad in simple verse,  
 For your avail some lessons may you learn  
 By others' harms, and turn them to your good.  
 First weigh with care what weak and slender stay  
 Upholds the weight of these your sovereign states; 110  
 What slippery stays advance your climbing feet;  
 What stumbling blocks before your regal seats  
 Augment with grief the sudden break-neck fall  
 Of you, which tumble headlong down from high:  
 Yea more, what cares attend on princely thrones; 115  
 What jealous heads the crown of massy gold,  
 What trembling hands the stately sceptre brings;  
 What broken sleeps in beds of finest down;  
 What restless limbs in royal purple robe;  
 What ugly shows of dreadful dreams by night, 120  
 What woes by day surcharge the weary breast  
 Of him that wields the rule of mighty realms:  
 Now threatening wars affright his careful mind,  
 Now guileful peace, full friendly though she smile,  
 Can yet contrive at home a subtle drift, 125  
 When least he looks, to reave him of his life.  
 Next learn to shun the close and crafty foe,  
 Whose fawning face forbids to doubt the worst,  
 The worm which slowly wastes the tender fruit,  
 The cankered sore through flesh and bone that eats, 130  
 The scorpion hatched in midst of marble wall;  
 As cannon's shot your buildings may deface,  
 So powder closely pressed may undermine  
 Your strongest walls, and make your towers to fall.  
 As rage of storms may rent your lofty sails, 135

So trembling earth oft swalloweth up in haste  
 Your knightly halls and castles of renown.  
 As open foes may put your force to foil,  
 And waste your lands with sword and flaming fire;  
 So feignèd friends with deadly glozing guile, 140  
 With sugared words, yet deep dissembling minds,  
 With lovely looks, yet false deceitful hearts,  
 Unwares may work the plot of your decay.  
 Then try to trust, not trust to try the smart  
 Of Agamemnon trapped in snares of death; 145  
 Ne suffer long within your courts to dwell,  
 Ne rather once to approach your princely gates,  
 These vile advouters, foes to chastity,  
 Lewd lecherous louts and slaves to vain delight.  
 If Priam's town was level with the soil 150  
 By Greekish hands for Paris' sinful fact;  
 If Ajax slain by dint of fiery dart;  
 If Diomed expelled from native soil;  
 If Menelaus lost on fleeting stream;  
 If Agamemnon's fall might aught declare 155  
 What filthy fruits from cursèd lust do spring:  
 Believe it sure these are the fatal brands,  
 Wherewith each realm, each town, each house doth burn;  
 Which, quenched at first, their harmful heat may lose,  
 But kindled more through heedless negligence 160  
 With venom fed the flames of your desires.  
 Now last in lieu of just reward I crave  
 None other gift but that your noble minds  
 Would take in worth this poor advise of mine;  
 Wherein if aught offend your tender taste, 165  
 Not my desert who meant no wight to harm,  
 But your conceit is cause of such mislike.  
 Again though naught you find that may delight,  
 Yet friendly cheer vouchsafe I pray to show  
 On this my work for guerdon of goodwill. 170

### **Of the Same Argument**

Quae nova nunc rerum facies? Ledaea virago  
 Ultrices quondam diras hominumque deumque,  
 Et tristes meruit gladios ultoris Oresti:  
 Scilicet ausa (nefas) lectum temerare iugalem,  
 Coniugis et magni iugulum proscindere ferro. 5  
 Nec satis hoc, scelerum poenas sensisse merentem  
 Criminis infandi; nisi post tot saecula passim  
 Maesta Sophoclaeo proclamet carmine sontem  
 Melpomene tragico suras devincta cothurno.  
 Nunc Agamemnoniis traduntur plurima fatis 10  
 Corpora, nec miseris quicquam solennia prosunt  
 Vota, nec alma fides toties promissa maritis,  
 Nec pudor, aut divum pietas; nec firma tenentur  
 Iura pudicitiae, quondam sanctissima iura:

---

Obsessumque tenet limen crudelis ubique Tyndaris infestam quatiens armata bipennem: Protinus et capta latro dominatur in arce Debilis Aegisthus scelerati maximus auctor Consilii, bello invalidus, sed fortis adulter, Impiger ad Venerem nocturnaue proelia miles.	15     20
Nec tamen ultores gladios intentat Orestes, Nec tamen hos tragico percussit scena boatu. Sed moneo cessent, nec pergant plura nocere; Est Deus, est tanti sceleris fortissimus ultor. Aut igitur nubes armabit vindice flamma, Aut Agamemnonium furiis incendet Orestem, Qui patris ad tumulum genetricis viscera ferro Transadigat, facto pius et sceleratus eodem. Utcumque est, certe non impunita relinquet Crimina, sed tristi pensabit magna ruina.	    25      30
Sera licet veniat, veniet tamen ira Tonantis, Est gravior vindicta Dei, quo lentius urget.	

*Anno aetatis 17<sup>o</sup>.*

**Meditatio de Passione Christi.**

Supplicium Domini referens, caedemque nefandam,  
 Lugentem Phoebum, maerentia sidera caeli,  
 Rectorem mundi supplex orabo potentem,  
 Ut clemens primo velit aspirare labori.  
 Qui princeps vitae crudeli caede peremptus 5  
 Horrida terrificae dirupit vincula mortis,  
 Cur mortem subiit divina stirpe creatus?  
 Cur ve Deus voluit tot saevos ferre dolores?  
 Scilicet infausti post crimina prima Parentis,  
 Belzebug horrendus misero regnabat in orbe; 10  
 Daemones immundi primum se fingere divos  
 Ausi captabant mentes, variisque figuris  
 Ludebant miseros divinae lucis egentes.  
 Hinc fluit omne nefas, hinc orta est ferrea proles,  
 Hinc dolus, hinc fraudes, hinc perdens omnia luxus, 15  
 Hinc furor, impietas, et idolum cultus inanis.  
 At genus humanum celsa respexit ab arce  
 Ille parens rerum qui sidera summa gubernat.  
 Ille modum tandem statuens finemque malorum  
 Dimisit Natum, rigido qui in stipite pendens 20  
 Daemona prosternens mortem devicit amaram.  
 Quis tam crudelis, vel quis tam barbarus ausus  
 Sacrilega Dominum Christum contingere dextra?  
 Gens Hebraea quidem, gens dura et perfida semper,  
 Gens invisae Deo, gens nunquam credula veri, 25  
 Pastorem, Regem, Christum, Dominumque, Deumque,  
 Innocuum demens crudeli morte necavit.  
 Quis Christi poenas referat? Quis vulnera fando  
 Explicet? aut possit lacrimis aequare dolorem?  
 Aspera divinas constringunt vincula palmas; 30  
 Induitur capiti de spinis facta corona;  
 Sic flagris caesus, sic duro compede vinctus,  
 Sente coronatus, passus ludibria, sputa,  
 Ipse crucem portans veluti mitissimus agnus  
 Ducitur ad mortem saevo damnante Pilato; 35  
 Affixusque cruci rigidae sublimis in altum  
 Tollitur (horrendum dictu, miserabile visu)  
 Confixosque pedes, extensaque brachia gestans  
 Purpureo claros deturpat sanguine vultus.  
 En Princeps mundi, Patris Sapiaentia vera, 40  
 Christus, caelesti qui nos vestivit amictu,  
 Perfessus clavis toti miserabilis orbi,  
 Despectus cunctis, nudato corpore pendet;  
 Ut genus humanum vitae de fonte perenni  
 Gustaret: Dominus qui nobis cuncta ministrat 45  
 Felle sitim moriens duroque levavit aceto.  
 Tandem post varias poenas, post mille dolores  
 Exspirans Christus, “Cur me nunc deseris,” inquit,  
 “Mi pater? Hanc animam Deus O Deus accipe fessam”.  
 Talia clamanti de corpore spiritus exit. 50  
 Tunc miles totis contortam viribus hastam

In latus infligens costas et pectora ferro  
 Candida traiecit, mixto fluit unda cruore.  
 Sicque Dei Natus peccato mundus ab omni  
 Immundum fuso purgavit sanguine mundum. 55  
 Sic auctor vitae mortem moriendo subegit.  
 Interea densis involvunt cuncta tenebris  
 Horrendae nubes; terrae nox incubat atra.  
 Ipse caput medio Titan dum ferret Olympo  
 (Cynthia completo fratrem cum redderet orbe) 60  
 Maerentes vultus obscura nube recondit;  
 Pallida Luna fugit Christi miserata dolores;  
 Nec solitam praebent maerentia sidera lucem.  
 Iam non vult mundus Domino pereunte manere;  
 Intremittit horribili tellus quassata tumultu; 65  
 Iamque cadunt urbes, procumbunt atria regum,  
 Et celsae turres, et pontes marmore structi.  
 Apparent dirae facies, et visa per umbras  
 Busta sepulcorum ruptis exire sepulchris.  
 At sapiens quidam, cum talia monstra videret, 70  
 Aut, ait, in nihilum iam iam labentibus annis  
 Languida convexi solvetur machina mundi;  
 Aut Deus Omnipotens subit atrae spicula mortis,  
 Qui mare, qui terras, qui sidera summa creavit.  
 Christus pro nobis tot vulnera passus inique 75  
 Eximium corpus linquens, obscuraque terrae  
 Abdita claustra petens inferni regna Plutonis  
 Intrat; confestim patet atri ianua Ditis.  
 Protinus impurae barathri cessere cohortes,  
 Ut Dominum claro fulgentem lumine cernunt. 80  
 Perrumpit Christus diri penetrantia regis,  
 Et sanctos patres misero de carcere traxit,  
 Quorum vita fuit nitido spectatior auro,  
 Qui coluere pio caelestia numina cultu;  
 Hos tamen obscura Daemon sub valle tenebat. 85  
 Hos Christus solvens in regni parte locavit.  
 Hinc quoque terribilem vinclis et compede duro  
 Leviathan stringens serpentem calcat iniquum.  
 Sic patet Infernum, sic Christus daemona vincit,  
 Mancipium populi sic sic lacrimabile cessat. 90  
 At complexa sui corpus miserabile Nati  
 Ante crucem Domini stabat tristissima Mater;  
 Et stabat vultus lacrimis perfusa serenos  
 Maesta soror Lazari sparsis post terga capillis;  
 Stabat Ioannes Domino carissimus ille. 95  
 His Nicodemus opem praestans, et sanctus Ioseph,  
 Addunt se comites, et fletibus omnia complent,  
 Et Domini corpus condunt exsanguie sepulchro.  
 Iam lux obscuro fulgebat tertia mundo,  
 Cum Christus Ditem linquens inuisaque regna 100  
 Calcat humum plantis, et victa morte resurgens  
 Spem dedit a laetho nos posse resurgere tandem.  
 Vulnera saeva gerit, concretos sanguine crines,  
 Foedatos vultus, perfessas vulnere palmas,



## Honos Alit Artes

*Upon this theme, “Honos alit artes”, given him by master Pembridge at Fawzeley, Sir Richard Knightley’s house, in presence of the knight, and Mr Oxenbridge, and others, he made these verses ex tempore.*

Ingenuas artes accensa cupidine famae  
 Mens capit; has verae conceptas laudis amore  
 Nutrit amor plausus, decoris spes excitat ingens;  
 Laus fovet, auget honos, ad caelum gloria pollit.  
 Sed tua, crede mihi, nulla dulcedine laudis 5  
 Ars producta venit, nec spe nutritur honoris.  
 Nescis quid sit honos, nec quid sit gloria nostri.  
 Tantum cervina quondam male pastus in aula,  
 Dum violenta fames, stimulo quae pungit acuto,  
 Non famae dulcedo, cibos conquerere technis 10  
 Compulit; hinc varias hausisti callidus artes.  
 Sic mentem subiere doli, sic ventre magistro  
 Fallere, mentiri, perfricta fronte pudorem  
 Pellere dum tentas, multo nunc doctior usu  
 Vis pastor fieri plebis, verbique minister 15  
 Ausus et in templis insulas fundere voces,  
 Ut pecori tardo pecudes sua vellera tradant;  
 Ut reddat populus stultae tibi praemia linguae:  
 Et nunc ventris onus, non Christi quaeris honorem,  
 Carne magis vesci cupiens, quam pascere verbo. 20

## Up Drowsy Muse

Up drowsy Muse, pull down thy harp from pin,  
 Let fingered strings and warbling voice begin  
 With just accord a sacred verse to frame,  
 Resounding our Jehovah’s glorious name.  
 Almighty Lord, that rul’st the restless race 5  
 And sway of rolling skies with measured pace,  
 Who with a powerful thought the stately frame  
 Of heaven and earth and all things in the same  
 Didst build of nought; on whom those huge hosts  
 And legions wait in th’highest blissful coasts; 10  
 Millions of angels in that gorgeous bower  
 Attend thy hests and praise thy awful power;  
 With sacred hymns blazing thy noble bruit  
 And worthy works the endless heavens through.  
 O glorious God that from thy glittering throne 15  
 Bowest down thy fatherly ear to every groan  
 Of wretched sinners bound below in bale,  
 In careful prison of this earthly vale,  
 Whereto our grandsire’s disobedience  
 Condemned his race through that his first offence; 20  
 And sweetly help’st thy creatures in distress,  
 That cry to thee in faithful soothfastness:

Thou that didst pull poor Joseph from the pit,  
 And raisedst him with princes for to sit:  
 Thou that from pining famine to defend, 25  
 Thy Jacob's brood to fruitful soil didst send,  
 There where the spring from Eden that doth flow,  
 The harvest store made in great store to grow:  
 When from proud Pharaoh's fury to convey,  
 Th'Arabian Sundered Sea did yield them way: 30  
 Thou that from Jessean sheepfold took'st the king,  
 Famous for touch of harp and launch of sling,  
 And keep'st from giant's crush and murdering paw,  
 And rage of mad possessèd father-in-law:  
 Thou that the general of th'Assyrian host, 35  
 Who with blasphemous taunts and bragging boast,  
 Against thy mighty power did crack and vaunt,  
 One weak Bethulian widow madest to daunt,  
 And Judah's fields with Babylonian blood  
 Didst drown and gavest the fowls their limbs for food: 40  
 Making thereby thy friends and foes to see  
 No force to be of force to encounter thee  
 Thou that by dome of child didst save the life,  
 And clear the name of chaste Helchias' wife:  
 Thou that from lions' hungry jaws didst take 45  
 Thy prophet thrown unto them for thy sake:  
 Thou that the wrath of Persian king didst 'ssuage  
 Shielding thy people from proud Aman's rage;  
 And madest that wretch be catchèd in the snare  
 Which he for Judah's remnants did prepare: 50  
 Thou that in fiery furnace didst defend  
 From scorching flames, and gracious help didst lend  
 To those three youths, that stoutly did deny  
 The honour due unto thy majesty  
 To give to the idol of a mortal slave, 55  
 Whom beastly pride beast's shape and feeding gave,  
 Thou that for all the world o'erwhelmed with vice  
 Condemned to hell exiled from paradise,  
 Enemy to thee, foe of all virtue's lore,  
 When as no salve could cure their cureless sore, 60  
 A sovereign help and precious bath didst make,  
 The root of all their ills from them to take,  
 Of that most precious blood which thine own word  
 And only Son incarnate did afford  
 By stroke of whips and stretch of cross to shed, 65  
 And from his nail-bored hands and feet did bleed,  
 And from the heart, which love of man did brenne  
 Spear-pierced and thirlèd forth amain did renne,  
 And which his holy thorn-pricked head poured down  
 That cursed Jews with plaited briar did crown; 70  
 Yet all these crosses pinched him not so sore,  
 But love of unkind man hath pained him more:  
 Thou that hast holp, dost help and wilt help still,  
 All those whose wills are buxom to thy will  
 Even thou, sweet Lord, of whom while I do write, 75

Help me, good God, this verse for to indite.  
 Send this unripe yet rotten poet grace  
 For want of wit and art not to deface  
 This gracious fact of thine. On thee I call,  
 To thee I do appeal from fables all 80  
 Of heathenish hinds, that of their Helicon well,  
 Of wingèd horse and of Parnassus tell,  
 And of thrice sisters three I wot not what.  
 Of Venus and her blind boy let them chat,  
 And filthy lusts that lecherous love inspires, 85  
 In lazy losels breeding lewd desires.  
 One drop let fall into my barren pen,  
 That from thy sacred word and sprite doth ren,  
 Wherewith thou mak'st the suckling babes belch out  
 Thy praises all the wild world round about: 90  
 Wherewith the old long carèd drudging beast  
 Of that lewd prophet, roaming by request  
 Of th'impious king to curse thy chosen crew  
 Whose fame and fear and number daily grew,  
 Thou madest to speak, his master to reprove: 95  
 And in the wizard's lips put'st words of love,  
 In lieu of hate; and forcedst him to bless  
 The race of Israel in the wilderness,  
 Instead of cursings hatchèd in his mind;  
 Thy Sprite his tongue far otherwise inclined. 100  
 So didst thou then, and so now canst thou do.  
 Help me therefore this verse to bring unto  
 His wishèd end: which if it be thy will,  
 With thy sweet hand to guide my skillless quill  
 And file the point of my rude scribbling pen; 105  
 Both work and workman I behote thee then,  
 And vow to offer to thy name for ay  
 Such praises as my barren store can pay.

## Fragment

See here how mercy God himself doth make  
 To come from heaven in virgin's womb to dwell,  
 The cure of Adam's brood to undertake  
 Whom fruit forbidden damnèd unto hell,  
 An angel comes unto that maid to tell [...]

5

## APPENDIX B

Facsimile of MS. Folger bd with STC 22957

Certain Poemes of m<sup>r</sup> Henric  
 Vaux, forme to the Lord  
 Vaux.

69

A complaint to the Nightingale, taken out  
 of S<sup>t</sup>. Bonaventure.

Thou worthy bird, thou gentle Nightingale,  
 Leave of a while thy wonted songs, I pray;  
 And lend thine eare to this my doleful tale,  
 And make report of that which I shal say:  
 Since this my barrain Verse is farre to base  
 Before my Sovereign Lord to pleade my case.

For wel I know thy sweet melodious throat  
 Wil never cease with warbling tunes ful hie  
 To praise our God with many a pleasaunt note,  
 When senselesse slepe shal close my fainting eie:  
 And wel I know thou maist ascend by right  
 Where I yore soule dare scarce direct my sight.

Goe, tel my Love I languish for his love,  
 Since he in heven, and I at brinke of hel,  
 Since he in height of roial throne above,  
 And I in depth of wretched vale do dwell;  
 Since he in peace, and I in strife and paine;  
 Since he in blisse, and I in woe remaine.

Since him I lacke, without whose sight most dere

My soule each day for want of fode doth die;  
 Since him I lacke, the roel of blisse most clere,  
 My tired ghost is werie, weake, and drie;  
 Since him I lacke, my sole and sov'rein weale,  
 The onely want wherby all ioyes do faile.

God say I waile that I ne liv'd that day,  
 My blessed Lord beneath in earth to see,  
 In Bethlem borne, and porely coucht in hay,  
 With Shepherdes, and with roial Sages three;  
 Or in his Circumcision fore to blede,  
 When Marie wept to see that woeful dede.

Ne yet with Simson old I might embrace  
 The light, and health, and glorie of man-kind;  
 Ne yet to Egyptward with spedie pace  
 I plide my fete my Saviour there to find;  
 Ne yet in midst of learned Doctors found  
 My hap was soch to heare his sacred sound.

Wold God in Nazareth I might have dwelt,  
 In growing age to see my Love most dere;  
 At Jordanes bancke great ioy I might have felt,  
 With John to see the blessed Lambe appeere;  
 The Fathers voice to heare from heven above;  
 The holic Ghost to see in forme of Dove.

What comfort wold have bene to heare him teache 70  
 With wordes most swete the simple folke each day?  
 And toyling evry where about to preache,  
 And humbled oft on kness by night to pray?  
 To yeeld relief for evry sort of paine,  
 And with his voice to raise the dead againe?

With Magdalen perhaps I might have wette  
 His feet, and so have washt my soule from blame;  
 Or with the rest my Lord I should have mette  
 At Sion gates triumphing when he came;  
 With bowes of palme I should have streid the street,  
 Praising my Saviour with Osanna swete.

But o swete feast, o pretious banquet dere!  
 Thy secret ioyes can not be wel exprest;  
 Thy mysteries, which holie Angels feare,  
 With silence to adore I thinke it best;  
 Save that I nedes must muse at his good hap,  
 That might have leade to rest in Jesus lap.

