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Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* and the Conditions of Catholic Authorship in Elizabethan England

Thomas Lodge's poem *Glaucus and Scilla or Scillaes Metamorphosis* (1589) transformed the landscape of English poetry. On its publication, Elizabethan imaginative literature became a space dominated by metamorphoses: impossible mutations which mimicked the destabilising and collapse of moral certainties, customs and laws in contemporary culture by linking them to the most drastic of changes in the human body and mind. Lodge's poem declared the old ways of reading—which treated the Ovidian text as a treasure-house of immutable truths, capable of being unlocked through the application of certain intellectual keys or interpretative techniques—to be utterly redundant, rendered obsolete by the willingness of his contemporaries to redraw their intellectual, political and religious maps at the drop of a hat in the interests of self-advancement and sensory gratification. It is hardly surprising, then, to learn that the writer of the poem was a Catholic convert, whose career as an author was checked at the outset by a draconian act of censorship.¹ Lodge's estrangement from the English establishment, marked both by his distancing of himself from the national religi

human form; and this account in its turn gave a new poetic voice to the various forms of discontent being harboured in the breasts of educated young Elizabethans.

The claims I have just made for *Glaucus and Scilla* are, of course, exaggerated. For one thing, sophisticated “metamorphic” verse was already being written in English by the time Lodge wrote his poem. For another, the process of decoding Ovid’s verse was a good deal less rigid than I have suggested. But it has long been accepted that Lodge gave the Ovidian metamorphosis a vigorous new twist, helping to inaugurate a fashion for

be found among Cicero's writings.⁸ Gosson went on to conclude that "a plaie, can bee no *looking glasse of behaviour*" and that "the rebuking of manners is as fit for the Stage, as the picture of Chastitie for the stues."⁹ Lodge's response was to write with Robert Greene a spectacular urban morality play called *A Looking Glasse, for London and Englande* (published 1598). In it the biblical prophet Hosea delivers a succession of tirades against the sins of the city of Nineveh—standing in for London—every bit as stern as the catalogue of theatrical abuses listed by Gosson. Here, then, was living proof that a play could serve as a "looking glasse of behaviour." In the same way, the only play Lodge wrote by himself might almost have been written to affirm that the theatre could supply the "image of trueth." *The Wounds of Civill War* (published 1594) is an account of the historical struggle between the Roman generals Marius and Sulla, and once again it obliquely mirrors current events in England: it has been interpreted as a response to "renewed anxieties over regal succession, Catholic plotting in the 1580s, dissension over the fate of Mary Stuart, and lower-class restiveness."¹⁰

Lodge's two plays, in fact, like most of his prose fiction and verse, corroborate his contention in the *Defence*

Phisitions should so frame their potions that they might be appliable to the quesie stomaks of their werish patients.¹¹

So far so predictable. But Lodge's poets are more concerned, as Gosson is, to stress the dangers of corruption than the attractiveness of virtue. (Indeed, the metaphor that closes the passage anticipates Lodge's eventual move from literature to medicine, from lancing moral sores through his writing to lancing physical sores as a physician). Later in the *Defence* Lodge argues that he and Gosson are on the same side, and that Gosson has wasted his energies in attacking imaginary theatrical abuses, when they would have been better spent in assailing the genuine forms of wickedness that infest the capital:

If therefore you will deale in things of wisdom, correct the abuse, honor the science, renewe your schoole; crye out over Hierusalem wyth the prophet the woe that he pronounced ... cry out against unsaciabie desyre in rich men; tel the house of Jacob theyr iniquities; lament with the Apostle the want of laborers in the Lords vineyards; cry out on those dume doggs that will not barke; wyll the mightye that they over mayster not the poore; and put downe the beggers prowde heart by thy perswasions.¹²

The passage neatly summarizes the plot of *A Looking Glasse, for London*, whose prophetic chorus Hosea moves from scene to scene delivering invectives against all the metropolitan misdemeanours Lodge has here listed.

