

THE POETRY OF MARRIAGE:

1575-1625

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THE POETRY OF MARRIAGE: 1575-1625

by

© Adrian Joseph Fowler, B.A. (Hons.)

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Wedding Mask of Sir Henry Unton
National Portrait Gallery

He is here, Urania's son,
Hymen come from Helicon;
God that glads the lover's heart,
He is here to join and part.
So the groomsman quits your side
And the bridegroom seeks the bride:
Friend and comrade yield you o'er
To her that hardly loves you more.

--A.E. Houseman, from "Epithalamium"

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of lyric poetry and masques written for weddings. Both form and content are analysed. An attempt is made to define the epithalamium in its various manifestations in relation to classical models. The development of the masque is outlined and the similarities in function between the epithalamium and the wedding masque pointed out. But it is also realized that literature written for weddings puts forward certain conceptions about matrimony and utilizes certain motifs. Some of these represent something universal in human experience; others represent a particular age and culture. I have tried to show how Renaissance writers came to terms with the legacy of formal and thematic conventions which they inherited from the Greeks and Romans, as well as how they reflected their own time in the songs and poems which they wrote for weddings.

The "Introduction" describes the changes that occurred in the idea of matrimony in 16th. century England and defines three varieties of epithalamium from classical times. The first chapter, "The Nuptial Songs," surveys the most lyrical of these types in vernacular literature between 1575 and 1625. The second chapter, "The Literary Lyrics," analyses examples of a more literary kind of epithalamium, represented most notably by Spenser's Epithalamion and Donne's "Epithalamion made at Lincolnes Inn." The third chapter deals briefly with three examples of the heroic epithalamium. And the

final chapter is a detailed look at the wedding masques performed between 1575 and 1625, in relation to epithalamic tradition as well as contemporary views and attitudes concerning marriage.

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This thesis does not have a dedication but if it had one it would be: to my parents.

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INTRODUCTION

The State of Matrimony

In an age when the institution of marriage is being questioned in a fundamental way and seems to typify many other doubts that are being widely experienced in society, it is comforting to realize that all this has happened before. Not in exactly the same way, of course. History never repeats itself exactly. But the sixteenth century in England was a time and a place when the idea of marriage was re-examined--thought through again--and marriage was changed, perhaps in a more radical way than is happening at present.

It is, in any event, difficult to imagine changes more radical than the change in thinking that took place concerning marriage in the sixteenth century. In ancient Greece and Rome marriage was an instrument of social, economic and political policy. Young men and young women had little or no say in whom they would marry. This would be decided by the parents--in most cases the father would have had the final word--and in most cases the bias of the decision would not have been a concern that the individuals in question should if possible enjoy a loving and friendly relationship. Young people were sacrificed as pawns and exchanged as currency. Parental authority was strong and the parent who wielded most of the authority was the male. Families were extended and patriarchal. Young women were consulted even less than young men about marriages in which they were to be the principal participants. And the role of the wife was limited and strictly

utilitarian. Her primary duty was to bear sons. She was also in charge of her husband's house and made sure that the household chores were done. "For the rest," says Maurice Valency, "the social position of a respectable married woman differed only theoretically from that of the domestic slaves among whom she was destined to pass her life."¹

Love between husband and wife was not expected. Love between man and woman on anything other than a strictly physical plane was rare. The profoundest statements concerning love among the ancients come from Plato in Phaedrus and The Symposium. But the marriage of true minds which he describes is homosexual, not heterosexual. In The Symposium Socrates distinguishes between those whose creative instinct is physical and those whose creative instinct is spiritual:²

Those whose creative instinct is physical have recourse to women, and show their love in this way, believing that by begetting children they can secure for themselves an immortal and blessed memory hereafter forever; but there are some whose creative desire is of the soul, and who long to beget spiritually, not physically, the progeny which it is the nature of the soul to create and bring to birth.

First, the love shown by the physically creative male here is not love for a woman but love of the immortality which children are thought to confer. It is the "immortal and blessed memory hereafter forever" which is the real object of man's love. Second, the children of spiritually creative relationships are such things as wisdom, virtue, moderation and justice. And the friendship that produces them is con-

sidered to be distinct from marriage and superior to it:

When by divine inspiration a man finds himself from his youth up spiritually fraught with these qualities, as soon as he comes of due age he desires to procreate and have children, and goes in search of a beautiful object in which to satisfy his desire; for he can never bring his children to birth in ugliness. In this condition physical beauty is more pleasing to him than ugliness, and if in a beautiful body he finds also a beautiful and noble and gracious soul, he welcomes the combination warmly, and finds much to say to such a one about virtue and the qualities and actions which mark a good man, and takes his education in hand. By intimate association with beauty embodied in his friend, and by keeping him always before his mind, he succeeds in bringing to birth the children he has long desired to have, and once they are born he shares their upbringing with his friend; the partnership between them will be far closer and the bond of affection far stronger than between ordinary parents, because the children that they share surpass human children by being immortal as well as more beautiful. Everyone would prefer such as these to children after the flesh.

This is the 'Platonic' love that we find expressed in the Renaissance by Ficino, and by Cardinal Bembo in Castiglione's The Courtier, but by that time an essential change had taken place: woman had become a fitting object of man's love.

Perhaps the best-known statement of 'passionate' or 'romantic' love among the Greeks is also homosexual. This is the beautiful ode by Sappho in which she writes movingly of her love for another female:³

That man seems to me to be the equal of the gods,
 who sits opposite you and, near to you, listens to
 you as you speak sweetly and laugh your lovely laughter;
 that in truth has set my heart fluttering in my
 breast. For whenever I look at you for a moment, then
 nothing comes to me to say, but my tongue is frozen
 in silence, straightway a subtle flame has run under

my skin, I see nothing with my eyes, and my ears are buzzing. Sweat pours down over me, and trembling seizes me all over, and paler than grass am I, and a little short of death I seem in my distraught wits.

The high degree of segregation between the sexes and the inferior position of women in society had the predictable result. Heterosexual love cannot have been unknown among the Greeks but it certainly did not predominate. It is more in evidence among the Romans. Catullus, for example, translated this ode by Sappho, addressing it to his faithless mistress, Lesbia.⁴ And the poetry of Propertius and Tibullus certainly represents a love of man for woman that is recognizable to moderns. Tibullus and Propertius take women seriously, something that perhaps cannot be said for Ovid. There is nothing casual, for example, about Tibullus's love of Delia:⁵

Often I have tried to relieve
 my heartache with drink
 but the pain turned the wine to tears.
 Often I have held another
 in my arms
 but on the brink of joyous release
 Venus reminded me of my love
 and deserted me.

Propertius was the victim of a "hard passion" that taught him "to abhor virgin girls," but he was a slave to Cynthia's faithless love:⁶

I will undergo iron and fire with fortitude,
 but release this voice
 broken by desire,
 that I may speak out against her.

His warning to faithful lovers has the ring of sincerity:

Whosoever shares a secure and lasting love,
 stay here at home, if the gods
 hear your lifted invocation.
 For me passion's taste is bitter in the night;
 solitary love never fails.
 & I warn you, avoid the evil.
 Let each man cleave
 to a faithful woman, when
 and if decorous love has found its place.
 & I promise you this,
 if you don't attend my words
 you will remember them in affliction.

But the passion of the Roman love poets was directed at courtesans or other men's wives. It seems that love between husband and wife was not common enough or remarkable enough to be celebrated in poetry. In the meantime young men constituted an alternative for the mature Roman male when a satisfactory woman was not to be found.

The attitude of the early fathers of the Church towards love, marriage and women was negative, to say the least. This point is eloquently made in Mark Rose's fine essay, "The Morality of Love," in his book Heroic Love.⁷ According to the tradition of Paul and Augustine, passionate love represented a sinful involvement with the world.⁸ Man's carnality was an object of fervent hatred, and virginity became the ideal. Jovinian was excommunicated in 390 for defending marriage, and Jerome, writing against him, detailed the evils of woman as evidence of the spiritual inferiority of marriage as opposed to the single life. This gave birth, over the centuries, to a vast anti-feminist literature. "The daughter of Eve," in Rose's words, "was the representative of all the wicked temptations of the world. To revile women

became no more than an act of piety." (p. 7)

This anti-feminism found vigorous expression throughout the Middle Ages and was very evident in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England. By this time, however, the attack on women was being met by an equally vigorous counterattack. A large number of treatises, written by men as well as women, exalted the virtues of women, asserted their spiritual and intellectual equality with men, and attempted to further their rights as individuals in society.⁹

Certainly women had very few rights under the law in the Middle Ages. For a long time they could not inherit fiefdoms, and even when that was changed they could not exercise their inherited privileges except through a male. If a woman was unmarried she was in the care of her father; once married she and her lands were at the disposal of her husband; upon becoming a widow custom assigned her a guardian. Some feudal codes allowed a woman to bring a criminal action in the case of rape of herself or the murder of her husband in her presence, but for the most part she could not sue in court except through the male in whose charge she was at the time. Women were protected from certain sorts of violence to their person. The Germanic legal codes, for example, contain severe penalties for rape, adultery, wife-stealing and murder, but what this indicates is that women were valued as property and as child-bearers. The chastity of wives and young girls was strictly enforced. An adulterous wife could be killed by her husband. Girls who lost

their virginity before marriage might be deprived of their share of the family inheritance. And the authority of the male as head of the family was so unchecked that it permitted many abuses to women. Sidney Painter summarizes concisely:¹⁰

The feudal male was chiefly absorbed in war and the chase. His wife bore him sons, his mistress satisfied his momentary lusts. Beyond this women had no place in his life, and he had no interest in them. They were freely beaten and treated in general with callous brutality.

The Medieval Church continued, in the main, to be hostile to passionate love. All sexual intercourse outside marriage was mortally sinful and even within marriage intercourse was lawful only when its purpose was to beget children.¹¹ But while the Church maintained a sometimes fanatical distrust of the emotional disarray wrought by love of woman, passionate heterosexual love became, in eleventh-century Provence, the subject of a new literary mode--the poetry of courtly love--and this became the most popular type of poetry for the next several centuries. Our understanding of how this came about is very meagre, but the phenomenon itself is well-documented and well-defined and its long-term effect upon men's attitudes towards women and marriage would be hard to overestimate.¹²

For the time being, however, marriage was not much affected. Courtly love relationships were almost inevitably adulterous. The devotion and service required of the male in fin amour were almost incompatible with his privileged position as husband. Marriage continued to be very much

what it had been among the ancient Greeks and Romans--an alliance made for political and/or economic reasons. Love did not come into it.

In the sixteenth century in England a number of trends that had been going on for some time gained momentum, reached a critical mass, and coalesced in such a way as to bring about a fundamental change in the institution of matrimony. The change was gradual because no change which takes place over a period of one hundred years can be said to be sudden. But looked at from the distance of the twentieth century and compared with the centuries immediately preceding, attitudes towards marriage in the sixteenth century seem to have undergone a change that can only be described as revolutionary.

In the writings of Erasmus the institution of monasticism is portrayed for the most part as having lost its inspiration. Erasmus's personal experience as an Augustinian canon in the priory at Steyn left him with negative feelings towards the cloister. These emerge in his Colloquies, for example "The Girl with No Interest in Marriage," in which Eubulus emphasizes the rampant hypocrisy of monastic life where the virtue of celibacy is professed but by no means always practised. Eubulus argues that making over one's will to another in a religious community is not always the best way of leading a holy Christian life. On the contrary, he sees spiritual advantages to freedom.

Although Erasmus himself was never to marry, he wrote a great deal about marriage and he invariably saw it as a

state at least as favourable for spiritual development as celibacy. Eubulus encourages Catherine not to join the convent but to incorporate monastic ideals within marriage: "I'd urge you to marry a husband of similar tastes and establish a new community at home. Your husband would be the father of it, you the mother."¹³ In Encomium matrimonii, Institutio Christiani matrimonii and the 'marriage group' of the Colloquies, Erasmus exhibits a sympathetic and good-humoured attitude towards human sexuality. In "Courtship" Pamphilus points out to Maria that sexual intercourse is a virtue, not a vice. (p. 90) He says that she need not fear that her flower will fade after she has married, observing that many girls who are pale and run-down before marriage find that sexual love gives them a bloom they have always lacked. Its effect on men is described by Eulalia in "Marriage" as contributing to mental and emotional health, a "pleasure which ordinarily rids men's minds of whatever vexation may be therein." (p. 124)¹⁴ In that same colloquy, Xantippe's admission that she engaged in pre-marital sex is passed over indulgently by Eulalia, who is Erasmus's portrait of the ideal Christian wife:

EUL. ...it's not too late to try to improve your husband. If you present your husband with a child, that will help.

XAN. I've already had one.

EUL. When?

XAN. Long ago.

EUL. How many months ago?

XAN. Almost seven.

EUL. What do I hear? Are you reviving the old joke about the three-month baby?

XAN. Not at all.

EUL. You must be if you count the time from your wedding day.

XAN. Oh, no, we had some conversation before marriage.

EUL. Are children born from conversation?

XAN. Chancing to find me alone, he began to play, tickling me under the arms and in the sides to make me laugh. I couldn't stand the tickling, so I fell back on the bed. He leaned over and kissed me--I'm not sure what else he did. I am sure my belly began to swell soon afterward.

EUL. Go on! Belittle a husband who begot children in sport? What will he do when he goes to work in earnest?

XAN. I suspect I'm pregnant now, too.

EUL. Fine! A good plowman's found a good field.

XAN. He's better at this than I would like.

EUL. Few wives join you in that complaint.
(p. 125)

Erasmus saw marriage as a dynamic relationship between two individuals, requiring forbearance, understanding and love--a relationship that could bring fulfillment and joy to both partners. He was well aware of the pitfalls of marriage but his advice, inspired partly by the practice of his friend Thomas More, was to 'accentuate the positive.'

Martin Luther led a more vigorous assault on celibacy within the Church. "When I was a boy," he reported, "the wicked and impure practice of celibacy had made marriage so disreputable that I believed that I could not even think

about the life of married people without sinning."¹⁵ Luther, and Calvin following him, insisted that virginity and chastity were not synonymous and that married persons had as much right to be considered chaste as celibates. Later in the century the Puritan William Perkins reflected this same attitude when he argued that marriage was "a state in it selfe, farre more excellent, than the condition of single life."¹⁶

At the same time the status of women in society was steadily improving, though not without an incredible struggle. In 1547 a proclamation was issued forbidding women to "meet together to babble and talk" and ordering husbands to "keep their wives in their houses."¹⁷ This restriction on the freedom of women to meet publicly was a measure taken by an established order that felt itself threatened. The number of books and pamphlets attacking women or defending them over the next eighty years gives ample evidence that the battle was joined. One fascinating feature of the fight was a group of London women who initiated their own offensive by wearing men's clothes--doublet and hose, broad-brimmed hats, even weapons. Whatever the meaning of this might have been, the effect it had upon the anti-feminists was spectacular. John Chamberlain captures some of the violence and bitterness of their reaction in two letters quoted by Louis B. Wright:¹⁸

Yesterday the bishop of London called together all his clergie about this towne, and told them he had expresse commandment from the King to will them to inveigh vehemently against the insolencie of our women, and theyre wearing of brode brimmed hats, pointed dublets, theyre hayre cut short or shorne,

and some of them stilettoes or poniards, and such other trinkets of like moment; adding withal that if pulpit admonitions will not reforme them he wold proceed by another course; the truth is the world is very much out of order, but whether this will mende it God knowes.

.

Our pulpits ring continually of the insolence and impudence of women, and to helpe the matter forward the players have likewise taken them to taske, and so to the ballades and ballad-singers, so that they can come nowhere but theyre eares tingle; and if all this will not serve, the King threatens to fall upon theyre husbands, parents or frends that have or shold have power over them, and make them pay for it.

This was in 1620. By this time women's rights under the law had still not improved very much. The Lawes Resolution of Womens Rights, for example, suggested that husbands could still subject their wives to physical punishment, although it was the author's opinion that this right ought not be exercised.¹⁹ In other respects, however, the status of women had improved considerably. Largely this was the result of increased educational opportunities. Thomas More believed that women were as intellectually capable as men and he delighted in educating the wives of both his marriages, especially his first wife, Jane Colt. His daughters, too, were famous for their learning. Margaret More carried on a correspondence with Erasmus and translated his Precatio Dominica into English. More's success with his "female Academy" convinced Erasmus that girls should be educated on an equal footing with men.²⁰ And there was no shortage of women to show that Erasmus and More were right. Katherine of Arragon and Catherine Parr were renowned for their scholar-

ship and for their patronage of scholarship. Queen Elizabeth liked to demonstrate her ability to dispute on learned subjects. And her court contained such outstanding female intellectuals as Lady Anne Bacon, the Countess of Pembroke, and Lady Anne Clifford.

But perhaps more significant was the increase in literacy among women of the middle and lower classes. Many women were taught to read by private teachers, an isolated few went to grammar schools, while large numbers attended the petty schools.²¹ One effect of this growing female readership was an attempt on the part of some authors to write for what they perceived to be women's taste in books, and this would certainly include works which defended women against their detractors. Another result was that women themselves soon became authors and entered the fray on behalf of their sisters. But perhaps the most decisive effect of increased literacy among women was that it enabled them to become working partners with their husbands. Widows often continued the enterprises of their husbands. At least two women of the time became printers in this way, a particularly enviable accomplishment because of the power of the press and also because the number of printers was limited to twenty-two firms. Mary Hall, Barbara Riddell and Barbara Milburne were listed in 1622 as owners of collieries. Women could retain their husbands' apprenticeships, and they entered the trade guilds, kept inns and managed alehouses.²² "Elizabethan wives enjoyed a working equality with their husbands," says

Juliet Dusinberre, "which made foreigners declare them to be more liberated in practice than women in any other country."²³

The concept of romantic marriage emerged out of a Christian society that had grown disenchanted with the monastic way of life and had begun to celebrate the love that can exist between man and woman. Courtly love advocated a relationship that was diametrically opposed to the traditional marriage relationship. Where one was based on economics and politics, the other was founded on love. Where marriage exalted the male and placed the female in a position of subjugation to him, the reverse was the case in courtly love. No matter how theoretical the system might have been, no matter how narcissistic that love might be, woman, if only as an ikon, was honoured. This secular religion was competition for the Church, and besides, the love was adulterous. Many Churchmen began to see the necessity of compromise. Romantic marriage was the result.

Because it was a compromise, romantic marriage as presented in English treatises at the time may seem a little short on love and still very much concerned about materialistic matters. Comparing them to their Italian counterparts such as The Courtier, Mark Rose notes that the "duties and responsibilities of marriage rather than the ecstasies of idealistic love are the usual subjects of the English courtesy books."²⁴ But this suited the practical outlook of the English middle class for which they were written. And their

treatment of relations between man and wife, though down-to-earth, was in essence quite different from anything that had been advocated before. Though the man continued to be the head of the family and maintained the same superiority in law over woman, in practice he was being encouraged to create a loving and friendly relationship with his wife. What was expected of him in most of these treatises fits exactly Valency's description of the romantic lover:²⁵

He does not put himself in the posture of worship, but he abjures completely the bumptiousness of the conqueror, for what he requires of the lady cannot be forced: one can enforce compliance, not tenderness.

The seminal work of domestic relations at this time was Heinrich Bullinger's The Christen State of Matrimonye, translated by Miles Coverdale in 1541. The book went through nine printings by 1575 and was used as a source book by many writers on marital relations. Wright quotes the title page, which promises a book²⁶

wherin housbandes & wyfes maye lerne to kepe house together wyth loue. The originall of holy wedlok: whan, where, how, & of whom it was instituted & ordeyned: what it is: how it ought to proceade: what be the occasions, frute and commodities thereof. Contrary wyse: how shamefull and horrible a thinge whordome and aduoutry is: How one ought to chose hym a mete & conuenient spouse to keepe and increase the mutuall loue, trowth and dewtye of wedloke: and how married folkes shulde bring vp theyr chyl dren in the feare of God...

The husband is warned that although he is the head of the household "euen as Christ is the heade of the congregation,"

he is not a tyrannical overlord. The book advocates forbearance and mutual sympathy as the basis for a successful marriage and declares that one of the three purposes of marriage is that the married couple may be a help and a comfort to one another and avoid solitariness.²⁷ This emphasis upon marriage as a personal relationship is reflected in the title of Edmund Tilney's marriage manual, A Brief and Pleasant Discourse of Duties in Marriage, Called the Flower of Friendship (1568).

Marriages arranged by the parents for economic and political reasons came under attack. The anonymous pamphlet Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift (1593) declared that marriage for money was the first cause of jealousy and unhappy marital relations:²⁸

The first cause (quoth he) is a constrained loue, when as parentes do by compulsion coople two bodies, neither respectinge the ioyning of their hartes, nor hauinge any care of the continuance of their wellfare, but more regardinge the linkinge of wealth and money together, then of loue and honesty: will force affection without liking, and cause loue with Ielosie. For either they marry their children in their infancy, when they are not able to know what loue is, or else match them with inequallity, ioyning burning sommer with kea-cold winter, their daughters of twentye yeares olde or vnder, to rich cormorants of threescore or vpwards.

Of course no writer at this time advocated completely free choice for young men and young women concerning whom they would marry, but nearly all warn the parents, with Robert Burton, that "affections are free, not to be commanded."²⁹ The miseries of enforced marriages was a theme also taken

up by the dramatists, notably by Shakespeare in Romeo and Juliet, where Capulet, representing the old school, lays down the law to his daughter: "An you be mine, I'll give you to my friend." (III, v, l. 191)

Although the minimum legal ages for marriage at this time are twelve years for females and fourteen for males, nearly all writers on matrimony speak out against marrying off young people before they are mentally and emotionally prepared for it.³⁰ Bullinger, for example, does not believe females should be married until they are at least seventeen, or males before they are nineteen or twenty. (ff. B8^v & C1)

Finally, the writers of the day begin to take seriously the proposition that the sexes are equal in every important respect. None went so far as William Austin who in Haec Homo, Wherein The Excellency of the Creation of Women is described, By way of an Essay (1637), embraced the concept without reservation:³¹

In the sexe, is all the difference; which is but onely in the body. For, she hath the same reasonable soule; and, in that, there is neither hees, nor shees; neither excellencie, nor superiority: she hath the same soule; the same mind; the same understanding; and tends to the same end of eternall salvation that he Doth.

But Daniel Tuvil and William Perkins also argued the equality of women, albeit in a more qualified way.³²

In spite of all these words, there is no doubt, as Dusinger points out, that "at the end of the sixteenth century fathers [still] arranged the sale of their daughters

over the port, as Clare's father arranges her marriage to Scarborough in The Miseries of Enforced Marriage."³³ The title and theme of the play indicate a battle raging, not a battle won. A handbook of common law printed for the instruction of women in 1632 gave only two reasons for marriage--propagation and the avoidance of fornication--leaving out "mutual comfort" which Bullinger had insisted upon ninety years earlier.³⁴ And in 1606 Frances Howard, 13, was married to the Earl of Essex, 14, for political reasons and no doubt without either one of them having any real say in the matter. The high point of the wedding celebrations was one of the most sublime and high-minded pieces of marriage poetry ever written, Ben Jonson's wedding masque, Hymenaei. The marriage ended in bitter divorce proceedings seven years later, on grounds of impotence, and the affair culminated in the ghastly murder of Sir Thomas Overbury--a sufficient warning that the literature of marriage and the reality of marriage, though related, were not the same thing.

Marriage Poetry: Definition and Form

Marriage poetry is an ancient kind of poetry. The earliest evidence of it is in Homer, Hesiod and the Bible. In the 18th. Book of the Iliad a wedding is one of the events characterizing the City of Peace on the new shield which Hephaistos fashions for Achilles.³⁵ The scene depicted is a wedding procession and there are torches, flutes and lyres, young men whirling in dance, the festive sounds of the bridal

song, and enraptured women standing in doorways. A similar scene is described more elaborately by Hesiod a century or more later in The Shield of Herakles:³⁶

Next this was a city
of men, well walled,
and golden were the seven gates
that were in it, fitted
with lintels, and the people in it,
with merrymaking and dances,
held festival, for some,
in a smooth-running mule-carriage,
were bringing the bride to the groome,
and the loud bride-song was arising.
Far away there flared the light
of the torches blazing
in the hands of the serving-maids, and they,
festive to the occasion,
ran on ahead, and the choruses
came after them, playing;
the men, to the accompaniment of clear pipes,
were singing
from their light mouths, and the sound
of their voices was breaking about them,
while the girls, to the music of lyres,
led on the lovely chorus.
There again, on the other side,
young men reveled to the music
of the flute, some playing to it
with dancing and singing,
while others, each in time
to the flute player, and laughing,
ran on ahead, and the whole city
was in the hold of festivity
and dancing and delight.

The 45th. Psalm of the Bible is probably the earliest surviving epithalamium. It is divided between praise of the bridegroom and praise of the bride. The bridegroom is encouraged to be a great warrior. The bride is advised to forget her own people and her father's house, and to accept her husband as her lord. There is a reference to her virgin companions, the prospect of offspring is looked forward to,

and the poet promises to immortalize the couple. If it celebrates the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel, as Moses Buttenwieser suggests, the 45th. Psalm would have been written c.874-c.853 B.C.³⁷ The Song of Solomon is considerably more difficult to interpret. It may be a collection of secular wedding songs or it may be a cluster of songs from the rites of a Sumerian fertility cult, but there is no doubt that it is about marriage: the woman is referred to repeatedly as "my sister, my spouse."³⁸ Chapter 8, verse 12 is obscure but it might be an early representation of the bride in terms of property rights: "My vineyard, which is mine, is before me: thou, O Solomon, must have a thousand, and those that keep the fruit thereof two hundred." Earlier in the poem the bride has been compared to a vineyard. Catullus, in Carmen 62, would divide the young woman's maidenhead three ways among parents and daughter, and Chapman, many centuries after that, would make the same basic point in "Epithalamion Teratos" in Hero and Leander. Outside the Bible the earliest remains of epithalamic literature are the fragments from Sappho's Book of Epithalamia, written at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C.³⁹

The origins of the epithalamium are obscure but l'Abbé Souchay's guess that it began as a simple acclamation such as "Hymen, O Hymenaeae" and that its broad purpose was to congratulate the newly wedded couple on their marriage and wish them well for the future is a likely conjecture.⁴⁰ The social function of the poem is clear from the descriptions in Homer

and Hesiod and, as Arthur Leslie Wheeler has observed, the epithalamium was rooted in the wedding customs of the day.⁴¹ It was an occasional poem but the occasion which called it forth was one of the most frequently recurrent occasions in the life of a community, and for this reason its theme tended to be of general application. In time, the epithalamium developed a more exclusively literary form. Its scope as a lyric poem was extended, the rhetoricians collected and codified its themes into topoi, and it even ceased necessarily to be a song at all. But the remnants of the ancient customs remained, fossilized in conventional themes and motifs, reminiscent of its original nature. And the pretence of performance, when performance was no longer the rule, marked part of the process of the epithalamium's increasing literary sophistication.

The direction of this process was away from the simple songs of felicitation and good wishes sung in the course of the marriage ceremonies to a more complex and more purely literary kind of lyric--a parody of the earlier type but more appropriately presented as a gift than performed at the wedding--and from this to a more radical change of form, that of the epyllion, in the development of what I shall call the heroic epithalamium.⁴² Wheeler argues that the first part of this process had already occurred by the time of Sappho.⁴³ The second part can be seen in the epithalamia of Statius and Claudian. It was pushed still further with the application of the term epithalamium to religious/rhetorical com-

mentaries on the Song of Solomon and prose orations on marriage in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, but here we must, I think, draw the line.⁴⁴ Certainly the line must be drawn somewhere. The range of literary works which have been called epithalamia is so great that if all of them are accepted as epithalamia the term becomes almost meaningless.

What then is an epithalamium? Etymologically it originally denoted the song sung outside the marriage chamber, ἐπι meaning before and θαλαμος meaning marriage chamber, but at an early stage it came to be applied to nuptial songs in general.⁴⁵ There was a great variety of these in ancient Greece. Besides epithalamia in the strict sense, there were processional songs, 'waking' or 'morning songs,' 'sleeping' songs, and banquet songs.⁴⁶ But among the many qualities which they had in common, there were two which may be considered essential: a close reference to the wedding day and the broad purpose of congratulations and good wishes. Souchay sensibly refuses either to shackle himself with the strict etymological definition or accept the validity of the classifications which the rhetoricians devised not primarily to be faithful to the origins of the form but to guide poets and orators in the practical business of writing prose or verse that would be appropriate for a wedding. Yet I do not think it is enough to call epithalamia "tout chant nuptial qui félicite de nouveaux époux sur leur union."⁴⁷ I am more inclined to concur with Robert H. Case and Thomas M. Greene who argue that poems containing only general good wishes for

the wedded couple, without reference to a specific day, should not be called epithalamia.⁴⁸ As Greene puts it:

The epithalamion must refer to a specific day, fictive or real. Poems containing only generalized good wishes for the wedded couple are not epithalamia. To be conventional the poem must be constructed around the events of the wedding day itself--the religious rites, the banqueting, the bedding of bride and bridegroom (itself a ritual), and the sexual consummation.

One could be stricter still and dismiss the whole phenomenon of the heroic epithalamium. Indeed to do so would possibly enable one to consider the epithalamium as a genre in its own right, since it would then possess consistency of form as well as theme. But the claims of the heroic epithalamium go back a long way and are too well-established to be rejected. To refuse to acknowledge them in a discussion of the epithalamium would be to tamper unduly with the tradition in a vain wish to find neatness and order that are simply not there.

Thus a working definition of the epithalamium is that it is a poem of congratulations and good wishes upon a marriage, with close reference to the wedding day. There are three types of epithalamia under this heading: the simple song of the sort that would have been sung at a wedding; the more complex, more purely literary lyric; and the heroic epithalamium. An early example of the first type is Sappho's beautiful song calling the bride to the nuptial bed:⁴⁹

Bride, so filled with rosy longings,
Bride, fair ornament of Love's queen,
Come now to nuptial couch,
Come now to bed, to sweet and gentle sport,
To your bridegroom, come.

Full willing,
 You shall find the path
 With evening star as guide
 To Matrimony's silver throne
 And wedlock's wonder.

This is an epithalamium in the strict sense of the word. It has the simplicity of a lyric intended to be sung. The allusion to the queen of love would eventually become rare in the lyric types of epithalamia, but Aphrodite was the divinity to whom Sappho had the greatest devotion.⁵⁰ This song, like most of its kind, looks forward to the pleasures of sexual love, and Hesperus, the evening star, becomes the signal to depart for bed, a motif that would be repeated countless times throughout the centuries. But the point about this type of epithalamium is that one can easily imagine it being sung at an actual wedding.