Yet more I mourne that I ne felt my part  
 Of al his paines endured for my sake;  
 When ful of deadly drede and inward smart  
 His soule was ivke the cuppe of death to take;  
 And whilst he praid prostrate upon his face,

The bloudie droppes ranne trickeling downe a pace

Of al his dere Disciples some forsaken

With battes, with billes, with glaives, and many a

Helplesse alone my libertie was taken,

Fast bound, and brought in furious wise by night

To Annas house, where for his answer meeke

A boistrous blowe he bare upon his cheeke:

Then drawne and driven to Caiphas hall anon

where flaudored foule with many a shamelesse

Through witnessse false, where truth apperid none

Guiltles, alas, they iudge my life to die;

Blindfold, bespitte, and bounst with spiteful blowes

The restless night he spent among his foes.

Yet here a while with Peter must I wepe,

That have denide my God so sondrie times,

For lacke of care his sacred lawes to keepe;

Pardon therefore I pray for al my crimes:

For oft, alas, the cocke hath crowed me day,

Whilst I in sinne have slept with long delay.

From Caiphas courte in hast to Pilates place

They hale my Lord with fierce felonious mode;

With forged crimes they charge him to his face;

where mild and mute before the Judge he stode.

71  
 Who finding wel that he ne bred this broile,  
 To Herode made him thence againe to toile.

The Fathers Word with many a scornful florite  
 King Herode and his galauntes there abuse;  
 In dissauces weede disguised and led about  
 Their Lord and King the frantick Jewes refuse:  
 Not him wee choose, but Barabbas, they crye;  
 Let go the thefe, for Jesus nedes must die.

But woe is me, what creature could abide  
 To see my Saviours flesh with scourges torne?  
 With purple streames that flood on eery side,  
 His head besette with crowne of cruell thorne;  
 And varlettes vile in signe of great disgrace  
 With reede did smite upon his sacred face.

What iron brest in piesses wold not teare?  
 What hart could hold, though made of marble-stone,  
 Upon his worried backe to see him beare  
 His Crosse of fiftene fote with many a groane?  
 O Queene of heven, O Maide and Mother pure,  
 How might thine eies this ruth-ful sight endure!  
 To see those hateful hel-houndes plucke by strength

His clothes away, with skinnē and flesh at ones;  
 To see them racke his royal limmes at length,  
 That some they might have nombred al his bones,  
 With boistrous nailles and hammers stroakes ful sore  
 His precious handes and feete to see them boare?

With ropes to see them hoise his Crosse on hie,  
 And rudely downe againe to let it fall;  
 Even senselesse thinges did mourne to see him die  
 The Earth did quake, the rockes did rive witha  
 The Sunne and Moone from such a bloudie fight  
 With doleful chere withdrew their wonted light

Al this, and more, my blessed Lord endurd  
 For me conborn, a vile unthankful wight;  
 Whose filthy sinnes his paineful death procurd,  
 Where I was bound to suffer death by right:  
 And yet my lucke was not so good to prove  
 Some little paine for al his endlesse love.

Why could I not with Joseph and his feeses  
 Have wrapt his lovely limmes in linnen pure?  
 Why could I not have washt with bitter teares,  
 Those woundes which my Redemption did procure  
 Why could I not have bought with many a tear  
 In gardeners weede to see my Lord appeare?

72

With Magdaline at dawning of the day  
 I might have sought my hartes desire at least;  
 Or els with two Disciples in the way  
 I might have entretained a loving gueast:  
 I might perhaps have seene his wounded side,  
 His naile-board handes, and fete that gaped wide.

Why went I not to bid my Love farewell;  
 Why did I faile his sacred steppes to kisse;  
 When rich with precious spoiles of Death and Hell  
 My Saviour first made entrained into blisse;  
 Leaving his flocke amidde the raging rowte  
 Of cruell Wolves to walke the world about?

Wherefore sith al my ioy is thus bereaft,  
 So that my daies in every sort are spent;  
 Had not my Christ through special bountie left  
 A sov'reign salve in health-ful Sacrament,  
 His holie Flesh and blessed Blood I mean,  
 I must have died for inward greife and paine.

Ther therefore, frendly Nightingale, I pray  
 Before my Lord my doleful case to pleade;  
 How dying here for lacke of him each day  
 In desert earth a loathsome life I leade;  
 Most hard bestadde on evry side with woes,

And round about besette with mortal foes.

The Feend is fierce and full of depe deceit,  
His force is moch, his malice most of al;  
And many a time he sliely lurkes in waite  
With secret subtilt snare to make me thrall:  
He doth he ceasse by day and night full fast  
His firie darter against my soule to cast.

The world is false, and with his gawdes ful gay  
Eftsoone he fetes my wandring mind to lure;  
And oft with might and mayne he doth assay  
By fierce ahaultes my ruine to procure:  
He lightly laughs, and soon beginnes to loure;  
He profreth Iwete, his paymentes al are soure.

My Flesh is fraile, and oft she doth repine  
To worke the good most nedeful for my state;  
And most against her self she doth incline  
To do the workes that most my soule doth hate:  
And through my gates (these eyes and eares I meane)  
Ful many a queast she bringes that is uncleane.

My Sprite, that for these harmes shold find redresse,  
Is dull and faint, and smally can prevaile;  
And when I strive my rebels to repress,  
Ful soon, alas, I find my force to faile;  
And though I wish sometimes to mount on hie,  
My cage is close, and forth I cannot flie.

73  
 All these my griefes, dere Nightingale, declare,  
 That I endure, whilst here I live alone;  
 Where woes be rife, and comfortes be so rare,  
 That stil I sobbe and sigh with piteous moane:  
 And when I counte my former frutelesse yerres,  
 Mine eies full faine wold melt in floudes of teares.

Receave therefore the summe of my desires;  
 That sith in earth my Love I could not see,  
 To place of rest, wherto my soule aspires,  
 From earthly cage full sore I may go free;  
 With thee and other Nightingales to sing  
 For evermore in presence of our King.

Where ioyes abound, and woes be farre away;  
 Where blessed soules enjoy eternal light;  
 Where never night, but ever-lasting daie,  
 With glorious glittering beames doth shine ful bright;  
 Where no misse-hap nor mischefe can befall;  
 Where nothing wantes; Where God is all in all.

Meane while, dere bird, entreate my heavenly Love  
 In secret sorte away my hart to steale;  
 And with him self to fixe the same above,  
 That all desires of earthly goodes may quaille:  
 That more and more my fainting ghost may crie,  
 My Life is CHRIST, mine onely game to die.  
 Cupio dissolvi, & esse cum CHRISTO.

A Lamentation of a Sinner.

O soverain salve for sinne,  
 Which dost my soule behold;  
 That seekes her self from tangling faultes  
 By striving to unfold:  
 What plea shal I put in,  
 When thou dost summons send,  
 To iudge the people of the earth,  
 And geve the world an end?  
 When evry dede and word,  
 And evry secret thought,  
 In open view of al the world  
 Shal unto light be brought?  
 So many Judges shal  
 Against me sentence geve,  
 As by example of good workes  
 Have taught how I shold live.  
 So many Pleaders shal  
 Confound my careful case,  
 As have in me by sound advise  
 Sought to encrease thy grace:  
 So many shal that time  
 Against me witnesse beare,  
 As have beheld my fruitlesse Faith,  
 And saw my finnes appeare.

74

Wheron Whiles I do muse  
 In my amazed mind,  
 Forewarned through familiar foes,  
 Most fierce assaults I find.  
 My Conscience to my face  
 Doth flattely me accuse;  
 My secret thoughtes within mine eares  
 Do whisper stil these newes;  
 Mine Avarice doth bribe,  
 My Pride doth bragge me downe;  
 Mine Envie frettes me like a file  
 At other folkes renoun .

Concupiscence inflames,  
 And Luste my limmes infectes,  
 My Meate doth burthen, and my Drinke  
 My weaknesse great detectes;  
 My Scandres rent my fame,  
 Ambicion doth supplant;  
 My Greedinesse is not content,  
 But makes me waile for want;  
 My Mirth but flattery is,  
 My Sorowes are unkind;  
 My Pleasures runne me out of breath,  
 And Griefes oppresse my mind .

Behold, my God, whose might  
 May me a freeman make,  
 These were the frendes, whose counsels curst  
 I was content to take;  
 These were the lawlesse Lordes,  
 Whom I did serue alway;  
 These were the masters, whose madde hertes  
 I did too moch obay.  
 Behold my fal most foule,  
 Which folie first did frame;  
 In loving them I shold have loath'd,  
 Whence bredeth al my blame.

Now do I loke a loofe  
 With hateful blushing face  
 On glorie thine, that so I may  
 Discerne mine owne disgrace.  
 My many spottes and great  
 Must nedes increase my guilt,  
 Unless thou wash them in thy Bloud,  
 Which for my sake was spilt.  
 Forgeve the faultes, o Lord,  
 Which I from hart repent;  
 And graunt my daies to come may be  
 In thy sweet service spent.  
 In hope patience.  
 \* Dispised thinges may live,  
 Although they pine in paine;

75  
 And things oft trodden under feet  
 May once yet rise againe.

The stone which lies full low,  
 May be at last full high;  
 And stand on toppe of stately Tower  
 In sight of every eye.

The rotes of rotten reedes  
 In swelling seas are sent;  
 And when each tide hath tost his worst,  
 They grow againe full green.

I see no light on earth  
 But it to change inclines;  
 And little cloudes do over-cast  
 The brightest Sunne that shines.

No flower is so fresh  
 But frost may it deface;  
 No man so sure in any seat,  
 But he may lose his place.

Wherefore I stand content,  
 Though much against my mind,  
 To take in worth this lucklesse lotte,  
 That is to me assign'd.

A description of Love.

The ancient Poetes meaning to declare  
 That lovers thoughtes can never cloaked be,

Did faine that Cupide was of garments bare;  
 And said that he was blind and could not see,  
 Because who so is catcht within his snare  
 Is blind of sense, and seeth not his share;  
 They fained also that he was a boye,  
 To shew that Love is but a foolish toye.

They said moreover he had wings to flee,  
 To shew the lightnes of these Lovers thoughtes;  
 Which in vaine hope doth mounte sometimes on hie,  
 But in an houre it goeth unto nought:  
 Now may these Lovers, if they list, espie  
 How good a God this is for whom they crie.  
 Truly I marveile not though they have ioy  
 To serve a blinded flying naked boy.

He that the paines of foolish Lovers sees,  
 How some do die through langour paine and wo;  
 And how sometimes they hang them selves on trees,  
 And of a Lover oft becomes a foe;  
 And marketh how their senses they do lose,  
 And how they burne, and some againe do freeze;  
 May say Love is a goodly Lord to serve,  
 That letteth so his faithful servantes sterve.

Loe Phyllis breath is stopped with a corde,  
 Loe Iphis hangeth her upon a beame,  
 Loe Didoes hart is pearced with a sworde,  
 Behold Leander drowned in the streame;  
 Loe thus they fare that fitte at Cupides bourde;  
 This is your fee, thus payeth you your Lord;

76  
 Thus is your faithful service spent in vaine,  
 Sith your reward is nothing els but paine.

What doth the name of Cupide signifie?  
 Untamed Lust, and burning hote desire;  
 Friend of al vices, Vertues enemy;  
 Unto the witte a frost, to will a fire;  
 Them that him serue God let them never thee;  
 I thinke such God in heven cannot bee,  
 But rather he an Angel is, that fel  
 With Lucifer from heven unto hel.

This God did teache Duke Jafons wife to slea,  
 Her little children with her propre handes;  
 Great beastlines he taught Pasiphaë,  
 And Scylla to betray her fathers landes.  
 What shold I say of wicked Canace,  
 Of Myrrha, Byblis, and Nyctimene?  
 For love Alcides left his Lions skinne,  
 And was content with Omphale to spinne.

Loe here the blindnesse of Dame Venus sonne,  
 Loe here his winges, loe here his bare aray;  
 By serving him loe what at last is wanne;  
 Loe how he maketh folke to go astray.  
 But to conclude who so wold Cupide shunne,  
 With Diane through the mountaines he must runne,  
 Or go with Pallas to the fieldes to fight,  
 Or go unto the Muses fountain bright.

Against Envie.  
 That canered foe to Vertues worthy fame,

Which nippes with frostes the heades of fairest floures,  
 yet burnes like fire, til ruine quenck the flame,  
 whose smoke doth blind the sight of highest powers,  
 whose thondring stroakes on great estates do fal,  
 whose spiteful mode is armd with bitter gal;  
 More stames with blotte of shame and foule disgrace,  
 More bites with care and pinching blastes of cold,  
 More wastes with heate of flames in evry place,  
 More blindes with fume, more woundes a thousand fold  
 That wight which beares this direful snake in brest,  
 Then he whom enemies spite wold reave from rest.

Display Aglauras brest to open show,  
 what els apperes but hellish furious rage?  
 Whence rooted hate in rancoures ground doth growe,  
 whose fierie brandes no licour can assuage;  
 Where malice reignes, and envie beareth sway,  
 whose bloudie iawes stel gape for despe decay.

Such is the lotte of him whose cruell mind  
 Is bent to make at others harmes a game,  
 With endles toile to strive with Vertues kind,  
 To spotte their praise, yet winnes him self the blame:  
 He melts like snow against the flaming sunne,  
 And drawes with paine the thredes which envy spurne.

In publique wealth he pines away with care,  
 In commune woe he thirstes for greater ill,  
 Where others fede he cannot like his fare,  
 While others drinke his thirst endureth stil;  
 When others laugh he bathes his cheekes with teares,  
 And leapes for ioy when cause of griefe apperes.

77.

So that no fire of Plutoes burning Lake,  
 Nor Tytius grype which wastes his growing hart,  
 Nor Ixions whele begirt with many a snate,  
 Nor Phineus birdes can match the deadly smart,  
 Which Ervie brings to mindes with grieues opprest,  
 Whose woele in woe, and life in death doth rest:

Of Friendship.

The sacred bandes of faithful friendshipes lawes  
 Are brake by force, and sundred al in twaine;  
 The perfect love whom noble vertue drawes,  
 The constant faith which wonted to remaine  
 With stedefast truth more firme then oath or vowe,  
 In mind of men can scarcely harbour now.

When bright Astraea went to starrie skiss,  
 When peace was fled, and pittie placed above,  
 When shining truth was hidde from mortal eies,  
 Yet stil remaind this faithful friendly love:  
 But if this blisful concord were not left,  
 All earthly hope and ioy were from vs rest.

Some kind of men inflamed with desire  
 By name of friendship cloake their filthy lust;  
 Some wil be friendes, but not without their hire;  
 And some conceale their treason under trust;  
 Yet seld is sene inclosed in mortal brest  
 For vertues sake a friendly love to rest.

Foule is the mind where wicked lust doth raigne,  
 And fetes a vail to hide an ill intent;  
 And wicked he whose friendship gapes for game,  
 Whose greedie brest to ravine all is bent;

But he most cursed wretch that doth assay  
By painted shew to worke his frendes decay.

O happie wight that doth enjoy a frend,  
Whose steadfast trowth in peril wil not faile;  
Whose constant love endureth to his end;  
Against whose mind no fortune can prevaile;  
Approved long in pore estate, in wealth,  
In ioy, in good, in sickness, and in health.

Then happie Theseus with his noble feere,  
And thou Orestes, wandring al about,  
And thou to whom thy Damon was so dere,  
Whose fixed friendshipes never came in doubt;  
Oh what it is to have a frend so kind!  
A iewel rare, a treasure hard to find.

And yet, alas, ful many a man we know,  
Whom fortune draves, wil beare a friendly chere,  
While lucke doth serue, and prosperous wind doth blowe;  
As swallows soote in spring time do appeere;  
When stormes arise, farewel, they wil be gone,  
They leaue him al to swimme or swimme alone.

Of covetise.

On earth great store of gold unsought was found,  
When Saturne reigned as a God of might;  
Until his Some it hidde within the ground,  
Because that men for it began to fight.  
Yet now sith it is knowne to every wight  
That gold within the earth doth lie by kind,  
Men go to hel this treasure bright to find.

For gold men sel their children and their wives,  
Their dearest frendes, their good remorve, and al;

78

For gold men are content to lose their lives;  
 For gold the freeman doth become a thrall;  
 For gold the Prince is murdered in his hal;  
 For love of gold, as communally we see,  
 A wicked acte wil soon attempted be.

Who so hath gold may have his whole desire;  
 For what thing is not done in hope of gain?  
 Or what is done without reward or hire?  
 Gold maketh men to labour and take pain;  
 Gold raiseth warre, and bieth peace againe;  
 Gold maketh frendes, and causeth mortal hate;  
 It crasseth strife, and stirreth up debate.

Men have no cause Agenor for to curse,  
 Which found the mines of gold, as some men say;  
 What if that some mens God be in their purse,  
 Shold therefore men throw gold into the sea,  
 As Crates did? or cast it cleane away?  
 Sith God it gave, men shold it not refuse,  
 Although the wicked wickedly it use.

A commendation of bloomes or blossomes.

When Memnon's roful mother with her teares,  
 And Zephyrus do make the floures to grow;  
 When birdes do make their songes upon the brees;  
 Then on the trees the blossomes faire do show:  
 Which I may wel preferre above the rest  
 Of floures, or compare them with the best.

All other floures ful low on earth abide,  
 The blossome dwelleth never to the skie;  
 And in the grass he self she doth not hide,  
 But to the sight advanced is on hie:

Some other floures purple, yellow, and grene,  
In blossomes none but white and redde are fene.

White is good life, and redde is honest shame;  
Those simple coloures are the best of al;  
Yet blossomes perhaps of some man shal have blame,  
Bicause onto the ground so sone they fal;  
Sith that each worldly thing doth fade away,  
It is no marvaile though that blossomes decay.

When Phæbus beames do parch the earth with heate;  
When Pole Antartike hath no day, but night;  
When in this Zone our shadows be not great;  
When Arctike Pole hath gotten perfect light;  
Then all the floures do wither, as we see,  
And then the blossome falleth from the tree.

Yet though the blossomes fal from trees by kind,  
Bicause Apollo shold them never burne;  
When blossomes be gone their fruitte remaines behind,  
Where others into dust and powder turne:  
Thus for their place, their colour, fruitte, and smel,  
The blomes of right may beare away the bell.

No trust in Fortune.

Who so doth trust the fained chere  
That smileth forth by Fortunes lootes,  
When good to him she doth appeere,  
To take his life she layeth her hootes.

The mariner is most unwise  
That trusteth to the quiet seas,  
For communely great stormes arise  
When as the windes do seme to cease.  
Under the grasse full fresh and grene

79  
 There lurketh hidde the hurtful Snake;  
 Within the baite, as oft is sene,  
 Doth lie the hoke the fish to take.

To Fortunes whele there is no trust;  
 For he that fittes in hiest place  
 Within an houre lieth in the dust,  
 If that she shew a froward face.

Thus Fortune turneth upside downe  
 Mans life, and chaungeth each estate;  
 She makes the pore man wear a crowne,  
 The mightie prince she doth abate.

The wise man onely scapeth free,  
 He subiect is to Fortunes rage;  
 Though al estates her seruautes be,  
 Yet can she not subdue the sage. Anno etatis 13.

Beautie is brittle.

¶ meruaile moch why Paris went so farre  
 To fetch away King Menelaus wife;  
 Or why the Grekes for her made tenne yeres warre;  
 Or why the Goddes shold be at strife,  
 Which caused many a man to lose his life:  
 Sith that this mischefe great was first begunne  
 Al for vaine beautie that coil sone be done.

Like as the floures which were ful fresh in May,  
 In winters season fade and be not sene;  
 Even so in age al beautie wil decay,  
 And they are foule that some-time faire have bene:  
 Medusas face was ony ful bright and shene;  
 But when the lawes of honestie she brake,  
 Each golden haire became an ouglie snake.

Fairnes is like the painting of a wall,  
 Which sone is rubbed of and done away;

And as the painting sheweth not at all,  
 Whether the wall be made of stone or clay,  
 So beauties ~~glasse~~ doth not the life bewray:  
 Oft a faire face much wickednes doth hide,  
 Wherfore in beautie let no wight have pride.

With mighty Juno in the towne of Troy  
 Antigone for beautie did contend,  
 Wherfore she lost her life and al her ioy,  
 And to a Storke was turned in the end.  
 The Water-Nymphes a monster houghe did send  
 To wreake the pride of King Cepheus wife  
 At Hammons bidding on her daughters life.

King Proetus daughters here I ower passe,  
 With many moe which were too long to tel,  
 In which we may behold as in a glasse  
 How al these lovers of their beautie fel:  
 Now thinke you that they were not serued well,  
 Which for a thing that is of little price  
 Wold cause such hate and discord to arise?

Sith therfore beautie is so vaine a thing,  
 Sith it is married with the sunne and wind;  
 Sith for the love of it great illes do spring;  
 I cannot chose but make vaile in my mind  
 What maketh women now to be so blind,  
 To flie the smoake of coales, to curle their haire,  
 And paint their faces lovers eyes to deare. Anno atavis 13.