Then, towards the end of the *Defence*, Lodge announces that this is just the sort of daring social intervention every responsible poet or playwright should engage in. They should make themselves latter-day Hoseas, crying out against the sins of the mighty and the proud. The history of the theatre, according to the *Defence*, is one of bold assaults on civic corruption; from the staging of "the lives of the Satyers" in ancient Greece, designed "so that they might wiselye, under the abuse of that name, discover the follies of many theyr folish fellow citesens," to the Greek comedies described by Horace: "For, sayth he, ther was no abuse but these men reprehended it."¹³ And Lodge recommends that

modern poets take up where the ancient satirists and comedians left off. He longs for the emergence of a new Lucilius¹⁴—the inventor of Roman satire, whose works (now lost) influenced Horace, Persius and Juvenal. Lodge yearns, that is, for a commentator capable of distinguishing good from evil in the complex environment of late sixteenth-century England.

Later in the *Defence* Lodge conflates comedy and satire with an ease that suggests he sees little difference between them: “if we had some Satericall Poetes nowe a dayes to penn our commedies, that might be admitted of zeale to discypher the abuses of the worlde in the person of notorious offenders, I knowe we should wisely ryd our assemblyes of many of your brotherhood.”¹⁵ At the same time he sees the satirist as particularly vulnerable in corrupt societies, pointing out that “as these sharpe corrections were disanulde in Rome when they grewe to mo

surely we want not a Roscius, nether ar ther great scarsity of Terence's profession,
but yet our men dare not nowe a dayes presume so much, as the old Poets might,
and therefore they apply ther writing to the peoples vain; wheras, if in the

Alarum as his first serious exercise in satire, a preliminary bid to establish himself as the new English Lucilius.

The prose narrative that follows shows, by contrast, how mistaken Gosson is in directing his scorn against amorous fictions, whether in poetry, prose or drama. The young couple Forbonius and Prisceria—whose ancestry alludes to the impeccably ancient credentials of romance, being descended from the hero and heroine of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*—make no bones about the sexual nature of their mutual attraction. At one point, indeed, Forbonius woos Prisceria by means of a long erotic poem, which is both Lodge's first imitation of Ovid and one of the first imitations of the scandalous *Amores* in the English language.²¹ But the couple remains as impenitent about their desire as Sidney's Pyrocles; and by the end of the narrative they have succeeded in converting the older generation to their point of view with a facility which is unparalleled in the canon of Elizabethan romance. The heroine's father, who is fiercely opposed to the match,

protests against the writer's treatment at the hands of his enemies. Gascoigne's dedication alludes to the public reaction to his two collections of poems, the *Flowres* (1573) and the *Posies* (1575), which eventually led to the censorship of the *Posies*: "I am derided, suspected, accused, and condemned: yea more than that, I am rygorously rejected when I proffer amendes for my harme;"²³ while Lodge's contains a self-defence against "that reproch, which, about two yeares since, an injurious caviller [i.e. Gosson] objected against me."²⁴ Gascoigne's *Steele Glas* goes on to allegorise the reception and censorship of the *Posies* at some length. It is narrated by an allegorical figure, Satyra, who complains of having suffered the same fate as Ovid's Philomela: Satyra was ravished by a corrupt nobleman, Vain Delight, then had her tongue cut out to prevent her reporting his crimes. Nevertheless, she continues to sing "with the stumps of my reprov'd tong"²⁵ in hope of reforming English society by telling the truth in spite of censure. Gascoigne seems to be suggesting that those who accused his collection of licentiousness were reading their own sexual obsessions ("vain delight" or delight in vanity) into his innocent productions. He seems, too, to imply that he is first and foremost a satirist, and that those who regard him as an erotic writer who "ment a common spoyle / Of loving dames, whose eares wold heare my words / Or trust the tales devised by my pen"²⁶ are radically misrepresenting his texts. This is perhaps what led Lodge to imitate Gascoigne's poem, as another writer whose innocent text, the *Defence*, had been punitively silenced. Lodge may also have been attracted by Gascoigne's association of *The Steele Glas* with the "famous old satyricall Poete" Lucilius.²⁷

