THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF OVID ON THE PRINCIPAL SCOTTISH WRITERS OF LATIN VERSE FROM 1600 TO 1660

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Alexander Cormack, M.A.

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PREFACE
In the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, when the enthusiasms of the Renaissance were still strong, the composition of Latin verse was regarded as a very high form of literary production. Poets, scholars and courtiers vied with one another in producing verse of various types in imitation of the Latin poets whom they admired so much. Their knowledge of Latin and Greek was much superior to that of their predecessors of the Middle Ages, to whom texts of classical authors were not generally available, and their Latin was now based on that of the great writers of the Ciceronian and Augustan Ages. Their poetry was no longer the accentual rhyming poetry popular in the Middle Ages but endeavoured to imitate closely that produced by the outstanding classical poets.

On first thoughts it may seem that such productions, written in a language used only by scholars, in close imitation of ancient writers in that language, must be unbearably dull and pedantic, and have little of real value as poetry. While this criticism is undoubtedly true of some
of this verse, there is much to which it does not apply. The intensive study of Latin in schools, the practice most students received in writing Latin verse, and the popularity of Latin as a means of communication between scholars and diplomats tended to make the writing of Latin verse seem a natural result of training and environment. In a later century Dr. Johnson, as we know from Boswell\(^1\), produced very creditable Latin verse at short notice, presumably without the aid of classical texts or phrase-books. Milton produced Latin verse which, at its best, flows as easily as if Latin were his native tongue. While men of this calibre are not to be found among the rank and file of Latin verse writers, there are many, nevertheless, who produce work of real value as poetry.

Here, however, caution is necessary. Our knowledge of Latin is necessarily limited, as was that possessed by the writers under discussion. To a Roman of classical times, familiar with shades of meaning and associations of words unknown to later ages, some of the neo-Latin poetry admired by men of the seventeenth or

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\(^1\) J. Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (Editor J. B. Hill), Clarendon Press, 1887, v, 158.
twentieth centuries might well seem ridiculous. We must, however, accept this possibility in our appreciation of Latin verse, and judge the Latin of the Renaissance in the light of these limitations.

Of the classical writers who provided models and sources of inspiration for neo-Latin writers, Ovid is among the most prominent. This is not surprising, for his works, although sometimes known only through intermediaries, had inspired writers for centuries previous to the Renaissance. As L. P. Wilkinson says:

'For six centuries, roughly from 1075 to 1675, Ovid's position as one of the greatest poets, comparable with that of Virgil, was scarcely challenged.'

The same writer emphasises the fact that Ovid was sometimes known through intermediaries:

'After Chaucer and Gower, whose Confessio Amantis is full of stories borrowed from Ovid, there followed a medieval twilight of a century and a half, during which, although some knowledge of Ovid was part of the school and university curriculum, the classical stories were known mainly through medieval redactions, or through paraphrases of these by Lydgate and Caxton. In 1480 Caxton made an English prose version of the Metamorphoses from the French, which, however, was probably never printed.'

Poets of the Renaissance, unlike those of the

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Middle Ages, did not attribute moral purpose to his tales. They admired his skill in telling stories of love and adventure, his compact couplets, his vivid language, and, perhaps most of all, his skill in using rhetorical devices. Those who wrote in English adopted and adapted his stories, often imitated his closed couplets, and used, sometimes to excess, his tricks of rhetoric. Shakespeare borrows the story of his Venus and Adonis, directly or indirectly from Ovid, and uses the device of antithesis very freely. Spenser, in the Faerie Queene, is obviously indebted to Ovid when describing the victories of Cupid. Marlowe’s Hero and Leander, written in closed couplets, shows the antithesis and balance so prominent in Ovid. Drayton’s England’s Heroicall Epistles imitates Ovid’s Heroïdes, where a letter is often followed by a reply. These are only a few instances out of many, and it is probably correct to say that very few of the poets who wrote at this time were not influenced by Ovid.

Much has been written concerning the influence of Ovid on English poetry, but little of his influence on those who, in the post-Renaissance period, used classical Latin as a medium of
expression. This is not surprising, as the whole subject of neo-Latin writing has been of little interest to the majority of scholars, presumably because it does not seem to fall into the category of either classical or English literature, and may be regarded as merely a scholarly exercise. The only complete survey of this writing in Britain was produced in 1940 by an American Professor of Modern Languages, whose remarks in the preface to his book give a clear impression of the position at that time:

'I am painfully aware that in a pioneer work of this scope there must probably be many errors which a longer consideration of the subject or a fuller knowledge of classical literature might have corrected... Had any classical scholar shown an inclination to deal with my subject, I should only too gladly have retired in his favour; but so far as I know, the interest in this literature is restricted, with a few notable exceptions, to students of the modern languages.'

In James Kinsley's *Scottish Poetry: A Critical Survey*, (1955), Professor J.W.L. Adams has given an excellent account - confined, unfortunately, to a single chapter - of neo-Latin verse in Scotland. This would appear to be the only British survey of such writing in Scotland.

Although neo-Latin writing has been thus

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largely ignored, it merits attention for two main reasons. In the first place it contains verse of considerable poetic value and is therefore entitled to consideration in its own right. Admittedly the proportion of good poetry is not as high as would be found in a similar quantity of English verse, but on the whole it is far above the level of mere pedantic effusion. In the second place this verse often recounts the hopes, fears and experiences of the writers, and thus sheds a light not only on them, but on the times in which they lived. The works of the Scottish neo-Latinists, for instance, contain frequent references to the political and religious struggles of their times and deal with matters ranging from petty local affairs to the death of the Duke of Buckingham or the struggle between Austria and Bohemia.

As the American survey mentioned above deals with British neo-Latin writing in general, it seems appropriate that an attempt should now be made to examine some particular aspect of this literature. In view of Ovid's great influence on European literature, an investigation of his influence on British neo-Latin writers seems to follow naturally the survey of this writing as a whole. As it is impracticable in a work of this
nature to deal with the whole range of neo-Latin
texts in Britain, it is proposed to deal with
those Scottish writers who produced the main body
of their work between the beginning of the
seventeenth century and the Restoration, a period
in which the standard of Latin verse in Scotland
was very high. Writers of this period include
Arthur Johnston, the Royal Physician, Sir John
Scot, statesman and patron of learning, Sir Robert
Ayton, poet in English as well as Latin, and David
Wedderburn, the distinguished Aberdeen school-
master and writer of text-books on Latin grammar.
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The following contractions are used:

Musa Latina Aberdonensis: Musa
Metamorphoses: Met.
Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum: Delitiae
No originality whatever is claimed for the biographies in Chapter I or elsewhere in this work, or for the account of Scottish education in Chapter II. The principal sources for Chapter I are Sir William Geddes' *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* and William Anderson's *Scottish Nation*. Those for Chapter II are James Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools in Scotland* and Alexander Morgan's *Scottish University Studies*.

Addenda et Corrigenda

Page 5, line 13. After the words "de la Tour" add "d'Auvergne".

Page 6, footnote 2. Add "Cumery presumably means Comrie".

Page 7, lines 10 and 11. For "Aberdeen University" read "the University and King's College of Aberdeen".

Page 253, footnote 1. For "He may have visited Spain" read "He visited Spain, where he was condemned by the Inquisition, but liberated on curing the Grand Inquisitor".
CHAPTER I

THE WRITERS
THE WRITERS

The early seventeenth century was a period in which Scotsmen not only produced works in English and Scots, but also wrote a considerable quantity of good Latin verse. The largest single source of such verse is the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, published in Amsterdam in 1637. This anthology, of approximately forty-seven thousand lines, contains selections from the works of thirty-seven authors, of whom eighteen may be said to have written the bulk of their work during the early seventeenth century. The three volumes of the *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, of approximately fourteen thousand lines, published in 1892, 1895 and 1910 respectively, contain the works of thirty-nine writers connected with Aberdeen. Of these, twenty-nine wrote the bulk of their work in the first half of the seventeenth century. There are also publications of the works of individual authors, but apart from the works of John Leech the verse to be considered is in one or other of the publications mentioned.

The task of selecting the principal verse writers is not easy, and much depends on individual ideas of what is good Latin verse. In judging
this verse the following criteria have been used:

a) It should be in reasonably good Latin.

b) It should run smoothly and conform to standard metrical practice.

c) It should contain at least a modicum of that quality of inspiration which raises verse to the level of poetry.

According to these criteria the following writers, whose names are given below in descending order of poetic ability, have been selected as the most outstanding of those who composed Latin verse in the early seventeenth century: Arthur Johnston, John Leech, David Hume, Sir Robert Ayton, Sir John Soot, David Wedderburn and Andrew Ramsay.
Arthur Johnston

Arthur Johnston was born at Caskieben, in Aberdeenshire, in 1577. The year 1587 has also been given as his date of birth, but since he was registered in Heidelberg University as Magister Artium in 1599, and presided as professor at a philosophical debate in that university in 1601, it seems unlikely that the latter date of birth can be correct. His father’s family was not undistinguished, and through his mother he was connected with the titled Forbes family. As he was the fifth son his share of the family fortunes would be small, and he had to earn his own living.

That he was educated in the school at Kintore, Aberdeenshire, is evident from his couplet on that town in his Encomia Urbium:

*Hic ego sum, memini, Musarum factus alumnus, et tiro didici verba Latina loqui.*

So little is known of his college days in Aberdeen that it is uncertain whether he attended Marischal College or King’s, and the only reference in his own works to this period is contained in his epistle to David Wedderburn in which he recalls their joy in writing poetry:

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1 *Musa*, ii, 232.
Unus et ar dor erat, Phoebi conscendere collem,
inque ingo summo sistere posse pedem. 1

After his studies in Aberdeen Johnston went
to the Continent, and seems to have registered as
a student of theology in Heidelberg in 1599, being
already in possession of his Master's degree. In
1601 he was apparently Professor of Philosophy in
this university, when a thesis was delivered sub
praesidio M. Arturi Ionstoni Aberdonensis Scoti
Collegii Casimiri Regentia. 2 In 1604 he was
elected Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at
Sedan, where a College Academique had been estab-
lished by Henri de la Tour, sovereign prince of
Sedan, in 1602.

In 1610 he received the degree of Doctor of
Medicine at Padua. History does not record how
he managed to obtain this degree when he was
presumably acting as professor in Sedan, but that
he did acquire it cannot be doubted. Julius
Casserius, a great anatomist, taught at Padua until
1614, and Johnston in one of his poems describes a
demonstration of dissection given by him. 3

Unfortunately there is no record in Padua of
Johnston's attendance there. As a result of this
medical qualification Johnston was in the same year

1Musa, i, 190. 2Musa, ii, Appendix i, xxvii. 3Musa, ii, 60.
elected Professor of Physic at Sedan in succession to his compatriot Walter Donaldson, who was elected Principal.

'Tant de talens fíxèrent l'attention du conseil académique de Sedan, qui le juga
digne d'occuper la chaire de physique, que la promotion de Donaldson à la principauté
du Collège de Sedan, laissait vacante. Il y fut nommé le 15 octobre 1610, et il parut
avec avantage dans un poste, où son compatriote avait fait naître le goût d'une science
à peine sortie du chaos. Ayant reçu la même année le degré de Docteur en Médecine
dans l'Université de Padoue, il revint à Sedan pour y continuer ses exercices classi-
ques.'¹

This change from Metaphysics to Medicine seems less remarkable when compared with the achievements of another Scottish scholar, one Alexander Colvill.

'Alexander Colvill, fils de Jean Colvill, sieur de Cumery (?) en Ecosse, et d'Elizabeth Melvill, docteur, professeur d'Hebreu en l'Académie de Sedan (1619-1643), de théologie (1628-1643), de philosophie (1627-1656) et de physique (1619-1643).''²

Johnston's career in Sedan seems to have been uneventful, apart from a quarrel with some person of authority who threatened to have him imprisoned. Little is known of this person - he is referred to as a 'grand seigneur' in the Musa - but eventually Johnston escaped from the danger after a protracted lawsuit.

In 1622 Johnston returned to Scotland, bring-

¹Musa, ii, 'Memoir of Arthur Johnston,' p. xix.
²Musa, ii, Appendix II, xxxiv.
ing with him his wife, Marie de Cagniol, by whom he had thirteen children. Shortly after his return he was made Medicus Regius, and enjoyed the friendship of distinguished men on both sides of the Border, among them being Sir John Scot, William Drummond and Archbishop Laud. His wife died in 1624, and he later married Barbara Gordon, by whom he had two children.

In 1637, the year of the publication of the Delitiae, he was elected Rector of Aberdeen University, a post not without its trials at this time. In 1641, when at the height of his fame, he contracted an illness when visiting a daughter in Oxford, and died there.

His secular poems are contained in volumes I and II of the Musa. Volume I contains the bulk of his Parerga, epistles of various types, serious, playful, laudatory or the reverse. Volume II contains:

a) Epigrammata, which are merely short poems on such diverse subjects as the Fleet, the poems of Andrew Ramsay, the death of Sir William Forbes, and Bishop Eudoxus's Dovecot.

b) The supplement to his Parerga, consisting of poems published posthumously.

c) Miscellanea - poems found in the Bodleian,
and not published elsewhere, until embodied in the Musa. They include those entitled Querelae which deal with Charles's visit to Scotland in 1633. (It is interesting to note that Johnston yields to the prevailing passion for anagrams and signs himself Virtus Nos Ornat.)

d) Encomia - verse in praise of certain Scottish towns.

Johnston also wrote a translation into Latin of the Psalms, presumably in imitation and rivalry of George Buchanan, the greatest Scottish writer of Latin verse, whose Latin version of the Psalms was regarded as an outstanding work. In two of his early poems Johnston inveighs against a certain Doctor Eglishem who dared to write his own Latin version of one of the psalms, and it is therefore puzzling to find Johnston doing what he condemns so strongly in others. Possibly Laud wished to have a version written by someone less obnoxious to an Episcopalian than Buchanan must have been.

Although in some respects Johnston imitates Ovid closely, as will be evident from later chapters, he is not a poet of love. In all his works there are only two short love poems and they have little merit. Much of his work takes the form of epistles in verse in which he is the
polished Roman addressing his friends in polished verse. One feels, however, that he produces his best work when he ceases to be urbane and displays more emotion.

Of the many fine poems in his works three have been selected as being among the best. In his 'Fisher's Apology' he protests vigorously against the ban on Sunday fishing imposed by the Church, and reveals himself as an ardent fisherman. When he says bitterly that the salmon is here today and gone upstream tomorrow, he enlists the sympathy of all who have realised that the best fishing days are those on which they are unable to go to the river. In this poem he shows he is a master of vivid, vigorous description. Telling of the struggles of a hooked salmon he says:


In quite a different vein is his poem on his birthplace, De loco suo natali. In this peaceful poem he describes his birthplace with deep

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1. *Musa*, 1, 149-156.  
2. *Illicium* - bait.  
feeling, but without that sentimentalism which is so often associated with such a subject. While he cannot be compared with Wordsworth, the effect produced by this little poem is similar to that produced by the sonnet by Wordsworth which begins thus:

'It is a beauteous evening, calm and free:  
The holy time is quiet as a Nun  
Breathless with adoration: ...'  

The following lines, in which he describes the Urie flowing by the mountain Bennachie, show his ability to write that type of verse which appeals by virtue of its very simplicity, sincerity and restraint:

Mille per ambages nitidis argenteus undis  
hic trepidat lactos Urius inter agros,  
Explicat hic seras ingens Bennachius umbra,  
nox ubi liberatur lance diesque pari.  
Gemmifer est amnis, radiat mons ipse lapillis  
queis nihil Eous purius orbis habet.  
Hic pandit Natura simum, nativaque surgens  
purpara felicem sub pede ditat humum.  
Aera per liquidum volucres, in flumine pisces  
adspicis, in pratis luxuriare pecus.  
Hic seges est, hic poma rubent, onerantur aristas  
arva suas aegre sustinent arbor opes.

His 'Apology for Thaumantia' is a jocular poem to the magistrates of Aberdeen on behalf of a midwife imprisoned for using 'insulting words and behaviour.' In pretended seriousness he points out the dreadful consequences for the city if the midwife is not present to deliver the infants safely.

2 Musa, 1, 130-7.
Carcere Lucinae famulam dum condis, et orbi
et patriae exitium perniciemque creas.
Hac sine quis dias in luminis exeat cras?
Hac sine quis patrios vagiat ante Lares?
Pelle simul Venerem, Veneris si ferre ministram
non potes, Idaliae gaudia pelle deae.
Quid invat uberibus sementem credere sulcis,
si nemo est, Gereris qui bona falce metat?
Quid invat, aut pocos, aut lentas ponere vites,
dulcia si nequeant poma, vel uva legi?

The whole poem is surprisingly light and
sportive for one of Johnston’s serious disposition,
as judged from his other works, and is an excellent
example of the mock-heroic, a style which can
easily lead lesser writers to disaster. He has
succeeded in writing humorous verse which is
entertaining without being obscene.
John Leech

The details of Leech's life are obscure. The son of a clergyman, he was born in Montrose, and educated at the Grammar School there. He entered King's College, Aberdeen, in 1610, and graduated in 1614. Thereafter precise details of his wanderings are lacking, but he certainly was for a time in France, as one of his poems was written in Paris. He was also in England, where he seems to have been put in jail, presumably because of his scurrilous epigrams against the Church. These were suppressed and less offensive poems put in their place. At some date between 1610 and 1623 he appears to have been Rector of King's College in Aberdeen, but there is some doubt on this matter. Despite his term in jail he seems, from references in his poems and his letters to Scot, to have been on friendly terms with many eminent men in Scotland. The date of his death is uncertain, but we hear no more of him after 1626.

A few poems were published separately, but the bulk of his work is contained in his Musae Prioress. This book contains

a) six books of Erotica,
b) four books of Idyllia,
c) four books of Epigrammata.
The first two books of the Erotica contain poems to Panthea, his imaginary mistress. Of these, approximately two-thirds are in the elegiac metre. The second two books, the Anacreontica, are mostly in imitation of the Greek, and are of a much higher standard. In the last two books of love poetry, the Elegiae, his mistress is now Delia, but otherwise the poems resemble closely those in the first two books of the Erotica.

His Idyllia are eclogues, not dealing exclusively with country life, but also with the complaints of fishermen and with the countries visited by adventurous sailors. Although Leech has attempted in this way to depart from the usual convention of shepherds singing of their loves, he has merely changed the setting, and the themes remain very much the same.

The epigrams in the third section of his book are not those which presumably caused his imprisonment. Few of the poems have any claim to be called epigrams in the modern sense, and are merely short poems on a multitude of subjects. These poems have little in common apart from their comparative brevity, and it is quite possible that, as Bradner suggests, Leech wrote these merely to show his versatility.
Leech is not a poet of deep emotion or serious thought. He is not, in reality, a love poet, although that is his claim on many occasions. His real genius lies in the writing of light fanciful verse, and to a lesser degree, of drinking songs which obviously echo the Latin tavern songs of the Middle Ages. His Somnium, described by Bradner as an exquisite cameo, is the best of all his poetry. In this light airy work Leech dreams that he is confronted by Venus and Cupid in a chariot drawn by sparrows. They transport him to the vale of Tempe and there order him to make sacrifice. While doing so he is embraced by a nymph, upon which Venus and Cupid depart in merriment, calling him Hylas. At this point, to his disappointment, he awakes, and concludes the poem with a pretense of investigating the meaning of this most unusual dream.

This poem is the perfect vehicle for his ability, and from the opening lines

\begin{align*}
\text{Lam nox tenebricosis} \\
\text{Terram super iacentem} \\
\text{Tarde movebat alis}
\end{align*}

we are in the realm of fantasy. There is nothing laboured, strained or incongruous in the poem.

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1 Musae Priores, Erotica, pp. 70, 72-4. (The Musae Priores has p. 71 before p. 70).

2 Musae Anglicanae, p. 170.
The Latin flows as easily as if it were his native tongue, and he achieves that blending of sound and sense which is rare in this type of verse. Here he is neither the doleful deserted lover nor the shepherd playing upon his pipe, but, we suspect, Leech himself, mildly interested in love, but not unduly concerned if fortune does not favour him in his efforts.

In his Ad Vesperum Leech again shows that he can write poetry which is not surpassed by anything written by Scottish Latin writers of any period. This short poem begins with a simple but beautiful description of the qualities of Evening, a description in which Leech is not concerned with a display of erudition, but simply with his own appreciation of the beauty of the scene.

Vesper beate, salve, salve, beate Vesper.
Lux O benigna caeli dux syderum micantium, quorum agmina usque cogis fugaeque: primus idem postremus omniumque, dum noctis et tenabres nitidi et iubar diei sub nomine haud eodem curru vehis citato.

He goes on to recount the blessings brought by Evening, somnia, lusus, convivia, corollas, and

1 Musae Priorae, Erotica, pp. 75-6.
finally asks that his wish be granted, a wish for a damsel *ter melleam, ter auream, ter amabilam atque blandam*. In this poem, partly descriptive and partly amatory, Leech shows his mastery of the language. He does not stretch his Latin on a metrical bed of Procrustes, but succeeds in making us feel that he has used the correct words in the correct places. In description, where sincerity is desirable, he is indeed sincere; in his amatory passages he has that mellow Horatian optimism which can only be fully expressed by one to whom love, while interesting, is by no means all-important.

His drinking songs do not reach the same standard. They are, naturally, more earthy, but are full of vigour, and obviously reflect sentiments he really feels, in contrast to his love poems or pastorals where his lack of real interest is obvious. Typical of his drinking poems are the following lines from the *Verba inter bibendum:*

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Loculi mihi iam inanes,
aurumque nullum adhaeret.
Quid ergo? num dolebo?
Non prorsus; at sedendo
prope hunc cadum Falerni
bibam, bibam, libenter.
Gaudete vos et una
fortuna, rex et aula
si hic longius morabor
Caecutiemus omnes.
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Leech, in his epigrams, confesses to three failings, wine, women, and tobacco. There is no information concerning his weakness for tobacco, and his interest in love may be more pretence than reality, but his drinking songs indicate that here at least, he is both sincere and experienced.
David Hume

David Hume, son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, was born about 1560 and studied at St. Andrews. As the son of a nobleman, he was not obliged to earn his own living, and apart from being secretary to his uncle, the Earl of Angus, for five years, he appears to have devoted his time to writing. He entered into religious controversies, wrote a treatise on union between England and Scotland, and produced histories of the House of Wedderburn and the House of Douglas and Angus. His Latin poems, included in the Delitiae under the heading Lusus Poeticus, consist of:

a) Elegies in the Ovidian manner.

b) Eclogues on the death of Elizabeth (Amaryllis) and the succession of James (Daphnis).

c) Epigrams, or rather, short poems on various topics.

d) A long and rather obscure religious poem under the title Aselcanus.

He died in 1630 or thereabouts.

Hume earns a place among the principal writers by virtue of the vigour and sincerity of much of his work. His pastoral poems are often stilted and artificial, but his verse on religious matters, which is not in the least influenced by
Ovid, is entirely different. His Latin does not always flow easily and is at times obscure, but it has a burning sincerity that compensates for an occasional lack of polish.

In his eclogues and epigrams (which are for the most part merely short poems) there is little of value. They are generally couched in the language of flattery, and would require a much better poet than Hume to produce good poetry on such topics.

In his elegies which are, for the most part, an account of his surrender to Love after a stout struggle, the Latin is polished and he uses rhetoric freely. The resulting verse flows smoothly, but it lacks the force and sincerity of his religious verse. In the beginning of his 1st elegy, for instance, he writes:

Collis erat modico tollens fastigia olivo
miscet ubi albenti se Deus hospes aquae,
Gleba uber, Cererisque coma formosus et umbra
arborea et Florae numine amoenus ager.
Fons saliens sole a medio declivis ad ortum
illimes leni murmure volvit aquas.
Hinc densae circum salices corilique rubique,
alitibus fidum perfugiumque feris.

Such poetry makes enjoyable reading and its pleasing qualities must not be despised. It never rises to the heights, but never sinks to the depths.

Delitiae, I, 384-90.
It is the product of ability and not genius.

Compare with this the closing lines of his fifth elegy, where he abandons the pretence of being a lover suffering from the power of Venus, and gives his real message. Speaking of Death he says:

Illa venit prima saepe importuna juventa,
exspectat canas nec remorata comas,
Illa cave incautum saevo ne te opprimat ense,
cunctanti rigidas iniiciatque manus.
Pelle moras: nescis roseo quid Lucifer ortu
quidve rubens sero vespere stella ferat,
Ipse manum caelo Dominus pretendit ab alto,
et vocat in magni flammea tempia poli.
Ipse aderit, Natusque et Spiritus; ipse juvabit,
sufficiet menti robur et ipse tuae.

This verse also flows smoothly, but Hume is not so much concerned with technique as with the important message he has to deliver. The language of the Bible is recalled by his phrases which have a vigour and dignity befitting the subject. It is noticeable, too, that while he uses figures of speech freely, he tends to avoid classical allusions and elaborate conceits. This may be due to a feeling that such things are inconsistent with the dignity of his subject. But for his strong beliefs, Bunyan would never have expressed

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Delitiae, i, 393-402. George Buchanan expresses similar sentiments in his poem E Graeco Stobaei de Brevitate Vitae. (Georg. Buchanani Scoti quae extant, Lugduni Batavi 1629, p. 382.)
his genius in the Pilgrim's Progress. In the same way Hume's ability reaches its highest level in his religious passages. He is no longer the deserted lover or a shepherd piping in classical woods, but a preacher with the most important of all messages to deliver, and the quality of his poetry improves in keeping with the lofty nature of his subject.
Sir Robert Ayton

Robert Ayton was born in Kinaldie, Fife, in 1570. He studied at St. Andrews and graduated in 1588. For some time he lived in France but was sufficiently astute to keep well-informed of events in Britain. On James's accession to the throne of England, he had printed in Paris a poem congratulating England on her good fortune. When he first appeared at James's court he seems, from his own account, to have experienced some reverses, but he was eventually knighted, made a Companion of the Bedchamber and became Private Secretary to the Queen. He was later Secretary to Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. He died in 1658, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

He wrote poems in English and Latin, one of the most famous of his English poems being that which commences with: 'Should old acquaintance be forgot.' His Latin poems cover a wide range of subjects, but in contrast to his English poems the topic of his own love is ignored completely. He writes eulogies of the King, he writes obituaries on famous men, and he comments on his own good fortune and disappointments, but although he uses the elegiac metre frequently, he never writes of his love whether real or feigned.

1Pelitiae, 1, 67-9.
Many of his Latin poems do not rise above the level of competently written verse, but there are two at least which have considerable merit. Carina Caro has a poignancy which is rare in neo-Latin writing. Carina is, in reality, the Countess of Somerset, who is in prison awaiting trial for poisoning her husband's enemy. This poem takes the form of a letter from her to her husband, also in prison, in which she points out that she faces a double ordeal, that of trial for murder and that of childbirth.

Fortunae tam fluxa fides; tu raptus ab aulae luce, tenebrosi carceris antra subis,
Ipsa ferens utero, custodi tradita, culpae conscia, consiliis sola relicta meis,
Mille modis pereo. Iam, iam Lucina minatur: termina mox index asperiora parat.

Carina is not a mythological deserted heroine, but a real woman facing a real problem. Here are no appeals to classical deities or tales of women of classical mythology who have suffered for love, and the absence of such diversions gives the poem a freshness and topicality such as is possessed by many of the plays of Euripides. The keynote of the poem is the overwhelming power of love:

Denique quisquid erat, magni fuit error amoris,
et facile absolvit crimine quisquis amat.
Dant veniam caeco populorum iura furori,
heu,nimis est species nota furoris amor.

1Delitiae, 1, 63-5.
The little poem comparing his condition with that of the earth in spring opens with the quiet couplet:

\[ \text{Cuncta virent viresque novas a vere resumunt.} \]
\[ \text{Deciduis languet spes mea sola comis.} \]

It is a poem of quiet regret in restrained language, a poem shorn of the conventional display of erudition or of excessive rhetoric. It deserves praise for its sincerity and tranquillity, and for the simplicity of the language in which it is expressed. The theme of this short poem is his own inability to feel hopeful or happy even though all nature is rejoicing with the return of spring. This is not a new theme, and Ayton says nothing that has not been said before by other poets, but the way in which he expresses his thoughts makes this one of the most pleasant little poems in the Delitiae.

\(^1\text{Delitiae, i, 69.}\)
Sir John Scot

Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet was born in 1585. A member of the distinguished Scot family, of Buccleuch, he held various posts during the reign of James I and Charles I, including that of Privy Councillor and judge. As befitted one of Royalist sympathies, he took little part in public affairs under the Commonwealth. He died in 1670.

His reputation as a writer has been somewhat overshadowed by his fame as a patron of learning. He sponsored the publication by Johannes Blaeu of Amsterdam of maps of the various districts of Scotland, accompanied by topographical descriptions, almost in the manner of a statistical survey. At St. Andrews, in 1620, he founded a Professorship of Latin. The Delitiae Pcestarum Scotorum is dedicated to him, and rightly so, for he not only played the major part in collecting and editing the poems in this work but also paid for the printing by the same Johannes Blaeu in 1637. In addition he was a liberal patron of men of learning. In much of this work he was associated with William Drummond of Hawthornden, his brother-in-law, and these two, along with Sir Robert Ayton, Arthur Johnston, John Leech and Sir William Alexander did much to encourage the
writing of Latin verse in Scotland.

His Latin writings consist of elegies and Epigrammata, which are, for the most part, not epigrams, but merely short poems on various topics. His verse is not tinged with deep emotion, but is polished and urbane, and, though written in elegiacs, is often more reminiscent of Horace than Ovid. Scot, a man of position and wealth, could look at life with more assurance than most writers, and this is reflected in his work. He does not ask for help or complain of poverty: he is the gentleman of means, if not of leisure, who often feels disposed to give advice in Latin verse to his friends.

His two best poems would seem to be his address to Panthea, (Leech's obdurate mistress), and his letter of advice to Leech. In the former he warns Panthea that the day will come when she will be glad to be loved by anybody, and reproaches her for her hardness of heart. Although Panthea never existed and although the theme is certainly not original, Scot has nevertheless produced a poem that holds the reader's interest. In a work of this sort, where genuine

\[1\] Delitiae, ii, 479-81. \[2\] Delitiae, ii, 481-2.
emotion cannot be found, the writer must compensate for this by skill in the use of words, and by mastery of rhetorical devices which make attractive sentiments which are really superficial. In this, of course, he has Ovid's example to help him. It is to Scot's credit that he has succeeded so well in this poem that the reader tends to forget that he is expressing an emotion he does not feel to a woman who does not exist.

In his second poem he gives sound advice to Leech on his choice of poetry - and especially love poetry - as his life's work. Leech should choose Medicine or Law as a career, and reflect on the material rewards of a legal career as opposed to the poverty associated with poetry:

Aspicis ut summus det Iustinianus honores
si libet arguti discere iura fori?
Aspicis ut tritam referat tua Musa lacernam
possideatque minus quam miser Iris opum?

If, however, Leech is determined to be a poet, let him choose some form of poetry, such as epic, more suited to his ability:

Haece cole, sed valeant Cypris lascivaque amantium basia; sunt genio cuncta minora tuo.

This poem, dealing not with hypothetical circumstances but with hard fact, appeals by reason of its urbanity, its calm reasoning in polished verse. There is no striving after
effect, no appeal to a host of deities, merely a logical presentation of indisputable fact. It is a speech for the prosecution in verse, with love poetry as the accused. Although such verse can never rank as great poetry, the skill with which it presents the facts and the ease with which it flows raise it very far above the level of a scholarly exercise in elegiacs.
David Wedderburn

David Wedderburn was born in Aberdeen and educated at the Grammar School there. He attended either King's or Marischal College, and must have acquitted himself well in Latin, for in 1602 he became joint Rector of the Grammar School. In 1619 he was also elected 'Humanist' in Marischal College. In addition to teaching Latin in the College he was expected to compose Latin themes in prose and verse when so required by the magistrates. He retired in 1640, and died in 1646 or thereabouts.

His life seems to have been comparatively uneventful, apart from one occasion in 1612 when the pupils took possession of the school with 'guns, bagbutts and pistols.' The revolt was quelled, however, and Wedderburn seems to have escaped censure in this matter.

Most of his poems were written in his official capacity, and dealt with events such as the death of Prince Henry and the return of James I to Scotland. He also wrote three books of epigrams and a few poems which may be termed non-official, as they were not written in his capacity as Latin poet of Aberdeen. Wedderburn wrote several books on Latin grammar, syntax and
vocabulary, with the praiseworthy intention of making the path of learning a little easier for the pupils. An edition of Persius was prepared by him, but not published until 1664, in Amsterdam.

Those poems which were written to order for special occasions suffer from the defects which usually characterise such productions. Verse addressed to eminent persons on these occasions usually contains the maximum of flattery and insincerity, and little of value as poetry. His Reply to Arthur Johnston, however, is quite different. Johnston wrote him a poem in which he deplored the passing of their youth and their golden prime. Wedderburn, in his reply, points out that Johnston has at least achieved fame and success, while he has been so busy teaching others that his own Muse has been neglected.

In this poem his Latin is good, his verse flows smoothly, and his language has a simplicity that is not found in his more formal verse.

Has ego cerno nives, cerno Ionstone, quierisque, et nivis heu lacrymae more liquentiis sunt. Dumque retro specto melioris tempora vitae, quaeque ferunt anni gaudia prima rudes, deficio, quaerenque tuis solamina curis implicor, an sileam nescius ane loquar. Heu! ubi, quae nobis quondam florentibus annis otia, veritis ubi blandior aura novi? Vivida nunc ubi vis animi? quam serior aetas usque tibi reparat, deterit usque mihi.

1 Musa, iii, 394-7.
Like Scot, he does not write great poetry, but, at his best, he produces verse which entitles him to be considered one of the principal neo-Latin writers of his time.

An exception to the general run of Wedderburn's official poetry is his verse on the death of William Johnston, Arthur Johnston's brother and Professor of Mathematics in Marischal College, Aberdeen. In this poem Wedderburn is obviously expressing genuine grief at the death of a friend, and the quality of the verse, naturally enough, is considerably improved:

Quid lacrymae, quid maesta mihi modulamina prosint?
Nulla dolore liest vincere fata pie.
Exemplo Ionstonus erit, tibi, Phoebe, sacerdos,
seu Medici partes sive Maronis agas,
Seu libeat caelo percurre sidera, vasti
seu maris indomitos dimumerare sinus.
Nil tamen herbarum vires, nil dulcia vatis
carmina flexanimi vincere fata quaeant.
Exemplum o rarum! fulvo speciosius auro
quod novies Ophyres fervida flamma coquit.
Hic ille Euclides alter, quin flore juventae
uque Syracosio per fuit arte seni.
Adde quod ingenium comitata sit integra vita,
inocui mores, innocuque sales.
Frang hilaris semper, mens inconcussa, serena,
quo res cunque loco, iuris et ipsae sui.
Desino; sitque sat hoc. Arturi ingentis et ingens
sit fratres fratrem laus cecinisse sumum.

This poem may not be equal to the best work of men like Arthur Johnston or John Leech, but it nevertheless is to be commended for its sincerity and felicity of expression.

\textsuperscript{1}Musa, iii, 439.
Andrew Ramsay

Andrew Ramsay, born in 1574, was the son of Sir David Ramsay, of Pettercairn, Kincardineshire. After completing his studies at Marischal College, Aberdeen, he took a course of theology in France, and eventually became a professor, presumably of theology, in the University of Saumur. In 1606 he returned to Scotland, and after holding several charges as a minister of the church he became Professor of Theology in Edinburgh, a post which he held from 1620 to 1625. In 1646-7 he was Rector of Edinburgh University. He died in 1659.

His principal works are: Poemata Sacra, Miscellanea and Epigrammata Sacra. The first work is an epic on the Creation, Fall and Redemption of Man. The second includes Latin versions of the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Song of Simeon. The third is on sacred themes, and his epigrams will bear comparison with those produced by any of the Scottish writers considered in this work. The following titles will show the nature of these poems:

Angusta est via quae ad salutem ducit.
Summus scors cruciat magis quam delectat.
Deus vulnerat ut sanet.
Deus suos crucibus exercet non ut perdat sed ut servet.
Humilis fortuna magis quam excelsa petenda.

1Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, 1, 70. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1915.
2Bradner describes them as "creditable but not distinguished."
The epigram given below may be regarded as typical.

Non longam sed multam vitam expetendam.

Frustra Nestoreos annos tardamque senectam
expetis ut fati sera sit hora tui.
Elige non longam sed multam vivere vitam;
haec numerat palmas, temporis illa moras.

His epic, however, is on a higher plane. It consists of four books with the following titles:

Creationis rerum Descriptio Poetica.
Quam Beata Hominis in primigenia integritate conditio.
De Lapsu Protoiœs et omnium in eo posterorum.
Humani Generis per Christum Reparatio.

The account of the Creation in the first book is not merely a bald transcription of the account in the Bible, but is expanded in a manner that demonstrates Ramsay's poetic ability. The following extract may serve to illustrate this fact:

Tum conditor orbis
armatam radiss, pulsa caligine, lucem
effulgere jubet. Lux hinc incanduit alma,
exhilaras roseo mundi incunabula vultu.
Quam postquam radiatum oculis caelestibus hausi,
ipse suis favet inceptis, et limine in ipso
applaudit nascenti operi. Tum lucis et umbrae
alternat pater imperium, noctemque dies
instituit, sceptrique pares indulget honores.
Sic fugiente die piceis praemissa quadrigis
incubuit pallens tenebroso vespere amictu,
et veniente die praecit rutilantibus alis
aurique argentique nitor, securitque premendo
alma dies, sine Sole dies.

The book ends with the creation of Adam, and God's warning that he must not eat of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.
In the second book Ramsay tells of the creation of Eve, gives a long account of the blessed state before the fall of Man, and praises the institution of marriage.