Being sicke in Oxford thus he prayed.

\* With wayling voice from out the depth of sinne  
 To thee, o Lord, I feely woech do crie,  
 Wherfore, o Lord, to heare me now beginne;  
 Though death approche, let not thy seruaunt die;  
 And though my ship be turned Upside-dorone,  
 In feare of sinne yet let me never drowne.

80

As Jonas cried within the fishes maw,  
 Even so do I complaine now woofull wight;  
 As help from him thou didst not gruite with-drawe,  
 So let me finde some mercie in thy sight;  
 And as thou cast him safe upon the land,  
 So out of sinne Lord pul me with thy hand.

And as thou savedst thy Prophet in the cave  
 From greedie Lions thirsting for their pray,  
 So from the Ramping Lion thou me save,  
 Which goeth about the felie soules to slaye:  
 Though death and daunger close me round about,  
 Yet know I Lord that thou canst bring me out.

Wherefore, o Lord, to thee I make my prayer;  
 Thou Lord of Lordes vouchesafe to heare my voice;  
 Unto my griefes bove downe thy pitious eare;  
 Though now I mourne, yet cause me to rejoyce:  
 And graunt me Lord to passe these seas of strife,  
 That I may come into the porte of Life.

Two Chores and an Epilogue added to the  
 Tragedie of Agamemnon, translated out of Saccia.

The first Choe.

Woe worth the licherous brest, which harboureth foule desire,  
 Whose smouldring heart breaks forth at last in flames of hellish fire:  
 A fire which wastes the corps, and melts the goodes away,  
 Which foiles the name with blacke disgrace, And brings the mindes decay.  
 Whose shame like foggie smoake amide the aire doth flie,  
 Whose filthy boastes like crackling sparkes procure revenge from hee.  
 Whose flame with stinking pitch and sulphur stil doth burne;  
 Whose coales shal witness be of sinne, whose earth to earth shal turne.  
 Whose blasfing brandes shal grinch with deadly hissing sound;  
 Whose ashes cold shal burne afresh within the holow ground.  
 Wherefore woe worth the foe of maides virginitie,  
 And him which vows to feite the spoile of wofully chastitie.  
 Woe worth the gazing eyes whose lust doth lie in waite  
 To trappe the simple passing by with snares of close deceit.

Woe worth the forced teares from guileful braine that flow;  
 Woe worth the face that durst attempt such vile conceits to show.  
 Woe worth that beares dire poison under tongue;  
 Whose wordes be sweet at first to taste, yet mixt with gall among;  
 which sweares to serue the most, and seems to love the best;  
 yet seeks thy losse, procures thy blame, as foe of old protest.  
 Woe worth the lavish hand which first did offer game  
 To looke by mistes the loving knotte of sacred wedlockes chaine.  
 Woe worth the filthy feet that undertoke to tread  
 On pure and undefiled clothes of Hymeneus bed.  
 Woe worth the bird which layes his egges in others nest;  
 Woe worth the foxe that can contriue in badgers denne to rest.  
 These woes we wish to fall, yea these and farrer times more;  
 On this Agisthus cursed woech, the cause of al our woe.

The second Choe.

What new desire of change doth cause the Lions make  
 In place of her most hardie spouse the bastard Pard to take;  
 And not therewith content in pieces al to tear  
 In cruel sort with bloudie feths her onely loving feed?  
 Woe worth the listening eares, where wicked wordes take place;  
 Woe worth the curious eyes, which viewd that beastly Leachours face.  
 Woe worth the yielding mind, which gave consent to lust;  
 Woe worth the woman wanting shame, and void of wisely trust.  
 Now Juno quite wrong of Spousals thus defild,  
 Yee Gods do graunt some quicke revenge for truth and faith beguild.  
 But out alas the rest in lively sort to paint  
 Each melting hart would some resolve in floudes of dreie plaint;  
 Each tender ruthful brest of force with griefe must swell;  
 Each voice would faile, and tongue waxe faint such doleful newes to tell.  
 Woe worth the handes which wrought the fatal garment new,  
 wherewith bewrapt like bore in toile our worthy King they flue.  
 Oh Sunne how mightest thou beare to see so vile a dede?  
 How might thy golden chariot stay from turning backe with speed?  
 In midde of purple streames the husband lieth on ground  
 Beheld with womans mortal hand, and stabd with many a wound.  
 And al about the King lieth dead the faithful traine  
 Of seruautes sure and trustie friendes like shepe in shambles flaine:  
 While she, whose guiltie handes even yet distill with bloud,  
 Like Tigre madd with ranteless rage, or dronke with beastly made,

81

Hath chaungd her mourning gowne with garments nuptial,  
 And light her wedding torche with ioy before the funeral.  
 And shal those bloudie armes their new made Spouse embrace?  
 And shal Aggesthus dare to sitte in Agamemnon's place?  
 And shal the tables large with meates againe be spread,  
 Whence rose of late the cruel Queene with slaughter full fedde?  
 Then woe to cursed broode of murdering Wipets kind;  
 And woe to Venus foule delight, which so corruptes the mind.  
 Yea woe againe woe criē tenne thousand times and moe  
 On Clytemnestra faithles Spouse, the cause of al our woe.

The Epilogue or Conclusion.

O God which rulst the restles roling skie,  
 Whose secreete dome directes the flying steppes  
 Of this our life, vnworthy that doth runne;  
 How straunge, vnknown, and wonderous are thy wayes?  
 How rare ventes of that thy wisdoms workes?  
 T' abate the high, and bring the mightie downe,  
 To blind the wise, and make the strong to fall!  
 (See Agamemnon here the famous King,  
 Of auncient Arge who bare the roial crowne,  
 Who ruld by sea twelve hundred sailis and moe,  
 And led by land the mightie Grecian host;  
 Whom Grekes obizd as chiefe amongst them al,  
 And Troians dradde, as borne to worke their woe;  
 So known by fame for worthy Martial actes,  
 So blest by giftes of prosperous chaunce in field,  
 So rich with spoiles of Iliou late subdued,  
 So deckt with laurel-crownes for victorie;  
 That least he feard in midst of al his ioy,  
 Unwares, at home, hath caught his bane too sone:  
 At home, alas, not in the Phrygian fieldes,  
 He vanquisht is, not by Madors his might,  
 But by impulse of weake Advoutresse hand,  
 And often stroke of feely womans knife:  
 Ne yet with heate of bloudie broile in warre,  
 But carelesse cometh in quiet bed to rest:  
 Ne overprest with poise of waightie stesle,

But wrapt in sleights of deadly guiltful gife,  
 Through traitorous driftes this King hath lost his bloud:  
 Whom neither Hector's blade might cause to die,  
 Ne Memnon's glaive, ne yet the Scythian Cune,  
 Ne huge Sarpedon's strength, nor al the rest  
 Of manlie knightes that fought for countreis good  
 Could ony deprive of that his vital breath.  
 And yet how oft, alas, by land, by sea,  
 This worthy Prince hath entred jeopardie?  
 How oft on foot with sword and glittering shield  
 Amide the thickest of Troian vanes to fight?  
 How oft on horse with spear and target in hand?  
 How oft at faulte of mightie walled townes?  
 How like to light-fal oft on drowning sandes,  
 Or shivering rockes by force of windie wave?  
 And never yet could find a spedie way  
 By wished death to end his lingering dayes.  
 But now escapt from force of forrem foes,  
 From boisterous windes on surging floudes that beate,  
 From thunder=throats, and flash of lightening flame,  
 From shallow cliffes of high Capharean shoare,  
 When sword and fire, when streame and sturdie storme,  
 When earth and aire did graunt the Vic. tour way,  
 Yea Gods and men agreed to worke his will;  
 In place of trust hath found contrustie traimes,  
 In frendly soile besette with mortal foss:  
 Wherby surprisid with untimely death,  
 When first he thought his worried limmes to rest,  
 Within an houre bereft of al his blisse,  
 Of princelic power, and regal diademe,  
 Of wealth, of ioy, of life, of land, and al,  
 His fainting ghost he yeldes a sacrifice  
 To appease the Gods for parentes foule offence.  
 Oh Clytemnestra, ruthless is thy brest,  
 Shamelesse thy fame, unbridled is thy lust,  
 Hard is thy hart as rockes of Taurus mount,

82

And fierce in rage as is th<sup>e</sup> Egean sea,  
 Madde were thy moodes, and merciless thy mind,  
 Hatelful thy handes, and armed w<sup>it</sup> despite,  
 So steadfast could direct the fatal stroke;  
 Ne trembling loath'd to worke this damned dede.  
 Did Priame live, or Heceba the Queene,  
 Or Priames sonnes, they sure wold wail the case  
 Of Agamemnon ones their deadly foe,  
 If they pitie dwelt in gentle brest.  
 But those thine eies can shedde no trickling teares,  
 To faime amendes for this unkindly fact.  
 Despituous wright, is this a womans parte?  
 No woman, no, but monster, foe to kinde,  
 Some Furies bird, not Ledas daughter sure;  
 Some flippe of hel, no branch of heavenly tree.  
 Wel wicketed, reape the fruite of thy delite;  
 Drive forth the time with wanton sparkling toys;  
 Put backe remorse, let pleasure prease in place;  
 And as for groaning conscience let it sleepe;  
 Defend by force that trait'rous sleightes have wunne;  
 Yea force thy realme with weapons al about,  
 And garde thy corps with strength of mighty men.  
 The time shal come, yea shooe and soe in time,  
 When sharp revenge like stormes of batt'ring haile,  
 From feate of angry Gods shal rayne apace  
 On thee, o wretch, and on thy lawlesse mate.  
 Then lingring Nemesis with stealing steppes  
 By rightfull home this sentence shal pronounce;  
 Your tender flesh so pamper'd up in pride  
 With costly cloathes, and fedde w<sup>it</sup> delicates,  
 Despoiled, bare, naked of cloathes to lie,  
 As fode, I iudge, for greedie wormes too bad.  
 Your curfd boanes of wanton ease the soile  
 In tract of time shal turne to cindred mould;  
 Your shame with noise shal fil the world so wide,  
 Your crime in booke for ever shal appere;  
 Your sinneful soules of wicked lust the feate

Sweet heat of flames, and cold of frostie snow,  
 Shal taste the paines of ever lasting death.  
 Of Nemesis loe here the dreadful voice;  
 Loe this the end of loathsome lechers life;  
 And right-reward of fleshly foule delight.  
 Now worthy waightes that designe sometime to reade  
 This mournful tale, though cladde in simple verse,  
 For your availe some lessons may you learne  
 By others harms, and turne them to your good.  
 First waye with care what weake and feeble stay  
 Upholdes the waight of these your sovverign states;  
 What slippery staves advance your climbing feete;  
 What stumbling blockes before your regal seates  
 Augment with grieve the sodain breake-neckes fall  
 Of you, which tumble head-long downe from hee.  
 Yea more, what cares attend on princely thrones;  
 What ialous heads, the crowne of massie gold,  
 What trembling handes the stately Scepter bringes;  
 What broken sleepes in beddes of finest downe,  
 What restless limmes in royal purple robe.  
 What ugly shewes of dreadfull dreames by night,  
 What woes by day surcharge the werie brest  
 Of him that wouldes the rule of mighty realmes;  
 Now threatning warres affright his careful mind,  
 Now guileful peace, ful friendly though she smile,  
 Can yet contrive at home a subtile drift,  
 When least he lokes, to reave him of his life.  
 Next learne to shunne the close and craftie foe,  
 What fawning face forbiddes to doubt the worst,  
 The worme which stowlie wastes the tender frute,  
 The cancred soare through flesh and bone that eats,  
 The scorpion hatcht in midst of marbl'd wall.  
 As cannons shotte your buildinges may deface,  
 So poudre closely prest may undermine  
 Your strongest walles, and make your towres to fall.  
 As rage of stormes may rent your loftie sailes,  
 So trembling earth oft stowleweth up in hast

83

your knightly halles and castels of renowne.  
 As open foes may put your force to foile,  
 And waste your landes with sword and flaming fire;  
 So fained frendes with deadly glosing quile,  
 With sugred wordes, yet depe dissembling mindes,  
 With lovely lokes, yet false deceitful hartes,  
 Unwares may worke the plotte of your decay.  
 Then trie to trust, not trust to trie the smart  
 Of Agamemnon trapt in snares of death;  
 Ne suffer long within your courtis to dwell,  
 Ne rather ones t' approach your princely gates,  
 These vile advouterers foes to chastitie,  
 Lord lecherous lovers and slaves to vaine delite.  
 If Priamus towne was level with the foile  
 By Grekish handes for Paris finnest fact;  
 If Ajax flamed by dint of firie darte;  
 If Diomed expeld from native foile;  
 If Menelaus lost on fleeting streame;  
 If Agamemnons fal might ought declare  
 What filthy frutes from curv'd lust do spring:  
 Beleve it sure these are the fatal brandes,  
 Wherewith each realme, each towne, each house doth burne;  
 Which quencht at first their harmful heate may lose,  
 But kindled more through heedlesse negligenc  
 With venome fede the flames of your desires.  
 Now last in lieu of iust reward I crave  
 None other gift, but that your noble mindes  
 Wold take in worth this pore advise of mine;  
 Wherem if ought ~~if ought~~ offend your tender taste,  
 Not my desert who meant no ought to harme,  
 But your conceite is cause of such mine-like.  
 Agame though nought you find that may delite,  
 Yet friendly chere vouchsafe I pray to show  
 On this my worke for guerdon of good will.  
 Of the same argument.  
 Quae nova nunc rerum facies? Ledaea Virago  
 Ultrices quondam diras hominumq; Deumq;  
 Et tristes meruit gladius ultoris Orestis!

Scilicet ausa (nefas) lectum temerare iugalem,  
 Coniugis et magni iugulum profcindere ferro.  
 Nec satis hoc, scelerum poenas sensisse merentem  
 Criminis infandi; nisi post tot secula passim  
 Moesta Sophocleo proclamet carmine fontem  
 Melpomene Tragicis iuras devincta cothurno.  
 Nunc Agamemnonijs traduntur plurima fati  
 Corpora, nec miseris quicquam solennia profunt  
 Vota, nec alma fides toties promissa maritis,  
 Nec pudor, aut Divam pietas; nec firma tenentur  
 Jura pudicitiae, quondam sanctissima iura:  
 Obsessumq; tenet limen crudelis Ubiq;  
 Tyndaris infestam quatens armata bipennem:  
 Protinus et capta latro dominatur in arce  
 Debilis Aegisthus scelerati maximus auctor  
 Consilij, bello invalidus, sed fortis adulter,  
 Impiger ad Venerem nocturnaq; praelia miles.  
 Nec tamen ultores gladios intentat Orestes,  
 Nec tamen hos Tragicis percussit secunda boatu.  
 Sed moneo cessent, nec pergant plura nocere:  
 Est Deus, est tanti sceleris fortissimus ultor.  
 Aut igitur nubes armabit vindicæ flamma,  
 Aut Agamemnonium furijs incendet Orestem,  
 Qui patris ad tumulum genericijs viscera ferro  
 Transadigat, facto pius et sceleratus eodem.  
 Utrumq; est, certe non impunita relinquet  
 Crimina, sed tristi pensabit magna ruina.  
 Sera licet Veniat, Veniet tamen ira Tonantis.  
 Est gravior Vindicta Dei, quo lentius Urget. Anno aetatis 17.  
 Meditatio de Passione Christi.  
 Supplicium Domini referens, cedensq; nefandam,  
 Lugentem Phoebum, moerantia sidera coeli,  
 Rectorem mundi supplex orabo potentem,  
 Ut clemens primo velit aspirare labori.

84

Qui princeps vitæ crudeli cœde peremptus  
 Horrida terrificæ dirupit vincula mortis,  
 Cur mortem subiit divina stirpe creatus?  
 Cur vè Deus voluit tot sævos ferre dolores?  
 Scilicet infausti post crimina prima Parentis,  
 Belzebub horrendus misero regnabat in orbè;  
~~Dæmones~~ immundi primum se fingere Divos  
 Ausi captabant mentes, Varijsq; figuris  
 Ludebant miseros divina lucis egentes.  
 Hinc fluit omne nefas, hinc orta est ferrea proles,  
 Hinc dolus, hinc fraudes, hinc perdens omnia luxus,  
 Hinc furor, impietas, et idolum cultus inanis.  
 At genus humanum celsa respexit ab arcè  
 Ille Parens rerum qui sidera summa gubernat.  
 Ille modum tandem statuens finemq; malorum  
 Dimisit Natum, rigido qui in stipite pendens  
 Dæmona prosternens Mortem depiccit amaram.  
 Quis tam crudelis, vel quis tam barbarus ausus  
 Sacrilega Dominum Christum contingere dextra?  
 Gens Hebræa quidem, gens dura et perfida semper,  
 Gens invidia Deo, gens nunq; credula Veri,  
 Pastorem, Regem, Christum, Dominumq; Deumq;  
 Innocuum demens crudeli morte necabit.  
 Quis Christi pœnas referat? Quis vulnera fando  
 Explicet? aut possit lachrymis æquare dolorem?  
 Aspera divinas constringunt vincula palmas;  
 Induitur capiti de spinis facta corona;  
 Sic flagris cæsus, sic duro compede vincitur,  
 Sente coronatus, passus ludibria, sputa,  
 Ipse crucem portans veluti mitissimus agnus  
 Ducitur ad mortem sævo damnante Libato;  
 Affixusq; cruci rigida sublimis in altum

Tollitur (horrendum dictu, miserabile visu)  
 Confixosq; pedes, extensasq; brachia gestans  
 Purpureo claros deturpat sanguine vultus.  
 En Princeps mundi, Patris Sapiencia Vera,  
 Christus, coelesti qui nos vestivit amictu,  
 Perfossus clavus toti miserabilis orbi,  
 Despectus cunctis, nudato corpore pendet;  
 Ut genus humanum vitæ de fonte perenni  
 Sustaret: Dominus qui nobis cuncta ministrat  
 Felle sitim moriens duroq; levavit aceto.  
 Tandem post varias pœnas, post mille dolores  
 Exspirans Christus, Cur me nunc deseris, inquit,  
 Mi pater? hanc animam Deus ô Deus accipe fessam.  
 Talia clamanti de corpore spiritus exit.  
 Tunc miles totis contortam viribus hastam  
 In latus infligens costas & pectora ferro  
 Candida traiecit, mixto fluit unda cruore.  
 Sicq; Dei Natus peccato mundus ab omni  
 Impurandum fuso purgavit sanguine mundum.  
 Sic auctor vitæ mortem moriendo subegit.  
 Interea densis involvunt cuncta tenebris  
 Horrendæ nubes; terræ nox incubat atra:  
 Jove caput medio Titan dum ferret Olympo  
 (Cynthia completo fratrem cum redderet orbe)  
 Moerentes vultus obscura nube recondit;  
 Pallida Luna fugit Christi miserata dolores;  
 Nec solitam præbent moerentia sidera lucem.  
 Jam non vult mundus Domino percunte manere;  
 Intremis horribili tellus quassata tumultu;  
 Jamq; cadunt urbes, procumbunt atria regum,  
 Et celsæ turres, et pontes marmore structi.  
 Apparent divæ facies, et visa per umbras  
 Busta sepulcorum ruptis exire sepulchris.

