

irrational.”⁶ In this new art, the representation of the pagan gods “become[s] an occasion for feasting... the senses.”⁷ Barkan calls this “*Ovide imagisé*,” as opposed to the *Ovide moralisé* of the middle ages; it is the “Renaissance answer to the moralization of metamorphosis,” an art “celebrating images for the sake of their own beauty... freed from the orthodoxies of interpretation.”⁸

In Barkan’s account, Titian’s various versions of *Danae*, painted between 1545 and 1554, are presented as paradigmatic images of the new paganism, “emblem[s] of sensuous beauty in the specifically antique manner,”⁹ each version presenting the viewer with “a feast of naked and complaisant feminine beauty” which is “almost pornographic in its appeal.”¹⁰

passion, paganism, and transformation continue to reflect a Petrarchan heritage not entirely in keeping with Petrarch himself.¹⁴

In sidestepping or downplaying the “sterner judgement” of sixteenth-century readers and writers concerning the eroticised pagan mythologies of a “metamorphic aesthetic” Barkan neglects, I would argue, a key determinant and shaper of that aesthetic. The pagan dreamworld that Barkan so vividly evokes was not an untroubled one. If, as Barkan maintains, metamorphosis became “an explicitly psychological condition”¹⁵ for the Renaissance artist, then we need to attend to the zones of ambivalence—even abjection—within this condition, where the vacillations of sin and grace, shame and desire, the sensuous and the spiritual, could create distorted and internally conflicting shapes.

In this paper I will be focussing on the northward migration of the literary side of

images, and also by the intense scrutiny of the psychological processes of sin and repentance inaugurated by Calvin's codification of the *ordo salvationis*. A vivid sense of the difficulties attending the Protestant reception of what Barkan calls the "new Pagan language" can be gained by contrasting Botticelli's well-known visualisation of the graces in *La Primavera*, with the following evocation of the grace Aglaia, from Stephen Batman's *New Arrival of the three Gracis into Anglia*:

From Ioue the iust I *Aglaia*, am, a grace of liuely hew which being placed in mortal wight, such sight may not me vew, As carnall man, by shewes of loue, in armes them imbrace, no such am I, of substance sure, but aye a liuely grace. Not seene, nor felt, so pure am I, I let you vnderstand, a thousand bodies I possesse, in euery soyle and land.¹⁶

While Botticelli gives sensuous physical form to his Classical graces (albeit, as Barkan observes, these forms "require the viewer to look beyond the veil" of flesh toward immaterial "essences"), Batman's "Christianised" graces are disembodied abstractions,¹⁷ denied their corporeality in the name of an immaterial divinity which transcends the "carnal" and the "mortal." While this curious book condemns the pagans for worshipping "gods of dyvers sortes,"¹⁸ it makes free use of Classical imagery, adapting Ovid's account of the metamorphosis of Ulysses's companions in book 14 of the *Metamorphoses*, for example, to represent recusant Catholics living in England, types of those "greedy grasshops... that Egipt did possesse."¹⁹ While it is true that Batman is able to recuperate the ancients to some extent, praising their depictions of "vice subvertid and ouerthrown,"²⁰ and approving their belief in "one principall God"²¹ it is clear that he was compelled to overcome an immense internal resistance to Pagan antiquity in order to appropriate its aesthetic materials.

The nature of this resistance is more apparent in Batman's mythographic treatise, *The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes*. Presented to Henry Carew, Lord Hunsdon, in 1577

as a “token of good will & obedience,” the *Golden Booke* is a “small treatise of the putatiue & imagined Gods of the Gentiles” and the “vayne imaginations of heathen Pagans.”²²

Puritan opposition to “counterfayted carnality” led to some vehement attacks on Classicising literature. In his *Certayn Chapters taken out of the Prouerbes of Salomon* of 1550, John Hall defended his verse translations of the Bible, which, he argued, “as moche deserued to be commended, as he, what soeuer he was that made ye court of Venus or other bokes of lecherous Ballades, the whyche haue bene a great occasion to prouoke men to the desyre of synne.”²⁷ Hall felt strongly enough about *The Court of Venus*—which was an influential Tudor anthology of tales and amorous verse, including several love lyrics by Sir Thomas Wyatt—to produce a series of moral *parodiae* entitled *The Court of Vertue*, which Christianised Wyatt’s amorous sentiments, and attacked the “lascivious” verse of amorists.²⁸ The puritan Edward Dering also attacked the “sorcerie” of “baudie songes” in a book of godly instruction for Christian families. “Yea,” he said, “some haue bin so impouident as new borne

and seeks to advise its readers on the correct way to interpret the poem.³⁰ His first priority is to present the metamorphoses as an encyclopaedic digest of ancient wisdom, a trope which had become a commonplace in Italian and French mythographic literature and humanist commentaries.³¹ “Whatsoever hath bene writ of auncient tyme in greke,” Golding says,