In the third book there occurs some of his best poetry. As Bradner has said, he is at his best when he describes the discussion between Eve and the serpent. Eve is portrayed as she walks in the Garden of Eden:

Incomitata viro forte uxor sola per hortum regali incedit pressus, ceu purpura lacte mista, rubet: candeunte, rosis ceu lilia juncta: caesaries per colla fluit, ceu caerula nubes solis inardescens radiis. Nunc arbuta spectat, frondosaque domos avium, et pubentia sylvae brachia, nunc lactos campos, nunc picta vireta, pulsantesque udis ripas singultibus amnes, volventes curvis fessas erroribus undas: luminaque his pascens fruitur faelicibus horis.

After describing the beauty of Eve and of the Garden, Ramsay, by way of contrast, introduces the serpent in all his cunning wickedness:

Illi adversa ferens vestigia tortilis anguis, ut molles aditus et commoda tempora novit, ante pedes prono se vultu sternit heriles, adlambensque imas plantas, sic callidus infit: "O terrae pelagique potens, rerumque sub aethra O regina! poli quae sceptras capessere digna! et Iovae trifidum moliri fulmen Olympo! quid terras habitas humiles? aut si Des terram sub ditione tenes, cur terrae excludere fructu? Qui victum tenuem pomumque perabile vobis invidet, an Superum dabit ille accumbere mensis? Non dabiti et si adversa sedet sententia mente, Heu, te vana fides et spes deludit inanis!

1 Musae Anglicanae, 197-8.
These passages are not great poetry, but it may reasonably be claimed that one who can depict a scene in such words or relate a speech in such a vigorous manner is far from being a mere laborious versifier.

This book concludes with God's discovery of the sin of Adam and Eve and her defence: "I was beguiled by the serpent, made by You and endowed by You with the cunning which led to my downfall."

The quality of the fourth book falls below that of the third, perhaps because he has to depart somewhat from the Bible narrative. Faced with the problem of covering in one book the story of Man from the Fall to the Crucifixion of Christ, he solves it in the following manner. No mention is made of the ages intervening between these two events, but instead he tells of a debate in Heaven between Themis and Clementia. The former attempts to induce God to remove Man from the face of the earth:

Huc, quicquid Furiarum Orco est, accedite; in istos irruite et tantam terris avertite pestem.
Sunt Furiaeque, facesque, angustaque Tartara poenis Clementia, on the other hand, pleads for mercy:

At cumulare bonis inopes, sucurrere lapsis, consulere afflictis, oppressos clade levare divae est mentis opus.
saltem hominis miserere, hominis, quem devius error transversum tulit incautum, gentemque nec omnem unius excinde ob noxam.

When these two have finished speaking Sapientia intervenes. In order to satisfy the demands of both justice and mercy, she proposes that the Son of God should become Man, and, by undergoing crucifixion, expiate the sin of mankind. God agrees to this, and the poem finishes with his words to Adam and the serpent, and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden.

Ramsay, therefore, is to be included among the principal Latin poets of his age, not merely for his poetic ability, but for his praiseworthy attempt at one of the most difficult of all verse forms - the epic. He succeeds in retaining the reader's interest over many hundreds of lines, and if the narrative falters somewhat towards the end, this may be overlooked in view of the quality of his verse in the earlier parts of his poem.
Although the above have been selected as the principal writers of the period in question there are many others whose writings have some degree of merit. Of these, George Chalmers, who writes love poetry in close imitation of Ovid, and John Barclay the epigrammatist, may be considered among the most important.

Taken as a whole, this considerable quantity of Latin verse is a credit to the scholars of the time. Apart from any question of poetic merit, it shows that in a comparatively poor and small country, in a time of political unrest, there were many who achieved a proficiency in writing Latin that is all too rare today.
CHAPTER II

LATIN IN SCOTLAND

DURING THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
Before discussing in detail the influence of Ovid on the selected Scottish writers, it is advisable to consider briefly the factors affecting the writing of Latin at this time. It is, therefore, proposed to discuss:

a) The background of classical knowledge against which the Scottish writers produced their verse.

b) The emphasis which their training in classics may have placed on any particular aspect of Greek or Latin literature.

c) The extent to which Latin verse was written in the period in question, and the encouragement such writing may have received.

This investigation may serve a double purpose. It may help to place the influence of Ovid in proper perspective, lest it be considered in vacuo, and it may suggest reasons for his popularity.

It would appear that, even in the somewhat turbulent Scotland of the sixteenth century, there was a praiseworthy desire on the part of those responsible for education that pupils should
receive sound instruction in Latin, and sometimes in Greek as well. In Haddington, in 1563, the master of the grammar school undertook to instruct the boys carefully in Latin, and in 1591 the master of the same school promised to instruct the boys 'in their Greek and Latin grammar and in all the classic authors necessary.' Similar statements are found in records of schools in Crail (1571), Banff (1685), Prestonpans (1606), Inverurie (1612), Stirling (1625), Perth (1632), Paisley (1653) and Peebles (1655).  

Although the curricula of such schools are not available, those of schools in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow have been preserved. These curricula naturally vary in detail, but basically they are the same, and that of the Grammar School of Glasgow, of which a translation is given below, may be taken as typical of the education of the time.

Curriculum of the Grammar School of Glasgow (circa 1575).

First Year's Course: During the first six months part of the rudiments and etymology shall be prelected upon, and the scholars shall compare the names of things in daily use; during the last six months, besides repeating daily a portion of what they had previously acquired, they shall learn the remainder of the rudiments of etymology and syntax; they should also commit to memory short sentences, inculcating

piety, good morals, and conduct, to be rendered into the vernacular in the best style possible.

Second Year's Course: During the first six months - a part of the rudiments being repeated daily - one half of the first part of Despauter shall be learned with the colloques of Corderius; during the remaining six months, what remains of the first part of Despauter shall be taught, nor shall the morning lessons in etymology be omitted; the pupils shall also make as much progress as possible in the dialogues of Corderius, which, being learned, shall be followed by the select epistles of Cicero, the minor colloques of Erasmus, and the sacred dialogues of Castalio.

Third Year's Course: During the first six months - a portion of the rudiments of the first part of Despauter being repeated daily - the syntax of Despauter, or at least the greatest part of it, shall be taught, along with a few of Cicero's epistles and Terence's comedies. During the other months - a portion of the grammar lesson being repeated daily - the remainder of syntax shall be taught, and further progress made in the comedies of Terence. To these there shall be added prelections on Ovid's Epistolae de Ponto and on his book of Tristia, also on the Psalms of Euchanan, especially those written in elegiac verse - each lesson to be gone over according to the rules of etymology and syntax. In this year, twice or thrice in each week, there shall be taught a theme in the

1 Despauter: A Flemish grammarian who wrote, among other works, Grammaticae Institutionis Rudimenta, Ars Versificatoria, Libellus de Accentibus et Punctis. He died in 1520.

2 Corderius: A French grammarian who taught in Paris, Bordeaux and Lausanne. His works include Colloquia Latina and De Quantitate Syllabarum.

3 Castalio: Professor of Greek in Basle. He was involved in theological disputes with Calvin and Beza. His works include translations into Latin of Thucydides and Homer. A Latin version of the Bible was produced by him, but not published until after his death in 1563.

4 theme - a topic for discussion.
native tongue, selected from the works of some elegant and polite Latin writer, particularly from the works of Cicero. When each pupil has translated this into good Latin, and has neatly written down the same, he shall deliver it for examination to the master or to the usher, whose duty it shall be in examining the theme to hear each (the rest listening with silence) distinctly, and in a clear voice, read his theme, to see that each passage is properly written, and if it be incorrect, he shall amend it in the hearing of all; and lastly, to give the words of the author himself, to be committed to memory, or at least carefully read, so that thus each scholar may the better learn to correct his mistakes. There should also occasionally be prescribed some passages from the best Latin authors, to be translated into the vernacular.

Fourth Year's Course: For the first quarter, more or less, ars versificatoria of Despeuter shall be prelected upon, with selections from Buchanan's prosody and epigrams; also, there shall be taken from the poets read in a former year, examples of each of the rules of prosody. For the rest of that year the scholars shall employ themselves (their prescribed tasks being repeated daily) in the art of poesy and in the practice of rules; Virgil, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Horace, and Buchanan's Psalms, should be prelected upon. Twice every week, also, there should be given out a short sentence having some wit or point, or an argument, or narrative; those who can, turning the same into verse - heroic, elegiac, or lyric; should there be any who have no aptitude for poetical composition, let him be employed in converting loose sentences into grammatical language, and in writing themes.

Fifth Year's Course: For the first half of the year (the grammar lesson not being neglected in the interval), prelections will be given upon rhetoric - the greater part of Tully, Cassander, Cicero's Oratio pro Archia, and thirteen books of Ovid's Metamorphosis, etc.

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Cassander: A sixteenth century Flemish scholar who wrote treatises on theology and rhetoric and indulged in theological controversies with Calvin.
During the remainder of this course, the pupils should be exercised in the study of the poets foresaid, of Sallust's history, Caesar's commentaries, and certain works of Cicero; towards the end of the year let them study the elements of Greek grammar; they shall, on every alternate day translate into Latin a theme written in the vernacular, following as closely as possible the style of Cicero, Caesar, or Terence - during the examination of the theme all who belong to the same class listening with silence; where the scholars shall in any respect have departed from a correct style, they must be instantly recalled to the rules of grammar; and where they depart from purity of diction, they should be corrected by examples from Terence, Cicero, and Caesar; twice a week, also, let those who have the faculty try their skill in verse writing.

From this typical curriculum the following conclusions may be drawn:

a) Pupils received a thorough grounding in the fundamentals of Latin.

b) As Latin was almost the only subject studied, the amount read was considerable. In the above curriculum, for instance, no less than thirteen books of the Metamorphoses were prescribed as part of the work of the fifth year.

c) A fairly wide range of authors was studied.

d) There was, in the fourth and fifth years, systematic training in verse composition.

e) In the final stages of the course the emphasis was on the rhetorical aspect of Latin writing.
f) Little Greek was taught.

A considerable amount of information is available concerning education in Scottish Universities during the period in question.

In 1577 a new charter - the Nova Erectio et Fundatio - was granted to Glasgow University.

Alexander Morgan, in his Scottish University Studies says:

The Nova Erectio contains a curriculum which was more or less adopted by the other Universities and may be regarded as the typical graduation course in Arts of the second University period.¹

This second University period dates from the Reformation to 1688.

A statute, issued apparently not long after the above charter, gives full details of the curriculum in Glasgow. The following is a very free translation of the original Latin in the Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis:²

In the first class, from 1st October to 1st March the principles of Greek grammar are to be taught as briefly and simply as possible, and illustrated from Isocrates, Lysias and the letters

¹A Morgan, Scottish University Studies, Oxford University Press, 1933, p. 64.
²Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis, ii, 45-6
of Libanius\textsuperscript{1}. From March until the beginning of September the principles of eloquence are to be explained from Talaeus\textsuperscript{2}, and the use of these from the shorter speeches of Cicero, Demosthenes, Homer, Aristophanes, Greek epigrams etc.

In the second class for half the year the whole art of rhetoric - \textit{fusæ et pleno ex ipsis fontibus hauriendam} - is to be set forth from Aristotle, and Cicero's \textit{De Oratore}, and the use of the rules accurately illustrated from Demosthenes, Cicero, Sophocles and Pindar. In the second half of the year the principles of Invention and Disposition are to be set forth as briefly and accurately as possible from Petrus Ramus\textsuperscript{3} and the use of these illustrated from Plato, Plutarch, Cicero's \textit{De Finibus} and Tuscanian Questions.

In the beginning of the third year I mention

\textsuperscript{1} Libanius: A fourth century Greek sophist, born in Antioch. He taught in Athens and Constantinople, and wrote epistles and \textit{Opera Oratoria}. He was never converted to Christianity.

\textsuperscript{2} Talaeus: A sixteenth century French writer on rhetoric. Among his works are commentaries: \textit{In Ciceronis Libros de Oratore}, \textit{In Topica Ciceronis}, \textit{In Ciceronis Paradoxa}, \textit{In Primum Aristotelis Ethicum Librum}.

\textsuperscript{3} Petrus Ramus: A sixteenth century French humanist, who was Professor of Rhetoric in Paris. His works include grammars in French, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, \textit{Rhetoricae Distinctiones in Quintiliano} and Commentaries on Plato and Aristotle.
Arithmetic and Geometry, the Logic, Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, the De Officiis of Cicero and a selection of Plato's dialogues.

In the fourth class, Aristotle's Physics, the Sphere and Cosmography; and an essay and simple introduction to Universal History. The principles of the Hebrew tongue are to be set forth.

From the picture given by this typical curriculum the following conclusions may be drawn:

a) Greek was taught, but could not, in the time available, reach the standard attained by Latin in the schools.

b) The curriculum was still largely mediaeval, and Greek and Latin were studied, not so much for their own sake, as forming an aid to the study of subjects such as rhetoric and logic.

This system of school and University education would certainly produce men with an excellent knowledge of Latin, a reasonable knowledge of Greek, and an acquaintance with a fairly wide range of classical authors. The emphasis, however, on rhetoric, both in the later school years and in university would tend to bias them in favour of the rhetorical aspects of classical literature. This fact must be remembered in
discussing Ovid's influence on the men of this period. To us Ovid is a clever, polished craftsman who lacks depth of feeling; to the men of the seventeenth century this very quality of superficial brilliance would seem, not something to be deplored, but a desirable literary characteristic.

Although the condition of Scotland in the early seventeenth century did not favour the development of classical studies, there were those who, directly or indirectly, encouraged the study and writing of Latin, if not of Greek. James VI was not an active patron of Latin writers in that he gave direct financial assistance, but he was proud of his own knowledge of classics. A royal visit therefore, or indeed any occasion demanding the formal expression of sentiments to the king, presented the scholars with an opportunity to show their erudition and skill in writing Latin verse. On the occasion of his visit to Scotland in 1617 men of learning vied with one another in producing Latin verse containing the maximum of erudition and flattery, and in many cases, the minimum of sincerity - 'the scholarship of Scotland was put under requisition for eulogistic addresses in all forms of Latin versification.'

The Delitiae contains several poems written on this or similar occasions. Although they have little value as poetry, the fact that they were written by learned men, on important occasions, for the king, must have given the study and writing of Latin considerable prestige, and may have encouraged the writing of verse in the same way as the public competitions in English universities.

The outstanding direct patron of Latin writing in the period in question was Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, of whose career an account has already been given. His patronage stimulated the writing of Latin verse, and his industry in collecting the material for the Delitiae and generosity in bearing the expense of publication undoubtedly saved from oblivion the bulk of the works contained in this anthology.

Closely associated with Scot in editing the Delitiae, and presumably in general patronage of neo-Latin writing, was his brother-in-law, William Drummond of Hawthornden. Drummond was born at Hawthornden, Midlothian, in 1585, and was educated at Edinburgh University. On the death of his father in 1610 he returned to Hawthornden from France, where he had been studying law, and devoted himself to the study and writing of poetry.
He had a keen interest in neo-Latin writing, and during a second stay on the Continent he collected a number of books which form an important part of the library later presented to Edinburgh University. Among these books is the very rare Musae Priores of John Leech. He died in 1649.

It is to be regretted that, although Drummond achieved a considerable reputation for his English verse, he wrote no Latin verse, apart from a macaronic, Polemic-middinia, or The Battle of the Dunghill, which shows a vulgarity absent from nearly all his other writings.

As a result of the encouragement received from the sources mentioned above, and doubtless from other patrons whose names are now forgotten, the amount of Latin verse produced in Scotland at this time was considerable. As has already been shown, approximately half of the writers represented in the Delitiae - an anthology of some forty-seven thousand lines - produced their work in the early part of the seventeenth century, and more than two-thirds of those represented in the Musae-an anthology of approximately fourteen thousand lines - produced their work in the same period. These anthologies do not necessarily include all the works of the poets represented in them, nor do
they contain the works of all the poets who wrote at this time. The works of John Leech, for instance, are represented by one poem in the Delitiae, and by a selection of his shorter poems in the Musæ.

There must also have been much verse which, fortunately or unfortunately, has not been preserved. Patrick Panter, Professor of Theology in St. Andrews, is supposed to have written twelve books of an epic on Sir William Wallace, but only a fragment breaking off in the third book is preserved, and one feels inclined to agree with Bradner that 'there is nothing of distinction in it to make us regret the loss of the rest.'

The volume, then, of Latin verse is considerable, a fact which in itself indicates strong interest in the language. Admittedly some writers, notably George Buchanan in the sixteenth century, wrote in Latin to appeal to a wider audience, and occasions such as royal visits might make it advisable to write in Latin, but very many poems were written by Scotsmen to Scotsmen, and Latin was preferred to English from choice rather than necessity.

1L. Bradner, Musæ Anglicæ, p. 195.
Although the influence of Ovid is considerable, and in the case of some writers, predominant, there are many quotations from or allusions to the works of other classical authors in the writings of the Scottish poets. A random selection from the verse of Arthur Johnston reveals allusions to or quotations from Vergil, Horace, Pliny, Martial, Cicero, Juvenal, Homer and the Greek Anacreontics. David Wedderburn has allusions to or quotations from Vergil, Catullus, Horace, Persius, Tacitus, Propertius, Aulus Gellius and Aristotle. John Leech has allusions to or quotations from Vergil, Horace, Cicero, Catullus, Quintilian and, of course, the Greek Anacreontics, on which his Anacreontica is based. In his poem In Grammaticos (1623 edition) he quotes words from the opening lines of texts which must have been familiar to him:

Aspice Grammaticis quam sore adversa minetur,
omina principis quisquis inesse putas.
Iram Maecenides, Lucanvs bella minatur,
trernas aices Statius, arma Merce;
Barbara Bilbilidos proles, Inferna Canopi,
Naso novas formas, et freta Flaccus habet.
Iram, bella, aices, arma, et post barbaras, postque
inferna et formas et freta, restis ubi est?

Canopi (proles) - Claudian of Alexandria.
Flaccus - Valerius Flaccus.

1 Mssz, iii, 266.
These data from a random selection of the works of the above writers are sufficient to demonstrate the breadth of their reading, and to correct any impression that poets who imitated Ovid were under his exclusive influence. There is nothing to suggest that the writers just considered were more learned than their fellows, and it seems probable that the majority of writers would be familiar with a wide range of classical authors.

From this short survey it would therefore appear that those Scotsmen who wrote Latin verse in the seventeenth century had a thorough and wide knowledge of the language, were biased towards the rhetorical aspect of poetry as a result of their early education, and produced an impressive quantity of verse, often with encouragement from men in high positions.
CHAPTER III

THE TEXTS OF OVID
THE TEXTS OF OVID

The discussion of Ovid's influence during the seventeenth century must involve consideration of the texts of his works available at that time. Although the invention of printing made texts more generally available, it must not be assumed without investigation that all Ovid's works were in print during that century or that the texts were the same as those of to-day. It will be necessary therefore to enquire a) whether all the works of Ovid were in print and generally available during the seventeenth century, b) whether texts of these works were used in Scotland and c) whether these texts differed materially from those in use today.

The following list, which does not claim to be exhaustive, gives details of those editions of Ovid printed between 1471 and 1601 which contain his complete works or the main body of his works. There were also editions of parts of his works, but in view of the abundance of complete editions it has not been thought necessary to give details.

Data for the above list have been obtained from the catalogues of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Brunet's Manuel du Libraire, and H.R. Palmer's List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed Before 1641.
of these. It may be noted in passing that poems such as the Haliectica and Nux, whose authenticity is doubtful, were apparently accepted without question by the scholars of the time. Also included in many early editions were poems such as the De Pulice and De Philomela, which are regarded by modern scholars as undoubtedly spurious.

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<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bologna</td>
<td>1471</td>
<td>Lyons</td>
<td>1503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>1471</td>
<td>Lyons</td>
<td>1512</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>1519</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parma</td>
<td>1477</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1529</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>1477</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>1533</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bologna</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bologna</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>Lyons</td>
<td>1539</td>
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<td>Bicennza</td>
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<td>Venice</td>
<td>1482</td>
<td>Basle</td>
<td>1543</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1486</td>
<td>Lyons</td>
<td>1555</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1492</td>
<td>Antwerp</td>
<td>1566</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1495</td>
<td>Basle</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1496</td>
<td>Paris</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1498</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1574</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>Antwerp</td>
<td>1583</td>
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This list shows that, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were numerous editions of Ovid available on the Continent. It also shows how printed editions of Ovid spread gradually northward from Italy. In the fifteenth century complete editions were confined to Italy, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century such editions had been produced in France, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany and England.
With regard to Scotland it is clear from the data given below that printed texts of Ovid were generally available in the seventeenth century.

1) Among the books presented to the University of Edinburgh by Drummond of Hawthornden, the famous Scottish writer, is his copy of Ovid with his own annotations. This edition of Ovid, published in 1512 at Lyons, contains all the works of Ovid recognised today.

2) The inscriptions on two texts of Ovid², now in the Library of Edinburgh University, indicate that these could be purchased by students, and not merely by distinguished scholars. The first text, which is volume one of the Frankfurt edition of 1601, contains the Heroides, Amores, Remedia Amoris, Ars Amatoria, Consolatio ad Liviam, De Nuce, Medicamina Faciei, Malieutica, Ad Pisonem, De Pulice, De Philomela and fragmenta.

On the first page there is this inscription:

Ego donatus sum Academiae Edinburense a magisterii candidatis, Anno. Dom. 1640.

The second text, printed in Antwerp in 1618, contains selections from the Metamorphoses (Book XV is given in full) with a very full commentary.

²Edinburgh University Library Ref. Wh.17. 23, 24.
studio et opera Iacobi Pontani de Societate Jesu.
It also contains the text of the Ibis, with
uberiores notationes Valerii Andreae Desselii... 1
Salamanticae Eloquentiae Professoris.
This text bears the following inscription:
Alexr. Bothuel, Alexr. Trottar, David Currie,
David MakBrair, Gulielmus Muschat, Jacobus Grier
et Jacobus Inglis primo curriculi sui anno hoc
libro donarunt Academiam Edinburgenam. anno d.
1626.
3) In the inventory of the property of Thomas
Bassandyne, an Edinburgh printer, who died in 1579,
there appear the following items:
Fyve Metamorphosis Ovidii, price of the pece vi s. ...
sex Metamorphosis Ovidii, price of the pece vi s. ...
sex Ovidius de tristibus, the pece ii s. ...
tua Epistolae Ovidii, the pece vi s. ...
thrie Ovidius de fastis, the pece vi s. ...
sex Ovidius de pontis, the pece xxx d. ...
thrie Ovidius de ponto (unbund) the pece ii s. ...
Also included in the inventory is 'ane auld
Horatius, xxx d.,' which seems to indicate that
second-hand books were for sale even in these days.

1Desselius: A Jesuit scholar, born in 1588 at
Brabant. He held various posts at Douai,
including that of Professor of Hebrew. At some
time he must have been Professor of Rhetoric in
Salamanca. Included in his works are Catalogus
Clarorum Hispaniae Scriptorum and De Linguae
Hebraicae Laudibus, Antiquitate, Dignitate,
Necessitate. The date of his death is uncertain.
2Reid Bequest, Bannatyne Miscellany, ii, 191-204.
4) Although Ovid is not specifically mentioned in the following inventory, that of Andrew Hart, an Edinburgh printer, who died in 1622, the very large quantity of printed books mentioned surely indicates that texts of classical authors would be freely available.¹

Ane thousand fyve hundreth ffowrtie nyne, bund, of steikit Latein Buiiks of the said umquhile Androwes awin prenting, consisting partlie of Grameres, Buchananes Psalms, Virgilles, Rudimentes and uther small Latein buikes for skoles, estimat all to the sowme of tua hundreth twentie four punds aucht shillinges ... threttie nyne thousand xlvj unbund Latein buiks of the said umquhile Androw his awin printing, consisting partlie of Virgillis, Gramers, Rudimentes and uther small lectowr buikes.

In order to establish that the seventeenth century texts of Ovid were reasonably accurate according to modern standards passages have been taken from these texts and compared with those in modern editions. The following passages have been checked:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern Edition</th>
<th>Old Edition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Met., i, 1-100</td>
<td>Teubner (1883) Antwerp (1618)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; ii, 1-104</td>
<td>&quot; Merkel (1601)</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; iii, 1-100</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; iv, 1-32</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beroidees, i and ii</td>
<td>Bude (1928) Frankfurt (1601) (Bornecque)</td>
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¹ Bannatyne Miscellany, ii, 241-2.
The discrepancies between the ancient and modern texts are surprisingly few, and seldom amount to more than variant readings of single words. A typical example occurs in Met., 1, 69, where the Antwerp edition of 1618 has diacreverat, and the modern Teubner edition has dissaepserat. The Teubner edition does not give variant readings for dissaepserat, but the Bude (1928) text gives the three principal MSS. readings as dissepperat, disecerperat, disserperat.

It would appear, therefore, in view of the facts quoted above, that all the works of Ovid were available in Scotland in the seventeenth century, and that the texts of these works differed little from those in use today.

Although the following quotation does not refer to the seventeenth century, it is nevertheless of interest as showing that, even in the previous century, Ovid's works must have been known by the educated section of the community:

As placarding had become the received method of expressing public opinion, a line from Ovid's Fasti, importing that they turned out to be wicked women who accepted wedlock in that forbidden month was affixed to the palace door on the night after the wedding.¹

¹J. H. Burton, History of Scotland, iv, 228 and footnote.
The wedding in question was that of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Bothwell in 1567, and the line from Ovid was: *Mense malas Maio rubere vulgus ait* (*Fasti*, v, 490).
CHAPTER IV

OVIDIAN AND OTHER INFLUENCES
The influence of Ovid, however, must not be considered in isolation. It must be viewed in conjunction with other influences which may modify it in various ways, or even completely replace it. In considering the works of each author, therefore, it is important to bear in mind that, whether he is an Ovidian or not, he may be affected by:

a) other classical writers;

b) the literary tradition of Scotland or other countries;

c) his religious background;

d) his political background.

In Chapter II it has been shown that Scottish scholars would be well acquainted with the works of the principal classical writers. It would be surprising, therefore, if they were able to write without displaying some evidence of the influence of poets such as Vergil or Propertius. In particular, when the verse is of a type not attempted by Ovid, the influence of other classical writers may be evident.

It must also be remembered that these Scottish writers were the inheritors of the literary traditions, not merely of Scotland and England, but
of other European countries. The educated Scotsman of their age was more inclined to travel abroad and had a more cosmopolitan outlook than his counterpart in later centuries. George Buchanan, of course, is the outstanding example, but it may be noted that of the seven writers considered in this work five spent some time on the Continent. Two of these, Arthur Johnston and Andrew Ramsay, were professors at Sedan and Saumur respectively. Johnston's predecessor in the Chair of Physic at Sedan was another Scot, Walter Donaldson. Scottish writers would be familiar with much of the literature of France and Italy, and possibly Spain. The French writer Du Bartas, for instance, was so greatly admired by King James that he was invited to spend some time at the Scottish court, and was mentioned with respect by Hume, Leech and Wedderburn.

The library of Drummond of Hawthornden, presented by him to the University of Edinburgh, contains works in English, Latin, French, Italian and Hebrew. It is highly improbable, therefore,

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Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas was a soldier, writer and diplomat. He was born at Montfort in Armagnac, in 1544, and died in 1590, of wounds received at the battle of Ivry. His chief poem, La Sermoine, gives an account of the Creation, and may have influenced Paradise Lost. Joshua Sylvester (1563-1618) translated his works into English.
that neo-Latin writers would escape the influence of European literature, and in considering classical influences on their work one must note whether these are affected by the trends of medieval or Renaissance writing. Particular care must be taken in investigating love poetry. To Ovid and his fellows, who lived at a time when the concept of romantic love was unknown, the mistress was usually a courtesan or a near-courtesan, and could not be regarded as the equal of her lover. This contrasts strongly with the worship of the mistress found in Petrarch, and those who imitated him, and it is therefore important to note whether neo-Latin amatory verse follows the classical or the Petrarchan tradition, or shows the influence of both.

The difference between the religious background of Ovid and of the Scottish writers can scarcely be over-emphasised. He lived at a time when belief in the old gods had almost disappeared, and Christianity had not yet made its appearance. He had little belief in a divinely inspired code of behaviour, and his outlook can scarcely be described as other-worldly. It is not surprising, therefore, that his actions were often governed by expediency or by the code imposed by society. The thought of
a life after death failed to rouse any strong emotion in him, and there was no belief in rewards or punishments for the ordinary man after death. The Scottish writers, on the other hand, lived at a time when religious beliefs were strongly held, and men were assured that they would be called to account for their acts in this world. For them existence after death was an indisputable fact, and they knew their whole life ought to be regulated in accordance with the tenets of their faith. One must consider, therefore, whether each Scottish writer succeeds in viewing his subjects through the eyes of a writer such as Ovid, or whether his outlook is coloured by his Christian beliefs.

Finally, the political background of the age must be taken into account. Important events at home and abroad, such as the Union of the Crowns, the Gunpowder Plot and the Thirty Years' War could not fail to make some impression on most scholars, and it is therefore advisable to consider the extent to which their awareness of contemporary events is reflected in their writings.

In the chapters immediately following, with the exception of that on metre, the Scottish writers are considered separately, their debt to Ovid examined, and an attempt made to answer the
questions propounded above. Ovid's influence manifests itself in their language, mythology, treatment of subjects, style and, on occasion, in the form of their poetry. As these various aspects of his influence are inter-related they cannot always be considered separately, and the order in which they are discussed may vary from chapter to chapter.

Before dealing with individual writers, it is advisable to make the following general remarks on each aspect of influence.

Language:

The writings of the Scottish neo-Latin poets are usually well laced with linguistic borrowings, borrowings which range from direct adoption of phrases to echoes which are so faint that one may only surmise that the language of some classical author has inspired them.

While much of this borrowing is certainly deliberate, and sometimes inserted to display erudition, some may well be unintentional, and arise from the intensive study of Latin writers. When Johnston writes *semivirumque asinum*, *sesquiasinumque virum* he is obviously copying Ovid's famous line *semivirumque bovem, semibovemque virum*. On the other hand, when Wedderburn writes *tu mihi*
tristitiae semper origo meae it is doubtful whether this is a conscious or unconscious imitation of Ovid's simque ego tristitiae causa modusque tuae.

Some apparent borrowings may not come into either of these categories but may be due to coincidence, as it is almost certain that similar combinations of words will from time to time occur in the works of different authors.

In considering borrowings from Ovid it must be remembered that, as a result of his popularity over a long period, his most striking phrases and his most interesting stories would, like quotations from Shakespeare today, be familiar to those who had not read the works in which they occur. So far as one may judge from the educational system of the time, Scottish writers would know Ovid thoroughly, but it is possible that some of their phrases are taken from books such as the Thesaurus of Thomas Cooper. ¹ This is in essentials a Latin dictionary, but in addition to giving the meaning of Latin words it gives a wealth of phrases from classical authors to illustrate the meaning. It

¹ Thomas Cooper (c.1517-1594) Bishop of Lincoln (1571) and Winchester (1584) was also a writer and physician. In addition to his writings in English he produced a Latin dictionary which reached its final form as a Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Brittanicae (1565)
has, for instance, almost one hundred phrases to illustrate the meaning of *acer*, and almost two hundred under the heading *duco*. The photostatic copies of two pages of his book will illustrate this better than mere quotation of statistics.

Among other similar books produced in the sixteenth century are:

1. *Abecedarium Anglo-Latinum* by Richard Huloet, (1552) (1584)


3. *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* by Thomas Thomas (1587)

Four copies of Cooper's *Thesaurus* are held in 2 Scottish libraries today, and, so far as can be discovered, there are no copies of these books mentioned immediately above. It is unwise to draw any firm conclusions from the presence or absence of particular books at the present date - America has a number of copies of Cooper - but it is possible that Cooper's book was available in Scotland in the period under consideration. As Scotland

1A full account of such books is given by DeWitt T. Starnes, *Renaissance Dictionaries*, Edinburgh, Nelson and Sons, 1954.

2 National Library, Edinburgh, 1573 edition
Signet Library, Edinburgh, 1578 edition
Stirling's. and Glasgow Public Library, 1565 edition
had a considerable connection with the Continent at this time it is probable that even scholars like Wedderburn, who spent his life in Aberdeen, had access to other books of this kind published abroad, although no copies survive today. Those scholars who spent some time on the Continent would almost certainly have available books of the type compiled by Cooper.

Unfortunately it is practically impossible to show that an Ovidian phrase is inspired by such books rather than the original verse, but it is probable that a scholar writing Latin verse would have such books at hand as a convenient source of inspiration.

Examples of borrowings from Ovid will be given in later chapters, but the following, selected at random, may be regarded as typical:

Ovid:
nescit, cui domino pareat, unda maris

(Tristia, I, 11, 26)

Johnston:

nec scit, cui domino pareat, unda maris

(Musa, I, 216)

Ovid:
omnia vipereo spicula felle linunt

(Ex Ponto, I, 11, 16)

Hume:

aut fera letifero spicula felle linit

(Delitiae, I, 384)
Ovid:
et tepidum volucres concentibus aera mulcent
(Fasti, i, 155)

Johnston:
et volucrum laetis resonat concentibus aether
(Musa, i, 226)

Ovid:
ambiguus ars stupet ipsa malis
(Tristia, I, ii, 32)

Scot:
incipere, ambiguus mens agitata malis
(Delitiae, ii, 482)

Ovid:
croceo velatus amictu
(Met., x, 1)

Ayton:
niveo velatur amictu
(Delitiae, i, 44)

There is also the occasional use of words which, although not peculiar to Ovid, are found in few other authors:

Ovid:
in tenues evanidus exeat auras
(Remedia Amoris, 653)

Hume:
in tenues abiere, ut fumi, evanida ventos
(Delitiae, i, 381)

Ovid:
innuba permaneo; sed iam felicior aetas
(Met., xiv, 142)

Hume:
artibus ingenuis quae praesidet, innuba virgo
(Musa, i, 141)

There are also many instances of borrowings from other classical authors, as one should expect in the works of men steeped in classical literature. Vergilian phrases are not infrequent, and it is
probably correct to say that, next to Ovid, he is the most prolific source of linguistic borrowings. No attempt has been made to produce comparative statistics of borrowings from Latin authors. The compilation of such statistics would not merely imply that every borrowing, however slight, had been noted, but that a method had been found of equating the borrowing of a complete, almost unaltered, phrase with that in which only an echo is discernible. Nevertheless, it is possible for anyone with a reasonable knowledge of Latin authors to form a general impression of the extent to which Scottish writers are influenced in language by such authors as Ovid, Vergil and Horace.

**Mythology:**

Mythological borrowings from Ovid are not so easy to identify as linguistic borrowings. Many of the stories told by Ovid are mentioned by other classical poets, and it cannot therefore be said with certainty that allusions to these tales are inspired by him. On the other hand, his great popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries makes it probable that he, rather than less popular writers, is the source from which such allusions are drawn. If, at the same time, there are evidences of linguistic borrowings from Ovid,
there is little reason to doubt that the mythology has also been borrowed from him.

In the Scottish writers the allusions sometimes blend with the subject matter, but are sometimes obviously inserted as part of a display of erudition. The number of these and the skill with which they are used vary, not only from writer to writer, but from poem to poem. Some poems are so heavily loaded with mythology that the theme is obscured; other poems have only such allusions as seem to be essential to the theme. It will be shown that when the writer is expressing sincere emotion and is deeply interested in his subject the mythological borrowings are confined to what is relevant. When, however, the poem is a vehicle for displaying erudition and poetic ability, such borrowings are often introduced merely to impress the reader.

At this point it is necessary to emphasise that for the Scottish writers Ovid's poems were not a storehouse of legends which they might re-tell in their own poems. They were writing for readers well versed in Latin, men to whom any attempt to repeat Ovid's stories would seem pointless. There are, in fact, only three instances of complete incidents borrowed from Ovid, and these are told to
support an argument, not to instruct the reader.

Although complete stories are seldom found, the Scottish writers frequently refer to some mythological person or event in such terms as to remind the reader of the story attached.

Johnston:

hic nitet et Delphin, te qui servavit, Arion
(Musa, i, 81)

Scot:

inguina ne metuas semper latrantia Scyllae.
(Delitiae, ii, 481)

Scot:

et dabit in cunctis terrae celebrarier oris
qua Phaetoneaeis Phoebus oberrat equis.
(Delitiae, ii, 480)

Hume:

Non magis Actaeon liquidas expavit ad undas
quae dedit iratae cornua, dextra deae;
nece mirata suum est frondere Philomena Baucis
et superinducta cortice membra tegi.
(Delitiae, i, 379)

Hume:

........Iovi,
cum faciem indutus mentitaque cornua tauri
vexit Agenoream per freta salsa nurum.
(Delitiae, i, 253)

Johnston:

saxeus ut Pyliis evasit pastor in oris,
quem tetigit torto virgo dracone virens.
(Musa, i, 253)

Leech:

Orphael testor modulamina plectri
carmine dum tacitas quercus, dum saxa ferasque
ducere dumque orbas potuit lenire leaenas.
(Nemesis Poetica, p. 11

Leech:

Quique feras hominesque lyra commoverat Orpheus
Tartareas videre umbras atque infera regna.
(Iani Sperantis Strena, 11, 151-2)

The Scottish writers also make use of conventional mythological epithets. Although these
are, in all probability, taken from Ovid, their use is so common that many writers would use them without any feeling of indebtedness to him.

Scot:

\[ \text{nostra Cupidineis tum cedent pectora telis subiclum \text{Faphio} tum mea colla iugo.} \]

(Delitiae, ii, 479)

et dabo \text{Pieriis} thura Sabaea focis.

(Hume:

currit in \text{Aoniis hospita} puppis aquis

(Delitiae, i, 378)

iam neque \text{Castalios} fontes neque flumina \text{Pallas}

(Delitiae, i, 380)

iuverat \text{Aoniis} subducere colla capistris \text{Aonidum} tetrico livida colla iugo.