85

At Sapiens quidam, cum talia monstra videret,  
 Aut, ait, in nihilum iam iam labentibus annis  
 Languida convexi solvetur machina mundi;  
 Aut Deus omnipotes subit atræ spicula mortis,  
 Qui mare, qui terras, qui sydera summa creavit.  
 Christus pro nobis tot vulnera passus iniquè  
 Eximium corpus linquens, obscurâq; terrâ  
 Abdita claustra petens inferni regna Plutonis  
 Intrat; confestim patet atri ianua Ditis.  
 Protinus impuræ barathri cessere cohortes,  
 Ut Dominum claro fulgentem lumine cernunt.  
 Perrumpit Christus divi pœnitalia Regis,  
 Et sanctos Patres misero de carcere traxit,  
 Quorum vita fuit nitido spectatior auro,  
 Qui colere pio caelestia numina cultu;  
 Hos tamen obscura Daemon sub valle tenebat.  
 Hos Christus solvens in regni parte locavit.  
 Hinc quoq; terribilem Umeli et compede duro  
 Leviathan stringens serpentem calcat iniquum.  
 Sic patet Infernum, sic Christus Daemona vincit,  
 Mancipium populi sic sic lachrymabile cessat.  
 At complexa sui corpus miserabile Nati  
 Ante crucem Domini stabat tristissima Mater;  
 Et stabat vultus lachrymis perfusa serenos  
 Mœsta soror Lazari sparsis post terga capillis;  
 Stabat Joannes Domino charissimus ille.  
 His Nicodemus opem præstans, et sanctus Joseph,  
 Addunt se comites, et fletibus omnia complent,  
 Et Domini corpus condunt exanguè sepulchro.  
 Jam lux obscuro fulgebat tertia mundo,  
 Cum Christus Ditem linquens invisâq; regna  
 Calcat humum plantis, et vilita morte resurgens  
 Spem dedit a lætho nos posse resurgere tandem.  
 Vulnera sæva gerit, concretos sanguine crines,

Fœdatus vultus, perfossas vulnere phalaras,  
 Confixosq; pedes, traiecitq; pectora ferro.  
 Cumq; decus mundi fulgenti lampade Titan  
 Jam bis vicinum cursu lustraverat orbem,  
 Postq; Discipulos dulci sermone levavit,  
 Et graditer pressis tribuit solatia Christus,  
 Conscendens montem, mea vos mandata ferentis  
 Ite per immensum cœles, ait, ite per orbem.  
 Ibitis occiduo quæ litora solè tepescunt;  
 Et quæ se rapidus profundit in æquora Ganges;  
 Et quæ Caucasæ se tollunt culmina montis,  
 Et gelidæ rupes, et quæ de fonte cadentis  
 Abditæ fecundi prorumpunt flumina Nili.  
 Hæc ubi dicta dedit, cernentibus ilico multus,  
 Ingratam linquens divino numine terram  
 Sydera transcendens intrat cœlestia regna;  
 Hic Rex Omnipotens sedet, æternūq; sedebit,  
 Cum Genitore pio, cum Sancti numine Flatus.  
 Tu modo summe Deus, qui regnas trinus et unus,  
 Tu Pater Omnipotens, qui serbo cuncta creasti;  
 Tuq; Dei Patris Verbum et Sapiëntia Christus,  
 Qui Deus es genitus de numine Patris, hominūq;  
 Propter nos homines sancta de Virgine natus;  
 Tu Paraclète facer divino lumine fulgens;  
 Sis bonus et clemens precor, et miserere tuorum,  
 Et placidus flentis populi delicta remitte;  
 Et cætus miserere tui, populiq; redempti,  
 Dispersiq; gregis, quem si custodia desit,  
 Impia crudeli discerpit Bellua riltu.  
 Tu miserere mihi, serbi miserere precantis;  
 En venio supplex, en te prostratus adoro.  
 Effice ne sævi me lædat Dæmonis astus,  
 Nec me decipiant fallacis retia mundi,

36

Nec caro precipitem cantu trahat impia blando.  
 Per vada, per scopulos devinctum pessima Siren.  
 Sic tibi dum vivam, dum spiritus hos reget artus,  
 Nolte diem canam sincero pectore laudes:  
 Te mortemq, tuam semper mea carmina cantent.  
 Parce, precor, coelo Judex venturus ab alto,  
 Cum patefacta tremet tanto sub iudice tellus;  
 Parce, precor, tandem, cum te veniente resurgam;  
 Parce mihi clemens, serva ne trudar ad Orcum,  
 Qua Dolor et Planktus regnat, qua tristis Erinys:  
 Sed fac gaudentem coelestia scandere regna,  
 Et super astra sedens divinum numen adorem,  
 Qua Cherubim, et Seraphim cantu modulantur amoeno,  
 Sanctorumq, greges resonantes dulciter hymnos. Anno aetatis suae 13<sup>o</sup>.

Upon this rhame; Honos alit artes, given  
 him by m<sup>r</sup> Pembroke at Fawcelsy Sir Ric  
 chard Knightleys house, in presence of  
 the Knight, and m<sup>r</sup> Oxenbridge, and others,  
 he made these verses, Ex tempore.

Ingenuas artes accensa cupidine famae  
 Mens capit; has vere conceptas laudis amore  
 Nutrit amor plausus, decoris spes excitat ingen;  
 Laus fovet, auget honos, ad coelum gloria tollit.  
 Sed tua, crede mihi, nulla dulcedome laudis  
 Ars producta venit, nec spe nutritus honoris.  
 Nescis quid sit honos, nec quid sit gloria nostri.  
 Tantum Cervina quondam malo pastus in aula,  
 Dum violenta famas, stimulo qua pungit acuto,  
 Non famae dulcedo, cibos conquirere technis  
 Compulit; hinc varias hausisti callidus artes.  
 Sic mentem subiere doli, sic ventre magistro  
 Fallere, mentiri, perfrita fronte pudorem  
 Pellere dum tentas, multo nunc doctior usu

Vis pastor fieri plebis, verbig, minister  
 Ausus et in templis infusas fundere voces,  
 Ut pecori tardo pecudes sua vellera tradant;  
 Ut reddat populus stultae tibi praemia linguae:  
 Et nunc Ventris onus, non Christi quaeris honorem,  
 Carne magis veri cupiens, q̄ parere verbo.

Up drowzie Muse pul downe thy harp from pime  
 Let fingred stringes & warbling voice beginne  
 With iust accord a sacred verse to frame  
 resounding our Jehovas glorious name.  
 Almighty Lord, that rulest the restless vace  
 and sway of rolling skies with measured pace,  
 who with a powerful thought the stately frame  
 of heauen & earth & al thinges in the same,  
 didest build of nought; on whom those hongie ho  
 & Legions waite in th' highest blisful coastes;  
 millions of Angels in that gorgeous bower  
 attend thy hestes & praise thy awfull power;  
 with sacred hymnes blazing thy noble bruite  
 and worthy workes the endelese heavens throug  
 O glorious God that from thy glittering throne  
 bowest downe thy fatherly eare to every gone  
 of wretched siners bound bilow in bale,  
 in careful prison of this earthy vale,

Remember how *P P P* *Esau's* *yes* 87  
 Whereunto our Grandfathers disobedience  
 condemn'd his race through that his first offence;  
 & sweetly helpst thy creatures in distresse,  
 that crie to thee in faithful soothfastnes;  
 Thou that didst pul pore Joseph from the pitte,  
 & raisedst him with Princes for to sitte:  
 Thou that from pining famine to defend,  
 thy Jacobs broode to fruteful soile didst send,  
 there where the spring from Eden that doth flow,  
 the harvest stor made in great store to grow:  
 when from proude Pharaos furie to conuay,  
 th' Arabian sondred Sea did yeld them way:  
 Thou that from Fossean shepeshold tokest the King,  
 famous for touch of harpe & lannche of sling,  
 & keepst from Giants crush and murdering pawe,  
 & rage of mac possessed fatherinlawe:  
 Thou that the General of th' Assyrian host,  
 who with blasphemous tamtes and bragging best,  
 against thy mighty power did crack & vannt,  
 one weat Bethulian widow madest to dannt,  
 & Judas feldees with Babilonian blond  
 diddest drowne & gavest the fowles their limmes for  
 making thereby thy friends & foes to see  
 no force to be of force t'encomter thee

Thon that by dome of child didst save the life,  
 & clear the name of chaste Helchias wife:  
 Thon that from Lions hongrie iawes didst take  
 thy prophet throwen vnto them for thy sake:  
 Thon that the wrath of Persian King didst swage  
 Shelding thy people from proud Amans rage;  
 & madest that wretch be catched in the snare,  
 which he for Judas remnantts did prepare:  
 Thon that in fire forname diddest defend  
 from scorching flames, & gracious help didst lend  
 to those three yonthes, that stoutely did denye  
 the honour due vnto thy maiestie  
 to giue to th' Idol of a mortal slave,  
 whom bestly pride beastes shape & feeding gaue,  
 Thon that for all the world overwhelmed with vice  
 condemnd to hel exile from paradise,  
 enemy to thee, foe of al vertues love,  
 when as no salve could cure thine curelesse sore,  
 a soveveigne help & precious bath didst make,  
 the rote of al their illes from them to take,  
 of that most precious blood wich thine owne word  
 & onely some incarnate did afford  
 by stroke of wips & stretch of crosse to shede,  
 & from his naileboard handes & feete did blede,

88

& from the heart, wick love of man did breme  
 spearepearst & thirld fourth a name did reme,  
 & wick his hohie thornpricke hed powrd downe  
 that cursed Jewes with platted breere did crowne;  
 yet al these crosses pincht him not so sore,  
 but love of unkind man paind him more:  
 Thow that hast holpe dost help & wilt help still,  
 al those whose willes are buxome to thy will  
 Even thou, swete Lord, of whom while I doe write,  
 help me, good God, this verse for to indite.  
 Send this unripe yet rotten poete grace  
 for want of witte & arte not to deface  
 this gracious facte of thine. On thee I call,  
 to thee I do appeale from fables all  
 of Heathnisch hinds, that of their Helicon wel,  
 of winged horse and of Parnasus tell,  
 & of thrise Sisters three I wot not what  
 of venus & her blind boy let them chatte,  
 & filthy lustes that lecherous love inspires,  
 in lazie lozels breeding lewd desiers.  
 One droppe let fal into my bawaine penne,  
 that from thy sacred word & sprite doth reme,  
 wherewith thou matest the suckling babes belch out  
 thy praises al the wilde world round about:

Wherewith the old long eared drudging beast  
 of that lewd Prophet, coming by request  
 of th' impious King to to curse thy chosen crew  
 whose fame & feare, & nombre daylie grew,  
 thou madest to speake, his maister to reprove:  
 & in the wisards lippes puttst wordes of love,  
 in lieu of hate; & forcedst him to blesse  
 the race of Israel in the wilderness,  
 in stede of cursinges hatched in his mind;  
 thy Sprite his tongue far otherwise inclinde.  
 So didst thou then, & so now canst thou doe.  
 Help me therefore this verse to bring vnto  
 his wished end: which if it be thy wil,  
 with thy sweete hand to guide my stillese quill  
 & file the point of my rude scribbling penne;  
 both worke & workman I behote thee then,  
 & vow to offer to thy name for aye  
 soch praises as my barraine store can pay.

See here how Mercie God him self doth make  
 to come from heaven in virgines wombe to dwell,  
 the cure of Adams broode to undertake  
 whom frute forbidden Damned vnto hell,  
 An Angell comes vnto that maide to tell

STC 22957. Southwell, R. Saint Peters  
complaint and other poems ... 1595.

Before it was taken apart and rebound  
by Robert Lunow this work was in a 17th  
century calf binding, with both covers  
detached and the spine worn.

While it was in sheets it was examined  
and found to be as follows:

Collation: A-H<sup>4</sup>(-H4). The letter-press  
is followed by 38 ff. of a contemporary  
ms. copy of Southwell's poems.

Condition: While the pairs of leaves,  
excepting H1:4, 2:3, are normally con-  
jugate, this is a made-up copy, with  
different gatherings extracted from at  
least two editions.

1 April 1959

*D. Mason*

## APPENDIX C

### *The Subsequent History of the Vaux Family*

Robert Southwell continued to evade capture until the summer of 1592 when he was detected by Richard Topcliffe. Thereafter he suffered more than the usual torture and imprisonment suffered by Catholic priests (enduring two-and-a-half years of solitary confinement) before finally being executed on 21 February 1595.

In 1588 the Spanish Armada was defeated. Of the 130 warships that left Spain only 67 returned (and many of those were barely seaworthy). The destruction of Spain's navy resulted in an English maritime supremacy that lasted for centuries. England's status as a Protestant nation was thus secure from foreign interference, especially since her main enemy, Spain, had also been bankrupted by the failure of the Armada. Lord William Vaux and other Catholics who had been detained for national security were now released. He was confined to London and took his seat in the House of Lords for the first time in five years. The following year he was allowed to return to Northamptonshire, a privilege he had not enjoyed since Campion's arrest in 1581. In 1591 it was reported by a government spy that Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham were loyal to the crown and opposed to any plans of Spanish intervention in England. Thus at the end of his life Lord Vaux finally achieved some vindication as an English patriot. Yet in 1593 all recusants were barred from travelling more than five miles from their domiciles and brazen non-conformity became punishable by exile or death. William Vaux died at Irthlingborough on 30 August 1595. Anstruther writes:

He left his children an impoverished estate and a vast ocean of debts. For his friendship with Edmund Campion and for the cause in which Campion died, he had lost his reason, and all that this world holds dear. In fourteen years the wealthy cultured patron of learning, the proud father of such promising children, had been reduced to a pathetic, poverty-stricken, weak-minded wreck. But he bequeathed to his descendants a pearl of great price, the Faith of his ancestors, and a determination to cling to it, whatever the cost.

(Anstruther, p. 225)

Though only sixty-one when he died, he had outlived his three eldest sons. The family interests and title passed to his grandson, Edward,<sup>118</sup> who became the

---

<sup>118</sup> His father George Vaux had died in 1593.

fourth Baron Vaux. Edward Vaux died in 1661 without legitimate issue but was widely believed to be the true father of Nicholas Knollys, third Earl Banbury (1631–1674) through an affair with his mother, Elizabeth Knollys, Countess Banbury (whom he later married). Edward Vaux was briefly succeeded by his brother Henry, the fifth Baron Vaux, but he too died without issue in 1663 and the title fell into abeyance for almost two centuries.

After George Vaux's death in 1593 his strong-willed wife, Elizabeth (née Roper), was left with eight small children. She took control of the family finances, deliberately isolating Sir Thomas Tresham. Although her eldest son, Edward (then five years old), was a ward of the Queen, she managed to buy his wardship. To achieve this, she had to assure the Privy Council that she would employ Protestant tutors for his education (Morey, p. 145).

An acrimonious relationship ensued between her and Sir Thomas who was also attacked by Anne Vaux. The latter sued him in Chancery for the non-payment of the five hundred pounds he had agreed to pay on behalf of her father in lieu of a dowry or living. She accused him of pressuring her sister Elizabeth into taking the veil so that he would be freed from paying her dowry also. Her half-sister Muriel also sued the knight when he refused to pay out her dowry after she had eloped with his servant. Consequently he was once more committed to the Fleet (Morey, p. 164).

George Vaux's widow moved Lord and Lady Vaux out of Harrowden to Irthlingborough in 1594, less than a year before Lord Vaux's death. On 29 December 1597 Lady Vaux (née Tresham) also died and Sir Thomas Tresham thus lost the last vestige of influence he had with the family. He died a bitter old man, deeply in debt, in 1605. In 1598 Father John Gerard, who had arrived on the Norfolk coast ten years previously, was sent to be chaplain to the new baron's mother at Harrowden. Thereafter she dedicated herself to Father Gerard and the recusant cause.

The Vaux sisters, Eleanore and Anne, continued their unwavering support of the Catholic cause, including caring for Father Henry Garnett. It was the custom of the Jesuit missionaries to congregate twice a year at the house where the Jesuit Superior for the English Mission was staying. Since Father Weston had been arrested in 1586, Henry Garnett became the new Jesuit Superior and these biannual meetings always took place at a house owned or rented by the Vaux sisters. This made their position in the recusant movement both more

important and more dangerous. In 1605 when the Gunpowder Plot conspirators were arrested, Henry Garnett was implicated. While it is unlikely that he sanctioned the plot, he did have knowledge of it but was not in a position to alert the authorities. He was subsequently arrested and executed in 1606. Because of her close association with him Anne Vaux was also arrested and imprisoned in the tower, but was released after a few months. Thereafter the Vaux sisters continued to assist and harbour missionary priests and were convicted for recusancy in 1625 but never paid the fines imposed on them. Eleanore died later that same year. Anne lived on until 1637.

The death of Elizabeth I, for which many recusants longed, eventually occurred in 1603. Her successor, the Scottish king James I, was the son of Mary Queen of Scots and was expected to be more sympathetic to Catholics. Yet, after a brief period of slight relaxations of the penal laws, both the fines and persecutions were increased. This prompted (and was worsened by) the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Roman Catholicism was to remain an outlawed religion in England until 1829 when the *Catholic Emancipation Act* was passed.

## APPENDIX D

*John of Pecham's Philomena Praevia with an English Translation*

F.J.E. Raby acclaimed Pecham's meditation *Philomena Praevia* as "one of the loveliest of all the poems of the Passion" (Raby, p. 425). Since I could find no other, the translation of the poem offered in the right-hand column below is my own. To the best of my knowledge, it is the only English version. A Czech translation was published in 1925. An English translation of a Medieval French version of the *Philomela Praevia* was produced by J.L. Baird and John R. Kane and published as *Rossignol* in 1978 by Kent State University Press.

The Latin text below is that in vol. VIII, pp. 669–674 of the *Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1898) of St Bonaventure, to whom the poem is often incorrectly attributed. It is the most recent and probably the only critical edition of the poem. As in my translations of Vaux's Latin poems, I have here sought the golden mean between accuracy and readability.

The poet  
to the  
bird.

*Philomena, praevia temporis amoeni,  
Quae recessum nuntias imbris atque coeni,  
Dum demulces animos tuo cantu leni,  
Avis praedulcissima, ad me, quaeso veni.*

*Veni, veni, mittam te, quo non possum ire,  
Ut amicum valeas cantu delinire,  
Tollens eius taedia vice dulcis lyrae,  
Quem, heu! modo nequeo verbis convenire.*

*Ergo, pia, supplicas meum imperfectum,  
Salutando dulciter unicum dilectum  
Eique denunties, qualiter affectum  
Sit cor meum iugiter eius ad aspectum.*

*Quodsi quaerat aliquis, quare te elegi,  
Meum esse nuntium; sciat, quia legi  
De te quaedam propria, quae divinae legi  
Coaptata mystice placent summo Regi.*

To his  
friend, a-  
bout this  
bird.

*Igitur, carissime, audi nunc attente,  
Nam si cantus volucris huius serves mente  
Et secutus fueris, Spiritu docente,  
Te caelestem musicum faciet repente.*

The songs  
of the bird  
at morn-  
ing.

*De hac ave legitur, quod cum deprehendit  
Mortem sibi proximam, arborem ascendit  
Summoque diluculo sursum rostrum tendit  
Diversisque cantibus totam se impendit.*

O Nightingale, O harbinger of a pleasant age, you who announce the departure of rain and mud while soothing our spirits with your gentle song, sweetest bird of all, come to me I pray! Come! Come! I shall send you to where I cannot go, to soothe my Friend with your song, and ease the sufferings in sweet harp's stead of Him whom I, alas, cannot address in simple words. Therefore, my faithful one, make perfect my imperfection by sweetly greeting the one who is my sole delight and report to Him that my heart has always been moved at seeing Him. But if someone should ask why I chose you to be my messenger, let him know it is because I have read some special things about you which, when adapted mystically to the law of God, are pleasing to the King on high.

[17] Therefore, my dearest, listen attentively to me now; for if you keep the songs of this bird in your mind and have been attentive, with the Spirit guiding you, she will unexpectedly make heavenly music.