By sundry men dispersedly, and in the latin eeke,
Of this same dark Philosophie of turned shapes, the same
Hath Ovid into one whole masse in this booke brought in frame.³²

Golding’s preface is a deeply equivocal text, and one which draws attention to its own anxieties about the uses (or *misuses*) to which Ovid’s text can be put. He exhorts his readers to use the text wisely (i.e. allegorically) and in a fascinating passage, figures the text as a potential predator, waiting to prey upon the unwary reader:

The readers therefore earnestly admonisht are too bee
Too seeke a further meaning than the letter giues too see [...]
And if they happening for to meete with any wanton woords
Or matter lewd, according as the person doth avoord
In whom the evill is describde, doo feele their myndes therby
Provokte too vyce and wantonnesse, (as nature commonly

Is prone to evill) let them thus imagin in their mynd.
Behold, by sent of reason and by perfect sight I fynd
A Panther heere, whose peinted cote with yellow spots like gold

And pleasant smell allure myne eyes and senses too behold.
But well I know his face is grim and feerce, which he dooth hyde,
He may devour mee vnbewares.³³

This astounding passage vividly attests to the profound ambivalence that the pious Elizabethan reader might feel in the presence of a pagan text: a mixture of fascination,

[...] but rather this is ment,
That men beholding what they see when vice doth reign in stead
Of vertue, should not let their lewd affections have the head[.]³⁴

I cling'd her naked body, downe she fell,
 Iudge you the rest: being tirde she bad me kisse,
Ioue send me more such after-noones as this.³⁵

Marlowe's example did not open the floodgates: it was small wonder, given the frankness of these translations, that the several imprints of this work all bore the dubious imprint of Middleburgh, and that the volume was one of those appointed to be burned by the ecclesiastical authorities after the Bishop's Ban in 1599.³⁶ Other poets of the 1590s who wished to write in an amorous vein were more circumspect about their narratorial positioning, and strategies of ironic distancing were more characteristic of late Elizabethan poets in a variety of amorous genres.

5. Thomas Lodge: *Rosalynde. Euphues golden legacie* (1590)

Thomas Lodge's 1590 pastoral romance, *Rosalynde*, for example, dedicated to Stephen

Batman's patron, Lord Hunsdon, gives full

find some leaves of Venus' myrtle, but hewn down by a soldier with his curtal-axe, not bought with the allurements of a filed tongue." With *Rosalynde* purportedly written whilst he was at sea, Lodge plays up his seamanship, and affects a bluff nautical persona: "To be brief, gentlemen, room for a soldier and a sailor, that gives you the fruits of his labours that he wrote in the ocean, when every line was wet with a surge, and every humorous passion counterchecked with a storm."³⁸ The evocation of the *vita activa* here acts as an assurance of the temperance or moderation of the piece: his work does not present unrestrained passions, they have been "counterchecked" by his industrious preoccupations.

The ironic framing of Lodge's "fidelity test" narrative, in which Rosalynde tests the mettle of Rosader's amorous exclamations, and a continual insistence on the vaporous, evanescent and self-deluding nature of amorous love, qualifies the sensuality which the narrative indulges, containing it within the censorious bounds of a Christian morality. Thus when Rosalynde is "passionate alone," her conscience counsels her against her attraction to Rosader:

Seest thou not how Venus seeks to wrap thee in her labyrinth, wherein is pleasure at the entrance, but within, sorrowes, cares and discontent? She is a siren, stop thine ears at her melody; she is a basilisk, shut thy eyes and gaze not lest thou perish. Thou art now placed in the country content, where are heavenly thoughts and mean desires: in those lawns where thy flocks feed Diana haunts: be as her nymphs chaste, and enemy to love, for there is no greater honour to a maid, than to account of fancy as a mortal foe to their sex. Daphne, that bonny wench, was not turned into a bay tree, as the poets feign: but for her chastity was immortal, resembling the laurel tree that is ever green. Follow thou her steps, Rosalynde [...]³⁹