(Delitiae, i, 381)

et cum \text{Castalio} pulchere \text{Apollo} choro.

(Delitiae, i, 383)

sedabat flammam \text{Castalis} unda rudem

(Delitiae, i, 383)

norat in \text{Aoniis} claustra reposta iugis

(Delitiae, i, 387)

ipsa in \text{Castaliis} nectare fotae iugis

(Delitiae, i, 391)

Johnston:

de \text{grege Castalio} pars, ait, una sumus

(Musa, i, 103)

abstulit, \text{Aonios} edocuitque modos.

(Musa, i, 121)

nil praeter numeros et verba sonantia, \text{Phoebi}

quotquot et \text{Aonidum} castra sequuntur, habent.

(Musa, i, 121)

The many fascinating stories in the \text{Metamorphoses} enthralled the Scottish neo-Latinists, as one would expect, and the great bulk of their mythology comes
from this source. In particular, the story of Medea is referred to on several occasions by different authors. Perhaps the strong belief in witchcraft which prevailed in Scotland at that time directed their attention to Medea, the most famous of classical witches.

As in the case of linguistic borrowings, Ovid is not the sole source, and there are allusions to the mythology found in Homer, the Greek Anacreontics, Vergil and Horace. To a lesser degree other poets contribute mythological details, and an exhaustive survey would probably reveal that there are few of the outstanding classical authors who have not been used to some extent as a source of mythological reference.

Subject Matter:

Ovid's tales of wonderful metamorphoses, of the loves and adventures of gods, goddesses and human beings were a fruitful source of inspiration during the Renaissance for writers in the vernacular in many countries. It might be expected, therefore, that our Scottish neo-Latinists, who were using his own language, would use his themes more freely. This, however, is not the case. These men were often influenced by him in language, style and metre, but they were generally writing of their own or
contemporary affairs, and thus were seldom indebted to him for their subjects.

On the other hand, the type of subject chosen, or the method of dealing with it, is often influenced by Ovid and by the literary and religious trends of the age. In particular, the type of double letter found in the *Heroides* is used by more than one writer to discuss subjects removed very far from those in Ovid, but the convention is maintained that these letters are merely an exchange of opinions between lovers. The theme of love is almost completely absent in some writers, is developed in others in a manner that owes nothing to classical writers, and is prefaced in another by the statement that his life does not accord with his poems. It seems fairly clear that part, at least, of the reason for this attitude towards love is to be found in the strongly held religious beliefs of the time, beliefs which had no place for the pagan attitude towards women and love. Ovid's invective, too, is copied in two poems, although the "flyting" of Scottish literature has in this respect more influence on the writer concerned. Finally, Ovid's complaints from Tomi find an echo in the works of several writers, although the actual circumstances described have little in
common with those of Ovid.

**Style:**

If the assessment of Ovid's influence on the style of the Scottish writers were merely a matter of noting similarities between his style and theirs, it would not be difficult to determine the extent to which they are indebted to him. This method, however, would give an entirely false conception of the real position. Ovid's style may be distinctive, but its outstanding individual characteristics may be found in other Latin authors, and in particular in those of the Silver Age. A Scottish writer familiar with Ovid's fellow elegists, Propertius and Tibullus, and with Lucan, Statius and Martial, might well embody in his style, not merely such common devices as alliteration, antithesis, anaphora and rhetorical question, but also far-fetched conceits, word patterning, paradoxes, epigrammatic lines - in short the majority of those characteristics found in Ovid. It must also be remembered that the teaching of Latin in the period under consideration had a strong rhetorical bias, and that students were encouraged to use the stock devices in their own compositions. The occurrence, therefore, of such devices in the Scottish neo-Latinists may imply
merely that the writer is practising what was taught in school or university without reference to any one classical writer.

But the style of any great writer is not merely an aggregate of characteristics which may be analysed mathematically. It possesses other qualities which cannot be considered in this way, and are nevertheless of great importance in determining the final effect on the reader. The author's choice of words and phrases, the associations evoked by these, his method of expressing ideas or relating facts, his skill in using appropriate figures of speech, the euphony of his language - such factors as these must be considered in the final assessment of his style. Most important of all, there is a quality which the experienced reader senses as belonging to the works of one particular writer, a quality which cannot be defined and may be interpreted differently by different people. Traces of this may be detected in the works of later writers, and give one reason to suppose that they may have been influenced by the style of their predecessor.

In the chapters on individual authors certain passages are described as Ovidian, principally because they seem to have to some degree at least,
that indefinable quality which is present in Ovid's writings. This selection is admittedly based on subjective judgment, judgment which is bound to be affected by the presence in the passages concerned of linguistic and other borrowings from Ovid. It is, nevertheless, preferable to any method of selection which depends on characteristics which are common to Ovid and other Latin writers.

Form

In the Scottish Latin poetry of the seventeenth century many of the poems take the form of epistles in elegiac verse. While the use of the epistolary form is not confined to Ovid, his outstanding popularity at this time makes it probable that he was the model to whom the Scottish poets looked in writing their letters in verse. He was certainly used as a model in the previous century by Mark Alexander Boyd, who produced his own Epistulae Heroidum, in which women such as Sophonisba, Lavinia and Octavia wrote letters in elegiacs to Massinissa, Turnus and Antonius respectively.

There is nothing so openly imitative in the seventeenth century, but there are four instances in which the use of a letter followed by a reply seems to be inspired by those double letters in
the *Heroides* which are exchanged between Helen and Paris, Hero and Leander and Cydippe and Acontius. This would appear to be the only respect in which Ovid influences the form of neo-Latin verse in Scotland.

In the chapters on individual authors reference will be made to the extent to which their verse reflects the different aspects of Ovid's influence as indicated above. The general remarks made in this chapter may be of assistance in deciding the extent to which each writer conforms to or differs from the practice of the majority.
CHAPTER V

METRE
### Table: Proportions of Various Dactyl Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Writer</th>
<th>1 First-Foot Dactyls</th>
<th>2 Four-Dactyl Hexameters</th>
<th>3 Two-Dactyl Hexameters</th>
<th>4 Four-Spondees</th>
<th>5 Two Spondees</th>
<th>6 Elision</th>
<th>7 Enjambment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OVID</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIBULLUS</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROPERTIUS</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERGIL</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUCAN</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHNSTON</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>4 Elegiac verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEECH</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>10 Elegiac verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUME</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>3 Elegiac verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYTOM</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>7 Elegiac verse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **I.e.** Hexameters with four dactyls as the first four feet.

2. **I.e.** Pentameters with two dactyls as the first two feet. The headings in cols. 4 and 5 may be explained in the same way with reference to spondees.

3. **I.e.** Number of instances of elision per hundred lines.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Writer</th>
<th>1 First-Foot Dactyls %</th>
<th>2 Four-Dactyl Hexameters</th>
<th>3 Two-Dactyl Pentameters</th>
<th>4 Four-Spondee Hexameters %</th>
<th>5 Two-Spondee Pentameters %</th>
<th>6 Elision %</th>
<th>7 Enjambment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SCOTT</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>3.4 Elegiac verse only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEDDERBURN</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.8 Elegiac verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>- Hexameter verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAMSAY</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12 Elegiac verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>- Hexameter verse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Verse Examined for Metrical Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>No. of Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ovid</td>
<td>Ars Amatoria, ii.</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Met., i.</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibullus</td>
<td>Tibullus, i.</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propertius</td>
<td>Propertius, ii.</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vergil</td>
<td>Aeneid, i, 1-746.</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucan</td>
<td>De Bello Civi, i and ii, (1-57)746</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td>Musa, i, 55-91;</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>300-3.</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leech</td>
<td>Erotics</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eclogae Bucolicae</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumé</td>
<td>Elegiac verse in</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delitiae, i, 378-97;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hexameter verse in</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delitiae, i, 402-12.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayton</td>
<td>Elegiac verse in</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delitiae, i, 63-75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hexameter verse in</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delitiae, i, 40-50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scot</td>
<td>Elegiac verse in</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delitiae, ii, 479-90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedderburn</td>
<td>Elegiac verse in</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musa, iii, 394-439.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hexameter verse in</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musa, iii, 354-68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsay</td>
<td>Elegiac verse in</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Epigrammata Sacra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hexameter verse in</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delitiae, ii, 309-18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the relevant data for Ovid's hexameter verse correspond closely to those of his elegiac verse, they have not been entered in the metrical summary.
In attempting to assess the metrical influence of Ovid on the selected Scottish writers it must be remembered that other Latin writers may also have influenced them. In this investigation, therefore, there have been included the works of four other great writers - Vergil, Propertius, Tibullus and Lucan. Propertius and Tibullus, as great Augustan elegists, must be included. Vergil cannot be overlooked, as writers who were steeped in his works might well be influenced by his metrical practice. Lucan has been chosen as an outstanding representative of later Latin writers.

The method of investigation is based largely on that of Platnauer's *Latin Elegiac Verse*, ii, in which he discusses the metrical practice of Ovid, Propertius and Tibullus under various headings. He examines Ovid's *Ara Amatoria*, ii, and a similar number of lines (746) from Tibullus, i and Propertius, ii, and gives the percentages of hexameters and pentameters with various combinations of dactyls and spondees. The data so obtained are used in the metrical summary in this chapter. Platnauer is also the authority for the percentages of enjambment, but in this case the figures quoted
are for the complete works of these authors. The data for elision in Ovid and Tibullus have been obtained from articles by R.G. Kent and E.H. Sturtevant\(^1\). Where possible, a similar number of lines has been taken from the elegiac writings of each of the Scottish poets. In addition four hundred lines, where possible, have been taken from the hexameter verse of these writers in order to discover whether they show any change in metrical characteristics to correspond to the change in type of verse.

There are seven criteria, represented by seven columns in the metrical summary. In each column, with the exception of column six, there is a difference between the practice of Ovid on the one hand and Propertius and Tibullus on the other. In order to assess any trend towards Vergil's use of dactylic first feet or elision, data have also been given for 746 lines from Aeneid, i. Data have also been given for the same number of lines from Lucan's De Bello Civili, i and ii.

Even although allowance must be made for slight variations in percentages in any one author according to the particular section of his works under consideration, it is clear from the metrical summary that Ovid differs from the other classical poets under consideration in the following respects:

a) His lines are more dactylic in structure.

b) He uses elision less freely.

c) He uses enjambment to a smaller degree.

Arthur Johnston

The data from the selected elegiac verse of Johnston correspond more closely to those of Ovid than to those of the other classical writers. Only in the matter of two-dactyl pentameters does he resemble Tibullus and Propertius more closely. His percentages of first-foot dactyls, elision and enjambment differ even more from those of the other classical poets than do those of Ovid. He uses first-foot dactyls to a greater degree than Ovid, and elision and enjambment to a lesser degree. It seems probable that he realised that Ovid favoured first-foot dactyls and avoided elision

1 Propertius has the same percentage of elision.
and enjambment, and in his eagerness to imitate him went further than he does in these respects.

Johnston's only hexameter verse is a poem of 112 lines on the death of two members of the Gordon family entitled Ferendraught - Dirge of the Two Victims. This poem is naturally in a sombre vein, and we might expect that the metre would be more spondaic than in his other poems. In actual fact the data for this poem differ little from those of his elegiac works, the lower percentage of four-dactyl lines being balanced by the complete absence of four-spondee lines. The numerous quotations from or references to Vergil in Johnston's works show that he was well versed in his poems, and it seems certain that if a scholar of Johnston's calibre had wished to imitate Vergil's metrical practice this poem would have provided an excellent opportunity. The fact that he did not seize this opportunity shows that, unlike some of his contemporaries, he did not wish to change his metrical practice when he wrote hexameter verse.

\[1\] Musa, 1, 300-3.
John Leech

Leech's elegiac verse resembles that of Ovid in four-dactyl hexameters, two-dactyl pentameters, and four-spondee hexameters. In other respects he resembles Propertius or Tibullus more closely. His percentage of elision is even higher than that of Propertius, who differs from Ovid and Tibullus in this respect. His elegiac verse, therefore, bears a general resemblance to that of the above poets, with perhaps a slight bias towards Ovid.

In his hexameter verse the percentage of elision rises sharply, and it might be suspected that he is attempting to copy Vergil. The percentage of first-foot dactyls, however, instead of decreasing, as might be expected, actually increases slightly, and the figures for four-dactyl and four-spondee hexameters are practically unchanged. Apart from elision, therefore, the data for his hexameter verse resemble those obtained for his elegiac verse.

It is probable that this increase in elision is a coincidence, and that his metrical practice is an unconscious blend of characteristics, acquired through much reading of Vergil and the elegiac poets. Leech attempted almost every type of poetry except the epic, and it is
scarcely surprising that his metre should show little sign of allegiance to any one poet.
David Hume:

The selection from Hume's elegiac verse shows the general influence of Ovid, although in his percentage of four-dactyl hexameters and elision he resembles Propertius more closely.

In his hexameter verse, however, three variations must be noted:

a) The percentage of elision is more than double that of his elegiac verse.

b) There is a sharp decrease in the percentage of first-foot dactyls.

c) The percentage of four-spondee lines rises from 1.3 to 5.5.

It seems most unlikely that three such variations should be accidental. As the data for Vergil in the metrical summary correspond quite closely with those of Hume's hexameter verse, it seems probable that in this type of verse Hume is deliberately imitating Vergil. It is not suggested that Hume entered into any calculation of percentages, but that he recognised the main metrical differences between the hexameters of Vergil and those of Ovid, and succeeded remarkably well in altering his metrical characteristics to conform to the change from elegiac to hexameter verse.

In his elegiac verse, then, Hume's metre
resembles that of the elegiac poets under consideration and that of Ovid in particular. In his hexameter verse his metrical practice closely resembles that of Vergil.
Sir Robert Ayton

In his elegiac verse his metre resembles that of Propertius rather than Ovid. In his hexameter verse, where any variations might be expected to show a tendency towards Vergil's usage, the reverse is the case. The percentage of first-foot dactyls is greater, and that of four-spondee hexameters and elision is less. As the amount of hexameter verse available for examination is small it would be unwise to draw any conclusions from the above data. There is one item of evidence, however, which suggests that these data are not to be taken as indicating his metrical practice in all his hexameter verse. The poem from which the above data are taken is a panegyric addressed to James VI on his accession to the throne of England, and must, therefore, have been written c. 1603. Ayton's poem in memory of Thomas Reid, who is known to have died in 1624, is also in hexameters. In this short poem\(^1\) (126 lines) the percentage of first-foot dactyls is 65.1, and of elision 38. These figures correspond more closely to those for his elegiac verse. Although the number of lines available is again too small to form a basis for

\(^1\)Delitiae, i, 51-4.
a satisfactory conclusion, the flimsy evidence available would suggest that Ayton’s metrical practice in hexameter verse tended to resemble that of his elegiac verse more closely as he grew older. There is no real evidence of Vergil’s influence, and it is not possible to say that in his elegiac verse the influence of any one Latin writer is predominant.
Sir John Scot.

All Scot's poetry is in elegiac verse. His metre resembles that of Ovid in the percentage of first-foot dactyls, four-spondee hexameters, and two-spondee pentameters, but in other respects it owes as much to Tibullus or Propertius. It does not seem to be influenced by Vergil.
David Wedderburn

Wedderburn’s elegiac verse resembles that of Ovid in the percentage of four-spondee hexameters and two-spondee pentameters, and that of Tibullus in the percentage of first-foot dactyls and enjambment. In his use of elision he resembles both, as their percentage is practically the same.

In his hexameter verse four variations are to be noted:

a) A large increase in elision.

b) A moderate decrease in first-foot dactyls.

c) A small decrease in four-dactyl hexameters.

d) A small increase in four-spondee hexameters.

The last two variations are of little importance per se, but are of importance when considered in conjunction with the previous two variations. That of nine per cent in first-foot dactyls is large enough to be regarded as intentional; that of forty per cent in elision must be regarded as intentional. These two variations, in conjunction with the decrease in four-dactyl hexameters, and the increase in four-spondee hexameters, show that Wedderburn appreciated the metrical differences between Vergil and the elegiac poets, and in his hexameter verse was able to alter his own metrical practice accordingly.
Andrew Ramsay

There is little to be said concerning Ramsay's metrical practice. On the whole the data given for his verse resemble those of Vergil rather than Ovid. The percentage of elision increases when he writes hexameters and that of first-foot dactyls decreases, which may indicate that he has some appreciation of the difference between the metrical practice of Vergil and that of Ovid. The metrical characteristics of his hexameter verse may be ascribed to intensive reading of Vergil.
Finally, note must be taken of the use of the short final -o in the first person singular. This is seldom found in Augustan verse, but is not uncommon in Latin verse of later ages. The Scottish poets seem to treat this final syllable as long or short according to the demands of the metre, the most conspicuous example being Wedderburn's line:

\[\text{has ego cerno nives, cerno Ionestone, quorquerque,}\]

The following table is given to show that all the Scottish poets under consideration use this short -o from time to time. Johnston appears to favour this usage more than the others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No. of lines considered</th>
<th>Cases of short -o</th>
<th>Cases of long -o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Johnston</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Leech</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Hume</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Ayton</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Scot</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Wedderburn</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Ramsay</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where this final -o occurs at the end of a line of verse it has not been taken into account.

1. Musae, iii, 304
2. Passages examined are as follows: 
Three general conclusions may be drawn from the evidence contained in this chapter.

1. In their elegiac writings the Scottish writers succeed reasonably well in imitating the metrical characteristics of the Augustan elegiac poets. Much of their success is probably due to unconscious imitation arising from intensive study of the works of the Latin poets. When, however, metrical characteristics seem to be deliberately altered on changing to hexameter verse, it may be concluded that the writers concerned have some appreciation of the difference between the metrical usage of the elegiac poets and that of Vergil.

2. Ovid is imitated closely by Johnston, less closely by Hume and Wedderburn, and to a limited degree only by Leech and Scott. It cannot be said that Ayton's or Ramsay's metre is influenced by any one elegiac writer.

3. The influence of Vergil, shown chiefly in a decrease in dactyls and an increase in elision, is evident in the hexameter verse of Hume and Wedderburn, and to a lesser degree in the hexameter verse of Ramsay. Lucan does not seem to have influenced these writers in their metrical practice.
Arthur Johnston has been called the Scottish Ovid and in many respects his works justify the title. All his original works, with the exception of one short poem, are in the elegiac metre, and, as has been shown in the chapter on metre, his elegiac verse owes more to Ovid than to other users of this metre. His avoidance of elision, for example, suggests that he not only recognised this Ovidian characteristic but developed it to a greater extent than Ovid himself.

As one would expect, his poetry abounds in linguistic borrowings from Ovid. These occur throughout his works and are not confined to any one portion of his writings. The following may be regarded as typical:

Ovid: perlegis? anconiunc prohibit nova?
perlege - non est.
(Hercides, v, 1)

Johnston: inspicis? anconiunc prohibit novus?
inspice - non est
(Musa, i, 55)

Ovid: traxerat aversos Cacus in antra ferox
(Fasti, i, 550)

Johnston: qui catus aversos traxit in antra boves
(Musa, i, 142)

Ovid: nescit, cui domino pareat, unda maris
(Tristia, i, 11, 26)

Johnston: nec scit, cui domino pareat, unda maris
(Musa, i, 216)
Ovid: et tepidum volucrea concentibus aer a mulcent
ludit et in pratis luxuriant pecus

(Fasti, 1, 155-6)

Johnston: et volucrem laetis resonat concentibus
aether
et pecus in viridi ludere gestit humo

(Musa, 1, 226-7)

Ovid: et nova de gravido palmitet gemmam tumet

(Fasti, 1, 152)

Johnston: non tot vere novo turgent in palmitem
gemmas

(Musa, 1, 232)

Ovid: census amicitias: pauper ubique iacet

(Fasti, 1, 218)

Johnston: si qua fides vati, pauper ubique iacet
(Musa, 1, 279)

Borrowings from Vergil, although not
occurring so frequently, are by no means rare:

Vergil: nec non et lini segetem et Cereale papaver
(Georgics, 1, 212)

Johnston: miscendum nisi forte illis Cereale papaver
(Musa, 1, 25)

Vergil: O mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos
(Aeneid, viii, 560)

Johnston: O mihi si lapsos repararet Iuppiter annos
(Musa, 1, 232)

Vergil: saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro
(Eclogues, i, 55)

Johnston: lenibus et somnos invitat saepe susurris
(Musa, ii, 216)

Vergil: tres pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas
(Eclogues, iii, 105)

Johnston: tres patet hic coeli spatium non amplius
ulnas
(Musa, 1, 283)

Johnston's poems also contain borrowings from other
outstanding Latin writers, as will be evident from
the footnotes to his "Apology for Leith Sailors."  

1 See Ch. XIII
and in his poem to Andrew Melville he quotes Greek phrases from Homer, Sophocles and Pindar. An exhaustive study of his language would probably show that there are few outstanding Latin writers from whom he has not borrowed to some extent.

The number of mythological allusions in Johnston's works varies from poem to poem. His Onopordus Furens, for instance, is loaded with such allusions, many of which are not essential to the theme of the poem. Here Johnston is concerned to scourge the presumptuous Eglishem, and at the same time to display his own erudition. On the other hand, in his poem on his birthplace and his Fisher's Apology, there are comparatively few allusions, and almost all are the logical outcome of his train of thought. In these poems he is deeply moved or greatly interested in his subject, and is therefore not so much concerned with a display of learning.

Although he does not re-tell Ovid's stories for the information of his readers, there are two examples in his works of complete incidents borrowed from Ovid. Both occur in his Diatribe on Rapacious

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1 Musa, ii, 129.  2 Musa, i, 33-50  3 Musa, ii, 21  4 Musa, i, 147-156.
Sailors\(^1\); one dealing with the story of Bacchus and the sailors, and the other with the story of Arion and the sailors. The first incident occupies approximately one hundred lines in Ovid and ten in Johnston, which shows that Johnston feels it necessary to remind his readers of the story but has no wish to dwell on the details.

Quid memorem facinus, Chiae telluris in oris ausa quod in Bacchum turba marina fuit?
Hic puerrum vinoque grave, somnoque sepultum repperit, et capto numine, vela dedit.
Nec modus est sceleri; miscet peruria facto implia, captivum ludificatque Deum.
Fraude palam facta scelus est sua poena sequuta, induit et vultus turba profana novos.
Terga nitent squamis; et quas modo puppe secabat Liber ovans pinnis findere iussit aquas.

(Apart from the phrase Chiae telluris in oris the language is not taken from the parallel passage in Ovid, and when Johnston wishes to denote the condition of Bacchus he adapts the Vergilian phrase vino somnoque sepultam.)

The story of Bacchus is related in rather more detail:

Debuerat saltem Methymnae gloria vatis
exemplo vatem praemonuisse suo.
Hunc, patrios dum forte petit gravis aere penates,
destinat infandae gens piceata neci.
Sensit ut insidias, Vectori parcite vestro,
de grege Castalia pars, ait, una sumus.
Quem colimus vates, Pythonis tincta cruore
tela deo, longas scitis et esse manus.

\(^1\)Musa, i, 100-5. \(^2\)Met. iii, 597-691.

Johnston adds to Ovid's story a warning that the sailors will not go unpunished:

Forsan et ipse pater Superum pro crimine poenas exiget..............

This would seem to be a reference to God, who will punish the guilty. The appeal to Apollo in the previous line is in the classical tradition, but it is unlikely that Jupiter would be expected to show concern over the fate of a musician. This is, perhaps, an example of the manner in which Johnston's Christian beliefs influence him in the telling of a purely pagan story.

These two tales have been re-told to illustrate Johnston's assertion that sailors are a depraved thieving class. They have stolen his
belongings and left him naked:

nudior hoc nemo superas exivit in auras,
nudior hoc Stygias nemo subivit aquas.

He therefore feels that it is scarcely enough to refer merely in passing to classical accounts of the wickedness of such men, but wishes to emphasise his argument by telling the stories in some detail. Obviously the story of Bacchus is not such a telling instance of wickedness as that of Arion, with whom Johnston identifies himself. The story of Arion, therefore, is given in greater detail.

Although complete stories are seldom found, Johnston frequently refers to some mythological person or event in such terms as to remind the reader of the story attached.

his nitet et Delphin, te qui servavit, Arion

(Musa, i, 81)

aurea Phryxei pecoris gestamina Colcho abstulit, Argivis imposuitque tholis

(Musa, i, 140)

Huc ubi flectit iter, terretur squamea proles, et, velut obiecto Gorgonis ore, fugit. Dumque fugit Scyllam, saevas subit ora Charybdis, et perit infelix cratibus hausta meis.

(Musa, i, 151)

Johnston also makes use of conventional mythological epithets.

1 Musa, i, 102.30.
The majority of Johnston's mythological allusions come, of course, from the *Metamorphoses.* In eleven hundred and twenty-five lines¹ he has twenty allusions to the *Metamorphoses* and only four to Ovid's other poems. The theme of love, contrary to what might be expected, is not the most prominent topic in these and other allusions throughout his works. These works, however, contain some thirteen allusions to Medea and the legends associated with her.

Hac ope restituit socero Medea iuventam

_Musa, i, 173_

Vos ego crediderim magicis iuvenescore succis queis fuit in socero Thessalis usa nurus

_Musa, i, 262_

The strong belief in witchcraft which prevailed in Scotland at this time may have directed his attention to Medea, the most famous witch of classical mythology.²

Occasionally there are in his works references to mythology which may be inspired by Vergil or

¹*Musa, i, 18-62.
²Medea is mentioned on several occasions, by Leech, Hume and Wedderburn.
Homer.

Utque dapes Phinei volucres, sic aurea Phoebi
munera contactu polluit ille suo.
(Musa, i, 201)

Ergo tibi qui plectra tulit, de fonte sororum
qui bibit, Aeacides despiciendus erit?
(Musa, i, 74)

Occasionally, too, in the midst of this profusion
of mythological allusions, there occurs the theme
of Christian belief, as if to remind the reader
that Johnston is, after all, a man of the seven-
teenth century. The following is an extract from
a poem on the death of Patrick Forbes, Bishop of
Aberdeen, who died at Easter, 1635.

Vixit olympiadas bis septom: condere tantum
ante diem Lachesis non fuit ausa iubar.
Occidit hoc ipso quo Christus tempore: miles,
Christe, tuus voluit te moriente mori.
(Musa, ii, 244)

This conjunction of Christian and classical
allusions is uncommon in Johnston, but occurs in
other neo-Latin writers. The most successful
blending of such allusions occurs in Milton, whose
genius enables him to avoid the incongruities which
are found in lesser writers.

The aspects of Ovid's influence considered
so far are by their nature little affected by the
literary, political or religious background of
Johnston's own time. The position is quite
different when his subject matter is considered, or
rather, his method of dealing with this matter.
On the whole, his subjects, like those of his fellow neo-Latinists, deal with his own affairs or with contemporary events; but the type of subject chosen and the method of dealing with it, is often deeply influenced by Ovid and by the literary and religious trends of the seventeenth century.

Ovid and other classical writers were often regarded throughout the centuries with considerable suspicion, and earnest churchmen from time to time held that their works were not suitable reading material for Christians. Gilbert Highet stresses this point when he says:

The Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches have long been internally divided on the question: Do the pagan poets teach nothing but evil, so that they should be cast out? or do they teach some good, so that they can be accepted and fitted into the pattern of Christian education? St. Augustine thought their beauties were not all bad, and their wisdom not all deceit, so that they could be used to broaden the mind and enlarge the soul of Christians.... Others, like St. Jerome, thought all the pagans were bad; they were the voices of the world which Jesus came to destroy; their very charms were evil, and Vergil was a beautiful vase full of poisonous snakes. This belief recurs again and again throughout modern history....

This attitude would no doubt commend itself to many in seventeenth century Scotland, and may in part

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account for the absence of love poetry in Johnston and the majority of his fellow writers. He was, in fact, faced with the problem which confronted Milton, that of reconciling a great enthusiasm for Ovid's poetry with a lack of sympathy with the sensual aspect of his works. Milton's poetry does not avoid the subject of love completely, and although his Latin poems are in no way improper, on occasion he expresses himself with a frankness that is surprising to those who know him only from his poems in English. Occasionally, too, he borrows phrases from some of the more erotic parts of Ovid's works, but uses them in an entirely different context.

In all his works Johnston has only three short love poems. Two are to Egla, a lady otherwise unknown.

**Ad Eglam**


(Musa, ii, 80)

---

See his seventh elegy.
De Eadem

Unica lux Eglam nostris amplexibus accet,
et vicina fugit nectaris unda sitim.
Labere, Phoebe, polo, teritur tibi proximus Arcto
Aegoceros; laces iam decet esse breves.
Illia redi, nox illa redi, qua fertur in ulnas
Alcmenae posito Luppiter isse Dec.
Tunc ego nulla meis dannabo tempora votis,
astorum lentas nec querar esse rotas.

(Musa, ii, 80)

The third poem is a translation or paraphrase of
some poem no longer extant.

Ad Dominam, ex Anglico

Ne rogites, roseum sol dum iubar explicat, auro
fulgentes atomi, quo volitare parent.
Hoc caeli superumque favor te pulvere donat,
et Venus hunc cirris implicat ipsa tuis.
Ne rogites, quo carpat iter Philomela, pruina
dum ruit, et patrium stat sine fronde nemus.
Illia tui liquido se condens gutturis antro
his hiemat, vernum fundit et inde molos.
Ne rogites, quo flora rosas ableget, ab Arcto
sol ubi declives in Noton urget equos.
Hae tibi se sistunt; tu mille rosaria mundo
sufficia, et florum semina mille foves.
Ne rogites, mutillas quo mergant gurgite flammas
sidera, quae labi, nocte silente vides.
Haece oculus rapis astra tuis, his orbibus haerent,
non secus ac superis sidera fixa rotis.
Nec rogites, nidum phoenix an ture calentem
ponat in Eois Hesperiisve plagis.
Ad te festinans senio confectus inerti
ales in ambrosio liquitur ille sinu.

(Musa, ii, 202)

In the second of these poems, where Johnston urges
the day to pass more quickly, he may have in mind
the famous poem in which Ovid reproves the dawn for
arriving too soon (Amores, i, 13). In the other
two poems, however, the adoration of the beloved and the references to the deadly beauty of her eyes, show that he is influenced by the love sonnets of Elizabethan poets or Scottish poets such as Drummond of Hawthornden. It is perhaps fortunate that he writes so little in this strain.

Although love is the predominating topic in Ovid's works there are other subjects which have influenced neo-Latin writers more deeply. The Ibis contains a mass of invective against an enemy otherwise unknown. As Scottish writers have seldom been averse to the use of invective it must not be assumed that its occurrence in their Latin verse is due to Ovid unless there is clear evidence of borrowing from him.

This evidence is available in Johnston's Onopordus Furens. Onopordus seems to have been a certain Doctor Eglishem, a royal physician who had dared to challenge George Buchanan's supremacy in writing Latin verse, and thereby earned the hatred of Johnston, who was an ardent admirer of Buchanan. Johnston's poem, in which he gives an account of the genesis of Onopordus, is somewhat

Little is known concerning him. He may have been a native of Edinburgh.
wearisome invective, and is of interest only for the fact that it shows in parts evidence of the influence of the **Ibis**.

After referring to the birth of Orion in a passage which may have been inspired by Ovid, Johnston goes on to describe the birth of Onopordus. Just as Ibis is washed by the Furies, so Onopordus, whom Johnston stigmatises as:

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  semivirumque asinum sesquiasinumque virum
  is washed by deities of the underworld.
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  Excipit Alecto livens de tergore monstrum,
  tingit et in patric membra tenella lacu.
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Ibis is fed on bitch's milk and smeared with snake's venom. Onopordus feeds on bitch's milk and is smeared with blood from the Gorgon and Echidna.