“shewes the thing, much better than it is.”²⁸ At the centre of *Truths Complaint* is an allegorical figure reminiscent of Gascoigne’s Satyra, Truth, who instructs the melancholy poet to set down her words with the aid of the tragic Muse Melpomene. Truth is concerned, like Satyra, to expose one by one the misdemeanours of the court, the nobility, the commons and the legal system, together with the religious hypocrisy that infects English society. The abuses Truth exposes in each of these estates are for the most part those delineated by Gascoigne’s satire: the self-indulgence of the aristocracy and their excessive fondness for flattering “showes”; the promotion of faint-hearted soldiers instead of courageous ones; the corruption of the law by greed, and of the church by “wily worldlings.” The form of Lodge’s poem—the complaint was a distinct and well-established form at the time—seems at first sight to set it apart from Gascoigne’s; but *The Steele Glas* was published alongside a stanzaic poem, *The Complaynt of Phylomene*, whose opening situation closely resembles that of *Truths Complaint*, and whose retelling of the story of Philomene connects it with the blank verse satire that precedes it. Lodge’s imitation of Gascoigne’s composite volume is a faithful one, and knowledgeable Elizabethan readers could have been expected to recognize the source of its inspiration.

Having said this, certain details in the poem are distinctively Lodge’s own. Whereas Satyra had included the tendency to be “Romainlike” among the vices of the church,²⁹ Truth’s poem ends with a thinly-veiled allusion to English Catholics (“those would mend the misse,” that is, those who would restore the Mass,³⁰ as guardians of the faith. And unlike Satyra, Truth’s dismay is such that she departs from the island, like the one true Catholic church, at the end of the poem.

Forbonius and Prisceria and *Truths Complaint over England* are the first of the many imaginative treatments of tyranny that span Lodge’s literary career. These extend from the tyrannies of Marius and Sulla in *The Woundes of Civill War* to that of Rasni king of Nineveh in

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For an Elizabethan reader, the first clues to the poem's underlying motives may have lain in the scene with which it opens, where the narrator encounters a deeply afflicted mourner, who proceeds to tell his story. Lodge used the same opening scene in several other poems, and in nearly every case it was in the service of complaint. As John Peter pointed out long ago, the complaint mode has close affinities with satire, taking advantage of the licence traditionally accorded to mourners to speak out against forms of injustice and oppression.³⁴ It seems fitting, then, that two of Lodge's complaint poems should have been read by recent commentators as trenchant critiques of Elizabethan society from a Catholic perspective. One of these poems (written in six-line stanzas, like

Catholics in particular might have been inclined to read their own fortunes in the story of Elstred's persecution and death.

In each of these complaints Lodge lays unusual stress on the parallels between the situation of the male narrator and that of the complainant, parallels which predispose him to sympathise with the complainant's predicament. The narrator of *Truths Complaint* indicates that he was singled out to write down Truth's words because he shared her distress, tormented as he was by "melancholy grieffe, / Which in my heart at that time had the cheefe."³⁸ The narrator of *The Discontented Satyre* encounters the woodland creature of the title when "My watchfull griefes perplext my minde so sore,"³⁹ while the *Complaint of Elstred* finds its narrator "lamenting" in a suitably miserable setting. *Glaucus and Scilla*, too, opens with a mournful narrator "Walking alone (all onely full of grieffe),"⁴⁰ and gives this grief as the reason why the still more grief-stricken Glaucus chooses to unburden his heart to him. The unusual thing about the poem, though, is that the narrator shifts his sympathies in the course of the narrative from the male complainant Glaucus to Scilla, the nymph who is punished for his sake. It is the tension produced by his efforts to reconcile these two incompatible acts of sympathy that makes the poem so intriguing.

