



Virginia Commonwealth University
VCU Scholars Compass

Theses and Dissertations

Graduate School

2013

"As Mind to the Body": Prudence and Artificial Memory in the Illustrations and Commentary of George Sandys' Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished (1632)

James Hellman
Virginia Commonwealth University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd>



Part of the [English Language and Literature Commons](#)

© The Author

Downloaded from

<https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/506>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at VCU Scholars Compass. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of VCU Scholars Compass. For more information, please contact libcompass@vcu.edu.

**“As Mind to the Body”: Prudence and Artificial Memory in the Illustrations and
Commentary of George Sandys’ *Ovid’s Metamorphosis Englished* (1632)**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in English at Virginia Commonwealth University.**

by

**James Gregory Hellman
Bachelor of Arts, Mary Washington University, 1998**

**Director: Joshua Eckhardt, PhD
Associate Professor, Department of English**

**Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia
May, 2013**

Acknowledgment

The author wishes to thank several people. I would like to thank my wife, Márcia, for her love, support and patience during the last two years it has taken me to graduate. I would like to thank my parents for their unending love and support. I would also like to thank Dr. Eckhardt for suggesting the topic for this research and for his help and guidance with this project. Last but not least, I would like to thank my boss and friend Anton Brinckwirth for supporting me and allowing me the flexibility at work to complete my thesis.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Images and Text: A “Double Stranger” in Multiple Senses.....	3
Allegory, The Emblem Tradition and the Art of Memory.....	19
The Commentary Tradition and the Art of Memory.....	26
Tully’s First and Second Rhetoric and the Importance of Prudence for the Art of Memory.....	35
Demonstration of Sandys’ Commentary.....	41
Actaeon: The Dangers of the Passions and the Perils of Power.....	45
Cadmus: The Ruler with a Sublime Visage.....	49
Perseus: The Brother of Pallas.....	54
“Poeticall Philosophie” Revealed.....	59
Conclusions.....	69
Works Cited.....	72
Appendix A: Full Plate Engravings.....	76
Appendix B: Full Text of Relevant Commentary Sections.....	80

Abstract

James Gregory Hellman
Bachelor of Arts, Mary Washington University, 1998

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in English at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University 2013

Director: Joshua Eckhardt, PhD
Associate Professor, Department of English

This thesis is an analysis of an English verse translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, published in 1632 by the Englishman George Sandys. This book included a full English commentary and was illustrated by several full-plate engravings. This study examines the edition's elaborate utilization of the rhetorical practices of artificial memory and related concepts of rhetorical invention. It demonstrates that these rhetorical practices were chosen and implemented for their inherent structural appropriateness for the cultivation of prudence, or practical wisdom. It reveals that the lessons in practical wisdom encoded in the work through the techniques of artificial memory were particularly aimed at political issues and the concerns of rulers. From the work's preoccupation with prudence as appropriate for a ruler, and from the dedication and prefatory texts, it becomes clear that it was intended to provide a means of counsel, or advice, to the King Charles I in an elaborate poetic format.

Introduction

The present study is an analysis of an English verse translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that was published in 1632 by the Englishman George Sandys. This work included a full English commentary and was illustrated by several marvelously designed and executed full-plate engravings. I will examine this edition according to its elaborate utilization of the rhetorical practices of artificial memory and the closely related concepts of rhetorical invention. I will demonstrate that these rhetorical practices were chosen and implemented for their inherent structural appropriateness for a work whose goal was the cultivation of prudence, or practical wisdom. In considering the work's elaborate design and dedication to the King Charles I, I will also reveal how the lessons in practical wisdom encoded in the work through the techniques of artificial memory were particularly aimed at political issues and the concerns of rulers. From the work's preoccupation on many levels with prudence as appropriate for a ruler, and from the dedication and prefatory texts, it becomes clear that this work was intended to provide a means of counsel, or advice, to the King Charles I in an elaborate poetic format.

The full title of the work was *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englised, Mythologiz'd, And Represented in Figures* (emphasis mine). This title suggests an integral and organic tripartite structure for the work. "Englised" refers to the verse translation of the poem; "Mythologiz'd" refers to the commentary which develops the mythology, understood generally, around the fables; "Represented in Figures" refers to the full-page engravings that represent the important fables for each of the fifteen books. We will see in the course of this study how these three distinct but tightly integrated parts of the work function together organically in a system of artificial memory that is based on the fables of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as they appear reflected in each of the three parts.