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  Tisiphone............
  Guttura dein, nondum latrantia, lacte canino
  imbuit;.............
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  Additur.............
  ..........Echidnaeus Gorgoneusque cruor.
  His pueri pectusque limit, ventremque, pedesque,
  ........................................
```

Ibis is affected by the smoke from green branches. Onopordus "feeds" on tobacco smoke:

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  His miser ingraviem pascit, fumoque tabaci,
  aut insana vorat mala, fabamque suis.
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In the midst of these Ovidian allusions there occur two lines which, as Geddes suggests, seem to refer
to Christian baptism, when a name is chosen for Onopordus:

Turn caput irrorans Acheron, vocitabere Brontes; Persephone, Aeolides; Dis, Onopordus, ait.

Thus Onopordus is baptised in the presence of an unholy trinity, Acheron, Persephone and Dis.

In the remainder of the poem Eglishem is sent to Scotland and then to Holland to deplete the population by his lack of medical skill, and there is not, therefore, any possibility of borrowing subject matter from the Ibis. The examples already given, however, show that in invective Ovid is occasionally Johnston’s model.

The use of invective is not uncommon in Scottish poetry, where it sometimes takes the form known as "flyting." This consists of a verbal contest between two opponents who indulge in unrestrained abuse of one another without necessarily being deadly enemies. Probably the most famous example of this type of contest is the "Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy." Although the two poets insult one another in every way Dunbar can say later in his "Lament for the Makars:"

Gude Maister Walter Kennedy
In point of deid lies verily
Great ruth it were that so suld be;
Timor Mortis conturbat me.

1 Musa, i, 36, footnote.
Such exchange of abuse is not confined to Scottish poetry but its appearance in Johnston’s works must be ascribed to Scottish rather than other influences. He has at least three poems in which it is fairly certain that he is inspired by this type of verse. In the first he engages in a dispute with Tilen, a professor of Theology in Sedan. Tilen has built a house with a view to matrimony, and Johnston suggests that the house will fall and that Tilen is too old to hope for healthy offspring.

Johnston:
Tileni haec domus est, saxis pars altera, muris altera coctilibus tollitur; hospes abi.
Aeternum vivet domini nomenque decusque:
   sed vereor cito ne sit peritura domus.
Sive ignis, sive unda ruat, dabit ille ruinam;
   altera pars flammis, altera cedet aquis.

............

Tilen:
Quo se praecipiti inflexit, Ionstone, ruina,
ante hac visa suo mens sibi stare gradu?
Et lapidum et laterum fidis compagibus, aedes
   provida firmarunt undique fata meas.
Vulcanus lateres, lapides fovet aemula Doris,
non nocet haec soboli, non nocet ille susae.

............

Johnston:
Iam tibi non paucis sparguntur tempora canis,
nulla tamen vetulo pignora Iuno dedit.
Quis credat venisse Deum, caelumque suosque
liquisse, ut sterili nidificaret avi?

Musa, ii, 114-21.
Servavit tibi Doris aquas, Tilene, fatemur
Laomedonteas passa perire domos.
Urbs in Exquiliis cum ponas tecta, quod illas
eluat, immenso scis opus esse mari.

..........  
Hec quam sera tibi promittit pignora Iuno
quisquis in Exquiliis semisepultus agis.

..........  
Si clando claudus tibi Mulciber instruit aedes,
quae referant claudos pignora clauda manent.
Nec super Exquiliis unquam caput effert ipsas,
cui patria Exquiliae, loripedesque patres.

Tilen:
Quem thalamo dignata suo est Venus ipsa maritum,
aedibus hunc nostris fata dedere fæbrum.
Vidit et invivit gelida hoc Arcturus ab arce,
tincta Lycaanum carmina felle voemens.
Et nunc clauda mihi minitatur pignora lecti,
in laris exitium nunc elementa ciet.
Fumiferam glomerans noctem atque incendia vana,
non mihi iam Arcturus, sed mage Cacus eris.

The poem closes with a recantation by Johnston
and an appeal for forgiveness, which is granted by
Tilen.

The second poem On Tilen's Daughter contains
the same half-humorous abuse. The subject in
dispute is set forth in Johnston's opening lines.

1 Tilen suffered from gout.
2 Arcturus is Arthur Johnston.
3 Musa, ii, 121-8.
Hactenus improlis vixisti, castra sequutus
Aonidum, Paphiae castra inimica Deae.
Nunc pater es, postquam, pulsis melioribus annis,
aspersit capiti prima senecta nives.
Quis vigor hic? Quo te mutavit carmine Colchis?
Ter tria quis rapuit Numina, teque tibi?
Iam decies, memini, reparavit Cynthia vultus,
ex quo nos inter mutua pugna fuit.
Nostra tibi steriles Musa exprobravit amores
coniugii, longas increpuitque moras.
Tum pudor incendit vires; sibi semine laeto,
tum sensit coniunx intumuisse sinus.
Haec tua carminibus debentur pignora nostris:
Quod pater es post tot lustra, Tilene, meum est.

In the remainder of the poem Johnston attempts to prove this theory, while Tilen indignantly refutes it.

In the third poem Andrew Melville takes a small part, but he soon leaves the stage to Tilen and Johnston, who proceed to discuss the relative merits of wine and water drinkers as poets. This poem follows the pattern of the previous two, and needs no further comment.

In these poems the treatment of the subject matter has nothing to do with Ovid. The invective is less bitter and more scholarly than is the case in Scottish literature, but the predominant note is of personal attack, and not scholarly discussion, and this, combined with the fact that this abuse does not mean personal enmity, suggests that Johnston is indebted to Scottish literature for the treatment of subjects in these poems.
There are two other amoebaean poems. In the first, On Isabella Abernethy's eyes, Johnston and John Dunbar vie with one another in describing the lady as a goddess who has robbed Cupid of his eyes:

Johnston:
Obstupui nuper Dea te nascente, novaque
luce meos oculos detinuer e tui.
Ea primum rebar me cernere gemmas
mox sunt visa mihi sidera missa polo.

Mortalis non est, oculis quae orbavit amorem,
se d e a, nata Deis et paritura Deos.

Dunbar:
Abernethaea vale, metuo ne exercita furtis
me mihi tu, Musis surripiasque meis.

The sentiments of this poem have obviously more in common with the sonnets of the sixteenth century than with Ovid. Although there is no personal abuse there occurs towards the end a couplet which shows that the idea of flying and forgiving is not entirely absent:

Dunbar:
Sat pugnae, Ionstone, datum est. In foedara dextras
iam societ, pugnae quae Dea causae fuit.

Johnston:
En dextram, et si quid praedatrix virgo reliquit
Ionstone, hoc totum, Dumbare, cordis habe.

The other poem, On the Death of Joanna Johnston, begins with a stanza of six lines in which Johnston deplores the death of the young lady. Thereafter the poem becomes a dialogue between Johnston and Wedderburn, in which the latter points

1Musa, ii, 136-9.
out that the death of even such a man as George Buchanan may be followed by the birth of another Phoenix, to wit Johnston. Johnston will admit to being a swan, but refuses to claim the honour of being a Phoenix and therefore equal in genius to his great predecessor.

This is in no way a flyting poem, and is not influenced by Ovid.

In real life personal abuse was not always allowed to go unpunished. Johnston's *Apologia pro Thaumantia*¹ is written in defence of an Aberdeen midwife who presumably overstepped the bounds of moderation in this matter. With mock solemnity he warns the magistrates of the dreadful consequences of imprisoning such an important person. If the servants of Lucina are to be treated thus the whole world is in danger. If Love's handmaid is to be imprisoned then Love must be banished. Why should men sow seed if there is no one to reap the harvest? The services of such a woman were needed at the birth of Nero, Caesar, Scipio and Pallas Athene! If a competent midwife had been present, Julia, Caesar's daughter, and Caligula's wife, would not have died in child-

¹Musa, i, 128-37.
birth. Now women will not yield to love, if they are courting death by doing so. The tongue, after all, is woman's weapon. The Egyptian midwives, by lying, saved the lives of Israelite male children, and God himself praised their use of the tongue. Surely the Aberdeen magistrates ought to follow His example.

The subject matter of this poem is not classical, but the treatment of it, in the form of a learned dissertation, is in all probability in imitation of Ovid's mock didacticism in the Ars Amatoria, the Remedies Amoris or the Amores III, ii. Such poems in Ovid are ostensibly serious attempts to instruct the reader and to convince him of the need for a certain course of action. Behind all the learned facade, however, Ovid's real purpose is to ridicule the very course of action he suggests, and occasionally to shock his readers. It is true that Johnston is not attempting to shock his readers, but he is advocating a course of action in which he does not really believe and adducing to support his argument reasons which he knows to be invalid. This poem is really a jeu d'esprit and shows a truly Ovidian sense of sly humour and a desire to ridicule the pharisaical self-righteousness which would doubtless be characteristic of
some of those in high office.

Johnston's Defence of Leith Sailors is given in full on pp. 280-8 of this work, and the substance therefore need not be given here. In his humorous and almost brazen defence of these sailors, who have drunk part of a cargo of wine destined for Aberdeen, Johnston, like Ovid, deliberately flouts convention. Ovid's readers would be shocked by him, if they failed to realise that he often wrote with his tongue in his cheek. In the same way any reader who failed to realise that the poem was not in earnest would be shocked at the elaborate defence of thieving and the justification of drunkenness. If he were an Aberdonian he would doubtless be incensed beyond measure by the suggestion made so earnestly by Johnston, that the price of the remaining wine should be increased to cover the loss of the stolen casks, and to promote temperance among the citizens of Aberdeen.

His two poems entitled by Geddes The Bohemian Struggle are an interesting example of a contemporary topic treated in the manner of Ovid. These poems deal with the tension between Bohemia and Austria at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, (1619). Scotland had an interest in this struggle

\[\text{Musa, 1, 53-75} \]
in that the Elector Palatine was married to King James' only daughter, Elizabeth, and the king's callous indifference to his son-in-law's fortunes earned him many reproaches.

The first poem takes the form of a complaint by a deserted husband (Saravicto), representing Austria, to an erring wife (Biomea), representing Bohemia. In this poem the opening lines are couched in Ovid's language:

Inspicis? an coniunx prohibet novus? inspice; non est, quam legis, hostili charta notata manu.

These words are modelled on the opening lines in Heroides, v, where Oenone reproaches Paris with desertion, and indeed Saravicto speaks throughout this poem as a spouse shamefully betrayed:

Siccine iura tori, tua sic promissa, fidemque obteris, et coniunx coniugis hostis ades?

Even Helen of Troy was less guilty:

Credere fas raptam, vel si vis abfuit omnis femina dicetur succubuisse dolis. In facinus tu sponte ruis; tu quaeris amantem nec prece nec pretio sollicitare pudet.

After pointing out that she came to him of her own free will he asks why he should suffer thus when he is guiltless. She is the guilty one and will pay the penalty even as Phlegyas, Hippomenes and Atalanta have done. Finally he warns Biomea that
that she cannot win the war, as she has few dependable allies, and implores her to return to him.

In this poem Johnston has achieved a fair measure of success in depicting Austria's threats to Bohemia as the reproaches of a deserted husband in classical times. Ovid is certainly his model here, and apart from the references to Britain and Denmark as unreliable allies, and Spain as a certain enemy, the classical atmosphere is maintained throughout. The closing lines are in keeping with the rest of the poem.

Aut ego te potiar, mea lux, mea sola voluptas,
aut moriar telis victima facta tuis.
Ad Styga descendit pro coniuge Thracius Orpheus,
pro te ego mille velim Ditis adire domos.

In the second poem Biomea replies to these accusations. She points out that she could not have been false since Saravicto became her lord by force, and she is in reality the wife of another.

Crimen adulterii praetexis; scilicet ut sim iam lupa, ne forsae tu videare lupus.

Qui Biomea tui violasset foedera lector
alterius quae tum coniugis uxor erat?

After dealing at some length with this topic Biomea goes on to reproach Saravicto with his rapacity and cruelty:
Quis numeret tua quot foedaris sceptris rapinae?  
promptius expediam quot tegat Ida foras  

Coniugis, infandum, coniunx haurire cruorem  
coepisti, tigribus saevior atque lupis.

Biomea then recounts at length the atrocities committed by his armies, atrocities which even Nero would hesitate to commit.

Up to this point the classical atmosphere is maintained, and the reader is reminded of the double letters in the *Heroidea*. The complaints of desertion and betrayal in the first letter, written perhaps, with *Heroidea*, v in mind, are answered by a refutation of obligation, which again may be inspired by the letter of Cydippe to Acontius, in which she complains that she is suffering because of vows unwittingly taken.

In the lines immediately following, however, the reader is abruptly translated to the atmosphere of religious strife. Biomea begins to attack the Roman Catholic beliefs of Saravicto:

_Aucta superstition est; e farre et furfure numen vidimus, et coctum furnigenamque Deum._

_Hoc pro Palladio crustum plebs stulta colebat; sanctius hoc nullum numine numen erat._

_Hoc quoties sum iussa genu submittere? iussa furfureo quoties munera ferre Deo?_  

_Obstupui, fugitque mihi de pectore pectus: haud aliter, quam si visa Medusa foret._

_Haec illa est pietas, Saravicto, haec numina laesa, haec sacra, quae lactas, religioque patrum._

(Musa, 1, 69)
In the remainder of the poem Biomea jeers at Saravicto's warlike aspirations, casts doubt on the trustworthiness of his allies, and suggests that he should carry out his own suggestion, and descend to Hades as quickly as possible.

Caesa cadam potius Biomeae victima, tristis umbra prius Stygios, inquis, adibo lacus. Haec si fixa tuae constat sententia menti, quod facis, hoc cito fac, vel secunda precor.

(Musa, i, 75)

It may be said of these two poems that they are written in imitation of the double letters in the Heroides, and preserve the classical atmosphere until the point is reached where the urgency of Johnston's feelings compel him to introduce matters relating to the religious disputes of his own time. The fate of Bohemia was a matter of real concern to him, and it is not surprising that occasionally he writes, not as a classical scholar, but as a man of the seventeenth century, with all the religious and political fervour that this implies.

The double letter Nicares Gariomarrae and 2 Gariomarra Nicari is another example of Johnston's use of the Heroides to depict a contemporary situation. The Earldom of Mar, depicted by Johnston as a woman, Gariomarra, was being claimed

Geddes points out in a footnote that this is in imitation of Christ's words to Judas in St. John, xiii, 27.

2Musa, i, 203-14.
by Lord Erskine, whose name has been rendered as Nicares. Johnston, who obviously does not agree with the claim, depicts Erskine as an indignant husband who asks that his wife should return, and complains that she has been taken from him by one who gained the ear of the King. He compares himself to Achilles when he lost Briseis to Agamemnon, and says that he cannot rise against his master, but must use entreaty. The poem begins with a couplet which echoes the opening lines of Heroides iv and v, and expresses throughout the indignation of one who has been overcome by fate, just as Briseis and Oenone complain in these two poems by Ovid.

In the reply Gariomarra claims that the marriage was a fiction, and that she is wedded to one of royal birth. The matter will now be decided by law and she has no fear that Nicares will be victorious.

In the first letter the classical atmosphere is maintained throughout, and except for a few Scottish names connected with the case, it is written without any reference to the seventeenth century. The mythological allusions are not all

1 Quam legis, Aloicus Nicares tibi misit ab oris; perlege; ........
from Ovid - Homer contributes a few - but there are sufficient to maintain the illusion that this is written by a deserted husband of classical times. The second letter, however, does not do this. After the first few lines in which Erskine's claim is refuted the letter is simply a series of arguments to prove that this claim is ill-founded, and the classical atmosphere is merely suggested by the rendering in a Latinised form of the names of the places and people involved.

In his Ad Robertum Baronum there is a blending of Ovidian and Vergilian influences in describing a contemporary situation. Here Johnston complains that he is forced to spend his days toiling on his small croft on the banks of the river Gadie near his birthplace. There is no evidence to suggest that he was ever reduced to such straits as are described in this poem, and much of the detail in it may be regarded as imaginary.

In the opening lines:

Adspice, Gadiacis qued misi tristis ab undis,
Baroni, plenum rusticitatis opus.

the word Gadiacis may be used to suggest Gades, the extreme limit of the ancient world.  

\[1\text{Musa}, 11, 249-54.\]
\[2\text{Ibid. 251, footnote.}\]
remoteness of his croft may be emphasised to remind
the reader of Ovid's position in Tomi. The actual
description of his labour on the croft is reminis-
cent of the Georgics. A certain similarity is
inevitable when poems deal with like subjects, but
resemblances in language indicate that the writer
has Vergil in mind.

Vergil:
ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola neve
effetos cinerem immundum lactare per agros
(Georgics, 1, 80-1)

Johnston:
Ipse lutum nudus furca versare tricorni
cogor, et immundo spargere rura fime.
(Musa, 1, 252)

Vergil:
nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo
(Georgics, 1, 267)

Johnston:
Pars messis torrenis fecis, frangendaque saxo est
(Musa, 1, 252)

Like Vergil, he talks of using the harrow, the
mattock and the hurdle.

Munc subigo rastris, nunc terram crate fatigo,
horrida nunc dure tesqua bidente domo.
(Musa, 1, 251)

He even talks of irrigating the fields, as well as
of draining them.

hie rigat inductis, hic scrobis siccat humum.
(Musa, 1, 251)

No Aberdeenshire farmer needs to be told of the
need for draining fields, but surely irrigation in
that area is most unlikely. It seems that here
Johnston has either imitated Vergil too closely or used the antithesis between irrigation and draining to round off a couplet neatly.

In describing his altered physical condition Johnston does not use Ovid's language to any extent, but nevertheless the reader is reminded of Ovid's complaints that he has deteriorated mentally and physically during his stay in Tomi. The Scottish poet complains that he is now muddy and unkempt, and that as a result of following the plough his eyes are now fixed on the ground, more bovis. He says that Ovid could fittingly describe his altered state:

In nova qui cecinit mutatas corpora formas
his poterat formae iungere damna meae.

(Musa, i, 253)

More serious than alteration in physical condition is the loss of the ability to think, speak and behave as a man of culture.

Sed levis haec forsan posset iactura videri,
ni simul ingenii iuncta ruina foret.
Bruta mihi mens est, et corporis aemula, qualis
scilicet agrestem ruricolamque decet.
Sunt rigidi mores et quos colo, montibus apti;
mundities illis, cultus et omnis abest.
Consueti fugere sales, fugere lepores
indolis et quicquid nobilieris erat.
Cura mihi in vitulos, pudet heu, traducitur omnis,
nec nisi de bebus vomeribusque loquer.
Dumque loquer, risum vel vespillonibus ipsis
excutio linguae rusticitate meae.

(Musa, i, 253)
In these lines Johnston may have in mind Ovid’s complaints that he is surrounded by barbarians and is gradually sinking to their level. The final lines of this poem are almost certainly inspired by Ovid’s lines in *Tristia*, viii, where he says that from long disuse, his Latin words come to him with difficulty, and expresses the fear that his verse may contain barbarisms.

Johnston:

*Dedidi Latias sub iniquo sidere voce*ns,
*dedidi Clariae filae movere lyrae.*

*Si quid adhuc superest prisci sermonis, amurca est et sordes, quas gens tractat agrestis, olet.*

*Si dubitas, nostri lapsus expende libelli hi facient dictis, me reticente, fidem.*

*Perlege, si fas est, et, si vacat, elue naevos, arbitrio stabunt nostra cadentque tuo.*

*Musa, i, 253*

The predominant note in Ovid’s *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* is one of complaint at the poet’s hard lot, mingled with the hope that some day his fortunes may change for the better. In his poems on his lawsuit at Malines\(^1\), Johnston compares his lot with that of Ovid among the Getae, and says that his own position is worse:

*Non ego sum Geticas, fateor, proiectus in oras, plus tamen hic cogor, quam tulit ille, pati.*

Johnston, too, is an exile, and is struggling, not with barbarian foes, but with a litigious knight.

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\(^1\) *Musa, i, 106-24.*
Just as Ovid writes to friends in Rome imploring their aid, so Johnston writes an influential friend imploring help in this lawsuit. The progress of the suit is slow, and he again complains of his miserable position in lines which begin with this echo from Ovid:

Omnia nunc rident, aer, mare, sidera, tellus

When the lawsuit is finally over and he is victorious, his poem in celebration of this has, naturally, nothing in common with Ovid's poems from exile.

Johnston also has a number of poems in praise of Scottish cities. The idea of writing such a series may well have occurred to him spontaneously, but Ausonius has a similar series. There are certain similarities between Johnston's poems and those of Ausonius, but they are those which would naturally occur in poems dealing with similar subjects. The influence of Ovid is not evident except perhaps in his tendency to include rivers in his descriptions.

Johnston wrote a great many poems other than those discussed here, and it would obviously be

1Musae, i, 119.
2Musae, ii, 255-87.
impracticable to discuss them all. Those which have been considered, however, form a representative selection, and serve to illustrate both the diverse influences to which he was exposed and the extent and limitations of his poetic ability.

After the consideration of the aspects of influence mentioned above there remains the most difficult problem of all - the assessment of the extent to which Ovid's style affected that of Johnston. As has already been stated, any judgment on this question must be purely subjective.

Johnston has numerous passages which may, in the opinion of the reader, show the influence of Ovid's style. The following passage is extracted from the Bohemian Struggle, in which Austria (Saravicto) in the guise of a jealous husband, complains of the infidelity of Bohemia (Biomea), here depicted as an erring wife.

*Inspicis? an coniunx prohibet novus? inspice: non est, quam legis, hostili charta notata manu.*

*Infelix Saravicto, tuus, dum dextra faverent numina, coniugii foedera rupta queror.*

*Quod queror haud frustra est; pridem se profide adulter, haeret in amplexu qui, Biomea, tuo.*

*Nec peccasse sat est; crimen scelerata tueris, et coniuratas cogis ad arma manus.*

*Siccinne iura tori, tua sic promissa, fidemque obtetis, et coniunx coniugis hostis ades? 10 An quorum toties iurasti perfida numen, ulteres nescis fulmina ferre Deos? Sed mullos fac esse Deos; fac fulmina nullum ferre Iovem; saltem culpa pudenda tua est.*

(Musa. 1, 55-6)

Finally, this question must be asked - to what extent does Johnston really partake of the spirit of Ovid? This is not easily answered, as so much depends on the opinion of the individual reader, but the importance of the problem makes it imperative that some attempt should be made to
consider it. A writer may imitate Ovid in many respects and yet be completely incapable of understanding the most important aspect of all—the spirit in which he composed his poems. Medieval Latinists for instance, on occasion regarded Ovid's poems as allegories, and found moral teaching in even the least moral of his tales. Such writers, naturally, failed completely to appreciate his outlook, no matter how competent they were in understanding the mechanical aspects of his poetry.

Johnston, is precluded by his religious background and beliefs from sharing Ovid's outlook on women and love, and love poetry plays little part in his works. There are, however, certain respects in which his outlook is truly Ovidian. In the first place he appreciates Ovid's humour and reproduces this in his own poetry. The two poems, Apologia pro Thaumantia and Apologia pro Nautis Lethensibus, which are discussed elsewhere in this work, are examples both of the mock didacticism of the Ars Amatoria and the tendency in the Metamorphoses to represent as burlesque the actions of the Olympian deities. The accused are solemnly defended with ridiculous excuses, the reader is instructed in the history of theft and midwifery, and the magistrates of Aberdeen by implication lose much of
their Olympian dignity.

In his descriptions of scenery Ovid frequently describes "water, cool, calm and shaded." Although Johnston does not concentrate on still water, he includes rivers wherever possible in his descriptions. In his poem on his birthplace and the twenty-two short poems in the *Encomia Urbium* rivers are constantly mentioned, and his *Ad Caeliam* has the qualities of the river Gadie as its main topic. It is certainly true that many poets deal with such matters, but if Johnston is acute enough to detect and imitate Ovid's metrical characteristics it is at least possible that he appreciates and shares his love of certain natural features.

On the whole Ovid does not indulge in invective, and it is true to say that his salient characteristic is "humanitas, humane good feeling akin to ... charity." This is precisely the spirit displayed in most of Johnston's works. Even his invective against Dr. Eglishem does not seem to be inspired by real personal emotion and is, perhaps written more with the idea of imitating Ovid than

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3 Ibid. 255-87.
4 *Musa*, 1, 255-3.
5 The *Ibis* is not considered to be directed against any real person.
6 *Ovid Recalled*, p. 286.
of scarifying an enemy. Bradner says that urbanity and polish are the keynotes of his familiar epistles, and this may be said of almost all his work. His *Diatribe on rapacious Sailors* is an exception, but there is perhaps some excuse for this, since they apparently robbed him of all his personal belongings. On the other hand, many of his poems, and in particular those in memory of friends, show a deep sympathy with his fellow men and an absence of that rancour which is too often found in poetry. His poetry is seldom bitter or condemnatory, and the reader forms the impression that he is more anxious to praise virtue than to condemn vice. Although he has strong religious beliefs he is far more tolerant of human failings than many of his contemporaries, and is completely free from Pharisaism. To sum up in a sentence, Johnston, a considerable classical scholar and no mean poet, has succeeded in describing contemporary subjects in the language, the metre and above all, the spirit of Ovid.

1 *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 177.
2 *Musa*, 1, 100-5.
If Arthur Johnston may be said to wear the mantle of Ovid, then John Leech, to continue the metaphor, must be regarded as wearing a coat of many colours. He owes much to many writers and attempts every form of verse except epic. Basically he is a disciple of Ovid, but his allegiance to him is often modified considerably by a variety of other influences.

Leech's metrical practice in hexameter and elegiac verse has already been discussed, and it has been shown that this verse displays characteristics probably derived from intensive reading of Vergil and the elegiac poets. It cannot be said to show the influence of any one writer. Approximately two thirds of the poems contained in the first two books of the Erotica are in the elegiac metre; the Anacreontic metre is used in the third and fourth books, and the last two books are in the elegiac metre. The four books of the Idyllia are in elegiacs and his epigrams are mainly elegiac. Other metres occasionally used by him include the iambic trimeter, Sapphic stanza and the hendecasyllabic metre.
His linguistic borrowings may be traced to a variety of sources. Ovid, of course, is one of the most important.

Ovid: *iamque parabantur captivis vincla lacertis* (Met. xiii, 667)

*hunc potes amplecti formosis, vita, lacertis?* (Amores, III, viii, 11)

Leech: *aut tam formosis ( utinam mihi vincla ) lacertis* (Musae Priores, Erotica, 18)

Ovid: *ludit et in pratis luxuriatque pecus* (Fasti, i, 156)

Leech: *ludit et in niveo sublimis pectore sanguis* (Musae Priores, Erotica, p.18)

Ovid: *inde puellaris nacta est vestigia plantae* (Fasti, iv, 463)

Leech: *gramina, nec modicæ scirent vestigia plantae* (Musae Priores, Erotica, p.18)

Ovid: *quæque magos, Tellus, pallentibus instruis herbis* (Met. vii, 196)

Leech: *his me carminibus meque his pollentibus herbis* (Musae Priores, Erotica, p.18)

Ovid: *quam legis, a rapta Briseide littera venit* (Heroides, iii, 1)

Leech: *quam legis, hæc ista tibi venit epistola ab urbe* (Musa, iii, 276)

Ovid: *in tenues evanidus exeat auras* (Remedia Amoris, 653)

Leech: *ludificantque oculos simulacra evanida nostros* (Musae Priores, Erotica, p.18)

The word *evanidus*, although not peculiar to Ovid, is found in few other writers.¹

¹ The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae gives instances of its use in other writers such as Pliny and Seneca, but only Ovid appears to have used the word in the sense in which Leech uses it.
Borrowings from Vergil are not uncommon:

Vergil: ite, meae, quondam felix pecus, ite capellae

(Ecl., i, 74)

Leech: ite meae tenerae, simum pecus, ite capellae

(Musae Priores, Eclogae Bucolicae, p. 2.)

Vergil: Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi

(Ecl., i, 1)

Leech: non iuvat ad patulae proiectum frigora fagi

(Musae Priores, Eclogae Bucolicae, p. 16.)

Vergil: iam fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam contigerat, placida laxabant membra quieti sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae

(Aen. v, 835-7)

Leech: nox erat et fusi per dura sedilia nautae carpebant placidum secura puppe soporem

(Musae Priores, Eclogae Nauticae, p. 55)

Leech has borrowings from other writers also, as is to be expected, but the most noticeable feature of his language, apart from Ovidian and Vergilian borrowings, is his tendency to use diminutives or other words with similar endings, such as: columbillula, blandidulus, succiplemula, ocellulus, cellula, flammula, mollicula, facula.

Such endings are found in post-Classical Latin - one is reminded of the line ascribed to Hadrian: animula vagula blandula - and would doubtless appeal to a poet of Leech's catholic taste.

Leech, however, gives a fairly clear indication of the principal source of such words. In the second

1The first four words are not found in Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary.
book of the Erotica he has a poem entitled, Ad
dexteram Pantheae, Parodia Catulliana. This poem,
which is short enough to be given in full, has in
fact, fewer endings of the type under discussion
than others discussed later in this chapter, but
it is nevertheless a clear imitation of that poem
in Catullus which begins:

cinaede Thalle, mollior suniculi capillo
vel anseris medullula vel imula oricilla
(Carmina, xxv)

Ad dexteram Pantheae, Parodia Catulliana.

Tenella dextra, mollior Caystria volucre,
vel albulis columbulis, rosae purpurante,
Serumve vellere optimo, comae pexa Adonei,
itemque dextra, concita fercior leaena,
quum de vago nemore suos quis detulit catellos,
resolve vinculum mihi malum, quod addidisti;
armillulamque nexi ele capillulosque flavos
dolosa; quae palam studes placere, quamquam iniqua
quae nunc meis lacertulis refer tibi, et resolve,
ne collulum pulchellulum, genasque mollicellas,
infusa carminum modis venena mordicassint,
et insolenter aestues, velut superba celis
quassata pinus in iugis, raucum fremente Cauro.

It is not suggested that all such words come from
Catullus. Ovid uses albulus four times, and some
of Leech's words of this type are post-classical.
It is reasonably certain, however, that Catullus
is the main source of inspiration for the use of
such words.

In some of his poems Leech uses rhyming
endings, presumably in imitation of the common
practice in medieval Latin verse. Bradner says 'His handling of rhythms often suggests the medieval lyrics and occasionally he unconsciously breaks into rhyme.' In the poem given below it would seem that the rhyme is deliberate rather than unconscious. Leech owes much to medieval writing in his handling of subject matter, and it would not be surprising to find him on occasion imitating the way of writing verse as well. Leech may also be influenced by poets of the Pleiade, who continued to write rhyming verse despite their devotion to classical writers in other respects.

Non una forma terram commendant atque coelum,
non una vis polorum non una mens virorum.
Vicissitudo cunctis grata atque amica rebus;
vicissitudo soli gratissima est amori.

hoc uilla si impetrassis pendebo ab his labellis,
spirabo ab his ocellis,
meosque habebis omnes una omnium furores

(Musae Priores, Anacreontica)

1 Not all medieval Latin verse has rhyming endings, nor did the practice of using these endings cease at the Renaissance.

2 Musae Anglicanae, p. 169.
It is true that rhyming words are to be found in many classical writers, including Ovid, and on occasion their occurrence must be regarded as the result of deliberate choice, but one does not find a succession of rhyming endings such as those given above.

Although Leech's use of rhyming endings may not be ascribed to Ovid or his contemporaries, the use of internal rhyme may have been suggested by them, indirectly if not directly. Rhyme in classical writers of hexameters and pentameters is often produced when an adjective occurs before the caesura and the noun to which it refers occurs at the end of the line:

pellibus et longa pectora tecta coma

(Tristia, V, x, 32)

Whether this rhyme be regarded as accidental or not, it was noted by later writers and 'regularised in the naively charming leonine hexameters of the Middle Ages.' In the first three poems to Panthea, Leech has twenty-nine examples of this rhyme in forty-eight lines, and while some of these may be accidental, it is probable that many are deliberate. Here Leech is imitating medieval

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1 Examples of deliberate rhyme are given by A.M. Clark, Studies in Literary Modes, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1945, p. 152.

Latin rather than Ovid, but Ovid and his contemporaries may be regarded as being indirectly responsible for this trend.

From the consideration of rhyming endings the mind passes easily to the examination of Leech's style. It has already been shown that almost all the characteristics of Ovid's style may be found in other writers. Verbal conceits, for instance, are common in Ovid, but are found frequently in Ausonius also, and one is not therefore justified in assuming that their occurrence in Leech is due to Ovid's influence.

The passage given below seems to partake of those stylistic qualities found in Ovid. Much of Leech's writing conveys few reminders of him, but in his elegies and in this letter to Sir John Scot the reader may form the impression that Leech is attempting to write in the Ovidian manner. In this poem, written in Paris, Leech complains that he is deeply upset that Scot has not written to him, and suffers nightmares as a result of his anxiety.

Quam legis, haec ista tibi venit epistola ab urbe,
quam subit hospitibus Sequana primus aquis.
Sequana me, vallesque haud una vite beatae
et tenet externo nobile vere solum,
fallentem Musis et dulci carmine curas,
at tristem in mediis sollicitumque iocos.
Tristis ego, nec scire tamen quae causa doloris, aut cur haec lateat pectore cura, licet.
Non amor hic, Scote, est nec me tenet uilla Neaera, quamvis carminibus Panthea dicta meis. 10
Ille deus laetos, deus ille tenaciter urget
quos videt in mollis ponere membra toro,
quos videt in Tyria molles incedere palla
et Sibethaeo spargere odoris sinus.
An me igitur can tu nimiumque potentibus herbis
devovit tacitae tempore noctis anus?
An me composit similes in imagine vultus,
et mea Colchiae pectora fixit acu?
Quicquid id est, me tristis hiems languore metuque
me circumvolitat plurima maestities. 20
Somnia me terrent, me turbida noctis imago,
quum vagam fraterna Cynthia luce micat,
quumque simul pecudesque omnes, volucresque, ferasque
atque homines, placidus stravit ab axe sopor.
Nam modo ab insidiis multum fallentis amici
sanguineam pedibus tundo cruentum humum.
Nunc veluti vietus vel pubes de pontibus olim,
mitor in ignavas praecipitatus aquas.
Saepe mihi videor vagus et rerum omnium egens
iere per ignotas, hoste sequente, vias,
antraque perreptare et corpora clausa sepulchris,
aut in praerupta ponere rupe pedem.
Saepe aliquem e caris gladiis subducere amis,
et videor tutam consulere inde fugam.
Mille novat species Morpheus, quamque omnia finxit
describit in medis me tamen usque mali,
Tu facis hoc qui, Scote, licet disjunctus amico,
ire tamen cessas, qua licet ire via,
Littera debuerat solitam narrassa salutem,
debruerat curas illa levasse meas. 40
Cur ita ab officio longum cessavit avito?
Cur tua nunc raro littera nomen habet?
Credere men' possum tota tibi mente fugatum?
aut munquam immemorem te fore, Scote, mei?
Certe, ego non divos tam laeva mente futuros
auguror, ut de me haec tristia ferre velint.
Ergo age, rumpe moras omnes: ut nescere possim
haec mihi utrum cernu, an somnia fudit ebur.

(Musa, iii, 276-7.)

This letter is interesting in another respect.

When considered with the reply from Scot it forms
one of very few examples of the way in which Ovid

1 vietus: shrunken (old men)
influenced the form of Scottish Latin verse. This double letter is obviously based on those in the *Hercides*. Leech complains that Scot has deserted him, and Scot's reply, although offering sound practical advice, nevertheless maintains the imitation of Ovid and suggests that unrequited love is the cause of Leech's despondency.

Leech's use of mythology varies from poem to poem, and as in Johnston's works, such references are most numerous when he is seeking to display his erudition, and fewest and most relevant when the quality of his verse is high. His *Iani Maliferi Strena* is so loaded with mythology that the theme of the poem is obscured. On the other hand, in his *Somnium* the few mythological references are an essential part of the poem and are not introduced merely to impress the reader.

At first sight it might seem that references to Venus, Cupid and the power of Love must come from Ovid, but Leech borrows freely from Greek writings, notably the *Anacreontea*, and many of his allusions may spring from Greek sources. His *De Cupidine Arante* for instance, is almost a paraphrase of a short poem by Moschus, and, indeed, the bulk 1

of his mythology in his *Anacreontica* comes from the Greek works from which the name is derived. On the other hand, there can be little doubt of the origin of three of his epigrams which deal with the story of Pyramus and Thisbe.¹

The story of Medea seems to have impressed Leech as well as Johnston, and he has six references to her, all concerning her power to concoct potent drugs.

\[
\text{graminibus, primae iuuenem sub flore iuventae}
\]
\[
\text{Aesonides patrem vidit adesse sum.}
\]

*(Musae Priores, Erotica, p. 96)*

\[
\text{illa veneficiis quamvis contendere Circae}
\]
\[
\text{herbis Medeae et carminibus Perimeadeae.}
\]

*(Musae Priores, Eclogae Vinitoriae, p. 73)*

Such references probably come from the *Metamorphoses*, which, as one would expect, is the most likely source of the majority of Ovidian mythological allusions. In one thousand and twenty-five lines² Leech has eleven references to the *Metamorphoses* and only three to Ovid's other works.

If Leech's mythology is drawn from many sources his subject matter covers an even wider range, and his treatment of it varies greatly. At times he is a lover, successful or despairing,

¹*Musae Priores, Epigrammata*, p. 4.
at times he writes of his own affairs and ambitions, and at times he writes on a wide variety of topics ranging from praise of distinguished men to descriptions of Scottish places of interest.

Naturally, in such a diversity of subjects there are many poems which have little or nothing to do with Ovid. His epigrams, for instance, are not Ovidian, if we exclude those which refer to Pyramus and Thisbe. Occasionally they remind the reader of Martial, but on the whole they do not seem to be indebted to any one Latin writer, Leech's Idyllia, which are in reality eclogues, are written with Vergil or Theocritus in mind, and when love is mentioned the setting is usually Vergilian. These Idyllia are divided into four sections - neatly categorised by Bradner as "bucolic, piscatory, marine and vinitory" - each section containing five poems. The bucolic eclogues are, in reality, laudatory poems addressed to King James, King Charles and others, and are not Ovidian, apart from an occasional linguistic or mythological borrowing. Leech claims that only one poet has written piscatory eclogues, one poet marine eclogues and that he himself is the first to write vinitory eclogues. The truth or falsehood of this claim is of little importance, but it is interesting

[This claim is discussed by Bradner, Musae Anglicanae, pp. 184-5.]
to note that piscatory and marine eclogues are rarely found in classical writing.

The piscatory eclogues are mainly complaints of the hard life of fishermen. Occasionally one feels that Ovid's complaints from Pontus may have influenced the subject matter, but it is equally possible that any resemblances are due to coincidence.