When Rosalynde attacks the Italianate flattering "Ovidian," she warns Rosader of the dangers of being led by the sensual appetites:

This is quickly followed by a dedicatory sonnet “To his Mistres,” in which he declares

Pigmalion and his animated workmanship, however, Marston brings the narrative to a detumescent close. Suddenly he directly addresses his reader, upbraiding them for their “wanton itching ears,” which were “expecting for to heare / The amorous description of that action / Which *Venus* seekes.”(33) But while seeming to chasten the lascivious readers, Marston actually continues to titillate them, exhorting them to indulge in sexual fantasy to complete his tale: “Let him conceit but what himselfe would doe” in Pigmalion’s place (34), Marston counsels, and in the following stanza the breathless interruptions of syntax seem to supply obliquely the sense of Pigmalion and his mistress “doing that, which is not fit reporting.”(35) In closing, Marston seems to be exercising a modest restraint, or aesthetic self-censorship (38):

Who knows not what ensues? O pardon me
 Yee gaping eares that swallow vp my lines
 Expect no more. Peace idle Poesie,
 Be not obsceane though wanton in thy rimes.
 And chaster thoughts, pardon if I doe trip,
 Or if some loose lines from my pen doe slip.

But this disingenuous apology, which seems to strive to appease both the wanton and the chaste reader of his verse is retro-actively conditioned by the poem which immediately follows it, “The Authour in prayse of his precedent Poem,” which acts as both an epilogue for *Pigmalions Image* and as a prologue for *Certaine Satyres*, encouraging us to read the collection as a continuous and unified composition. The poem opens with an address to two dissolute companions, Rufus and Luxurio, which undermines and overturns our perceptions of the narratorial strategies of *Pigmalions Image*, which are revealed to be part of a deliberate and ironic act of ventriloquism:

Now *Rufus*, by *Glebrons* fearefull mace
 Hath not my Muse deseru’d a worthy place?
 Come come *Luxurio*, crowne my head with Bayes,
 Which like a Paphian, wantonly displayes

The Salamian titillations,

contemporaries, the “vizarded-bifronted-*Ianian* rout.”⁵³ In the gallery of Marston’s targets, which include puritans, machiavellians, whoremongers and male prostitutes, we find a bevy of amorists of various colours: Castilio, a hard-wooing sonneteer,

[...] that can purpose it in dainty rimes,
 Can set his face, and with his eye can speake,
 And dally with his Mistres dangling feake,
 And wish that he were it, to kisse her eye
 And flare about her beauties deitie.⁵⁴

or the ineffectual, brainsick, Petrarchan “inamorato *Lucian*,” who trades in the “sweet-smelling pinck Epitheton,” sighing in his bed:

His chamber hang’d about with Elegies,
 With sad complaints of his loues miseries:
 His windowes strow’d with sonnets.⁵⁵

or the unscrupulous Elegist Muto, who pays “*Roscio* the Tragedian” to pen poems to “put betwixt his Mistris paps,” claiming them as his own work,⁵⁶ or the unnamed author who (not unlike George Chapman) produces verse which is “darknes palpable,” an “Anatomie of Poesie” which Marston claims is composed of gobbets of mythography and “Booke[s] of Epithetes” full of “dark Enigmaes, and strange ridling sence.”⁵⁷ But while he snaps and bites at his literary competitors, Marston’s “Satyrist” (in the fourth satire, “*Reactio*”) also defends literature against the incursions of those puritan critics who, like “fierce enraged Boare... foame at sacred Sonnets,” and denounce poetry as “defild with superstition” and “Popish showes,”⁵⁸ and xenophobically rail against “all Translators that doe striue to bring / That stranger language to our vulgar tongue.”⁵⁹ Thus

Ovid's "waking soule in *Chapman liues*," Davis says, "Which showes so well the passions of his soule." "And yet," he suggests, Chapman transcends his forebear:

 this Muse more cause of wonder giues,
 And doth more Prophet-like loues art enroule :
 For Ouids soule now growne more old and wise,
 Poures foorth it selfe in deeper mysteries.⁷⁰