A 17th century reader of the work with an awareness of the principles of artificial memory might experience the work in the following way: before and after reading the text of the verse translation, a thoughtful study of the full-page engraving at the beginning of the book recalls the enigmatic fables of the book via the figures of transformations. The reader soon notices that the figures on the engraving are distributed spatially on a front-to-back axis and that the order in which they appear from foreground to background is the same order in which the fables appear in the text. Thus recognizing that the images are designed to aid in recalling the fables and in a particular order, the reader returns to the text to read the commentary that follows each “book” of the poem just read. There the reader encounters many quotations, anecdotes and interpretations drawn from ancient, medieval, and contemporary (Renaissance) authors. This rich commentary is organized in sections corresponding to each fable, which is clearly marked in the margin by a heading that is the same as the marginal heading in the verse translation for the fable. After flipping back to the engraving at the beginning of the book, the reader can mentally peruse the figures of the transformations from front to back, calling to mind along the way both the vivid events of the fable and the lessons associated to it. Perhaps even later, after putting down the book, the reader would use his or her well-developed imagination to peruse the figures of the engraving and thereby recall the memorable fables and their organically connected lessons of prudence.

In the coming pages, I will give some theoretical background and context for understanding how such an understanding of constructing a literary work for this sort of reading and recollection would be both desirable and possible within the rhetorical and literary culture inherited by George Sandys in early 17th Century England.

Images and Text: A “Double Stranger” in Multiple Senses

George Sandys, in his dedicatory letter to King Charles I for his 1632 translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, complete with printed engravings and full commentary, refers to the work as a “a double Stranger: Sprung from the Stocke of the ancient Romanes; but bred in the New-World, of the rudenesse whereof it cannot but participate; especially hauing Warres and Tumults to bring it to light in stead of the Muses” (v). This beautiful printed work, which was largely the product of a translation undertaken while Sandys’ served as a colonial official with the Virginia Company settlement at Jamestown in the years 1621-1625, attempts not just to be a faithful translation of the popular Latin poet Ovid’s most famous work. It is a “double Stranger” in more than one sense: it embodies the important Latin text which is “English’d” into rhyming verse, but also is bred, not just in the “Warres and Tumults” of Sandys’ colonial experience, but from within a long tradition of interpretation and commentary, which Sandys’ has masterfully grafted onto the verse translation of the poem.

The most compelling agent of this grafting of translation and commentary is the array of beautifully executed full plate engravings that introduce the work as a whole and precede each of the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*. In the prefatory section “To The Reader”, Sandys explains and introduces his prominent use of illustrations:

And for thy farther delight I haue contracted the substance of euery Booke into as many Figures (by the hand of a rare Workman, and as rarely performed, if our iudgments may be led by theirs, who are Masters among vs in that Faculty) since there is betweene Poetry and Picture so great a congruitie; the one called by *Simonides* a speaking Picture, and the other a silent Poesie: Both Daughters of

the Imagination, both busied in the imitation of Nature, or transcending it for the better with equall liberty. (xi)

It is notable here that he speaks of “the substance of every Booke” that has been contracted “into as many Figures”, meaning that the significance of each of the fifteen books of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* is expressed in some way through the “Figures” at the head of each book. At first, one might take this to mean that “the substance of every Booke” is drawn merely from the verse translation of Ovid’s text. However, Sandys’ assertions in his dedication to King Charles I clearly include the commentary as part of “the substance of every Booke.” Reflecting another aspect of the work’s doubleness, he explains the organic unity and connection between the commentary and the verse translation: "To this haue I added, as the Mind to the Body, the History and Philosophicall sence of the Fables (with the shadow of either in Picture)" (v). It is clear that Sandys views his work as much more than just a translation; it is a composite work that is defined by a moral, philosophical purpose. He declares this boldly at the beginning of the book, in a poem entitled "THE MINDE OF THE FRONTISPEECE And Argument of this WORKE." One should take this "Minde" of the title in the sense used in the same dedication to King Charles mentioned above, where he likens the relationship of the commentary to the translation "as the Mind to the Body." Thus, in his conception of the work here expressed, the commentary completes and fulfills the purpose and goal of this edition. The title and poem "THE MINDE OF THE FRONTISPEECE And Argument of this WORKE" also highlight the importance of the "frontispeece" itself to the meaning intended for the work, since it is so closely associated with the "Argument of this WORKE."

This reference to “Simonides” in the quote above from the “To The Reader” section serves as a key to understanding the rhetorical design of the “worke”, as Sandys calls it. This

invocation of the Ancient Greek poet Simonides is telling in this context, because he was strongly associated, from classical Greek and Roman times to the Renaissance, with the tradition of artificial or local memory, as expounded in Frances Yates famous volume *The Art of Memory* (c.f. Yates 1-2; 28). Simonides of Ceos, an early Ancient Greek poet, from whom very little poetry survives, is credited with inventing the so called art of memory, or an artificial technique of storing information in memory by the use of vivid visual imagery and its association with places; hence the alternate name, local memory (from the Latin *locus*, “place”).

The most well-known expositions of artificial memory systems, such as in *De Oratore*, all make reference to this Simonides legend. Cicero, for example, writes in the *De Oratore*: “I am grateful to the famous Simonides of Ceos, who is said to have first invented the science of mnemonics” (2.86.351). This reference is nearly obligatory in the literature of artificial memory, and his mention during the Renaissance would likely conjure up, for any educated reader of the time, strong associations of the art of memory (c.f. Yates 1-2; 28).