[21] It is said of this bird that when she knows her death is nigh, she alights upon a tree and at earliest daybreak stretches forth her beak, expending her whole being in

<b>At Prime.</b>	<i>Cantilenis dulcibus praevenit auroram, Sed cum dies rutilat circa primam horam, Elevat praedulcius vocem in canoram, In cantando nesciens pausam sive moram.</i>	25	manifold song. With sweet songs she heralds the dawn, but when the day glows red at around the first hour, she raises her voice more sweetly in melody, knowing neither pause nor delay in her singing. But around the third hour, as if knowing no limit (because always the joy of her heart grows for him), her throat is almost burst (so loud her voice becomes), and the more she sings, the more her passion grows. And when at mid-day the sun is in its full heat, then she rends her flesh in riotous clamour, crying “ <i>Oci, oci</i> ” in her wonted way, acting thus because her singing slowly fades in advance of her labour. Thus when this bird’s organs are shattered, she is almost drained of life, and only her beak still trembles. But at the approach of the ninth hour she finally dies, when the veins of her whole body are ruptured.  [41] Behold, my beloved, you have briefly heard the work of this bird; but if you remember, we said at the start that this happens so that her songs combine mystically with the laws of Jesus Christ. It remains to be said, so that you may understand, that the nightingale represents the soul, full of virtues and love, which weaves a pleasing song while it traverses the pleasant realm in the mind. Indeed, for the increase of her sacred hope, a special day is appointed for her. And so these services represent the hours of the day, which by the hand of God, man has observed.  [53] The state of man is early daybreak, during which time Adam was miraculously created. The first hour is the time when Christ was born; as for the third hour, speak then of the time He dwelled on earth. The time of the sixth is when He was willing to be bound by traitors, to be dragged, scourged, spat upon, tortured cruelly, fastened at last to the cross, bored with nails, and His most holy head crowned with thorns. During the ninth hour speak of the time when He dies, of when the course of His struggle was complete, of when the devil was utterly overcome and thrown headlong into confusion; evening is the time when Christ was given to the tomb.  [65] For the course of that day, the soul meditates in its garden and makes an end of its spiritual death as it climbs the tree of the cross on which the brave Lion conquered the enemy, having shattered the gates of death. At once by lifting up the heart’s or-
<b>Terce.</b>	<i>Circa vero tertiam quasi modum nescit, Quia semper gaudium cordis ei crescit; Fere guttur rumpitur, sic vox invalescit, Et quo cantat amplius, magis inardescit.</i>	30	
<b>Sext.</b>	<i>Et cum in meridie sol est in fervore, Tunc dirumpit viscera nimio clamore; Oci, oci clamitans illo suo more, Sic, quod sensim deficit cantus prae labore.</i>	35	
<b>None.</b>	<i>Sic quassatis organis huius philomenae, Rostro tantum palpitans fit exsanguis pene. Sed ad nonam veniens moritur iam plene, Cum totius corporis dirumpuntur venae.</i>	40	
<b>The mystical union of these things.</b>	<i>Ecce, dilectissime, breviter audisti Factum huius volucris; sed si meministi, Diximus iam primitus, quia cantus isti Mystice conveniunt legi Iesu Christi.</i>		
	<i>Restat, ut intelligas, esse philomenam Animam virtutibus et amore plenam, Quae, dum mente peragrat patriam amoenam, Satis favorabilem textit cantilenam.</i>	45	
	<i>Ad augmentum etenim suae sanctae spei, Quaedam dies mystica demonstratur ei, Porro beneficia, quae de manu Dei Homo consecutus est, Horae sunt diei.</i>	50	
<b>Generally about the individual hours.</b>	<i>Mane vel diluculum hominis est status, In quo mirabiliter Adam est creatus. Hora prima, quando est Christu incarnatus, Tertiam dic spatium sui incolatus.</i>	55	
	<i>Sextam, cum a perfidis voluit ligari, Trahi, caedi, conspui, dire cruciari, Crucifigi denique, clavis terebrari Caputque sanctissimum spinis coronari.</i>	60	
	<i>Nonam dic, cum moritur, quando consummatus Cursus est certaminis, quando superatus Est omnino zabulus et hinc conturbatus Vespera, cum Christus est sepulturae datus.</i>		
<b>Special meditation for the Morning.</b>	<i>Diem istum, anima, meditans in hortis Suae facit terminum spiritalis mortis, Scandens crucis arborem, in qua Leo fortis Vicit adversarium, fractis portis mortis.</i>	65	
	<i>Statim cordis organa sursum elevando, Suum a diluculo cantum inchoando, Laudat et glorificat Deum, replicando, Sibi quam mirificus fuit hanc creando.</i>	70	

	<i>Pie, inquit, conditor, quando me creasti, Quam sit tua pietas larga, declarasti. Nam consortem gloriae tuae cogitasti Facere gratuite, gratis quam amasti.</i>	75	gans, by beginning its song from dawn, it praises and glorifies God by itself reliving for an hour how marvellous He was in His creation. “Gracious Creator,” it says, “when You created me You declared how great Your grace is, for You thought it good freely to make the one whom You loved a sharer in your glory. O how wonderful is the worth granted to me since the image of the Lord is stamped on me! But the worth I possessed might have grown more had I not broken the law of the Lord. For You, Dearest Love, wished to join me to You, You wished for me to have my sweet dwelling on high and stay with You, to nourish and teach me as Your child. From that time You arranged to unite me to the heavenly hosts and grant Your presence to me; but for such grace, what I would be able to give in return, I do not truly know, except to love You. My one delight, my only sweetness, the kindly thief of loving hearts; everything, whatever I have or am, I surrender to You, and place my trust in You at last.”
	<i>O quam mira dignitas mihi est concessa, Cum imago Domini mihi est impressa! Sed crevisset amplius dignitas possessa, Nisi iussum Domini fuissem transgressa.</i>	80	
	<i>Nam tu, summa caritas, tibi cohaerere Me volebas iugiter sursumque habere Dulce domicilium tecumque manere, Et me velut filiam alere, docere.</i>		
	<i>Ex tunc disposeras me coadunare Caelicis agminibus teque mihi dare; Sed pro tanta gratia quid recompensare Possim, prorsus nescio, nisi te amare.</i>	85	
	<i>Unica suavitas, unica dulcedo, Cordium amantium salutaris praedo, Totum, quidquid habeo vel sum, tibi dedo, Denique depositum meum tibi credo.</i>	90	
	<i>Oci, cantat tale cor gaudens in pressura, Dicens, quia dignum est, ut a creatura Diligatur opifex talis mente pura, Ei cum exstiterit de se tanta cura.</i>	95	[93] “Oci” sings such a heart rejoicing in duress, saying (because it is only right), that such a creator is loved by his creation in pureness of mind, since he has defended us and taken so many cares upon Himself.
<b>At Prime.</b>	<i>Sic mens hoc diluculum transit meditando, Se ad Primam transferens vocem exaltando, Tempus acceptabile pie ruminando, In quo venit Dominus, carne se velando.</i>	100	[97] Thus the mind passes the morning in meditation: by lifting up its voice it brings itself to the first hour, a time acceptable for pious rumination, in which the Lord came by covering himself in flesh. Then the entire soul dissolves in love, trembling as it considers the Creator of all things, crying a little as we are wont to do, having a care for its old feebleness. Crying therefore it shouts: “O fountain of holiness, who has robed you in clothes of dire poverty? What has counseled you thus to give yourself freely for us if not the ardent passion of love?” Rightly is this ardent passion called zeal, through which the Lord of the heavens was overcome by the sacred bonds which held him captive of his own free will; he was wrapped in the bands of a poor infant. O sweetest infant, a boy without equal, happy is he to whom it is granted now to embrace you, to wash your feet and hands, to be cheered by you and linger perpetually in obedience to you. Woe is me! Why was I not allowed to caress the wailing infant and cry with him, to warm those tender limbs in my bosom and to sit forever by his cradle? As I think, the holy infant does not shrink back from
	<i>Tunc liquescit anima tota per amorem, Pavida considerans omnium auctorem, Vagientem parvulum iuxta nostrum morem, Ut curaret veterem suorum languorem.</i>		
	<i>Plorans ergo clamitat: O fons pietatis, Quis te pannis induit dirae paupertatis? Tibi quis consuluit sic te dare gratis Nobis nisi vehemens ardor caritatis?</i>	105	
	<i>Digne zelus vehemens est hic ardor dictus, Per quem sponte Dominus est caelorum victus, Cuius sanctis vinculis captus et constrictus, Pauperis infantuli pannis est amictus.</i>	109	
	<i>O praedulcis parvule, puer sine pari, Felix, cui datum est, te nunc amplexari, Pedes, manus lambere, de te consolari, Tuis in obsequiis iugiter morari.</i>	115	
	<i>Heu me! cur non licuit mihi demulcere Vagientem parvulum et cum flente flere, Illos artus teneros sinu refovere Eiusque cunabulis semper assidere?</i>	120	

	<i>Puto, pius parvulus haec non abhorret Nec se a pauperculo tangi prohiberet; Immo more parvuli forsitan arrideret Et petenti veniam facile praeberet.</i>			
	<i>Felix, qui tunc temporis Matri singulari Potuisset precibus ita famulari, Ut in die sineret semel osculari Pedes sui parvuli eique iocari.</i>	125		
	<i>O quam libens balneum ei praeparassem! O quam libens humeris aquam apportassem, In hoc libens Virgini semper ministrassem, Pauperisque parvuli pannulos lavassem!</i>	130		
	<i>Sic affecta, pia mens sitit paupertatem, Cibi parsimoniam, vestis vilitatem, Labor ei vertitur in iucunditatem, Vilem esse saeculi dicit venustatem.</i>	135		
At Terce.	<i>Ergo sic infantiam Christi retexendo, Horae Primae canticum strenue psallendo Transitum ad Tertiam facit, recolendo, Quantum Christus passus est, homines docendo.</i>	139		
	<i>Tunc cum fletu replicat illius labores, Famem, sitim, frigora, aestus et sudores, Quae dignanter pertulit propter peccatores, Dum illorum voluit innovare mores.</i>			
	<i>Vox amoris facibus tota concremata, Oci, Oci, clamitat avis haec beata, Mundo mori cupiens, quia via lata Ei foetet saeculi, sic est delicata.</i>	145		
	<i>Clamas ergo, Domine, dulcis praedicator, Exsulum refugium, pauperum amator, Qui es poenitentium pius consolator, Post te debent currere iustus et peccator.</i>	150		
	<i>Iusti quippe regula, vitae es doctrina, Peccatorum speculum, mira disciplina, Fessis et debilibus efficax resina, Aegris et languentibus potens medicina.</i>	155		
	<i>Primus in hoc saeculo caritatis scholam Instaurasti, quaerere docens Dei solam Gloriam, deponere gravem mundi molam, Et sic posse perditam rehabere stolam.</i>	160		
	<i>Sed hanc scholam temere mundus irridebat, Spernens et annihilans, quidquid promittebat, Tua vero bonitas vices non reddebat, Immo poenitentibus totum ignoscebat.</i>			
	<i>Quippe cui proprium erat misereri, Diligi desiderans magis, quam timeri, Verba, sed non verbera proferens, austeri Praeceptoris noluit more revereri.</i>	165		
				this nor would He forbid a poor man from touching Him; indeed, He would perhaps laugh as infants do, and readily grant grace to the one seeking it from Him. Happy is he who at that time would have been able to serve so singular a Mother in her prayers, so that on that day she would allow him once to kiss the feet of her infant and play with Him. O how willingly I would have prepared his bath for him! How willingly I would have carried the water on my shoulders! I would always have served the Virgin willingly in this and washed the bands of the poor infant.
				[133] Moved thus, the pious mind thirsts for poverty, for frugality of food, for thrift of attire. Its hardship is turned to delight, and it avows that the charm of the age is cheap. Therefore, in thus relating the infancy of Christ, the song of the First Hour makes its journey to the Third in lively psalm-singing, in recollecting how much Christ suffered in teaching mankind. Then with weeping it unfolds His trials, His hunger, His thirst, His chills, His heats and sweats, which graciously He endured for sinners while He wished to renew our ways. The voice of love is entirely consumed by its fires.
				[145] "Oci, Oci," cries this blessed bird, desiring to die for the world because to her the wide course of the ages stinks, so fastidious is she. Then Lord, sweet preacher, refuge of exiles, lover of the poor, you cry out, you who are the holy comforter of the penitent, whom the just man and the sinner ought to run after. Indeed you are the rule of the righteous man, the doctrine of life, the mirror for sinners, wonderful word, strong resin for the weak and weary, and powerful medicine for the sick and faint. You were the first to set up the lesson of love for this age, teaching us to seek only God's glory, to lay down the weighty millstone of the world and thus be able to repossess the lost robe. But the world scoffed rashly at Your teaching, despising and bringing to nothing whatever You promised. Truly Your excellence did not make returns, rather it entirely forgave the penitent. Indeed, He whose nature it was to feel pity – desiring to be loved more than to be feared, offering words, but not whips – did not wish to be feared as a stern ruler. The woman caught in adultery felt this, for whom Your holiness was sweet and boundless. Mary Magdalene, to whom great grace was given

	<i>Hoc in adulterio novit deprehensa, Quam sit tua pietas dulcis et immensa. Magdalena sensit hoc, ei cum offensa Est dimissa, gratia multiplex impensa.</i>	170	in abundance, felt this when her offence was forgiven. What more should I still refer to? How many have followed your teaching, or have been cleansed by you from their sins? They are imbued with the best ways and are saved from the deceit of the envious adversary. Happy the man to whom it was allowed continually to keep company with this ruler and suck honey from His heavenly mouth, compared with which sweetness everything else turns bitter and is filled with stench.
	<i>Et quid multa referam? Quotquot sunt secuti Tuum magisterium, a suis abluti Vitis, sunt moribus optimis imbuti, Et ab hostis invidi fraude facti tuti.</i>	175	
	<i>Felix, cui licuit, sub hoc praeceptore Conversari iugiter et ab eius ore Mel caeleste sugere, cuius prae dulcore Amarescunt cetera, plena sunt foetore.</i>	180	[181] While the mind contemplates these and many such things, it is primed wholly to offer abundant thanks; inspired to praise the Lord all the more. Thus the song of the third Hour is concluded.
	<i>Haec et multa talia dum mens meditatur, Ad reddendas gratias tota praeparatur, Ad laudandum Dominum magis inflammatur, Sicque Horae tertiae cantus terminatur.</i>		[185] “ <i>Oci, oci</i> ” cries the soul in this state, pouring tears in abundance at this earthly dwelling, praising and glorifying Christ with great effort, he who bore so much for our guilt. In this hour the soul seems intoxicated, but around midday, when the heat is increased, it is sorely pierced by a dart of love; soon the suffering of Christ will be recounted by her.
	<i>Oci, oci anima clamat in hoc statu, Crebro fundens lacrymas sub hoc incolatu, Laudans et glorificans magno cum conatu Christum, qui tot pertulit suo pro reatu.</i>	185	
At Sext.	<i>In hac hora anima ebria videtur, Sed circa meridiem calor cum augetur, Ut amoris iaculo magis perforetur, Mox ab illa passio Christi recensetur.</i>	190	[193] Crying out therefore, she surveys the tender Lamb, the Lamb without blemish, crowned with thorns, bruised with whips, pierced with nails and bloodied throughout every region of His body. Then a thousand times she exclaims: “ <i>Oci</i> ” with laments, “ <i>Oci, oci, woe is me!</i> ” For the ashen visage and faint eyes of him hung dying on the cross disturbs the calm of my mind. Was it fitting that thus, You, kindly Lamb, suffer so unworthy a death?” she asks. But you arranged it thus so as to conquer evil, and this was done entirely as a sign of love. These are the signs of love, and He unites the first with the last, joining them together, fastening the highest to the lowest, revealing why You died thus. You loved us so much that You poured out Your entire self through countless open wounds. You are our new friend, You are our new wine, so the wise one calls you, and he is right indeed, for you overflow entirely, giving back a sweet taste, emptying the vessel of Your flesh even though Your frame is a graceful vessel.
	<i>Plorans ergo respicit Agnum delicatum, Agnum sine macula, spinis coronatum, Lividum verberibus, clavis perforatum Ac per cuncta corporis loca cruentatum.</i>	195	
	<i>Tunc exclamat millies: oci cum lamentis, Oci, oci miseram, quia meae mentis Statum turbat pallidus vultus morientis Et languentes oculi in cruce pendentis.</i>	200	
	<i>Siccine decuerat, inquit, te benignum Agnum mortis exitum pati tam indignum? Sed sic disposueras vincere malignum, Et hoc totum factum est ob amoris signum.</i>		
	<i>Haec amoris signa sunt, et postrema primis Copulans associat, summa figens imis; Monstrans, quod sic moriens, nos amares nimis, Dum te totum funderes tot apertis rimis.</i>	205	
	<i>Tu amicus novus es, tu es novum mustum, Sic te vocat Sapiens, et est satis iustum, Totus enim affluis, reddens dulcem gustum, Fundens carnis dolium, licet vas venustum.</i>	210	
	<i>Tantis signis monitus, poenitens iam credat, Quod praecordialiter Christus ei se dat. Ista signa recolam, ne me satan laedat, Nam peccati rabiem nihil ita sedat.</i>	215	[213] Taught by such signs, let the penitent man now believe that Christ gives of Himself wholeheartedly. May I ever recall these signs lest Satan deceive me, for nothing so assuages the madness of sin as re-

*Ista signa recolens, oci, oci clamo,  
Dulcis Iesu querulor, quod te minus amo,  
Stringi tamen cupio disciplinae camo,  
Sicut pro me captus es caritatis hamo.* 220

*Quantum hamum caritas tibi praesentavit,  
Mori cum pro homine te sollicitavit,  
Sed et esca placida hamum occupavit,  
Cum lucrari animas te per hoc monstravit.*

*Te quidem aculeus hami non latebat,  
Sed illius punctio te non deterrebat,  
Immo hunc impetere tibi complacebat,  
Quia desiderium escae te trahebat.* 225

*Ergo pro me misera, quam tu dilexisti,  
Mortis in aculeum sciens impegisti,  
Cum te patri victimam sanctam obtulisti  
Et in tuo sanguine sordidam lavisti.* 230

*Quis miretur igitur, pro te si suspiro,  
Iuncta sine meritis tam zelanti viro?  
Nam affectum allcis meum modo miro,  
Pro me vitam finiens exitu tam diro.* 235

*Vere iam non debeo tantum suspirare,  
Immo, iuxta verbum Iob, carnes lacerare,  
In caverna lateris nidulum parare  
Et extremum spiritum illic exhalare.* 240

*Plane, nisi moriar tecum, non quiescam,  
Oci, oci clamitans nunquam conticescam,  
Ab hoc desiderio certe non tepescam,  
Quantumcumque saeculo propter hoc vilescam.*

*Tunc, ut demens clamitat: Veniant lanistae,  
Qui affigant miseram cruci tuae, Christe,  
Erit enim exitus mihi dulcis iste,  
Si amplector moriens propriis ulnis te.* 245

*Vere sic, non aliter, rabies doloris,  
Qua cor meum singulis terebratur horis,  
Deliniri poterit, nisi tu, dulcoris  
Fons abundans, medicus mei sis doloris.* 250

*Plane, dulcis medicus es, qui nunquam pungis,  
Sed a corde vitium leniter emungis,  
Nam quos tibi firmiter per amorem iungis,  
Tuis charismatibus semper eos ungis.* 255

*Heu, quam damnabiliter mundus est caecatus!  
Qui cum sit ab hostibus dire vulneratus,  
Hunc declinat medicum, cum adsit paratus,  
Languido aperiens suum dulce latus.* 260

*Heu! cur beneficia Christi passionis  
Penes te memoriter, homo, non reponis?  
Per hanc enim rupti sunt laquei praedonis,  
Per hanc Christus maximis te ditavit bonis.*

membering them.

[217] Recollecting these signs I cry *Oci, oci*, sweet Jesus I lament that I love You too little, yet I desire to be bound by the bridle of Your teaching, just as You were snared for me on the hook of love. How great was the hook which love presented to you when it spurred You to die for man, but a tender bait was also on the hook when You were shown how to gain our souls by it. Indeed the barb of the hook did not lie hidden from You, yet its point did not deter You. Rather it pleased You to seek it out, because Your ardour for the bait drew You. Therefore, for a wretch like me, whom You loved, You knowingly fastened onto the barb of death – as when You offered Yourself to Your Father as a holy sacrifice and washed away my filth in Your blood.

[233] Who then will marvel if I sigh for You, joined without deserving to so eager a saviour? For You attract my attention in a wondrous way, ending Your life by so fearful a death on my account. Truly though, I ought not to sigh so much, rather, as in the words of Job, I ought “to mangle my flesh”, to prepare a little nest in the hollow of Your side and breathe out my last breath from there. Clearly, unless I die with you, I will have no rest. Crying “*Oci, oci*” I will never become quiet; surely with this desire I will never become lukewarm, however bad I may become in this age because of this. Then, as if mad, it shouts, “Let the tormentors come to fasten this wretch to Your cross, Christ”, for that end will be sweet to me, if in dying I embrace you in my own arms. Truly thus, and in no other way, can the rage of pain, by which my heart is pierced every hour, be soothed, if You, the abundant spring of sweetness, be physician to my pain. Clearly You are a gentle physician who never causes pain but who gently wipes vice away from my heart. For those whom You bind to You firmly through love, You always anoint with your grace.”