Like *The Complaint of Elstred*, Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* is set in England; but unlike *Elstred* it does not take ancient Britain or British history as its subject. Instead it relocates the classical gods and goddesses in Northwest Europe, transplanting them geographically as well as linguistically to Lodge's native soil. This was nothing new: by the late 1580s, the English were well used to tracing links between pagan mythology and the political past and present of their own nation. I have already discussed Gascoigne's transference of the Philomene myth from ancient Greece to modern England in *The Steele Glas* (1576). Exactly ten years later, William Warner reminded the English, in the first instalment of his Ovidian epic *Albions England* (1586), that their rulers were descended in a direct line from the lascivious monarchs who had been deified by the Greeks and

Romans.⁴¹ During the intervening decade John Lyly had begun to entertain the royal court with an Ovidian drama full of

the beginning of his narrative? If so, his gloom could only have been compounded by his own evident skill in entering the Ovidian imaginative territory that was currently dominating court culture.

It seems likely, then, that Lodge's decision to imitate Ovid would have helped to associate his poem with the very highest echelon of Elizabethan society. But the decision may also have been prompted by the marked aversion of his enemy, Stephen Gosson, for the Roman poet. Ovid's scandalous stories about the erotic exploits of the gods supplied Gosson time and again with instances of poetic irresponsibility. His observations (in the *Ars amatoria*) about the function of the theatre as a pick-up point for unattached youngsters prompted Gosson to denounce the Elizabethan playhouse as a neo-Roman "Market of Bawdrie."⁴⁵ And for Gosson, the erotic education furnished by the *Ars amatoria* makes Ovid the ultimate "Amarous Scholemaister,"⁴⁶ whose poetic schoolhouse has lured generations of his scholars into a life of reckless sexual self-indulgence.

Lodge responds to Gosson's anti-Ovidian utterances on several occasions in his *Defence of Poetry*. At one point he suggests that Gosson's objections to Ovid show, quite simply, that "he can beare no bourde"⁴⁷—he can't take a joke. At another, Lodge acknowledges that "Ovids abuses" constitute "the greatest bob [i.e. the most telling blow

As if in homage to Ovid's exile from Augustan Rome, the poem contains at least

here it is “The most pithie and pleasant *Historie* of Glaucus and Silla”).⁵⁶ In *The Wounds of Civill War*, for instance, the term “tyrant” is switched with dizzying rapidity from Marius to Sulla and back again, until by the end it has become little more than a rhetorical weapon wielded by rival factions against one another. The key term on the title-page of *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, however, is not “tyrannie” but “Comicall.” For whom, and at what point, do Scilla’s metamorphosis and the unfortunate love of Glaucus

themselves “on the grassie grounde” to exchange their own beguiling tales of love.⁶⁵ One nymph sings a love-complaint, but so well that Love himself is “forced... to love her;”⁶⁶ another pricks herself on a thorn while listening to a nightingale, which prompts two more to crack a few puns about the pricks women yearn for and get hurt by.⁶⁷ And the conclusion reached by these “jollie Dames” concerning love and the world’s mutability is cheerful. Where Glaucus told the poet (anticipating Spenser) that the world is declining “from better to the bad,” the nymphs concur with the more balanced view of Ovid’s Pythagoras: “That while some smile; some sigh through change of time; / Some smart, some sport amidst their youthlie prime.”⁶⁸ For the sea-god’s tragic view of existence they substitute a comic one, where smiles and sighs, pain and pleasure are equally mixed. The clash of genres is implicit in the contrast between Glaucus’ solitude, attended only by a convenient amanuensis, and the sea-nymphs’ lively sociability. For a moment one is tempted to assume that the distinction between these two perspectives, the comic and the tragic, is simply one of personal preference.