This is the most significant way in which it differs from the second type of epithalamium, illustrated by Catullus's Carmen 61, written for the marriage of Manlius Torquatus and Junia Aurunculeia.⁵¹ An epithalamium which is intended to be sung must be confined to a single time and place. This may be at the banquet, during the procession, or outside the bridal chamber at the bedding of the bride. But a mere song cannot comprehend all of these. This is exactly what the second type of epithalamium sets out to do. Carmen 61 begins with an invocation to Hymen and covers the highlights of the wedding day--the appearance of the bride, the procession, the arrival at the groom's house, the bedding

of the bride, etc.--in successive phases. This represents a radical departure from the sung epithalamium. Yet it is an evolutionary rather than revolutionary change. Carmen 61 is a lyric, not a narrative poem. It does not describe the ceremonies of marriage, it pretends to accompany them. The role of the poet, or speaker, is essentially the one he plays in the sung epithalamium. He comments, he jests, he exhorts, he praises, he celebrates, he gives directions. But because he seems to sustain this function throughout the various stages of the wedding, his role is enlarged to that of chorus leader or master of ceremonies.⁵² He continues to employ the optative subjunctive and to speak in the second person a great deal. He makes known to the newly wedded couple the happiness of their union, using a rhetorical function known to the Greeks as makarismos.⁵³ He acts as though he were addressing them in person, but of course he is not. He merely pretends to do so and the reader recognizes it as pretence. And this is the fundamental difference between the two types of lyric epithalamia. In Carmen 61 Catullus welded together in one poem songs with application to various parts of the Roman wedding--the hymn to Hymen (ll. 46-75), the processional song with its fescennine merriment (ll. 117-151), the epithalamium proper (ll. 197-231)--but in making them into one piece he created something which was strictly speaking unsingable, a more exclusively literary work of art.

Catullus was not the first poet to represent the progress of an action in this way. The same technique was employed in

other forms of poetry among the Greeks, and Wheeler believes that there is sufficient evidence in the ancient rhetorical treatises to show that Sappho used this device in her epithalamia.⁵⁴ What has not been remarked upon, so far as I know, is what happens to time when the poet decides to write in this way. The temporal implications of the technique prove to be worth pondering because they lead to a simple and precise way of distinguishing between the first and second types of epithalamia. But also a consideration of the sense of time in these poems brings us one step beyond the crude distinction of 'singability' to the essential difference of form between the two types.

A close look at Carmen 61 will make this clear. Because the epithalamium deals with the events of the wedding day, the reader's sense of time is closely bound up with his sense of place. The first indication of place in Carmen 61 comes at line 76 when the cry for the bride to emerge is first raised: "claustra pandite ianuae, / virgo adest." This puts the scene before the house of the bride and there is no change until the procession to the groom's house gets under way with line 117: "tollite, o pueri, faces: / flammeum video venire." The procession involves a change of scene and therefore a change of time. But at line 151 we come upon another time/place signal as the house of the groom comes into view: "en tibi domus ut potens / et beata viri tui." At line 177 we learn that the bride has crossed the threshold because the young boy who leads her is directed to let go of her arm:

"mitte bracchiolum teres, / praetextate, puellae." Ten lines later, at line 187, the bridegroom is informed that he may enter the nuptial chamber because the bride has been settled in bed by the attending matrons: "iam licet venias, marite: / uxor in thalamo tibist." At line 197 we see that the groom has wasted no time: "non diu remoratus es, / iam venis." And this is the last time/place signal until line 227 when the maidens are directed to close the doors of the marriage chamber.

Carmen 61 thus falls into six temporal segments:

1. ll. 1-116: including (a) an invocation to Hymen and an announcement of the marriage, calling upon unwedded virgins for assistance [ll. 1-45]; (b) a discussion of the glories of wedlock, symbolized by Hymen [ll. 46-75]; (c) encouragement of the bride to come forth from her house [ll. 76-116]
2. ll. 117-151: the procession, with its fescennine jesting
3. ll. 152-176: the arrival at the house of the groom
4. ll. 177-186: the bedding of the bride
5. ll. 187-196: the departure of the groom for bed
6. ll. 197-231: the epithalamium proper, sung before the marriage couch or outside the marriage chamber

This is why the poem could not be sung or recited at an actual wedding. The references to events--time signals--anchor its various parts to points of time, the successive phases of the Roman wedding, too distant from one another to permit con-

tinuous performance. Insofar as it is one poem, therefore, it is unsingable, though it is true that individual segments, such as the last, or parts of segments, such as the Hymn to Hymen, could be easily adapted for performance. This underlines what has already been observed--that Carmen 61 is welded together with songs from various parts of the Roman wedding. To do justice to Catullus's art, however, we must acknowledge that it is much more than a medley and treat it as a poetic whole, greater than the sum of its parts.

But it is whole in a different way from the way in which the simple nuptial song is whole. In the epithalamium of Sappho, quoted above, there is no interruption in the performance of the song. The voice of the poem runs on continually from one fixed point in time, and we may say that it has temporal integrity.⁵⁵ Carmen 61 does not have temporal integrity. The voice of the poem is interrupted from time to time and speaks from not one but several fixed temporal points: outside the house of the bride; during the procession to the groom's house; the arrival at the groom's house; and so on. Carmen 61 is not made up of one single unit of time but several. It may be said, therefore, to be temporally segmented.

This gives added force to Wheeler's observation concerning the quasi-dramatic character of the technique Catullus employs in Carmen 61.⁵⁶ For its affinities with the drama are not limited to the poet's pretended participation in the wedding ceremonies, though this is a crucial point which I

would not wish to underplay. But where could one find a better illustration of the principle of temporal segmentation than the drama? Every play is divided and subdivided into units of time--acts and scenes--in exactly the same way and for exactly the same reasons as the temporally segmented epithalamium. It is the inevitable result of attempting to represent as though here and now events which must in reality take place over a longer period of time than can be circumscribed by the running time of a play or poem. An element of pretence concerning time is introduced and a particular suspension of disbelief required which is not brought into play when time is organized in one single unit. This represents the extension and development of a relatively simple form to a more sophisticated one. In the case of the epithalamium this must have entailed a modification of its original function as an occasional poem, so that instead of being written for performance at an actual wedding, it came to be written for presentation, ceasing to be an integral part of the wedding festivities to become a gift or memento of the occasion.

This is the first part of the process mentioned at the outset. The second part occurred with the growth of the heroic epithalamium among the Romans. Carmen 64 of Catullus, an epyllion describing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, is sometimes considered an early example of this type of epithalamium. But although the poem does contain an epithalamium--the song sung by the Fates, predicting the exploits and the

early death of Achilles--Carmen 64, as a whole, is a poem written about a marriage rather than for a marriage. The heroic epithalamium was developed rather by Statius and Claudian. It has been called various names, most recently "narrative-epic" by Enid Welsford and "rhetorical" by Virginia Tufte, but I believe that the term "heroic epithalamium" is less ambiguous than either of these. "Rhetorical" is confusing because prose orations at weddings and prose commentaries on the 45th. Psalm and the Song of Solomon later came to be known as epithalamia, and these would seem to merit the adjective "rhetorical" more than the poems under discussion. On the other hand, although these poems are narratives and there is an epic-like quality about them, they can be as short as 150 lines and utterly lack the magnitude suggested by the term "epic." "Heroic" refers to language and sentiments rather than form, and it is in precisely these two respects that the epithalamium in question resembles the epic.

The heroic epithalamium fits exactly the definition given by Jackson of the epyllion: a short poem of mythological content written in hexameter verse and in the epic manner.⁵⁷ Claudian's epithalamium for the marriage of Honorius and Maria is a good example because it is typical and was later imitated in English by Henry Peacham in the last of his four "Nuptiall Hymnes" in honour of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine.⁵⁸ The Emperor Honorius languishes for the love of Maria. Cupid hurries off

to Venus's paradise to inform his mother of his great conquest. Cupid arrives and after telling Venus the news asks her to seal the union between Honorius and Maria. Venus consents and crosses the ocean on the back of Triton, accompanied by a large entourage of sea-gods and sea-nymphs who present her with gifts for the bride. The goddess arrives in Milan, the place of the wedding, and her presence immediately serves to improve the weather and the spirits of the city's inhabitants. She makes preparations for the wedding, then pays a visit to Maria, who until now has given no thought to marriage. After praising the beauty of Maria and her mother, Venus urges the virgin to marry Honorius. She adorns the bride with the gifts which she has brought with her and Maria is sent forth to join the procession which at that moment pulls up outside her door.

Two aspects of this are especially noteworthy. First, the poem is largely an elaborate compliment to Honorius and Maria. This type of epithalamium is at greater pains to flatter the bride and groom than the lyric types. And the way in which the compliment is delivered to Honorius at one point is interesting because it was imitated by Ben Jonson in his wedding masque for the marriage of Viscount Haddington and Elizabeth Radcliffe. When Venus questions Cupid about his latest conquest the exchange is framed in such a way as to compare Honorius to the great deities of the universe:

"Whence comes thy joy?" she asks; "cruel child, what battles hast thou fought? What victim has thine arrow pierced? Hast thou once more compelled the

Thunderer to low among the heifers of Sidon? Hast thou overcome Apollo, or again summoned Diana to a shepherd's cave? Methinks thou hast triumphed over some fierce and potent god."

Hanging upon his mother's kisses he answered: "Mother, be thou glad; a great victory is ours. Now has Honorius felt our arrows."

(ll. 111-118)

Second, in Claudian's poem Venus is portrayed as the patroness of marriage. And the role she plays, though it is narrated rather than dramatized, is the traditional one of master of ceremonies:

"Hymen, choose thou the festal torches, and ye Graces gather flowers for the feast. Thou, Concord, weave two garlands. You, winged band, divide and hasten whithersoever you can be of use: let none be slothful or lazy. You others hang numberless lamps in order from their brackets against the coming of night. Let these haste to entwine the gleaming door-posts with my sacred myrtle. Do you sprinkle the palace with drops of nectar and kindle a whole grove of Sabaeen incense. Let others unfold yellow-dyed silks from China and spread tapestries of Sidon on the ground. Do you employ all your arts in decorating the marriage-bed. Woven with jewels and upborne on carved columns be its canopy, such as rich Lydia ne'er built for Pelops nor yet the Bacchae for Lyaeus, decked as his was with the spoils of Ind and the mantling vine. Heap up there all the gathered wealth of the family...Let the lofty couch be adorned with the barbaric splendour of kings' treasures; be all the wealth of all our triumphs gathered in that marriage-chamber."

(ll. 202-227)

This, however, is a much more fanciful scene than is ever implied in lyric epithalamia.

In the heroic epithalamium the wedding day is still the focal point of the poem but all pretence of performance is dropped. The method is unabashedly narrative and descriptive

rather than quasi-dramatic. The verse form is heroic rather than lyrical. Much of the poem is related in the present tense but it is the conventional historic present of the epic genre and its purpose is to heighten rather than to deceive. Typical themes and motifs are treated more elaborately. There is ample room to go into detail, for example, about the physical, moral and intellectual merits of the principal participants in the wedding. In short, Statius and Claudian, in affecting the large utterance, made the epithalamium into a still more purely literary form.

These then are the three types of epithalamium: the nuptial song, an important attribute of which is temporal integrity; the literary lyric, which is temporally segmented; and the heroic epithalamium. I have suggested that they represent a development away from the sort of song we catch a glimpse of in Homer and Hesiod to a more exclusively literary form. With the ascendance of the Christian Church, however, there came a preoccupation with the world to come, and if marriage was not exactly devalued, the attitude of St. Paul, St. Jerome and St. Augustine towards it certainly lacked the old pagan enthusiasm.⁵⁹ The Council of Laodicea in the 4th. century expressed this attitude in forbidding Christians to sing or dance at weddings.⁶⁰ Gradually the epithalamium declined. But it did not quite die. At first it maintained its essential character while exhibiting new Biblical influences mixed in among the traditional pagan elements. Later, during the Middle Ages, it was pressed into service

to celebrate virginity, the religious life, and the mystical relationship between God and man, through an exploitation of its allegorical possibilities.⁶¹ Epithalamia were written on such themes as the marriage of Christ and the Church, of the human soul and the logos, of Christ and the Virgin Mary.⁶² With the Renaissance and the Reformation the secular epithalamium once again came into vogue. Hundreds of them were written in Latin during the 15th. and 16th. centuries and in Poetices libri septem, published in 1561, Julius Scaliger devoted considerable space to a restatement of the principles relating to the epithalamium which had been first set forth by the Greek and Roman rhetoricians of the 2nd. century A.D. and afterwards. In England a lively and vivid account of the epithalamium was given in 1589 by George Puttenham in The Arte of English Poesie.⁶³

Most of the neo-Latin epithalamia were of the heroic type.⁶⁴ Courtlandt van Winkle and Robert H. Case have testified to their poor quality in general and Case observes that they had little influence upon the vernacular epithalamia, which were, for the most part, one or the other of the two lyric varieties.⁶⁵ In England the majority of vernacular epithalamia between 1575 and 1625 were nuptial songs written for wedding masques and plays and sometimes as isolated poems. Outside the masques only two nuptial songs survive that probably were performed at actual weddings. There is a small but eminent group of literary lyrics, beginning auspiciously with Spenser's Epithalamion. And there are

a few heroic epithalamia which are worth reading just to appreciate how totally they are surpassed by Peacham's skilful imitation of Claudian. Finally there are the wedding masques, which claim our attention not just because they contain nuptial songs, or even because they sometimes exhibit a pervasive epithalamic influence, but because they restore to the poetry of marriage the ancient ceremonial function which, in becoming more purely literary, it had lost.

I

THE NUPTIAL SONGS

The body of nuptial songs written between 1575 and 1625 is widely distributed. Most of them are found in a variety of literary contexts--in masques, plays, pastoral romances, and epyllia. On the whole, the songs in the wedding masques are better understood if discussed in relation to the masques of which they form part. But two exceptions to this general rule will be dealt with in this chapter: George Chapman's "Hymn to Hymen," printed as an addendum to his Masque of the Middle Temple (1613), and Ben Jonson's Hymenaei epithalamium (1606/07), a processional song intended to be sung after the masque had ended.

Most of the songs from the plays, pastoral romances and epyllia are independent of the works in which they are found, and can be considered without disadvantage out of context. These songs are all imitations in that they were not written to be sung at actual weddings. In some cases, notably the songs from the plays, this is a distinction of no great consequence; in others, the fundamentally literary purpose has cast a palpable literary aura over the songs, making them less appropriate for singing.

There are also some nuptial songs isolated from any larger literary or dramatic context. Only a few of these show signs of having been sung, however. One is "The Bride's Good-morrow," a charming ballad first printed in the reign of James I but probably dating from the Elizabethan period.¹ The others are the three Nuptial Songs printed in John Dowland's

1612 collection of lyrics from madrigals and canzonets.² Except for the songs in the wedding masques, these are the only surviving nuptial songs which probably were sung at actual weddings. Most of the nuptial songs which have come down to us from this period were used for literary-dramatic purposes and have less reference to actual marriages than the more literary types of epithalamium.

Of course this does not mean that nuptial songs did not often play a role in wedding festivities of the time. Their existence in plays indicates that they were not so far removed from common experience as to be useless as a dramatic device. And for the author of The Christen State of Matrimonye, writing under the heading "Abuse at weddings," their employment was only too real and too frequent:

For a man shall fynd unmanerly and restlesse people,
that will first go to theyr chambre dore, and there
syng vycious and naughtie balates that the devell
maye have his whole triumphe nowe to the uttermost.

(sig. I8^v)

But such songs would have been informal, even impromptu, and their failure to survive is not surprising. On the other hand, when a more artful product was required it would seem that poets tended either to turn to the more formal, more purely literary types of epithalamium--to write, that is, poems which would commemorate the occasion, rather than nuptial songs which would be sung as part of the proceedings--or, in the case of important marriages, to participate in the creation of a wedding masque. Individual nuptial songs with art-settings, such as the song or songs in Dowland's collection,

probably were not a common feature of marriage celebrations of the time.³

A nuptial song must be confined to one time and place, fictional or real. There are several points during the wedding day which are particularly appropriate for a song. In classical marriages nuptial songs were commonly sung at the banquet, during the wedding procession, and at the departure of the newlyweds for bed. These continued to be popular occasions for song in Elizabethan and Stuart England, but other occasions were added because of differences in the ordering of the ceremonies.

The ancient marriage rites took place in the evening. In Rome, a feast was prepared at the house of the bride.⁴ After the banquet she was taken from her mother with a token show of force, which was supposed to commemorate marriage by capture. As she approached her new home, she was greeted by a chorus of singers, bearing torches. Then she was carried over the threshold, welcomed by her husband, and given the keys of the house, which signified that she was the mistress of the household. Next the bride was settled in bed by the pronubae.⁵ Finally she was joined by her husband, and the chorus sang its congratulations and good wishes.

A picture of the progress of the English wedding can be gleaned from Christopher Brooke's "An Epithalamium; or a Nuptial Song, Applied to the Ceremonies of Marriage," printed in the 1614 edition of England's Helicon, and this is substantially corroborated in contemporary descriptions of weddings

such as the one already referred to in The Christen State of Matrimonye.⁶ The wedding rites usually got under way in the morning with the ceremony in church. This was followed by the nuptial feast. The afternoon was given over to music and dancing. Then came supper, and after that more music and dancing (or, in the case of important weddings, a masque), until the bedding of the bride when the "naughtie balates" would be sung. A cursory glance at the nuptial songs of the period shows that nuptial songs might be sung at any of crucial stages of the wedding day: upon rising in the morning, during the procession to or from church, at the church solemnities, at the wedding feast, as well as upon the departure of the couple for bed. And since many of the conventional epithalamic themes and motifs have close time-place references, it is useful to proceed through the points at which nuptial songs would have been sung on the wedding day.

The Aubade

According to Puttenham, the aubade epithalamium existed in ancient times and was sung the morning after the wedding night to greet the newly married couple.

with a Psalme of new applausions, for that they had either of them so well behaved them selues that night, the husband to rob his spouse of her maidenhead and saue her life, the bride so lustely to satisfie her husbandes loue and scape with so litle daunger of her person, for which good chaunce that they should make a louely truce and abstinence of that warre till next night sealing the placard of that louely league, with twentie maner of sweet kisses, then by good admonitions (the musicians) enformed them to the frugall & thriftie life all the rest of their dayes.

(pp. 52 & 53)

In England at this time, however, probably because the wedding took place in the morning rather than in the evening, the aubade was sung at the beginning of the wedding day itself and was usually addressed to the bride alone.⁷ Needless to say, the sentiments appropriate for such a song were quite different from those described by Puttenham.

In "The Bride's Good-morrow" we see the epithalamium naturalized as part of the English folk tradition. Being a ballad it shows a complete lack of classical influence and it is therefore of particular importance because it helps us to distinguish themes and motifs that were contemporary from those that were classical. Both the wedding day and the marriage itself are described in terms of how they affect the bride. The attitude is very positive and anti-materialistic. There is no talk of possession (of one partner by the other), and what is said about possessions is a warning not to put one's trust in them:

Gold soone decayeth and worldly (wealth) consumeth,
 and wasteth in the winde:
 But love, once planted in a perfect & pure minde,
 indureth weale and woe:
 The frownes of fortune, come they never so unkinde,
 cannot the same overthrowe.
 A bit of bread is better cheare,
 Where loue and friendship doth appeare,
 then dainty dishes stuffed full of strife:
 For where the heart is cloyd with care,
 Sower is the sweetest fare,
 and death far better then so bad a life.

The emphasis, in "The Bride's Good-morrow," is upon friendship. The bride is supported by friends and relatives who rejoice at her good fortune. And her husband is portrayed as a friend

whom God has sent to defend her from sorrow, care and smart:

In health and sicknes, for thy comfort day & night
 he is appointed and brought,
 Whose love and liking is most constant, sure, and right:
 then love ye him as ye ought.
 Now you have your heart's desire,
 And the thing you did require.

As long as his precepts are obeyed God will deny no good thing to those who keep the faith. Marriage is looked upon as a partnership characterized by companionship and security, and the advice is to trust in the Lord.

The Christian slant of the song and the anti-materialism that stems from that are obviously non-classical, but they are not new. What is new is the perspective--the wedding is seen entirely from the bride's point of view. Of course the bride is not always neglected in epithalamic tradition, but nowhere else can be found such a positive and sympathetic treatment of the woman's role in marriage as here. What it indicates is a new-found respect towards women.

Also new is the stress given to friendship and emotional security as two primary benefits of marriage. Again, neither of these is entirely absent from classical or medieval epithalamic tradition, but the importance they are accorded in "The Bride's Good-morrow" is unprecedented except in contemporary nuptial songs. It indicates that marriage was beginning to be regarded more as a personal relationship and less as a political or economic alliance between families. And it indicates the emergence of domestic, middle class values in literature in competition with the heroic and romantic postures more

characteristic of the nobility.

"A Bridal Song" in The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissil (printed in 1603) is a considerably shorter aubade. Case ascribes it to Thomas Dekker and it was sung as part of the play which Dekker is supposed to have written in collaboration with Henry Chettle and William Haughton.⁸⁾ It does little more than call upon the bride to arise and praise Hymen. It could hardly be simpler in conception, nor more sparing or effective in choice of detail:

Beauty, arise! show forth thy glorious shining:
Thine eyes feed love; for them he standeth pining.
Honour and Youth attend to do their duty
To thee, their only sovereign beauty.
Beauty, arise! whilst we, thy servants sing!
Io to Hymen, wedlock's jocund king.
Io to Hymen, Io, Io sing!
Of wedlock, love, and youth, is Hymen king.

Beauty, arise! thy glorious lights display,
Whilst we sing Io, glad to see this day.
Io, Io, to Hymen Io, Io sing!
Of wedlock, love, and youth, is Hymen king.

This stands in sharp contrast to Robert Herrick's "A Nuptial Verse to Mistresse Elizabeth Lee, now Lady Tracie" (1630?), written nearly three decades later. Whereas the first represents the nuptial song as a song, the second is an example of the nuptial song as a poem. Herrick's song seems to arise from a literary rather than musical impulse. It is more complex and more argumentative, persuading the bride to get up by summarizing in a busy colloquial style what the day holds in store:⁹

Spring with the Larke, most comely Bride, and meet
 Your eager Bridegroom with auspicious feet.
 The Morn's farre spent; and the immortal Sunne
 Carrols his cheeke, to see those Rites not done.
 Fie, Lovely maid! Indeed you are too slow,
 When to the Temple Love sho'd runne, not go.
 Dispatch your dressing then; and quickly wed:
 Then feast, and coy't a little; then to bed.
 This day is Loves day; and this busie night
 Is yours, in which you challeng'd are to fight
 With such an arm'd, but such an easie Foe,
 As will if you yeeld, lye down conquer'd too.
 The Field is pitcht; but such must be your warres,
 As that your kisses must out-vie the Starres.
 Fall down together vanquisht both, and lye
 Drown'd in the bloud of Rubies there, not die.

It is characteristic of the epithalamium, as well as of Herrick,
 that the accent is upon the delights of lovemaking.

The Processional Song

The two examples of processional songs that I know of
 are from plays. The song from the first scene of Two Noble
 Kinsmen (1612-13; the song may have been written by John
 Fletcher or Shakespeare) accompanies the strewing of flowers
 in the path of Theseus and Hippolyta as they make their way
 to church. The strewing of flowers during the church proces-
 sion was a contemporary custom and its significance is clear
 from the third stanza of this song:¹⁰

All dear natures children sweet
 Lie fore Bride and Bridegrooms feet, [Strew flowers]
 Blessing their sence.

This suggests the assent of nature to the marriage. In the
 fourth stanza all birds of ill-omen, foreshadowing discord,
 are commanded to keep away.

The song from Act III, Scene 5 of Hymen's Triumph (1615)
by Samuel Daniel is short enough to be quoted in toto:¹¹

From the Temple to the Boord,
From the Boord unto the Bed,
We conduct your maidenhead:
Wishing Hymen to affoord
All the pleasures that he can,
Twixt a woman and a man.

This is sung at the procession home from church but it anticipates the rest of the wedding day in referring to the wedding feast and the bedding of the bride. Once again the song is directed exclusively towards the bride. Its wish that the bride and groom will experience all the joys that are possible between a man and a woman is typical, in a way, in that the epithalamium is invariably frank in its treatment of sex in marriage. But it is not traditional to direct such sentiments at the bride, who is usually portrayed as inclined to resist love's peaceful war, needing to be cajoled, threatened and even forced physically to satisfy her husband's lust. Catullus, for example, rhapsodizes upon what is in store for the husband--¹²

What joys are coming for your lord,
O what joys for him to know in the fleeting
Night, joys in the full day!

--while he enjoins the bride to co-operate in distinctly less enticing terms:

...O Bride, be sure that you refuse not
What your husband claims,
Lest he go elsewhere to find it.

(ll. 147-49)

The Wedding Hymn

The most important of the songs intended to accompany the solemnization of the wedding contract itself is the "Caroll in memorie and joy of the new marriage betweene Syrenus and Diana" in the fourth book of Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana, a pastoral romance translated by Bartholomew Yong in 1583. Nature is called upon to celebrate the joyful event that has just taken place, and this is especially appropriate given the genre:

Let now each meade with flowers be depainted,
 Of sundrie colours sweetest odours glowing:
 Roses yeeld foorth your smels, so finely tainted,
 Calme windes, the greene leaves moove with gentle blowing:

The christall rivers flowing
 With waters be increased:
 And since each one from sorrowes now hath ceased,
 (From mournefull plaints and sadnes)
Ring forth faire Nymphes, your joyful songs for gladnes.

The use of the optative and jussive subjunctive to express wishes and commands, as in this stanza, is very common in the epithalamium. The technique is employed by Catullus in Carmen 61 and by Spenser in Epithalamion, and it is a function of the role of choragus or master-of-ceremonies adopted by the writers of epithalamia. It is used throughout this beautiful wedding Hymn, except for the third stanza, which praises the benevolent influence of Felicia who brought about the match between Syrenus and Diana. The wish is expressed that their flocks will be fruitful, that they will live long in pleasure and produce fair issue, that they may find happiness in the special blessings of the pastoral life, and that the perils

of marriage and life--misfortune, jealousy, household sadness-- may never touch them.

The song is sung by Arsileus and it is loosely and artlessly constructed in accordance with pastoral decorum. It appears to fall out verse by verse with the same 'spontaneity' of "The Bride's Good-morrow." There is no beginning, middle and end. Arsileus's attention wanders from flowers to Felicia, from springs to lambs, from amorous birds to concord and peace. Without any warning he just stops--

But now bicause my brest so hoarse, and sorie
It faints, may rest from singing,
End Nymphes your songs, that in the clouds are ringing.

The six-line song at the end of As You Like It (1598-1600) is much narrower in scope. But it is interesting for the distinction it makes between the roles of Juno and Hymen:

Wedding is great Juno's crown:
O blessed bond of board and bed!
'Tis Hymen peoples every town;
High wedlock then be honoured.
Honour, high honour, and renown,
To Hymen, god of every town!

The "blessed bond of board and bed" is associated with Juno; that is, the everyday practicalities of a personal relationship between two individuals. But it is Hymen who peoples every town: his concern is with marriage as a social institution. The line echoes Catullus's praise of Hymen in *Carmen* 61:

No house without thee can give children,
 No parent rest on his offspring;
 But all is well if thou art willing.
 What god dare match himself with this god!

A land that should want thy sanctities
 Would not be able to produce guardians
 For its borders--but could, if thou wert willing.
 What god dare match himself with this god!

Hymen's sphere is social, Juno's is personal. This distinction is more clearly made by Francis Quarles in the "Nuptial Caroll" in Book III of Argalus and Parthenia (1629). Supplication is made to Juno in the first three stanzas for blessings and joy, and for protection against satiety, strife, jealousy and "domestick jars." Hymen is brought in as priest in the last stanza to bestow society's seal of approval.

Nathan Field's Song in Act II, Scene i of A Woman is a Weathercock (printed 1612) is sung just before the wedding party enters the church, and it presents the betrothed couple to the priest. Thematically it is interesting because, like many nuptial songs of the time, it reflects the contemporary shift in marital theory away from arranged marriages and towards marriages based on love and mutual compatibility. A warning is given concerning those who buy and sell the marriage bed: marriages thus made soon bring discontent. The only valid basis for marriage, we are told, is "the true fire" of love.

The Banqueting Song

I do not know of any banqueting songs between 1575 and 1625 but there is one given in Argalus and Parthenia by

Quarles just a few years later in 1629. It is fanciful and merry, sung by a drunken Bacchus and a plump Ceres, and it reminds the wedded couple of the bounties of the vine and the field which are theirs.

The Epithalamium Proper

In addition to the aubade, the processional song, the banqueting song, and the wedding hymn, there are several examples of the epithalamium proper. If they were not all meant to be sung outside the wedding chamber or before the marriage couch, all of these songs do 'take place' at, or just before, the bedding of the bride. Not surprisingly, ancient themes and motifs continue to be appropriate. Night (personified and symbolized) is greeted, the arrival of Hesperus is interpreted as a sign that the time to retire has come, the imminent pleasures of the battle of love are variously considered and encouraged, and the prospect of progeny is raised. At the same time, more contemporary themes and motifs, such as the pitfalls of matrimony and the humdrum tasks of domestic life, are also much in evidence.

An interesting example is the nuptial song from the fifth tale in A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels, translated by Henry Wotton from Le Printemps D'Yver as early as 1578, and rivalling Sidney's "Song of Dicus" as the first example of the epithalamium in English.¹³ Very much in the manner of Catullus's Carmen 62, it takes the form of a debate between youths and maidens concerning the advantages and dis-

advantages of marriage. The appearance of Hesperus, representing marriage in general and not just the wedding night, is once again the catalyst of the argument, and the Catullan emblems--virginity as an untouched flower, marriage as a fruitful vine wedded to the sturdy elm--are employed. The maidens bewail the loss of one of their number and they complain that the bride must now forgo youthful company.

Similar objections are made by Catullus's virgins. But Yver's maidens are much more specific and much less traditional in their reservations about marriage. They speak disparagingly of the wife's role as "the servile yoke which strangely will hir tame." They do not relish the thought of yielding as thrall to a husband's law, kept close to the chimney corner, cut off from the "daintie cheare" and "pleasaunte sports" of young companions. They shrink from the drudgery of housework, the "yoke of toil and care," as it is described. The young men, for their part, do little to dispel these fears. Marriage is seen as the triumph of the male. He avenges himself on cruel love, putting a thousand Cupids to rout, with their bows and brands, torments and griefs. "... where in jealous doubttes a thousande pangis did growe, / Possession may be pleaded nowe, the same overthrowe." In the end the maidens succumb, not because they have seen the light, but because they feel they must resign themselves to the inevitable. And since Hymen's claims cannot be resisted they extend their good wishes, praying that as a recompense for the loss which the bride must suffer, the

marriage may never know contempt or jealousy, and that the bride may govern her family well. Nevertheless, the feelings of the woman are presented much more strongly and effectively than in the classical epithalamium. This is further evidence that women were beginning to be regarded as individuals in their own right. This, in turn, is no doubt related to the increasing audience of women readers (especially for romance literature such as the Courtlie Controversie), which was one result of the Tudor educational system.