The marine eclogues deal with travel and exploration, and reflect the interest taken in these matters in Leech's own age. They also contain an element of love, but it is not inspired by Ovid. In the first eclogue Chloris complains that her lover does not return from his voyaging. This is not inspired by the Heroides but is merely a pastoral poem with sailors, rocks and the sea substituted for shepherds, woods and streams.

The second eclogue deals with exploration and praises the genius who first devised a ship. In the third eclogue two sailors sing of their loves as shepherds do in Vergil. The fourth eclogue begins with an echo of Vergil:

Nox erat et fusi per dura sedilia nautae,
carpēbant placidum secura puppe soporem.¹

¹Asen. v, 835-7.
Nereus and his nymphs rise from the sea and sing a song dealing with such diverse topics and personages as the Creation, the Flood, Noah, Ariadne, Cleopatra, St. Paul, Draco and Columbus. The fifth eclogue, entitled 'Echo,' may be written with Ovid's story in mind but may be inspired by later poems on the same topic. Sir Philip Sidney has a poem with the same title. However, as Leech's poem is in Latin, Ovid is a more probable source than other writers.

Finally, the vinesitory eclogues merely substitute vines and vinegrowers for shepherds and sheep, and otherwise follow the Vergilian pattern.

So far, then, Ovid has little effect on Leech's subject matter or on his treatment of it. In the Erotica, however, which comprise approximately half his works, Ovid's influence is manifest.

The Erotica consist of six books, two addressed to Panthea, his mistress, two books of Anacreontica in the Greek fashion, and two books of elegies, which deal with various topics. In some of the poems to Panthea Leech speaks of love from the standpoint of a classical lover, to whom the physical aspect of love is by no means unimportant. Such titles as Panthea naked, He

\[1\text{Met. i.i, 359-401.}\]
rejoices in his mistress's embrace. Concerning the
kisses of his mistress, show that here he is not
content to worship at a distance. In these poems
he does not show the passion of Catullus or the
seriousness of Propertius. Ovid is his model,
the polished cynical Ovid of the Amores or Ars
Amatoria, to whom love is a diversion and not a
heart-rending passion. The poem given below,
which concludes the first book of those addressed
to Panthea, will serve to illustrate the truth of
these remarks.

Lector

Paginae quisquis numeros locosae
forte spectabris petulante ocello, mitte sectari nimis otiosa
singula mente, quando, ubi, nudae specular haesi
virginis, pure an niveas papillas
presserim, num contulerim beatis
basia labris; nam Venus, namque haec Veneris decorae
callidus dici vetuit puellus,
et pudor castus, Charitumque iuncta
turba pudori. Ille non dignus facili est puella,
Cypridi aut dextra, Puero aut favente,
furta qui, et lusus thalami, impudico
carmine pangit. Ergo, quae nuda fuerint puella,
vota mi, narrasse, satis superque est.
Si quid haec ultra; Veneri atque nato
servo mihique.

Leech's mistress, whom he calls Panthea, and later,
Delia, is probably a composite figure and has no
basis of reality. The same may be said of Ovid's
mistress. It is probable that Ovid's Amores seldom relate to real experiences; Leech's poems of this type are almost certainly purely imaginary. But although many of Ovid's love poems are probably not based on fact, there can be no doubt that he writes with considerable knowledge of the matter. In Leech's poems, on the other hand, his stilted language and tendency to repeat ad nauseam stereotyped phrases in describing female beauty suggest that his knowledge is obtained from the world of books rather than from actual experience. Despite his claim to be a poet of love Leech is never really at his ease when writing verse of this kind, and he seems to be acting a part rather than relating an experience. Confirmation of this may be obtained from his statement in the introduction to the Musae Priores:

Scio, nec inficias eo, materiam quam plurimis non usquequaque placitum: verum ego de Pseudo - Catonibus illis non admodum sollicitus (sic) quid dicant, quid sentiant susque deque fero. Sint scriptis suis Theologi; ego meis lascivi; dum neque illorum vita Scriptis suis respondeant, neque mei mores Scriptis meis admodum consentiant .... Testor nullo alio me proposito in hoc sciptionis genus descendisse quam ut veterum in scribendo stylium, in dicendo modum, in affectibus declarandis rationem, veramque every lectione et usu mea paulatim redderem. Unde modo amatoris, modo ebrii, modo abstemii personam assumere non dubitavi.
Admittedly Ovid also takes pains to explain that his life has not accorded with his writings:

> Crede mihi, distant moræ a carmine nostro -
> vita verecunda est, Musa iocosa mea.
> *(Tristia, ii, 353-4)*

but this statement is made after his banishment in disgrace, and not at the very beginning of his works.

It is interesting to note that in one of his poems Leech has almost the same beginning as *Amores V*, that poem in which Ovid describes quite frankly an act of physical love. Leech is resting in the shade at mid-day when his mistress visits him. But instead of taking advantage of the situation Leech entreats her to go away, as her presence makes his pangs more intense. It is scarcely likely that his refusal to continue in the Ovidian strain is due to an unwillingness to write erotic poetry, as many of his other poems may be placed in this category. It is more probable that Leech, for the moment, is thinking of love from the viewpoint of a medieval lover, to whom the mistress is an almost unattainable goddess. Many of his poems are in this strain, and here he is clearly influenced by medieval writing and by the sonnets of the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries. In such poetry Leech addresses Panthea's lips and eyes, complains of her obduracy, says he is unable to withstand her gaze, complains that the cold of her bosom has killed the flowers reposing in it - in short he says in Latin what very many poets are saying in English, French, Italian and the Scottish vernacular.

Pantheae Oculi

Dum mea lascivoc in me contorquet ocellos
Panthea, et arguta plurima fronte notat,
obstupus; gelidae spectans confina mortis;
constituque isto vivus in igne rogum.
Infelix! mors est, in tanto posse dolore
vivere et in tali morte perire dolor.

(Musae Priores, Panthea p.4)

Ad oculos Pantheae

Melliti globuli meae puellae,
suaves, blandiduli, protervulique,
praedulces, vaguli, tenellulique,
pasti, splendiduli, decentulique,
formosum tremuli, igneum tuentes
vos tantum mihi concitastis ignem,
immites nimir, improbique Ocelli

(Musae Priores, Panthea, pp. 35-6)

Ad labella Pantheae

Labella mollicella, tincta vernulo
rosae rubentis, et colore purpurae;
labella, dulcis unde porrigit Venus
cibum decrum, et anxiis amantibus
sui superba nectaris nec ultimum
propinat; hocne mi negare basium,
mihi hoc potestis? ..............
.................................

(Musae Priores, Panthea, p.37)

De floribus, in Pantheae gremio marcescentibus
Narcissum et violas, et purpureos hyacinthos,
et tibi heri e blandâ munera verna rosa,
lecta meis manibus, misi, mea Vita: sed illa
iam video in gremio languida facta tuo.
.................................
..... certe his niveae nocuere papillae;
et nimia glacie pectus ubique rigens:
namque ibi Riphaei montes, et frigora Brumae,
namque ibi sunt scopolii, cunque adamante silex.
.................................

(Musae Priores, Panthea, pp. 26-7)

It is obviously impossible to say with
certainty that Leech is influenced by any one poet
in writing poems such as the above. He may have
been influenced by Drummond of Hawthornden whose
sonnets were published in Edinburgh in 1616. The
subject matter is largely similar, and as Leech
was on familiar terms with Drummond, it is unlikely
that he would fail to read his works. Drummond's
sonnets, however, are strongly reminiscent of those
by Italian writers. "The Scottish court poets,
being followers of the Elizabethan sonneteers and
of their French contemporaries, both of which were
steeped in Italian literature, inevitably fell under the spell exercised by Petrarch and his numerous votaries in the sixteenth century. Alexander Montgomerie's sonnet To his mistress shows in its opening couplet the effect of this influence:

Bright amorous e'e where love in ambush lies,   
Clear crystal tear distill'd at our depart

As Leech lived on the Continent for some time he may have drawn much of his inspiration directly from French or Italian writers without reference to English or Scottish intermediaries. His Ad Somnum for instance, states that even the beasts enjoy rest at night, but the pangs of love deprive him of this. This theme is found in Petrarch and in Drummond, and it is advisable therefore to say that Leech in this type of poetry exemplifies one of the literary trends of his age without being influenced by any one poet in particular.

Before passing on to the Anacreontica it may be noted that Leech occasionally speaks both as a classical and a Petrarchan lover. In the poem

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Ad libellum suum, which introduces Panthea, ii, he mentions, on the one hand, the pleasure he hopes to have from the physical charms of his mistress:

nam quis lacteolas sinu papillas
tam pulchre et modice sororiantes,
quis, inquam, adspiciet, nec ingemescet
optabitque semel suaviare? ..... 

He then proceeds to utter, in the language of Catullus, sentiments which are not characteristic of Roman writers:

vel quis, quis globulos duos micantes
potis fortibus intueri ocellis?
de queis spicula mille, deinque centum,
dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
dein usque altera mille, deinque centum
in me vulnificis puer sagittis,
ut me surripiat mihi, Cupido
contorsit; breviterque fortiterque.
In the Anacreontica Leech introduces the reader to a world of Cupids, doves and wine after the fashion of the Greek poems in the manner of Anacreon. The first example of his poetry in this strain has already been discussed, and from this it will be obvious that Leech is for the time being in a setting in which there is no place for the Petrarchan worship of a mistress or the grosser Ovidian approach. He declares that he will be the very king of lovers, but feels that he can scarcely be expected to restrict himself to one mistress. He considers that care should be the companion of old age, but as for youth, it needs wine and mollicellam amicam. Occasionally he indulges in a little light-hearted philosophy and holds that we should all be optimistic, for bad fortune cannot endure forever. The short poem Sodales ad bibendum invitat may be taken as exemplifying his writing in this strain. In this poem he says: "Thirst troubles me. Come to a carousal. Where is my damsels of last night? If she comes not, I shall shatter the goblets, for love, wine and poetry are inseparable."

Although the inspiration for these poems comes from the Greek, it must be remembered that
Leech spent some time in France, and would almost certainly be familiar with Ronsard's poems of this type. It is therefore possible that on occasion Leech has in mind the French imitations of the Greek rather than the originals. Whether they are in imitation of Greek or French writing it is clear that here is love poetry which is not inspired by Ovid.

In his elegies he becomes, for at least part of the work, an Ovidian once more. He is, however, an Ovidian with this difference, that his poems have practically nothing of the eroticism present in some of the poems addressed to Panthea. This does not mean that he is content to worship from afar - in his first elegy he writes:

quam iuvat e roseis flammas haurire labellis
et totum multo fallere amore diem.

There is, on the other hand, a complete absence of the detailed description of female beauty and love play which figures in his poems to Panthea. The discussion of possible reasons for this is best undertaken after consideration of these elegies:

The first elegy is almost a confession of faith. He surrenders himself completely to Love:

Non, ego, nunc lauri semper vernantis honores,
aut hederas doctae praemia frontis amo.
Sat mihi si Paphiae velent mea tempora myrtil.
Delia is his mistress, and so long as she is kind he is a leader, a king, almost a god. He is unwilling to exchange his servitude for any riches, and regards himself as the Scottish priest of love who will lead the revels over the Grampians. Formerly he scoffed at love but now he accepts the yoke willingly.

This poem is classical in sentiment, but is not distinctively Ovidian, and in fact the subservience to love is characteristic of Propertius rather than Ovid.

The main theme of the second elegy is one that may be found in poetry throughout the centuries. Leech asks for wine to dispel cares, presumably the cares of love. After asking why he, a young man, should contemplate death, he says that hope comes eventually:

\textit{scilicet, in dubiis, ubi magna pericula, rebus tarda licet veniat spes, tamen apta venit.}

Here there is nothing to remind the reader of Ovid, and the fact that the lover can even contemplate death would indicate that Ovid is not in Leech's mind.
In contrast to this, the third elegy, a poem of longing for an absent mistress, has frequent reminders of Ovid.

Delia is absent. Previously Leech complained of waiting at a closed door, but now he envies those:

queis licet ad clausas pervigilare foras.

Stormy straits divide them and he complains to the woods even as Orpheus or Apollo or Pan. Then follows at some length the story of Venus and Adonis. Leech claims that if the trees listened to a goddess bewailing the loss of a mortal man they will also listen to a mortal man bewailing the loss of a goddess. A witch must have cast her spells on him before he could bear to see his mistress depart. Now he awaits eagerly the day of her return when he will enjoy her charms to the full:

exsaturans longa gaudia nostra mora.

The reference to the closed door may come from Amores I, vi, where Ovid pleads with the doorkeeper. The reference to stormy straits is probably taken from the story of Hero and Leander in the Heroides, while the story of Venus and Adonis and the references to Apollo, Pan and Orpheus are almost certainly from the Metamorphoses.
The witch who cast the spell could be Medea. Although complaints concerning an absent mistress are not confined to Ovid, this poem is on the whole strongly reminiscent of those in the *Hercules* where deserted women complain of the absence of their husbands or lovers.

The fourth elegy, addressed to Ayton, is a most unusual poem. It begins with the conventional complaint that Leech's wounds from love cannot be cured. Ayton's help is requested, and he is asked not to deride Leech as even the gods suffered from the same wounds. Even Jupiter and other deities have fallen under its sway. Perhaps potent herbs will help him even as they helped Aeson, Laertes or Glaucus.

After this prelude Leech proceeds to bewail the lot of man, and gives a long detailed description of how he was formed from clay. This description ends with the decision of the gods to call their creation *homo* from the word *humus*.

The prelude to this description of man's origin is conventional love poetry, and apart from the usual mythological references, is not specifically indebted to Ovid. The description of the creation of man is reminiscent of the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius, and it is quite possible that
Leech, who attempted most forms of poetry, should feel obliged to demonstrate his skill in writing this type of verse.

The fifth elegy, by way of contrast, is deeply indebted to Ovid, not the Ovid of the Amores or Ars Amatoria but that Ovid who deplores man's perfidy in the Heroides. This poem Leech puts in the mouth of a deserted woman, and utters the complaints so familiar in the Heroides. He is in France, and recounts the complaints of his mistress on his departure. "Where are you going, you who are unworthy of a girl who weeps at the thought of your hard heart? ...... Does not your former love for me hold you back? You were accustomed to compare my eyes to stars, and my lips to roses, but your own cheeks were tear-stained, your speech halting, your face pinched and the colour of boxwood. Shall I believe you devised these tricks against my modesty? Even if Apollo himself were to say so I should doubt his word. If such a desire is yours to plough the sea and visit strange lands why did you not leave before I saw and loved you? Now I should not be compelled by love's fire to stand and watch your sail with tear-filled eyes and pray for your return. How will you feel when the stormy seas toss your ship aloft or a mountain

...
of water threatens to overwhelm you? May you find frost and snow and contrary winds! But what wretched prayer is this? May the seas be calm and may France receive you pleasantly. Whether or not some damsel is destined to please you there, remember your love for me."

It is scarcely necessary to emphasise the debt owed by this poem to the Heroides. The complaints to a lover voyaging to another land, the reminders of former vows of fidelity, the vain regrets that fate ever led the faithless male to her land, the wish that fate may reward his infidelity and the willingness to share him with other women provided he remembers his former love - all these sentiments are to be found in the Heroides, and it is clear that in this poem Ovid is the poet who inspires Leech.

The second book of elegies also contains five poems. The first opens in the conventional fashion. Leech is a prisoner of love, love which no drug can cure. Neither wine nor song have helped to ease his woes. Love will find its victims on the heights or in the depths of the forest. If his hands were bound with chains and he were banished to the ends of the earth, his love would compel him to burst his chains and
return. So far this poem follows the usual pattern, and there is no indication of any change in the attitude to love. The lines which follow, however, tell a different tale.

Nec me tam facies dominæ pulcherrima caepit (sic), aut decor in flavis qui solet esse comis, quum Zephyri levis aura vagas per eburnea colla iussit vicinis basia ferre genis; non oculi tremulis vibrantes undique flammas, labraque punicea tintota colore rosæ, nec si qua Herculeo bis tinctas murice vestes aut sumptit Coos conspicienda sinus; quantum, quod doctis Clario de fonte puellis per canit, et resonum pectine pulsat ebur; quantum quod pudibunda, et morum integra tenore, et nondum tacto corpore casta manet.

This is a complete reversal of his previous attitudes to love. Far from being engrossed by the physical aspect of love he is now prepared to ignore even flashing eyes, golden hair and rosy lips, if only his damsels is accomplished in music, and is, above all, chaste. The women who are adored in the poems of Ovid and his contemporaries are often courtesans or married women who behave like courtesans. It is clear, therefore, that the worship of a woman because she is pudibunda et ....casta is completely foreign to classical poetry. Even the sonnets of the sixteenth century dwell far more on rosy lips and flashing eyes than on modesty and chastity, and it may be felt that

1Propertius has passages (Bk. ii, 20 and 30) in which similar sentiments occur.
the emphasis on these qualities is an indication that Leech, whether wittingly or unwittingly, is following the path trodden by Petrarch, the path which finally leads to the worship of Christ as the only true love. It is true that at no time does Leech state this, but when the fourth and fifth elegies are considered it will be seen that his attitude in these poems lends support to this theory.

In the remainder of this first elegy he expresses the hope that he will be hailed by his readers as a great lover. Some may write sonorous verse that deals with mighty deeds of long ago, some may sail the seas and explore distant lands, but Cupid compels Leech to write of love.

In his second elegy, In rivalem, he begins by reproaching his mistress with infidelity and asks bitterly whether this is his reward for his devotion to her. He then recalls he had formerly feared for her life when she was ill, and recounts his thoughts on that occasion: 'You will not go alone, for I shall visit the shades with you. With you I shall see Persephone, Dis and the happy meadows..... Here I shall dare to stir the golden lyre and tell of the fire inspired by Cupid, and
how the god transfixed me with many a shaft.
While I sing I shall lie in your bosom, Delia, and
give a thousand kisses to your pale cheeks.
Perhaps, too, someone, seeing us from a green elm,
will say, "How steadfastly these two love".
Leech then returns to the present, and proceeds
to curse his rival: "May his crops fail... may
the sun, moon and breezes be denied him... may
he have difficulty in finding one to pity him or
give him even a crumb." The poem closes with the
assertion that Apollo will see that his curse is
fulfilled, so that all may learn that it is unwise
to harm a poet.

Propertius has a poem on a rival (11, 16),
but there is no great similarity between the
contents of the poems. The subject of love after
death is mentioned by Propertius, Tibullus and by
some of Leech's contemporaries. The invective
may be inspired by the Ibis, but may have been
written without reference to any other poet. On
the whole it may be said that while love is the
underlying topic of this poem, Ovid is not the
poet who influences Leech in the writing of it.

The third elegy is simply a development of
the sunflower myth as it is related in the
Metamorphoses. Leech compares himself to the
sunflower, Clytie, and his mistress to Phoebus. Just as the sunflower languishes when Phoebus is absent, and revives in his presence, so Leech is downcast when Delia is absent, and joyful when she is with him. The mythology here is undoubtedly Ovidian, but the sentiment is that of Leech's own age.

The fourth elegy in this book is noteworthy in that the subject matter does not merely show a complete independence of classical sources, but seems to belong to the nineteenth rather than the seventeenth century. Leech launches a violent attack on the drinking of wine and ascribes to this practice many of the ills that have befallen Scotland. It is to be noted that he does not merely condemn excessive drinking but all drinking of wine. "Who was it who first discovered wine and was misguided enough to abandon the drinking of water? The Fates should have severed his thread at birth! ...... From the drinking of wine come battles, disputes, anger, madness, adultery and blasphemy."

After the list of evils produced by this practice he proceeds to praise the hardy water-drinking Scot of earlier times who lived frugally
1

and nobly:

Sic illic vixere sui decora aures saeclii
proles Fergusia credita digna domo.

He then condemns the conduct of his contemporaries,
and expresses his regret at his own past misdeeds.

Eheu, (nam pudet, et semper meminisse pudebit)
praeteritis qualis noctibus ipse fui:
ebris quum multo movi vestigia Baccho,
et volui quicquid fasque nefasque fuit.

O utinam numquam nossem tua dulcia dona aut
hausissem labris pocula nulla meis!

The poem concludes thus:

Nunc suprema vale, quid enim mecum tibi, Iacche?
est satis in curas Delia sola meas.

The first poem in this second book of elegies
states that Leech desires a girl who is pudibunda
et casta, and thereby shows that he is no longer
influenced by the classical concept of a mistress.
Now this poem decries all drinking of wine, and
indicates that his attitude to wine has changed
radically from that expressed in his Anacreontica.
This concept of total abstinence is certainly not
classical, or indeed medieval, and here Leech
expresses opinions almost unknown in his time.
This praise of asceticism and the previous age may
be inspired by Ovid’s condemnation of meat-eating.

1

This part of the poem contains an early reference
to coloips:

viscera continuo costis rapuisse iuvabat,
et tremulos artus in nova frusta dare,
ventre bovis coquere, aut verubus torrere salignis.
and the Golden Age in *Metamorphoses* xv, but is
probably in keeping with his policy of turning over
a new leaf, a policy which is made clear in the
last elegy. Leech’s poetry has on the whole
celebrated women and wine. In the third elegy of
this second book he transfers his adoration from
courtesans to chaste women: in the fourth elegy
he renounces wine absolutely: in the fifth elegy
it will be seen that he renounces even love of
chaste women.

This last poem is headed, appropriately
enough, *Amatoriiis Valedicat*. Here Leech states
that his verse cannot do justice to Delia’s beauty,
and he therefore bids farewell to her and to all
the machinery of love poetry.

> Cur ego finitis quaeram te claudere gyris
curve meo sperem tollere in astra sono?
Nunc igitur Paphiaeque genae Phoebique capilli,
aemulaque aetheriis lumina bina globis,
et mille in roseis errantia basia labris,
et non mortali caetera dignasono,
vosque simil, Venerisque puer comitesque, valete,
et chorus et numeris barbite grate meis.

It is enough that in youth he burned with
love, spent watchful nights and groaned in anguish.
Now his purpose is to write of higher things:

> ut pater omnipotens, totum quod ubique videmus,
quod mare, terra, aer, astra polusque cluet,
struxerit e nihilo, atque sui partem immortalem
claurerit olim huius corporis in latebris.
Nevertheless, he is not ashamed to have followed the camp of Cupid in his youth, for love befits youth as flowers the spring, and without love the race would perish.

This final elegy may serve to explain the change in Leech's attitude to life. If his intention is to write a religious epic, then he must disown his poems on sensual love and wine-bibbing. It is true that even eminent churchmen, such as Beza, occasionally wrote in Latin that which would be frowned on if expressed in the vernacular, but such writings could probably be excused as mere academic trifling after the manner of Latin poets. Leech's four books of poems on women and wine, however, can scarcely be regarded as mere academic trifles, and are obviously an embarrassment to one who proposes to write an epic on the Creation. 1

It is to be noted that, although Leech expresses bitter regret at his indulgence in wine-drinking, he makes no such statement concerning sensual love. By the use of the single word casta to describe his mistress he severs his

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1 At the end of his seventh elegy Milton also disowns the love poetry he has written.
connection with the sensual aspect of love. His farewell to love of the Petrarchan type does not take the form of an accusation, but merely states that he is unable to do justice to the beauty of his mistress, and suggests that he is now rather old for such pursuits. This seems to support the suggestion made earlier in this work, that while Leech's poems on wine are the fruit of experience, his love poems are largely the product of reading and imagination.

These elegies, when considered in conjunction with earlier poems, show clearly the complex pattern of Leech's poetry. Latín writers, Greek writers, writers of the Petrarchan school, and, finally, the religious beliefs of his time all play a part in determining the character of his poetry. The assessment of the relative importance of these influences is largely a matter of subjective judgment, as they cannot be equated. Subject to this caveat it may be said that, apart from the Anacreontics, Ovid's influence on Leech is greater than that of any other writer. Leech's mythology is predominantly Ovidian and is usually taken from the Metamorphoses. His language seems to owe more to Ovid than to others, although he occasionally uses Vergilian phrases and imitates
Catullus in the use of diminutives. His subjects are usually taken from contemporary events, and when love is the theme, his treatment of this subject is often modelled on Ovid. It cannot, however, be said that Ovidian love poems are more numerous than those in the Petrarchan manner, and it must be remembered that in the *Idyllia* the love theme is treated in the fashion of Vergil's *Eclogues*. Leech's favourite metre is elegiac, and although this metre is not confined to Ovid, it was so commonly associated with his name in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that its use by Leech is an indication of Ovidian tendencies. Leech's style often seems to be Ovidian, but the assessment of style is so difficult that one may only offer a personal opinion on the matter.

But apart from all these considerations the reader of Leech must bear in mind that to the writers of the Middle Ages Ovid was the high priest of love. Although much of the love poetry written at this time was very different from that of Ovid, the majority of the poets nevertheless looked on him as the fountain head of love poetry. Thus Leech is indirectly inspired by Ovid even in those poems which seem to be written in imitation of Petrarch or his followers.
Despite his considerable debt to Ovid in many respects Leech seldom expresses the Ovidian spirit in his poems. He has little humour, Ovidian or otherwise, and no descriptions of scenery after Ovid's fashion. He has, however, some poems in which he becomes the Ovidian lover to whom love is a pleasant sensual game which does not involve the emotions to any great extent. In one elegy, where he imitates the Heroides, he does seem to appreciate and reproduce the sense of indignation and desertion experienced by a deserted woman. This poem, perhaps, shows Leech at his closest to Ovid. Apart from these few poems it may be said that while Leech succeeds in imitating Ovid in some respects, he fails to appreciate the spirit in which he writes.
CHAPTER VIII

DAVID HUME
The poems of David Hume are of interest not merely for their contents, but for the interplay of influences which affect the various portions of his works. Part of his work is Ovidian but shows evidence of the influence of Scottish and medieval literature, and of his religious beliefs. Some of his poems are in the manner of Vergil’s *Eclogues*, but the topics are contemporary. He has a long poem, largely in the language of Ovid, which is really a sermon in verse. His epigrams are occasionally reminiscent of Martial, but again the topics are those of his own time.

As his elegies are mainly Ovidian, it may be advisable to consider them at some length.

The first elegy commences with the conventional apology for his lack of poetic ability and protestation of his reluctance to write:

Ipse ego Apollineas artes, durumque laborem,  
(nam labor est, quondam qui mihi lusus erat)  
horreo, et invitus iam manc accingor in illas,  
impatiens tanti pondera ferre iugi.  
Ah, quoties posui sumptas, positasque resumpsit  
et facta est chartis quanta litura meis!  
Ah, quoties dubio commisi carbasa vento,  
verterunt quoties vela retorta Notil  
Non mea, qua quondam, Zephyris spirantibus, aura  
currit in Aoniis hospita puppis aquis.  
Non vigor ingeni est, non vis ea quae fuit olim,  
ludaret assuetos cum mea Musa iocos.  

------------------

DAVID HUME
Quodque fuit primis quondam mihi flumen in annis
aruit et rivo pauperiore fluit.

Mens hebet, effetetoque in pectore pristina virtus,
neoc vigor, ingenio, qui fuit ante, manet.
qui mihi maturo praecox spondebat in aequo
carina Phoebaeis aequiparanda modis:
nunc iacet, heu segnis nimium et laetatus inani
spe perit, in media destituitque via.

The whole poem is an elaboration of the theme
expressed in the lines quoted above. While this
theme is not essentially Ovidian, Hume's treatment
of it and the numerous allusions introduced show
that Ovid is his model. In complaining of his
inability to write as in former days he says:

Nam mihi seu pigrum faciunt aconita veternum,
luridave Aeaea toxica mista manu;
verbave caeruleos squalentia terga dracones
rumpere et ignivomos vincere sueta boves.

Here is yet another reference to Medea, the witch
whose name occurs frequently in Johnston and Leech.

Again, he compares his sad change to that of
Actaeon or Philemon, and in the couplet which
follows has in mind the petrifying effect of the
head of Medusa:

Non magis Actaeon liquidas expavit ad undas,
cui dedit iratae cornua dextra deae:
neoc mirata suum est frondere Philemona Baucis
et superinducta cortice membra tegi,
quam mea mutari gelidis praecordia saxis
miror et in scopulos dirigisse novos.

His repeated complaints that his strength of mind
and body has left him may also be inspired by the
sentiments so often expressed in Ovid's poems from
exile. In short, Hume considers that he has suffered an unwelcome metamorphosis, and in this poem constantly introduces reminders of the works of Ovid, the outstanding writer on this topic.

The second elegy, after an opening line reminiscent of Vergil, goes on to describe at length how Hume had been for a long time invulnerable to the shafts of Cupid. He had preferred to hunt under the protection of Diana, who had warded off all assaults. The rest of the poem describes Cupid’s wrath at being thus frustrated, and his resolve to pursue Hume until he had finally wounded him.

There is no similar passage in Ovid’s account of his own experiences, but the reference to hunting suggests that the story of Venus and Adonis is really in Hume’s mind. In the Metamorphoses Adonis is portrayed as carefree and engrossed in hunting, while Venus anxiously pursues him. Hume portrays himself as carefree and engrossed in hunting while angry Cupid is thwarted by Diana. Apart from this there is nothing in this short elegy to indicate that Ovid, rather than other writers, is Hume’s source of inspiration.

\[1\]

Ille ego, qui pueri nimium securus amoris
Vergil writes:
Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
(Aen. 1, 1a)
The third elegy opens with a hunting scene. Hume is in a wooded valley when one of his dogs startles a bird in a thicket. He pursues the bird in vain and finally sinks down exhausted on the grass. There he suddenly sees Margarita, a maiden of exceptional beauty. Cupid seizes his opportunity and wounds Hume, at the same time piercing the maiden with a shaft which makes her avoid love. Cupid then exults over his long delayed success, and dwells on the sufferings which Hume will endure from unrequited love.

In the opening lines of this poem, the reader is reminded of the setting in which Actaeon sees Diana. (Met. iii, 138 ff.) The valley, the thickly set trees, the water welling from a spring, and above all the references to hunting show that this setting from Ovid is in the poet's mind. The language is not Ovidian to any extent, but Hume does use the word illimis, which is seldom found outside Ovid:

\[
fons \ldots \ldots \llap{\hbox{illimis}} \llap{\hbox{murmure}} \llap{\hbox{volvit}} \llap{\hbox{aquas}}.\]

Further evidence of Ovid's influence at this point is provided by Hume's list of his hunting pack, which is almost certainly in imitation of the list of Actaeon's dogs in Metamorphoses iii. There is
no need for this detailed list of dogs in Hume's poem, as only one dog plays any part in the story.

Again, just as Actaeon discovers Diana after hunting, so Hume discovers Margaris after pursuing the bird. Here, however, the influence of Ovid is replaced by that of later writers. If he were to follow Ovid here we should expect a detailed description of physical charms, given with that detachment which is typical of Ovian (cf. Amores v.). Instead, when he sees her he says:

\[ \text{hanc ego dum admiror fixusque haerensque stupensque,} \\
\text{divaque sit dubito foeminave anne dea.....} \]

Statements of this kind may be found in medieval or later writing, but here it is at least possible that Hume is thinking of the scene in the Kingis Quair where the poet says on seeing his lady for the first time:

\[ \text{anon astert.....} \\
\text{the blude of all my body to my hert.} \]

Hume writes some forty lines in praise of Margaris. Part of this description is purely physical, but his language is restrained and has nothing of the erotic quality so common in such cases.

\[ \text{Quid memorem sparsos per eburnea colla capillos?} \\
\text{aut quas aureolo legerat orbe comas?} \\
\text{quid teretes digitos; aptasque amplexibus ulnas,} \\
\text{brachia, vel nivei pectora lata soli?} \]
Part of his description is in the Petrarchan tradition. He declares that she outshines in beauty the sun and moon, and says of the moon:

Illa polo cessit pudibundaque condidit era et maculam aequoreis, conscia, lavit aquis, nec nisi post medium rursus se ostendere noctem ausa est et vultus promere victa suos.

Such sentiments are certainly not Ovidian, but may be found in the poetry of Hume's own times. It is not possible to say with certainty that here Hume is imitating any particular poet: he is merely following the trend of his age. Drummond of Hawthornden, for instance, often writes in this strain:

Eurymedon's praise of Mira

Gemme of the Mountains, Glorie of our Plaines
Rare Miracle of Nature, and of Love
Sweet Atlas who all Beauties Heavens sustaines,
No, Beauties Heaven, where all her Wonders move,
The Sunne from East to West who all doth see,
On this low Globe sees nothing like to thee.

The remainder of the poem is mainly concerned with Hume's sufferings as a rejected suitor, and needs no comment.

The fourth elegy may be passed over briefly. It begins with a tedious account of Hume's woes as an unsuccessful lover - "the lachrymose and dejecting..."

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1 L. E. Kastner, Poetical Works of William Drummond, i, p. 132.
aspects of love which tradition has made so familiar."¹ These sentiments are certainly not Ovidian, for Ovid never regarded love in such a serious light. There is some of this in Propertius, but on the whole this wailing has more in common with the medieval tradition of the young man who dies for love.

The poem goes on to complain that Margaris has preferred the company of a rich but uncultured man. In words which might well apply today Hume says to her:

"Although bodies are joined in matrimony, unlike minds will never unite. You may wish to read Vergil or Plato: he will prefer to drink until dawn, or gamble with dice or cards, and will constantly utter blasphemies. If you reprove him in horror he will laugh at you."

Such sentiments are certainly not classical and the reference to blasphemy:

aut talis vacat aut foliis: per vulnera Christum dilacerans, iurat brachia, crura, caput

makes it fairly certain that Hume's inspiration here comes from the strongly held religious beliefs of his time. It almost seems that in the midst of

his pose as a rejected lover Hume has thought of a case where a woman did actually marry a rich boor, and cannot resist the temptation to preach a sermon on this. Excessive drinking, gambling and swearing would no doubt be frequently condemned from Scottish pulpits, and this digression by Hume is almost certainly in keeping with his own innermost convictions.

The fifth elegy is the most important and interesting of his poems. It begins with a dream in which he is visited by Venus and Cupid. The goddess is described in conventional terms with no trace of eroticism.

Dextera littoream crispabat candida myrtum,
   lambebat summas myrtea serta comas,
Deliciae circum, risusque et blanda voluptas;
   gratque festivis otia plena ioci

Aurea caesaries tenerae lanuginis instar
   in varios docilis nexibus ire modos.
Ambrosiam et suaves spirabat vertice amores
   quos vafer ingenti foenore vendit Arabs.¹

(In this last line Hume's indignation at the price has obviously driven him to make this comment, which is quite out of place in any description of a goddess.)

¹Propertius writes:

Et Tyros ostrinos praebet Gadmea colores
   Cinnamon et multi pastor odoris Arabs.
   (IV, xiii, 7-8, Paley's Edition)
In the couplet which follows he attempts to show the dual nature of love, which brings both joy and grief, but merely succeeds in writing nonsense:

\[ \text{discordes oculi, quorum hic ridere videtur,} \]
\[ \text{flebat et a lachrymis humidus alter erat.} \]

Speaking of love as a campaign and the lover as a soldier, Venus proceeds to accuse Hume of being a deserter:

\[ \text{Quo fugitivus abis? et quid mea, transfuga, castra deseris? ingenio castra sequenda tuo.} \]
\[ \text{Siste pedem, et vanos cursus moderare labores;} \]
\[ \text{haec fuga, si volumus tarda futura tibi est.} \]
\[ \text{Aspice, habet pennas, et plena tela pharetra;} \]
\[ \text{et quamvis fugias, pectora carpit Amor.} \]

Then follows a long passage in which Venus extols the service and also the power of Amor, and gives numerous instances, ranging from Zeus to Solomon, of those who have submitted to his power.

Reference is also made to Ovid:

\[ \text{et male vulgatos miseri Nasonis amores,} \]
\[ \text{qui vacua est nostris pagina nulla iocis.} \]

Hume is then warned that he will soon become too old for love, even as Buchanan and Beza became old, and is assured that should any damsel prove intractable, Venus and Cupid will be present to help him.

After such a passage the reader naturally expects to find an account of Hume's victorious prowess in the lists of love, but nothing could be
farther from the truth. As Hume is pondering vagos amores suddenly there appears to him Relligio and it is apparent that John Knox has superseded Ovid. Relligio then gives her own most unflattering account of the effects of love,—effects which seem to include extremely unpleasant diseases and untimely death:

et venit ante suos annos properata senectus
et properata suum mors venit ante diem.

She points out the advantages of leading a good life and urges him to be ready for death which may come when least expected.

On this high moral note the poem ends.

Bradner suggests that this ending may be a later addition, written when Hume was older and more serious in outlook. This could be so, as otherwise he spends too much time in describing the pleasures of love and too little time in denouncing them. On the other hand it is possible that in concluding this dream allegory in this way he is merely following the convention summarised thus by C.S. Lewis: "I have tried to show that the very nature of courtly love demanded that the perfect love poem should end with a recantation."¹ He

¹ The Allegory of Love, p. 218.
points out that this recantation is found in the De Arte Honeste Amandi of Andreas Capellanus, in Chaucer’s Troilus and Cryseide and in Gower’s Confessio Amantis. Leech, as we have seen, recants after many poems on love and wine: Sir Philip Sidney heads one of his poems Splendidis longum valedicio nugis, and begins thus:

*Leave me, O love, which reachest but to dust,*  
*and thou, my mind, aspire to higher things.*

Milton’s seventh Latin elegy bears a close resemblance to that of Hume. He begins by spurning love, but after being reproached by Cupid he falls in love, and suffers all the woes of the rejected lover. In the conclusion of the poem, however, he is freed by learning from this bondage, and is made to realise his folly in seeking to worship Venus.

---

1. O yonge freshe folkes, he or she  
   In which that love upgroweth with your age  
   Repeyreth hoom fro worldly vanitee  
   And of your herte upcasteth the visage  
   To thilke god that after his ymage  
   Yow made, and thynketh al nys but a faire  
   This world, that passeth soone as floures faire.  
   *(v, 1835-41)*

2. For Love, which that blind was evre  
   Makth alle his servants blinde also,  
   My Sone, and if thou have be so  
   Yit is it time to withdrawe  
   And set thine herte under that lawe  
   The which of reson is governed  
   And noght of will.  
   *(viii, 2130-6)*
Although love as envisaged by Hume may not be the adulterous courtly love of earlier times, there is nevertheless the feeling that this earthly passion unfit a man to serve God and must be discarded if he is to be a true Christian. Hume's love poetry, like that of Milton, contains nothing morally wrong, but both poets feel that such dalliance is unworthy of one who "aspires to higher things."

But this strongly Christian ending to the elegy must not obscure the fact that Ovid is the predominant influence in a large part of the poem. Apart from the numerous mythological allusions, which may usually be ascribed to Ovid, the main theme in the speech of Venus is Ovidian. The opening lines:

Quo fugitivus abis et quid mea, transfuga, castra deseris? ingenio castra sequenda tuo

inevitably remind the reader of the opening line in Amores ix:

Militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido.

The warning to Hume to pursue love before old age overtakes him is probably inspired by the fourth line in the same poem:

turpe senex miles, turpe senilis amor.

This military metaphor is continued throughout her
speech:

Ille meis demum miles venit utilis armis
aptus erat Martis qui fera castra sequi.

........................................

Quosque dies rigidis ferus exercerbat in armis
dulcia nox molles induit arma viros.

........................................

Molle ministerium seros neque transit in annos,
sint data militiae tempora pauca meae.

........................................

Beza tulit quondam prima mea signa iuventa
et cecinit molli dulcia bella tuba,
at nunc frigidior bello nunc segnior aetas
defunctum castris iussit abire meis;
tempus erit, cum tu positis quoque liber ab armis,
et gravis emeritus otia miles ages.

All this is Ovidian, but as in Milton, biblical
references are interspersed:

Esto tibi exemplum Solymae regnator opimae,
inclusus et cuius tu quoque nomen habes. (i.e. David)
Cuius nomen habes, sequere et Mavortia facta,
et teneras flammans, dulcisonamque lyram

When Relligio speaks the whole tone of the
poem changes and Ovid is no longer in Hume's mind.
The closing lines form a complete contrast to those
spoken by Venus:

Pelle moras, nescis roseo quid Lucifer ortu,
quidve rubens sero vespere stella ferat.
Ipse mamem coelo Dominus pretendit ab alto,
et vocat in magni flammea templae poli.
Ipse aderit, Natusque et Spiritus; ipse iuvabit,
sufficiet menti robur et ipse tuae.

This is the language of the Bible, and with this
Hume bids farewell to earthly love.

The next poem, *Ascelanus*, is merely a long sermon in verse, and is not Ovidian. The poem begins with a survey of the natural resources, creatures and physical features of the world. Then follows a long description of the glory of God, the author of the universe, and of the happy state of believers, freed by Him from all fear. The poem closes with an exhortation to the infant Ascelanus to choose the strait road which will lead him to salvation.

It is inspired by Hume's strong religious beliefs, and apart from an occasional phrase, is not influenced by Ovid. One is tempted to surmise that Lucretius inspires the writer in the passages describing the physical world, but it is difficult to find evidence in support of this theory. It may be noted in passing that Hume's confidence concerning his destiny is in strong contrast to the doubts and fears expressed by Dunbar in his "Lament for the Makars:"

I that in heal was and gladness
Am troublit now with great seikness,
And feeblit with infirmity:
Timor Mortis conturbat me.

Hume has four eclogues, inspired mainly by Vergil. The first, spoken by the nightingale,
laments the death of Amaryllis (Elizabeth). The second, spoken by Echo, hails the accession of Daphnis (James). The third eclogue, spoken in turn by Lycidas and Moeris, praises Daphnis, after the manner of Vergil's ninth eclogue. The final eclogue is a dialogue between Meliboeus and Menalmas, and praises the union of Scotland and England.

These poems are clearly written with Vergil in mind, and there is little to remind the reader of Ovid. In the second eclogue, spoken by Echo, one feels occasionally that Hume may have introduced rhyming endings in imitation of those in Ovid's poem about Echo:

> fausta canit, grataque audit mage grata sorore

> seu dotes numerans, seu vaturn oracula recordans magnanimo; sedemque tuam terramque Britannam regnari; et toti longe celebrarier orbi

> et quot fulgentia caelis signa micant. Servit luna et flammantia solis sidera. Dant fastu posito diademata laudem, submissique pedum lambunt vestigia reges.

But on the whole these eclogues are not influenced by Ovid, and even the occurrence of the rhyming endings given above may be due to chance.

Hume's epigrams are mostly short poems on a variety of subjects, and only a few are epigrams.
in the modern sense. Five of these short poems are concerned with the Gunpowder Plot, and one contains a bitter attack on Roman Catholics. This is the only occasion when Hume's religious beliefs lead him to indulge in polemics. Ovid has little or nothing to do with these poems, and indeed it is difficult to find evidence of the influence of any Latin writer on this section of Hume's works.

The language of the elegies is frequently indebted to Ovid. All the extracts from Hume given below are taken from the Delitia, vol. I.

Ovid:
   et leve cerata modulatur harundine carmen
   (Met., ii, 54.)
Hume:
   ut quamvis tenerum meditare arundine carmen
   p. 380

Ovid:
   et modo formatis operitur frondibus arbor
   (Fasti, i, 153)
Hume:
   et modo formosis arbor amicta comis
   p. 381

Ovid:
   in tenues evanidus exeat auras
   (Remedia Amoris, 653)
Hume:
   in tenues abiere, ut fumì, evanida ventos
   p. 381

Ovid:
   factaque lascivis livida colla notis
   (Amores, I, viii, 98)
Hume:
   servitii et nullis livida terga notis
   p. 382

Ovid:
   vidit et ut tenerae flammam rapuere medullae
   (Amores, III, x, 27)
Hume:
   quae valeat teneras exurere flamma medullas
   p. 384
Ovid:
omnia vipereo spicula felle limant

(Ex Ponto, I, ii, 16)

Hume:
aut fera letifero spicula felle limit

p. 384

Ovid:
haesit et in vultu consttit usque tuo

(Amores, I, viii, 24)

Hume:
haeret et in tergo sedulus usque meo

p. 384

Hume's eclogues have occasionally a phrase borrowed from Vergil:

Vergil:
stabant ter centum nitidi in praesepibus altis

(Aeneid, vii, 275)
more patrum nivea implebunt mulctralia vaccae

(Georg. iii, 177)

Hume:
...........stant ad praesepia vaccae
et niveo spumant mulctralia nectare et ipsis

p. 404

Vergil:
saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro

(Ecol. i, 55)

Hume:
.................lenique susurro
invitat mollem somnum...........

p. 403

There are also borrowings from other writers, but it is possible to read fairly long extracts from Hume without being reminded of the language of any Latin writer, other than Ovid or Vergil. On the whole Hume has fewer borrowings from classical authors than Johnston or Leech.
Some of Hume's mythological allusions have already been noted in the discussion of the elegies. Like most of his contemporaries he refrains from relating Ovid's stories in full, but has numerous references to them.

Non ego Sisyphium saxum, non saeva racuso verbena Tisiphones Eumenidumque pati. Non vel Aloidum poenas, vel vinola Promethei quaque rapax Titio visera carpit, avem. (Delitiae, i, 388)

..............................Iovi. Cum faciem indutis mentitasque cormna tauri vexit Agenoream per freta salsa nurum cum latuit nivem iussus sub imagine cyni, ivit et in vultus casta Diana, tuos. (Delitiae, i, 395)

et mens ut peteret notos Leander amores non timuit rapidis credere corpus aquis. (Delitiae, i, 396)

Hume also refers to the mythology used by Homer and Vergil:

Quid nisi iucundos lusus, temerataque lecti foedera Masonides grataque furta canit? Materiam tanto praebet adultera vati Tyndaris, Oebalio raptu pella viro. Ili ad magnanimum ducta est Briseis Achillem, inque Agamennonio pene locata thoro, Virgillii in parvo quam multa volumine Dido est, Dido Dardaniis hospes amica procis. Dido ubi cessavit, Phrygios Lavinia coniunx in thalamos Latio dote superba venit. (Delitiae, i, 398)

The majority of the Ovidian allusions refer to the *Metamorphosis*,.
fifty lines Hume has thirteen allusions to the Metamorphoses, and three to his other works. There are, on the other hand, passages which contain few such allusions. In Hume, as in others, poems in a serious vein often have few allusions and it is possible to read many lines in his poem Ascelanus without encountering any mythology, apart from such conventional phrases as Iovis ales, dirae Eumenides, Ditis regna, Cupidinis arcus. In this respect Hume resembles Johnston and Leech. When the subject of his verse moves him deeply he is not so concerned to display his erudition by a large number of mythological allusions.

Hume's eclogues, epigrams and religious poems are not influenced in style by Ovid. His elegies occasionally seem to bear traces of Ovid's style and the following passage from his first elegy, part of which has already been quoted in this chapter, is perhaps the best example of this influence:

1Delitiae, i, 378-400
Horret equus stimulos, strictasque recusat habenas,
et pavido rigidos respuit ore lupos.

Gernis ut inviti veniant ad aratra iuvenci,
seraque dent flexo colla premenda iugo?
Idem sponte sua properant, si segnius illos
in consuetu vigil prata bubulus agat.
Oitia sectamur cuncti, placidosque lepores,
at gravis invita sumitur hasta manu.

Effugimus duro aversa mente labores;
et nisi quae levis est, sarcina nulla placet. 10
Ipse ego Apollinaeas artes, durumque laborem,
(nam labor est, quondam qui mihi lusus erat)
horreo et invitus iam munc accingor in illas,
impatiens tanti pondera ferre iugi.

Ah, quoties posui sumptas, positaque resumpsi
et facta est chartis quanta littera meis!
Ah, quoties dubio commisi carbasca vento!
Verterunt quoties vela retorta Noti!
Non mea, qua quondam, Zephyris spirantibus, aura
currit in Aoniis hospita puppis aquis. 20
Non vigor ingenii est, non vis ea, quae fuit olim,
luderet assuetos cum mea Musa iocos.

Et pudet et fateor, pene haec tactantia, frustra
conor in invitos cogere verba pedes,
Scilicet incassum, tot iam desueta per annos,
dextra reluctantmente rectractat opus.
Torpet ut exceam scabra rubigne ferrum,
quod tritum Oebalio clarius aere nitet.

Cultus ager fulvis splendet formosus aristis,
atque inculta feris sentibus arva rigent. 30
Sic fuit illa auri, seu non argentea vena
fluminque ingenii quantulasunque mi;
quodque fuit primis quondam mihi flumen in annis,
aruit et rivo pauperiore fluit.

Dum mihi desidia pectus male torpet inerti
otique a studiis segnia lentus ago.
Aut mea sollicitis languet mens anxia curis,
et vetat Aonidum castra chorosque sequi.

(Delitiae, i, 378-9)

To what extent, then, is Hume an Ovidian?

It will be seen that in the technique of verse
writing Hume is on occasion strongly influenced by
Ovid.\(^1\) It is probably correct to say that his

\(^1\) See Chapter V.
metre, style, language and mythology owe more to Ovid than to any other. In the treatment of subjects, however, Ovid shares the chief place with Vergil and the Protestant religion. Hume's elegies are, on the whole, Ovidian; his long poem Ascelanus is simply a sermon in verse; his eclogues are dominated by Vergil; his epigrams owe little to any classical writer. It is probable that Hume, like Milton, writes love poetry largely because he feels this is part of the accomplishments of a Latin scholar. At any rate, his love poetry never achieves that realism which comes from sincere emotion. His mistress, Margarita, never becomes flesh and blood, but remains a beautiful and accomplished abstraction, and his sufferings for love are merely a wearisome iteration of the sentiments expressed by a legion of love-lorn poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His attitude to his mistress is far from the easy cynical approach adopted by Ovid, and often savours of the worship of the Petrarchans rather than the business-like appraisement of Ovid. Only a poet of the calibre of Milton can reproduce the essential spirit of classical poetry, and persuade us to forget for the moment that he is in reality a devout Christian. Hume can reproduce
with reasonable efficiency the mechanics of
Ovidian verse, but the real Ovid is not to be
found in his works.
CHAPTER IX

SIR ROBERT AYTON
SIR ROBERT AYTON

Ayton is the only neo-Latin writer considered here who has also composed a considerable quantity of English verse. The bulk of this verse consists of love poetry in the fashion of the time. There are, for instance, no less than fourteen poems with the word "mistress" in the title:

Address to his Mistress.
Adieu to his Mistress.
To a scornful Mistress.
To a careless Mistress,
On an inconsistent Mistress.
On the eyes of his Mistress, etc.

The following sonnet may be regarded as typical of his work.

On the Eyes of his Mistress

Were those thon eyes, or lightnings from above whose glorious glimpse dazzled so much my sight?
I took them to be lightnings sent from love to threaten that his thunderbolt would light.
Yet lightning could not be so long, so bright -
they rather seemed to be some meteor, whose rays
promoved to the meridian of their height,
yet e'en in that their number them betrays:
suns were they not, for there endures but one;
their force, their figure, and their colour says
that they were heav'ns - yet heav'ns on earth are none -
whate'er they were, my sight no odds espies
'twixt heaven, 'twixt sun, 'twixt lightning and thine eyes.

His Latin poems are in complete contrast to the above, in that they contain no love poetry. The varied nature of his subjects may be gauged from

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1The edition used is that produced by Charles Roger at Edinburgh in 1644.
the titles of the first six poems by him contained in the *Delitiae*:

Ad Jacobum VI... Roberti Aytoni Panegyris.  
Epicedium in obitum Thomae Rhaedi  
Basia sive Stræna ad Jacobum Hayum, Equitem Illustissimum.  
Lassus in funere Raphælis Thorei...  
Carina Caro.  
De prædictione pulvereae... *(i.e. the Gunpowder Plot)*

A comparison of his English and Latin verse is not therefore practicable, as his subjects are entirely different. In his English verse he is one of the Petrarchan school, and his love poems are those to be expected from a writer of his age. In his Latin verse, on the other hand, he seldom shows traces of the influence of any writer. In this respect he shows greater independence in his Latin than in his English verse.

Twenty-three of his Latin poems are given in the *Delitiae*, and of these only a small number bear any evidence of Ovid's influence. From the following pages it will be seen that Ovid is not replaced by any other classical writer, and the conclusion to be drawn is that Ayton does not feel that the close imitation of these writers is desirable in his Latin verse.

The most obvious form of imitation is probably that of linguistic borrowing. Ayton's language does not contain a multitude of borrowings from
Latin writers. Occasionally one meets a phrase reminiscent of Ovid or Vergil:

Ovid:
> croceo velatus amictu

(Aen. iii, 658)

Ayton:
> niveo velatur amictu

(Vergil: monstorum horrendum ingens, qui lumen ademptum

(Delitiae, 1, 44)

(Ayton: monstorum horrendum ingens, gemino crudelius angue

(Delitiae, 1, 42)

Occasionally he writes several lines which remind the reader of passages in Ovid, although it is difficult to say that any particular phrase is borrowed from him. In his description of spring, for instance, Ayton would seem to have him in mind:

Ovid:
> Omnia tunc florent, tunc est nova temporis aetas et nova de gravido palmita gemma tumet, et modo formatis operitur frondibus arbor, prodit et in summum seminis herba solum; et tepidum volucres concentibus aera mulcent, ludit et in pratis luxuriatque pecus.

(Fasti, 1, 151-6)

Ayton:
> Cuncta virent vireisque novas a vere resumunt, deciduis languet spes mea sola comis.

(Delitiae, 1, 69)

En unquam transcribit hyems sua tempora veri, en unquam brumae ver sua regna dabit?
Spes mea, jam tepidi redeunt cum tempora veris aut exspectata fertilitate viret.

Again, in his Carina Caro, where Carina is attempting to justify her actions, the language
contains echoes of Ovid's tale of Arion and the sailors, and of Vergil's story of Sinon.

Aytton:
Dant veniam caeco populorum iura furori, heu, nimis est species nots furoris amor, Sed nihil excusò, crimen non deprecor, immn nec poenam, fas sit morte piare seclus. Fas mihi sit, quae cumque parat tibi vulnera livor, (qui sequitur claros corpus ut umbra viros). (Delitiae, i, 65)

The combination of dant veniam and mortem non deprecor may be inspired by Ovid, while the repetition of fas is reminiscent of Sinon's defence before the Trojans.

On the whole, however, Aytton is little indebted to the great Latin writers. It is said of Petrarch that he deprecated even the smallest debt of phrase to the ancients, and was annoyed when he discovered that in one of his Eclogues he had unconsciously borrowed from Vergil the phrase atque intenat ore. It is possible that Aytton, a writer of English verse in the Petrarclhan tradition, followed him in this matter also, but this must remain a matter for conjecture.

Aytton's mythological allusions are also comparatively rare, and it is possible to read many lines and find only a few such allusions. In his

1Fasti, ii, 79-118.
2Aenid, ii, 157-8.
Aula Valedicit, for instance, a poem of sixty lines, there are only five allusions. This may be compared with Leech's Iani Maliferi Strena, in which almost every line has its allusion. Those which do occur in Ayton's works are usually conventional and may be used without any conscious reference to their classical source. Phrases such as fugere Camoenae, redeant solennia Iani and Phoebus Phoebique vacans ardoribus are part of the stock in trade of writers of the age and it would be unwise to attempt to ascribe them to Ovid or any other writer.

Ayton's subject matter is not usually Ovidian, and his treatment of it owes little to Ovid. His Carina Caro, however, is obviously inspired by Ovid. This poem begins with a couplet which reminds one of the Tristia:

Haec Caro Carina suo mandata salutem mittere quam possit, non habet ipsa sibi.

The speaker, Carina, who is in prison, sends a letter to her husband, who is also in prison, and expresses her deep distress at this reversal of their fortunes.

Tristia, V, xiii, 1-2:
Hanc tuus e Getico mittit tibi Naso salutem, mittere si quisquam, quo caret ipse, potest.
Hactenus exortes curarum viximus una,
vitaque laetitiae nil nisi scena fuit:
nunc qualis tragicum solet infamare theatrum
gaudia praecipiti turbine versa ruunt.

She is pregnant, and therefore has to fear, not
only the ordeal of trial, but also that of child-
birth.

Mille modis pereo. Iam iam Lucina minatur,
tormina mox iudex asperiora parat.
Funcata puerperii fuero si forte periculo,
carnificis vix est effugienda manus.

After expressing regret that she cannot die for her
husband she draws a contrast between his former
state and his present confinement.

Tene per augustam solitum dominarier aulum,
dividere et famulis atria tota tuis,
nunc crypta squalente premi! nec sole nec aura
nunc nisi per rimas semimicante frui!

She then tells of her own crime, and ascribes her
sin to the overwhelming power of love.

Toxica si data sunt, excuset foemina factum,
toxica pro telis sexus inermis habet.
Denique quicquid erat, magni fuit error amoris,
et facile absolvit crimine quisquis amat.
Dant veniam caeco populorum iura furori,
heu, nimis est species nota furoris amor.

This poem, which has an interesting historical
background, is almost certainly inspired by Ovid.
The similarity between the opening couplet and
that of Tristia V, xiii, reminds the reader of

1Carina is, in reality, the Countess of Somerset,
who was tried in 1616 for the murder by poison
of Sir Thomas Overbury, her husband's rival.
Ovid's poems from exile, and this resemblance is emphasised by the contrast drawn between the writer's present misery and her previous happiness. Such a contrast is implied in very many of Ovid's poems written in Tomi. The confession that she has sinned under the irresistible force of love is, in all probability, modelled on similar situations in the *Hercides*. In particular, the letter from Canace to Macareus comes to mind. There is the same confession of guilt, the same suggestion that overpowering love has caused the ruin of the speaker, and the reader is left with the same feeling of pity for the unborn child, which, although innocent, must yet suffer.

This is the only Ovidian poem in Ayton's works. The others deal with a wide variety of topics, such as the death of the Duke of Buckingham, the Gunpowder Plot, the war between Austria and Bohemia, and Ayton's own fortunes. In one of his poems he expresses gratitude at being made a Companion of the Bedchamber - *Cum in privatum cubiculum admitteretur* - and although it cannot be described as Ovidian, the flattery contained in it reminds the reader of that contained in Ovid's poems in exile. While he cannot go so far as to deify James as Ovid deified Augustus, there is the
persistent underlying suggestion that James, if not divine, is more than human:

Ex quo voce tua, Rex augustissime regum, copia facta mihi primum calcare cubile, obtutus captare sacros, bibere aure loquelas doctaque flexanimae gustare oracula linguae, ................................................................. quo more debeat adrepens genibus sacris vestigia vultu verreret et tactae libaret basia dextrae.  

(Delitiae, 1, 66-7)

Although flattery is to be expected in a poem addressed to a king, it may be felt that here it is inspired by a familiarity with Ovid's Tristia and Ex Ponto.

In contrast to this flattery Ayton dares to criticise James in the closing couplet of his poem on the war between Austria and Bohemia. James' disregard of the fate of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, caused much adverse comment, and inspired Ayton to write as follows:

De rebus Bohemicis

Dum gener infaustis tentat temerarius ausis eripere Austriaco colla Bohemae iugo, consilium dammas Iacobis Britannicis, et Orbis ne te consilium esse putet, permitis generum fatis, causaeque labanti suppetias sola vel prece ferre negas. Quin etiam laribus pulsos natamque nepotesque aspicis immoti et sine rore genis. Iustitiae O mirum specimen! de te tamem orbis quid musset, liceat dicere pace tua. Nac ratione potes iustus Rex forte videri, sed non crudelis non potes esse pater.  

(Delitiae, 1, 70)
This criticism is not Ovidian, of course, but is worthy of mention in that it shows that his attitude to royal personages was not always one of servility.

His metrical practice has been discussed earlier in this work and it has been shown that he does not seem to be influenced by any writer in particular.

Finally his style must be considered. Although he does not seem to indulge in deliberate borrowing from classical writers his style does bear traces of Ovid. The following poem in which he expresses disappointment at the failure of his hopes, seems to contain more traces of Ovid's style than his other works.

Aula vale, quid me ludis fallacibus umbris,
quid mentem amenti crudelitate necas?
Iam bis frigoribus gelidis astricta quievit
terra per hibernas desidiosa moras.
Bis Zephyro tepfacta novo pia viscera partu
solvit et in vernas luxuriavit opes.
Ex quo grande morae pretium sperare iubebas,
fateque non meritis inferiorea meis.
At nunc nil misero restat nisi turba dolorum,
post infaelicis taedia longa morae.
Fugerunt anni celeres, occasio velox
terga dedit versis non revocanda comis.
Quodque magis doleo, tristes fugere Camoenae,
et desolatis rebus adesse negant.
Quas ego sum toties faciles expertus et aequis
nunc mihi difficiles sors minus aqua facit.
Usque adeo ut cum iam redeant solennia Iani,
temps et asseuto munera more petat,
vix post discriptos centenis morsibus ungues
unus ab exhausto pectore versus cat.
A passage such as the above may be written in deliberate imitation of Ovid, but in view of Ayton’s unwillingness to borrow from him in other respects it is probable that this imitation is unconscious and arises from a close study of Ovid’s works.

It is to be regretted that the subject matter of Ayton’s Latin verse differs so much from that of his English verse. A comparison of English and Latin poems on similar subjects would prove most interesting, but he seems to have decided that matters dealt with in one language must not be considered in the other. His English verse deals mainly with love and treats the subject in the manner of his time. His Latin verse deals for the most part with more elevated topics, and differs from the greater part of contemporary Latin verse in that it is little indebted to classical writers. It is difficult to understand why one who conforms so closely to the prevailing
fashion in English love poetry should be unwilling to do likewise in his Latin poetry. When he does choose to imitate Ovid, as in Carina Caro, he is not unsuccessful, but on the whole he prefers to write in Latin without gazing too closely at those great writers who dominate the work of many of his contemporaries.
CHAPTER X

SIR JOHN SCOT
Sir John Scot wrote no great quantity of Latin verse, but what he did write enables the reader to form a fairly clear picture of his poetic preferences and ability.

His works as printed in the Delitiae begin with the conventional dream in which he is reproached for spending too much time in the pursuit of knowledge, and too little in the service of Venus.

"Quid iuvat aeternum sectari Palladis artes,
Pieridum nimium quid iuvat antra sequi?
Cur tetricis mentem studis, cur pectora curis
excricias, mugi cur operare meris?
Eia age, pelle moras, tibi castra sequenda Diones,
meque viae comitem per loca laeta dabo."

(Delitiae, ii, 479)

An introduction of this sort might well be the prelude to love poetry in the Ovidian manner, but Scot's reaction to this advice is quite different from that which convention would lead the reader to expect.

Cum primum Hesperis Sol matutinus ab undis
surget, et Eoo gurgite merget equos;
nostra Cupidineis tum cedent pectora telis,
subiciam Paphio tum mea colla iugo.
An frustra teneros studiis consumpsimus annos?
tinximus et Clariis labra labella vadis?
Castra sequar Phoebi, dum spiritus hos reget artus,
et dabo Pieris thura Sabaea focis.
Una mihi spes haec, et sors et sola voluptas,
haec erit ingenii gloria prima mei.

(Delitiae, ii, 479)

Thus at the very beginning of his works he warns
the reader not to expect the usual poems to a cruel mistress. As this poem is dated 1603, when he was only eighteen, it can scarcely be regarded as one of repentance for the sins of youth, and this attitude persists throughout his works.

Although he is averse to love poetry Scot is still a lover of Ovid, and states this very clearly.

Masonis Amor

Mynsciaden miror, Flacci mihi perplacet Oda, meque iuivant Elegi, culte Tibulle, tui. 
Sed mage blanda rapit Peligni vena poetae, illa mihi vacuum non sinit ire diem. 
Nil volucris praecepta dei, matrisve iocosae furta moror, iuveni cognita cuncta mihi; 
ast apis ex lenta ut decerpit meila genista, sic ago de numeris optima Naso tuis. 

(Delitiae, ii, 488)

Although he values Ovid above all others he is careful to point out that he takes the best from his works, and presumably this does not include his amorous poetry. The sight of a bee among the flowers of the broom is so common in Scotland that one feels certain that this simile, at least, comes from his own observation of nature.

He does refer to love in his poems, but not as a lover.

In Poetas huius sevi

Tolle Cupidineas pharetras, celeresque sagittas, eque libris Paphiae dulcia furta deae; 
Romula in exigua scribetur Musa papyro, magna e rit parvus bibliothecae liber. 

(Delitiae, ii, 487)
Ad Amatores

Ne iuvenes caecum toties culpatis Amorem,
cor, oculi cum sint causa et origo mali.
Nutritus visuque, abituque extinguitur ignis.
I procul, aut claudas lumina, tutus eris.
(DeNittiae, ii, 489)

Now these are not the sentiments of one who objects to love poetry on moral or religious grounds, but may be simply an expression of the dry humour and matter-of-fact outlook which is not infrequent in Scottish poetry.

Like his contemporary, Donne, he rejects the "dainty elegance of Elizabethan song writers."\(^1\) Donne spurns affected poetry written to women who are always chaste goddesses and attempts to bring realism back into verse. Scot's objections are both poetical and practical. In his poem In Poetas huius aevi he shows clearly that he is not in favour of love poems filled with conventional phrases and little else, and the implication is doubtless that this is not poetry at all. When one considers the tremendous output and great popularity of this type of verse in the sixteenth century it is surprising that Scot had the courage to condemn it. At that very time Drummond of Hawthornden was writing verse of the type Scot rejected, and he was only one of many.

His practical objections are contained in his Ioanni Leochaeo suo, where he gives Leech good advice:

"Become a doctor or a lawyer. These occupations will give you a livelihood. As a poet you will starve."

Aspicis, ut summos det Iustinianus honores, si libet arguti discere iura fori.
Aspicis, ut tritam referat tua Musa lacernam, possideatque minus, quam miser Irus, opum.  
**Delitiae, i i, 482**

If, however, you are determined to write poetry,

Haec cole, sed valeant Cypris, lascivaque amantium basis, sunt genio cuncta minora tuo.
Aut tu sublimi volita super alta cothurno aut cane Maeonia bella canenda tuba.
**Delitiae, i i, 482**

Scot's poem to Panthea, Leech's mistress, attacks the loved one rather than the lover. In a vein reminiscent of Horace he reminds her that, no matter how beautiful she may be, time is flying and some day she will regret her obduracy and cruelty to Leech.

Tempus erit quo tu veteres deflebis amores, 
pandetur curis area lata tuis, 
quum Leochaeus erit saevi contemptor amoris incipietque fero colla negare iugo, 
tequae, tuos oculos, atque ora micantia quondam temnere, Acidaliis liber ab insidiis.
Panthea is not a real person, and this poem is simply another attack on the foolish worship of women who may be beautiful for the moment, but will certainly lose their power to enthral when age overtakes them.

Yet another blow at the worship of women is contained in what may be regarded as an epigram.

_Foemina ex Ovidii Metamorph. libris_

Foemina facta fuit, lapis, Iris, noctua, cornix, ursa et accipiter, bos, aqua, pica loquax.  
Sed licet innumeratas mutaret saepes figuras a love nulla tamen foemina facta Dea est.  
(Delitiae, ii, 489)

This little poem argues a fair knowledge of the Metamorphoses, which must have been part of the "best of Ovid" mentioned by him in an earlier poem.

But although Scot condemns this type of love, he approves of normal love which results in marriage. At the end of the poem to Panthea he says:

Nonne foret satius, thalamo indulgere natali sub tenero donec pectore regnat amor?  
et placidos circa natos spectare, decorum et iuvenem tepido velle fovere sinu?  
(Delitiae, ii, 480)
Again, in a poem on the month of July, he says of himself:

hoc, arcu metuende puer, gravidaque pharetra,
fixisti tellis pectora nostra tuis.
Nota mihi hoc casti genialia foedera lecti
partaque frugiferi praedia laeta soli.

(Delitiae, ii, 489)

It would be wrong to compare him with Donne or other "metaphysicals," for he writes no love poetry, but at least he resembles them in his stand against amatory poetry in the Petrarchan tradition, and that at a time when men like Ayton and Drummond are writing in that very vein.

If, then, Scot writes no love poetry, in what respect does his subject matter or treatment of this resemble that of Ovid? Despite his admiration for Ovid, there is little in his treatment of subject matter that could be termed Ovidian. In one of his poems, which has the cryptic title Ex Graeco, 1 he voices gloomy sentiments which resemble those in Ovid's poems from exile. Like the steersman in the Tristia, 2 he does not know which course to pursue:

Quod vitae sectabor iter? quo persuers, et unde
incipere, ambiguis mens agitata malis,
haeret adhuc, dubiis curarum quassa procellis,
navis ut aequoreis fluctuat acta vadis.

(Delitiae, ii, 482)

1The meaning of this title has not been discovered.
2Tristia, I, ii, 32.
The rest of the poem consists of an account of these conflicting evils. Whether he is poor or rich, married or celibate, on land or on the sea, at home or abroad, he is distracted by cares which deprive him of sleep and bring pallor to his cheeks. He concludes by saying that since Fate is against him in every respect it would have been better if he had never been born or died at birth.

No one poem by Ovid contains such a series of complaints. The cumulative effect of his poems from exile, however, is such that the reader feels that, unless he is recalled from Tomi, the Fates have decided to thwart his every effort to lead a less miserable existence. Many writers complain of man's lot - "man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward" - but the resemblance between this poem by Scot and Ovid's series of poems lies in the fact that they both stress the writer's complete inability to struggle against circumstances. Ovid feels that the emperor's displeasure is a factor against which all his struggles are unavailing. Scot, on a higher level, feels that no man, whatever his status, can avoid the cares and misery which are part of his destiny. If Scot had pointed to religion as the means of escaping from this slough of despond, one would be justified
in regarding his poem as a sermon on the difference between man's state before and after redemption, but no such reference is made, and it cannot therefore be regarded as an exposition of Christian teaching. It is, in fact, very difficult to see why he should write such a poem, which is in complete contrast to the healthy common-sense verse which forms the bulk of his works. The title throws no light on the matter, and there is no indication that his personal circumstances were ever such as to justify such sentiments. It is, however, possible that after intensive reading of the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, he produced this poem of despair, unrelieved by a ray of Christian hope.

Among Scot's works are a number of epitaphs. These are not Ovidian in their treatment of subject matter, and content themselves with relating the good qualities and fortune of the deceased person. The following short poem is typical:

*Epitaphium Henrici IV, Galliarum Regis.*

Hectoreos animos, vegetasque in praelia vires
Mars dedit, et nostris laurea sarta comis.
Ingenium tribuit Pallas mentisque vigorem,
Iuppiter auriferi munera larga Tagi.
Hei mibi! sed nostris semper contraria votis
vota queror, rigidos in mea vota deos.
Iuno, etenim primas roseo cum sanguine taedas
miscuit, et moestis laetitiam lacrymis.
Margareti haec etiam ventris clausisse recessus
dicitur, et damnis invigilasse mei.
Inde novam vitae sociam de littore mittens Hesperio, prima me viduavit Hera. Nec voluit sola hac contentum vivere, sed me saevo novo dominae vinxit amore novae. Hinc mihi causa necis violentae pronuba Iuno, Amphitryoniadæ talis et ante fuit. (Delitiae, II, 486-7)

Although Scot's choice and treatment of subjects owes very little to Ovid his language is often indebted to him. All the following extracts from Scot are taken from the Delitiae, volume II.

Ovid:

duxerunt collo qui iuga nostra suo
(Ars Amatoria, iii, 810)

Scot:

incipietque fero colla negare iugo
(p. 480)

Ovid:

calthaque Paestanas vincet odore rosas
(Ex Ponto, II, iv, 28)

Scot:

ecquis Paestanis aemula labra rosis
(p. 480)

Ovid:

obruerat tumulos immensa licentia ponti
(Met. i, 309)

Scot:

sunt prius immensi tentanda pericula ponti
(p. 481)

Ovid:

invenit; ambiguis ars stuptet ipsa malis
(Tristia, I, ii, 32)

Scot:

incipere, ambiguis mens agitata malis
(p. 482)

Ovid:

interea placidam redimita papavere frontem
(Fasti, iv, 661)

Scot:

somne soporatam redimite papavere frontem
(p. 483)
Ovid:
cumque viri casu possis miseranda videri
(Tristia, V, xiv, 7)

Scot:
nullaque sors miseris non miseranda viris
(p. 433)

Borrowings from other poets are rare, and in this matter Ovid's influence is far greater than that of other writers.

Scot's mythological allusions are generally confined to conventional epithets:

nostra Cupidineis tum cedent pectora telis,
subiciam Paphio tum mea colla iugo.
(p. 479)

quam tu Phoebigenum modulamina dulcia vatum
spreveris, optatas aut Heliconis aquas.
(p. 482)

On rare occasions there occurs an allusion which makes some reference to the story attached to it:

inguina ne metuas semper Istrantia Scyllae
(p. 481)

possideam aut gazas, Graese superbe, tuas
(p. 483)

On the whole, there is little mythology in his works, apart from conventional epithets. In view of his linguistic debt to Ovid and the admiration he expresses for him, it is probable that he uses these epithets with the knowledge that they are mostly taken from Ovid, and not merely as epithets whose use is sanctioned by custom.

In other respects Scot is little influenced by Ovid. His metre is not influenced by him in
particular, and his style cannot be regarded as Ovidian. Part of the reason for this may be found in his objection to the love poetry so freely written by his contemporaries, poetry which is often a poor imitation of classical models. It is possible that his discernment of the inferior quality of much of this verse led him to avoid, in his own works, any such imitative tendency. His language is Ovidian, it is true, but he may not have regarded the adoption and alteration of Ovid's phrases in the same light as the careful copying of his sentiments or situations. It would seem that Scot is as much a critic as a poet, and one must regret that he writes so little in the former capacity.
CHAPTER XI

DAVID WEDDERBURN
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As David Wedderburn was the official Latin poet of Aberdeen a large part of his work takes the form of addresses to the King and other people of importance. Such poetry is obviously not a suitable vehicle for the expression of personal emotion and cannot contain references to the love interests of the writer. In much of his work, therefore, Wedderburn is precluded from indulging any tendency he may have to imitate this aspect of Ovid's writing. But in his non-official poems also he completely avoids this topic, and it is obvious that he has no wish to be regarded as a writer of love poetry.

It has already been shown that in his metrical practice Wedderburn seems to follow Ovid in elegiac verse and change his practice in hexameter verse. It might reasonably be expected that a writer whose appreciation of Ovid's technique enabled him to do this would also show the influence of Ovid's language. This, however, is seldom the case. There are, of course, occasional borrowings - he refers to James VI as semideumque virum semivirum-que deum - but for the most part the reader is
seldom reminded of Ovid's language, and phrases from Vergil seem to occur more frequently. This is probably due to the great divergence between Ovid's subjects and those of Wedderburn. In his Latin poems Milton uses phrases from Ovid in contexts very different from the original, but Wedderburn is no Milton, and probably shows his wisdom and an appreciation of his own limitations in refusing to use Ovid's language out of context.

All the extracts from Wedderburn given below are from Musa,iii.

Vergil:

carpebant hyali saturo fucata colore
Drymoque Xanthoque Ligeaque Phyllodoceque
(Georg.iv, 335-6)

Wedderburn:

ciaesariem Xantho, et pulcherrima Deiopeia
Cymodoceque, Ephyrere hyalo saturata dedere.
(p. 355)

Vergil:

dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt
(Aen. iv, 121)

Wedderburn:

cingingere seu libuit saltus salebrosaque tesqua
(p. 356)

Vergil:

pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt
(Aen. vi, 644)

Wedderburn:

sollicitare chelyn doctus, tum plaudere motu
composito choreas.......
(p. 356)

Vergil:

nee tam aversus equos Tyria sol iungit ab urbe
(Aen. 1, 568)

Wedderburn:

Scotorum iam aversus equos Sol iungit ab oris
(p. 389)
His mythology, as one would expect, is often indebted to Ovid, and many examples are found in his poems. He is particularly fond of conventional epithets, and in his poem on the death of Prince Henry uses the epithet Aonides five times in one hundred and eighty-eight lines. Generally speaking, his use of mythology does not differ from that of other neo-Latin writers. In his Apotheosis of Duncan Liddel, however, two changes are to be noted. In the first place he mingle Christian with classical allusions after the manner of Milton and others, and in the second place these allusions are not so deeply indebted to Ovid.

Wedderburn begins by depicting the scene in heaven where the Divi are excited at the prospect of meeting the soul of Liddel.

Salve, sancta domus, sanctae salvete phalanges caelituum, novus en hospes, sacra limina caeli pandite et ad superas animam hanc transmittite sedes. Vix haec cela animam Liddeli ad sidera ducit Angelus, ecce alacri concurrunt murmure Divi, unde sit exquirunt. Liddeli at nomen ut aures perculit, agnoscent: animae nam praevia famiam prius aethereas Superum penetraverat aedes. Ergo ut caeli aditus quo sit reserandus honore perspiciant, Christus Divum pater atque hominum rex consilio in medio verbis ita fatur amicos;