If Chapman is *Ovidius redivivus*, he is certainly not presented as the wanton amorist of the *Amores*, but rather as the philosophical, encyclopaedic Ovid of Golding and the Italian mythographers, an Ovid who is "misticall and deepe," author of "sacred vierse."⁷¹ This theme is echoed in the other dedicatory sonnets by Richard Stapleton and Thomas Willivie1poedu

only partly fulfilled by the “curious frame” of Chapman’s poem, which he compares, with more than a little justification, to “The Painters Art.”⁷⁶ In his epistle to Roydon, he compares the “high, and harty invention” of his “strange Poems” to the mimetic vigour of the painter. “It serues not a skilfull painters turne,” he argues,

to draw the figure of a face onely to make knowne who it represents; but hee must lymn, giue luster, shaddow, and heightening; which though ignorants will esteeme spic’d, and too curious, yet such as haue the iudiciall perspectiue, will see it hath motion, spirit and life.⁷⁷

His poetry, too, strives for effects of “luster, shaddow and lightening,” and in its visual invention at times draws close to the “flowing sensuality” of Barkan’s “New Ovidianism:”

In a loose robe of Tynsell fourth she came,
Nothing but it betwixt her nakednes
And enuious light. The downward-burning flame,
Of her rich hayre did threaten new accesse,
 Of ventrous *Phaeton* to scorch the fields:
And thus to bathing came our Poets Goddesse,
 Her handmaides bearing all things pleasure yeelds
To such a seruice; Odors most delighted,
And purest linnen which her lookes had whited.

Then she cast off her robe, and stood vpright,
As lightning breakes out of a laboring cloude;
Or as the Morning heauen casts off the Night,
Or as that heauen cast off it selfe, and showde
 Heuens vpper light [...]
 Or as when *Uenus* striu’d for soueraine sway
Of charmfull beautie, in yong Troyes desire,
So stood *Corynna* vanishing her tire.⁷⁸

The parallels between Chapman’s staging of Corinna’s beauty and sensuous, painterly depictions of Diana at her bath are manifest, and it is difficult to read Chapman’s poem without thinking of Barkan’s characterisation of the visual space of these Ovidian paintings: “the arrangement of the body in the dramatic scene within the space of the canvas and in relation to the viewer’s space defines classical beauty as sensual, visual

and voyeuristic.”⁷⁹ In counterpoint to the sensuousness of Chapman’s description, however, there are neoplatonising details, which sit in uneasy equilibrium with its

against salvation.⁸⁹ Chapman's Ovid is "taken unawares in the snares of the flesh." The spiritual pleasures of the "tender clouds" of Corinna's "Odors" are displaced, "vanisht in his visual fires," and his sexual appetites are whetted: "So vulture love on his encreasing liver, / [...] egerly did feede." Although his conscience counsels him against succumbing to sight ("Thou would'st be prickt with other sences stings, / To tast, and feele, and yet not there be staide"),⁹⁰ he uses sophistic neoplatonic arguments to endorse his desires:

Shee is a sweet Elisium for the sence
And Nature dooth not sensuall gifts infuse
But that with sence, shee still intends their vse.

The sence is giuen vs to excite the minde,
And that can never be by sense exited,
But first the sence must her contentment finde,

We therefore must procure the sence delighted,
That so the soule may vse her facultie.⁹¹

Corinna, in reproving Ovid, posits the conventional corrective to such arguments, that "Thought Sights childe / Begetteth sinne."⁹² "Well you show how weake in soule you are," Corinna chides, "That let rude sence subdue your reasons skill."⁹³ Ovid himself concedes that in coaxing Corinna to grant a kiss, and then to allow him to touch her breasts, he is "disputing still / For Sence, gainst Reason, with a sencelesse will."⁹⁴ But while Ovid's sophistic arguments are revealed as such, there is a paradoxical pleasure and delight generated by these arguments (like those of Marlowe's "bold, sharpe sophister," Leander)⁹⁵ which is attributable to more than simple rhetorical versatility, and the inexplicable capitulations of Corinna (unconvincingly glossed as "civill favours"),⁹⁶ stage the carnal aberration which the poem ostensibly decries, as Ovid touches her breast, supposedly "To use with pietie that sacred place, / And through his Feelings organ to disperse / Worth to his spirits." Ovid's ironic paean on "*Cupids Alps*," which celebrates touch as "King of Sences,"⁹⁷ and figures the antique world as a land which

“flow’d with Milke and Honny,” where “Pleasure her selfe lyes big with issue panting,” gives a “keener edge” to “Ovids longings.” Although Chapman breaks off at this point to exclaim, in Calvinist fashion, against “rude frailetie:”

O nature how doost thou defame in this
Our human honors? yoking men with beasts
And noblest mindes with slaves?

and attacks “beauties blisse” as “Surfet on fl

¹ Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), Chapter 5: “Metamorphosis, Paganism, and the Renaissance Imagination,” 171-242: 172-73.