Not surprisingly, given his knowledge of the classics, George Chapman is more traditional in his choice of themes for his three nuptial songs: "Epithalamion Teratos", which comes at the end of the fifth sestiad of Hero and Leander (printed in 1598), "A Hymn to Hymen", written in honour of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine in 1613, and "Parcarum Epithalamion" in Andromeda Liberata (1614). Nevertheless Chapman is highly original in his treatment of these themes.

All three poems are epithalamia in the strict etymological sense of the word. "Epithalamion Teratos" is sung by the nymph Tera at the marriage of Alcmene and Mya, and it anticipates the wedding night, with all that that implies. The first two-thirds of the poem is written in varying four-stress verse, interrupted at irregular intervals by the chorus--¹⁴

Loue calls to warre,
Sighs his Alarmes,
Lips his swords are,
The field his Armes.

This is the well-worn battle of love motif, which goes back to the fourth fescennine verse of Claudian, was resurrected in the neo-Latin epithalamia of Pontanus and Secundus, and attained wide currency among Italian vernacular epithalamists.¹⁵ It entered the English epithalamium with Henry Wotton's translation of Yver and became a favourite metaphor for love-making. Chapman's main concern in the first part of the poem, however, is the idea of night, not just as an opportunity for sexual pleasure but as a "soft rest of Cares" and a time of peace, when darkness has laid her "velvet hand" on "Dayes out-facing face" and "factious Day" has been subdued. When the appearance of the evening star is announced the tempo of the verse changes to a more stately five-stress line. The youths are called upon to rise from the banquet and delay no longer the rights of love, and love-longings are depicted in the eyes of young virgins, who are enjoined to embrace marriage.

The last eighteen lines are closely reminiscent of Catullus's Carmen 62.¹⁶ There are two specific debts. One is the repeated line--"Rise youths, loves right claims more than banquets, rise"--which, in Carmen 62, signals the start of the debate between the youths and maidens over the value of marriage. More significant is Chapman's adaptation of the Catullan tripartite division of the maidenhead. As Catullus employs it this must be the ultimate metaphor for the materialistic view of marriage:

Your maidenhead is not all your own;
 partly it belongs to your parents.
 A third part is given to your father,
 a third part to your mother,
 only a third is yours;
 do not contend with two
 who, together with the dowry,
 have given their rights to their son-in-law.
 (ll. 62-65)

The property being disposed of democratically, the daughter in this case, is out-voted by the other shareholders. Chapman translates this into contemporary English usage in a way which has puzzled modern commentators:

...the maidenheads ye holde
 Are not your owne alone, but parted are;
 Part in disposing them your Parents share,
 And that a third part is: so must ye saue
 Your loues a third, and you your thirds must haue.

'To have one's thirds' is a technical legal expression, now obsolete, referring to the "third of the personal property of a deceased husband allowed to his widow," and also "the third of his real property to which his widow might be legally entitled for life."¹⁷ Chapman's rendering is confusing because, unlike Catullus's, it is not arithmetically exact. He is speaking figuratively about the respective rights of parents, groom and bride. And although the bride's maidenhead is still a piece of real estate, Chapman's version does give a more positive emphasis to the woman's interest in the transaction.

Chapman's other two epithalamia were written for the two great marriages in 1613. The wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and the Count Palatine took place on St. Valentine's Day and at the end of the year, on the 26 December, the king's

favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, was married to Lady Frances Howard, who had just divorced the Earl of Essex. The first of these was an occasion of extended celebration. There were watershows on the Thames, splendid fireworks, and several costly triumphal processions followed by equally sumptuous masques.¹⁸ Oxford assembled a collection of some 230 epithalamia in Latin, Greek, Italian and Hebrew.¹⁹ And vernacular poets, although they could not match this for productivity, nevertheless rose to the occasion with the more memorable poems, some of which were included in masques.

The Somerset marriage was greeted with hardly less rejoicing among poets and writers of masques, in spite of the scandal which attended the affair. The marriage was an attempt on the part of the Howards to gain influence. Frances Howard's earlier marriage to the Earl of Essex, which Jonson had celebrated in Hymenaei, was annulled on grounds of impotence. When Carr's "Governor," Sir Thomas Overbury, opposed the match he was sent to the Tower on a trumped-up charge and eventually poisoned. It is clear from the furore caused by Chapman's faux pas in Andromeda Liberata (see footnote 24 below) and from Campion's attempt to clear the air in The Squires Masque, that the atmosphere surrounding these events was heavy with rumours of ill-dealings.²⁰ But whether to discharge a debt or make a bid for patronage, Chapman, Donne, Jonson and Campion, among others, all produced works in honour of this infamous marriage.

"A Hymn to Hymen," published in conjunction with Chapman's

masque for the first of these marriages, is a hymn in the tradition of Spenser's Fowre Hymnes; that is to say, "a song to a divinity (consisting of) an invocation to a god, a prayer for his favour, and (including) stories concerned with his birth, his achievements and the propagation of his cult."²¹ The poem is written in heroic couplets and is a more purely literary effort even than Chapman's other two epithalamia. It can nevertheless be classified as a nuptial song in that it rests upon the pretence that it is sung outside the marriage chamber as the wedding day reaches its end.

In the course of the poem Chapman develops three variations on the flower simile initiated by Catullus in *Carmen* 62: the love-scorched virgins who nourish quenchless fires are like sun-scorched flowers; the married woman, on the other hand, thrives in the same way that "a glad graft in the spring sun shines"; and the eligible maid resembles the tender hyacinth in that she must be "gathered" at the full grace of her glorious hue. But what is most striking about this poem is Chapman's representation of Hymen, personifying marriage--pursued seductively by young maidens, urged on by old matrons, and instructed by nature to bring this marriage to fruition and other marriages into being:²²

Come, Hymen, then, come, close these nuptial hours
 With all years' comforts. Come, each virgin keeps
 Her odorous kisses for thee; golden sleeps
 Will in their humours never steep an eye,
 Till thou invit'st them with thy harmony.
 Why stayest thou? See, each virgin doth prepare
 Embraces for thee, her white breasts lays bare

To tempt thy soft hand, lets such glances fly
 As make stars shoot to imitate her eye,
 Puts Art's attires on, that put Nature's down,
 Sings, dances, sets on every foot a crown,
 Sighs in her songs and dances, kisseth air,
 Till, rites and words past, thou in deeds repair.
 The whole court Io sings, Io the air,
 Io the floods and fields, IO, most fair,
 Most sweet, most happy Hymen; come, away
 With all thy comforts come; old matrons pray
 With young maids' languors; birds bill, build, and breed,
 To teach thee thy kind; every flower and weed
 Looks up to gratulate thy long'd-for fruits:
 Thrice given are free and timely-granted suits.

Nowhere else is Hymen characterized as delightfully as in this passage, nowhere is the mood of riotous celebration captured more vividly.

"Parcarum Epithalamion" also shows the influence of Catullus, but this time it is Carmen 64 which Chapman clearly had in mind. It inspired his use of the Fates to sing the epithalamium, as well as the onomatopoeic refrain: "Haste you that guide the web, haste spindles haste." And the first stanza of Chapman's poem is similar to the first stanza sung by the Parcae in Carmen 64.²³ Both poems deal with progeny: this is a logical thematic outgrowth of having the Parcae as chorus. But Chapman makes a further extension, to the concept of achieving immortality through one's offspring, and from that yet another extension, to the idea that this immortality is sometimes to be desired for social as well as personal reasons:

Joue loues not many, therefore let those few
 That his gifts grace, affect still to renew.

Andromeda Liberata was written to justify Frances Howard's

divorce of Essex on grounds of impotence, and to celebrate her marriage to Robert Carr. Chapman's argument, derived from Ficino's commentary on Plato's Symposium, is that when great personages fail to produce offspring they should be allowed to dissolve their marriages in order that they might have the chance of effecting a fruitful union.²⁴ The idea that lies behind "Parcarum Epithalamion" is that the seed of the great ought not to be wasted. And the occasion which inspired this poem gives an urgency to the theme which is completely lacking in the song sung by Catullus's three sisters.

Compared with Chapman's difficult but brilliant amplification of traditional epithalamic themes, the other wedding songs sung at the bedding of the bride are quite down-to-earth. The Nuptial Songs from A Pilgrim's Solace have already been mentioned as constituting one of the two instances among extant epithalamia of the period in which the songs were probably performed at actual weddings. They are typical revels songs. The first of them welcomes the arrival of black night and looks forward to the "chaste Delight" of the marriage bed, a choice of words which reflects the contemporary reconciliation between the virtue of chastity and the state of matrimony. The idea that one achieves a kind of immortality through one's children has already been encountered in Chapman's "Parcarum Epithalamion," but it is expressed more simply in the last line of this song which praises Hymen as the god "that freest from mortality."

The second song attempts to persuade the couple to linger a while longer among their guests--a turn-about of the usual theme which follows in the third song: an exhortation to the bride and groom to tarry no longer but hasten to bed; and here mention is made of "Hymen's peaceful war."

The ubiquitous battle-of-love metaphor is elaborately drawn out in Quarles's "Epithalamion" in Book III of Argalus and Parthenia. The song is addressed to the bridegroom after the bride has retired and he is about to join her in bed:²⁵

Man of warre, march bravely on,
 The field's not easie to be wonne;
 There's no danger in that warre,
 Where lips both swords and bucklers are.
 Here's no cold to chill thee,
 A bed of downe's thy field:
 Here's no sword to kill thee,
 Vnlesse thou please to yeeld.
 Here is nothing will incumber,
 Here will be no scars to number.
 These be wars of Cupid's making
 These be wars will keep you waking,
 Till the early-breaking day
 Call your forces hence, away.
 These be wars that make no spoile,
 Death here shoots his shafts in vaine;
 Though the souldiers get a foile,
 He will rouze and fight againe.
 These be wars that never cease,
 But conclude a mutuall peace.

In the last twelve lines of the poem the immortality that is implicit in procreation is alluded to:

Let benigne and prosp'rous stars,
 Breathe success upon these wars,
 And when thrice three months be run,
 Be thou father of a sonne;
 A sonne that may derive from thee
 The honour of true merit,

And may to ages, yet to be,
 Convey thy blood, thy spirit;
 Making the glory of his fame
 Perpetuate, and crowne thy name,
 And give it life in spite of death,
 When Fame shall want both trump and breath.

A son rather than a daughter appears to be required for this immortalization to work. At least this is true for the groom, to whom this epithalamium is sung. Perhaps the opposite would apply in the case of the bride.

The epithalamium in The Little French Lawyer (1620?) by John Fletcher is short enough to be quoted in full:²⁶

Come away, bring on the Bride
 And place her by her Lovers side:
 Yon fair troop of Maids attend her,
 Pure and holy thoughts befriend her,
 Blush, and wish, you Virgins all,
 Many such fair nights may fall.

Chorus

Hymen, fill the house with joy,
 All the sacred fires employ:
 Bless the bed with holy love,
 Now fair orb of Beauty move.

Bullinger speaks of sex solemnly as a marital duty, and the Reformists' positive acceptance of the act of sex within marriage often results in a curious mixture of religion and sex, such as the idea here that as the bride is placed by her lover's side "pure and holy thoughts [should] befriend her." The "chaste Delight" of the marriage bed already noted in the Nuptial Songs from A Pilgrim's Solace is another example of this.

Miscellaneous Nuptial Songs

The nuptial songs discussed so far can all be assigned to a specific time and place on the wedding day. There is another body of nuptial songs, however, which are less definite in their time-place references.

The earliest and best-known of these is Sidney's "Song of Dicus" in the third eclogues in the Old Arcadia. Its exhortations to heaven and earth to participate in the wedding of Lalus and Kala by providing good weather and an abundance of flowers would seem to make it appropriate for singing early on the wedding day. The first line--"Let mother earth now decke her selfe in flowers"--might refer to the strewing of flowers which, in contemporary English epithalamia, is a mark of the processional song. However, the invocations to gods and powers and the high moral tone of the poem would be appropriate for a wedding hymn. In fact, the "Song of Dicus" is much longer and much more comprehensive than most nuptial songs. It is more literary than ceremonial in purpose and this makes it hard to assign to any of the usual categories.

In some respects the "Song of Dicus" closely resembles Yong's translation of the nuptial carol from Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana. The first line--"Let now each meade with flowers be depainted"--echoes the first line of Sidney's poem quoted above. Both poems are, of course, written in the pastoral style and this accounts for many of the similarities between them. For example, they both appeal to nature to shower blessings upon the married couple, which is

an extension of the pastoral setting in both poems.

The "Song of Dicus," however, seems much less 'natural' than Gil Polo's nuptial carol--that is to say, it is much more contrived. This is not a mark of inferiority, just a point of difference. One of the pleasures of Sidney's poem is its tight interwoven texture of theme and motif and the orderly development of its ideas, which are recapitulated in the last stanza:²⁷

The earth is deckt with flowers, the heav'ns displaid,
 Muses graunt giiftes, Nymphes long and joynd life,
Pan store of babes, vertue their thoughts well staid,
Cupid's lust gone, and gone is bitter strife,
 Happy man, happy wife.
 No pride shall them oppresse,
 Nor yet shall yeeld to loathsome sluttishnes,
 And jealousie is slaine:
 For Himan will their coupled joyes maintaine.

This is a conclusio, the poem in summary, and it is distinctly more formal than the abrupt ending of the nuptial carol from Enamoured Diana.

A more significant difference from our point of view is the psychological and moral dimensions of the "Song of Dicus." In the last four stanzas before the concluding stanza Sidney adopts the role of marriage counsellor, admonishing the couple against the pitfalls of marriage. It has already been noted that this concern with marriage as a personal relationship is a sixteenth-century phenomenon. Here Cupid is associated with "lawlesse lust," as he frequently is in contemporary epithalamia, along with Venus and Mars, and once again the choice of words is significant because marriage

places sexual love within a legal framework, thus liberating it for the middle class mind so that it can be positively and enthusiastically endorsed. Hymen's bands are the limits within which there is formal sanction for sexual activity, and the dangerous thing about lust is that it is lawless. Sidney also warns against domestic strife, pride, slovenliness and jealousy:

All churlish wordes, shrewd answeres, crabbed lookes,
 All privatnes, selfe-seeking, inward spite,
 All waywardnes, which nothing kindly brookes,
 All strife for toyes, and clayming master's right:
 Be hence aye put to flight,
 All sturring husband's hate
 Gainst neighbors good for womanish debate
 Be fled as things most vaine,
 O Himan long their coupled joyes maintaine.

All peacock pride, and fruites of peacock's pride
 Longing to be with losse of substance gay
 With recklessness what may the house betide,
 So that you may on hyer slippers stay
 For ever hence awaye:
 Yet let not sluttery,
 The sinke of filth, be counted huswifery:
 But keeping holesome meane,
 O Himan long their coupled joyes maintaine.

The above all away vile jealousie,
 The evill of evils, just cause to be unjust,
 (How can he love suspecting treacherie?
 How can she love where love cannot win trust?)
 Goe snake hide thee in dust,
 Ne dare once shew thy face,
 Where open hartes do holde so constant place,
 That they thy sting restraine,
 O Himan long their coupled joyes maintaine.

(p. 93)

Some of these themes are dealt with by Gil Polo/Yong but there is a sharp contrast in the light and graceful touch which they receive in the nuptial carol compared with the detail of Sidney's analysis and the severity of his tone.

Although it is technically a nuptial song, Sidney's "Song of Dicus" is a very literary piece of work in its construction, its range of detail, and its complexity of thought. More literary still is Sir Henry Goodere's "Epithalamion of the Princess' Marriage", for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine, which is about as far removed from the sung epithalamium as a nuptial song can be.²⁸ The poet contests every turn of his thought and draws out every paradox in the typical metaphysical manner. Of particular interest, thematically, is his meditation upon the marriage act. He sees it as the mint of perfection, "perfection's sweet and sovereign balm, / Which all wounds of stormy passion calm," a thought which is reminiscent of Chapman's "soft rest of Cares." Although Goodere's poem is a nuptial song in form--it has a stanzaic structure and temporal integrity--reference to the wedding day is much less definite than is usual in nuptial songs, and it would not be appropriate for singing.²⁹

Michael Drayton's "Prothalamion" in the 8th Nymphall of The Muses Elizium (1630?) falls just outside the period under scrutiny but is worth looking at because it is another example of the nuptial song modified to serve purely literary ends. It is not, strictly speaking, a prothalamion at all because it is meant to be sung on the wedding day, though before the wedding ceremonies get under way. These ceremonies are anticipated in the poem, one by one, in a manner roughly similar to Herrick's in his aubade nuptial song for

Lady Tracy. It is a highly organized, finely wrought poem in dialogue form, constructed in seven units, each consisting of a two-line question followed by a two-line answer, a six-line exhortation or description appropriate to a particular part of the wedding festivities, and ending in a two-line refrain. The three nymphs who sing the song perform the same roles in each unit, and in this way the whole of the day's events are covered, from the strewing of flowers for the procession to church, to the masques and rare banquets of the wedding night. Here is a sample, describing the celebrations upon the return of the bride from church:³⁰

Mertilla. But comming backe when she is wed,
Who breakes the Cake above her head?

Claia. That shall Mertilla, for shee's tallest
And our Tita is the smallest.

Cloris. Violins, strike up aloud,
Fly the Gitterne, scowre the Crowd,
Let the nimble hand belabour
The whisteling Pipe, and drumbling Taber:
To the full the Bagpipe racke,
Till the swelling leather cracke.

Mertilla. For our Tita is this day,
Claia. Married to a noble Fay.

In covering many events the poem resembles the temporally segmented epithalamium, but it is different precisely because it is not divided into temporal segments. It is a preview from one point in time and is, therefore, temporally integrated.

Besides this, what is remarkable about Drayton's "Prothalamion" is the extent to which the bride and groom are

peripheral characters. The focus of attention is the wedding as a social event and the nymphs dwell on each detail with mounting excitement, admirably conveyed in the six-line stanzas of Chloris.

The epithalamium in Jonson's masque Hymenaei also flirts with the principle of temporal segmentation, though it does so differently. Jonson does not cover all the events of the wedding day. His epithalamium comes at the end of the masque, with Reason, having just finished his last speech, encircled by masquers:³¹

With this, to a soft strayne of musique, they pac'd
once about, in their ring, every payre making their
honors, as they came before the state: and then dis-
solving, went downe in couples, led on by Hymen, the
Bride, and Auspices following, as to the nuptiall
bower. After them the musicians with this song...

In other words, it was designed to accompany the exit of the masquers from the ball. This, in accordance with the conceit of the masque, was represented as the bedding of the bride, and the song was meant to be a replica, as exact as Jonson's scholarship could make it, of the ancient form of epithalamium.

Yet there are anomalies which suggest that Jonson was of two minds about the exact nature of this form, and the poem he wrote is an amalgam of the nuptial song and the temporally segmented epithalamium. Unlike Drayton's "Prothalamion," the Hymenaei epithalamium does not anticipate, but rather witnesses two actual events. The first of these is the entry into the bridal chamber (literally, the exit from the masking hall), which occurs in the fifth stanza when the

bride is carried over the threshold. The second is the closing of the door which the youths and virgins are instructed to effect in the fifteenth and final stanza. The epithalamium was meant to be sung and Jonson was careful to choose two events which could take place within the time span of the poem. There is no temporal break: the voice of the poem can be said to run on uninterrupted to the end. Yet the witnessing of more than one event is almost invariably the province of the temporally segmented epithalamium. Furthermore, Jonson simulates the range of the temporally segmented epithalamium by referring to events that would have taken place at widely different times on the wedding day, such as the bride's seizure from her mother (an allusion to the Roman custom) and the settling of her in the bridal bed by the matrons. And in stanza five he gives himself away when he says:

Haste, tender lady, and aduenter;
 The couetous house would haue you enter,
 That it might wealthy bee,
 And you, her mistris see.

It is, of course, the nuptial chamber which the bride is about to enter, but Jonson's mind was on the progress of the Roman wedding ceremonies as described in *Carmen* 61, the classical type of the temporally segmented epithalamium, in which the entry into the groom's house (a far more colourful part of the proceedings) is depicted and the entry into the marriage chamber is passed over. Besides this, various people or groups of people are addressed and directed. The role

of the poet here is very much that of a master of ceremonies which, as Wheeler has observed, is a fundamental characteristic of Carmen 61. The impression the Hymenaei epithalamium gives is of the movement of time and place. Jonson wrote it as a nuptial song but in scope and detail it more closely resembles the more literary, temporally segmented epithalamium. And it may have been this literary rather than lyrical quality, in addition to its sheer length, which convinced those who were in charge of the production of Hymenaei that the song was not suitable for performance.

Conclusion

Unlike Jonson's Hymenaei epithalamium, most of the nuptial songs which have survived from this period were suitable for performance, and most of them were in fact sung, though on the stage rather than at weddings. Most of them, too, relate to a particular part of the wedding ceremonies, and there is a correlation between the time and place of performance, feigned or real, and certain common epithalamic themes and motifs. The aubade epithalamium, for example, congratulates the bride upon the arrival of the long-awaited day; the processional song makes much of the strewing of flowers; the wedding hymn invokes the blessings of the gods, usually Hymen and Juno, and may make some general observations concerning the nature of marriage; and the epithalamium proper often includes a welcome to night, a reference to Hesperus, an exhortation to depart for bed, words of encouragement in

love's war, and thoughts about offspring and the kind of immortality which they make possible. Of those nuptial songs which are not very clear in their relation to time and place, Sidney's "Song of Dicus" could quite easily be a wedding hymn. The others--Goodere's "Epithalamion of the Princess' Marriage," Drayton's "Prothalamion," and Jonson's Hymenaei epithalamium--are more literary just as they are less definite in their time-place references.

Many of the themes and motifs found in the nuptial songs are traditional ones. But there is also evidence of the influence of contemporary views and attitudes in the concern with marriage as a personal relationship, in an increased regard for the feelings of women, and in the awareness of the duties, burdens, and perils of domestic life. The responsiveness of the epithalamium to up-to-date ideas is one measure of its vitality as a form of poetry during this period. And by that standard, whether in the hands of first-rate poets such as Sidney, or unknowns such as the author of "The Bride's Good-morrow," the nuptial song was very much alive.

II

THE LITERARY LYRICSStructure

Catullus's formal technique in Carmen 61 has been defined by A.L. Wheeler as the representation of the progress of an action in the course of the poem. Commenting upon Sappho's alleged employment of this technique he says: "Thus Sappho extended her lyric technique to themes involving a succession of scenes and a throng of persons."¹ Greene has observed that the epithalamium receives dramatic impetus not from an institution--marriage--but from a series of concrete actions--a wedding.² And it is commonly said of certain Renaissance epithalamia that they cover the events of the wedding day. In what way does Carmen 61 represent the progress of an action? In what sense does this involve an extension of Sappho's lyric technique? What is meant by the phrase 'cover the events of the wedding day'?

In the course of dealing with these questions in the Introduction, two points of some importance emerged. First, Carmen 61 is constructed out of nuptial songs appropriate to various parts of the Roman wedding day celebrations. This is the extension Wheeler notes in the poetry of Sappho, an extension from a nuptial song sung at a particular time and place on the wedding day to an epithalamium made up of a series of such songs, or parts strongly imitative of them, written for purposes of commemoration rather than performance. The significance of this is that it was a development towards a more purely literary form. Such an epithalamium could not

be sung for one essential reason: it falsifies time. And this leads to the second point. Carmen 61 sings about the events of the wedding day as though they were happening here and now, and as though the singer or singers were present and participating in them. In order to do this the epithalamium is divided into units of time in relation to the events it 'covers.' By the requirements of performance, a nuptial song necessarily represents a single unit of time. It may be said to be temporally integrated. An epithalamium made up of several nuptial songs necessarily represents several units of time. It may be said to be temporally segmented. Christopher Brooke showed that he understood the nature of this sort of epithalamium when he entitled his: "An Epithalamium; or a Nuptiall Song, Applied to the Ceremonies of Marriage."³ One of the tests of a temporally segmented epithalamium is whether, or how easily, one can imagine parts of the poem being sung at the appropriate times on the wedding day.

Carmen 61 is based on the nuptial songs typically performed in the Roman marriage ceremonies. Hence, it is organized in accordance with the order of the Roman wedding, beginning with the anticipation of the bride's appearance to make the procession to the home of her husband, and ending with the departure for bed and the song sung outside the bridal chamber. In the Renaissance the wedding day was differently ordered and this posed a problem for epithalamists intent on using Catullus as their model. Would it do

to write an epithalamium strictly in the classical mode? If not, how could that mode be adapted and brought up to date? One attempt to come to terms with this problem has already been noted in Jonson's Hymenaei epithalamium. Jonson tried to salvage as much as possible of Carmen 61, even though he was writing a different type of epithalamium--a nuptial song to accompany the exit of masquers from the hall. The solutions of other poets to this inherent difficulty are no less instructive.

There is some doubt as to whether Spenser or Donne should be honoured for writing the first temporally segmented epithalamium in English. Donne's "Epithalamion made at Lincolnes Inne" was probably written while the poet was a student at the Inn between 1592 and 1594.⁴ Spenser's Epithalamion was written for his own marriage on 11 June 1594 and it was published the following year. Whoever deserves the honour, every indication is that the poems were produced independently of one another. And this is remarkable in that the responses of both poets to the dilemma of form already mentioned were at once very bold and very similar. They abstracted the essential organizing principle from Carmen 61--the celebration of the important stages of the wedding rites in song--and applied it to the contemporary wedding. Thus the time span of the poems is expanded to comprehend the whole of the wedding day, from the first appearance of dawn, through the church ceremonies, the feast and revels, to the bedding of the bride. The successive

parts of both epithalamia correspond to the nuptial songs of the English wedding--the aubade epithalamium, the processional song (to church), the wedding hymn (at church)--as well as to the banqueting song and the song sung outside the wedding chamber, which were common to the marriage ceremonies of both ancients and moderns.

Spenser's Epithalamion creates a sense of continuity and comprehensiveness in the progress of the wedding rites that is rare in an epithalamium of its type. Partly this is on account of its sheer length, but a close structural analysis reveals something very unorthodox about the way it is put together.⁵

Spenser gives six very clear indications of time and place in the poem:

1. "Wake now my love awake; for it is time / The
Rosy Morne long since left Tithones bed" (ll. 74
& 75)
2. "Loe where she comes along with portly pace" (l.
148)
3. "Open the temple gates unto my love" (l. 204)
4. "Now all is done; bring home the bride againe"
(l. 242)
5. "Long though it be, at last I see it gloome, /
And the bright evening star with golden creast /
Apppeare out of the East." (ll. 285-287)
6. "Who is the same, which at my window peepes?"
(l. 372)

These six time/place signals correspond to six temporal segments:

1. stanzas 1 - 8: including the invocation to the Muses and the various nymphs "of the rivers and the forrests greene," the aubade--the song calling upon the bride to awake--and the description of the musicians, dancing damsels and boisterous boys outside the bride's house
2. stanzas 9 - 11: the procession to church, beginning with line 148--"Loe where she comes along with portly pace"
3. stanzas 12 & 13: the church ceremony, beginning with line 204--"Open the temple gates unto my love"
4. stanzas 14 & 15: the procession home to the wedding banquet, beginning with line 242--"Now al is done; bring home the bride againe"
5. stanzas 16 & 17: the bedding of the bride--stanza 16 notes the appearance of Hesperus, traditionally the signal to bring the bride to bed, and stanza 17 leaves the reader with the image of the attendant damsels leaving the marriage chamber
6. stanzas 18 - 23: song sung when the bride and groom have both been brought to bed--the image of the moon peeping in at Spenser and his bride in bed (line 372 ff.) places the scene inside the marriage chamber

The envoy is a formal dedication of the poem to his wife and is outside the poem insofar as it is an epithalamium.

In all but one case, these segments seem to follow on without any appreciable interruption from the other. Of course logic demands breaks, since it is impossible that the voice of the poem should run on in this way, covering several hours in its commentary. And these breaks come most logically at scene changes. But with one exception they are not felt: the reader does not notice them unless he goes looking for them. The exception is the division between the fourth and fifth segments, when the whole afternoon and, since it is June, a good part of the evening must intervene.

What is the reason for the sense of continuity? The number of temporal segments is not unusual for a poem of this type but the segments are much longer than normal, affording scope for the representation of time passing within the segments themselves. This can be seen very clearly in the first segment, in stanzas 5 - 7, which describe the awakening and attiring of the bride. In stanza 5 Spenser calls upon his wife to awake. In stanza 6 he announces: "My love is now awake out of her dreams," and calls upon the Hours and the Graces to help her dress. In stanza 7 he reports that the bride is ready to make the procession to church. Quite an amount of time passes within the segment so that the transition to the next segment is smoothly effected. The bride has awoken, got dressed, and is ready to come forth. It is not surprising that no great temporal gap is experienced when she leaves her house

and joins the procession. The second, third, fourth and fifth segments are similarly constructed. Spenser has filled them with sufficient detail to depict the gradual passage of time on the wedding day. They differ from the units of time commonly encountered in temporally segmented epithalamia in that it is not so accurate to describe them as each anchored to one point in time. They are dynamic rather than static. Looked at in another way, there is within these segments a suspension of any realistic assumptions regarding time, as in the final scene of Dr. Faustus, when Faustus waits out the last hour of his life.

Partly to achieve this effect of continuity and partly for other reasons, Spenser made bold alterations in the form of the temporally segmented epithalamium while maintaining its essential characteristic of imitating nuptial songs from various parts of the wedding ceremonies. Thus the main themes of the six temporal segments correspond to the various sorts of nuptial songs: the first to the aubade; the second to the processional songs; the third to the wedding hymn; the fourth to the banqueting song; the fifth to the song sung at the bedding of the bride; the sixth to the epithalamium proper. And there is repeated employment of the jussive and optative subjunctive: "Doe ye awake, and with fresh lusty-hed, / Go to the bowre of my beloved love, / My truest turtle dove / Bid her awake"; "Come now ye damzels, daughters of delight, / Helpe quickly her to dight"; "Ring ye the bells, ye yong men of the towne"; "... let the night be calme and

quietsome"; "Let no lamenting cryes, nor dolefull teares, / Be heard all night within nor yet without"; "But let stil Silence trew night watches keepe." Nevertheless, none of the segments themselves could actually be sung at a wedding.