Glaucus, however, is quick to insist that his own perspective should prevail over that of the nymphs. The English landscape responds to the nymphs’ arrival with erotic excitement: “The watrie world to touch their teates doo tr

Remembering *Gallathea*, one might even think there was a touch of tyranny about Glaucus' conviction of his own pre-eminence. The sea-god's account of his grief culminates in a prediction that the sky will weep so abundantly in sympathy with him that Deucalion's flood will come again, "And shippes shall safely saile whereas before / The ploughman watcht the reaping of his corne."⁷² The passage might have reminded Lodge's readers of the awesome power of the sea which Scilla is defying. In the first book of the *Metamorphoses* Deucalion's flood was unleashed by Neptune, Glaucus' father; and the same flood was invoked at the beginning of Lyly's *Gallathea*

pupils to read the *Metamorphoses* as a fount of moral instruction, undeterred by its eroticism. As we have seen, Glaucus first enters the poem speaking like a schoolmaster as

taken on her former role as the personification of “disdaine.”⁹⁶ The poet comments on this neat swapping of roles in a punning stanza that once again mimics the complex web of paradoxes woven by Ovid:

Oh kisse no more kind Nimph, he likes no kindnes,
 Love sleepes in him, to flame within thy brest;
 Cleer’d are his eies, where thine are clad with blindnes;
 Free’d be his thoughts, where thine must taste unrest:
 Yet nill she leave, for never love will leave her,
 But fruiteles hopes and fatall happes deceave her.⁹⁷

The puns remind us that in the unequal world of the pagan gods, translated in this poem to the shores of England, it is inevitable that one person will start loving when another leaves off, that kindness will meet only its opposite, that the “clearing” of one set of eyes will involve the “cladding” (obscuring) of another, that hopes will be countered by “fatall happes.” And for women such as Scilla there is no redress. They cannot turn to more powerful gods or queens for assistance, as the princely Glaucus could. As a subject, Scilla is condemned to perpetual torment more irrevocably than the sea-god ever was.

Elizabethan readers would not, I think, have been blind to the satirical significance of this act of divine injustice. I’ve already pointed out that the episode represents Lodge’s most significant departure from his source in the *Metamorphoses*, replacing the agency of Circe in Scilla’s transformation with an unholy alliance between Thetis, Venus and Cupid. In fact, his account of the punishment meted out to Scilla recalls one of John Lyly’s most popular comedies, *Sapho and Phao*, which elaborately compliments Elizabeth I.⁹⁸ In it the chaste poet-queen of Sicily, Sapho, falls in love with the beautiful ferryman Phao, then manifests her power over desire itself by seizing control of the little love-god Cupid and taking over Venus’ function as the goddess of love (“You are not worthy to be the Ladye of love,” she tells her, “that yeelde so often to the impressions of love” 5.2.58-60). Hereafter, she declares, the dispensation of desire

will be a royal prerogative: “Every rude asse shall not say he is in love” (5.2.94-5). Venus has earlier stocked Cupid’s quiver with a variety of arrows intended for sundry purposes, including one “which striketh a deepe disdain of that which we most desire” (5.1.8-9). Lodge’s Cupid similarly carries a quiver “well stored / With sundrie shaftes,”⁹⁹ which he dedicates exclusively to the service of queens; and the shaft he uses to quench Glaucus’ desire for Scilla is “the arrowe of disdaine.”¹⁰⁰ In Lodge’s England, the implicit claim of Lyly’s Queen Sapho to be capable of dispensing affections with rationality and temperance is undermined by the willingness of both queens in the poem to exploit Cupid’s arsenal for a personal vendetta. His characters are as helplessly subject to metamorphosis as the inhabitants of the Ovidian universe, but their changes are governed by the mood-swings of volatile monarchs, and only royalty has the power to determine when all changes come to an end.