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1 Musae, iii, 354-9.
2 Ibid., 360-70. Duncan Liddel was Professor of Mathematics and later Doctor of Medicine at the Academia Iulia at Helmstedt. This poem was written after his death in 1613.
After commenting on the general indifference of mankind Christ praises Liddel for his faithful service to Him. Then occur two lines which show how completely the tone of this poem differs from anything inspired by Ovid:

Et quia nulla Venus, nulli bunc flexere Hymenaei perge, age, et ad nostros tu diva admitte penates, Virginitas,.................................

After Virginitas has admitted him Urania claims him as one of her retinue, as he has been distinguished for mathematical knowledge and his interest in astronomy. Hygiaea also claims him because of his medical knowledge. The matter is referred to Christ, who rejects the theory that learning has anything to do with real worth and asks Munificentia to allot Liddel a place. After a eulogy of Aberdeen this deity suggests that he be allowed to join the company of his fellow-scholars who have already reached heaven. This is granted, and the poem ends with a description of his joyful reunion with his friends.

In this poem Wedderburn uses the classical machinery to set forth Christian teaching. The blending of these different concepts is naturally difficult and the poet must take care that the classical background does not contain anything to offend Christian susceptibilities. Milton, of
course, is the supreme example of the manner in which this may be accomplished, but Wedderburn in his anxiety to avoid offence has succeeded in robbing the scene of its vitality. He has represented Christ as Jupiter, Divum pater atque hominum rex, but he dare not introduce the full-blooded disreputable deities which fill the pages of the Metamorphoses. Despite the fact that Ovid is almost invariably the source of mythological allusions, Wedderburn here has deliberately refrained from using Ovidian mythology, and introduced instead such colourless abstractions as Virginitas and Hygiaea. Ovid's irreverence and wit would be sadly out of place here, but it cannot be said that the introduction of Virginitas and her fellows has added to the interest of the poem. The whole tone of this poem is neither Homeric nor Ovidian, but is strongly reminiscent of Vergil in its reverent attitude to the deities.

It is interesting to note that in contrast to these lifeless abstractions Wedderburn has in his other poems four references to Medea, whose story seems to have fascinated him also.

Typical of his official poetry is his poem on

1Musa, 111, 364, 378, 397, 438.
the return of King James to Scotland in 1617.

The following selections may serve to illustrate the subject matter and general tone of the poem.

Phoebe vale, vosque una olim mea cura sorenes
ite novem: vanis vestra haued ego numina votis
solicitare pero, nec iam deserta per alta
Parnassi me raptat opis spes indiga vestrae.

Ergo te hic sistis reducem, Rex magne? Tueri
ora datum et notas audire et reddere voces?
Optatam O lucem toties! qua nulla relaxit
candidior, nec tum domita Babyomite superba
Magnus Alexander magni tum flexit habenas
orbis et extromos sua sceptra extendit ad Indos.

At vero Calais Zethesque ut, sidere fausto
pulchra satos Borea quos edidit Orithya,
obscenas dirasque procul, Phineia mensa
ut foeda sine labre foret, pepulere voluces:
haud alter, rex magne (Aquilo, Septemque triones
tergemino cuius lactant se subdere colla
imperio) Harpyias, Roma indignante, rapaces
has procul exegisti, atque haec tibi monstra subacta
ingenii felicis acumine, quod tibi in uno
tego ornando sese maior Tritonia Pallas
annuit et sacrat divini oracula prisa.

Haud secus ex anguis Cadmaei dentibus orti
quaeve ita prognatos mirata est Golchica tellus
fraternis in se verii cecidere sub armis.
Interea quorum est tantos componere motus
reges non id agunt, posito ut certamine Christi
mystica membra optent corpus coalescere in unum.

Tu vero antiquae ad fidei primaevae reducis
dogmata et unire haec conaris ovilia spersa
dum non pastores sequeris quos devius error
noxias diuidit per pascua, nuda sed usque
Christi sanctorumque premis vestigia patrum.

Externa si regna haec concordia foedera pacis
respuerint peritura sui, ut Narcissus, amore,
perge tamen, rex, perge tuos unire, nec uiae
reliquiae invisae subint vetvirum malorum
inque unum coetum et leges cosamus in unas.

Musa, iii, 371-85.
Sique ipsi placuere Iovi tua tecta Philemon, 
Scotia nonne tibi placat tua, maxime regum, 
dives agris opibusque potens, quas exigit usus 
vitae etiam illustris?

The whole poem extends to over three hundred lines, 
but it is obvious from the short passages given 
above that, apart from mythological references, 
there is little of Ovid in it. Here Wedderburn 
has three main objects, to exalt James as the 
ruler of a united country and the defender of the Protestant religion, to cast scorn on Roman Catholicism, and to sing the glories of Scotland. Such aims have little in common with the themes of Ovid, and it is not surprising, therefore, that apart from an occasional phrase or mythological reference, the reader is not reminded of him. Even the abject flattery of James is inevitable in a poem of this kind, and probably has nothing to do with that flattery of Augustus found in Ovid. Wedderburn's other poems of this type, such as: On the Death of Prince Henry, Farewell from the Graces of Aberdeen, are in the same strain and owe as little to Ovid.

The most important of his personal poems is his Reply to Arthur Johnston. Johnston has written to him reminding him of their youthful poetic

1Musa, iii, 392-3.
ambitions and casting a regretful backward glance at the years that have slipped past so quickly. Wedderburn's reply is a very different poem from those discussed above, and one cannot help regretting that he has not written more in this manner. As a personal poem it has a warmth and sincerity completely lacking in his official poems. Taken in conjunction with Johnston's letter it is reminiscent of the double letters in the Heroides, and to this extent its form is probably influenced by Ovid.

Wedderburn also commences by lamenting his lost youth, that golden age which has gone all too quickly. In his headmaster's den of Palaemon he has suffered more than Sisyphus, Tityus, Ixion and others in like case.

Vivida nunc ubi vis animi? quam serior aetas usque tibi reparat, deterit usque mihi. Sed neque causa fugit; nam qui miserande labores Sisyphe te, Tityum quae laniena premit, quae rota, qui lacerant angues Ixiona torti, progeniem Danai quae manet urna feram, pars quota poenarum quas pendo Palaemonis antro lustra tot inclusus, dum fero mille neces? Quas qui scire velit, Libyco quot in aequore fluctus, ignea quot niteant sidera nocte, petat.

In his eagerness to instruct the young he has neglected his own poetic gifts. Nevertheless he does not cavil at his fortune, for he feels that each one bears within him the seeds of his own
fortune,

fortunae sed quid nequicquam ingrata revolvοl

\[\text{cum foveat sortis semina quisque suae?}\]

After this last sentiment, which seems to savour of Greek tragedy rather than Ovid, Wedderburn lauds Johnston's achievements on the continent in poetry, science, medicine and philosophy. Long ago, he says, he detected Johnston's genius when he himself was outstripped in poetic ability.

He then compares their friendship to a tree which has grown great through the years and may bear comparison with the great friendships of antiquity, Achilles and Patroclus, Euryalus and Nisus, Damon and Pythias. The sentiment of the poem up to this point is possibly inspired by Ovid's complaints from Tomi, although regrets for lost youth are expressed by many poets of all ages. The mythology is largely inspired by Ovid. The passage which follows, must be inspired by the Heroides. Wedderburn pictures himself as waiting on a lonely shore for the return of Johnston, and compares himself to Phyllis awaiting Demophoon or Laodamia awaiting Protesilaus.

\[\text{See Aeneid, ii, 101.}\]
Est locus adductis curvos sinuatus in arcus cornibus. Oceanus pulsat utrumque latus: intus arenosum decorant duo flumina littus, nympharum rudis pumice tecta domus.

Hic quoties gemul? quam fletibus ora rigavi, implement Zephyri cum tibi vela leses?
Vela tibi implement Zephyri, mihi postera luctus, ossa tremor, lachrymae lumina maesta piae.
Tum mihi Demophoon visus dare carbassa ventis, tum mihi Iohnstonus Protesilaus erat.
Quaque sequi licuit, spectans tua lintea, Phyllis, Haemonis et sensu Laodameia ful.

In the lines which conclude the poem Wedderburn describes his forlorn state, draws illustrations from the Metamorphoses and concludes by introducing Medea.

Tristis in hac vacua quoties spatiabar arena, tu mihi tristitiae semper origo novae.
Tecum totus ego, te dum desidero, dumque te veniente die, te fugiente cano.²
Haud aliter genitrix (sic) tua te, Proserpina, campis
flevit in Ennaeis finitimisque iugis.
Hebrides haud aliter Nymphae, Rhodopeius Orpheus
dum dolet Eurydice nocte dieque suam.
Et nunc Halcyonas desertas alloquor, antea nunc peto Grampiaca tesselique sola sinus.
Ah, quoties dixi, pereat male Tiphys et Argo quisquis et hoc primus gurgite fecit iter.
Ah, quoties, Arabum quid me, mea prima voluptas te sine, divitiis deliciisque inuent?
Sed bene consuluit nostro Deus ille dolori, in patria tandem quo duce laetus ovas.
Sic Musae voluere, tuae tutela senectae, quae felice diu prorogiatur ave!
Simque tibi Colchis, renovans solatio vitae, et mihi sit Liber, sit Cytherea comes.

¹ Possibly the coast at Aberdeen between the Dee and the Don.
² C.f. Vergil: Georgics, iv, 466.
Ille graves abigit curas; det et altera, pulchra
te tua ceu iuvenem Cynthia semper amet.
Si quid ego interea moduler, tu praecine, Phoebus
unus semper eras tu mihi, semper eris.

In this reply to Johnston, the greatest
Ovidian of his time, Wedderburn obviously does his
utmost to write in the same strain, and achieves
a fair measure of success. He has wisely chosen
to imitate the Heroides rather than Ovid's other
works, and although he lacks Johnston's ability,
this poem is by no means an unworthy reply to
Johnston's letter. Although one must not take
his protestations too literally, there must have
been considerable affection and mutual respect be-
tween these two writers, and this element of
sincerity helps Wedderburn to rise above his usual
poetic level.

Some of his shorter poems are in memory of
distinguished men, and may have been written by
him in his official capacity. They are not
Ovidian, and even his poem on the death of Arthur
Johnston contains little to remind the reader of
Ovid. The following extract will illustrate this.

Plangito Melpomene! Ionstoni funera, clarum
cuius ab Arcturo sidere nomen habes.
Plangito Nasonis redivivi funera, magni
sola Buchananis marmore digna tegi.
Scotia maesta dole, tanti viduata sepulchro
vatis, is Angligenis contigit altus honos.
Namque Machaciois artes dum tractat in aula,
proh dolor! externo tradidit ossa solo.
Scotia maesta dole: Ionstono nemo superstes,
nemo Buchanan quo tueare decus,
Ille Buchananum subvexit praepete penna,
qua roseus gemina Phoebus ab arce nitet.
Eia tamen gaude! Ionstonus carmine vivit,
carmine Ionstono fama perennis erit.

(Musa, iii, 433-4)

Wedderburn also wrote three centuriae
meditationum campestriu m seu epigrammaton moralium.
These are aptly designed by Geddes as "epigrams and
moral reflections" and have such titles as
Integritatis encomium, Nihil hic perenne, and
Solatium senectutis. The inspiration for these
certainly does not come from Ovid, and although
classical writers deal with many of Wedderburn's
topics it is probable that here his own religious
beliefs have been his guide. The short poem given
below will show how references to the Bible are
interwoven with classical allusions.

Nihil hic perenne

Thebae ubi nunc celebres? ubi nunc excelsa Corinthi
moenia? ubi Ninives rudera strata iacent?
Sparta ubi foeta viris? ubi nunc Carthago superba?
nunc ubi vel Solymae vel Babylonis opes?
Nunc ubi quas olim Fallas decoravit, Athenae?
Orbis deliciae nunc ubi Roma vetus?
En tantorum operum vix vel vestigia cernas:
luxuriant segetes en ubi Troia prius.
Haec ubi lustraris, meditare hoc: tempus ut urbes,
sic genus omne hominum Mors pseudumque trahit!
Ast hic ne sistas ultra pergamus; ut urbes,
sic tandem haec mundi machina tota ruet.

In the matter of style Wedderburn's verse
bears little trace of Ovid. In some of the
passages quoted from his "Reply to Arthur Johnston" it may be felt that he has succeeded in reproducing the style of Ovid but such an opinion is subjective, and is probably affected by the presence of linguistic borrowings from Ovid.

There is a possibility that his style has been influenced by another writer whose reputation was very high in the seventeenth century. Du Bartas was held in high esteem both in France and Britain, and was an honoured guest at the court of James VI and of Elizabeth. Wedderburn refers to him in glowing terms:

Vos Buchananei manes quibus enthea quondam vis dedit ingenii divino carmine totum natales, Iacobe, tuos celebrare per orbem, vosque, O Bartasides, Gallorum gloria, Musae, quaes tanti hospitio nomen memorable Regis confluite huc;.................................

(Musa, iii, 404-5)

By later writers the religious poetry of Du Bartas was regarded as bombastic rather than majestic and his style was described as swelling and puffy. Wedderburn has several passages which seem to fall into this category. Although it is, admittedly, very difficult to assess the effect of French writing on neo-Latin verse, the following passage by Wedderburn may seem to the reader to possess those qualities of style which are ascribed to Du Bartas. It is true that such qualities may not
have been inspired by the works of the French poet, but on the other hand Du Bartas was held in such regard by James that Wedderburn may well have tried to imitate his style. Speaking of the death of James he says:

Nempe obit Rex Pacificus, Rex optimus ille heu! ille animi Rex usque sui, cui gloria sceptrum omnia aethereas superum subvertit ad auras. Quicquid enim Ingenium, quicquid Frudentia, Virtus quicquid ab innumeris toties tentata periclis, Europae quicquid Libyaeque, Asiaeque, remoti quicquid et applausus Gangis, qua littore Phoebus surgit ab Eoo, quicquid Bona Copia cornu conferre huc valuit, congestum scilicet omne id, ne Rex sit quo se plus nostra haec saecula iactent.

(Musa, iii, 405)

Again, when celebrating the return of James to Scotland, he says:

Ergo veni, amplexare tuos ulnisque tuorum amplexari aveas magnorum O maxime regum. Non vero allicimus tam opibus Gangetica tellus quas fundit, donisve Ophyre quae flavo caminis excoquit Eoia, vel quae Tagus aurifer annis in mare purpureum rapidis devolvit arenis, quam fideae haud corruptum unquam libamus amore mentis, et hoc patrem patriae te ampleximur uno.

(Musa, iii, 375-6)
Du Bartas addresses Venus thus:

O belle, qui es-tu, qui du feu de tes yeux enflames l'océan, l'air, la terre et les cieux? Qui es-tu? di-le nous, ô des belles de la belle, à qui le passera'u, la tourte, et colombelle font nuit et jour la cour, dont les cheveux dorez sont de rose, de thim, et de myrthe entournez!

(Le Seconde Sepmaine, La Magnificence, 11, 345-50)

Addressing King James of Scotland, he says:

Ha, je voy sur le bord du flot doux-serpétant un brave, un docte roy qui, sainct, va remontant ce clierz chantant tout celeste, et fait au bout du monde truchement, resonner de David la faconde. Le Cleith dombertanois s'arrete pour l'ouyr le Tein roule-cailloux semble s'en resjoyr, du grand lac de Lomon les bralantes Ciclades accordent au refrein de leur chant leurs gambades; les clakis, fils du bois sur les hebrides eaux, bransent à ces accents leurs loin-volans cerceaux, at moy-méme portant une pleide en escharpe, d'un pie musiciendance au son de sa harpe.

(Le Seconde Sepmaine, Les Trophies, 11, 875-86)

The reader may feel that in these extracts there is an attempt to write in an elevated style, but that the tendency to exaggerate produces writing that is bombastic rather than elevated.

There is much alliteration in his verse and this is at times combined with the repetition of words within the same line. The examples below are taken from his poem on the death of Prince Henry.

\[\text{Musa, } 111, \text{ 352-60}\]
The first line quoted is not merely alliterative, but is repeated eleven times within the poem. Now although this device of repeating a line is common in many languages, and is used by Theocritus, Catullus and Vergil, a Scottish writer might well have in mind its occurrence in his own literature. This poem is a lament, and it is possible that Wedderburn, in repeating this line, has in mind the refrain from Dunbar’s Lament for the Makars:

\[ \text{timor mortis conturbat me} \]

Wedderburn’s fondness for alliteration may spring from its occurrence in Ovid and other Latin writers. It must be remembered, however, that alliteration is a common device in Scottish literature.

When Tayis bank was blumit bright
With blossomes blyth and braid,
Be that river ran I doun richt,
Under the ryss I red.
The merle merlit with all her micht,
And mirth in morning made,
Throw solace sound and sgeemy sight,
Alswith a sang I said.¹

.......... ¹

My gude dame was a gay wife, bot she was richt gend
She dwelt furth far into France, upon Falkland fellis:
They callit her Kind Kyttock, wha sa her weill kend.
She was like a cauldron cruke clear under kellis;

This is much more prominent in the type of poetry quoted than in Ovid, and it is possible that Wedderburn's tendency to use alliteration is, to some extent at least, inspired by its use in Scottish poetry.

It is clear from this investigation that Wedderburn is influenced by Ovid only to a limited extent. His mythology is usually Ovidian, his metrical practice in elegiac verse is inspired by Ovid and his style bears traces of his influence. Only in his Reply to Arthur Johnston may he be said to treat his subjects in the manner of Ovid, and this poem may also be an example of his imitation of the double letters in the Heroides. In these

¹Extract from an anonymous poem from the Bannatyne Ms. The date is uncertain, but cannot be later than 1568, the date of the Ms.
²Extract from "The Ballad of Kind Kyttock," by William Dunbar (c. 1460-c.1530)
respects he does show the influence of Ovid, but otherwise his works are not affected by him.

Part, at least, of the reason for this avoidance of Ovid may be a feeling that he has more in common with Vergil. It is true that he does not write eclogues or epics, but his poems are often addressed to those in high places, and it is his duty to praise the ruling line and sing of the glories of his land. Wedderburn may, therefore, regard himself as a second Vergil, consorting with nobles and praising the Caesar of his time. Admittedly he is the official poet of Aberdeen only, but to any true citizen of that city, Aberdeen is equivalent to Scotland. His Vivat Rex, addressed to Charles I, claims for the Scottish line of kings an antiquity surpassing that of any other royal line, praises James, his father, as the great peacemaker, and declares that Heaven has chosen Charles to restore the love of peace to men. In writing this Wedderburn must almost certainly have remembered that Vergil traced the line of Roman rulers to Aeneas, praised Augustus for establishing peace and implied that the blessing of the gods was given to his house. After dealing with such elevated topics Wedderburn may well have felt disinclined to write erotic trivia or complaints.
from deserted women. If he had written more personal poems Ovid's influence would have been stronger, and the quality of his verse would have been higher.

It has been suggested that he has imitated the style of Du Bartas. Whether this is correct or not, it is certain that he expresses great admiration for his works. As the principal poem by this writer is a religious epic, *La Sermaine*, this may be another indication that Wedderburn's preferences in subject matter do not include those topics commonly found in Ovid. On the whole, his work shows that he could have been an Ovidian writer of some promise, but by virtue of his official position, and probably by choice, he preferred to write in the manner of Vergil.
CHAPTER XII

ANDREW RAMSAY
ANDREW RAMSAY

Of all the Scottish poets under consideration Ramsay is the least indebted to Ovid. This may be due in part to the nature of his works. All Ramsay's verse is of a religious nature, and he may have thought that Ovid was not to be imitated in any way by one who set forth Christian doctrine. On the other hand, his neglect of Ovid may be due to his devotion to Vergil. Vergil, as the writer of the Aeneid, would naturally be the model for one who himself hoped to compose an epic; as the author of the fourth Eclogue he would be regarded as almost a Christian. Whatever the truth may be, the influence of Vergil is very strong, and that of Ovid is negligible.

Occasionally one finds a phrase which may be Ovidian. Thus Ramsay's livor edax (Del. ii, 309) may be inspired by the same phrase in Ovid's Remedia Amoris (line 389). Vergil, however, is the principal source of linguistic borrowings.

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1 This opinion was not held by Milton and other neo-Latin writers. In the German Delitiae there are poems in which the form and sentiments of the Heroides are used in an exposition of Christian beliefs. (Del. Poet. German, ii, 1383-1409)
Vergil: 
........................ Volat ille per aera magnum
remigio alarum........................

(Aen. i, 300-1)

Ramsay:
incumbit, tremuloque alarum remige crispat

(Del. ii, 284)

remige non caelum alarum, sed vertice pulsans

(Del. ii, 288)

Vergil:
radit iter liquidum celeris neque commovet alas

(Aen. v, 217)

Ramsay:
et liquidum molitur iter, plaudentibus alis

(Del. ii, 287)

Vergil:
tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem

(Aen. i, 33)

Ramsay:
tantae molis erit lapsam reparare salutem

(Del. ii, 317)

Vergil:
qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus

(Aen. ii, 471)

Ramsay:
has coluber postquam, Stygio male gramine pastus

(Del. ii, 301)

In the second book of his epic Ramsay
eulogises marriage, and the repetition of the
following line shows that he has been inspired by
Catullus (Carmen LXII):

adsis, O hymenaeae trias, hymen hymenaeae.

In religious poetry one may scarcely look for
tales from classical mythology. There may,
however, be frequent allusions to the details of
this mythology, as in Milton. Ramsay describes
God in terms appropriate to Zeus or Jupiter, Heaven
is Olympus and the angels are the Superi. Hell is Orcus, wrapped in Stygian darkness, Adam is described as nate deo and the crop is flava Ceres. The following extracts show how Ramsay tells his story in terms of classical mythology: God has just warned Adam not to touch the tree of knowledge:

Haec ubi dicta dedit, Superum spectante corona terramque et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.  
(Delitiae, ii, 291)

Satan swears an oath that man shall not inherit the earth while he and his minions are in outer darkness:

Siccine nos Genii ruimus? stat pulvere cretus?  
Iuro ego Cocytum, Iuro Stygiamque paludem,  
et pice torrentes fluvios grave olentis Averni sulphureosque lacus damnataque regna tenebris  
exitio humanam gentem me a stirpe daturum.  
(Delitiae, ii, 298-9)

After Adam has eaten the forbidden fruit he and the whole universe are stricken by fear:

Pudor ora colorat,  
succutiturque metu, vindex vis conscia mentis  
perfuit et laxis late bacchatur habenis;  
exagitatque animum taedis furjalous horror.  
Tum caelum illabi, et circum tremere omnia visa.  
Styx, Acheron, Phlegethon, chaos et regna invia luci  
Ditis, et horrisono stridentes cardine portae panduntur......  
(Delitiae, ii, 304)

In this use of mythology Ramsay is mainly indebted to Homer and Vergil. He does not seem to have had Ovid in mind, although it is possible that some of
the conventional epithets were originally inspired
by him. As in linguistic borrowings, Ramsay tends
to refer rather to Vergil, whose epic he regards as
a model. Ovid’s mythology deals with topics which
are usually quite out of keeping with the atmo-
phere of a religious epic.

The subject matter of Ramsay’s epic is
obviously not Ovidian, but in his treatment of it
he may owe something to Ovid on one occasion. In
describing the rape of Proserpina Ovid writes as
follows:

Terra tribus scopulis vastum procurrît in aequor
Trinacris, a positum nomen adepta loci,
grâta domus Cæseri, Multas ea possidet urbes,
in quibus est culto fertillis Henna solo.
Frîgida caelestam matres Arethusa vocarat:
venerat ad sacras et dea flava dapes.
Filie, consuetis ut erat comitata puellis,
errabat nudo per sua prata pede.
Valle sub umbrosa locus est aspergine multa
uvidus ex alto desilientis aquae.
Tot fuerant illic, quot habet natura, colores,
pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus.
Quam simul aspexit, "Comites, accedite!" dixit
"et mecum plenos flore referte sinus!"
Praeda puellarum animos proiectat inanis,
et non sentitur sedulitate labor.
Haec implet lento calathos e vîmine nexos,
haec gremium, laxos degravat illa sinus:
illa legit calathas, huic sunt violaria curae,
illa pâpavereas subsecat ungue comas:
Has, hîyasymphâniche, tenès; illas, amaranthe, moraris:
pars thyma, pars casiam, pars meliloton amant.
Plurima lecta rosa est; sunt et sine nomine flores.
Ipsa crocos tenués liliaque alba legit.
Carpendi studio paulatim longius itur,
Et dominam casu nulla secuta comes.

(Fasti IV, 419-44)
With this may be compared Ramsay's account of the serpent's encounter with Eve.

Incomitata viro forte uxor sola per hortum regali incedit grossu, ceu purpura lacte mista, rubet: candetque, rosis ceu lilia juncta: cassaries per colla fluët, ceu caerula nubes solis inardescens radiis. Nunc arbuta spectat, frondosaeque domos avium, et pubentia sylvae brachia, nunc laetos campos, nunc picta viretæ, pulsantesque undis ripas singultibus amnes, volventes curvis fssas erroribus undas: luminaque his pascens fructur faelicibus horis. (Delitiae, ii, 299)

Ramsay's three and one half lines commencing nunc arbuta spectat may be inspired by those four lines of Ovid which commence Valle sub umbrosa locus est aspergine multa. Ovid says of Persephône nulla secuta comes; Eve is incomitata. In each case the struggle is between a guileless, unsuspecting woman and an opponent of infinite experience and resourcefulness.

Far more frequently Ramsay is indebted to Vergil, and, indirectly, to Homer, in his treatment of his epic. It has already been shown that his language and mythology are influenced greatly by Vergil, and it would seem that in the telling of his story he has Vergil's epic in mind. Vergil's account of the snakes which enveloped Laocoon is recalled by a line in Ramsay's epic describing the serpent.
Vergil:
pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta iubaeque
sanguineae superant undas......
.................................
sibila jambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.
(Aen. ii, 206-11)

Ramsay:
in coelum attollens cristas et sibila colla
(Delitiae, ii, 303)

This may be regarded as merely a linguistic echo, but Ramsay uses the language of Aeneid ii on other occasions, and it is at least possible that, when he tells of the wiles of the serpent and the Fall of Man from his blessed state, he has in mind the slaughter of Laocoon and his sons by the snakes, the treachery of Sinon and the fall of the great city of Troy. In the fourth book of his epic, when he describes Christ enduring the fury of the mob, he uses the phrase manibus post terga revinctis. The phrase manus interea post terga revinctum is used in Aeneid ii, 57 to describe Sinon. Although Sinon may in no way be compared to Christ, the similarity in their position as helpless prisoners may have been noted by Ramsay.

In this fourth book of the epic there is a much clearer indication of the way in which Vergil rather than Ovid dominates Ramsay's treatment of his subject. In order to cover in a short space the story of Man from the Fall to the Crucifixion Ramsay is forced to digress from the story as given
in the Bible. Themis and Clementia dispute before God concerning the proper method of dealing with Adam and Eve. Themis wishes to have them removed from the face of the earth, but Clementia pleads for mercy. This is surely in imitation of Aeneid x, where Venus pleads for the Trojans and Juno is full of wrath against them. The setting in the beginning of Ramsay's fourth book is also reminiscent of that in Aeneid x.

Vergil:
Panditur interea domus omnipotentiis Olympi
conciliumque vocat divum pater atque hominum rex
sideream in sedem..........
(Aeneid X, 1-3)

Ramsay:
mox scelerum vindex, rerum cui immensa potestas
caelituum stipante choro sese arduus infert
augusto solio..........
(Delitiae, ii, 307)

There is, of course, little resemblance between the story of Aeneid x, and that of Ramsay's fourth book, but it may be said that in the setting of this story he is indebted to Vergil.

As Ramsay owes so little to Ovid in the respects already discussed it is scarcely surprising that in the matter of style he is not influenced by him.

Ramsay may thus be regarded as an example of a neo-Latin writer who is almost completely free of Ovid's influence. Ovid has no place in his
religious verse, and in the epic he naturally turns to Vergil. On the other hand he does not inveigh against love poetry and claim that it is morally undesirable to write such verse. If he had in reality disapproved of this writing he would almost certainly have shown this in his poems. The fact that he does not do this would indicate that he does not object to Ovidian writing, but simply that he can find no place for it in his own works.
CHAPTER XIII

DELIITIAE OF OTHER COUNTRIES
It is regretted that it has not been possible to obtain details for the biographies of some of the German writers mentioned in this chapter.
This examination of Ovid's influence on the selected Scottish poets would not be complete without some reference to neo-Latin writing in other countries. Although an exhaustive study of such writing is impracticable in the present work, it is nevertheless possible to see, without a detailed examination, whether the general trend is similar to that of Scottish verse, and whether the works of Scottish Ovidians bear a resemblance to those of Ovidians elsewhere.

Fortunately the process of comparison is simplified by the existence of four Delitiae, which contain poems from the neo-Latin writing of Italy, France, Germany and Holland. As these are edited by the same man, Ianus Gruterus, it is almost certain that the same standards of selection and editing prevail in all these productions. It is, of course, possible that a poet who is an Ovidian

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Ianus Gruterus (1569-1627) was born in Antwerp. His parents came to England to avoid religious persecution, and Gruterus studied at Cambridge. After continuing his studies at Leyden he taught at Rostock and Heidelberg, where he eventually became librarian. An eminent scholar and writer - he contributes some seven thousand lines to the Dutch Delitiae - he is chiefly remembered for the series of Delitiae published under his editorship.
may be omitted from any anthology such as those compiled by Gruterus, and the absence of any particular type of verse from an anthology need not imply that such verse is not to be found in the neo-Latin writing of the country in question. On the other hand, it is unlikely that any compiler of an anthology would omit the works of a number of writers who show Ovidian or other tendencies.

The Scottish Delitiae has not been considered as a whole, but the authors whose works have been examined form a representative selection. The works of two other writers may be mentioned briefly. David Kinloch\(^1\) writes two poems on medical matters, \textit{De Hominis Procreatione} and \textit{De Anatome}.\(^2\) Mark Alexander Boyd\(^3\) writes a collection of poems

\(^1\)David Kinloch was born in Dundee in 1559, and was educated at St. Andrews and in Germany. After spending some time in France, where he probably practised medicine, he returned to Dundee and practised there. He may have visited Spain. He died in 1617.

\(^2\)Delitiae, ii, 3-66.

\(^3\)Mark Alexander Boyd was born in Galloway in 1562. After a stormy academic career in Glasgow, in the course of which he is said to have beaten his tutors and formed part of a riotous mob which threatened those in authority over them, he presented himself at court. There he was involved in so many quarrels that he finally went to Paris, where he lost much of his money in riotous living. He then resumed his studies and attended lectures at Paris, Orleans (where he studied law) and Bourges. After a short spell in Italy he returned to France and served in the French army in 1597. He later resumed the study of law and wrote poems and epistles in Latin. During the
entitled *Epistulae Heroidum*, containing such titles as *Euridice Orpheo*, *Sophonisba Masinissae*, *Iulia Augusto* and *Octavia Antonio*. This collection of poems forms the most direct imitation of Ovid in Scottish writing. His *Hymni* are poems on various flowers, and the mythology contained in these is greatly influenced by the *Metamorphoses*. The works of George Buchanan are not included in the *Delitiae*, but, as he is not an Ovidian, this omission is not as serious as it might at first appear to be.

The *Delitiae Italorum Poetarum* (1608), contains the works of one hundred and ninety-seven writers and amounts to approximately one hundred thousand lines. This body of verse deals with a wide variety of subjects, and it is clear that, like their Scottish counterparts, the Italian writers deal mainly with contemporary matters. One of the most prolific of these writers is Ioannes From previous page: Note 3 continued:

course of this comparatively peaceful period of his life he was suspected of complicity in an insurrection at Toulouse and thrown into prison for a time. In 1595 he returned to Scotland, and, after a further tour of the Continent, died in Ayrshire in 1601. In addition to the poems in the *Delitiae* he wrote numerous pamphlets in Latin on legal and political matters, translated Caesar's commentaries into Greek, and wrote verse in the Scottish vernacular.

*Delitiae*, i, 142-81.
Iovianus Pontanus. It will be evident from the titles of his poems that he covers as wide a field as any Scottish poet.

Carmen nocturnum, ad fores puellae.
Ad Bacchum.
Ad Fauniam.
De quercu, diis sacra.
Frigore invitatur ad voluptatem (A poem concerning love-making and drinking in winter.)
Nuptiale Carmen.
Uxorem adioquitur.
Animum suum adloquitur.
Ad uxarem de liberis educandis.
Exultatio de nato filio.
Accusatur nimius puellarum cultus.
Exultatio ob factam pacem.
In nuptias Aureliae filiae.
Amator, ad sepulchrum Myrtilae puellae.
Tumulus Venerillae, puellae a Fontano adamatae.
Epitaphium Angeli Genticori.
Thermionillae meretriculae tumulus.
De Mundi Creatione.
Hymnus ad Christum redemptorem.
Ad Hermionem, ut papillas contegat.
Mortem sibi imprecatur.
De Frederico rege, ad balneas accedente.
De Orphee navigante, et post ad inferos pro uxore descendente.
De Venere.
In malum poetam Utricellum.

From these and other titles it appears that the object of Italian neo-Latin writers is to use the language of classical times to depict events relating, for the most part, to their own times.

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1 Iovianus Pontanus (1426-1503) was born at Carreto and educated at Perugia. He spent most of his life in Naples, where he was political adviser, military secretary and chancellor to the Aragonese dynasty.

In this they resemble their Scottish counterparts. There are, however, differences in the emphasis placed on certain topics. There seems to be much less invective in Italian verse. Poems are found containing attacks on individuals, but there is nothing to compare with the sustained invective found in Scottish verse. As invective is by no means uncommon in Scottish vernacular literature, its occurrence in Latin writing may be the expression of a national characteristic.

On the other hand - and this has a bearing on the question of Ovid's influence - there is far more amatory poetry in Italian than in Scottish verse. It has been shown that the amount of amatory verse in the selected Scottish writers is not great, and this is characteristic of all the Scottish verse. Even Leech, who is, perhaps, the most outspoken in love poetry, takes care to assure the reader in the preface to his works that his life does not accord with his writings.

In the neo-Latin verse of Italy love poetry is much more prominent. Much of this verse is in the Petrarchan tradition, where the worship of the mistress predominates. But some is in the classical tradition, where the woman, who may generally be presumed to be a prostitute, is
spoken of in the manner with which Ovid has made us familiar. Such poems use Ovid's language and mythology, and are almost completely free from any suggestion that such amours are morally wrong. In this they show a quality unknown in the verse produced by Scots. It it true that strict censorship may have excluded some Scottish amatory verse, but the whole trend of their writing is out of keeping with such poetry.

The Italian attitude may be shown by the following extracts from Pontanus, in which he is on the one hand an ardent Christian, and on the other an equally ardent lover.

Hymnus ad Christum redemptorem

Annua iam redeunt patris solennia sacris et sanctum referunt tempora certa dieum.
Luce bona simul et puere, innuptaeque puellae, et simul assidua femina virque prece,
Solennes celebrate aras, atque ora favete,
Omnia atque aeterno sint operata Deo.
Prodeat in Tyria spectandus veste sacerdos,
et chorus ornatas prodeat ante fores,
velatique comas albenti et tempora lino,
decantent laudes, maxime Christe tuas.

.................................

.................................

(Del. Ital. Poet. 11, 452.)

Frigore invitatur ad voluptatem.

Bruma riget, Caulique fremunt, stat densior aer,
Iuppiter et gelidas fundit ab axe nives.
Pocula nunc lususque decent, pinguesque lucernae;
arida vos, puere, subdite ligna foco.
Igne ferox lenitur hiems, ubi mollia circum
Lesbia, et annosum spumat in orbe merum.
Vino pelluntur tristes de pectore curae.
Hic liquor ingrato corda dolore levat.
Hic deus adflictis requiem, spermaque addit egenis.

I puer, et larga prome Falerna manu.
Me invat inter vina (fovet nam Bacchus amorem)
ebraia consortis oscula ferre labris;
melle femur tractasse manu, tractasse papillas,
dulciaque in tenero bella movere simu.
Tum mihi sit non una satis; tum si tibi iungar
Faunia, quas de derim, quas tulerimque vices!
Tum si blanda meis veniat retinenda lacertis,
quos tibi dem amplexus, Lautia, quosve dabis!
Tene ego si teneam, quales, mea Lautia, motus
expediam, vel quot sim ferus ipse modis!

..................................................................

(Del. Ital. Poet. ii, 389)

In this latter poem Pontanus treats the subject
matter with the detachment found in Ovid, and there
is nothing of the worship of the mistress which is
prominent in Petrarchan verse.

Occasionally the theme of the Heroides seems
to be in the poet's mind. The following extract
from Amica ad Gallum, by Cardinal Bembo, is
indebted to Ovid in this respect.

Galle, meum fidus, mea lux, mea summa voluptas,
quo levis ille tuus tam cito fugit amor,
lusibus ut metam cupias imponere nostris,
teque meo properes eripuisse simu?
Siccine tot nostri de te meruere labores,
et mea non ullo crimine laesa fides?
Haeccine tu nobis olim promissa dedisti
iuratus Paphiae Numina magna Deae,
cum te numquam alla calitum, Galle, puellae
sed fore dicebas tempus in omne meum?
Heu male consultas, veri quae cunque putamus
ullius in verbis pondus inesse viri!
Et miseris, quae more meo vitamque necemque,
atque omnes ponunt spes in amante suas.
Mutat ut in summis vento leve culmen aristis
flusca labat vestro sic in amore fides.

..................................................................
Seu tuus ille prior menti deferbut ardor, ah, cur me miseram linquere, Galle, paras, quae te uno semper colui male sana tenore, quae sum per longas usque sequuta vias? Ipsa quidem non defugio tua iussa, nec ulla parte tuus nobis dissimulatur honos. Sed cave, ne titulos dum vis augere, perempta infirmet laudes una puella tuas.

(Del. Ital. Poet. i, 355-8)

Although the theme of the *Heroïdes* inspires the Italian writers on occasion there do not seem to be any instances of the double letter as in Scottish Latin writing. The lover may complain of infidelity, but there is no reply to the accusations.

As one would expect, Ovid's influence is often modified or replaced by that of other writers. In amatory verse Petrarch frequently has greater sway - Hieronymus Angerianus writes upwards of one hundred and eighty short poems in the Petrarchan manner in honour of his mistress Laelia.¹ In pastoral poems Vergil is often the source of inspiration, in epigrams Martial is the model, and Catullus is often imitated by writers of love poetry in the classical tradition. Many poems are concerned with the Christian religion although there is no religious epic. There is a long poem ² *Syphilidis sive morbi Gallici* which is the

²Ibid. i, 1046-83.
counterpart of the medical treatises by Kinloch mentioned earlier in this chapter.

It will be seen, therefore, that there is no basic difference between Scottish and Italian neo-Latin writing. The Scottish writers cannot be regarded as a separate class, although they differ from the Italians in the emphasis they place on certain matters. So far as Ovid is concerned the Scots seem to be more concerned with the Heroides and the poems from exile than with the Amores, while the Italians tend to imitate the amatory poems more than his other works. On occasion the Italians can adopt Ovid's a-moral outlook on women and love, and are not concerned at this infringement of the Christian moral code. The only Scot who attempts this type of writing is Leech. This is not surprising, for there is little or no erotic poetry in Scottish literature of this or earlier centuries.

The Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum (1609) consists of three volumes which contain the works of one hundred and seven poets and amount to well over one hundred thousand lines. The subjects covered by this large body of verse are even more varied than