Sometimes this is because of the interference of time signals such as the ones noted above in the first segment. An aubade could be extracted from stanzas 5 - 7, for example, but it would be necessary to take out such lines as "My love is now awake out of her dreames" and "Now is my love all ready forth to come." Sometimes it is because the descriptions of the bride are too prideful to be suitable for a chorus and too intimate to be appropriate for performance at a wedding:⁶

Behold whiles she before the altar stands
Hearing the holy priest that to her speakes
And blesseth her with his two happy hands,
How the red roses flush up in her cheekes,
And the pure snow with goodly vermill stayne,
Like crimsin dyde in grayne,
That even th'Angels which continually,
About the sacred Altare doe remaine,
Forget their service and about her fly,
Ofte peeping in her face that seemes more fayre,
The more they on it stare.

(ll. 223-233)

Although this is, in poetic terms, a highly conventional description of a Petrarchan mistress, it is not the less intimate for that reason. And this intimacy is a radical departure from epithalamic convention. "The typical epithalamion," says Greene, "is a ritualistic public statement, unconcerned with the actual intimate experience undergone by individuals." (p. 221)

Admittedly, it is the experience of the groom, not that of the bride, which comes through. Epithalamion is unique in casting the groom in the role of poet and choragus.⁷ Spenser announces in the first stanza that he will sing to himself of his bride, and the reader is thus made to feel that he is in on the thoughts of the groom as they pass through his mind on his wedding day. But this runs counter to the idea of the epithalamium as a public celebration which, as Greene points out, is a conventional presupposition of the lyric types, and it lessens the poem's resemblance to the nuptial song. On the other hand, Spenser plays the part of master of ceremonies for all it is worth, and by this means and by his lavish descriptions of the procession through the crowded streets and the Bacchanalian revelry at the feast, he builds up about the wedding an atmosphere of excited social activity. This conveys an impression of community participation that counterbalances the intimacy of the poem and is not unlike the effect of the more orthodox posture of the epithalamium as a public celebration. But although the effect is similar, the way in which it is achieved is different, and Epithalamion remains a private, not public celebration.

"Epithalamion made at Lincolnes Inne" is a curious and unique blend of burlesque and high seriousness, and in both respects Donne gives life to the concept of the epithalamium as a public celebration which Spenser forfeits by singing to himself alone.⁸ The roles played by the poet-speaker could

hardly be more different. In Epithalamion he is the bridegroom, as personally involved in the wedding as it is possible to be, and his management of the proceedings takes place entirely in his own mind. In the Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium his role is the more conventional one of representing society. When he addresses, and orders about, the bride, the "Daughters of London," the "frolique Patricians," and even the Temple, as though he actually were present and participating in the ceremonies, it carries conviction. More than any other temporarily segmented epithalamium of the age Donne's poem creates the dramatic illusion of actual performance, which is the genius of the form as practised by Catullus.

The Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium divides into six temporal segments:

1. stanza 1: the rising of the bride
2. stanzas 2 & 3: the preparations of the bride and groom
3. stanza 4: the church ceremony
4. stanza 5: the marriage banquet
5. stanza 6: the call to bed
6. stanzas 7 & 8: the preliminaries within the marriage chamber and a consideration of what is next to take place

In general Donne's style is very literary. His complexity of wit and temper led Bruce Pattison to consider him one of the first practitioners of the purely literary lyric.⁹ But the fiercely figurative language and highly intellectual strain of Donne's poetry are the only elements which tell

against performance. And this is offset somewhat by the public quality of the verse. The sentiments expressed in the stanza devoted to the church ceremony, for example, would not have been out of place in a contemporary wedding hymn:¹⁰

Thy two-leav'd gates faire Temple unfold,
 And these two in thy sacred bosome hold,
 Till, mystically joyn'd, but one they bee;
 Then may thy leane and hunger-starved wombe
 Long time expect their bodies and their tombe,
 Long time after their owne parents fatten thee.
 All elder claimes, and all cold barrenesse,
 All yeelding to new loves bee far for ever,
 Which might these two dissever,
 All wayes all th'other may each one possesse;
 For, the best Bride, best worthy of praise and fame,
To day puts on perfection, and a womans name.

No doubt the image of the "hunger-starved wombe" jars, but the wish which it expresses--long life for the couple--is conventional, and certainly it is easy to imagine the rest of this stanza being sung at an actual church ceremony. In a more light-hearted vein the call to bed in stanza six, with its announcement of the appearance of the evening star and hints of delight to come, is also very much in keeping with the sort of song that would have been sung at this point in a real wedding:

The amorous evening starre is rose,
 Why then should not our amorous starre inclose
 Her selfe in her wish'd bed? Release your strings
 Musicians, and dancens take some truce
 With these your pleasing labours, for great use
 As much wearinesse as perfection brings;
 You, and not only you, but all toyl'd beasts
 Rest duly; at night all their toyles are dispensed;
 But in their beds commenced
 Are other labours, and more dainty feasts;

She goes a maid, who, least she turne the same,
To night puts on perfection, and womans name.

It is less easy to imagine the performance of the first two segments. The reference to the bride's "warm balme-breathing thigh" would no doubt have incurred Scaliger's censure and the cynical greetings accorded to the "Daughters of London" and the "frolique Patricians" is plainly subversive of the nobler conceptions of matrimony.¹¹ Donne writes with two audiences in mind and here he is playing outrageously to his fellow students at Lincoln's Inn. Yet even here it is not certain that he has overstepped his bounds. A certain licentiousness is traditional in the epithalamium and also, given the setting at Lincoln's Inn, the liberties which Donne takes could be put down to youthful exuberance. Furthermore any discomfort on the part of the "Senators" would be somewhat allayed by the more elevated aspects of Donne's theme, as when he presents marriage as an instrument of perfection, an idea which Jonson touches on in his Hymenaei epithalamium (stanzas 4 & 15). This is carried through the poem by the slightly varying refrain: "To day put on perfection, and a woman's name," and it is elaborated in the last two stanzas in which Donne looks upon the state of virginity as a state of potential, and the state of marriage as one of fulfillment, a thought eminently suited to a song sung before the bridal chamber. Donne becomes neither so unrelievedly familiar as to arouse the indignation of the Senators nor so entirely solemn as to inspire contempt among his peers. The

poem cannot be satisfactorily read as a simple parody of the epithalamium, even though there are elements of parody in it. Donne is careful never to violate irreparably the decorum of the marriage setting, and the pretended participation of his epithalamium in a plausible community event remains sufficiently credible to the last.

This is not the case with his other two epithalamia, written perhaps twenty years later for the two great marriages of 1613. Both poems are too distant from the actual marriage rites. There is no sense of public celebration, no sense of involvement in the ceremonies, no sense of an audience of wedding guests. This can be seen first of all in the temporal structure of the poems.

"An Epithalamion, Or marriage Song on the Lady Elizabeth, and Count Palatine being married on St. Valentine's day" opens with a greeting to Bishop Valentine, who is seen figuratively in the poem as the officiating priest. The first four stanzas, in which the bishop is addressed and informed of his duties and the bride is encouraged to arise, get dressed and come to church, can be regarded as one unit of time, fixed at a point in early morning. After this leisurely beginning, the rest of the wedding day until the arrival of night passes in two segments in stanzas 5 and 6. The final two stanzas, containing an analogical analysis of the couple's love-making and a promise to wait up until "your eyes opened, let out day," constitute one temporal segment.

Donne's epithalamium for the Somerset marriage is given

a token pastoral setting with an introductory eclogue, but there is nothing very pastoral about the epithalamium, or indeed the eclogue itself. The epithalamium is divided into sub-headings, one to a stanza, which have as much to do with the common themes of marriage as with the ceremonies. Since it is events described rather than ideas considered which give the reader a sense of time in a poem, this means that the units of time in the Somerset Epithalamium do not always correspond to the uniform organization of the sub-headings. But the allocation of one topic to a stanza does ensure that temporal breaks always coincide with stanzaic ones. The first five stanzas, entitled successively "The time of the Marriage," "Equality of persons," "Raising of the Bridegroom," "Raising of the Bride" and "Her Apparrelling," all form one temporal unit. Stanzas 6 and 7, labelled "Going to the Chappell" and "The Benediction," make up a second unit. A third consists of stanzas 8 and 9, which cover the feasts and revels, together with the call for the bride to hasten to bed. The two concluding stanzas, "The Bridegroomes coming" and "The good-night," consider sexual activity as a means of knowledge and of becoming one, and they comprise the fourth and final temporal segment.

The temporal structure of these poems can be expressed numerically. If the stanza is taken as the unit of measurement, Donne's Somerset Epithalamium can be broken down into temporal segments of 5, 2, 2, 2, in a poem 11 stanzas long. The epithalamium for the marriage of the Princess

Elizabeth and Count Palatine forms a series of 4, 1, 1, 2, out of a total of 8 stanzas. In both poems the opening segment is as large, or nearly as large, as the remaining segments combined. And in both poems the number of segments is relatively small. This contrasts with the temporal structure of the Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium, whose 8 stanzas are divided into 6 segments of 1, 2, 1, 1, 1, 2 stanzas. The value of this observation consists in prompting the question, why? And the answer is that in the Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium Donne makes his theme conform to the ceremonial framework of the wedding, and this results in units of time which are fairly uniform in size and in their distribution throughout the marriage day. In the two later poems theme is given a looser rein and in each case the scheme whereby the important events of the marriage day serve as occasions for song is severely curtailed.

This curtailment can be seen in the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine Epithalamium, in which the procession, the feast and the bedding of the bride are speedily dispatched in two stanzas:

V.

But oh, what ailes the Sunne, that here he staies,
 Longer to day, then other daies?
 Staies he new light from these to get?
 And finding here such store, is loth to set?
 And why doe you two walke,
 So slowly pac'd in this procession?
 Is all your care but to be look'd upon,
 And be to others spectacle and talke?
 The feast, with gluttonous delaies,
 Is eaten, and too long their meat they praise,
 The masquers come too late, and'I thinke, will stay,

Like Fairies, till the Cock crow them away.
 Alas, did not Antiquity assigne
 A night, as well as day, to thee, O Valentine?

VI.

They did, and night is come; and yet wee see
 Formalities retarding thee.
 What meane these Ladies, which (as though
 They were to take a clock in peeces,) goe
 So nicely about the Bride;
 A Bride, before a good night could be said,
 Should vanish from her cloathes, into her bed,
 As Soules from bodies steale, and are not spy'd.
 But now she is laid; What though she bee?
 Yet there are more delays, For, where is he?
 He comes, and passes through Spheare after Spheare,
 First her sheetes, then her Armes, then any where.
 Let not this day, then, but this night be thine,
 Thy day was but the eve to this, O Valentine.

The implications of this are twofold. First, the role of the poet as master of ceremonies is diminished. In the Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium he never ceases to give directions-- to the bride, the bridesmaids, the attendants of the groom, the musicians and dancers, etc. In the two later epithalamia his orders are far fewer and are addressed almost exclusively to the bride and groom. Consequently, far from being the "ritualistic public statement" which Greene sees as typical, there is something private in the way Donne speaks to the principal participants. We do not get the impression that others are listening in. Secondly, the two epithalamia of 1613 are more exclusively contemplative, and more farfetched in their contemplativeness. Witness stanza 5 of the Somerset Epithalamium:

IX.

The Bride going to bed.

What mean'st thou Bride, this companie to keep?
 To sit up, till thou faine wouldst sleep?
 Thou maist not, when thou art laid, doe so.
 Thy selfe must to him a new banquet grow,
 And you must entertaine
 And doe all this daies dances o'r againe.
 Know that if Sun and Moone together doe
 Rise at one point, they doe not set so too;
 Therefore thou maist, faire Bride, to bed depart,
 Thou art not gone, being gone; where e'r thou art,
 Thou leav'st in him thy watchfull eyes, in him
 thy loving heart.

It is true that a few stanzas in both poems appear to be designed to accompany the wedding ceremonies. Stanzas 3 and 4 in the epithalamium for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine effectively emulate the aubade, and "The Benediction" (stanza 7) in the Somerset Epithalamium is a sublime wedding hymn:

VII.

The Benediction

Blest payre of Swans, Oh may you interbring
 Daily new joyes, and never sing,
 Live, till all grounds of wishes faile,
 Till honor, yea till wisdome grow so stale,
 That, new great heights to trie,
 It must serve your ambition, to die;
 Raise heires, and may here, to the worlds end, live
 Heires from this King, to take thanks, you, to give,
 Nature and grace doe all, and nothing Art.
 May never age, or error overthwart
 With any West, these radiant eyes, with any North,
 this heart.

But for the most part there is in both these epithalamia a sense of distance from the actual events of the wedding day, and this sense of distance is strongly reinforced by

the text at two points. In the final stanza of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine Epithalamium, Donne numbers himself among the satyrs, who were frequently depicted in early heroic epithalamia as lurking in the vicinity of Venus's bower, unable to enter, but anxious to catch a glimpse of the magnificence within.¹² And the fiction of the eclogue accompanying the Somerset Epithalamium has Idios (Donne) write the epithalamium in the country while absent from the wedding, a fact that touches not only the matter of distance but also the highly literary quality of the poem. For it is explicitly written in honor of the marriage rather than to be performed at the wedding, and its ultimate fate is MS. presentation, probably a not infrequent occurrence in reality.

Two other temporally segmented epithalamia, written at about the same time, also follow the scheme of the English wedding. The first of these, George Wither's Epithalamion for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine, is a long poem of thirty-nine six-line stanzas in trochaic tetrameter.¹³ Wither does attain the requisite lyric quality, but the standard of the verse is not high:

Valentine, good morrow to thee,
 Loue and service both I owe thee
 And would waite vpon they pleasure;
 But I cannot be at leasure:
 For, I owe this day as debter,
 To (a thousand times) thy better.

--a pretty lame beginning if compared with Donne's invocation to Bishop Valentine in his epithalamium for the same marriage:

Haile Bishop Valentine, whose day this is,
 All the Aire is thy Diocis,
 And all the chirping Choristers
 And other birds are thy Parishioners,
 Thou marryest every yeare
 The Lirique Larke, and the grave whispering Dove,
 The Sparrow that neglects his life for love,
 The household Bird, with the red stomacher,
 Thou mak'st the black bird speed as soone,
 As doth the Goldfinch, or the Halcyon;
 The husband cocke lookes out, and straight is sped,
 And meets his wife, which brings her feather-bed.
 This day more cheerfully than ever shine,
 This day, which might enflame thy self, Old Valentine.

Wither also lacks authority as master of ceremonies. He makes the occasional perfunctory gesture of managing the proceedings but it is all too obvious that he is a lowly, and not especially welcome, spectator. One moment he numbers himself among the shepherds, the next he self-importantly volunteers to put aside his satiric scourge for the duration of the celebrations:

Fellow Shepheards, how I pray you,
 Can your flocks at this time stay you?
 Let vs also hie vs thither,
 Let's lay all our wits together,
 And some Pastorall inuent them,
 That may show the loue we ment them.

I my selfe though meanest stated,
 And in Court now almost hated,
 Will knit vp my Scourge, and venter
 In the midst of them to enter;
 For I know there's no disdaining,
 Where I looke for entertaining.

Christopher Brooke's "An Epithalamium; or A Nuptiall Song, Applied to the Ceremonies of Marriage," printed in the 1614 edition of England's Helicon, is of considerably higher quality. Like Donne's Somerset Epithalamium it is arranged

in sections with sub-headings attached, but Brooke's sub-headings all refer to events rather than themes and they often come in mid-stanza. The temporal breaks in the poem usually coincide with the sub-headings but not every sub-heading necessitates a temporal break. Consequently, there are more sections thus marked off than there are temporal segments in the poem. The first stanza provides an example:¹⁴

Sunne rising

Aurora's Blush (the Ensigne of the Day)
 Hath wak't the God of Light, from Tythons bowre,
 Who on our Bride, and Bride-groome doth display
 His golden Beames, auspicious to this Howre.

Strewing of Flowers

Now busie Maydens strew sweet Flowres,
 Much like our Bride in Virgin state;
 Now fresh, then prest, soone dying,
 The death is sweet, and must be yours,
 Time goes on Crutches till that date,
 Leade on whiles Phoebus Lights, and Hymens Fires,
 Enflame each Heart with Zeale to Loves Desires.

Chorus. Io to Hymen Paeans sing
 To Hymen, and my Muses King

There is no need to assume a temporal break between these two sections. Although strewing of flowers in the path of the bride is often associated with the procession to church, it could also be done in preparation for the procession. This is the case with Spenser's Epithalamion (ll. 48-51), for example, as well as Wither's poem in honour of the Princess Elizabeth/Count Palatine wedding (stanza 6).

Brooke's epithalamium divides into six temporal segments:

1. stanza 1: the sun rising and strewing of flowers
2. first 10 lines of stanza 2: the procession to church
3. last 4 lines of stanza 2 and all of stanza 3: dinner

4. first 4 lines of stanza 4: afternoon music
5. last 10 lines of stanza 4 to the end of stanza 7:
the bedding of the bride
6. stanza 8: song sung when the bride and groom have
both been brought to bed

The only confusion in division between segments occurs between the fifth and sixth segments. The fifth segment begins with the scene at supper. The sun sets, the appearance of Hesperus is noted, and the poet calls upon the musicians and dancers to bring the revels to an end and proceed with the final ceremony: the bedding of the bride by the pronubae and the distribution of bride points and garters. I believe all of this can take place within one temporal segment. The last stanza of the poem, on the other hand, though there is no time signal to distinguish it from what goes immediately before, seems to differ thematically: the sentiments it expresses are those of the epithalamium proper, the song sung after the bride and groom have been brought to bed.

Brooke succeeds, for the most part, in creating the illusion of nuptial singing. The first stanza, quoted above, certainly makes a fine aubade epithalamium. The first ten lines of stanza two could easily be sung at a procession to church. And the final stanza would be an appropriate song to sing outside the wedding chamber. Yet Brooke's poem could not be completely "applied to the ceremonies of marriage." Stanza three, "Dinner," is too much of a report for a nonparticipatory audience:

The Board being spread, furnish't with various
 Plenties;
 The Brides faire Object in the Middle plac'd;
 While she drinks Nectar, eates Ambrosiall dainties,
 And like a Goddesses is admir'd and grac'd:
Bacchus and Ceres fill their veines;
 Each Heart begins to ope a vent;
 And now the Healths goe round;
 Their Bloods are warm'd; chear'd are their
 Braines
 All doe applaud their Loves Consent;
 So Love with Cheare is crown'd.
 Let sensuall soules joy in full Bowles, sweet Dishes;
 True Hearts, and Tongues, accord in joyful wishes.
Chorus. Io to Hymen, &c.

The verbs switch from the second to the third person and this straightforward narrative style extends into the fourth stanza. At that point, however, the wedding party is addressed once again and the sense of participation is renewed. Another lapse of the same kind appears to occur with stanza six, "Modesty in the Bride," but this is more doubtful. Except for these flaws, Brooke sustains the illusion of performance that is inherent in the form.

All the epithalamia discussed so far follow Donne and Spenser in abstracting the essential organizing principle of Carmen 61 and applying it to the ceremonies of the English wedding. In all instances this involved an expansion in the scope of the epithalamium to accommodate the more lengthy and various English wedding rites. Other poets were less bold and stuck more closely to the classical model, adapting it by eliminating those parts which were least appropriate-- a process of contraction rather than expansion. Although in each case this was done skilfully, on the whole the results were less satisfactory.

Henry Peacham, in the third of his "Nuptiall Hymnes" for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine, and Robert Herrick in his "Epithalamie to Sir Thomas Southwell and his Ladie," both reduce the action to three closely related steps: the procession to the bridal chamber, the settling of the bride in bed, and the song sung outside the marriage chamber.¹⁵ This is what Jonson had done in the epithalamium for his masque Hymenaei and, as James A. McPeck has shown, Herrick at least was much influenced by that masque.¹⁶ But Jonson's attempt to reduce the scope of the action was intended to allow his poem to be sung as one, temporally integrated, nuptial song, even though, as we have seen, it is doubtful whether he accomplished what he set out to do.¹⁷ Peacham and Herrick did not go this far.

In both cases, however, themes and motifs which Catullus presents in the procession to the house of the groom are re-located to the procession into the marriage chamber. Hymen is described in the traditional way, his head crowned with marjoram. He carries the flammeum, with which Roman brides were supposed to hide their blushes, and he lights the way with his torch. In Peacham's epithalamium wedlock is extolled as the cornerstone of society:

Wedlocke, were it not for thee,
Wee could nor Childe nor Parent see;
Armies Countries to defend,
Or Shepheards hilly Heardes to tend.
Io Hymen Hymenaeus.

This corresponds to similar thoughts on the social function

of marriage expressed in the procession to the groom's house by Catullus.¹⁸ And in the Southwell Epithalamium the groom is seen, anomalously but tellingly, in the porch of his home, holding a torch up to the darkness in anticipation of the arrival of his bride. Here it seems that Herrick's imitation of Carmen 61 got in the way and a street procession to the home of the groom is briefly confused with a procession indoors to the bridal chamber.

In other respects the processions in these epithalamia are different from the procession in Carmen 61. Both of them make it clear from the start that the bride is being guided to the bridal bed:

Uranias Sonne, who dwells't vpon
 The fertile top of Helicon,
 Chaste Marriage Soueraigne, and dost leade
 The Virgin to her Bridall Bed.
 Io Hymen Hymenaeus.

and:

Now, now's the time; so oft by truth
 Promis'd sho'd come to crown your youth.
 Then Faire ones, doe not wrong
 Your joyes, by staying long:
 Or let Love's fire goe out,
 By lingring thus in doubt:
 But learn, that Time once lost,
 Is ne'r redeem'd by cost.
 Then away; come, Hymen guide
 To the bed, the bashfull Bride.

In Peacham's poem the appearance of Vesper (Hesperus) is noted, and in Herrick's the bride is urged not to tarry "lest Issue lye asleep." These are sentiments usually expressed at the bedding of the bride.

Despite the similarity in the way in which both poets adapt the form of Carmen 61, there is a great difference in the extent to which they follow Catullus in other respects. Peacham's epithalamium is a much abbreviated but otherwise only slightly altered version of Carmen 61. Herrick's poem is much more original than this even though classical themes and motifs are consistently employed. In addition to the ones already mentioned, there is the presence of Genius, guardian of the marriage bed, and Juno Pronuba; the anointing of the door-posts and the decoration of them with the bride's fillets as a charm against the danger that was supposed to reside in the threshold of the bride's new home; the image of the grieving virgins which can be found in Carmen 62 of Catullus, as well as in Theocritus's Eighteenth Idyll; the invocation to the Fates reminiscent of Carmen 64; and the scattering of nuts referred to in Carmen 61 and explained by Puttenham, in his colourful fashion, as having the same purpose as loud and shrill singing--

...to the intent there might no noise be hard out of the bed chamber by the skreeking & outcry of the young damosell feeling the first forces of her stiffe & rigorous young man, she being as all virgins tender & weake, & vnexpert in those maner of affaires. For which purpose also they used by old nurses (appointed to that seruice) to suppress the noise by casting of pottes full of nuttes round about the chamber vpon the hard floore or pavement, for they vsed no mattes nor rushes as we doe now. So as the Ladies and gentlewomen should haue their eares so occupied what with Musicke, and what with their handes wantonly scrambling and catching after the nuttes, that they could not intend to harken after any other thing. This was as I said to diminish the noise of the laughing lamenting spouse.

(p. 52)

The poetry of the Southwell Epithalamium, and the sensibility, are unmistakably Herrick's, however:

And now, Behold! The Bed or Couch
 That ne'r knew Brides, or Bride-grooms touch,
 Feels in it selfe a fire;
 And tickled with Desire,
 Pants with a Downie brest,
 As with a heart possest;
 Shrugging as it did move,
 And (oh!) had it but a tongue,
 Doves, 'two'd say, yee bill too long.

Throughout the poetry is vivid, melodious and mellifluous. Herrick, like Spenser, is very good at portraying the wedding as a social celebration. As choragus he firmly controls the progress of the ceremonies and eloquently delivers the conventional sentiments of long life for the couple:

Let bounteous Fate your spindles full
 Fill, and winde up with whitest wooll.
 Let them not cut the thred
 Of life, untill ye bid.
 May Death yet come at last;
 And not with desp'rate hast:
 But when ye both can say,
 Come, Let us now away.
 Be ye to the Barn then born,
 Two, like two ripe shocks of corn.

Herrick's "A Nuptiall Song, or Epithalamie, on Sir Clipseby Crew and His Lady" (1625) keeps more strictly to the order of the Roman wedding. The procession is unquestionably a street procession:

3. See where she comes; and smell how all the street
 Breathes Vine-yards and Pomgranats: O how sweet!
 As a fir'd Altar, is each stone,
 Perspiring pounded Cynamon.

And Herrick clearly distinguishes between the entrance into

the groom's house in stanza seven and the entrance into the bridal chamber, which is called for in stanza eight. In departing so unmistakably from the order of the English wedding day Herrick makes the fiction of the proceedings more fanciful. Yet, paradoxically, although it is the most classical of English epithalamia in its form, the Crew Epithalamium is one of the most contemporary in substance. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century wedding customs which so delighted Victorian folklorists, such as the taking of the sack-posset (which Herrick calls a night-charm), the distribution of the groom's points and the bride's garters, and the sewing of the bride into the sheets, are all mentioned. This blend of Roman form and English substance can be seen in stanza seven. Here the bride enters the house of the groom, an event that is normally ignored in English wedding poetry, but which in the Roman wedding is an occasion for formally introducing the bride to her new responsibilities as home manager. Herrick Anglicizes this essentially classical motif:

7. And now y'are enter'd; see the Codled Cook
 Runs from his Torrid Zone, to prie, and look,
 And blesse his dainty Mistresse: see,
 The Aged point out, this is she,
 Who now must sway
 The House (Love shield her) with her Yea and Nay:
 And the smirk Butler thinks it
 Sin, in's Nap'rie, not to express his wit;
 Each striving to devise
 Some gin, wherewith to catch your eyes.

As in the Southwell Epithalamium, the poetry is very accomplished.

Themes and Motifs

The English epithalamia written in the style of Carmen 61 are all more purely literary than the nuptial songs of the same period, and perhaps because the form that was being imitated was fairly complex and required close study in order to be mastered, these literary lyrics in general contain more classical themes and motifs than the nuptial songs. Nevertheless, they also reflect contemporary ideas, attitudes and customs concerning marriage.

A vivid picture of the English wedding day at this time emerges from reading these epithalamia. Young unmarried women would rise at the break of day to gather flowers to strew in the path of the bride on her way to church. A crowd would gather outside the house of the bride, a song of greeting would be sung, and then the procession would get underway, with singing and dancing to the beat of tabors and timbrels. The solemnization of the marriage would take place in the church, decorated for the occasion with many garlands. It would be at this point that a nuptial hymn would be sung. After the church ceremony there would be dinner, with music and dancing filling up the afternoon until supper time. Lavish descriptions of the feasting are given by the epithalamists:

Poure out the wine without restraint or stay,
 Poure not by cups, but by the belly full,
 And sprinkle all the postes and wals with wine,
 That they may sweat, and drunken be withall.
 Crowne ye God Bacchus with a coronall,
 And Hymen also crowne with wreathes of vine,
 And let the Graces daunce unto the rest;
 For they can doo it best:
 The whiles thy maydens doe theyr caroll sing,

To which the woods shal answer & theyr eccho ring.
 (Spenser, Epithalamion, ll. 250-60)

The tables groane, as though this feast
 Would, as the flood, destroy all fowle and beast.
 And were the doctrine new
 That the earth mov'd, this day would make it true;
 For every part to dance and revell goes.
 They tread the ayre, and fal not where they rose.
 (Donne, Somerset Epithalamium, stanza VIII)

But there are no examples of banqueting songs among the temporarily segmented epithalamia of the period and the only one I know of among contemporary nuptial songs is the song sung by Bacchus and Ceres in Book III of Argalus and Parthenia by Francis Quarles. After supper, in wealthy households at least, there would be a masque. Finally, the master of ceremonies would call for the revelling to end and for the bride to be brought to bed. The bridal chamber would already be decked with flowers. Married women would assist the bride in undressing. These correspond to the pronubae of the ancient epithalamia and, like them, part of their function appears to have been to give counsel:

Matrons; yee know what followes next;
 Conduct the shame-fac'd Bride to Bed,
 (Though to her little rest)
 Yee well can comment on the Text,
 And, in Loves learning deepely read,
 Advise, and teach the best.
 (C. Brooke, "An Epithalamium, etc.,"
 stanza 5)

Unmarried women would scramble for the bride's garters, unmarried men for the bridegroom's points. The bride and groom might drink the sack-posset (a mixture of eggs, sugar and

white wine imported from the Canary Islands), and the bride might be sewn into a sheet. At this point, the guests would retire and the epithalamium proper would be sung outside the door of the bridal chamber.

The wedding day was regarded as an occasion of great importance, both to the couple personally and to society. Personally, marriage represented a radical change in life-style for the bride and groom, a critical step fraught with opportunity and danger. Spenser echoes "The Bride's Good-morrow" in seeing marriage as a blessing that "shall for all the paynes and sorrowes past, / Pay...usury of long delight" (ll. 32 & 33).¹⁹ But from earliest times, and in many different cultures, the wedding day had also been seen as a time when both bride and groom were susceptible to all manner of evil. The reason the bride is carried across the threshold is because the doorstep was often found to be bewitched. Peacham, in notes accompanying his epithalamium for the Princess Elizabeth/Count Palatine marriage, comments on the custom:

The Bride neuer used to touch the threshold (which custome is yet obserued in some places of Italy) but very warily passed ouer the same, least charmes or some other kinde of Witch-craft might be laid vnder the same, eyther to cause debate, or to the hinderance of procreation.

(f. 2)

Superstition accounts for many marriage customs. The bride and groom may bring good luck--hence the value in scrambling for garters and points--but they also attract hostile spirits, and for this reason it is important to perform the ceremonies

Nor griesly vultures make us once affeard:
 Ne let th'unpleasant Quyre of Frogs still croking
 Make us to wish theyr choking.
 Let none of these theyr drery accents sing;
 Ne let the woods them answer, nor theyr eccho ring.
 (ll. 334-52)

The sack-posset was ceremoniously drunk to bring good luck and to dispel just such evil charms as these mentioned by Spenser. Disturbing elements might range from the nuisance of "croking" frogs, and fears of "things that be not," to black magic directed at either the bride or groom, or at their relationship. From Peacham's note it seems that one effect such witchcraft might have would be to cause "debate" or quarrelling between husband and wife. The danger of discord within marriage was something that writers of this period were very aware of, as can be seen in the nuptial songs. This is not emphasized so much among the literary lyrics. But this is not surprising. Since they were probably written with a view to manuscript presentation, often to a patron, they would naturally be less moralistic. More tact would be called for in these poems than in songs which played a real role in the marriage ceremonies.