For Lodge’s Scilla, change ends when she finds herself locked in a hopeless obsession for a disdainful prince; and the cessation of her hopes for further change is signalled by the fact that her former lover undergoes metaphorical petrification long before she does. Glaucus sits “starke as stone”¹⁰¹ beneath the desperate nymph’s attempts to woo him; her pleas for mercy are answered only by the mockery of the echoing rocks. When at the end of the poem the nymph herself becomes a rock (“hir locks / Are chang’d with wonder into hideous sands, / And hard as flint become her snow-white hands”),¹⁰² this merely literalizes the effects on the unfortunate nymph of the closure of all channels of communication by Glaucus. And this in turn gives the metamorphosis a very different function from that of Ovid’s Scilla, who was transformed by Circe from motives of jealousy, leaving the infatuated sea-god inconsolable. The indifference of Lodge’s Glaucus anticipates the rock-like incapacity for pity of Queen Gwendolen in *The Complaint of Elstred* as she oversees Elstred’s drowning, “A ruthles rocke, deaf-eared.”¹⁰³ The cessation of change marks the beginning of tyranny; and tyranny consists above all, in Elizabethan representations of it, in an imperviousness to the appeals of

suffering subjects. Indeed, Scilla's suffering stems chiefly from her gradual loss of the

The one *articulate* voice of dissent in this cheerful conclusion is that of the poet. At the point when the protagonists' fortunes reverse themselves and Scilla is afflicted with hopeless love, the poet transfers his sympathies from Glaucus to Scilla. As Glaucus moves into comic mode the poet follows Scilla's descent into the tragic; her wretchedness, he says, "did hartely agreeve me,"¹⁰⁹ he longs to see her attain "the end whereto disdain [i.e. Scilla] aspired," and her misery rapidly extends itself from the narrator ("Rue me that writes, for why her ruth deserves it")¹¹⁰ to the reader ("Wofull that read what wofull shee approved").¹¹¹ Glaucus notices that the poet remains "pencie" amidst the general rejoicing,¹¹² and characteristically intervenes to ensure that he will participate in the closing celebrations—will become a team player, as it were. He helps him onto a dolphin so that he can join in the new spectator sport of following Scilla to laugh at her. And he advises him to articulate his grief in public, as Glaucus has done, since "secret want can finde but small befriending."¹¹³ Of course, Scilla's want—her desire for Glaucus—is hardly a secret, and she has found "but small befriending" by uttering it. It would seem that there are right and wrong ways of publicising one's discontent with the state of things; the time, place and manner in which one does so are all-important, as Glaucus' parable of the geese should have taught us. And the poet, at least, seems to have learned something from the parable; for the end of the poem is a masterpiece of ambiguity, a skilful exercise in the articulation of discontent (a favourite word of Lodge's) under the guise of consent to the demands of an overbearing authority.

Despite Glaucus' best efforts, the poet continues to set himself apart from the comic conclusion until the final stanza. As the sea-god throws a feast in Neptune's palace and squirts out fountains for the refreshment of his allies, the poet sits aside to "write this storie / With many a sigh and heart full sad and sorie."¹¹⁴ When the party is over, Glaucus turns his attention to him once more, supplying him with a dolphin taxi home and eliciting promises from him to write henceforth only what the sea-god permits him to write. "[B]y oath he bound me," the poet tells us, "To write no more, of that whence

shame dooth grow: / Or tie my pen to Pennie-knaves delight, / But live with fame, and so

threat of a “cursed plague” for those who spurn the demands of their superiors takes centre stage in the final stanza, leaving an unpleasant taste in the mouths of those who might have expected a more genial comic conclusion.

The Envoy hardly reflects well on the pagan court that has set itself up on England’s shores in the course of the poem. It articulates a philosophy quite the reverse of a “moral,” a philosophy that does nothing to cure the poet of the depression from which he was suffering at the beginning of the poem. “At last he left me, where at first he found me,”¹¹⁶ Lodge explains: leaves him, that is, in a kind of internal exile within England, a condition many Catholics must have felt themselves to share. His only consolation is that he has found, in the narrative he has been allowed to tell, an accurate representation of his own alienation: an alienation imposed on him for his refusal to conform to the unreasonable demands of his superiors, and for his superiors’ refusal to

and parties may have felt as they read that Lodge had here found a vital new way to critique the ruling elite of Elizabethan England without succumbing a second time to the enforced silence of censorship.