² Ibid., 173.

³ Ibid., 181.

⁴ Ibid., 183.

⁵ Ibid., 179. Cf. 182, where he praises Titian’s “new vision of the pagan world, completely freed from

³¹ See Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), Chapter 7, “Undermeanings in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*,” 163-200, and Ann Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France: A Survey of the Latin editions of Ovid and Commentaries printed in France before 1600*, Warburg Institute Surveys, VIII (London: Warburg Institute, 1982), 28-36, 44-53.

³² Golding, “The Epistle,” 1 (ll. 5-8). Cf. also Golding’s dedicatory epistle to his translation of the first four books, *The Fyrst Fovver Bookes of P. Ouidius Nasos worke, intituled Metamorphosis* (London: Willyam Seres, 1564), sig. [*I] verso, in which he commends the work as “purporting outwardly moste pleasant tales & delectable histories, and fraughted inwardlye with most piththie instructions & wholsome examples, and conteynyng bothe wayes moste exquisite connynge and deepe knowledge.”

³³ Golding, “Epistle,” 11-12 (ll. 541-2, 547-557).

³⁴ Golding, “Epistle,” 12 (ll. 561-564).

³⁵ Christopher Marlowe, *All Ouids Elegies: 3 Bookes. By C. M. Epigrams by I.D.* (?Middleburgh: n.d., but c. 1595-8), “*Elegia 5. Corinnae Concubitus*,” ll. 9-26.

³⁶ Sandra Clark, ed., *Amorous Rites: Elizabethan Erotic Verse* (London: J.M. Dent, 1994), xxviii.

³⁷ Thomas Lodge, *Rosalynde. Euphues golden legacie: found after his death in his Cell at Silexedra. Bequeathed to Philautus Sonnes nursed vp with their father in England. Fetcht from the Canaries, by T. L. Gent.* (London, 1590), ed. W. W. Gregg, *Lodge’s “Rosalynde” being the original of Shakespeare’s “As You Like It”* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1907), 80.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, “To the Gentleman Readers,” xxix.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁴³ On Ixion as a figure of “cloudy delusion” in Petrarchan verse see Stephen Clucas, “Giordano Bruno’s *Degli eroici furori* and Fulke Greville’s *Caelica*

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- ⁴⁷ Ibid., “To his Mistres,” sig. [A5] recto.
- ⁴⁸ Marsilio Ficino, *Commentarium [...] in Convivium Platonis*, Oration II, cap. 7, trans. Sears Jayne (University of Missouri Press, 1944), Oration I, Cap. IV, 42, 132. [Page references for this work are for the Latin text and English translation respectively.]
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., Oration I, Cap. IV, 41, 131. “proper, pure and divine passions” (*decoris, honestis, divinis affectibus*).
- ⁵⁰ Marston, *Pigmaliions Image*, “The Authour in prayse of his precedent Poem,” 23.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., 24.
- ⁵² Ibid., 25-6.
- ⁵³ Marston, *Certaine Satyres*, sig. C3 recto.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., sig. C4 recto.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., sig. D8 verso.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., sig. D2 recto.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., sig. D recto-verso. There is a possible allusion in “darknes palpable” to the preface of Chapman’s *Ouids Banquet of Sence* (1595), see n.50 below.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., sig. E4 recto-verso.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., sig. E3 verso.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., sig. D8 recto.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., sig. E4 verso.
- ⁶² On the problematic nature of Marston’s use of multiple personae and his “chameleon muse” see Cliff Forshaw, “‘All protean forms in venery’: The Textual and Apparitional Body in John Marston’s Verse Satires,” in Darryll Grantley and Nina Taunton, eds., *The Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 169-185, and idem, *The Chameleon Muse: Satirical Personae in the Formal Verse Satires of Marston, Guilpin and Others*

⁶⁵ Ironic, because in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

⁸⁴ Ibid., 194-5.

⁸⁵ G. W. F. Hegel, *The Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969), 138-43.

⁸⁶ Chapman, *Ovids Banquet*, sig. B2 recto-verso.

⁸⁷ Ibid., sig. D recto.

⁸⁸ Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge, 2 vols (Grand Rapids, Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans, 1845, repr. 1970), III, iii, 520, sig. D ” ” 4.8 Ibid., 194-4.1ecto. 88