[257] Alas, how damnably the world is blinded, which, when it is sorely wounded by its enemies, rejects this physic when the Helper comes, opening His sweet side to the weak. Alas! Why do you not fully repay the benefits of Christ’s suffering for you? For by these are the thief’s snares broken; through these Christ enriches you with his greatest treasures. Indeed, with His body He was astounded by your disinterest, you whom

<p><i>Suo quippe corpore languidum te pavit, Quem in suo sanguine gratis balneavit, Demum suam dulce cor tibi denudavit, Ut sic innotesceret, quantum te amavit.</i></p>	265	<p>He has freely cleansed in His blood, just as He lays bare His sweet heart for you, that thus it might be known how much he has loved you. O how sweet the bath, how pleasant the bait! the kind which may be worthy of one assuming the keys of paradise, and for the one whom You restore, this is no heavy labour although You feel distaste for sluggish hearts. The heart of the idle man gave only the slightest thought to what Christ exposed his most excellent heart to, and did not pay heed to Him when He was placed on the wings of the cross, because he pretended this was in place of a bed.</p>
<p><i>O quam dulce balneum, esca quam suavis! Quae sumenti digne fit paradisi clavis, Et ei quem reficis, nullus labor gravis, Licet sis fastidio cordibus ignavis.</i></p>	270	<p>[277] As often as this resting place is seen in the pious mind, so often is it joined thereto, just as the hawk is wholly enticed atop the red flesh by which it is revived. After this the soul cries out as if demented: “O my resting place, O flesh made bloody in so many places on my behalf! Why was I not wounded with You while You were dy- ing? Why was I not bound to You? Yet al- though, to my sadness, that was denied me, I would nevertheless elect a new suffering for myself, namely a groaning and lamenta- ble yoke, until I forsook the burdensome habitation of this world.</p>
<p><i>Cor ignavi siquidem minime perpendit, Ad quid Christus optimum suum cor ostendit Super alas positum crucis nec attendit, Quod reclinatorii vices hoc praetendit.</i></p>	275	<p>[289] After this the sweet soul, warming more and more, fails in all its senses, melt- ing with the body. Now scarcely able to speak, but growing in feeling, it lies in its resting place, as is natural when one grows weak. Therefore with the organ of the sweet throat shattered, the tongue alone quivers, with voice extinguished. But the pious mind in place of words laments the Lord with due weeping and wounded heart. Thus indeed it is allowed for the weak man to do nothing but lament and vex the heart to sighing. For he cannot avert his eyes from Christ's wounds, or sever his heart. Thus then his soul is enticed, as if the dying man – his be- loved – were present, and from the cross he does not withdraw his sight at all, because he keeps his eyes where love is. Sweet to him are groans, sighs, tears, laments. They are the food and nourishment for which there is ever a new and eager martyr, and by his own martyrdom they show increase. In this state he spits out whatever is earthly, the comfort of the world he counts poison, but coming to the Ninth at last he dies, when the impulse of love rends the thread of his flesh. For when he considers that the</p>
<p><i>Hoc reclinatorium quoties monstratur Piae menti, toties ei glutinatur, Sicut et accipiter totus inescatur Super carnem rubeam, per quam revocatur.</i></p>	280	
<p><i>Post hoc clamat anima quasi dementata: O reclinatorium, caro cruentata Per tot loca propter me! cur non vulnerata Tecum sum, dum moreris, non sum colligata?</i></p>		
<p><i>Licet tamen miserae sit istud negatum, Mihi quidem eligam novum cruciatum, Gemitum videlicet iugemque ploratum, Donec mundi deseram gravem incolatum.</i></p>	285	
<p><i>Post hoc dulcis anima, plus et plus ferverescens, Sensu toto deficit, corpore tabescens. Iam vix loqui sufficit, sed affectu crescens, Suo lecto decubat, utpote languescens.</i></p>	290	
<p><i>Ergo dulcis gutturis organo quassato, Lingua tantum palpitat, sonitu sublato, Sed pro verbis pia mens fletu compensato, Lamentatur Dominum, corde sauciato.</i></p>	295	
<p><i>Sic languenti siquidem nil nisi plorare Libet et satagere corde suspirare. Suos enim oculos nescit revocare A Christi vulneribus, aut cor separare.</i></p>	300	
<p><i>Sic est autem animus illius illectus, Quasi ei praesens sit moriens dilectus, Et a cruce minime retrahit aspectus, Quia ibi oculos, ubi est affectus.</i></p>		
<p><i>Gemitus, suspiria, lacrymae, lamenta Sibi sunt deliciae, cibus, alimenta, Quibus nova martyr est iugiter intenta, Suoque martyrio praebent incrementa.</i></p>	305	
<p><b>At None.</b> <i>In hoc statu respuit, quidquid est terrenum, Mundique solatium reputat venenum, Sed ad Nonam veniens moritur ad plenum, Cum amoris impetus carnis rumpit filum.</i></p>	310	

<p><i>Nam cum consummatum est recolit clamasse Hora nona Dominum et sic exspirasse, Quasi simul moriens clamat, penetrasse Vocem istam suum cor atque lacerasse.</i></p>	315	<p>Lord cried out “It is accomplished” at the ninth hour and thus breathed His last, it is as if when dying with a cry, His shout entered his heart and pierced it. Indeed, unable to bear the lance so bravely, he dies, as is said, but by a happy death, for the gates of heaven are opened to him forthwith, deserving, as he understands, a share with the Saints.</p>
<p><i>Ferre quidem impotens iaculum tam forte, Moritur, ut dictum est, sed felici morte, Nam panduntur protinus ei caeli portae, Dignam, ut intelligat, se Sanctorum sorte.</i></p>	320	<p>[321] We do not sing a <i>Requiem</i> for the soul of such a man, rather “Let us rejoice!” is the introit of the Mass, because as the Decree states, if we plead with God for a Martyr, we detract from what is Holy. O sweet soul, O lovely rose, the lily of the valley, the precious gem, to whom the detestable sordidness of human flesh was obvious, happy is your end and precious your death. Happy your soul, which now delights in its desired rest, sweetly lulled in the arms of the Betrothed, and united firmly to His spirit, from which you enjoy honey-sweet kisses. Now let the eyes rest, let the tears cease, for you receive the fruits of your hope in part, because the one, through whom you have evaded the destruction of the age, soothes your grief amid kisses.</p>
<p><i>Requiem pro anima tali non cantamus, Immo est introitus Missae Gaudeamus, Quia si pro Martyre Deum exoramus, Ut Decretum loquitur, Sancto derogamus.</i></p>	325	<p>[337] Say, say, sweet soul, for what would you still weep? Having the joy of heaven with you, why would you grieve? For he to whom you cling is the salvation of all things, and if you should want more, you surely could not have it.</p>
<p><i>Eia dulcis anima, eia dulcis rosa, Lilium convallium, gemma pretiosa, Cui carnis foeditas exstitit exosa, Felix tuus exitus morsque pretiosa!</i></p>	330	<p>[341] But now I end my verse lest I grow tiresome, for if I wanted to write how sweet and how glorious this state of the soul is, I would be said by the wicked to be deceitful and wrong. Yet whatever others may say, my dear brother, freely imitate this new martyr, and when you are as she, pray to Christ, that He may teach us to sing the songs of the Martyrs. May we often repeat that song, pious sister, lest the way of this world break us with fatigue, for Jesus and Mary receive the joyful soul in melody after this life. Therefore, sister, let your heart play thus on the lyre, let it baptise itself with tears, and with lament bear witness, let it now work for Christ with all its strength in such a way that with Christ it may always be earnest hereafter. Then the groans and laments of pain will cease, when you are</p>
<p><i>Felix, quae iam frueris requie cupita, Inter Sponsi brachia dulciter sopita, Eiusque spiritui firmiter unita, Ab eodem percipis oscula mellita.</i></p>	335	<p>[337] Say, say, sweet soul, for what would you still weep? Having the joy of heaven with you, why would you grieve? For he to whom you cling is the salvation of all things, and if you should want more, you surely could not have it.</p>
<p><i>Iam quiescant oculi, cessent aquaeductus, Nam ex parte recipis spei tuae fructus, Quia per quem saeculi evasisti fluctus Tuos inter oscula consolatur luctus.</i></p>	340	<p>[341] But now I end my verse lest I grow tiresome, for if I wanted to write how sweet and how glorious this state of the soul is, I would be said by the wicked to be deceitful and wrong. Yet whatever others may say, my dear brother, freely imitate this new martyr, and when you are as she, pray to Christ, that He may teach us to sing the songs of the Martyrs. May we often repeat that song, pious sister, lest the way of this world break us with fatigue, for Jesus and Mary receive the joyful soul in melody after this life. Therefore, sister, let your heart play thus on the lyre, let it baptise itself with tears, and with lament bear witness, let it now work for Christ with all its strength in such a way that with Christ it may always be earnest hereafter. Then the groans and laments of pain will cease, when you are</p>
<p><i>Dic, dic, dulcis anima, ad quid ultra fleres? Habens caeli gaudium tecum, cur lugeres? Nam salus est omnium, cui tu adhaeres, Et si velles amplius, certe non haberes.</i></p>	345	<p>[341] But now I end my verse lest I grow tiresome, for if I wanted to write how sweet and how glorious this state of the soul is, I would be said by the wicked to be deceitful and wrong. Yet whatever others may say, my dear brother, freely imitate this new martyr, and when you are as she, pray to Christ, that He may teach us to sing the songs of the Martyrs. May we often repeat that song, pious sister, lest the way of this world break us with fatigue, for Jesus and Mary receive the joyful soul in melody after this life. Therefore, sister, let your heart play thus on the lyre, let it baptise itself with tears, and with lament bear witness, let it now work for Christ with all its strength in such a way that with Christ it may always be earnest hereafter. Then the groans and laments of pain will cease, when you are</p>
<p><i>Sed iam metrum finio, ne sim taediosus, Nam si vellem scribere, quam deliciosus Sit hic status animae quamque gloriosus, A malignis dicerer fallax et mendosus.</i></p>	350	<p>[341] But now I end my verse lest I grow tiresome, for if I wanted to write how sweet and how glorious this state of the soul is, I would be said by the wicked to be deceitful and wrong. Yet whatever others may say, my dear brother, freely imitate this new martyr, and when you are as she, pray to Christ, that He may teach us to sing the songs of the Martyrs. May we often repeat that song, pious sister, lest the way of this world break us with fatigue, for Jesus and Mary receive the joyful soul in melody after this life. Therefore, sister, let your heart play thus on the lyre, let it baptise itself with tears, and with lament bear witness, let it now work for Christ with all its strength in such a way that with Christ it may always be earnest hereafter. Then the groans and laments of pain will cease, when you are</p>
<p><i>Quidquid tamen alii dicant, frater care, Istam novam martyrem libens imitare, Cumque talis fueris, Christum deprecare, Ut nos cantus Martyrum doceat cantare.</i></p>	355	<p>[341] But now I end my verse lest I grow tiresome, for if I wanted to write how sweet and how glorious this state of the soul is, I would be said by the wicked to be deceitful and wrong. Yet whatever others may say, my dear brother, freely imitate this new martyr, and when you are as she, pray to Christ, that He may teach us to sing the songs of the Martyrs. May we often repeat that song, pious sister, lest the way of this world break us with fatigue, for Jesus and Mary receive the joyful soul in melody after this life. Therefore, sister, let your heart play thus on the lyre, let it baptise itself with tears, and with lament bear witness, let it now work for Christ with all its strength in such a way that with Christ it may always be earnest hereafter. Then the groans and laments of pain will cease, when you are</p>
<p><i>Frequentemus canticum istud, soror pia, Ne nos frangat taedio vitae huius via, Nam laetantem animam in hac melodia Post hanc vitam suscipit Iesus et Maria.</i></p>	355	<p>[341] But now I end my verse lest I grow tiresome, for if I wanted to write how sweet and how glorious this state of the soul is, I would be said by the wicked to be deceitful and wrong. Yet whatever others may say, my dear brother, freely imitate this new martyr, and when you are as she, pray to Christ, that He may teach us to sing the songs of the Martyrs. May we often repeat that song, pious sister, lest the way of this world break us with fatigue, for Jesus and Mary receive the joyful soul in melody after this life. Therefore, sister, let your heart play thus on the lyre, let it baptise itself with tears, and with lament bear witness, let it now work for Christ with all its strength in such a way that with Christ it may always be earnest hereafter. Then the groans and laments of pain will cease, when you are</p>
<p><i>Ergo, soror, tuum cor ita citharizet, Se baptizet lacrymis, planctu martyrizet, Christo totis viribus sic nunc organizet, Ut cum Christo postea semper solemnizet.</i></p>	355	<p>[341] But now I end my verse lest I grow tiresome, for if I wanted to write how sweet and how glorious this state of the soul is, I would be said by the wicked to be deceitful and wrong. Yet whatever others may say, my dear brother, freely imitate this new martyr, and when you are as she, pray to Christ, that He may teach us to sing the songs of the Martyrs. May we often repeat that song, pious sister, lest the way of this world break us with fatigue, for Jesus and Mary receive the joyful soul in melody after this life. Therefore, sister, let your heart play thus on the lyre, let it baptise itself with tears, and with lament bear witness, let it now work for Christ with all its strength in such a way that with Christ it may always be earnest hereafter. Then the groans and laments of pain will cease, when you are</p>

*Tunc cessabunt gemitus et planctus dolorum,  
Cum adiuncta fueris choris Angelorum,  
Nam cantando transiens ad caelestem chorum,  
Nupta felicissimo Regi saeculorum.* 360

*Amen.*

*Deo gratias.*

*EXPLICIT PHILOMENA.*

united with the choir of Angels; for, crossing to the heavenly choir in song, you will be married to the most blessed King of the ages.

Amen.

Thanks be to God.

Here Ends the Tale of the Nightingale.

## APPENDIX E

### *Variant Texts*

No. 126 (attributed to Jasper Heywood) from *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1585 edn):

“The complaint of a sorrowfull Soule.”

O Soueraigne salue of sinne, who doest my soule behold,  
 That seekes her selfe from tangling faultes, by striuing to vnfold,  
 What plea shall I put in, when thou doest Summons send:  
 To iudge the people of the yearth, and giue the world and end,  
 VVhen euery deede and worde, yea euery secret thought, 5  
 In open vewe of all the worlde, shall vnto light be brought.

So many Iudges shall against me sentence giue,  
 As by example of goode woorkes, hath taught how I should liue:  
 So many pleaders shall confound my carefull case,  
 As haue in one by sound aduice, sought to engraft by grace. 10  
 So manie shall that time, against me witnesse beare,  
 As haue beheld my fruitlesse faith, and saw my sinnes appeare.

Whereon whils I do muse, in my amazed minde,  
 Froward thoughts, familiar foes, most fiers assaults I finde:  
 My conscience to my face, doth flatlie me accuse, 15  
 My secret thoughts within my eares, do whisper still these newes.  
 Mine auarice and briberie, my pride doth bragge me downe,  
 Mine enuie frets me like a file, at other folks renowne.

Concupiscence inflames, and lusts my limmes infect,  
 My meat doth burthen, and my drinke my weaknesse doth detect: 20  
 My slanders rend my fame, ambition doth supplant,  
 My greedinesse is not content, but makes me waile for want  
 My mirth but flatterie is, my sorrowes are vnkinde,  
 Sith pleasures runne me out of breath, and greefs suppresses my minde.

Behold my God, whose might, maie me a freeman make, 25  
 These were my freends, whose counsels curst, I was content to take:  
 These were the lawlesse Lords, whom I did serue alwaie,  
 These were the maisters whose madde hests, I did too much obaie  
 Beholde my faults most foule, which follie first did frame,  
 In louing them I should haue loathed, whens breedeth all my bane. 30

Now I do looke aloft, with bashful blushing face,  
 On glorie thine, that so I maie discern my owne disgrace  
 My manie spots and great, must needs encrease my gilt,  
 Vnlesse thou wash them in the bloud, that for my sake was spilt. 35  
 Forgiue the faults O Lord, which I from hart repent,  
 And graunt my daies to come, maie be in thy sweet seruice spent.

From George Gascoigne's *The Poesies* (1575), 'Flowers', p. lviii:

¶*This question being propounded by a Dame vnto  
the Aucthour, to witte, why he should  
write Spreta tamen viuunt, he  
aunfwereth thus.*

Despyfed things may liue, although they pine in payne:  
And things ofte trodden vnder foote, may once yet rife againe.  
The stone that lieth full lowe, may clime at laft full hye:  
And stand a loft on stately towr's, in fight of euery eye.  
The cruell Axe which felles the tree that grew full ftraight: 5  
Is worne with ruft, when it renewes, and fpringeth vp on height.  
The rootes of rotten Reedes in fwelling feas are feene:  
And when eche tide hath toft his worft, they growe againe ful greene.  
Thus much to please my felfe, vnpleafauntly I fing.  
And shrich to ease my morning minde, in spite of enuies sting. 10  
I am nowe fet full light, who earft was dearely lou'd:  
*Som new foūd choife is more eſtemd, than y' which wel was prou'd.*  
*Some Diomedes is crept into Dame Creſſides hart:*  
And truſtie *Troylus* nowe is taught in vaine to playne his part.  
What reſteth then for me? but thus to wade in wo: 15  
And hang in hope of better chaunce, when chaunge appointeth ſo.  
I fee no fight on earth, but it to Chaunge enclines:  
As little clowdes oft ouercaſt, the brighteſt Sunne that ſhines.  
No Flower is ſo freſhe, but froſt can it deface:  
No man ſo ſure in any ſeate, but he maye leefe his place. 20  
So that I ſtand content (though much againſt my mind)  
To take in worth this lothſome lot, which luck to me aſſynd,  
And truſt to ſee the time, when they that now are vp:  
May feele the whirle of fortunes wheele, and taſt of ſorrowes cup.  
God knoweth I wiſhe it not, it had bene bet for mee: 25  
Styll to haue kept my quiet chayre in hap of high degree.  
But ſince without recure, Dame Chaunge in loue muſt raigne:  
I now wiſh chaunge that fought no chaūge, but conſtāt did remaine.  
And if fuche chaunge do chaunce, I vowe to clap my hands,  
And laugh at them which laugh at me: lo thus my fanſie ſtandes. 30

*Spreta tamen viuunt.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aeschylus, *The Oresteia* trans. by David Grene and Wendy Donager O'Flaherty (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- Alt, Gary, ed. et al., *Encarta Encyclopedia Online* (Redmond, Wa.: Microsoft, 1993–2008), <[http://encarta.msn.com/artcenter\\_/browse.html](http://encarta.msn.com/artcenter_/browse.html)>; accessed 2007–2008.
- Altick, Richard D., and John J. Fenstermaker, *The Art of Literary Research*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1993).
- Anstruther, Godfrey, *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family* (Newport: R.H. Johns, 1953).
- Apollodorus, *The Library*, trans. by James George Frazer (London: Heinemann, 1921), 2 vols.
- Ascham, Roger, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968).
- Asquith, Clare, "Oxford University and *Love's Labour's Lost*" in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England* ed. by Dennis Taylor and David N. Beauregard (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), pp. 80–102.
- Attridge, Derek, *The Rhythms of English Poetry* (London: Longman, 1982).
- Ayto, John, ed., *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable*, 17<sup>th</sup> edn (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005).
- Bacon, Francis, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ed. with intro. and commentary by Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
- Bartlett, Anne Clark, and Thomas H. Bestul, eds, *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1999).
- Beal, Peter, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- Bennett, J.A.W., *Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of English Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
- Bernstein, Alan E., *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- Bestul, Thomas H., *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).
- Bicknell, Edward John, *A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (London: Longmans, 1932).
- Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* trans. by S.J. Tester in *The Theological Tractates* (New York: Heinemann, 1918).
- Bolgar, R.R., *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1954; repr. 1973).
- Bonaventure, *Meditatio de Vitae Christi* trans. and ed. by William Henry Hutchings (London: Rivingtons, 1881).

- , *The Soul's Journey into God* trans. by Ewert Cousins (New York: Paulist Press, 1978).
- Booty, John E., ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: 1559* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1976).
- Bossy, John, "Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography" in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1. (1964), pp. 135–142.
- , "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism" in *Past and Present*, no. 21. (Apr., 1962), pp. 39–59.
- , "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe" in *Past and Present*, no. 47. (May, 1970), pp. 51–70.
- , *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, [1976]).
- , "The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation" in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., vol. 25. (1975), pp. 21–38.
- Bowers, Fredson, *Bibliography and Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964; repr. 1966).
- , "Greg's 'Rationale of Copy-Text' Revisited" in *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 31 (1978), pp. 91–115.
- , *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1949; repr. 1962).
- , "Readability and Regularization in Old-Spelling Texts of Shakespeare" *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 3. (Summer, 1987), pp. 199–227.
- , *Textual & Literary Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959; repr. 1966).
- Brown, Arthur, "The Rationale of Old-Spelling Editions of the Plays of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: A Rejoinder" in *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 3 (1950–1951), pp. 70–77.
- Brown, John Russell, "The Rationale of Old-Spelling Editions of the Plays of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries" in *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 3 (1950–1951), pp. 50–69.
- Brown, Nancy Pollard, "The Structure of Southwell's 'Saint Peter's Complaint' in *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 61, no. 1. (Jan., 1966), pp. 3–11.
- Browning, W.R.E., ed., *A Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Buranelli, Vincent, and Nan Buranelli, *Spy/Counterspy: An Encyclopedia of Espionage* (New York: McGraw-Hill, c. 1982).
- Burrow, Colin. "Spenser and Classical Traditions" in *The Cambridge Companion to Spenser* ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Buxton, John, *Elizabethan Taste* (London: Macmillan, 1963).
- Campbell, Lily B., ed., *The Mirror for Magistrates* (London, 1559–1587; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1879).