those found in the Italian Delitiae and range from a lengthy treatise on hawking to a play on the death of Julius Caesar which introduces a Greek Chorus. Very many of these poems are addressed to people of importance or to friends of the poets:

Ad Illustriissimum ac Reverendissimum Cardinalem Alexandrum Farnesium.
Ad Nicolaum Filium.
Ad Maximilianum II.
Ad Reginam matrem.
Ad Carolum Lotharingiae Cardinalem.
Carolo IX.
In Petri Ronsardi Francia da.
In Bartasii Hebdomadam.
Ad Henricum III, Galliae et Poloniae Regem.
Ad Pinceum.

There are also many epigrams and a fair number of elegies, odes and eclogues. Poems on religious matters are also found, and there is one long poem on the structure of the human body. Ronsard is praised in some poems and in others his lines are translated into Latin verse.

On the whole the French Delitiae closely resembles that produced in Scotland. There is, however, very little invective in the French Delitiae, apart from that contained in epigrams, and even there it is not often found. There is

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2Ibid. ii, 721-33.
3Ibid. i, 182, 254, 272, 276, 282, 283, 285, 286, 353, 354.
4Del. Poet. Gall. ii, 423-453
5Ibid. i, 358-64.
6Ibid. i, 285-90; 344-53.
also very little of the humour which in Scottish writing is typified by Johnston's mock-heroic poem on the imprisonment of the Aberdeen midwife. On the whole the French poems are more serious in outlook than those of Scotland or Italy.

Love poetry occurs more frequently than in the Scottish Delitiae but certainly does not occupy the important place it has in the Italian volumes. Ovid's influence, is, of course, evident in mythology and language. The treatment of the love theme, however, is rarely influenced by him, but is instead influenced by Petrarch, Catullus or the Greek Anacreontics. The extracts given below will serve to illustrate these influences, in the order quoted above.

Ad Candidam

Quisquis amas (aiunt cuncti) fuge corpus amatum, vivere si caeco liber ab igne cupis. Hei mihi, te quoties fugi, mea Candida, fugi, semper at in nostro pectore regnat amor. Ecce iterum fateor, fugi te, Candida; verum et potui et possum dicere semper amo. Sive abeo in silvas, nobis succurrat Adonis, et sit tristitis conscia silva meae: sive placent horti, quot florum hic millia cerno, tot stimuli captum me premit asper amor.

Quid prodest fugisse igitur, cum Candida praesens atque adeo lateri sit comes usque meo? Umbrae igitur merito quadret tibi, Candida, nomen; tale tamen nomen non decret iste color. Humanum potius debes deponere nomen, una simul gemino quae potes esse loco. Parce, rogo, quaecumque Dea es; subiectit et ipsa Anchisi sese, res bene nota, Venus.
Ecce, fugam fateor, veniam ne, Diva, negato; saepe mihi veniam Iuppiter ipse dedit. Ipse quidem prima mox ad te luce revertar, quasque voles poenas, si patiare, feram.  
(Del. Poet. Gall. iii, 582-3)

Petronillae

Cur istos oculos suavianti. 
udum porrigis adfatim labellum? Aufer nequitias, volo Sabinis
adsis horridior, sororiantes
amabo, tege candidas papillas,
quae me cordolio gravi labanatem
ad vivam penitus coquant medullam. Immo da mihi pressulis labellis
longum suaviolam; immo semihulcis. 
Hoc pectus niveum suaviari
mens est; lactea colla, vesulasque
illas turgidulas tuas papillas,
pomosas, rubicundulas, tenellas. Petronilla, age, pande, vah, reconde
gemellas faculas: inustulatus
pene totus eo in leves favillas.
O, quid non patimur, miselli amantes!  
(Del. Poet. Gall. i, 927-8)

Ex Anacreonte de Lyra

Cantem libens Atridas,
cantem libensque Cadmum:
sed barbiti mihi unum
nervi sonant amorem.
Mutata muper a me
chelys, fidesque cunctae;
iamque Herculis labores
canebam; at ille contra
sonabat usque amores.
Heroes ergo longum
mihi valete posthac,
nam barbiti mihi unum
nervi sonant amorem.  
(Del. Poet. Gall., iii, 890)

It is somewhat puzzling to discover that Ovid,
whose influence among the poets of the Pléiade is
readily apparent, should have so little effect on the manner in which the poets of the *Delitiae* treat the theme of love. When they do write poetry of a frankly erotic nature they turn to Catullus, perhaps because he treats the theme with less detachment and more warmth of feeling, perhaps because of the pleasure they derive from word play such as this:

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Salvete aureolae meae puellae
crines aureolique crispulique.
Salvete et mihi vos puellae ocelli,
ocelli improbuli protervulique.
Salvete et Veneris pares papillis,
papillae terestesque turgidaeque.
Salvete semula purpureae labella;
tota dehinc, / Pancharilla, salve.
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*(Del. Poet. Gall. i, 671)*

The other aspects of Ovid's influence on treatment of subject matter are not found to any marked extent in the French *Delitiae*. So far as can be discovered, his invective, as shown in the *Ibis*, has not been copied, nor is there anything to remind the reader of the mock didacticism of the *Ars Amatoria*. The majority of the poems are concerned with people, whether living or dead, and are usually of a more serious nature than many of Ovid's poems. There are, however, seven elegies which are reminiscent of the *Heroides* and the poems written in exile.¹ In these a bride complains

¹*Del. Poet. Gall. iii, 221-37.*
that her husband has left her almost as soon as they were married, gives a long account of her woes, and speculates as to the whereabouts of her husband. This theme reminds us of the *Heroides*, and the resemblance is heightened when the speaker describes how she awoke, like Ariadne, from the bridal couch to find she had been deserted.¹ The renewed complaints in each succeeding elegy are reminiscent of the *Tristia* or *Ex Ponto*.

On the whole, if mythology and language are excluded, there is not a great deal to remind the reader of Ovid, despite his popularity with those who wrote in French. Where the spirit of classical love is evident, Catullus is the principal writer to whom the neo-Latin poets are indebted. In other types of poetry Vergil, Martial and other classical writers exert their influence, as one would expect, and in this respect the neo-Latin verse written in France resembles closely that written in any other country.

The *Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum* (1612) amounts to approximately two hundred and eighty thousand lines and contains the works of two

¹ Del. Poet. Gall. iii, 226.
It is scarcely necessary to say that this great quantity of verse deals with a very wide range of topics. Subjects so diverse as the eclipse of the moon, the art of drinking and Aesop's fables are described by the German poets, and there are few topics which are not included in their works.

Many poems deal with either marriage or death. Christophori Schellenbergius writes over six thousand lines of *Muptialia*, and Ioannes Albinus has approximately fourteen hundred lines on the same subject. Albinus has over seven hundred lines of *Funebria*, and there are very many other poems on this topic. Poems dealing with contemporary events or in honour of distinguished people are also found, and there are many epigrams. There is little invective, and in this the Germans differ from the Scots.

Throughout the major portion of this verse the great truths of Christianity are proclaimed, and the reader is constantly reminded of the need to live in accordance with Christian teaching. In

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2 Ibid., i, 290-332.
3 Ibid., i, 333-55.
In this respect the German writers outstrip those of Scotland or other countries in their desire that all should know and follow Christian doctrine.

The amount of amatory verse in the German Delitiae is surprisingly small, and erotic verse is almost non-existent. One might be inclined to assume that strict censorship produced this state of affairs, but since Gruterus edited all the Delitiae considered in this chapter, apart from that of Scotland, it may reasonably be assumed that he would have inserted such verse if it had been available and of the standard required. The preoccupation with religion which is so marked in much of the German verse may be, to some extent, the reason why so little amatory verse was written, but consideration of this suggestion would involve a detailed study of German literature and life in the centuries during which the Latin verse was written.

The elegies of Conradus Celtis are typical

1There is a version of the Song of Solomon.
(Del. Poet. German., vi, 117-34)

2Conradus Celtis (1459-1508) was educated in Heidelberg, where he studied Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He afterwards lectured in Germany and Poland on a variety of subjects, including Platonic philosophy and Ciceroonian rhetoric. In 1486 he published his Ars Versificandi et Carminum, and later brought out an edition of Seneca's Hercules Furens and Coeha Thyestis. He was the first in Germany to sponsor the production of Latin drama. (see next page)
of the amatory verse in the German Delitiae.

In his first elegy he addresses Venus and Cupid.

In the second elegy he praises Ursula, his mistress, and complains of her unyielding attitude towards him:

Ursula, Rhenanas tua vincit forma puellas,
qualiter ignifluus sidera cuncta globus;
qualiter aut Moenum rapidant gurgite vincit
Rhenus ab Helvetis Alpibus eoriens.

Arte Dionaea splendet tibi corpore vultus,
et rutilant niveis ora venusta genis.

Sed nihil in toto muliere est durius orbe,
malseri pectus quae sibi posse negat.
Siste pedes, nostrosque velis audisse dolores,
et flestam mentem nostra querela tuam.

In his third elegy he complains that she has been false to him but promises to forgive her if only she will henceforth refrain from granting her favours to others:

Improba, iurabas te solo Celtis amore
haerere et cunctos spernere velle viros.
Expertus, quicumque tibi sua munera mittit
max comos voti, gaudia noctis habet.
O nimium miseram venali merce puellas,
qua sua sic passim vendere membra solent!
Non pudor aut probitas illis, nec honesta voluntas nota, sed ad quaestum vertitur ingenium.

From previous page: Note 2 continued:
After a tour of Italy, during which he was favourably received by Innocent VIII, he was made Poet Laureate of Germany in 1487. During the years which followed he visited Poland and England, and seems to have wished to establish contact with humanists in all parts of Europe. When he died his funeral was made the occasion of a day of national mourning.

Sic ubi te fidam nostro praebebis amori,
praeteritam culpam diluere ipsa potes;
Ursula, rivalem non possum ferre Tonantem,
nec qui lucifluam fertque refertque rotam.

In one of his epigrams Nicolaus Reusnerus
Leorinus writes of his mistress Serena:

Te veniente fugit nox, lux venit alma, Serena;
te fugiente venit nox nigra, luxque fugit.
Fronte tua passim sic cuncta, Serena, serenas;
seu nox, seu lux est; lux ibi semper, ubi es.

(Del. Poet. German. v, 795)

The rest of the amatory poetry is in keeping
with the poems mentioned above, and it is clear
that the poets who express themselves in this
fashion have nothing of the spirit of Ovid.

His influence is, however, manifest in other
poems, although here too the spirit of his poetry
is lacking. Helius Eobanus has three books of
_Hercules_, which in form are based on the _Hercules_
of Ovid. The letters of the first book are based
on the Bible:

_Deus pater Mariae virgin._
_Maria virgo Deo patri._
_Maria Magdalena Jesus Christo._
_Maria Ioanni._
_Lydia Paulo._
_Elizabeth Ioanni Baptistae._

In the first two letters the double letter of the
_Hercules_ is imitated. Although the form of Ovid's
work is here imitated the subject matter is not

1 Del. Poet. German. ii, 1233-1409.
indebted to him, and is an exposition of Christian teaching and beliefs. Nevertheless, the treatment of the subject is at times reminiscent of the *Heroides* of Ovid. Although Lydia's letter to Paul is not in any sense a lover's letter, she complains of his absence in the manner of Ovid's heroines:

Quid tibi cum caeca, doctor clarissime, Roma?
Assuescat monitis numquid et illa tua?
Quam metuo magnum ne quando fatebere Christum;
ipsa tibi poenas exitiumque paret.

Quam fuerat melius gentes docuisse minores;
in tua plus Asiae nomina laudis erat.

The letters in the other two books are written by a variety of characters, historical and mythical, and one is written to Luther by an "afflicted church." The majority of these letters are reminiscent of the *Heroides* in that the writer addresses complaints to a distant recipient, but the love that is praised is that of men and women for the Christian religion.

In short, the writers of the *Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum* owe very little to Ovid, except, of course, for those mythological and linguistic borrowings which are to be found in almost any writer of Latin verse. They seldom write of love, and when they do, their poems have nothing of the pagan outlook of Ovid.
The Delitiae Poetarum Belgicorum (Frankfurt, 1614) contains the works of one hundred and twenty-eight writers and amounts to over one hundred and twenty thousand lines.

The range of subjects is as wide as in the other Delitiae. There are numerous poems on death and marriage, those on the former topic being rather more numerous than those on the latter. Nicolaus Grudius has approximately one thousand lines of Funera, and Ioannes Secundus has approximately six hundred lines on the same subject. There are no collections of Nuptialia as in the German Delitiae, but there are numerous such poems throughout the works of the Dutch authors. In addition there are many poems with religious themes, poems in honour of distinguished people, poems dealing with contemporary events, and epigrams.

In contrast to the German Delitiae there is a fair amount of amatory verse. Ioannes Dousa

1 Nicolaus Grudius, a sixteenth century poet, was born at Louvain. He wrote elegies, epigrams, Sylvae, and poems in hendecasyllables.
3 Ioannes Secundus (1511-36) was born at the Hague. He wrote elegies, epigrams, odes, epistles, Basia and Sylvae.
4 Ibid., iv, 210-28.
5 Ioannes Dousa (1545-1604) was born at Noordwyck. He was a poet, philologist and historian. His Annales deals with the history of some of the noble families of Holland. His works are contained in vol. 11 of the Dutch Delitiae.
writes epigrams which are often amatory and sometimes obscene. He also writes two books of Cupidines in which he is usually the dejected lachrymose lover. His Basia are love poems, usually in imitation of Catullus, and one is entitled Characteres et argumento Catulliano. In these poems he spends much time in describing various methods of kissing, but his eroticism goes no further than this, and his attitude to love is not that of Ovid or Catullus. The following lines are typical of his work:

Me lento hinc quotiens et inde nexu
conchatum implicitum tenes amantem,
insertamque micantibus Iabellis,
insertamque meo decenter ori
argutam docili tremore vivras
linguam, non sine grato amoris usu,
et morsu et ioco et omnibus susurris.

(Del. Poet. Belg., ii, 150-1)

Secundus, who has already been mentioned as a writer of Funera, has several poems on kissing, which resemble those of Dousa in content. He also is content to describe kissing in detail, and goes no further.

Ianus Lernutius 1 has forty-two poems under the heading Ocelli. 2 These, of course, pay

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1 Ianus Lernutius (1545-1619) was born in Bruges. He wrote elegies and epigrams as well as the poems mentioned above.
tribute to the power of the glances, loving or otherwise, cast by his mistress, and are in the tradition of his age. He also has thirty poems under the heading *Basia*¹ which are chiefly concerned with the technique of kissing.

It will be clear that poetry of the type mentioned above is not Ovidian in spirit. Some is in the Petrarchan tradition, and although some is certainly erotic, the fact that the eroticism is not carried to its logical conclusion suggests an uneasy compromise between the Petrarchan and the classical tradition. In so far as these writers do imitate classical writers Catullus is obviously their model. The hendecasyllabic metre is more common in their love poetry than the elegiac metre. Frequently one finds phrases such as the following:

\[ \text{istis turgidulis labris} \\
\text{ocellisque loquaculis..} \]

When one considers that this poem begins with

\[ \text{Centum basia centies,} \\
\text{centum basia millies,} \\
\text{mille basia millies,} \\
\text{et tot basia millies} \]

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² Ibid. iv, 259.
there is little doubt that the language imitated in the phrase given above is that of Catullus' poem which begins:

_Quae Thalle, mollior cuniculi capillo_ ¹

There is nothing in these poems to remind the reader of Ovid's attitude towards love. In the elegies which occur throughout the Dutch _Delitiae_ there are, of course, mythological allusions taken from his works, and Ovidian phrases occur, but the lovers are sad and serious, and have nothing of the easy detachment and cynicism which one finds in Ovid.

Ovid's _Heroides_, however, have been directly imitated. Ioannes Meursius writes six poems under the heading _Epistolae Heroidum_ ²:

- Alcyone Ceyci.
- Ariadne Theseo.
- Biblis Cauno.
- Procris Cephalo.
- Myrrha Cinyrae.
- Scylla Minoi.

The prevailing theme is that of Ovid's _Heroides_, the characters are from his works, and the second

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¹ _Carmen_ xxv.
² _This_ may be the Meursius mentioned in the _Nouvelle Biographie Generale_. He was born at the Hague in 1679 and died in Denmark in 1639. Numerous historical works are ascribed to him (Vol. xxxv, 254-5), but no mention is made of the _Heroides_.
poem is in imitation of Ovid's poem of the same name. It would be difficult to find closer imitation than this.

The Dutch Delitiae may be said to resemble those of the other countries in its general scope. It has little invective, and thus differs from the Delitiae of Scotland. Its love poetry resembles that of France in that Catullus is the model rather than Ovid. In its concentration on one particular aspect of love it differs from the other Delitiae.

This survey of contemporary Delitiae has of necessity been brief, and no doubt much has been omitted that an exhaustive scrutiny would reveal. Nevertheless it has been shown that the Scottish writers were not a race apart, but resembled their fellows on the Continent in many respects. No doubt the strong academic connection between Scotland and the Continent was responsible for this. It has also been shown that the Scots were not peculiar in that they failed to imitate the amatory poetry of Ovid. Only the Italians seem to have reproduced his attitude towards love; the others were either unable or unwilling to do so. On the other hand the Scots followed the prevailing fashion when they imitated the form or the themes.
of the *Heroides*. The surprising conclusion to be drawn from this is that, despite the fact that writers in the vernacular regarded Ovid as the High Priest of Love and the source of numerous tales, the neo-Latin writers looked to the *Heroides* rather than the *Amores* or *Metamorphoses*. When they wished to write of love in the classical manner they often turned to Catullus rather than Ovid.

Ovid's invective seems to have been imitated by Johnston alone. He also seems to have been the only writer to appreciate and imitate Ovid's quiet humour, although it is possible that an exhaustive study of the many thousands of lines in the other *Delitiae* would reveal some other writers who have imitated the *Ibis* or realised that Ovid often wrote with his tongue in his cheek.
CHAPTER XIV

A POEM BY ARTHUR JOHNSTON
A POEM BY ARTHUR JOHNSTON

The following poem, by Arthur Johnston, is a good example of the Latin verse produced in Scotland in the seventeenth century. Written in elegiac verse, it is an appeal to the Provost of Aberdeen to have mercy on Leith sailors, who, in the course of a voyage to Aberdeen, have consumed some of the wine which formed part of the cargo. Johnston points out that from the time of the Argo sailors have been inclined to stealing. The gods, too, have not been blameless. Jupiter, Autolycus, Mercury, Castor and Pollux have indulged in thieving of one kind or another. In Egypt and Sparta thieving was encouraged, and Rome itself was a nest of robbers in early times. It seems hard that sailors on the salt sea should be denied a sip of the nectar they carry. Why blame sailors when even Homer, Alexander the Great and the stern Cato fell under the sway of Bacchus? Let the remaining casks be sold at a higher price, and let the good folk of Aberdeen be thus protected against over-indulgence.

Throughout this poem Johnston seems to be only partly serious, in strong contrast to his diatribe against the sailors who have stolen his
clothing, when he invokes the full rigour of the law against the culprits (Musa, i, 101-5).

Nothing is known of the theft of the wine apart from the details given by Johnston, but it is unlikely that he would have ventured to write in such a light-hearted vein had the loss been regarded in a serious light by the Provost of Aberdeen. A serious defence of the sailors would certainly not include the suggestion that, by drinking part of the wine, they were protecting the citizens of Aberdeen against intemperance.

The notes on this poem are intended merely to illustrate Johnston's debt to Ovid, and occasionally, to other classical poets.
Apologia Pro Nautis Lethensibus,
Ad Paulum Mennesium Equitem Auratum,
Praefectum Aberdonensem.

Quid tibi cum pelago, Mennesi? legibus aequis
fulta quid in nautas urbs tua iuris habet,
sunt, quibus imperites, liquidi cum montibus annae:
eaquoris aequoreo iura reliquae deo.

Supplicium si quod meruit Neptunia proles,
hic gerit ultrico tela trisulca manu.
Si tamen in pelagus ias est tibi, nautica pubes
sat, decus et famam quo tusatur, habet.
Quod scelus obiectas? Letheae furta carinae
seilicet, et plenls hausta Palerna cadis. 10
Haec cives delicta vocent; sine crimine fur est,
aerulm quisquis per mare vela regit,
Prinus inexpertis ausus dare lintea ventis,
seque maris dorso credere, praedo fuit;

All references in these notes are to the works
of Ovid, unless it is otherwise stated. Line:

1. Quid tibi cum pelago: cf. Fasti, ii, 101,
quid tibi cum gladio? or Heroides, vi, 48,
quid tibi cum patria, navita Tiphya, mea?

Mennesi: Sir Paul Menzies, knighted in 1633,
was Provost of Aberdeen, 1623-1634.

4. aequoris aequoreo: Here Johnston indulges in
the habit of repeating within the same line
an altered form of a word or phrase. This
device is found in Vergil and Ovid.

5. Neptunia proles: cf. Met., x, 639, cum me
solicitac proles Neptunia voce or Vergil,
Aeneid, vii, 691, At Messapus, equum domitor,
Neptunia proles.

6. tela trisulca manu: cf. Amores, II, v, 52,
excutere irato tela trisulca lovi.

13. ausus dare lintea ventis: cf. Met., vii, 40,
sine me det lintea ventis.

14. maris dorso credere: cf. Vergil, Aeneid, i,
110, dorsum immane mari summo.
aurea Phryxei pecoris gestamina Colcho abstulit, Argivis imposuitque tholis; rapta tamen nullas meruerunt vellera poenas, praedo nec obstrictus crimine Tiphys erat, sed tuit hic laudes generosi praemia facti, inter et heros nobile nomen habet. quaque vehbatur, nunc caelum navigat Argo, explicat et novies quinque serena faces. Artibus ingenuis quae praesidet, innuba virgo, haec latrocinii praemia ferre dedit. Scilicet est Superis gens praedatoria curae, furtorum socios credit et esse deos. Ipsa deum interpres fuerunt Cyllenius inter emicat et furti creditur esse paren. Hoc satus Autolycus patrias non degener artem calluit, et piceas strinxit ubique manus: nec socios duntaxat habet de plebe deorum, quem colis, immensi furta revolve Iovis.

15. aurea Phryxei pecoris gestamina Colcho: cf. Heroides, vi, 104, aurea Phrixæae terga revellit ovis. This line and the following line contain one of Johnston's numerous references to the legends connected with Medea. The story of the Argonauts is contained in Met., vii.
18. Tiphys was the pilot of the Argo; cf. Heroides, vi, 48.
21-2. These lines refer to the constellation of Argo.
23. artibus ingenuis quae praesidet, innuba virgo. cf. Fasti, iiii, 5-6, ipse vides manibus peragi tera bella Minervae: num minus ingenuis artibus illa vacat? The innuba virgo referred to by Johnston is Minerva. The term innuba is used three times by Ovid, but rarely occurs elsewhere.
27. Cyllenius: Mercury, from Mt. Cyllene, where he was born. This epithet is applied to Mercury six times in the Metamorphoses, but its use is not confined to Ovid.
29. satus Autolycus: He was the son of Mercury, Met., xi, 313.
Singula quis numeret? de multis sufficit unus
Phryx puer, et Tyrio rapta puella seni.
Hanc pater aetherius nivei sub imagine tauri
abstulit, hunc falsa dissimulatus ave;
 nec puduit furti monumenta perennia caelo
supreme digitis inserisse suis.

Explicat hic valueris, puerum quae sustulit, ignes,
 nec procul hinc pueri, quem tulit, urna nitet. 40
Virginia hic raptor bos septem terga puellis
subiicit, aetheras et nitet inter aquas.
Quin et Agonorem quae tangunt sidera taurum
in pretio Divis furtis fuisse moment.

Hinc pecus, inde pio rutilat cum Castore Pollux;
praeda pescus, praedo frater uterque fuit;
nomen uterque maris naucleros artibus illis
imbuat, ad mores instituitque suos.
Tunc quoque promeruit caelum Tirynthius heros,
Aurea cum caeso poma dracone tulit;

34. Phryx puer: Ganymede, snatched up by the
eagle of Zeus, Met., x, 155.

Tyrio rapta puella seni: Europa, daughter of
Agenor, King of Tyre, was abducted by Zeus
in the form of a bull, Met., ii, 333-75.

36. The falsa ave is the eagle which captured
Ganymede.

antiqui monumenta perennia facti. This and
the following lines refer to constellations.

40. urna nitet: the pitcher Ganymede carried as
cupbearer to the gods.

41-2. These lines refer to the abduction of
Europa by Zeus.

46. praeda pescus, praedo frater uterque fuit:
Johnston again repeats a word but alters it
slightly.

47. naucleros: This rather rare word is found in
Plautus, Miles Gloriosus, iv, iii, 17.

49. Tirynthius heros: Hercules. cf. Met., vii,
410, est via declivis, per quam Tirynthius
heros.

50. cf. Met., ix, 190, pomaque ab insomni
concustodita dracone.
nec pudet hunc furti; quem compilaverat horti
custodem pedibus sed premit usque suis.
Tunc genus Iapeti felix, tunc secula fuerunt
aurea, nec potior paupere dives erat.
Vicini tondebat ovos sine crimine pauper,
divitis immissa falsae metebat agros.
Tum licuit certare dolis, et vivere rapto,
furis honorificum nomen ubique fuit,
furis inoffenso gaudebat nomine servus
turgidus hoc ipso nomine miles erat.
Non alic pedebant tempore nautae,
moribus antiquis qui rapuere merum
navita vel nostro nasi si debuit aevo,
alterius meruit iura suumba fori.
Consule Millaci mores et iura Senatus,
furta probat, furum prospeicit ille bonis;
furibus ipsa sacer reddetat iura Sacerdos
tantus erat lepidae gentis et artis honor.
Altera par praedae Domino, pars altera furi
cedebat; quadrans haec, ut opinor, erat.
Nullus in orbe locus Lacedaemon iustior audiat
te deces exemplum, quo praesit illa, sequi.
Mortia gens passa est furtis assuoscre dives,
furta tanum voluit dexteritate regi.
Non erat armatis locus hic praedonibus aptus
qualis Apollines Brennus in aede fuit.
Hic tamen Autolyce merrisset dextera laudem,
et quae surrepte claruit igne manus.

53. genus Iapeti: Iapetus, a Titan was the father
of Prometheus, but here he seems to be
regarded as the father of mankind.
53-60. In these lines, describing the Golden Age,
Johnston may have in mind Ovid’s descrip-
tion of this time in Met., i.
57. vivere rapto; cf. Vergil, Aenid, vii, 749.
65. According to Johnston, thieving was encouraged
in ancient Egypt, as well as in Sparta.
66. furta probat, furum prospeicit ille bonis:
another example of repetition of a word with
alteration.
69. Alte para praedae Domino, paras altera furia:
in this line a phrase is repeated with
alteration of word order.
78. This line refers to the theft of fire by
Prometheus.
Fors et Aventinus sperasset praemia pastor
qui catus aversos traxit in antra boves;
nec qui iudicitus coram disparuit, illic
Eurybatis poterat non placuisse dolus.
Cui tua perniciem, Mennesi, rostra minantur,
par est istius turba marina gregis.
Non vafer Autolycus, non illam vinceret Hermes,
filius hic quamvis sit Iovis, ille nepos.
Quid non ingenii, quid non tune attulit artis
Daedaleae, sensit cum sua furta premi?
Non iia compositas vidit gens Troica technas,
sublevit miserae cum vafer ora Sinon.
Ipsa Quod, urbe tua procul, expilaverat, hostes
dictitam armae diripuisse manu;
neve putes haec ficta dolo, tempusque, locumque
verbaque prae donum tristis et ora refert;
quodque refert, inrat (tanta est fiducia gentis)
 nec pudor ora notat, nec quatit os sa metus.
Hic quaes Romanos decent constantia cives;
hic et Spartanae pectora gentis erant.
Quisquis in hac furta culpat, poenamque minatur,
ingeni saltem laudet et artis opus; 100
sed nec erat tanti furta; quod per mare vexit
gens rea, de poto tota querela mero est.

79-80, cf. Fasti, i, 550, traxerat aversos Cacus
in antra ferox. The story of Cacus, the
robber of the Aventine Hill, is contained
in the Fasti, i, 545-82.
82. Eurybatis poterat non placuisse dolus:
Eurybatus, mentioned in Demosthenes, De
Corona, 24, gave to Cyrus money entrusted
to him by Croesus.
89. technas: a word found in Plautus and Terence.
90. sublevit miserae cum vafer ora Sinon: cf.
Plautus, Mercator, III, iv, 19, pulchre os
sublevit patri. This line refers to the
story of Sinon in Aeneid, ii.
95. tanta est fiducia gentis: cf. Met., ii, 731,
nec se dissimulat, tanta est fiducia formae.
96. nec pudor ora notat, nec quatit osa metus:
cf. Amores, III, vi, 78, desint famosus
quae notet ora pudor.
Quis putet esse nefas, domini si vinitor uvas,  
aut olitor gustet, quas habet hortus, opes?  
Vere novo mensis domini quod colligit, exsors  
criminis hoc ipso nectaris vivit apis;  
quodque gerit dorso miserandae sortis asellus  
hoc ipsum nullo crimen prandet olus.  
Ferca quae curat tinctam fuligine gentem  
adspace, praegustat, quas parat illa dapes.  
Forsan et hoc, patriae merx ne peregrina noceret,  
gens pia libandum consensit ante merum.  
Si quid in hoc noxae, si quid fortasse veneni  
hic fuit, hoc patriae spernere iussit amor.  
Sic dux Cecropidum, patriam ne laederet, hausto  
sanguine taurino maluit ante mori.  
Forsan et hunc praeter reliquus defecerat humor,  
 nec maris in medio, quod biberetur, erat  
Quid faceret? nec ferre sitim, nec gurgite salso  
aequoris, halecum more, levare potest.  
Nec meruit, quas iure luit pro crimine poenas  
Tantalus, in medius quem sitis urit aqua.  
Sed nullam tunc finge sitim: quis posset Iacchi,  
 ut cupiat, succis abstimisse manus?  
Nescio qua rapiat liquor hic dulcedine mentes,  
officis memores nec sinit esse sui.  
Saepe mero prisci virtus immensa Catonis  
dicitur ante suos incaluisse lares,  
Quique sibi terras olim subiecisset undas,  
Bacche, tui Macedo victus amore fuit.  
Ennius inse bibax, et erat vinosus Homerus  
tota licet praestit Castalitis unda foret.  
Quos sitiunt belli proceres et pacis alumni,  
hos latices saepe cur tetigisse nefas?

107. quodque gerit dorso miserandae sortis asellus:  
cf. Amores, II, vii, 15, adspice ut auritus  
miserandae sortis asellus.
122. Tantalus: This reference may be taken from  
Met., iv, 458, or x, 41.
127-8. These lines are obviously modelled on  
Horace, Odes, III, xxi, 11-12, narratur  
et prisci Catonis saepe mero caluisse  
virtus.
130. vinosus Homerus: cf. Horace, Epistles, I,  
xix, 6, laudibus arguitur vinosus Homerus.
133. quos sitiunt belli proceres: cf. Met., viii,  
21, iamque mora belli procerum.
Nulla, Caledonios inter, gens sicciar illa est, nullamagis Bacchi dona bimatris amat.
Nautica gens ipsum quo primum tempore Bacchum vidit, adhuc puerum fertur amasse Deum.
Ille, mero somnoque gravis, stertebat in umbra, hic ubi Chia mari proxima ridet humus. 140
Conspecto gavisa Deo est Neptunia pubes; nec mora, sublato numine, vela dedit.
Bacchus adhuc madidus, rideri se ratus, iras induit, et nautas cum rate mersit aquis.
Praemia sed meruit pietas; hos piscibus addit Iuppiter, aequoreo praepositque gregi.
Nunc quoque, muta licet, sociis praedicere ventos, more prius sueto, praesidia turba solaet; quique tenet caelum, non vexit Ariona Delphin, sed gregis istius pars, reor, una fuit. 150
Haec tibi si nequeunt, Menessi, flectere mentem et rigor in nautas, quia fuit ante, manet, aspice quas propriis permittis vivibus artes, urba quibus, ut cupiat, nulla carere potest.
Daedala sartorum gens est exercita furitis, furta sed ingenii calliditate tegit.
Non Iovis haec pallae, digitis si tangeret uncis, parceret, aut peplo, magna Diana, tuo.
Textor olens tot furta parit, quot stamina nectit, tot molitor fraudes, quot mola grana terit. 160
Quis mercatores non addat furibus, idem cum tutelaris praesit utrisque Deus?
Neque tua, Phoebe, cohors minus est rea criminis huius, si quid in arte sacra criminis esse potest.

136. Bacchi dona bimatris: cf. Met., iv, 11-12, Bacchumque vocant ... bimaterm.
139. stertebat in umbra: cf. Heroides, viii, 21, si socer ignavus vidua stertisset in aula.
137-46. This tale is taken from the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus.
149. non vexit Ariona Delphin: The story of Arion and the dolphin is found in Fasti, ii, 79-118.
159. quot stamina nectit: cf. Fasti, ii, 771, sic stamina nevit.

165. Naso Maronis opus, Maro compilavit Homerum: Note the repetition with change of case.
166. According to Theocritus Linus was the teacher of Orpheus.
169. Aspice Martigenam populum: cf. Fasti, i, 199, dum casa Martigenae capiebat parva Quirininum, or Amores, III, iv, 39, in qua Martigeneae non sunt sine crimen nati.
182. tenui fonte levasse sitim: cf. Fasti, ii, 250, et tenuem vivis fontibus affer aquam.
185. moderamine miro: the word moderamen is found seven times in Ovid. Johnston probably imitated Met., xiii, 362, ingenium est, quod eget moderamine nostro.

(Musa, i, 140-6.)
CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSIONS
CONCLUSIONS

The facts revealed by the present investigation are not, on the whole, those which might be deduced from a knowledge of Ovid's influence on the vernacular writing of medieval or Renaissance poets. It is evident that the Ovid to whom neo-Latin writers look differs greatly from 'Venus' clerk Ovyde' whose tales enthralled medieval writers, and from that Ovid whose style and wit inspired poets of the Renaissance. It is also clear that, although his influence is considerable, it nevertheless represents only one aspect of neo-Latin writing, and cannot be seen in proper perspective unless other important factors are also taken into consideration.

The works of the selected Scottish poets are not to be regarded as literature produced in vacuo by scholars whose main concern was the writing of correct Latin. On the contrary, these works,
although couched in the language of Ancient Rome, are clearly written by men who are children of their own age, and show plainly the influences to which they were exposed.

Such writing, in the first place, may be influenced by the vernacular literature, not only of Scotland, but of England, France and Italy. Thus upon a poem cast in a classical mould there may be superimposed literary characteristics which have their origin in the writings of medieval or Renaissance Europe. The most outstanding example of this is the way in which the Petrarchan attitude towards love is found in the amatory verse of Leech and Hume, and in the very small amount of such verse written by Johnston.

The invective in Johnston’s verse is on one occasion modelled on the Ibis, but on others it is inspired by the 'flyting' of Scottish literature. The alliteration of early Scottish writing may have influenced Wedderburn’s verse, and the bombastic style of Du Bartas is probably copied in some of his writing. Some of Leech’s amatory verse may be inspired by Ronsard, whose poems were imitated by the neo-Latin writers of France. The sardonic humour of Scot’s verse may also be found in early Scottish writing.
In the second place the subject matter of this verse is usually concerned with contemporary events, and often deals with the religious or political questions of the age. Thus Scottish writers may use the language, metre, rhetoric and form of Ovid's verse to express the attitudes and conventions of their own time. Neo-Latin writing may be the means by which the author expresses Christian sentiments, or it may deal with topics ranging from personal matters to events of national importance. Hume's elegies conclude with an urgent exhortation to the reader to have concern for his soul, while his eclogues deal with the death of Queen Elizabeth and the union of the two countries under James. Some of Ayton's poems are concerned with his own fortunes, but in one he dares to reprove James for his indifference to the fate of the Elector Palatine, his son-in-law. Johnston's poems deal with matters as diverse as the misadventures of a drunken midwife and the tension between Austria and Bohemia. Leech concludes his elegies by declaring that he now renounces love and wine and desires to write an epic on the Creation. It would seem that Scottish writers are, on the whole, too much concerned with contemporary happenings to write of purely classical matters, and too deeply imbued with the
religious beliefs of their age to see love through Ovid's eyes.

In the third place, the influence of Ovid is often modified or replaced by that of other classical writers. In pastoral poetry Vergil is usually the model, and in epigrams Martial is on occasion the source of inspiration. Even in amatory verse the poems of Catullus or the Greek Anacreontics may be imitated. In religious epic Vergil is predominant, and there is little of Ovid. Other classical writers influence Scottish Latin verse, and there are, in fact, few whose influence cannot be detected in this writing.

When the Scottish writers do imitate Ovid they are often more concerned with the language, mythology, style and metre of his works than with the contents. To them he is a writer of polished Latin, a source of mythological allusions, a skilful user of rhetorical devices and a master of the elegiac metre, rather than an authority on love or a source of tales from classical mythology. The true spirit of his amatory verse is found only in the poems of Leech, who is careful to point out in the preface to his works that he is not in reality a wanton.

But although Scottish writers are unable or
unwilling to imitate Ovid's amatory verse, they are obviously impressed by the themes of the *Heroides*, themes which may be understood and imitated by writers of any age or religious belief. The sentiments of this work may be used when one poet complains that he has been deserted by another, or even to illustrate the tension existing between two countries, as in Johnston's *Bohemian Struggle*. Johnston, Wedderburn, Leech, Scot and Ayton are all indebted to the *Heroides*, and it is clear that they, like neo-Latin writers in other lands, look to these poems by Ovid rather than to his amatory verse. The *Ibis*, as has already been stated, is used as a model for invective, and the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* are imitated in poems of complaint.

A brief survey of the *Delitiae* of Italy, France, Germany and Holland shows that the verse of the Scots differs little from that of their fellows in these other countries. There are slight differences - the Scots, for instance, are more inclined to use invective than writers of other countries - but the similarities are far more striking than the differences, and neo-Latin verse in Europe is to be regarded as one whole, and not as a number of separate national literatures. Amatory verse in Ovid's manner is scarcely found
outside of the Italian Delitiae. In other countries, and in Italy also, it is often influenced by Catullus or Petrarch. As in Scotland the strongest Ovidian influence on the treatment of subject matter is that of the Heroides. The form and sentiments of these poems are used in situations widely different from those depicted by Ovid, and are even employed in poems which expound Christian doctrine. This is in strong contrast to vernacular writing in which his amatory poems or mythology usually have the greatest influence. Arthur Johnston alone imitates the inventive of the Ibis, and he also appears to be the only poet to imitate Ovid's sly humour. Finally, the Delitiae of these countries show that the influence of Ovid is often replaced by that of other classical writers, and by Vergil in particular.

Of the selected Scottish writers Arthur Johnston is influenced to the greatest extent by Ovid, and Andrew Ramsay to the smallest extent. The others are influenced in varying degrees and in different ways. Johnston, Hume, Leech and Ayton may be classed as Ovidian writers in that his influence over them is, on the whole, greater than that of any other classical writer. On the other
hand, Ramsay and Wedderburn are more indebted to Vergil. Scot expresses admiration for Ovid, but, apart from linguistic borrowings, is little indebted to him, or, indeed, to any classical author.

Some questions may have been answered by this enquiry, but it has also suggested other topics for research. In particular, the relationship between the various Delitiae might be studied further. It has been shown that the neo-Latin writing of the Renaissance and post-Renaissance centuries may be regarded as international rather than national literature, and that Scottish scholars, in particular, often spent some time in other countries. It is probable, therefore, that scholars of one country have been influenced in their writings by those of another, but the nature and extent of this influence would only be evident after a very careful study of all the Delitiae concerned. It would also be of interest to consider the influence of Catullus on the amatory verse in the various Delitiae, and to contrast this with his influence on vernacular writing of the same period. There are Scottish neo-Latin writers, such as Mark Alexander Boyd, whose works fall outside the scope of this enquiry, but would repay further study, and the compilation of an anthology of Scottish Latin
verse would be an interesting and rewarding task. Finally, for the student of Scottish or, indeed, European history, neo-Latin verse may provide evidence not available from other sources.

These and other matters may be investigated in the future. In the meantime the facts disclosed by the present enquiry may serve to illustrate, however dimly, a path that has seldom been trodden.
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