But the possibility of sorcery interfering with the marriage relationship was something Spenser explored in some detail, though not in Epithalamion. In Book III, Cantos 11 & 12 of The Faerie Queene, Britomart enters the house of the enchanter Busirane to rescue Amoret, wife of Scudamour. Amoret was kidnapped by Busirane after the marriage was solemnized, but before it was consummated:

For that same vile Enchauntour Busyran,
 The very selfe same day that she was wedded,
 Amidst the bridale feast, whilest euery man
 Surcharg'd with wine, were heedlesse and ill
 hedded,
 All bent to mirth before the bride was bedded,
 Brought in that mask of loue which late was showne:
 And there the Ladie ill of friends bestedded,
 By way of sport, as oft in maskes is knowen,
 Conueyed quite away to liuing wight vnknown.
 (Book IV, Canto 1, Stanza 3)

Busirane uses the Masque of Cupid as a device to disrupt the proceedings and take Amoret captive.²⁰ He holds her in captivity for seven months, endeavouring by magic and torture to force her to yield to him, and there is nothing her husband, whose name literally means "the shield of love," can do to rescue her. Fortunately, Amoret resists Busirane and Britomart finally frees her. Whatever one's opinion concerning the meaning of all this it is clear enough that some spirit of false love has taken advantage of the wedding celebrations to bring about an estrangement between Scudamour and Amoret.²¹ And this evil spirit is extremely powerful because he is not susceptible to the assaults of love's protector, and, although he is finally subdued by Britomart he succeeds in wounding her, the only one of her numerous foes besides Gardante who manages to do this. Spenser does not raise the spectre of Busirane in the epithalamium for his marriage to Elizabeth Boyle. He would have lacked discretion to do so. But he may also have felt some relief in the fact that his marriage was not such an important social event as to warrant a masque.²²

The only epithalamist of this time to warn of the dangers

of marital strife in a literary lyric is Christopher Brooke, but he does not associate these dangers with witchcraft. In the last stanza of his epithalamium he voices sentiments similar to those expressed in Sidney's "Song of Dicus":

Hence Jealousie, Rivall to Loves delight;
Sowe not thy seede of strife in these two Harts;
May never cold affect, or spleenefull spight,
Confound this Musicke of agreeing parts.

It is clear from the literary lyrics, as well as the nuptial songs, that there must have been tremendous sexual pressure upon the newly married couple. The prospect of progeny was a traditional theme that might be expressed at any point on the wedding day but was most frequently voiced at the bedding of the bride and in the epithalamium proper. For example, Brooke's final stanza continues:

But Time (that steales the virtuall heate
Where Nature keeps the vitall fire)
 (My Heart speakes in my Tongue)
 Supply with Fewell Lifes chiefs seate,
 Through the strong fervour of Desire:
 Love, living; and live long.
And ev'n as Thunder riseth gainst the Winde;
So may yee fight with Age; and conquer Kinde.

Procreation was often thought of as enabling humans to overcome their mortality, to "conquer Kinde." But there were other arguments for posterity. The Puritan Spenser is intent upon increasing the number of blessed saints in heaven. Peacham prays to Lucina, goddess of childbirth, so that Elizabeth will bear a young Frederick Henry "who mought to Europe giue her law, / And keepe encroaching Hell in awe."

And in the *Crew Epithalamium*, Herrick asks "that two Nations / Springing from two such Fires, / May blaze the vertue of their Sires." A sense of anticipation regarding the wedding night was built up throughout the wedding day by these exhortations to increase and multiply, but also by sly jests concerning the pleasures of sexual love. Peacham might apostrophize the "Chast Marriage-bed" but Herrick has it "tickled with Desire," panting "with a Downie brest ... Shrugging as it did move, / Ev'n with the soule of love," and these two views were not really incompatible.

In any event, fescennine raillery, as it is called, was one convention among ancient writers which was enthusiastically embraced by their sixteenth and seventeenth-century counterparts. There was, of course, a rationale behind it. As Gary McCown points out, it was felt that indecent jesting helped to ward off the evil that posed a threat to every newly married couple. (p. 5) Some poets, like some members of any wedding party, were extremely zealous in offering the protection which such merriment afforded. Catullus is particularly graphic in teasing Manlius's former male lover:

let the favourite boy give away nuts
to the slaves, when he hears how his lord
has left his love

Give nuts to the slaves, favourite:
your time is past: you have played with nuts
long enough

(Carmen 61, ll. 124-29)

This occurs during the procession to the home of the groom and presumably takes place within earshot of the bride.

tender but firm, as in the Southwell Epithalamium when Herrick has Venus Pronuba advise both bride and groom:

Tell the Maid,
She need not be afraid:
And bid the Youth apply
Close kisses, if she cry:
And charge, he not forbears
Her, though she wooe with teares.
(stanza X)

Nevertheless, a study of fescennine raillery makes it easy to understand why the bride is often depicted as blushing. This phenomenon goes back to the ancients, as indicated by Peacham's comment on the flammeum:

...it was of a yealowish colour, & worne of the
Romane Virgins going to be marryed, to conceale
& hide their blushing and bashfulnes.
(f. 1^v)

But the "shame-fac'd Bride" was also a very common figure at English weddings, if we can believe the epithalamists. Christopher Brooke has a fine stanza entitled "Modestie in the Bride":

Now droopes our Bride, and in her Virgin state,
Seemes like Electra 'mongst the Pleyades;
So shrinks a Mayde when her Herculean Mate
Must plucke the fruite in her Hesperides.
As she's a Bride, she glorious shines,
Like Cynthia, from the Sunnes bright Sphere,
Attracting all mens Eyes;
But as she's a Virgin, waines, and pines,
As to the Man she approacheth neere;
So Mayden glory dies.
But Virgin Beames no reall brightnesse render;
If they doe shine, in darke they shew their splendor.

This is quite an intellectualized expression of the phenomenon. Herrick, however, is more concrete, dwelling upon the image

with unconcealed delight:

These Precious-Pearly-Purling teares,
 But spring from ceremonious feares.
 And 'tis but Native shame,
 That hides the loving flame:
 And may a while controule
 The soft and am'rous soule;
 But yet, Loves fire will wast
 Such bashfulnesse at last.
 Then away; come, Hymen guide
 To the bed, the bashfull Bride.
 (Southwell Epithalamium, stanza III)

And now the yellow Vaile, at last,
 Over her fragrant cheek is cast.
 Now seems she to expresse
 A bashfull willingnesse:
 Shewing a heart consenting;
 As with a will repenting.
 Then gently lead her on
 With wise suspicion:
 For that, Matrons say, a measure
 Of that Passion sweetens Pleasure.
 (Southwell Epithalamium, stanza VIII)

The image of the bashful bride is further given emphasis in the Southwell Epithalamium by the early refrains: "Then away; come, Hymen guide / To the bed, the bashfull Bride," making it difficult to resist the suspicion that Herrick had a strong sexual prediliction for virgins. Donne, on the other hand, does not appear to derive such pleasure from the young woman's discomfort, gently admonishing her to "weep not nor blush, here is no griefe nor shame" (Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium, stanza II). But we may doubt his sincerity in giving such advice in view of his address to her in the first stanza. Elizabeth Boyle was a blushing bride too, apparently, and judging from ll. 223-33 of Epithalamion (quoted on p. 75) Spenser was as enchanted by this as Herrick tended

to be. Nevertheless, Spenser suggests that his bride's bashfulness is actually an indication that she is not proud:

Her modest eyes abashed to behold
 So many gazers, as on her do stare,
 Upon the lowly ground affixed are.
 Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,
 But blush to heare her prayes sung so loud,
 So farre from being proud.
 (ll. 159-64)

Of her ye virgins learn obedience,
 When so ye come into these holy places,
 To humble your proud faces.
 (ll. 212-214)

But her sad eyes still fastened on the ground,
 Are governed with goodly modesty,
 That suffers not one looke to glaunce awry,
 Which may let in a little thought unsownd,
 Why blush ye love to give to me your hand,
 The pledge of all our band,
 (ll. 234-39)

Although the sexual pressure upon the newly married couple must have been great, and must certainly have resulted in some disastrous wedding nights, the attitude towards sex in marriage was healthy in that it was neither repressive nor solemn. There is comedy, for example, in Herrick's image of the bridegroom's ardour as he tears his way madly through the sheet in which his bride is sewn:

...like a
 Bold bolt of thunder he will make his way,
 And rend the cloud, and throw
 The sheet about, like flakes of snow.
 (Crew Epithalamium, stanza 15)

And there is good sense in Herrick's advice to the couple that their love-making should be creative:

pecially important for an understanding of this heritage of form: the principle of temporal segmentation, the representation of nuptial songs from various stages of the wedding rites, and the role of the poet as master of ceremonies. Donne's two later epithalamia, lacking in all three characteristics, are the least traditional and the most literary. Spenser's Epithalamion is unorthodox in its temporal segmentation and in its mingling of the roles of poet-choragus and bridegroom, and it can hardly be said to be a representation of nuptial songs at all. Christopher Brooke lapses once or twice, though generally maintaining the impression of performance and participation. Donne keeps up appearances more successfully in his Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium, even if the complexity of his attitude is slightly out of place. And of those epithalamia based on the English wedding day, the Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium is the only one which closely imitates the three essential aspects of form in Catullus's poem. Peacham and Herrick are the most faithful followers of Catullus but neither is completely successful in excising anomalous elements that would tell against performance. And in ordering their poems according to the Roman rather than the English wedding, they risk the charge of anachronism. Needless to say, there is no simple correlation between aesthetic merit and structural resemblance to Carmen 61, and it will be seen that there is a perhaps surprisingly large amount of variation in the epithalamia written in the style of this great poem. But the way in which each poet responded to the traditional

demands of the form provides some insight into his imagination, judgment, independence of mind, and organizational ability.

The literary lyrics are more traditional than the nuptial songs in their employment of themes and motifs. There is a mingling of ancient and modern ideas and customs but the ancient ones are better represented than they are in the nuptial songs. Nevertheless, contemporary attitudes towards marriage are no less in evidence. Indeed, because the scope of the literary lyric was much greater than that of the nuptial song, and the demands it made upon the talent and energy of the poet also much greater, it makes possible a deeper understanding of the psychology and sociology of marriage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

III

THE HEROIC EPITHALAMIA

The heroic epithalamium¹ enjoyed a spectacular revival in the neo-Latin literature of the Renaissance. But for the most part it was not similarly seized upon by vernacular writers who more frequently chose to write lyric poems in the manner of Sappho or Catullus.² In England during the period under consideration, only two or three vernacular poems can be classed as heroic epithalamia.

The most noteworthy of these is the last of Henry Peacham's four "Nuptiall Hymnes" for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine. There is a loose unity to these four poems. The first two are concerned respectively with the participation of nature in the celebration of the wedding and the attendance of the land and sea nymphs, and they serve as an introduction to the third hymn which is a temporally segmented epithalamium and a shortened version in English of the prototype--Catullus's Carmen 61. The final hymn is 212 lines long, written in heroic couplets, sometimes in the past tense, sometimes in the historic present. Thus the first two hymns lead up to the wedding festivities, the third describes the events of the wedding day, and the fourth looks back upon the match and recalls some special circumstances pertaining to it. But in spite of the temporal symmetry of the whole, the third and fourth hymns can certainly be treated as separate poems.

The fourth hymn is a close but imaginative rendering of Claudian's *Honorius and Maria Epithalamium*. Although he is indebted to Claudian for his plot and relies upon him for many details of imagery, Peacham makes everything his own, even when he is little more than translating. It is imitation in the best tradition of the age: he takes over whole what he likes, and rejects out of hand what does not suit his purpose. He adapts and selects without regard for faithfulness to the original, not to claim some semblance of originality for himself but in accordance with criteria of appropriateness to his own design. The result is no mere pastiche but a poem of energy and charm in its own right, independent of its model.

Peacham accepted the pleasant fiction of "Honorius and Maria" with the minimum of adaptation. Cupid, having wounded the Count Palatine with love, flies back to Cyprus to inform his mother of the imminent match between the Count and the Princess Elizabeth that is the result of his work, and with Cupid's encouragement the goddess decides to put in an appearance at the wedding. Accompanied by a long train of sea gods and sea nymphs, Venus makes the voyage to England, assumes command over the wedding preparations already under way, and, taking the bride directly to one side, instructs her in the pleasures and duties of love. Then before the ceremonies really get started, Venus takes her leave.

At a time when imitation was not merely respectable but recommended as a means of learning the writer's craft, there

were many slavish imitators. But Peacham was not one of them either in this poem or in his version of Carmen 61 in the third hymn. The alterations he made in what he found in Claudian are instructive. For example, in "Honorius and Maria" Venus bursts in upon the bride as she is being tutored by her mother in learning and chastity. The goddess exclaims at the beauty of the pair, comparing them to two roses on one stalk. Then follows an elaborate compliment to Maria. Peacham handles this episode differently. Venus gives orders to the attendant gods and goddesses to make ready for the wedding--

Which said, into the Chamber of the Bride,
 Who lay to rest, she passed unespide
 And secretly instructs her how to loue.

The secret presence of Venus casting her persuasive influence upon the sleeping bride is very different from the corresponding scene in Claudian, and the difference obtains throughout the poem. The presence of Peacham's Venus is considerably more mystical than the straightforward bustling to and fro of Venus in "Honorius and Maria."

The fictional framework frees Peacham from the assumptions of realistic description and enables him to avoid the pitfalls of servility and sycophancy in the conventional compliments to the royal couple. Frederick's eminence falls out naturally in the course of Cupid's recounting of events to his mother, and in the improvement upon the parallel scene in Claudian the compliment to the bride is managed even more

skilfully. Venus instructs the Princess as she is at rest in her darkened chamber and it is only with the first rays of morning that Elizabeth's beauty becomes clear, catching the goddess by surprise and evoking from her 'spontaneous' words of praise. In Cupid's speech Frederick is eulogised through his forebears who are supposed to form a direct line of descent from Roland and Charlesmagne. Medieval romance thus intermingles with ancient mythology, and in the context of a fable the claim of lineage may pass unexamined. Charges of obsequiousness, cunning flattery, and stretching the credulity of the reader, which are the bane of the royal compliment, are neutralized by the fictional framework not alone by the fictional framework, of course. Over and above this is Peacham's restraint and conciseness, and his refusal to run every good conceit to death.

In most respects Peacham's fourth hymn is a typical example of the heroic epithalamium as developed by Statius and Claudian. The heroic couplet is an appropriate verse form and the story opens in medias res. Although it is not in fact discursive, the first forty-six lines give the impression of discursiveness: the main theme is barely mentioned when it is dropped for a detailed description of the Garden of Adonis. These are general epic qualities. But the poem has other characteristics derived specifically from the heroic epithalamium. It is concerned with the attendance of the gods at a wedding, as are the epithalamia of the two Latin originators of the form. And Venus, rather than Hymen

or Juno, is the central figure. This is a decisive development in the work of Statius and Claudian and it distinguishes the heroic epithalamium thematically from the lyric epithalamium.³ In the latter two cases, of course, Peacham could hardly have avoided imitation once he had decided upon taking over the plot of "Honorius and Maria." But that does not alter the fact that as it stands the fourth hymn is a highly conventional, solidly traditional heroic epithalamium. Nor is this fact at odds with what has already been said concerning Peacham's achievement. He left the imprint of his personality and talent upon what is at once an imaginative imitation and a successful poem.

Thomas Heywood's epithalamium for the same wedding, A Marriage Triumph, solemnized in an Epithalamium, is a very different piece of work.⁴ It is, first of all, much longer--756 lines in all, including two nuptial songs. And it does without a fictional framework; which is not to say that it does without fiction, merely that a fable is not the main-spring of the action as it is in Peacham's fourth hymn. One general epic-like feature it shares with the fourth hymn is its metre, which except in the nuptial songs is the heroic couplet. But sheer length enables A Marriage Triumph to achieve the wide-ranging, digressive quality which Peacham's epithalamium only pretends to possess.

As for pedigree, it has more in common with Catullus's Carmen 64 than with the epithalamia of Statius and Claudian. Its ostensible first purpose is to give an account of the

wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine just as Carmen 64 sets out to describe the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Both get side-tracked and in a very similar way. Heywood's tangent is devoted to a recollection of the wedding of Tython and Aurora; Catullus movingly recounts the story of Theseus and Ariadne. In contrast, the epithalamia of Statius and Claudian, like Peacham's fourth hymn, are not concerned with the wedding as such but with the attitude of the gods towards the wedding and their participation in it. And the narrative of these poems is never deflected from this purpose. In a less crucial way Catullus's influence also probably lies behind the twenty-five lines Heywood devotes to a description of Tython's robe, for it is a minute examination of Thetis's quilt which leads to the Theseus and Ariadne episode in Carmen 64. Again, it is with Catullus's approbation that Heywood includes two lyric epithalamia within the context of A Marriage Triumph. Their function is similar to the song of the Fates in Carmen 64.

Another motif in Heywood's poem which seems to stem from the traditional heroic epithalamium is the gifts of gods to the wedded couple. Very much more is made of this in the Roman epithalamia and in Peacham's fourth hymn where the presents are fantastically described. Heywood is more allegorical and down-to-earth. Neptune is called to be as generous as Bacchus and Ceres have been, and the rest of the gods are asked to withhold no blessing. This is all about fish, wine, vegetables and meat for the feast, and good

fortune in later life--rather mundane stuff compared with the silver girdle twisted with crystal hair which Cymothoe is supposed to offer to the Princess in Peacham's fourth hymn, or the strange gems and flowers which Galatea gathers from the Persian shore. But the idea is the same even if Heywood does not quite catch the spirit of it.

For purposes of summary, A Marriage Triumph can be divided into four parts. First of all, Heywood refers to the death of Prince Henry and declares that the marriage of the Princess marks an end to the mourning (ll. 1-58). Secondly, the marriage of Tython and Aurora is described, culminating in the first of the nuptial songs (ll. 59-296). The third part begins with an invocation to the Muses and Hymen. The Count is praised as the protector of "the religious Protestants" and an account is given of his voyage, including Neptune's fury at being unadvised of it (ll. 297-528). Finally the wedding day itself is celebrated. In this section the reactions of the heavenly bodies (Night, Dawn, Apollo, the Hours, etc.) are described, reference is made to the early spring, the gifts of the gods are petitioned, and the significance of St. Valentine's Day is elaborated upon. The poem ends with the second lyric epithalamium sung by the cherubim.

An inquiry into the temporal presuppositions of A Marriage Triumph raises questions concerning the temporal relationship between the poem and the wedding day. The suggestion of the opening lines is that the voice of the

poem speaks from a point in close proximity to the wedding day:

Now the wet winter of our teares is past,
And see, the cheerful Spring appears at last.

The reflections upon the death of Prince Henry are fixed at this point and so is the account of the wedding of Tython and Aurora. Although the historic present is in almost constant use in the latter, Heywood makes it abundantly clear from the outset that its use is historic: "For now, me thinks, I youthfull Tython see." Its purpose here is to heighten and make more immediate events which the poet admits are past: there is no serious attempt to create the illusion of the present. When Heywood turns his attention to the wedding of the Princess and the Count we see that the wedding has not yet been celebrated:

...if such state
Yong Tython and Aurora celebrate,
What shall be then at this uniting done
(ll. 297-299, my underscoring)

And this is confirmed when he calls upon Hymen to don his brightest weed "That all things may successively succeed/ At these high nuptials" (my underscoring). The storms at sea which Neptune raises when he learns that the Count has passed over the Channel before he could honour him with an escort are related in the historic present and as before this does not radically affect the sense of time in the poem. The point of time from which the narrative takes

place seems finally to be defined with the beginning of the fourth part at line 529 when Heywood declares: "Now's the glad day." In the next twenty-five lines, however, he proceeds to describe in the present tense activities concerning the banishment of Night and the rise of Aurora and Phoebus that would in reality defy uninterrupted description because they cover too great a span of time. Thus again the present tense is historic but here it follows without warning so close upon the revelation of the pivotal point as regards time in the poem--"Now's the glad day"--that there is the momentary illusion of the actual present, an effect which is not unlike that created in a temporally segmented poem. From line 555 on there are no more time signals. The assumption here is that the present is now actual and the time sometime after dawn on the wedding day, sometime before the beginning of the wedding ceremonies. This is the point from which the voice of the poem speaks and towards which the matter of the poem tends from the beginning.

The momentary resemblance to a temporally segmented poem noted above can be extended to include other affinities with the lyric epithalamium. A Marriage Triumph is primarily celebratory. The poet calls upon Hymen, when he turns to the wedding of the Princess and the Count at line 317 ff., in a manner strikingly reminiscent of the opening lines of Catullus's "Manlius and Junia." And even the detailed account of the wedding of Tython and Aurora is little more than an over-elaborated complimentary comparison. In

addition, Heywood does his best to give the impression that his 756-line celebration takes place on the wedding day itself. There is, as a result, a greater sense of occasion in the poem than one finds in Peacham's fourth hymn or Catullus's Carmen 64 which, as has been observed, possibly influenced Heywood in other respects. And such a close temporal relationship between the poem and the wedding day is a quality invariably found in lyric epithalamia.

In contrast, Peacham's fourth hymn, though celebratory in the sense in which all epithalamia are, is very much more a story. No attempt is made to relate its telling closely in time to the wedding day. Peacham recounts from a fixed temporal point whose exact location need not be inquired into because it is not important. He makes liberal use of the historic present but he uses it plainly and openly as an epic convention. This is the way Heywood uses it when he says: "For now, me thinkes, I youthfull Tython see," and it differs from the use it receives in temporally segmented epithalamia in that it is meant to heighten rather than deceive. In these respects, then, the fourth hymn is more heroic, and more at a distance from the wedding than A Marriage Triumph, even though in other respects Peacham's eye for detail and flair for dramatic speech create a powerful sense of immediacy.

The other distinctive qualities of A Marriage Triumph are mostly defects and they can be passed over in tactful haste. In a purely rhythmic sense Heywood writes competent,

even skilful, verse. But his rhetoric is belaboured and tedious and he has a passion for parallel structure which gets completely out of hand. His notion of the stuff epics are made of is sadly lacking in vitality. He is more successful on the subject of Prince Henry than when he rehashes the conventional topics such as the compliment to the Count Palatine or the marriage of Tython and Aurora. All in all, he is a poet who in this endeavour discovered the pitfalls of imitation as surely as Peacham found out its virtues.

George Wither's defects in his Epithalamion for the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine are all his own. The poem shows some classical influence but for the most part is Wither's own unique concoction. It takes the form of a monologue addressed to the Princess, presenting her with a lyric epithalamium in honour of her marriage. If all of this is taken as one, we have a poem of 562 lines.

The first 288 lines are written in heroic couplets and describe how the poem came to be written--Wither's retirement from literary life and London, his return to both in order to witness the great marriage, what he saw upon his return: the court in a festive mood and the participation of the gods and goddesses in the pre-nuptial celebrations. This is followed by an account of the wedding day itself in the temporally segmented epithalamium mentioned in "The Literary Lyrics." Finally, there is a conclusion which be-

gins with line 523 and reverts to heroic couplets. Wither calls down a blessing upon the chaste embraces of the couple, makes a lightly veiled appeal for patronage, and claims that he will immortalize the marriage. A temporal relationship may be perceived which is similar to that linking Peacham's four hymns. The wedding is discussed from three viewpoints: just before the wedding day, on the wedding day itself, and just after the wedding day is over. The difference between this and Peacham's "Nuptiall Hymnes" is that Wither's offering may be treated as one heroic epithalamium, whereas only the last of Peacham's hymns is an heroic epithalamium and it looks back upon the wedding from one point in time.

Wither's Epithalamion has a few epic-like qualities. Over half of it is a long rambling poem in heroic couplets and it also touches upon the participation of the gods in the wedding preparations. Otherwise it must be labelled heroic for want of a better name. The lyric epithalamium, which is Wither's gift, takes up over two fifths of the whole. For the rest, Wither shows himself to have less a taste for fiction even than Heywood. He casts himself in the role of loyal swain, humble patriot and poet, representative of the lowly at the affairs of the great. His approach is at once obsequious and ponderously moralistic, so that he swings freely between fawning obeisance and self-righteous presumption. From loyal swain he turns into father-confessor at line 213 ff., a pose that cannot have endeared him to the Princess. A more discerning poet would have seen that this

was not the time to have her consider her mortality, or the vanity of the honours showered upon her, or her unworthiness in respect of them:

Then with your selfe you may imagine this.
 'Tis but a blast, or transitory shade,
Which in the turning of a hand may fade.
Honours, which you your selfe did never winne,
And might (had God been pleas'd) anothers binne.
 (ll. 236-240)

Wither proceeds upon a series of conceits, or pretexts. The wedding is a pretext for breaking his avowed silence and writing the poem, the pomp and pageantry of the marriage is a pretext for a sermon, the virtue of the Princess is a pretext for undertaking more work in her honour. Less blatantly, the marriage of rivers device is a pretext (ready-made) for considering the entailments of the wedding, in this case the political and religious ramifications. Wither returns repeatedly to the wider significance of the wedding. He knows that it is meant to unite countries and nations as well as the betrothed couple. He hopes that the offspring will be a terror to the whore of Rome, that the marriage of Thames and Rhine will "whelme the pride of Tyber under." The Church of Rome is seen as the disruptive force that caused shipwrecks and other hardships in the storms which preceded the wedding. This is a corollary of the common motif of cosmic celebration. If the cosmos can react at all it can react unfavourably as well as favourably. Wither's Muse assures him that almighty Jove who perceives the hate and envy of the papists will check their fury and

chain them in irons.

The heroic epithalamium in general has affinities on the one side with the epic poem, and on the other with the prose oration. Like the epic it tells a story concerning the dealings of the gods with men. Like the prose oration it is addressed to a specific audience and has to do with an actual event or occasion. Traditionally, in the work of Statius and Claudian, the resemblance to the epic is predominant. Peacham's fourth hymn is in this tradition. Wither's Epithalamion, on the other hand, has much in common with an oration that might be delivered in honour of a marriage, especially in its moralizing and in its observations upon the political and religious implications of the match. And the same is true of Heywood's A Marriage Triumph, though to a lesser degree and for different reasons: Heywood's poem is rhetorical primarily in its style rather than in its matter. Stressed or suppressed, explicit or implicit, there is usually about the heroic epithalamium a quality of saying a few words appropriate to the occasion, such as might be uttered by any after dinner speaker at a wedding. The bride and groom are praised and their virtues are delineated in considerably greater detail than in lyric epithalamia. The panegyric extends to their families and their ancestry. And marriage is seen as a force for peace and concord in the universe. But the point about the heroic epithalamium is that these sentiments are expressed by means of a fable involving the participation of the gods in the wedding, and

the fable has its own conventions such as a sea voyage of some sort, Venus as the presiding deity, a description of her pastoral Paradise, the gifts of the gods to the couple, and so on. Insofar as Heywood and Wither diluted the fiction, therefore, they turned away from the heroic epithalamium in the direction of the rhetorical epithalamium, or nuptial oration.

IV

THE WEDDING MASQUES

The masque has a long and complex history.¹ It was not until the reign of James I that it reached full development in the Jacobean masques, which were encouraged and perhaps inspired by King James, and created in the main by the divergent and competitive geniuses of Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson. The form of the masque was very fluid throughout the sixteenth century. At first it is not easily distinguished from "disguising," which, however, suggests a fairly elaborate production, and "mumming," which has its origins in English folk-culture.² Up until the end of the sixteenth century such entertainments usually but not always involved dancing and music. They might be dumb shows, processions of allegorical figures as in Spenser's Masque of Cupid, or sudden visitations for purposes of dicing, exercising in mock or athletic combat, or presenting gifts and compliments to a sovereign or worthy person. Sets, if employed at all, were movable ("pageants"), or dispersed throughout various parts of the hall. There appear to have been two essential components: (1) masked characters played by non-professional actors and (2) "commoning," some form of intercourse between masquers and spectators. As the masque evolved towards its final form, stage settings became concentrated at the upper end of the hall. The proscenium arch was added. A very elaborate stage technology was imported from Italy. And the masque began to turn upon the spectacular and magical discovery of the masquers, often

prompted by the presence of the sovereign, which was supposed to bring order to an otherwise chaotic world. The masque developed a binary structure at this point, the anti-masque representing turmoil, usually performed by professional actors, giving way to the main masque representing concord, always performed by non-professionals, the lords and ladies of the court. The presence of the sovereign was not only acknowledged, it became the mainspring of the action--the discovery of some truth or the release of some good person from bondage. A riddle might be solved, as in Proteus and the Adamantine Rock, presented before Queen Elizabeth by the students of Gray's Inn at the end of their marathon Christmas celebrations in 1594/5.³ Disorder and incomprehension were replaced by harmony and light. "Commoning" remained a feature of the form. The masquers would perform several set pieces especially choreographed for the occasion but they would also dance galliards and corantos with selected spectators. The pleasant fiction of the masque thus reached out to embrace the audience.

Virginia Tufte has pointed out that in general the epithalamium always expresses the wish for union and order.⁴ The masque was thus particularly well-suited to perform the function traditionally assigned to the epithalamium. But there are other reasons for this. The masque involves music and dancing, both of which are essential to weddings. Also, although it is a form of drama, the masque employs lyric poetry in the literal sense of 'songs sung to the accompaniment of a lyre.' And the epithalamium, for its part, is a

highly dramatic form of poetry in a number of respects: in its origins, in the way it addresses people through the use of the jussive and optative subjunctive, in the temporal segmentation of the literary lyrics, and in the dialogue which characterizes epithalamia written in the manner of Catullus's Carmen 62. The wedding masque sprang from and catered to the same ceremonial and festive needs as the epithalamium and restored to it the original performance features of music and dancing which the epithalamium, as an art form, seems largely to have discarded by this time. The wedding masque became a modern analogue of the ancient form of marriage poetry. It utilized epithalamic themes and motifs, frequently employing the epithalamium itself, sometimes incorporating the themes and motifs into the masque fabric.

We can get some notion of the development of the wedding masque by looking at a few examples of entertainments presented at sixteenth-century marriages.