- Campion, Edmund, *Rationes Decem: Ten Reasons Proposed to His Adversaries for Disputation in the Name of the Faith and Presented to the Illustrious Members of our Universities by Edmund Campion, Priest of the Society of the Name of Jesus*, trans. by Joseph Rickaby (1581; St Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 1914).
- Cappelli, Adriano *Dizionario di abbreviature Latine ed Italiane*, 6<sup>th</sup> edn (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1979).
- Caraman, Philip, *Henry Garnet and the Gunpowder Plot: 1555–1606* (London: Longmans, 1964).
- , *The Other Face: Catholic Life under Elizabeth I* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960).
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. by F.N. Robinson, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De Officiis* trans. by Walter Miller (London: Heinemann, 1913).
- , *The Speeches* trans. by N.H. Watts (New York: Heinemann, 1931).
- Collinson, Patrick, *The Birth Pangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988).
- Crum, Margaret, ed., *First-Line Index of English Poetry (1500–1800) in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 2 vols (New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1969).
- Curtius, Ernst Robert, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* trans. by Willard R. Trask (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953; repr. 1990).
- Davies, R.T., ed., *Medieval English Lyrics* (London: Faber, 1963).
- Dawson, Giles E., & Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968).
- de Quehen, A.H., ed., *Editing Poetry from Spenser to Dryden: Papers Given at the Sixteenth Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 31 October – 1 November 1980* (New York: Garland, 1981).
- Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* trans. by R.D. Hicks (New York: Heinemann, 1925–1931), vol. 2.
- Dobson, E.J., *English Pronunciation 1500–1700*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 2 vols.
- Donno, Elizabeth Story, ed., *Andrew Marvell: The Complete Poems* (London: Penguin, 1972).
- Drabble, Margaret, ed., *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- Dronke, Peter, *The Medieval Lyric* (London: Hutchinson, 1968).
- Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400 – c. 1580* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine, ed., *Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

- Edson, Evelyn, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World* (London: British Library, 1997).
- Euripedes, *Medea and Other Plays: Medea; Hecuba; Electra; Heracles* trans. by Philip Vendacott (London: Penguin, 1963; repr. 1973).
- , *Orestes and Other Plays: The Children of Heracles; Andromache; The Suppliant Women; The Phoenician Women; Orestes; Iphigenia in Aulis* trans. by Philip Vendacott (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973).
- Fellows, Laurie, *Wild Flowers and Where to Find Them in Northern England: Acid Uplands* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003).
- Finkelstein, David, & Alistair McCleery, eds, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York, Routledge, 2005).
- , *The Book History Reader*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. Folger bd with *STC 22957*, fols. 69–88<sup>v</sup>.
- Fowler, Alastair, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).
- Friar, Stephen, *A Companion to the English Parish Church* (London: Alan Sutton, 1996).
- Gardiner, Eileen, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1993).
- Gascoigne, George, *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne* ed. by John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907; repr. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 2 vols.
- , *The Poesies* (London, 1575; repr. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1979).
- , *The Steele Glas; Complaynte of Phylomene* (London, 1576; repr. Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1973).
- Gaskell, Philip, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972; repr., 1979).
- Gerard, John, *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*, trans. by Philip Caraman (New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1952).
- Gillie, C., ed., *Longman Companion to English Literature* (London: Longman, 1980).
- Gouws, John, ed., “Fact and Anecdote in Fulke Greville’s Account of Sidney’s Last Days” in *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* ed. by Jan van Dorsten (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986).
- , *The Prose Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
- Gover, Brett, ed. et al. *Historical Atlas of the World* (Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally, 2007).
- Graves, Richard, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, [1981]).
- Graves, Robert, *The Greek Myths* (London: Cassell, 1958).
- Gray, Douglas, *The Oxford Companion to Chaucer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

- , ed., *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).
- Greenblatt, Stephen, ed. et al., *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997)
- Greetham, D.C., *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland Science, 1994).
- Greg, W.W., *The Collected Papers of Sir Walter W. Greg* ed. by J.C. Maxwell (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).
- , "The Rationale of Copy-Text" in *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 3 (1950—1951), pp. 20—37.
- Guiney, Louise Imogen, ed., *Recusant Poets: With a Selection from their Work* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1938).
- , *Blessed Edmund Campion* (London: R. & T. Washbourne, 1914).
- Hamilton, A.C., ed., *The Spenser Encyclopedia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
- Harrison, Brian, & H.C.G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Hibbard, G.R., ed., *William Shakespeare: Hamlet*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- Homer, *The Iliad* trans. by A.T. Murray (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 2 vols.
- , *The Iliads of Homer* trans. by George Chapman (London, 1616; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969).
- , *The Odyssey* trans. by A.T. Murray, rev. by George E. Dimock (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- , *Chapman's Homer: The Odyssey* trans. by George Chapman, ed. by Al-lardyce Nicoll (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956; repr. 2000).
- , *The Iliad of Homer* trans. by Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951; repr. 1973)
- Horace, (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), *The Odes and Epodes* trans. by C.E. Bennett (New York: Heinemann, 1927).
- Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, eds, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Houliston, Victor, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580–1610* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
- , "The Lord Treasurer and the Jesuit: Robert Persons's Satirical Responsio to the 1591 Proclamation" in *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, vol. 32, no. 2. (Summer, 2001), pp. 383—401.
- Hughes, Philip, *The Reformation in England* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1950—1954), 3 vols.
- Hutchinson, F.E., ed., *George Herbert: The Works of George Herbert* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941).

- Hyginus, Gaius Julius, *Fabularum Liber* (Basel, 1535; repr. New York: Garland, 1976).
- Johnson, W.R., *The Idea of Lyric: Lyric Modes in Ancient and Modern Poetry* (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, [1982]).
- Jones, Emrys, ed., *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey: Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964; repr. 1970).
- , ed., *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth-Century Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Jones, H.S.V., *A Spenser Handbook* (New York: F.S. Crofts, 1930).
- Josephus, Flavius, *Antiquities of the Jews* in *Josephus's Works* trans. by William Whiston (London: William P. Nimmo, [n.d.]).
- Knight, Kevin, ed., *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Co.; The Encyclopedia Press, 1907–1914)  
<<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>>; (accessed 2007–2008).
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper, 1961).
- Lake, Peter, and David Como, “‘Orthodoxy’ and its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Production of ‘Consensus’ in the London (Puritan) ‘Underground’” in *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1, Anglo-American Puritanisms, (Jan., 2000), pp. 34–70.
- LaRocca, John J., “‘Who Can’t Pray with Me, Can’t Love Me’: Toleration and the Early Jacobean Recusancy Policy”, *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 23, no. 2 (Spring, 1984), pp. 22–36.
- Lewis, Charlton T., and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews’ Edition of Freund’s Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, [1879]).
- Lewis, Clive Staples, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century: Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954).
- Love, Harold, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- Lydgate, John, *Lydgate’s Minor Poems: The Two Nightingale Poems* ed. by Otto Glauning (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900).
- Macdonald, Hugh, ed., *Englands Helicon* (London, 1600–1614; repr. London: Frederick Etchells and Hugh Macdonald, 1925).
- Mack, Maynard and George deForest Lord, eds., *Poetic Traditions of the English Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).
- Mackie, John Duncan, *The Earlier Tudors 1485–1558* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).
- Malloch, A.E., and Frank L. Huntley, “Some Notes on Equivocation” in *PMLA*, vol. 81, no. 1. (Mar., 1966), pp. 145–146.
- Marenbon, John, ed., *Medieval Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
- Marlowe, Christopher, *The Poems* ed. by Millar Maclure (London: Methuen, [1968]).

- Marotti, Arthur F., *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).
- Marshall, Peter "Papist As Heretic: The Burning of John Forest, 1538" in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 41, no. 2. (Jun., 1998), pp. 351–374.
- Martz, Louis Lohr, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954).
- Maskell, William, ed., *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England According to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York, & Hereford, and the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: William Pickering, 1846).
- Matthew, H.C.G. and Brian Harrison, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: in Association with the British Academy: from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 61 vols.
- May, Steven, and William A. Ringler, *Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004).
- Mayer, Thomas F., "A Diet for Henry VIII: The Failure of Reginald Pole's 1537 Legation" in *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 26, no. 3. (Jul., 1987), pp. 305–331.
- , "Reginald Pole in Paolo Giovio's *Descriptio*: A Strategy for Reconversion" in *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, vol. 16, no. 4. (Winter, 1985), pp. 431–450.
- , "When Maecenas Was Broke: Cardinal Pole's 'Spiritual' Patronage" in *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, vol. 27, no. 2. (Summer, 1996), pp. 419–435.
- McConica, James K., "The Prosopography of the Tudor University" in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 3, no. 3. (Winter, 1973), pp. 543–554.
- McCoog, Thomas M., ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits: Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896–1996)*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996).
- , "'The Flower of Oxford': The Role of Edmund Campion in Early Recusant Polemics" in *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, vol. 24, no. 4. (Winter, 1993), pp. 899–913.
- , *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555–1650* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1995), vol. 2.
- McDonald, James H., and Nancy Pollard Brown, eds, *The Poems of Robert Southwell* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).
- McDonald, William J., et al., ed, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols (Palatine: J. Heraty, 1981).
- McGann, Jerome, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
- , *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).
- McGrath, Alister E., *Historical Theology: An Introduction to the History of Christian Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).
- McKenzie, D.F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

- McKerrow, Ronald B., *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927; repr. 1972).
- Milton, John, *Comus and Other Poems* ed. by F.T. Prince (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968; repr. 1999).
- , *Paradise Lost*, ed. by Alastair Fowler, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Harlow: Longman, 2007).
- More, Thomas, *Dialogue of Comfort* trans. by Monica Stevens (London: Sheed and Ward, 1951).
- Morey, Adrian, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1978).
- Nashe, Thomas, *The Works of Thomas Nashe* ed. by Ronald B. McKerrow (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958), vol. 1.
- Neale, J.E., Rev. of Godfrey Anstruther's *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family in The English Historical Review*, vol. 68, no. 269 (Oct., 1953), p. 642.
- Officer, Lawrence H., ed., "Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1264 to 2007" (MeasuringWorth, 2008), <<http://www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk/>>; accessed 2008.
- O'Malley, John W., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- Oram, William A., et al., eds, *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
- Ovid, *Heroides and Amores* trans. by Grant Showerman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977).
- , *Metamorphoses* trans. by Frank Justus Miller (New York: Heinemann, 1916–1922), 2 vols.
- , *The .XV. Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, Entytuled Metamorphofis* trans. by Arthur Golding (London, 1567).
- Pappas, Theodore, ed. et al., *Encyclopedia Britannica 2005 Ultimate Reference Suite DVD*, rev. 15<sup>th</sup> edn, (Brittanica, [on DVD-ROM] 2005).
- Parkes, M.B., *Pause and Effect: Punctuation in the West* (Hants: Scolar Press, 1992).
- Parsons, Robert, *The Christian Directory: The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution* ed. by Victor Houliston (Leiden: Brill, 1998; orig. 1582).
- , *The Judgment of a Catholicke English-Man Living in Banishment for his Religion* (Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, [1582(?)]); repr. 1957).
- Pecham, John, *Philomena Praevia* ed. in Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, (Quaracchi: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1898), vol. VIII, pp. 669–674.
- Percival, Vivian, ed., *Campion's Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909).
- Persons, Robert, "Of the Life and Martyrdom of Father Edmond Champion" in *Letters and Notices*, 11 (1877): pp. 219–42, pp. 308–39, and in 12 (1878): pp. 1–68).

- Peterson, Douglas L., *The English Lyric from Wyatt to Donne: A History of the Plain and Eloquent Styles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).
- Petti, Anthony G., *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1977).
- Photius, *The Library of Photius* trans. by J.H. Freese (London: SPCK, 1920).
- Pliny ('the Elder', Gaius Plinius Secundus), *The Natural History* trans. by John Bostock and H.T. Riley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1857), vol. VI.
- Plutarch, *On the Delays of Divine Vengeance* trans. by Phillip H. de Lacy and Benedict Einarson in *Plutarch's Moralia* (London: Heinemann, 1959), vol. VII.
- Pollard, A.W., et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 2 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986).
- Price, Glanville, et al., eds, *The MHRA Style Guide* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2002).
- Questier, Michael, "Practical Antipapistry during the Reign of Elizabeth I" in *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 36, no. 4. (Oct., 1997), pp. 371–396.
- Raby, Frederic James Edward, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).
- Read, Conyers, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 3 vols.
- Roberts, John Richard, ed., *A Critical Anthology of English Recusant Devotional Prose 1558–1603* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1966).
- Robinson, Clement, ed. et al., *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (London, 1584; repr. Menston, Scolar Press, 1973).
- Robinson, Edward, *Harmony of the Four Gospels: in the Words of the Authorised Version, Following the Harmony of the Gospels in Greek*, with commentary by Benjamin Davies; rev. by S.G. Green, (London: Religious Tract Society, [1847]).
- Rollins, Hyder Edward, ed., *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (London, 1577; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926).
- , ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody*, (London, 1602; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931) 2 vols.
- , ed., *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (London, 1576; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927).
- , ed., *The Phoenix Nest*, (London, 1593; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931; repr. 1969).
- , ed., *Tottel's Miscellany (1557–1587)*, rev. edn (London, 1557; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928; repr. 1966).
- Rose, Elliot, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
- Rumboll, F.C.H., in General Introduction to *The Stratford Shakespeare Series* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1976–1997).

- Russell, Jeffrey Burton, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977).
- Saintsbury, George, *A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present Day* (London: Macmillan, 1906–10), 3 vols.
- Sanders, Andrew, *The Short Oxford History of English Literature*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; 2004).
- Seneca, Lucius Aeneas, *Agamemnon* trans. by John Studley, repr. in *Seneca's Tragedies* ed. by Eric C. Baade (London, 1566; London: Macmillan, 1969).
- , *Seneca's Tragedies* trans. by Frank Justus Miller (New York: Heinemann, 1917), vol 2.
- Seznec, Jean, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, Bollingen Series XXXVIII (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).
- Shakespeare, William, *Shakespeare's Sonnets* ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson, 1997).
- Sidney, Philip, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* ed. by William A. Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).
- Simpson, John, ed. et al., *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989–2008) <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>>; accessed 2007–2008.
- Simpson, Richard, *Edmund Campion: A Biography* (London: John Hodges, 1896).
- Skelton, John, *The Complete Poems of John Skelton Laureate* ed. by Philip Henderson (London: J.M. Dent, 1953).
- Smith, William George, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, rev. by F.P. Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- Sonnino, Lee A., *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968).
- Sophocles, *Electra and Other Plays*, trans. by E.F. Watling (Melbourne: Penguin, 1953).
- Southern, A.C., *Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559–1582* (London: Sands, 1950).
- Southwell, Robert, *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life* ed. by Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973).
- Southwell, Anne, *The Southwell-Sibthorpe Commonplace Book Folger MS. V. b. 198* ed. by Jean Klene, vol. 147, *Medieval & Renaissance Text & Studies*, 7 (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society, 1997).
- Spenser, Edmund, *The Faerie Queene* ed. by A.C. Hamilton (Harlow: Longman, 2001).
- Sullivan, Ceri, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing 1580 to 1603* (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995).
- Tanselle, G. Thomas, *Textual Criticism since Greg: A Chronicle 1950–1985* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987).

- Tilley, Morris Palmer, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950; repr. 1966).
- Trimble, William Raleigh, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, 1558–1603* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964).
- Tuve, Rosemond, *A Reading of George Herbert* (London: Faber & Faber, 1952).
- , *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery: Renaissance Poetry and Twentieth-Century Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).
- Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro), *Virgil: Complete Works* trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough (New York: Heinemann, 1942), 2 vols.
- Vives, Juan Luis, *On Education* trans. by Foster Watson (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1971).
- Waddell, Helen, ed., *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics* (London: A. Constable, 1948).
- Walsham, Alexandra, “Domme Preachers’? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print” in *Past and Present*, no. 168. (Aug., 2000), pp. 72–123.
- , “Vox Piscis: or the Book-Fish: Providence and the Uses of the Reformation Past in Caroline Cambridge” in *The English Historical Review*, vol. 114, no. 457 (Jun., 1999), pp. 574–606.
- , “Frantick Hacket’: Prophecy, Sorcery, Insanity, and the Elizabethan Puritan Movement” in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 41, no. 1. (Mar., 1998), pp. 27–66.
- Werness, Hope B., *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York: Continuum, 2004).
- Whiting, Bartlett Jere and Helen Westcott Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writing Mainly before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).
- Wilkes, G.A., ed., *Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke: The Remains, Being Poems of Monarchy and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).
- Williams, Jeni, *Interpreting Nightingales: Gender, Class and Histories* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).
- Woolf, Rosemary, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).
- Wyatt, Thomas, *Sir Thomas Wyatt: The Complete Poems* ed. by R.A. Rebholz (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978).
- Yamagata, Naoko, *Homeric Morality* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

## GENERAL INDEX

This index includes the names of people, places, poems, and literary works and forms mentioned in the Introduction and Commentary. It also includes a selective list of subjects and themes discussed therein. It excludes the names of modern scholars and their works.

- A**
- Abelard, Peter xxxviii  
 Achilles 101, 110  
 Achior 132  
 Acquaviva, Claudio (S.J.) xxviii, xxx  
 Acrisius 84  
*Act against Jesuits, seminary priests and other  
 such disobedient persons* xxvi  
*Act of Persuasion* xxii  
*Act of Supremacy* x  
*Act of Uniformity* xi  
 Acworth, Agnes xi  
 Adam 117  
 Adam and Eve 136, 141  
 Adonis xlv, 66  
 Aegean 88  
 Aegisthus 72, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 96, 98, 99, 104,  
 106, 111, 112, 113  
 Aeolus 65  
 Aeschylus 112  
*Oresteia* 73, 88  
 Agamemnon 72, 88, 89, 90, 94, 96, 97, 98, 100,  
 101, 104, 105, 110, 111, 112, 113  
 Aglaura xlvi, 68  
 Ahasuerus 134  
 Ahasuerus (Xerxes I) 133, 135  
 Alcathoë 65  
 Alcuin xxxviii  
 allegiance vii  
 Allen, William (Cardinal) xix, xx, xxiv  
 Amazons 101  
 Ammon 83, 84  
 Ammonite 132  
 Anacreontic xliii  
 anaphora xlii, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98  
 Andromeda 84  
 Annas 47  
 Anselm of Canterbury, St 39  
 Antigone 83  
 antithesis xlii, xliii  
 Apocrypha x, 126, 131  
 Apollo xlvi, 69, 78, 90, 96, 114, 117, 120, 139  
 Apollodorus  
*Epitome* 63, 101  
 Apostles' Creed 53  
 Aragón, Katherine of viii  
 Argonauts 65  
 Argos 88, 90, 100, 103, 110, 113  
 Aristogeiton 73  
 Arundell, John (Sir) xxvi, xxxvi  
 Ascham, Roger xvi  
 Astraea 70, 71  
 Athena (Minerva) 62, 66, 67, 68, 82, 90, 110
- B**
- Atlas 99  
 Atreus 88, 89, 96, 99, 104, 113  
 Augustine, St x  
 Augustus Caesar 72, 102
- B**
- Babington Plot xxvii, xxviii  
 Babington, Anthony xxi, xxvii  
 Babylon 87, 133, 135  
 Balaam 126, 139, 140  
 Balak 139, 140  
 Ballard, John xxvii  
 Beaumont, Francis xvii  
 Beaumont, John (H.V.'s grandfather)  
 Master of the Rolls vii  
 Beaumont, John (poet and H.V.'s cousin) xvii  
 Bernard of Clairvaux  
*De meditatione passionis Christi per septem  
 diei horas libellus* 39  
 Bethany 45, 121  
 Bethlehem 43  
 Bethulia 131  
 Black Sea 101, 122  
 Blundell, William xxxiv  
 Boethius, St xxxviii, xlvi  
*The Consolation of Philosophy* 80  
 Boleyn, Anne viii, 99  
 Bonaventure, St xiii, xxxix, xlvi, 39, 40, 44, 45,  
 50, 55  
*Meditationes Vitae Christi* xlvi, 39, 40, 50, 54  
*Book of Common Prayer* xi  
 Boughton House (Northants.) xxiii  
 Briant, Alexander (S.J.) xxiii  
 Brooksby, Edward xxi, xxx  
 Brooksby, Eleanore (née Vaux) xi, xii, xiv, xvi,  
 xxi, xxvii, xxviii, xxx, 212, 213  
 Burroughs, Frances xxviii  
 Burroughs, Maud (née Vaux) ix, xi  
 buskin 111, 113  
 Byblis xlvi, 66
- C**
- Caiaphas 47  
 Calais ix  
 Calvinism vii, x  
 Cambridge University xix  
 Campion, Edmund, St xii, xiii, xiv, xvi, xx, xxi,  
 xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxxiv, xxxvi, xlvi, xlvi, 71,  
 211  
 'Brag' xxi, xxxvi  
 execution xxiii  
*Rationes Decem* xxii, xxiii  
 trial xxiii