The poet's sympathy with a voiceless, cruelly tormented woman aligns him with George Gascoigne's poet in *The Steele Glas*, whose identification with Philomela paradoxically enables him to voice his opposition to the sort of tyranny that had censored his work. As Gascoigne's satirist puts it:

And thus (my Lord) I live a weary life,
 Not as I seemd, a man sometimes of might,
 But womanlike, whose teares must venge hir harms.
 And yet, even as the mighty gods did daine
 For *Philomele*, that thoughe hir tong were cutte,
 Yet should she sing a pleasant note sometimes:
 So have they deignd, by their devine decrees,
 That with the stumps of my reproved tong,
 I may sometimes, *Reprovers* deedes reprove,

⁶ For a recent account of censorship practices in Elizabethan London, see Richard Dutton, *Licensing, Censorship and Authorship in Early Modern England: Buggeswords* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000), especially chapters 1, 2 and 4.

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- ²³ John W. Cunliffe, ed., *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 2.135. All references are to this edition.
- ²⁴ Lodge, 1.5.
- ²⁵ Gascoigne, 2.146.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.144.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.148.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.147-48.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.168.
- ³⁰ Lodge, 1.40.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 1.7, 2.8, 3.3.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 1.37.
- ³³ See e.g. Alison Shell on *Truths Complaint over England* (Shell, 178-80); and Andrew Hadfield on *Rosalynde*, in *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 187-92.
- ³⁴ See John Peter, *Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956); also John Kerrigan, *Motives of Woe: Shakespeare and "Female Complaint:" A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), introduction.
- ³⁵ Hadfield, 188.
- ³⁶ Shell, 179.
- ³⁷ Lodge, 2.83.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.37.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.31.
- ⁴⁰ Elizabeth Story Donno, ed., *Elizabethan Minor Epics* (New York: Columbia University Press and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 21, stanza 1. All references to *Glaucus and Scilla* and *Scillaes Metamorphosis* are taken from this edition, giving the number of the stanza from which quotations are taken.

⁴¹ See my brief account of Warner's poem in "Myths exploited: the metamorphoses of Ovid in early Elizabethan England," Taylor, 27-8.

⁴² See Michael Pincombe, *The Plays of John Lyly: Eros and Eliza* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

⁴³ See R. Warwick Bond, ed., *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), 2.433. All references to Lyly's works are taken from this edition.

⁴⁴ See Pincombe, *The Plays of John Lyly*, 126: "It is here that the tragical theme of rape receives its fullest and most lurid treatment;" and Ch.6, 129-45.

⁴⁵ For Gosson's reference to the *Ars amatoria* see Kinney, 86. For the phrase that gives Kinney's book its title, see 92.

⁴⁶ Kinney, 86.

⁴⁷ Smith, 1.64.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.75.

⁴⁹ "I like not of an angrye Augustus which wyll banishe Ovid for envy. I love a wise Senator, which in wisdom wyll correct him, and with advise burne his follyes," 1.76.

⁵⁰ Smith omits this quotation in his edition: see Lodge, 1.47.

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⁸⁴ Ibid., 70, 64.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 63.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 58, 60.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 71, 72.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 73.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 76.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 81-83.

⁹¹ Ibid., 91. “Fancies cup” is presumably a reference to what Gosson calls “the Cuppes of *Circes*” (77), containing the mixture of wine and potent herbs by which she administers her enchantments. See *Odyssey*, X, 233-243.

⁹² Ibid., 94.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 97.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 99.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 102, 107.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 103.

⁹⁸ On the popularity of *Sapho and Phao* see Pincombe, 18.

⁹⁹ Donno, 88.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 102.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., 103.

¹⁰³ Lodge, 2.79.

¹⁰⁴ Donno, 124.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 125.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 113.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 58, 62.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 31.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 106.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 109.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 110.

¹¹² Ibid., 113.

¹¹³ Ibid., 114.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 128.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 130.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 116.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 120-24.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 120-22.

¹²⁰ Gascoigne, 2.146.