The marriage of Prince Arthur with Katherine of Aragon took place on 18 November 1501 and a "disguising" was mounted in Westminster Hall for the occasion. First a castle was drawn into the hall, containing some singing children and eight disguised ladies. Next came a ship containing a lady "in her apparell like unto the Princess of Spaine," and Hope and Desire, two ambassadors from certain Knights of the Mount of Love. The ambassadors approached the castle but were rebuffed, and then the Mount of Love itself arrived, a pageant shaped like a mountain, from which issued eight knights who

assaulted the castle. The knights succeeded in inducing the ladies to descend into the hall and dance with them, then all the masquers "avoyded and evanished," and the royal party themselves fell to dancing.⁵

The word "masque" is not used to describe such entertainments until 1513 when the chronicler Hall tells how "the kyng with a xi other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande."⁶ Unlike the "disguising" for the marriage of Arthur and Katherine, this entertainment involved "commoning." The masquers asked the ladies to dance and "some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen." It would seem that it was the "commoning" that was new and occasioned the use of the new term.⁷

However that may be, the entertainment mounted for the marriage of Arthur and Katherine was elaborate in terms of staging and created to deliver "an allegorical compliment," as Chambers puts it, appropriate to the occasion for which it was conceived. Not all masques were so lavishly and carefully designed. The collaboration of George Gascoigne with some gentlemen guests wishing to do honour at the double marriage of Lord Montague's son and daughter in 1572 makes it clear that the simple desire to wear gorgeous or exotic costumes was sometimes the primary motive for a masque:⁸

...there were eight Gentlemen (all of blood or alliaunce to the sayd L. Mountacute) which had determined to present a Maske at the daye appointed for the sayd marriages, and so farre they had proceeded therein, that they had alreadye bought

furniture of Silkes, &c, and had caused their garments to bee cut of the Venetian fashion. Nowe then they began to imagine that (without some speciall demonstration) it would seeme somewhat obscure to have Venetians presented rather than other countrey men. Whereupon they entreated the Aucthor to devise some verses to bee uttered by an Actor wherein might be some discourse convenient to render a good cause of the Venetians presence.

Gascoigne dutifully wrote a speech in poulter's measure to be delivered by a boy actor impersonating a lost English-born relative of the Montagues who is captured by the Turks and rescued by Venetians, among whom he discovers an Italian branch of the family. They are all blown off course during a voyage and find themselves in England just in time to celebrate the nuptials. A shorter speech is delivered, after the masquers make their appearance, by a "trounchman" who interprets or translates the compliments of the Venetians to both couples.

A "trounchman" is also employed in the masque presented at the wedding of Sir Henry Unton in 1580. This masque is represented in one of the scenes from his life and death which surround his portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery in London. (See frontispiece.) Chambers's description cannot be improved upon:⁹

The wedding party is shown at table in a great chamber, overlooking a hall below, in which sit six minstrels. At each end of the hall are steps, and up and down these and over the floor of the chamber passes the mask procession, a drummer, a 'trounchman' with a paper in his hand, Mercury, Diana, six Nymphs, and ten Cupids, five white and five black, as torch-bearers.

Although the occasion is not a wedding, Romeo raises the same concern that troubled the masquers at the Lord Montague weddings. As he and his friends prepare to crash the party at the house of the Capulets, Romeo wonders--

What, shall this speech be spoke for our excuse?
Or shall we on without apology?

--and Benvolio answers:

The date is out of such prolixity.
We'll have no Cupid hoodwink'd with a scarf,
Bearing a Tartar's painted bow of lath,
Scaring the ladies like a crow-keeper;
Nor no without-book prologue, faintly spoke
After the prompter, for our entrance;
But, let them measure us by what they will,
We'll measure them a measure, and be gone.
(I, iv, ll. 1-10)

This masque certainly represents a threat to the peace since the Montagues have been explicitly excluded from the invitation list. Indeed when Tybalt discovers who the masquers are he has to be restrained from causing a disturbance. And the masque can be seen as an instrument of courtship in old Capulet's whimsical comment:

I have seen the day
That I have worn a visor and could tell
A whispering tale in a fair lady's ear,
Such as would please. 'Tis gone, 'tis gone, 'tis gone!
(I, iv, ll. 19-21)

It was no doubt the association of the masque with the Italian nobility, and the association of the Italian nobility with romantic intrigue, as in Romeo and Juliet, which led some of the more circumspect ladies of Henry VIII's court to demur

when asked to dance by the King and his fellow masquers. But they must have got used to it in time because "masks," "maskelers" or "maskelings" recur frequently in the notices of the revels from 1513 onwards.¹⁰

Given the sudden development of the court masque under James I, it is significant that an entertainment written by him for the marriage of the Marquis of Huntly in 1588 is the earliest wedding masque to anticipate the literary and dramatic sophistication of the Jacobean productions.¹¹ This masque, if we may call it a masque, survives only in fragmented form in two manuscripts, one in the original Scottish dialect (MS. Bodley 165) and the other a translation into English (Add. MS. 24195). It opens with an epithalamium invoking the blessings of the heavenly deities upon the newly married couple and especially upon their offspring. Venus is called upon to "make thaim bruddie als for to produce uith speid / quhairin thay may reuiue againe á blest & happie seid." This theme is somewhat tediously drawn out by references to obscure Roman deities whose charge it is to look after newborn infants: Vitumnus, who gives vital breath to babies; Sentinus, who bestows the power of sensation; Prorsa, who presides over birth with head foremost; Levana, who protects newborn children and promotes acknowledgement of such children by their fathers; Vaticanus, who presides over the child's first cry; Cunina, guardian of the cradle; Educa, who presides over the child's eating; Potina, who supervises the child's drinking; Statilinus, who protects the baby on his first attempt to

stand alone.¹² Finally, Fortune is called upon to make the couple and all their family beloved by men and gods and to help them thrive in every circumstance, and a sign is requested from above to show that these heavenly graces will be bestowed upon the couple.

Thus ends the epithalamium. Next, Mercury arrives to inform the company and the poet (who speaks the epithalamium in the first person and is therefore dramatically present) that these wishes have been granted and although it is not the practice of the gods to attend the weddings of humans they have nevertheless decided to honour the wedding by sending fauns, silvans and satyrs, who approach their nature. Pan, who though a god draws near the nature of man, is their "conductor." And they are accompanied by naiads, hamadryads, and nymphs of waters, woods and wells, whose attendance at weddings was a well-established convention in French epithalamia of the time.¹³ The nymphs announce that their "brether deir"--the fauns, silvans and satyrs--"are prepairid for gluife or ring or any sporte with speir." And they reveal that they have brought with them a prize for the victor: "& ue haue brocht for uictoris pryce this yallou garlande rounde / uouin of oure haire uith pearlis thairat quhiche ue in fisches founde." The presence of exotic gifts from the sea is a prominent motif in the heroic epithalamia of Statius and Claudian.

Next, Agrestis comes forward and introduces the masquers by taking up the offer of "sporte uith speir." He speaks on behalf of three knights who have heard favourable reports

about the greatness of the King and Court of Scotland, that for "Martiall games, and pastymes braue and faire" it compares with the court of Charlemagne or the Round Table of King Arthur. James was not one to disdain a compliment, even, it seems, when it came from himself.

Agrestis concludes:

Sirs thogh this language seeme both hard and haske
Appardone new come strangers in a maske.

This is the English translation because the last 13 lines of Agrestis's speech are missing in the Scottish version. It is clearly a cue for the masquers to appear. But the next speech given is by a scholar and he introduces an entirely new scene. He is first overcome by the beauty of one of the ladies present (presumably the bride), and then declares that "welth, beutie, noble race, & vertues all / ilkane of thir makis hir á suter heir." The lady must choose between them, not failing to consider the scholar himself, he hopes.

Something appears to be missing here. First we have an introductory cue by Agrestis for three knights to present themselves for jousts of the peace with the fauns, silvans and satyrs; then the scholar introduces another cast of characters: a beautiful woman and her suitors--a virtuous man, a zany, a landed gentleman, a soldier, and a scholar. But perhaps what happened is that the knights came forward, competed at barriers with the forest creatures and exited, without there being any speeches. Then a second, allegorical masque began with the appearance of the scholar. In any

event, the phenomenon of two or more "masques"--when "masque" means simply the appearance of disguised characters for dancing or dicing or chivalrous competition--within one masque became popular early in the reign of James as King of England.

The masque of the suitors is interesting. The virtuous man intones that the sacred state of marriage was made so that two conjoined might lead a holy life. The landed gentleman offers the lady the service of his rent and friends. The soldier promises to go to war for her. And the scholar informs her that he is able to proclaim her praises with his pen. James displays a sure sense of the comic when he has the zany sidle up to her and suggest to his rivals:

gudein sirs all guid faith I think it best
ye quyte me this & take you all the rest

And the text ends with the intriguing anonymous exclamation "quhat a uillan is this" in response to the last speech of the landed gentleman. The competition remains unresolved, however. The text breaks off, and the conclusion of the masque is missing.

Is this entertainment a masque? Because the conclusion is missing we can only guess whether the masquers would have taken the spectators out to dance in the revels. And because there are no stage directions or descriptions of sets and costuming we cannot be sure that either of the two groups of masquers wore visors. But the beautiful lady refers to the second group of masquers as "kappit men" and their caps would have given some clue as to what they stood for. So they were

disguised, if not, strictly speaking, masked. We have no description of the costumes of the three knights but James refers to them as "strangers in a maske" and since these are the words of an artificer as well as a patron who presided over the golden age of the masque, there is good reason to treat James's entertainment as a masque; to assume, in other words, that it ended in revels and "commoning."

If so, this is the first wedding masque to show how the two forms of masque and epithalamium might be conflated. In James's masque an epithalamium is actually recited, even conceivably sung. The poet, or at least an actor representing him, gets to play the role of choragus, which is one of the fictive presuppositions of lyrical epithalamia. As part of the action of the masque various nymphs of rivers and woods attend the wedding, a common epithalamic motif among French epithalamists, which Spenser was to borrow in his Epithalamion. The water nymphs bring with them a yellow garland woven out of their hair and decorated with pearls found in fishes. Such gifts of the sea were lovingly described by Statius and Claudian in poems that became models of the heroic epithalamium. As we shall see, this incorporation of epithalamic elements into the masque fabric became a notable feature of most Jacobean wedding masques.

The first important wedding masque during the Stuart era in England was Ben Jonson's Hymenaei, presented on 5 January 1605/6 to celebrate the marriage of the young Earl of Essex and his young bride, Lady Frances Howard. For an understand-

ing of the relationship between the epithalamium and the wedding masque, Thomas Campion's Hayes Masque, which was performed almost exactly a year later on 6 January 1606/7, is of nearly equal significance. Between them they provide examples of most sorts of epithalamic influence in the masque.

Hymenaei is constructed around a wedding ceremony in the ancient Roman tradition. Jonson's description of the opening scene employs the earlier and narrower meaning of the word "masque" noted above (p. 134): "On the night of the Masques (which were two, one of Men, the other of Women) the scene being drawne, there was first discover'd an Altar"; he means there were two sets of masquers. The altar was dedicated to Juno--"Ioni. Oimae. Minae. [Iunoni Optimaе Maximae] VNIONI SACR."--mystically implying, says Jonson in a note, "that both it, the place, and all the succeeding ceremonies were sacred to marriage, or Vnion; ouer which Iuno was President." (p. 210) He then describes three ceremonial processions to the altar for the commencement of the solemnities. From one side comes the bridegroom, preceded by five pages bearing candles. From the other side comes Hymen and his train, which includes the bride. Finally, "in the midst," probably from backstage centre, come the "auspices," followed by singers and musicians. The detail is extraordinary:

To this Altar entred fiue Pages, attyr'd in white, bearing fiue tapers of virgin waxe; behind them, one representing a bridegroom: His haire short, and bound with partie-coloured ribbands, and gold twist: His garments purple, and white.

On the other hand, entred Hymen (the god of marriage) in a saffron-coloured robe, his vnder-vestures white, his socks yellow, a yellow veile of silke on his arme, his head crowned with Roses, and Marioram, in his right hand a torch of pine tree.

After him a youth, attyred in white, bearing another light, of white thorne; vnder his arme, a little wicker flasket, shut: behind him two others, in white, the one bearing a distaffe, the other a spindle. Betwixt these a personated Bride, supported, her hayre flowing, and loose, sprinckled with grey; on her head a gyrland of Roses, like a turret; her garments white: and, on her back, a weathers fleece hanging downe: Her zone, or girdle about her waste of white wooll, fastned with the Herculean knot.

In the midst went the auspices; after them, two that sung, in seuerall-coloured silks. Of which, one bore the water, the other the fire: last of all the Musicians, diuersly attyred, all crowned with Roses.

(ll. 43-65)

The ceremony gets under way with a song bidding all disbelievers or enemies of Union to stay away. Then Hymen acknowledges the presence of King James and Queen Anne:

O you, whose better blisses
Haue prou'd the strict embrace
Of Vnion, with chast kisses,
And seene it flow so in your happie race;

And know, how well it binds
The fighting seedes of things,
Winnes natures, sexes, minds,
And eu'rie discord in true musique brings:

Sit now propitious Aides,
To Rites, so duely priz'd;
And view two noble Maides,
Of different sexe, to Vnion sacrific'd.
In honour of that blest Estate,
Which all good minds should celebrate.

(ll. 95-108)

The central theme of the masque is the idea of union and, as

D. J. Gordon has pointed out, this theme is developed elaborately on the socio-political and cosmic levels as well as the inter-personal.¹⁴ Even on the inter-personal level the argument for union is intricate. And it is not surprising to discover that Jonson was well-steeped in epithalamic tradition and that many features of this argument are conventional topoi of the epithalamium. They are not confined to the formal epithalamium which ends the masque, however, but are distributed throughout--in the plot, in the dancing of the masque and revels, in the masque songs, even in The Barriers, which was performed the following evening.

Union and order are basic to the epithalamium and the amplification of these ideas, such as we find in Hymenaei, is recommended to epithalamists by the late Latin rhetoricians and also by Scaliger.¹⁵ Order is brought about among individuals and in society through union. Gamos, a marriage-god who answers to the description of the more familiar Hymen, was said to be the first god to come into existence after chaos. By encouraging the procreation of children he was responsible for the maintenance of the home, property and family, the cause of stability in the individual and in the state.¹⁶ This is very much the point of Jonson's exposition in Hymenaei. But in his reference to "the fighting seedes of things" he gives voice to a more contemporary preoccupation that arose out of the Protestant Reformist emphasis upon marriage as a personal relationship. Incompatibility between the partners, never an important factor before, became a

major concern, as is clear from the numerous popular treatises on domestic relations.¹⁷ An explicit example of it in epithalamic literature is Sidney's warning against marital strife in his "Song of Dicus." But what is interesting about Jonson's treatment of this theme is his effective utilization of anti-masque and masque dances to represent it--the suppression of anarchy and the attainment of order through union.

No sooner are Hymen's words to James and Anne spoken than "out of a Microcosme, or Globe, (figuring Man) with a kind of contentious Musique, issued forth the first Masque, of eight men":

These represented the foure Humors, and foure Affections, all gloriously attired, distinguisht only by their seuerall Ensignes and Colours; and, dauncing out on the stage, in their returne, at the end of their daunce, drew all their swords, offered to encompassse the Altar, and disturbe the Ceremonies.

(11. 112-116)

This is the anti-masque. In a note Jonson explains that the Humours and Affections are "tropically brought in, before Marriage, as disturbers of that mysticall bodie, and the rites, which were soule vnto it; that afterwards, in Marriage, being dutifully tempered by her power, they might more fully celebrate the happiness of such as liue in that sweet union, to the harmonious lawes of Nature and Reason." The Humours and Affections are not treated as intrinsically evil but as lacking in knowledge concerning the true meaning of marriage. Nevertheless, Hymen is himself unable to put down the insur-

rection and he calls upon Reason to help him out:

If there be
 A Power, like Reason, left in that huge Bodie,
 Or little world of Man, from whence these came,
 Looke forth, and with thy bright and numerous flame
 Instruct their darknesse, make them know, and see,
 In wronging these, they haue rebell'd 'gainst thee.
 (ll. 123-128)

Reason's remedy is first of all a lecture to the Humours and Affections concerning the "mysticke sence" of the mysterious rites which they have interrupted. Jonson was not going to have the detailed symbolism of the spectacle escape the understanding of his audience, if he could help it. The following passage is extremely important in the history of epithalamic literature because, besides being a graceful piece of expository poetry, it depicts a ceremony that, within the context of the masque, actually took place at a particular wedding:

The Paire, which doe each other side,
 Though (yet) some space doth them diuide,
 This happie Night must both make one
 Blest sacrifice, to Union.
 Nor is this Altar but a signe
 Of one more soft, and more diuine,
 The Geniall bed, where Hymen keeps
 The solemne Orgies, void of sleepes:
 And wildest Cupid, waking, houers
 With adoration 'twixt the louers.
 The Tead of white and blooming Thorne,
 In token of encrease is borne:
 As also, with the ominous light,
 To fright all malice from the Night.
 Like are the fire, and water, set;
 That eu'n as moisture, mixt with heat,
 Helpes euerie naturall birth, to life;
 So, for their Race, ioyne man and wife.
 The blushing veyle shewes shamefastnesse
 Th'ingenuous virgin should professe

At meeting with the man: Her haire,
 That flowes so liberall, and so faire,
 Is shed with grey, to intimate,
 She entreth to a Matrons state,
 For which those vtensils are borne.
 And, that she should not labour scorne,
 Her selfe a snowie fleece doth weare,
 And these her rocke and spindle beare,
 To shew, that nothing, which is good,
 Giues checke vnto the highest blood.
 The Zone of wooll about her waste,
 Which, in contrarie circles cast,
 Doth meet in one strong knot, that binds,
 Tells you, so should all maried minds.
 And lastly, these fiue waxen lights,
 Imply perfection in the rites;
 For fiue the speciall number is,
 Whence hallow'd Vnion claymes her blisse.
 As being all the summe, that growes
 From the vnited strengths, of those
 Which male and female numbers wee
 Doe style, and are first two, and three.
 Which, ioyned thus, you cannot seuer
 In equall parts, but one will euer
 Remaine as common: so we see
 The binding force of Vnitie:
 For which alone, the peaceful gods
 In number alwaies, loue the oddes;
 And euen parts as much despise,
 Since out of them all discords rise.
 (11. 162-211)

The second part of Reason's remedy is the discovery of
 the second set of masquers, the eight powers of Juno:

Here, the vpper part of the Scene, which was all
 of Clouds, and made artificially to swell, and ride
 like the Racke, began to open; and, the ayre clearing,
 in the top thereof was discovered Ivno, sitting in
 a Throne, supported by two beautifull Peacokes;
 her attyre rich, and like a Queene, a white Diademe
 on her head, from whence descended a Veyle, and
 that bound with a Fascia, of seuerall-coloured silkes,
 set with all sorts of Iewels, and raysed in the top
 with Lillies and Roses; in her right hand she held
 a Scepter, in the other a timbrell, at her golden
 feete the hide of a lyon was placed: round about her
 sate the spirites of the ayre, in seuerall colours,
 making musique: Aboue her the region of fire, with a
 continuall motion, was seene to whirle circularly,

and Ivpiter standing in the toppe, (figuring the heauen) brandishing his thunder: Beneath her the rainebowe, Iris, and, on the two sides eight ladies, attired richly, and alike in the most celestiall colours, who represented her powers, as shée is the gouernesse of marriage, and made the second masque.

(ll. 212-229)

This masque of ladies, representing the pronubae of Juno, her powers as Governess of Marriage, descends to the following song:

These, these are they,
Whom honour and affection must obey;
Who come to decke the geniall Bower,
And bring, with them, the gratefull Hower
That crownes such meetings, and excites
The married paire to fresh delights:
As Courtings, Kissings, Coyings, Othes, and Vowes,
Soft Whisperings, Embracements, all the Ioyes,
And melting Toyes,
That chaster Love allows.
Cho. Haste, haste, for Hespervs his head downe bowes.

(ll. 259-269)

This song contains several conventional motifs such as the references to the decorated "geniall Bower," the lawful joys of married love, and the appearance of Hesperus, always construed as the signal to conclude the festivities and depart for bed. However, it is not a show-piece, an epithalamium thrown in for ornamental purposes only, but has the practical function within the masque of introducing the lady masquers, as well as covering the sound of the descending cloud machines. The remaining songs in Hymenaei have this dual nature, echoing the usual sentiments of the epithalamium concerning the need for haste in bringing the festivities to an end and the bride to bed, but at the same time serving as accompaniment for the dancing.

When the Powers of Juno have descended they are led by Order, the servant of Reason, to pair themselves with the Humours and Affections, and together they dance the first masque dance, which was choreographed so that the dancers formed the letters of the bridegroom's name and ended in the manner of a chain, signifying the great chain of being:

Svch was the Golden Chaine let downe from Heauen;
 And not those linkes more euen,
 Then these: so sweetly temper'd, so combin'd
 By Vnion, and refin'd.
 Here no contention, enuy, griefe, deceit,
Feare, iealousie haue weight;
 But all is peace, and loue, and faith, and blisse:
 What harmony like this?
 The gall, behinde the altar quite is throwne;
 This sacrifice hath none.
 Now no affections rage, nor humors swell;
 But all composed dwell.
 (ll. 320-331)

This is an Elizabethan world-picture. Contention, envy, grief, deceit, fear and jealousy are all named as experiences in any love relationship, but in marriage these have no weight; all is peace, love, faith and bliss. Marriage is the right way to have a love relationship: legalize it and institutionalize it. The concluding lines of the speech, however, are from the ancient world. Hymen and Juno are praised and set in opposition to Venus, who is associated with unlawful love; unlawful love is seen as a threat to the integrity of the family and the prospect of prosperous issue. Among the Romans the argument was social rather than personal:

O Ivno, Hymen, Hymen, Ivno! who
 Can merit with you two?
 Without your presence, Venus can doe naught,

Saue what with shame is bought;
 No father can himselfe a parent show,
 Nor any house with prosperous issue grow.
 O then! What deities will dare
 With Hymen, or with Ivno to compare?
 (ll. 332-339)

Jonson is specifically indebted here to Catullus's Carmen
 61, ll. 61-70:

No Pleasure can Venus take without thee,
 such as honest fame may approve;
 but she can if thou art willing.
 What god dare match himself with this god?

No house without thee can give children,
 no parent can rest on his offspring;
 but all is well if thou art willing.
 What god dare match himself with this god?

And although Catullus addresses this to Hymen alone, Jonson
 cites Virgil and Ovid as authorities for casting Juno, as
 Governess of Marriage, in an equal role with Hymen.

The revels follow this speech by Reason. The masquers
 dance galliards and corantos with members of the audience.
 The songs which accompany the final dances contain conven-
 tional epithalamic elements, referring to the pleasures which
 await the bride and groom, and calling upon the revellers to
 conclude the festivities and bring the bride to bed. Reason
 and Hymen reinforce this theme, Reason noting the appearance
 of Hesperus, Hymen envisaging the bridegroom waiting, torch
 in hand, in the porch of his house for his bride to arrive.
 Finally, the Powers of Juno and the Humours and the Affections
 perform the last dance, ending, hand in hand, in a circle with
 Reason in the middle. They then salute the State pair by pair

and leave the hall in couples, "led on by Hymen, the Bride, and Auspices following, as to the nupitall bower." The epithalamium, already discussed in the section on the nuptial songs, was intended to accompany this procession, but it was found to be too long and only one stanza of it was sung. Jonson himself probably did not agree with this decision. He includes the whole poem in the printed version of the masque "because I made it both in forme, and matter, to emulate that kinde of poeme, which was call'd Epithalamium, and (by the ancients) vs'd to be sung, when the Bride was led into her chamber...and [I] doe heartily forgiue their ignorance whom it chanceth not to please." (ll. 436-441)

Jonson's debt to epithalamic tradition is obvious from his lavish annotations. Indeed, these provide a convenient guide to the source materials available to epithalamists of the period. He was familiar with Catullus, Statius and Claudian, as well as many other poets and writers connected with the history of the epithalamium. Hymenaei is remarkable in the extent to which the conception of union or marriage informs the structure and the parts of the masque down to the very last detail. Even The Barriers, performed the following night, features a debate between Opinion and Truth concerning the respective merits of virginity and marriage which draws upon Catullus's Carmen 62. We are a long way from Gascoigne's Montacute Masque or Sir Henry Unton's wedding masque in these entertainments. Hymenaei is a triumph of engineering and architecture as well as poetry, and not least it is a triumph

of a suddenly well-financed Revels Office. But most of all it is a triumph of the imagination, such as had not been seen before in a wedding masque, and was not to be seen again.

Campion's Hayes Masque is important for the same reason Hymenaei is important--because the epithalamic influence is general and pervasive and not confined to a show-piece epithalamium. Campion's concern in the Hayes Masque, like Jonson's in Hymenaei, was to fashion an entertainment apposite to the occasion being celebrated. The masque deals directly, therefore, with the idea of marriage. But rather than play upon the mystical and philosophical implications of the concept of union, Campion fastens upon the apparent conflict between chastity and married life. This theme is an interesting one because it gives us some idea as to what contemporary writers perceived to be the objections to matrimony. The maidens of Jacques Yver's nuptial song (see "The Nuptial Songs," pp. 49&50) give the negative side of the debate in very persuasive terms and it seems that they are not defeated by superior arguments but by the simple fact that they, as women, do not have any choice in the matter. They do an abrupt about-face in the last stanza and, resolving to make the best of it, address Hymen submissively: "Sith that thy pleasure is to trace out of our traine / Our sister..." The debate goes back to Catullus's Carmen 62 and is resurrected by Jonson in The Barriers, as well as by Yver and Campion. Virginity, used always in this debate in reference to young

women, never to young men, is portrayed by Catullus as a stage appropriate to females in youth but which must give way to fruitfulness and marriage. One of two well-known and oft-imitated images compares the virgin to a flower in a fenced garden,

unknown to the cattle, not torn by the plough,
which the winds caress, sun strengthens, showers
draw forth

(ll. 40 & 41)

It is admired by everyone. But when the flower fades, having been cut, "cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem"--when she has lost her chaste flower with sullied body--then she is no longer regarded as lovely. This is the argument of the young maidens. The young men rebut this by employing the second of the two popular images. The virgin is compared to an unwedded vine

which grows up in a bare field
never raises itself aloft, never brings forth a mellow
grape
but bending its tender form with downward weight
even now touches the root with topmost shoot;
no farmers, no oxen tend it.
But if it chance to be joined in marriage to the elm,
many farmers, many oxen tend it.
So a maiden, whilst she remains untouched, ages untended,
but when in ripe season she is matched in equal wedlock
she is more dear to her husband and less distasteful
to her father.

(ll. 48-57)

The unwedded woman is seen as weighed down, unfruitful, unattended. The ripe virgin who is married off in equal wedlock ("par conubium") is cared for by her husband and a load off her father's mind.

The other argument offered by Catullus's maidens arises out of a fear of sex that seems to be quite natural given the Roman associations of marriage with rape, in the Latin sense of that word--"to seize by force, snatch, tear away." Rome was supposed to have been founded upon the rape of the Sabine women, and it was customary for the bride to be taken from her mother with a show of force on her wedding day.¹⁸ So Catullus's virgins see Hesperus as a cruel fire because he

tears the daughter from her mother's embrace,
 from her mother's embrace he tears the close-clinging
 daughter,
 and gives the chaste maiden to the burning youth.
 Enemies entering a fallen city are not more cruel than
 this!

(11. 21-24)

In the end, Catullus has no answer to such fears other than to submit: the contract has been made, the husband and the parents have come to an agreement, there is no choice but to obey.

Jonson translates the unplucked flower and the vine and the elm metaphors in The Barriers. His discussion of the issue is not like Catullus's, however, a singing match between young men and young women at a wedding banquet, but a full-scale debate between Truth and Opinion disguised as Truth. As in Le Printemps D'Yver, the feminine objections to marriage are more fully realized and they stem not from a virginity cult or fear of physical violence but from the prospect of servitude within marriage:

..what rules husbands praescribe their wiues!
 In their eyes circles, they must bound their liues.
 The moone, when farthest from the sunne she shines,
 Is most refulgent; neerest, most declines:
 But your poor wiues farre off must neuer rome,
 But wast their beauties, neere their lords, at home:
 And when their lords range out, at home must hide
 (Like to beg'd monopolies) all their pride.
 When their lords list to feed a serious fit,
 They must be serious; when to shew their wit
 In iests, and laughter, they must laugh and iest;
 When they wake, wake; and when they rest, must rest.
 And to their wiues men giue such narrow scopes,
 As if they meant to make them walke on ropes:
 No tumblers bide more perill of their neckes
 In all their trickes; then wiues in husbands checkes.
 (ll. 774-789)

This, it turns out, is Opinion speaking. Truth, on the other hand, argues that love is what makes the world go round and the proper place for love is within marriage:

Love (whose strong vertue wrapt heau'ns soule in earth,
 And made a woman glory in this birth)
 In marriage, opens his inflamed brest;
 And, lest in him nature should stifled rest,
 His geniall fire about the world he darts;
 Which lippes with lippes combines, and hearts with hearts.
Marriage Loves obiect is; at whose bright eyes
 He lights his torches, and call's them his skies.
 For her, he wings his shoulders; and doth flie
 To her white bosome, as his sanctuary:
 In which no lustful finger can profane him,
 Nor any earth, with black eclipses wane him.
 She makes him smile in sorrowes, and doth stand
 'Twixt him, and all wants, with her siluer hand.
 In her soft lockes, his tender feet are tied;
 And in his fetters he takes worthy pride.
 (ll. 731-746)

This is an eloquent and elevated statement of the relationship between love and marriage and it is certainly more calculated to convince a reluctant bride than anything Jacques Yver and Catullus came up with. What we can see in The Barriers is, on the one hand, a sympathetic presentation of

feminine objections to marriage, and, on the other hand, a positive portrayal of marriage in respect to how it affects women. But the debate is not resolved rationally. Knights come forth and champion one cause or the other with swords and pikes in the barriers, but in the end the truth has to be revealed by the miraculous appearance of an angel, who presents Truth in a more glorious and recognizable habit, declaring in favour of marriage.

In the Hayes Masque the argument takes an allegorical form. The stage is divided into upper and lower playing areas.¹⁹ Above, stage right, is the Bower of Flora; above, and downstage centre, is the Tree of Diana; above, stage left, is the House of Night. There are steps leading from the Bower of Flora and the House of Night to the playing area below. Midstage centre, below, is the Grove of Diana, in which nine golden trees are prominent. The masque has two scenes. At first the curtain is pulled halfway to reveal the Bower of Flora where Flora, Zephyrus and several sylvas are gathering flowers for the wedding of Lord Hayes and his bride. They descend to the lower playing area and a couple of songs are sung which utilize conventional epithalamic elements. The lovely opening song "Now hath Flora rob'd her bowers" dwells upon the motif of strewing flowers in the path of the bride and groom. The second song is a three-part dialogue in which the virtues of virginity and marriage are debated in a manner only slightly reminiscent of Carmen 62. By the affirmative, marriage is presented in terms of harmony

and friendship--an antidote to loneliness. By the negative, it is characterized by strife and a loss of freedom for the woman: "A maide is free, a wife is tyed." This song foreshadows the major conflict of the masque which comes to the fore with the appearance of Night:²⁰

This song being ended the whole vale is sodainly drawne, the grove and trees of gold, and the hill with Dianas tree, are at once discovered.