Grocers' Company xii  
Gunpowder Plot 212, 213

**H**

Hackney xxv, xxvii, xxviii, xxix  
Hades 70, 72, 89, 120, 122  
Haman 134, 135  
Harmodius 73  
Harmsworth, Robert Leicester (Sir) xxix, l, liii, liv  
Harrowden vii, viii, xii, xvi, xix, xxiii, 125, 212  
Harrowing of Hell 53  
Harvey, Gabriel xv  
Hatfield xi  
Hector 101, 104  
Helen of Troy xlvi, 81, 82, 90, 98, 105, 110  
Helenus 104  
Helicon, Mt 67, 138, 139  
Hell 68, 74, 92, 107, 120, 121  
Henry VII viii  
Henry VIII vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xiv, xvii, 77, 99  
Field of Cloth of Gold viii  
Supreme Head of the Church viii  
Henryson, Robert 79  
Hera (Juno) xlvi, 66, 70, 82, 90, 94, 95  
Heracles 66  
Herbert, George 35  
Hercules 66  
Herle (spy) xix  
Hero 64  
Herod 49  
Herse 68  
Heywood, Jasper (S.J.) xxxiv, lv, 223  
Hilkiah 132  
Holbein, Hans xiv  
Holofernes 131, 132  
Holy Grail 121  
Holy Roman Empire vii  
Holy Spirit 40, 45, 122, 139  
Homer  
*The Iliad* 82, 102  
*The Odyssey* 69, 98, 123  
Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) xv, xlvi, 127  
House of Lords viii, x, 58, 211  
composition x  
Howard, Elizabeth (née Tilney) xviii  
Howard, Henry E. Surrey xl, xlv, 99  
Howard, Philip E. Arundell xxxiv, xxxv, lv  
*A Fourefold Meditation on the Last Things* xxxiv  
Howard, Thomas 2nd D Norfolk xviii  
Howard, Thomas 4th D. Norfolk xviii  
Hoxton (Middx) xxi, xxvi  
Huguenots vii, xviii  
Hyginus, Gaius Julius 72, 73  
Hymen 93

**I**

Ilium 100  
imitation xxxix  
Ingolstadt, University of xii  
Iphigenia 88, 89, 104, 105  
Ireland v, vii, xv, xxii, xxviii, liv  
Spanish invasion of xxii  
Irthingborough (Northants.) xvi, xxv, 211, 212  
Isaac (patriarch) 130  
Israelites 126, 130, 132, 139, 140  
Ixion xlvi, 70

**J**

Jacob (patriarch) 130  
James I viii, xvii, xxxvii, liv, 213  
Jason 65  
Jehovah xlvi, 50, 126, 127  
Jerusalem 44, 46, 47, 48, 50  
Jesuits xx, xxi, xxiii, xxiv, xxvi, xxviii, xxx, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxix, 212  
Jesus Christ x, xii, xxxviii, xxxix, xlvi, lviii, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 87, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 136, 137, 138, 141  
Joakim 132, 133  
John of Patmos 123  
John the Baptist, St 45  
John the Evangelist, St 46, 121  
Jonah 85, 86  
Jonathan (son of Saul) 131  
Jordan 45  
Joseph (Patriarch) 126, 130  
Joseph of Arimathea 53, 121  
Judaea 48  
Judah 131, 132, 135  
Judith 126, 131, 132

**K**

Knightley, Richard (Sir) xiii, 124, 125  
Knollys, Elizabeth (C. Banbury) 212  
Knollys, Nicholas 3rd E. Banbury 212

**L**

Lancaster, House of viii  
Laomedon 83  
Lapithae 70  
Last Supper, the 46  
Latimer, Hugh (Bishop) x  
Law Lords 58  
Lazarus 45, 121  
le Be, Nicholas li  
Leander 64  
Leda 105, 112  
Leicestershire vii, xvi, xxi, xxx  
Lesbos 66  
Leto 69  
Livinus, St 37  
Lodge, Thomas 61  
Lord Vaux's Men, The xi, 91  
Luther, Martin viii, x  
Lutheranism vii  
Lycia 104  
Lydgate, John 66  
Lydia 66, 88

**M**

Macareus 65  
Magi, the Three (or Wise Men) 35, 44  
Mainey, Richard xxvii  
Mantuan (Johannes Baptista Spagnolo) xv  
Mars 100, 101  
Marshalsea prison xxiii, xxix, xxx  
Martin, Gregory (S. J.)  
Douay-Rheims Bible xxxiv  
Martin, Gregory (S.J.) xxxiv, xxxv  
"Questions to the Protestant" xxxv  
Marvell, Andrew

- "The definition of Love 61  
 Marwood xxvii  
 Mary (mother of Jesus) 37, 38  
 Mary (Mother of Jesus) xxxviii, 50, 71, 141  
 Mary I viii, ix, x, xi, xii, xix  
   English counter-reformation ix, x, xix  
   involvement in wars between Spain and  
     France ix  
     persecution of Protestants ix  
 Mary Magdalene 45, 52, 53, 121  
 Mary Queen of Scots xvii, xviii, xxvii, xxix, 213  
 Mary the mother of Joseph 53  
 Medea 65  
 medieval religious poetry in Latin xxxviii  
 medieval *topoi* xxxviii  
 Mediterranean 110  
 Medusa 81, 82, 139  
 Melpomene 111, 112  
 Memnon 77  
 Menelaus 81, 82, 88, 90, 110  
 Mercurian, Everard (S.J.) xx, xxviii  
 Mercury (Hermes) 68  
 Michal 131  
 Mildmay, Walter (Sir) xxiii  
 Miletus 66  
 Milton, John  
   "On His Blindness" 61  
   *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* 65  
   *Paradise Lost* xlvi  
 Minos 65, 102  
 Minotaur 65, 72  
 Mnemosyne 67  
 Moabites 139  
 Montague, Edward (Sir) xxiii  
 Mordecai 126, 134, 135  
 More, Thomas (Sir) viii, xxv  
 Moses 126, 130  
 Muses 62, 67, 90, 112, 126, 138, 139  
 Mycenae 72, 100, 112  
 Myrrha xlvi, 66  
 Myrtilus 88
- N**
- Nazareth 44  
 Nebuchadnezzar 131, 135  
 Nemesis 106  
 Neville, Charles 6th E. Westmorland xvii  
 Nicene Creed 52, 117, 122  
 nightingale 35, 37, 38, 40, 43  
 Nisus 65  
 Norfolk xviii, 212  
 Northamptonshire viii, ix, xi, xii, xiii, xxii, xxiii,  
   125, 211  
 Northern Rising xvii, xviii  
 Nottinghamshire xxvii  
 Nyctimene 66
- O**
- Oath of Allegiance x  
 Oath of Supremacy xvii, xix, xxviii  
 Oedipus 83  
 Olympus, Mt 88, 120  
 Omphale xlvi, 66  
 Orestes 72, 88, 90, 91, 98, 111, 112, 113  
 Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) xiii, xv, 70, 139  
   *Heroides* xlvi, 63, 64, 66, 82  
   *Metamorphoses* xlvi, 37, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71,  
   74, 75, 77, 83, 84
- Oxford x, xii, xiv  
 Oxford University xii, xiii, xix, xx, xxii, xxiii
- P**
- Palm Sunday 46  
 Pandarus 79  
 papal authority vii, viii, x  
 Paris (mythology) xlvi, 81, 88, 104, 110  
 Parnassus, Mt 112, 139  
 Parr, Anne ix  
 Pasiphaë lvii, 65  
 Passion xxxviii, xxxix, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 46, 50,  
   51, 57, 118  
 Passion narratives 38, 50  
 Paul III (Pope) ix  
 Paul, St 39  
 Pecham, John of 39  
   *Philomena Praevia* xlvi, 39, 40  
 Pegasus 139  
 Pelopia 88  
 Pelops 88  
 Penthesilea 101  
 Percy, Thomas 7th E. Northumberland xvii  
 Persephone 72  
 Perseus 70, 84, 139  
 Persia 133, 134, 135  
 Persons, Robert (S.J.) xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxviii,  
   xxx, xxxi, xxxvi  
   *Christian Directorie* xxxix  
 Peter, St 38, 48, 128  
 Petrarchism xl, xlv, 139  
 Pharaoh 130  
 Philip II (K. of Spain) ix, xx  
 Philistine 131  
 Philomel 37, 38  
 Philomena xlvi, 37, 38  
 Phineus xlvi, 70  
 Photius  
   *Bibliotheca* 98  
 Phrygia 100  
 Phyllis xlv, 63  
 Pierian Spring 67, 138, 139  
 Pilgrimage of Grace ix, xvii  
 Pirithous 72  
 Pius V (Pope) xviii  
   *Regnans in Excelsis* xviii  
 Pliny  
   *Historia Naturalis* 94  
 Plutarch  
   *On the Delays of Divine Vengeance* 106  
 Pluto (Hades) 69, 115, 120  
 Pole, Reginald (Cardinal) ix  
 Poles (Arctic and Antarctic) 78  
 Pontius Pilate 48, 119  
 Pope vii, ix, x, xviii  
 Poseidon 65, 82, 83  
 poulter's measure xlv, xlv, 88, 95  
 Pounce, Thomas xxxiv  
 Predestination 52  
 Priam 81, 89, 90, 102, 104, 110  
 priest holes xxvi  
 Privy Council xxi, xxiii, xxv, xxviii, xxix, xxxvi,  
   61, 212  
 Proetus 84  
 Psalm 22 38  
 Purim 135  
 Puritan (Puritanism) x, xiii, xix, xxix, xxxvii, 88,  
   124, 125  
 purple (significance) 108

- pursuivants xxviii, xxix  
Pylades 73  
Pythias 73
- R**
- Raleigh, Walter (Sir)  
  "Now what is Love" 61  
rebellions  
  northern counties ix  
Recusancy laws  
  non-attendance xi, xxii  
Recusant poetry xxxiv, xxxv  
  religious focus xxxvi  
Recusants  
  petition to move to relocate to Germany xxviii  
  riding up and down xxii  
  toleration of Protestantism xxxvi  
Reformation vii, xxxiv, 83  
Rheims  
  English College xx, xxiv  
rhetoric xv, xxxvi, xl, 59, 88  
Ridley, Nicholas (Bishop) x  
Romanus of Caesarea, St 37  
Rome  
  English College xx  
Roper, John 1st B. Tenyham xxv  
Roper, Margaret (née More) xxv  
Rouen xi, xxiv  
Russell, Francis, 2nd E. Bedford xi  
Russia 78, 122
- S**
- Sanhedrin 46  
Sarpedon 102  
Satan 54, 64, 116, 117, 121  
Saul (king of Israel) 131  
Sayer, Robert xxix  
Scandinavia 78  
Scholasticism xii, xxxix  
Scorpions 109  
Scotland v, vii, xvii, liv  
Scylla xlvi, 65  
Scythia 101  
Seneca (Lucius Aenaeus Seneca) xiii, xxxix, xlvi,  
  73, 88, 89, 91, 96, 97, 100, 110, 113  
  *Agamemnon* xxxix  
Seville  
  English College xx  
Seymour, Edward D. Somerset ix  
Seymour, Jane ix  
Shadrak, Meshak, and Abednego 126, 135  
Shakespeare, William ix, xi, xlii, xxix, 52, 89  
  *Hamlet* 98  
Sherbourne, Gloucs. xiii  
Sherwin, Ralph (S.J.) xxiii  
Shoby (Leics.) xxi, xxviii  
short metre xliv, xlv, lv, 56, 59  
Sidney, Philip (Sir) xlii, xliii  
  "My muse what ails this ardour" xliv  
Simeon 44  
Sirens 123  
Solomon (King of Israel) 132  
Sophocles 73, 113  
  *Electra* 112  
Southwark (London) xxix  
Southwell, Robert, St xxviii, xxix, xxx, xxxiv,  
  xxxv, xxxix, xli, xlii, xlix, l, liv, lv, lvi, 44, 55,  
  59, 79, 211
- "A Phansie turned to a sinners complaint" xxxiv  
"Lewd Love is Losse" xxxiv  
"Times goe by turnes" xli  
"To the Reader" xlix  
  execution 211  
  *Saint Peter's Complaint* xxxiv  
Spain vii, ix, xviii, xx, xxii, xxv, xxix, 211  
Spanish Armada xxix, 211  
Sparta 81, 105, 110, 113  
Spenser, Edmund xv, xlii, 62, 71  
St Bartholomew's Day Massacre xviii  
St John's College xii  
St Mary's Church (Oxon.) xxii  
St Mary's Hall (Oxon.) xix  
Stanihurst, Richard xii  
Star Chamber, Court of xxiii, xxiv, 61  
Strophius 90  
Studley, John  
  Seneca's *Agamemnon* 88, 90, 91, 96  
Susanna (Jewish heroine) 126, 132, 133
- T**
- Tantalus 88  
Tartarus 88  
Taurus mountains 104  
Terence (Publius Terentius Afer) xv  
Thasos 76  
*The Paradise of Dainty Devices* xv, xxxiv, xl,  
  xlii, xlvi, 223  
The Thirty-Nine Articles x  
Theseus 72  
Thessaly 70  
Thomas the Doubter, St 53  
Throckmorton, Francis  
  Throckmorton Plot xxvii  
Thyestes 88, 89, 96, 104  
Tichbourne, Chideock xxi, xxvii  
Tityus 69, 70  
Topcliffe, Richard xxiv, 211  
torture xxii, xxiii, 211  
Tottel, Richard  
  Songs and Sonnets (Tottel's Miscellany) xv,  
  xl, xliii, xlvi  
Tower of London xxvii, xxxiv  
transubstantiation x, 46  
Tresham family xii  
Tresham, Thomas (Sir, the elder) ix  
Tresham, Thomas (Sir, the younger) ix, xii, xvi,  
  xxi, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix,  
  xxx, xxxvi, 211, 212  
Tresham, William xxi  
Trinity College, Cambridge 88  
Trinity, the Holy 45  
Troilus xlvi, 66, 75, 79, 104, 110  
Trojan War 72, 77, 81, 82, 88, 89, 100, 101, 102,  
  104, 110  
Troy 64, 81, 90, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 110  
Tudor England vii, xvi, 109  
Turner, Robert xii  
Tyburn (Middx) xxii, xxiii  
Tyndareus 105, 111, 113  
Tyrell, Anthony xxvi, xxix
- U**
- Uxbridge (Middx) xxii

## V

- Valladolid  
 English College xx  
 Vatican vii, xvii  
 Vaux family  
 origins viii  
 Vaux, Ambrose xii, xxiv, xxv  
 Vaux, Anne (H.V.'s aunt) ix  
 Vaux, Anne ('Mrs Perkins') xi, xii, xvi, xxviii, xxx, 212, 213  
 Vaux, Catherine (H. V's half-sister) xii  
 Vaux, Edward xii, xxiv, xxv  
 Vaux, Edward 4th B. 211, 212  
 Vaux, Elizabeth (H.V.'s sister) xi, xvi, 212  
 enters Poor Clares xxiv  
 Vaux, Elizabeth (née Beaumont) xii, xiv  
 Vaux, Elizabeth (née Cheyne) ix, xi, xiv  
 Vaux, Elizabeth (née Roper) xxv, 212  
 Vaux, George xii, xxiv, xxv, 211, 212  
 Vaux, Henry vii, viii, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xx, xxi, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxiv, xl, l, li, lii, liii, lv, 41, 56, 61, 62, 64, 68, 70, 91  
 "A commendation of bloomes or blossomes" xv, 76, 101, 137  
 "A complaint to the Nightingale" xlii, li, liii, lviii, 37, 39, 40, 41, 59, 80, 93, 101, 114, 119, 120, 136, 140  
 "A Description of Love" xlv, liv, 61, 84, 112, 138  
 "A Lamentation of a Sinner" xxxiv, xxxix, lv, 56, 59  
 "Against Envie" xliii, xlvi, 67, 71, 75  
 "Beautie is brittle" xvi, xlvi, xlvi, lii, 80, 81, 113, 124  
 "Being ficke in Oxford thus he prayed" xxxix, liv, 85, 133  
 "Honos alit artes" xiii, xli, lviii, 124  
 "In hope patience" xli, xliv, liv, lv, 59  
 "Meditatio de Passione Christi" xvi, xxxiv, xlvi, lii, liv, lviii, 81, 85, 113, 114  
 "No trust in Fortune" xvi, lii, 59, 79, 85, 113, 124  
 "Of covetise" xxxiv, 74  
 "Of Friendship" xxxv, 70  
 "Vp drowzie Mufe" xlvi, lvi, lviii, 52, 58, 67, 112, 126, 141  
*Agamemnon* poems xvi, lii, liv, 73, 88  
 "Of the fame argument" 67, 80, 85, 88, 111, 124  
 "The first Chore" 91, 94, 98  
 "The fecond Chore" 94  
 "The Epilogue or Conclusion" 98, 127  
 contracts consumption xxx  
 dating of poems lii  
 education xii, xv, lii  
 Folger MS. xxxiv, lv, lvi  
 forms xlv  
 poems l, liii, liv, lv, 92  
 poems of doubtful authorship lv  
 prodigy xliii  
 prosody xliii  
 reading xlvi  
*topoi* xxxix  
 Vaux, Henry 5th B. 212  
 Vaux, Mary (née Tresham) xii, xvi, xxiv, xxx, 212  
 Vaux, Nicholas (H.V.'s uncle) ix  
 Vaux, Nicholas 1st B. viii, xxvii  
 career viii  
 Vaux, Thomas 2nd B. viii, ix, xiv, xv  
 absence from court viii  
 Governor of Jersey ix  
 Vaux, William 3rd B. vii, ix, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx, xxxvi, xxxvii, l, 37, 61, 91, 125, 211, 212  
 commission for gaol delivery xix  
 commissioner for musters xviii  
 Venus (Aphrodite) xlv, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 82, 98, 111, 139  
*Venus and Adonis* stanza 68, 85  
 Virgil (Gaius Vergilius Maro) xv, xlv, xlvi  
*Aeneid* xlvi, 99  
*Eclogues* xv  
*Georgics* xv  
 Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)  
*Aeneid* xlv, xlvi, 64, 99  
 Vulcan 98
- W**
- Walsingham, Francis (Sir) xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxv, 71  
 Wars of the Roses vii, viii  
 Wellingborough viii  
 Weston, William (S.J.) xxvii, 212  
 Windet, John l  
 Wolfe, John l  
 Wolsey, Thomas (Cardinal) viii  
 Wyatt, Thomas (Sir) xxxix, xl
- Y**
- York, House of viii  
 Young, Richard xxix
- Z**
- Zeus (Jupiter/Jove) xlvi, 67, 69, 70, 75, 84, 88, 90, 95, 105, 108, 113  
 Zwinglian x

## INDEX OF FIRST LINES AND TITLES

Poem titles appear in their original spelling within quotation marks, whereas first lines are italicised and given in modern spelling followed by an elipsis.

“A commendation of bloomes or blossomes”	p. 15
“A complaint to the Nightingale, taken out of St. Bonaventure”	p. 2
“A description of Love”	p. 10
“Against Envie”	p. 12
“A Lamentation of a Sinner”	p. 7
“Beautie is brittle”	p. 17
“Being ficke in Oxford thus he prayd”	p. 18
<i>Despised things may live ...</i>	p. 9
“Honos alit artes”	p. 30
<i>I marvel much why Paris went so far ...</i>	p. 17
<i>Ingenuas artes accensa cupidine famae ...</i>	p. 30
“In hope patience”	p. 9
“Meditatio de Passione Christi”	p. 26
“No trust in Fortune”	p. 16
“Of covetise”	p. 14
“Of Frenship”	p. 13
“Of the fame argument”	p. 25
<i>O God which rul'st the restless rolling sky ...</i>	p. 21
<i>On earth great store of gold unsought was found ...</i>	p. 14
<i>O sovereign salve for sin ...</i>	p. 7
<i>Quae nova nunc rerum facies? Ledoea virago ...</i>	p. 25
<i>Supplicium Domini referens, caedemque nefandam ...</i>	p. 26
<i>That cankered foe to virtue's worthy fame ...</i>	p. 12
<i>The ancient poets meaning to declare ...</i>	p. 10
“The Epilogue or Conclusion”	p. 21
“The first Chore”	p. 19
<i>The sacred bands of faithful friendship's laws ...</i>	p. 13
“The second Chore”	p. 20
<i>Thou worthy bird, thou gentle nightingale ...</i>	p. 2
“Two Chores and an Epilogue added to the Tragēdie of Agamemnon, translated out of Seneca”	p. 19
<i>Up drowsy Muse pull down thy harp from pin ...</i>	p. 31
<i>What new desire of change doth cause the Lion's make ...</i>	p. 20
<i>When Memnon's woeful mother with her tears ...</i>	p. 15
<i>Who so doth trust the feigned cheer ...</i>	p. 16
<i>With wailing voice from out the depth of sin ...</i>	p. 18
<i>Woe worth the lecherous breast, which harboureth foul desire ...</i>	p. 19
“Vp drowzie Mufe”	p. 31