Night appeares in her house with her 9 houres, apparrelled in large robes of black taffatie, painted thicke with starres, their haire long, blacke, and spangled with gold, on their heads coronets of stars, and their faces blacke; every houre bore in his hand a blacke torch, painted with starres, and lighted.

(p. 217)

The sudden descent of Night to the lower playing area, guided by the Hours with their torches, must have been a breath-taking spectacle. No sooner has she descended than she rebukes Flora and Zephyrus for celebrating the wedding of Lord Hayes. It seems that Cynthia is displeased with the loss of Hayes's bride from her retinue of virgins and furthermore she is outraged because she has discovered some Knights of Apollo who have stolen into her sacred grove disguised as trees in an attempt to seduce more of her nymphs from her train.²¹ These knights she has transformed into real trees as a punishment for their transgression, though Apollo still shows them his favour by gilding them with his rays. These are the nine golden trees.

It is clear from Flora's first words in answer to Night's rebuke that Campion is about to give a new twist to this old

conflict: "Bee mild, sterne night; / Flora doth honour Cynthia, and her right. / Virginitie is a voluntary powre." From the outset it is acknowledged that Cynthia has her claims, and this calls for reconciliation rather than victory or defeat. Accordingly, Hesperus soon appears on the scene bringing news of rapprochement between Cynthia and Apollo. This is brought about by that other Phoebus "which in this happie Westerne Ile is plac't"--King James. When Cynthia finds that he has graced the match between Hayes and his bride, she is appeased. Night then consents to participate in the nuptial celebrations, first moving the golden trees to dance by the power of music, then transforming them back into their real selves as Knights of Apollo, still dressed in their leafy disguises.

After the knights have performed a second dance, this time in "the dancing place" between the stage and the State,²² Night requires that before undertaking anything else they make a solemn procession to Diana's tree, the tree of chastity, and

These greene leaved robes, wherein disguisde you made
 Stelths to her Nimphes through the thicke forrests shade,
 There to the goddesse offer thankfully,
 That she may not in vaine appeased be.

(p. 224)

The masquers proceed from the dancing place to the stage, then to the House of Night on the upper level left, downstage centre to the tree of Diana, upstage right to the Bower of Flora, then down to the lower playing area again, ending up where

they began in the dancing place:

At the end of this speech Night began to leade the way alone, and after her an Hour with his torch, and after the Hour a masker; and so in order one by one, a torch-bearer and a masker, they march on towards Dianas tree. When the Maskers came by the house of Night, every one by his Hour received his helmet, and had his false robe pluckt off, and, bearing it in his hand, with a low honour offred it at the tree of Chastitie; and so in his glorious habit, with his Hour before him, march't to the bowre of Flora. The shape of their habit the picture before discovers; the stuffewas of Carnation satten layed thicke with broad silver lace, their helmets beeing made of the same stufte. So through the bowre of Flora they came, where they joynd, two torch-bearers and two Maskers; and when they past downe to the grove, the Hours parted on either side, and made way betweene them for the Maskers, who descended to the dauncing place in such order as they were to begin their third new dance. All this time of procession the sixe Cornets, and sixe Chappell voices sung a sollemne motet of sixe parts...

(p. 224)

The third formally choreographed dance comes next, after which Hesperus gracefully takes his leave: "The'ould Bridall friend, that ushers Night desir'd / Through the dimme evening shades, then taking flight, / Gives place and honour to the nuptiall Night." The well-worn epithalamic motif is worked again. A "Dialogue of foure voices, two Bases and two trebles" follows and it praises Hesperus, Catullus to the contrary, as the kindest of all stars to the bride: "Longing hearts and new delights / Love short days and long nights." This is familiar fescennine jesting.

The revels come next: "Now the Maskers began their lighter daunces as Currantoes, Levaltas, and galliards..." After which, Night brings the revels to an end: "Hymen long

since the Bridall bed hath drest, / And longs to bring the turtles to their rest." There is one more formal dance and a two-part song between a sylvan and an Hour brings the masque to an end.

Campion's Hayes Masque is original in many ways. It is clear that he is familiar with the stockpile of epithalamic conventions but he uses them sparingly and in his hands they do not become clichés. In bringing about a resolution of the ancient conflict between virginity and marriage, making peace between the two warring sides, he reflects a new perspective on love and marriage. The Knights of Apollo are courtly lovers in a strictly literal sense, and also, perhaps, in a symbolic sense. But, if so, they represent 'the religion of love' in decline. Their intentions are not honourable, their methods are underhanded. They enter Diana's wood disguised and uninvited--masquers, in the old sense, like Romeo and his friends--and they deserve the punishment they get. The proposition of unlawful love receives the rebuff it merits. But sexual desire, which the knights also represent, is not evil in itself. The sun (Apollo), aided by Flora and Zephyrus, is the primary source of fruitfulness on earth, a symbol of the procreative sexual urge. Zephyrus, we are told in a note, "...with Venus the Queen of Love is said to bring in the spring, when naturall heate and appetite reviveth." Night, before hostilities are halted, calls him "wanton Zephyrus." The sympathies of the masque are not anti-sexual. Chastity is a voluntary power, "free from constraint, even like an untoucht

flower / Meete to be gather'd when tis throughly blowne." Yet Cynthia has her right and must be honoured. The compromise is marriage. Chastity does not necessarily mean no sex, it may also mean socially sanctioned sex and fidelity to one's sexual partner. In these circumstances, Cynthia may be appeased. So the courtly lovers of Apollo are released from imprisonment and one of Cynthia's nymphs is at liberty to match herself with a man. Both are freed by marriage.²³

Ben Jonson's masque for the marriage of the Viscount Haddington and Lady Elizabeth Radcliffe is a less ambitious production than his Hymenaei, but it has a charm all its own which has made it one of Jonson's best-known and best-loved masques. More familiar to readers as The Hue and Cry after Cupid, a title invented by William Gifford, the masque was performed at Court on Shrove Tuesday, 1608. The opening scene presents "a high, steepe, red cliffe, aduancing it selfe into the cloudes," signifying the origin of the bride's family name as well as its "height, greatnesse, and antiq-uitie." This is framed by a proscenium arch. Inigo Jones had constructed a kind of proscenium arch for Hymenaei--the clouds were held up by two great statues representing Atlas and Hercules--but it was in a more primitive form, neither completely an arch nor very pertinent to the theme of the masque. The one he created for the Haddington Masque was clearly an advance over this:

on the two sides, were erected two pilasters,
chardg'd with spoiles and trophees, of loue, and

his mother, consecrate to marriage: amongst which were old and yong persons figur'd, bound with roses, the wedding garments, rocks, and spindles, hearts transfixt with arrowes, others flaming, virgins girdles, gyrlonds, and worlds of such like; all wrought round and bold: and ouer-head two personages, triumph and victorie, in flying postures, and twice as big as the life, in place of the arch, and holding a gyrlond of myrtle for the key.

(11. 30-39)

Besides being more recognizably an arch, this foreshadows the theme of the Haddington Masque, depicting as it does the triumph of love.

The action begins with the spectacular appearance of Venus and the three Graces from out of the clouds:

on the sodaine, with a solemne musique, a bright skie breaking forth; there were discovered, first two doues, then two swannes with siluer geeres, drawing forth a triumphant chariot; in which Venus sate, crowned with her starre, and beneath her the three Graces, or Charites, Aglaia, Thalia, Ephrosyne, all attyr'd according to their antique figures. These, from their chariot, alighted on the top of the cliffe, and descending by certayne abrupt and winding passages, Venus hauing left her starre, onely, flaming in her seate, came to the earth, the Graces throwing gyrlonds all the way, and began to speake.

(11. 42-53)

It seems that Cupid has escaped from heaven and Venus seeks him in the British Court where, rumour has it, he and his companion loves have lent "light / From their best flames, to guild a glorious night," a reference to The Masque of Beautie, presented the previous Christmas on Twelfth Night. Since he is nowhere in sight, Venus turns to the audience and asks the Graces to

Looke all these ladies eyes,
 And see if there he not concealed lyes;
 Or in their bosomes, 'twixt their swelling breasts:
 (The wag affects to make himselfe such nests)
 Perchance, he'hath got some simple heart, to hide
 His subtle shape in: I will haue him cry'd,
 And all his virtues told. That, when they know
 What spright he is, shee soone may let him goe,
 That guards him now; and thinke her selfe right blest,
 To be so timely rid of such a guest.

(ll. 73-82)

The Graces' investigation takes the form of alternating six-line stanzas which present Cupid in familiar terms as "almost naked, wanton, blind, / Cruel now; and then as kind." His triumphs over Apollo, Neptune, Jove and Pluto are declared. It is said that he hates nothing so much as Reason, and he is called "Venus Run-away," which he is figuratively as well as literally. Presently, Cupid reveals himself, attended by twelve boys who represent "the sports, and prettie lightnesses, that accompanie Loue, vnder the titles of Ioci, and Risus; and are said to wait on Venus, as she is Praefect of Marriage." Together they perform the anti-masque dance:

Wherewith they fell into a subtle capriccious
Daunce, to as odde a Musique, each of them bearing
 two torches, and nodding with their antique faces,
 with other varietie of ridiculous gesture, which
 gaue much occasion of mirth, and delight, to the
spectators.

(ll. 171-175)

Cupid boasts of an unnamed triumph and when Venus attempts to apprehend him he slips her grasp, intimating that a marriage is about to take place and he is needed elsewhere. It is left to Hymen to inform Venus of the match between Haddington and Elizabeth Radcliffe which Cupid has brought about.

Hymen, dressed in the same costume as in Hymenaei (see p. 137 above), scolds Venus for leaving her star without her influence on a night "which should be crown'd with your most chearing sight." The importance of the occasion is impressed upon her as Hymen compares King James to her beloved Aeneas and points out that Haddington saved James's life (in the Gowrie conspiracy). Elizabeth Radcliffe is also praised. Then comes the revelation scene in which Vulcan, Venus's "vxorious" husband, presents a gift of his art, "Some strange, and curious peece, t <o> 'adorne the night, / And giue these sacred Nuptials greater light." The solid face of the cliff opens up and within is discovered

an illustrious Concaue, fill'd with an ample and glistering light, in which, an artificiall Sphere was made of siluer, eighteene foot in the Diameter, that turned perpetually: the Coluri were heightened with gold; so were the Arctick and Antarctick circles, the Tropicks, the Aequinoctiall, the Meridian, and Horizon; onely the Zodiake was of pure gold: in which, the Masquers, vnder the Characters of the twelue Signes, were plac't, answering them in number; whose offices, with the whole frame, as it turned, Vvlcā went forward, to describe.

(ll. 265-274)

Venus is so impressed with all this that she determines to return to heaven and, addressing her husband, vows forever

That my lampe shall burne
With pure and chas <t> est fire; or neuer shine,
But when it mixeth with thy spheare, and mine.

The masquers, introduced as twelve sacred powers of marriage, thereupon begin the first of four formal dances, which were interspersed with stanzas of the epithalamium which Jonson

wrote to conclude the masque.

D. J. Gordon has pointed out that for much of this Jonson was indebted to Moschus and the hand-books of mythology by Conti and Cartari.²⁴ Amor Fugitivus by Moschus presents Venus searching for her runaway son. She describes his person, attributes and powers, offers a kiss as reward for information leading to his apprehension (as do the Graces in the Haddington Masque), and warns of the dangers of harbouring him. For Vulcan's appearance and activities Jonson went to Cartari's Imagini dei Dei degli Antichi.²⁵ And many of the learned references which he uses as authorities for his portrayal of other classical figures come via Conti's Mythologiae:²⁶

Thus when Jonson describes the car of Venus as being drawn by both swans and doves (note on l. 44) and cites two passages from the Metamorphoses to justify his description he is following Conti's account of the car. From the same chapter in Conti comes Jonson's note on Venus as Nuptiis Praefecta with the enumeration of the other deities who preside over marriage and the authorities quoted (note on l. 209); and in the same passage Conti gives the quotation from Horace which Jonson gives to cover his introduction of the Ioci and Risus who attend Venus when she is acting in this capacity (note on l. 162). The Cupid of Jonson and Moschus is common form; but for his wilder exploits--his power over the sun, Neptune, Jove, Minerva, Rhea and the rest--Jonson troubles to give his sources. Again he has returned to Conti who provides the epigram by Philippus telling how Cupid despoiled the deities of their weapons to which Jonson refers; and here Jonson adds material he found in two of Lucian's dialogues.

The evidence which Gordon presents is convincing. There can be little doubt that Jonson knew all these works and consulted

them closely when creating the Haddington Masque. But Jonson was also familiar with the classical writers of epithalamia: Catullus, Statius and Claudian.²⁷ He refers to all of these in his notes for Hymenaei and he used them again in constructing the Haddington Masque, though in a very different way. In Hymenaei he leaned heavily upon Catullus, citing Statius and Claudian only as authorities for the presence of a "thousand seuerall-colour'd loues, / Some like sparrowes, some like doues, / That hop about the nuptiall-roome." In the Haddington Masque Catullus's influence is very slight but the heroic epithalamia of Statius and Claudian, though not acknowledged in his notes, had considerable influence, I think, over the plot which Jonson created. Furthermore, this influence extended itself to matters about which he also clearly consulted Conti.

The heroic epithalamium was by far the kind of epithalamium most popular among the neo-Latin writers during the Renaissance. And the epithalamia of Statius and Claudian, the much-imitated originals of the type, are easily distinguished from the lyric types by a variety of characteristics in addition to the obvious differences in verse form and metre. Rather than act as dramatized accompaniments to the wedding ceremonies, these poems tell the story of the wedding day in a somewhat fabulous manner. Venus hears of a marriage which she should especially honour, so she travels to the scene of the wedding, accompanied by gods and god-like beings, dispels the lingering doubts of the bride, and bestows gifts

upon the married couple. She replaces Juno as the patron of marriage in these poems, and Hymen becomes a minor figure. Cupid, her son, is depicted as a god of some power and influence. In Claudian's epithalamium for the marriage of the Emperor Honorius and his bride, Maria, for example, we are first shown Honorius wounded by a love-shaft of Cupid, who, delighted with his accomplishments, hurries home to tell his mother. And as Jonson himself observes in his notes for Hymenaei, there are putti in abundance. They turn up in the Haddington Masque as "the sports, and prettie lightnesses, that accompanie Loue" in the anti-masque dance. Finally, the heroic epithalamium resembles a wedding oration or toast rather than a nuptial song in that it is more lavish and specific in its praise of the bride and groom.

Most of this can be seen in the Haddington Masque. Cupid is the instigator of the match between Haddington and Elizabeth Radcliffe and he and his fellow loves take exuberant and mischievous delight in his accomplishment. Venus visits the scene of the wedding, accompanied by fellow deities (the Graces), and she is presented as nuptiis praefecta, just as she is in the epithalamia of Statius and Claudian. The gifts of the gods motif is repeated in Vulcan's silver sphere. And the bride and groom are treated in a more personal and more flattering way than they are in lyric epithalamia, or in Hymenaei, which was influenced more by the lyric type.

All of the details which Gordon gives as coming from Conti can also be found in either Statius or Claudian. In

his epithalamium for the marriage of Stella and Violentilla, Statius describes the chariot of Venus drawn by a pair of white doves. In all three epithalamia Venus is nuptiis praefecta. All three feature the putti. And as for Cupid's triumphs over other deities, this is not only used in Claudian's "Honorius and Maria" but also used in the same way Jonson uses it--to compare the present conquest (Honorius and Haddington) to Cupid's conquest of the great gods of the Pantheon--it is exploited as an opportunity to flatter the bridegroom.²⁸ My suggestion is that Jonson used Statius and Claudian as well as Cartari and Conti in creating the Haddington Masque--Statius and Claudian for the general idea of the fable and as guides to what details would be appropriate; the hand-books of mythology in a complementary way as additional sources for those details.

The influence of Catullus on the Haddington Masque is small. The opening lines of the epithalamium which concludes the masque--"Vp youthes and virgins, vp, and praise / The god, whose nights out-shine his daies"---recall the Chorus of Youths and Maidens" (Carmen 62) of Catullus, but this is of no great significance. More interesting is Venus's vow to be forever faithful to Vulcan, which carries the implication that she has not been known for her fidelity in the past. Jonson's reference to Carmen 61 confirms this interpretation: "As Catul. hath it in nup. Iul, & Manl. without Hymen, which is marriage: Nil potest Venus, fama quod bona comprobet, &c." In Carmen 61 Venus is identified with sexual love and she is

not a major figure as she is in Statius and Claudian. She is introduced only to emphasize the unacceptability of sex outside marriage. It would seem that Jonson intended us to recall that Venus was the lover of Mars, and unfaithful to her husband, Vulcan. Impressed by the twelve powers of marriage, which give meaning to Vulcan's silver sphere, she is inspired to renew her marriage vows.

The Haddington Masque provides us with some insight into contemporary attitudes towards marriage. One of the twelve powers of marriage, Cancer, "bids the wife giue way / With backward yeelding, to her husbands sway." Libra, in seeming contradiction, "doth supply / All happy beds with sweet aequality." And once again there is a frank recognition that marriage is not always a bed of roses, though at this time it might literally begin that way: "The Scorpions place he fills, that make [s] the iarres, / And stings in wedlock; little strifes, and warres."

The epithalamium for the Haddington Masque is a nuptial song, one of the few we know of that was sung at an actual wedding. It gives emphasis to a theme which Donne employed in his Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium and which Jonson himself touched on in the epithalamium which he wrote for Hymenaei--the idea of marriage as a state of fulfillment. Donne urges the bride: "To day put on perfection, and a womans name." Jonson makes exactly the same point:

Why staves the Bride-groome to inuade
Her, that would be matron made?

Good-night, whilst yet we may
 Good-night, to you a virgin, say:
 To morrow, rise the same
 Your mother is, and vse a nobler name.
 Speed well in Hymen's warre,
 That, what you are,
 By your perfection, wee
 And all may see.
 Shine, Hesperus, shine forth, thou wished starre.
 (ll. 415-425)

And to the word "mother" he appends the note: "A wife, or
 matron: which is a name of more dignity, then Virgin."²⁹

But what is most interesting about this epithalamium
 is the clue it gives as to what is meant by that "sweet
 equality" which Libra is supposed to promote, and the stress
 it places upon freedom of choice in selecting a marriage
 partner:

What joy, or honors can compare
 With holy nuptialls, when they are
 Made out of equall parts
 Of yeeres, of states, of hands, of hearts?
 When, in the happy choyce,
 The spouse, and spoused haue the formost voyce!
 (ll. 382-387)

Equality means "equal parts"--equality in age, social posi-
 tion, desire and love--it does not imply that the wife should
 be regarded as equal to the husband when decisions affecting
 them both have to be made. She is to "giue way / With back-
 ward yeelding, to her husbands sway." On the other hand, it
 is clearly considered ideal that young men and women should
 have the greatest say in deciding whom they will marry, a
 viewpoint which Robert Burton was to sympathize with in his
Anatomy of Melancholy.

The wedding masques from The Tempest and The Maid's Tragedy, like all the masques discussed so far, are both primarily concerned with the celebration of a wedding. There are no extraneous thematic elements such as are found in the later wedding masques of the period. Each of them contains interesting examples of epithalamic influence and each is set against a background of events in a play which gives us additional evidence of contemporary perceptions concerning the state of matrimony. It is interesting to note that both plays were performed during the celebrations attending the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine in the spring of 1613.³⁰

The masque in the first act of The Maid's Tragedy (1611) is mounted in honour of the marriage of Evadne and Amintor. Cynthia and Night are the presenters and they persuade Neptune to lend his aid. Like all masques within plays it is a simple affair, consisting of three lovely epithalamic songs and a couple of dances by the sea gods who have come at Neptune's behest to celebrate the wedding. The songs are more epithalamic than most songs found in wedding masques but the first two, at least, are also functional within the context of the masque. The first is a prelude to a dance by the sea creatures--³¹

Pace out you waterie powers below,
 let your feete
 Like the gallies when they row
 even beate.

(ll. 236-239)

--but it also refers to the rites of love and anticipates the satisfaction of the bridegroom. The second song expresses the hope that the night will be slow in passing so that the joys of the married pair may be prolonged. And the groom is reminded that he must not falter in his purpose no matter what the entreaties of the bride:

Hold back thy houres darke night till we have done,
 The day will come too soone,
 Young Maydes will curse thee if thou steal'st away,
 And leav'st their blushes open to the day,
 Stay, stay, and hide
 the blushes of the Bride.
 Stay gentle night, and with thy darkenesse cover
 the kisses of her lover.
 Stay and confound her teares and her shrill cryings,
 Her weake denials, voves and often dyings,
 Stay and hide all,
 but helpe not though she call.

(ll. 244-255)

Within the context of the masque the purpose of his song is to request that the revels may continue a while longer. The third song is an epithalamium in the strict sense--a song sung at the bedding of the bride. Two common themes are touched upon: the fellowship of virgins (most notably developed in Theocritus's 18th. Idyll), and the putting on of "perfection and a woman's name":

To bed, to bed, come Hymen lead the Bride,
 And lay her by her husbands side:
 Bring in the virgins every one
 That greeve to lie alone;
 That they may kisse, while they may say a maid,
 To morrow t'will be other kist and said:
 Hesperus be long a shining,
 Whilst these lovers are a twining.

(ll. 264-271)

The heroic epithalamium may also have had some influence upon this masque. The arrival of the sea creatures wearing "their greatest pearles and most sparkling stone" recalls the great sea voyage of Venus and her train in Claudian's "Honorius and Maria." And it is only in the heroic epithalamium that the gods appear in person to do honour at a wedding of humans.

There are aspects of The Maid's Tragedy outside the actual wedding masque that throw some light upon epithalamic elements that have already been the subject of discussion. Act II, i, for example, brings us inside the marriage chamber while the bride is being ceremoniously disrobed by her female attendants, and Dula, who seems to be in charge of this, persistently brings Evadne's mind to dwell upon the sexual pleasures that await her, explaining that "A dozen wanton words put in your head, / Will make you livelier in your husband's bed." And Act III, i, enhances our appreciation of the kind of torment a bride might have to undergo the morning after the marriage night. Amintor has just come forth to be greeted by Melantius and Diphilus, brothers of Evadne, and Strato, a friend:

STRATO: Oh call the bride, my Lord Amintor, that wee
may see her blush, and turne her eyes downe, it is
the pritiest sport.

AMINTOR: Evadne.

EVADNE: [within] My Lord.

AMINTOR: Come forth my love,
Your brothers doe attend, to wish you joy.

EVADNE: I am not ready yet.

AMINTOR: Enough, enough.

EVADNE: They'le mocke me.

AMINTOR: Faith thou shalt come in.

Enter EVADNE.

MELANTIUS: Good morrow sister, he that understands
Whom you have wed, need not to wish you joy.
You have enough, take heed you be not proud.

DIPHILUS: O sister what have you done?

EVADNE: I done? why what have I done?

STRATO: My Lord Amintor swears you are no maid now.

EVADNE: Push.

STRATO: Ifaith he does.

EVADNE: I knew I should be mockt.

DIPHILUS: With a truth.

EVADNE: If twere to do againe, in faith I would not
mary.

AMINTOR: [aside] Nor I by heaven.

DIPHILUS: Sister, Dula swears she heard you cry two
roomes off.

EVADNE: Fie how you talke.

DIPHILUS: Lets see you walke, Evadne. By my troth
y'are spoild.

(11. 73-93)

The Maid's Tragedy also encourages caution against the credulous use of epithalamia and wedding masques as evidence for contemporary practices concerning marriage, because right from the start a contrast is anticipated between the ideal views presented in masques and epithalamic literature and the harsh reality that often prevails in the world. In the open-

ing lines of the play when Strato, who has some skill in poetry, is asked whether a wedding masque would be in order, his answer is skeptical: "they must commend their King, and speake in praise of the assembly, blesse the Bride and groome, in person of some God, they'r tied to rules of flatterie." And the fine sentiments concerning marriage which are expressed in the masque that follows ring hollow indeed when Amintor is left alone with his bride. For Evadne is no blushing virgin but the secret mistress of the King, and Amintor has been tricked into breaking his betrothal to Aspatia so that his marriage to Evadne may cover the King's lust. The end result is tragedy for the principals and turmoil in the state. Evadne, Amintor and Aspatia all die before the play is over, and Melantius, friend of Amintor as well as brother of Evadne, is broken-hearted. The King is assassinated and Melantius leads a rebellion against the state which he has previously protected against outside enemies. All this is foreshadowed in the wedding masque when Eolus summons up the winds which are to provide the music and Boreas escapes, forcing the masque to be cut short while Neptune and the other sea gods are called out to subdue the North Wind who begins to stir up terrible storms at sea. The tragedy occurs because Amintor, out of loyalty to his sovereign, forsakes the woman he loves and marries instead a woman the King has selected for him. The result of this particular arranged marriage leads Amintor to despair of marriage on his marriage night:

Are these the joyes of mariage? Hymen keepe
 This story (that will make succeeding youth
 Neglect thy ceremonies) from all eares.
 Let it not rise up for thy shame and mine
 To after ages, we will scorne thy lawes,
 If thou no better blese them, touch the heart
 Of her that thou hast sent me, or the world
 Shall know, there's not an altar that will smoake
 In praise of thee, we will adopt us sonnes,
 Then vertue shall inherit, and not blood:
 If we doe lust, we'le take the next we meet,
 Serving our selves as other creatures doe,
 And never take note of the female more,
 Nor of her issue.

(II, i, ll. 242-255)

The masque in The Tempest (1611) contrasts with the masque in The Maid's Tragedy in that it is performed in a pastoral setting rather than at court.³² The masque is constructed purely for the amusement of the betrothed couple and the maker of the masque is the figure of greatest authority and majesty in the play, so there is no servile compliment to the State.³³ The scene is not only far removed from court, it is, in a sense, real. The magic and mystery which are feigned in masques at court are here taken seriously. These are spirits, acting at the behest of a benevolent magus. The emphasis given to the union is domestic. The participants are Ceres, the goddess of corn; Juno, protectoress of marriage; the Naiads, who promote fertility and the power of growth; certain reapers, "properly habited." The masque dance is graceful "country footing" rather than one of the courtly measures. And the song sung by Juno and Ceres expresses best wishes for long life, children, domestic bliss and plenty:

Juno. Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
 Long continuance, and increasing,

Hourly joys be still upon you!
 Juno sings her blessings on you.

Cer. Earth's increase, foison plenty,
 Barns and garnerers never empty;
 Vines with clust'ring bunches growing,
 Plants with goodly burden bowing;
 Spring come to you at the farthest,
 In the very end of harvest!
 Scarcity and want shall shun you,
 Ceres blessing so is on you.

(IV, i, ll. 106-117)

Two epithalamic motifs can be observed in the body of the masque. The first is the invocation to the Naiads for help in celebrating the betrothal. Shakespeare skilfully integrates this into the masque by having them perform the masque dance with the reapers. The second motif is the association of Venus and Cupid with unlawful love, which is the way they are almost always portrayed in lyric epithalamia. Sidney's "Song of Dicus" provides an early precedent in English: "thou foule Cupid, syre to lawlesse lust." These associations prevailed throughout the period, which is why Jonson in the Haddington Masque had Venus repent her unfaithfulness and make a vow of chastity. In The Tempest Ceres accuses Venus and Cupid of hatching the plot whereby "dusky Dis" abducted her daughter Persephone, and she has to be assured that they have nothing to do with this present match before she will consent to take part. Iris, Juno's messenger, calls Venus "Mars's hot minion" and claims that she and "her waspish-headed son" sought in vain to corrupt Ferdinand and Miranda:

Here thought they to have done
 Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,
 Whose vows are that no bed-rite shall be paid
 Till Hymen's torch be lighted.

(IV, i, ll. 94-97)

But it is Prospero who provides the most eloquent comment on "lawlesse lust" just before the masque begins. He gives Ferdinand Miranda's hand in marriage but with a warning:

...take my daughter. But
 If thou dost break her virgin-knot before
 All sanctimonious ceremonies may
 With full and holy rite be minist'ed,
 No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
 To make this contract grow; but barren hate,
 Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
 The union of your bed with weeds so loathly
 That you shall hate it both. Therefore, take heed,
 As Hymen's Lamps shall light you.

(IV, i, ll. 14-23)

The masques for the great weddings of 1613 differ fundamentally from those previously considered. In all cases the attention of the reader is deflected from the theme of marriage either by competing themes or by the dominance of spectacular effects. For this reason these masques are of less interest than the ones discussed above. In Francis Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, for the Princess Elizabeth/Count Palatine marriage, the competition between Mercury and Iris over who can do most justice in celebrating the marriage of the rivers Thames and Rhine is little more than an excuse to enjoy the music, dancing and scenic effects for their own sakes. There is some epithalamic influence. The marriage of rivers metaphor, popular in Italian epithalamia during the sixteenth century, gives em-

ably. Orpheus, in rescuing Entheus from imprisonment among madmen, says:

Nor are these Musicks, Showes, or Reuels vaine,
 When thou adorn'st them with thy Phoebean braine.
 Th'are pallate sick of much more vanitie,
 That cannot taste them in their dignitie.
 (p. 251)

This note is repeated throughout. But Campion also wished to do justice to the occasion for which the masque was written, and consequently he added a whole new scene in the middle of the revels dancing. Sibilla comes on to say a few words to the assembly concerning the marriage of the Princess to the Count. She utters some appropriate sentiments in Latin, prophesying that Elizabeth is to be the mother of kings and emperors, extolling the alliance of British and German strength, and predicting prosperity for both countries in peace and war because of it. After some more dancing and singing there is another short speech by Sibilla and the masque comes to a close.

The construction of The Lords Masque is awkward, as Enid Welsford has pointed out.³⁷ As usual Campion had interesting ideas, but in this case he took on too much and things got out of control. The final scene seems to be an afterthought and the masque would be better off without it, though less pertinent to the occasion. Nevertheless, there are some interesting examples of epithalamic influence. When the revels begin after the first part of the masque, the first dance is followed by a song which is devoted wholly to the

celebration of the marriage but which also serves the purpose of giving the dancers a rest:

Breath you now, while Io Hymen
To the Bride we sing:
(p. 258)

Sibilla plays a role identical with that usually allocated to the Parcae in epithalamia. She has the power of prophecy and her talk is largely of progeny. And the final words of Prometheus, Entheus and Orpheus could almost combine with the parting song to form an independent epithalamium:

Pro. So be it ever, joy and peace,
And mutuall love give you increase,
That your posteritie may grow
In fame, as long as Seas doe flow.

Enth. Live you long to see your joyes,
In faire Nymphs and Princely Boyes;
Breeding like the Garden flowers,
Which kinde heav'n drawes with her warme showers.

Orph. Enough of blessing, though too much
Neuer can be said to such;
But night doth wast, and Hymen chides,
Kinde to Bridegroomes and to Brides.
Then, singing, the last dance induce,
So let good night prevent excuse.

The Song.

No longer wrong the night
Of her Hymenaean right;
A thousand Cupids call away,
Fearing the approaching day;
The Cocks alreadie crow:
Dance then and goe.
(p. 262)

But although he knew the form and exploited it, Campion never wrote a formal epithalamium. The good wishes of the presenters are spoken in dialogue and the last line of the song urges the

masquers to dance their last and go, thus tying Campion's efforts in the poetry of marriage to the masque.

Campion's Squires Masque, performed on the night of the Somerset marriage, is a masterpiece of tact, exercised though it may have been in an unworthy cause.³⁸ Fame has proclaimed a nuptial feast for the wedding of Somerset and his bride, but twelve knights who set out to attend the feast from the four corners of the World are led astray en route by the charms of Error, Rumour, Curiosity and Credulity. The main movement of the masque consists of the disenchantment of the spell through the intercession of Queen Anne, and the release of the twelve knights from the clutches of scandal. This was a daring tack to take in the circumstances, but Campion's sure sense of social grace did not abandon him and he brought it off where Chapman, in Andromeda Liberata, failed. Still, faced with the same problem, Jonson resorted to diversionary tactics and it seems to have been better appreciated. His Irish Masque at Court, presented on the 29 December, is a humorous irrelevance, yet it was repeated by popular request on the 3 January. A Challenge at Tilt (27 December) and The Masque of Flowers (Twelfth Night) similarly avoided the issue. Campion met it head on, and although he did so impeccably, his masque is dominated by its inevitably sombre theme. The influence of the epithalamium is understandably meagre and confined to two epithalamic songs towards the end and a couple of motifs which are used, however, in a peculiar way. The Fates make an appearance, for example,

lighten somewhat when the dancing begins, but for most of the Squires Masque Campion has taken refuge in solemnity, and the gravity of royal protection for the marriage, invoked in the main movement, never quite gives way to unrestrained festivity at the end.

Conclusion

The wedding masque was influenced by the epithalamium in many ways, and the employment of formal epithalamia is only part of the story. Many masque songs are epithalamia, even in a fairly strict sense of the word, though they may not intentionally have been written as such. All of the epithalamia in masques, formal or not, are nuptial songs. That is to say, they have an integrated temporal structure. More significantly, some wedding masques, such as Hymenaei and the Hayes Masque, exhibit a pervasive thematic influence so that the ancient ceremonial function of the epithalamium is brought to life, along with many of its conventional motifs. The form is radically different, it is true, from anything previously encountered in the tradition, but it is impossible to define the epithalamium simply in terms of form. Could there be a more radical formal difference than the one which already exists between a nuptial song such as "The Bride's Good-morrow" and an heroic epithalamium such as Thomas Heywood's A Marriage Triumph? Finally there are interesting cases in which masque and epithalamic elements interact, such as the nuptial song in The Lords Masque which

proclaims its function as a respite from dancing, or Jonson's masterly use of the anti-masque in Hymenaei for the dramatic realization of a contemporary theme.

CONCLUSION

Virginia Tufte has said that throughout its history the epithalamium was more influenced by books than by life, more by literary heredity than by social environment. (pp. 3 & 129) There is a prima facie plausibility to this argument. The epithalamium is a highly conventional form of poetry. There is usually little detailed reference to the personalities of the bride and groom, who are almost always presented as faceless ideal figures. But in isolating the poems from this historical context and failing to consider the question of form, Tufte misses the evidence that indicates the very real influence of contemporary life. In the event, the vernacular epithalamium of this period was quite responsive to contemporary ideas and customs concerning marriage, and it was responsive in three ways: in theme, motif and form.

Under the heading of theme comes a greater sympathy for the female partner in marriage, and the idealization of marriage as a dynamic personal relationship characterized by friendship and love, fraught, however, with certain perils one ought to be wary of. Thus Sidney warns against domestic strife, and Prospero claims that it is caused by men flouting the "sanctimonious ceremonies and holy rite" of marriage. Cam- pion asserts that virginity is a voluntary power, and he blesses the girl who freely volunteers for marriage instead. And the wedding ballad, "The Bride's Good-morrow," offers the

young woman companionship and comfort in anticipating the benefits of matrimony. These ideas are characteristic of the period.

Under motif comes the use of contemporary wedding customs to perform the same function ancient wedding customs had performed in the ancient epithalamium. Thus the inclusion of such practices as the sewing of the bride into the sheets (Donne and Herrick), the taking of the sack-posset (Herrick), the distribution of points and garters (Christopher Brooke and Herrick), the ringing of the church bells (Spenser), and so on. All of these help to build up a picture of the English wedding day.

As for form, the adoption of the contemporary scheme of wedding day ceremonies had a considerable influence upon the form of the temporally segmented epithalamium. And, at least in some cases, the wedding masques arguably constitute a new form of the epithalamium. They exhibit the two essential characteristics of congratulation and close reference to the wedding day and, besides this, make use of conventional epithalamic themes and motifs.

Finally, there is the rather elusive quality of atmosphere. Aside from their use of the ceremonies of the English wedding as occasions for song, neither Spenser nor Donne makes much of individual wedding customs, ancient or modern, such as fascinated Herrick. Yet the procession scene in Epithalamion, with the merchants' daughters looking on in envy and admiration, and the vignette of the attendants and wedding

guests in the Lincoln's Inn Epithalamium, are both highly contemporary and go a long way towards conjuring up the aura of sixteenth-century Britain. In short, although epithalamists continued to be sensitive to precedent and tradition, they were also alive to new attitudes and modern customs regarding marriage. Indeed, the resurrection of the vernacular epithalamium in England may owe as much to the rehabilitation of marriage that accompanied the rise of Protestantism as to the Humanist zeal for the recovery of ancient literary forms: as much to the Reformation as to the Renaissance.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Maurice Valency, In Praise of Love (New York, 1961), p. 10.
2. Plato, The Symposium, tr. W. Hamilton (Middlesex, 1970), pp. 90 & 91.
3. Translated by C.M. Bowra in Greek Lyric Poetry (Oxford, 1961), p. 185.
4. Carmen 51, "Ille mi par esse deo videtur." See Valency's comment, op. cit., pp. 31-36.
5. I, v. I have used the Loeb text in Catullus, Tibullus & Pervigilium Veneris. The translation is my own. See Cyril Connolly's sensitive essay on Tibullus and Propertius, "The Elegaic Temperament," in Ideas and Places (London, 1953), pp. 271-280.
6. I, i. Translated by J.P. McCulloch, The Poems of Sextus Propertius (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 11 & 12.
7. Mark Rose, Heroic Love (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 7-34.
8. It must be acknowledged that another later tradition in the Church, represented by St. Anselm and St. Bernard, treated love more sympathetically, even with enthusiasm and passion. See "The Quality of Love in Saint Bernard," Ch. XVIII of H.O. Taylor, The Medieval Mind (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 408-430, and "From Epic to Romance," Ch. V of R.W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (London, 1953), pp. 219-257. Nevertheless, St. Bernard, although he was imbued with the spirit of love, saw the monastic life as the ideal, and marriage as an inferior calling.
9. For an account of the popular controversy over women, see Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithaca, New York, 1958), Ch. XIII, pp. 465-507.
10. See Sidney Painter, French Chivalry (Ithaca, New York, 1969), pp. 98-107. The quotation is on p. 102.
11. For a survey of the views of Medieval Churchmen on sexual ethics and passionate love, see C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1936), pp. 14-18.
12. There are excellent discussions of courtly love in Lewis, op. cit., Valency, op. cit., Painter, op. cit., and

J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (Garden City, New York, 1954).

13. The Colloquies of Erasmus, tr. Craig R. Thompson (Chicago, 1965), p. 106.

14. An English translation of "Marriage" was made c. 1525 and published in London in 1557 (STC 10445), and other translations appeared in 1606 and 1610. See Andrew M. McLean, "Another English Translation of Erasmus's Coniugium," Moreana, Vol. XI, 3, No. 43/44, Nov. 1974, 55-59 ff.

15. Luther's Works, I, 135, quoted in Juliet Dusinberre, Shakespeare and the Nature of Women (New York, 1975), p. 3.

16. Christian Oeconomie: or, a short survey of the right manner of ordering a family according to the Scriptures, tr. Thomas Pickering (1609), quoted in Dusinberre, op. cit., p. 24. The original Latin text was written in 1590; see Wright, op. cit., p. 214.

17. Quoted in Wright, op. cit., p. 467.

18. Op. cit., p. 493.

19. Carroll Camden, The Elizabethan Woman (London, 1952), p. 116.

20. See McLean, op. cit., pp. 56 & 57 and Dusinberre, op. cit., pp. 200-212.

21. See Wright, op. cit., pp. 103-118.

22. Camden, op. cit., pp. 146 & 147.

23. Dusinberre, op. cit., p. 127.

24. Rose, op. cit., p. 24.

25. Op. cit., p. 30.

26. Op. cit., p. 206.

27. Ibid., and The Christen State of Matrimonye [1541], 1543, ff. D5^v-D8^v.

28. Quoted in Wright, op. cit., p. 210.

29. Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, Vol. III, ed. A.R. Shilleto (London, 1923), pp. 272 & 273.

30. Camden, op. cit., p. 93.

31. Quoted in Wright, op. cit., pp. 502 & 503.
32. Wright, op. cit., p. 488 and Dusinberre, op. cit., p. 113.
33. Op. cit., p. 123.
34. Ibid., p. 135.
35. Iliad, XVIII, ll. 491-496. See also the brief reference to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in XXIV, ll. 57-63.
36. Hesiod, "The Shield of Herakles," tr. Richmond Lattimore (Ann Arbor, 1959), ll. 271-285.
37. Moses Buttenwieser, The Psalms (New York, 1969), pp. 82-92.
38. See the discussion by Helmer Ringgren in Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 20 (1972), pp. 878 & 879. The leading medieval interpreter of the Song of Songs, St. Bernard, understood it to describe the relationship between Christ and his Church. See Saint Bernard on the Song of Songs, tr. & ed. A Religious of C.S.M.V. (London, 1952).
39. See Bowra, op. cit., pp. 176 & 177 (for the dates of Sappho's life), and pp. 214-223 (for a discussion of Sappho's epithalamia).
40. l'Abbé Souchay, "Discours sur l'origine et le caractère de l'épithalame," Histoire de l'academie royal des inscriptions et belles lettres, "Memoires de Litterature," IX (Paris, 1736), pp. 305-319.
41. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," American Journal of Philology, LI (1930), 206.
42. See Carl Newell Jackson, "The Latin Epyllion," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XXIV (1913), 37-50.
43. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry (Berkeley, 1934), pp. 201-205.
44. Virginia Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage (Los Angeles, 1970), pp. 77 & 78.
45. Enid Welsford, Spenser: Fowre Hymnes, Epithalamion (Oxford, 1967), pp. 64 & 65.
46. Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," p. 207.
47. Souchay, op. cit., p. 306.

48. Robert H. Case, English Epithalamies (London, 1896), p. viii; Thomas M. Greene, "Spenser and the Epithalamic Convention," Comparative Literature, IX (1957), 219.

49. Translated by Virginia Tufte in High Wedlock Then Be Honoured (London, 1970), p. 7.

50. The Greeks of this period thought of the gods as real beings, not abstractions. For Sappho's devotion to Aphrodite, see Bowra, op. cit., pp. 195-204.

51. "The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus," tr. F.W. Cornish, in Catullus, Tibullus and Pervigilium Veneris (Cambridge, Mass., [1913] 1962). All quotations from Catullus are from this edition, though in the case of translations into English I have given a lineation that more closely resembles that of the original poetry and in a few instances I have modernized the vocabulary.

52. Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," p. 217.

53. Greene, op. cit., pp. 221 & 222.

54. Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," pp. 218-220.

55. I use the term "voice" rather than the more obvious ones of "poet" and "speaker" because it is more accurate. It is not always the poet who is speaking in an epithalamium and sometimes there is more than one speaker. The voice of the poem refers to the utterance of the poem, no matter by whom, whether aloud or in the mind of the reader.

56. Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," pp. 271 & 218.

57. Jackson, op. cit., p. 43.

58. Claudian, tr. Maurice Platnauer, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass., 1922).

59. Rose, op. cit., pp. 7 (quoted above) & 27.

60. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 72.

61. On the medieval epithalamium see E. Faye Wilson, "Pastoral and Epithalamium in Latin Literature," Speculum, XXIII (1948), 35-57, and Tufte, the Poetry of Marriage, Ch. V, pp. 71-86.

62. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 40 & 41.

63. Edd. G.D. Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936).

64. Welsford, Spenser: Fowre Hymnes; Epithalamion, p. 68.

65. Edmund Spenser, Epithalamion, intro. and notes by Cortlandt van Winkle (New York, 1936), p. 18; Case, op. cit., pp. xiii & xxvi; Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 87.

I. The Nuptial Songs

1. This assumption is based on the fact that there were several Elizabethan ballads printed to be sung to the tune of "The Bride's Good-morrow." And it is clear from the first stanza that the song we have was meant to be performed:

The night is passed, & ioyfull day appeareth
 most cleare on every side;
 With pleasant musick we therefore salute you,
 good morrow, Mistris Bride!

See The Roxburgh Ballads, ed. William Chappell, Vol. I, (The Ballad Society, Hertford, 1871), pp. 62-64, and footnote.

2. A Pilgrim's Solace, ed. John Dowland (1612); reprinted in An English Garner, ed. Edward Arber, Vol. IV (Birmingham, 1882).

3. An art-setting is written music in parts and may be distinguished from a tune, which is a single vocal line. See John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London, 1961), p. 31.

4. See Select Poems of Catullus, ed. Francis P. Simpson (London, 1880), pp. 109 & 110. Simpson suggests that the wedding feast was normally held at the house of the groom, which in some respects seems implied by Carmen 61 and Carmen 62, but most recent commentators disagree that this would have been normal or that it is necessarily the case in these two poems. For a discussion of the various points of view, see Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry, p. 271; C.J. Fordyce, Catullus (Oxford, 1961), pp. 250 & 251; and Catullus, Poems, ed. Kenneth Quinn (Toronto, 1970), pp. 272 & 273.

5. According to Tufte (whose source is E.T. Merrill, Catullus, Cambridge, 1893), the pronubae were "good women who have had one husband [who] attend at the placing of the young girl on the lectus genialis." See Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 24.

6. Op. cit., sig. I8-K3^V. See also the report of the wedding in July 1562 of a daughter of a Mr. Nicholls, a bride-master of London, given in Stow's Survey of London,

quoted in John Cordy Jeaffreson, Brides and Bridals, Vol. I (London, 1872), pp. 233 & 234n; and the letter of Dudley Carleton to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated London, January 1604, describing the marriage of Philip Herbert to Susan Vere, printed in Memorials of Affairs of State, etc., ed. Edmund Sawyer, Vol. II (London 1725), p. 43.

7. No doubt songs were commonly sung the morning after the wedding day as well, though as far as I am aware no examples have survived. Dudley Carleton gives us a glimpse of "morning after" celebrations (of the marriage of Philip Herbert and Susan Vere in 1604) which is very much in the spirit of Puttenham's account: "They were lodged in the Council Chamber, where the King in his Shirt and Nightgown gave them a Reveille Matin before they were up, and spent a good time in or upon the Bed, chuse which you will believe." Op. cit., p. 43.

8. Case, op. cit., p. 24.

9. The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford, 1956), p. 216.

10. Two Noble Kinsmen, I, i, in The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, edd. Glover & Waller, 10 vols. (Cambridge, 1905-1912), Vol. IX.

11. Hymen's Triumph, III, v, in The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, ed. A.R. Grosart, Vol. III (London, 1885).

12. Carmen 61, ll. 112-115.

13. A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels, etc., "The fifth Historie" (London, 1578), pp. 306-309. The Old Arcadia, from which the "Song of Dicus" comes, was probably begun as early as the spring of 1577. See Ringler's edition of Sidney's poems, p. xxxvi. Neither Lydgate's "balade" for the marriage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Jacqueline, Countess of Holland, Zealand and Hainault (1422), nor Dunbar's The Thissil and the Rois, written for the marriage of James IV to the Princess Margaret Tudor (1503), can be regarded as epithalamia according to my definition of the term.

14. The Poems of George Chapman, ed. P.B. Bartlett (New York [1941] 1962), pp. 161 & 162. For an analysis of "Epithalamion Teratos" in the context of Hero's pre-marital relationship with Leander and its tragic outcome, see Gary M. McCown, The Epithalamium in the English Renaissance (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of North Carolina, 1968), pp. 336-343.

15. Tufte, Poetry of Marriage, pp. 89, 92, 96 & 102

16. For the influence of Catullus upon Chapman and other major English epithalamists of the period, see James A. McPeck, Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), Ch. VII.

17. See OED "third" II sb 2 Law (pl.). There is a 1596 citation From Bacon, Use of Law, Wks, 1879 I. 585/I: "By this course of putting lands into use there were many inconveniences, as...The wife was defrauded of her thirds..." I am indebted to G.M. Story for pointing this out to me.

18. Enid Welsford, The Court Masque (New York, 1962), p. 191. See also W.A. Hall, The Importance of English Epithalamian Literature in 1613 (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, MUN, 1974).

19. Tufte, Poetry of Marriage, p. 4.

20. See The Works of Thomas Campion, ed. W.R. Davis (London, 1969), p. 264 f.; Campion's Works, ed. Percival Vivian (Oxford, 1909), pp. xlii-xlvi; The Poems of George Chapman, ed. P.B. Bartlett, pp. 8 & 9; and Millar Maclure, George Chapman: A Critical Study (Toronto, 1966), p. 24. Davis hesitatingly recommends William McElwee, The Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury (New York, 1952).

21. Enid Welsford, Spenser: Fowre Hymnes; Epithalamion, p. 37.

22. The Plays of George Chapman, ed. T.M. Parrott, Vol. 2 (New York, 1961), pp. 458 & 459.

23. Though the resemblance does not seem to be so close as to justify Tufte's suggestion (The Poetry of Marriage, p. 205) that Chapman first intended to translate Catullus's song of the Fates and then changed his mind. It is hard to see how the story of Achilles' bloody exploits in the Trojan War could have been translated, or even loosely adapted, to suit Chapman's purposes in Andromeda Liberata.

24. Chapman's allegory was too subtle for many of his readers who assumed that the Earl of Essex was symbolized in the rock from which Andromeda is freed, or even in the monstrous beast who lays waste the shore. In order to set the record straight Chapman hastily published a justification of his poem, in which the true meaning of his allegory was carefully delineated. See Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, pp. 201-206.

25. The Complete Works of Francis Quarles, ed. A.B. Grosart, Vol. III (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 275.

26. The Works of Beaumont & Fletcher, ed. Glover & Waller, Vol. II.

27. The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. William A. Ringler (Oxford, 1962), p. 93 & 94.

28. Case, op. cit., pp. 51-53.

29. Which is not to say that it could not be set to music. Musicians were capable of providing settings for any sort of poem, as John Stevens makes clear in Chapter I of Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court. For example, one was provided for Donne's "The Apparition," which was almost certainly not written to be sung.

30. The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J.W. Hebel, Vol. III (Oxford, [1932] 1961), pp. 314 & 315.

31. 11. 431-436. All quotations from Jonson's masques are from The Works of Ben Jonson, ed. Herford & Simpson, Vol. VII (Oxford, [1941] 1963).

II. The Literary Lyrics

1. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," p. 222.

2. Thomas M. Greene, op. cit., p. 219.

3. Assuming that the title was Brooke's and not the invention of the 1614 editor of England's Helicon.

4. But see D. Novarr, "Donne's 'Epithalamium made at Lincoln's Inn,' Context and Date," RES, N.S. VII (1956), 250-263, which argues for a date after the appearance of Spenser's poem, and interprets Donne's poem as a mock-epithalamium written for the Lincoln's Inn revels in mid-summer, 1595. R.C. Bald comments on this in John Donne: A Life (Oxford, 1970), p. 77.

5. The poem seems to invite structural analysis. Greene sees a balance between the first ten stanzas preceding the church ceremony (stanzas 12 & 13) and the ten stanzas following it, disregarding for purposes of his analysis the opening stanza and the envoy. He sees an ulterior division into three-four-three stanzas of each of these groups of ten. The division Greene posits is thematic. (Op. cit., p. 225, n. 18) McCown argues that there is a correlation between the events of the bridal day and the progress of the seasons, resting his argument upon an analysis of imagery and symbolism in the poem. (McCown, op. cit., pp. 275-277) His con-

clusion complements A.K. Heatt's brilliant exposition of the numerological symbolism in Epithalamion in which the wedding day becomes symbolic of the whole year, and Epithalamion, "as a marriage ode and a register of time," expresses the paradox that in spite of change and death "the individual, mortal life of man is renewed in generation, just as the insufficiency of the sun is recompensed in its annual journey, with all the recurring, time-given variety so created." (A. Kent Heatt, Short Time's Endless Monument [New York, 1960], p. 51). This idea is certainly conventional for an epithalamium, as has already been made clear in my survey of nuptial songs.

6. All quotations from Epithalamion are from Enid Welsford's edition, Spenser: Fowre Hymnes; Epithalamion.

7. A French epithalamist, Pierre Poupo, whom Spenser may have read, published his Epithalames for his own marriage, but these consist of nine nuptial sonnets rather than one unified poem. See Virginia Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 165.

8. Which is not to suggest, of course, that Spenser doesn't see the wedding as a public celebration.

9. Bruce Pattison, Music and Poetry in the English Renaissance (London, 1948), p. 198 ff.

10. All quotations of Donne's poetry are from The Poems of John Donne, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1912).

11. Scaliger permitted some light-hearted remarks concerning the pleasures of the marriage bed, but he recommended restraint when speaking of the bride. See Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 134 and Enid Welsford, Spenser: Fowre Hymnes; Epithalamion, p. 67.

12. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 226. The relevant lines are:

...and wee
As Satyres watch the Sunnes uprise, will stay
Waiting, when your eyes opened, let out day,
Only desir'd, because your face wee see;
Others neare you shall...

13. Juvenilia, Poems by George Wither, Spenser Society Reprint, X, Part II (Manchester, 1871), pp. 468-477.

14. England's Helicon 1614, ed. Hugh Macdonald, (London, [1949] 1962).

15. Henry Peacham, The Period of Mourning Disposed into Six Visions, etc., (London, 1613), and The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick, ed. L.C. Martin. The Southwell Epithalamium was probably written for Southwell's first marriage in 1618. See p. 509 of Martin's edition for an account of Southwell's two marriages. The reference to youth in the first stanza tells in favour of the first marriage, as well as the comments in the second concerning the loss of maidenhead. Mary Eden, Southwell's second wife, was not a maid.

16. Op. cit., pp. 221-231.

17. See Ch. I, "The Nuptial Songs," pp. 64-66.

18. Ibid., p. 47.

19. See also ll. 315-318, which express the same idea.

20. Masking had traditionally been associated with sedition and treachery. In 1400, partisans of Richard II attempted to assassinate Henry IV, using a masque as a diversionary tactic. In 1414, a masque was similarly used in another attempt to kill the king by Sir John Oldcastle and his Lollards. During the next 100 years a succession of Acts of Parliament forbade masking and the sale of visors. The masque was also associated with misrule, which symbolically represented freedom, licence, social disruption, lawlessness and chaos. See E.K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, Vol. I (Oxford, [1903] 1967), Ch. XVII, "Masks and Misrule," esp. pp. 393-396.

21. For an analysis of the House of Busirane episode see C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1938), Ch. VII, esp. pp. 340 & 341, and Graham Hough, A Preface to the Faerie Queene (New York, 1962), pp. 173-176.

22. There is a reference to a masque of Hymen in Epithalamion but this is clearly a processional masque in the morning, and, since it is mentioned in that part of the poem where Spenser is invoking the deities and various nymphs of rivers and trees, it may also be metaphorical and fanciful rather than real.

23. The Utopians of Thomas More were more practical. It was the custom among them to have the prospective bride and groom view each other naked before marriage in the presence of a "sad and honest matron" and a "sage and discreet man." See More's Utopia, intro. John Warrington (London [1910] 1965), pp. 99 & 100.

III. The Heroic Epithalamia

1. For an account of the origins of the tradition, see Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, Ch. IV, pp. 57-70.
2. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 87; Case, op. cit., pp. xiii & xxvi.
3. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 58.
4. Percy Society Reprint, Vol. III, (London, 1842).

IV. The Wedding Masques

1. My summary of the history of the masque is indebted to Enid Welsford, The Court Masque, Chs. V, VI & VII; E.K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, Vol. I, Ch. XVII; E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, Vol. I (Oxford, [1923] 1951), Chs. V & VI; and Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), Chs. 2 & 3.
2. See the essay by Herbert Halpert, "A Typology of Mummung," in Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, edd., Christmas Mummung in Newfoundland (Toronto, 1969), pp. 36-61. Halpert and Story make the point that masking is a phenomenon that has been observed in many different cultures the world over.
3. See W.W. Greg, ed., Gesta Grayorum 1688 (The Malone Society Reprints, Oxford, 1914).
4. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, p. 255.
5. See Orgel, op. cit., pp. 24 & 25.
6. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, Vol. I, p. 401.
7. Orgel, op. cit., pp. 26 & 27.
8. George Gascoigne, The Posies, ed. John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge, 1907), p. 75.
9. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, Vol. I, p. 164.
10. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, Vol. I, p. 402.
11. Some earlier entertainments, such as Riches and Love (1527) and Sidney's The Lady of May (1578), are equally sophisticated but they were not written to celebrate weddings. See Orgel, op. cit., pp. 29-32; 44-55. James's masque is printed in James Craigie, ed., The Poems of James VI of Scotland, Vol. II, Scottish Text Society, 26, (Edinburgh, 1958), pp. 143-145.

12. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, pp. 156 & 157, points out that most of these deities are found in St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei.

13. Ibid., p. 108, citing McPeck, Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain, p. 163.

14. D.J. Gordon, "Hymenaei: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, VIII (1945), 105-128.

15. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, pp. 130-134.

16. Ibid., p. 130, citing Menander. Hymen is credited with the achievement in Catullus's Carmen 61, ll. 66-75.

17. See Wright, op. cit., Ch. VII.

18. Simpson, op. cit., pp. 109 & 110.

19. A conjectural design of the staging of this masque originally given by Rudolph Brotanek in Die Englischen Maskenspiele (Vienna and Leipzig, 1902), p. 230, is reprinted in Walter R. Davis, ed., The Works of Thomas Campion (London, 1969). Allardyce Nicoll also speculates about the stage design of this masque in Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage (London, 1937), p. 58.

20. All quotations from Campion's masques are from Davis's edition of Campion's works.

21. The plight of a virgin threatened in a forest by the anarchic powers of the flesh reminds one of Comus, but Milton's argument is broader and more philosophical, focusing upon the conflict between heavenly virtue and earthly temptation. As a masque, it has been pointed out many times, Comus is not typical. The literary dimension overshadows everything else, and the piece is really a short play with the masque-like elements of music and dancing.

22. The State, an elevated, canopied box where the King and Queen sat, was centrally located in the opposite end of the hall from the stage. See Inigo Jones's ground plan for Florimene (1635) in Nicoll, op. cit., fig. 4.

23. At this point the moral allegory becomes entangled with the political allegory, for Cynthia's appeasement is brought about by King James who promoted the marriage as a means of strengthening ties between Scotland and England.

24. D.J. Gordon, "Ben Jonson's 'Haddington Masque': the Story and the Fable," MLR, 47 (1947), pp. 180-187.

25. Ibid., pp. 182 & 183.

26. Ibid., p. 182.

27. Jonson had works of all three writers in his library. See The Works of Ben Jonson, edd. Herford & Simpson, Vol. I (Oxford, 1925), Appendix IV, "Books in Jonson's Library," pp. 262 & 265; and Vol. XI (Oxford, 1952), "Books in Jonson's Library," p. 598. Jonson owned a 13th. century manuscript of Statius's Thebais, an edition of Claudian published in Antwerp in 1585, and two editions of the works of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius.

28. This particular similarity was also observed by C. F. Wheeler in Classical Mythology in The Plays, Masques and Poems of Ben Jonson (Port Washington, New York [1938] 1970), pp. 24 & 25.

29. Note also Jonson's daring variation of the battle of love metaphor. One of the meanings which the OED gives for "invade" is: "to enter or penetrate after the manner of an invader. (fig.)" As an example it cites Lear, I, i, 146: "Let it fall rather, though the fork invade / The region of my heart."

30. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, Vol. IV, p. 180.

31. All quotations from The Maid's Tragedy are from the edition by Andrew Gurr (Edinburgh, 1969).

32. For a discussion of the theory that the masque in The Tempest was inserted especially for the celebrations attending the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and Count Palatine, see The Tempest, ed. Frank Kermode (London, 1962), pp. xx-xxiv.

33. The Maid's Tragedy delivers the conventional compliment to the King as a greater sun, which, as Inga-Stina Ewbank points out, is "ironical in that the King, who has married his own mistress off to the unsuspecting Amintor, is soon to be known as the villain of the piece, and that in watching the masque he is so far from being the ideal monarch as to be in the midst of perpetrating his worst villainy." See "'These Pretty Devices': a Study of Masques in Plays," in A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 407-448. The quotation is on p. 418.

34. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, pp. 99 & 179.

35. The masque is reprinted in The Dramatic Works of Beaumont & Fletcher, Vol. I, Gen. Ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge, 1966).

36. See John Nichols, The Progresses of King James the First, Vol. II (London, 1828); The Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. with introduction by Norman Egbert McClure, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1939); and Arden Hall's study of the epithalamia written for the marriage, op. cit.

37. Welsford, The Court Masque, p. 192.

38. See Percival Vivian, ed., Campion's Works (Oxford, 1909), pp. xlii-xlvi, for an account of Campion's peripheral involvement in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Part of the plot was to replace the Lieutenant and Keeper of the Tower of London with men who would co-operate in feeding Overbury poison. Sir Jervis Elwes, who became Lieutenant for this purpose, paid £2,000 for the post, and £1,400 of this was received by Campion on behalf of his patron, Sir Thomas Monson, who acted as an intermediary in the transaction. Elwes was subsequently condemned to death but it was never proved that either Monson or Campion was aware of the murder plan.

39. They were not vindicated, however. In 1615 the Earl and the Countess were arraigned and condemned. Then they were reprieved and confined to the Tower until 1622 when they were released and permitted to live in retirement. Ibid., p. xlv.

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