The other great authority for the art of memory, Quintilian, tells the same story, which is worth quoting for our consideration, since he succinctly relates the central founding-legend of the art:

The first to teach an Art of Memory is said to have been Simonides, of whom a well-known story is related: That when, for a stipulated sum, he had written in honor of a pugilist who had won the crown, an ode of the kind usually composed for conquerors in the games, half of the money was refused him because, according to a practice very common with poets, he had made a digression in praise of Castor and Pollux, for which reason he was told to apply for the other half to the deities whose praises he had chosen to celebrate. The deities, according

to the story, paid it. During a splendid entertainment in honor of that victory, Simonides, being invited to the banquet, was called away from it by a message that two young men, mounted on horses, earnestly requested to see him. When he went out, he found nobody, but he discovered, from what followed, that the deities were not ungrateful to him, for he had scarcely passed the threshold when the banquet room fell down upon the guests and crushed them so horribly that those who went to look for the bodies of the dead, in order to bury them, were unable to recognize, by any mark, not only their faces, but even their limbs. Simonides, by the aid of his memory, is said to have pointed out the bodies to their friends in the exact order in which they had sat. (11.2.11-13)

In Cicero's version of the story, the rhetorician *par excellence* explains the lesson and principles of the art of memory that Simonides extracted from his experience:

The story goes that Simonides was enabled by his recollection of the place in which each of them had been reclining at table to identify them for separate interment; and that this circumstance suggested to him the discovery of the truth that the best aid to clearness of memory consists in orderly arrangement. He inferred that persons desiring to train this faculty must select localities and form mental images of the facts they wish to remember and store those images in the localities, with the result that the arrangement of the localities will preserve the order of the facts, and the images of the facts will designate the facts themselves, and we shall employ the localities and images respectively as a wax writing tablet and the letters written on it. (*De Oratore* 2.86.353-54)

Thus was born the art of memory, or so legend tells. The story makes clear the principal components and central elements of the art of memory: clearly ordered locations (or *loci*) and active, vibrant images (*imagines agentes*) to be associated with these *loci*. Also, there is this notion of the art as a form of writing with the writing surface (like a wax tablet) being the *loci* and the letters on the writing surface being the images. The most famous version of this legend is recounted by Cicero in the *De Oratore* mentioned above and continues to be associated with the tradition throughout its popularity as a rhetorical technique up through the Renaissance (Yates 1-2; 28).

The Ancient Greek writer Plutarch claims that Simonides was also the first to equate painting with poetry, the idea of which was famously formulated by Horace as “ut pictura poesis” (*Ars Poetica* l. 361; c.f. Yates 28). In his “To the Reader”, Sandys is paraphrasing Plutarch when he says “since there is betweene Poetry and Picture so great a congruitie; the one called by Simonides a speaking Picture, and the other a silent Poesie” (xi).

From Cicero on, the art of memory is connected with a favoring of the sense of sight over other senses and the emphasizing of the importance of a specifically visual imagination. As Yates puts it: “The elusive relations with other arts which run all through the history of the art of memory are thus already present in the legendary source, in the stories about Simonides who saw poetry, painting and mnemonics in terms of intense visualization” (28). This is also reflected in Sandys’ idea of poetry and painting being “Both Daughters of the Imagination” (xi). This creative formulation evokes ideas of mythological goddesses personifying the arts, and of course the muses come to mind. Nonetheless, this poetically mythological idea of the “Daughters of Imagination” underlines for Sandys the notion of the organic connection and unity of poetry and painting. In his “WORK” of the 1632 edition, this organic unity of the “Daughters of

Imagination” is manifested in the mutually complementary functioning of the verse translation, images, and full commentary in ways that follow the principles and goals of the art of memory.

One concept that for Sandys combines the ideas of image, writing, and memory all in one is that of the “Hieroglyphickes.” This concept is first mentioned in the “TO THE READER” section when Sandys is referring to the great antiquity of the fables, which most likely predate Ovid himself. He asserts that “most of them are more antient then any extant Author, or perhaps *then Letters themselues*” (x; my emphasis), that is before the invention of writing using an alphabet, at a time when writers “expressed their Conceptions in Hieroglyphickes, so did they their Philosophic and Diuinitie vnder Fables and Parables” (x). This, of course, harkens back to an old misconception of Egyptian hieroglyphics, before the pivotal translation of the Rosetta Stone in 1822. In Sandys’ time, the “Hieroglyphickes” are primarily a system of communicating through pictures, often with mystical or secret meaning (Bolzoni 93). It is important to notice how Sandys considers them as a nearly equivalent or parallel method for conveying ideas without expressing them with “Letters themselves” (i.e. “in written form” as we might put it): ideas were communicated before “Letters themselves” either through images (“Hieroglyphickes”) or in narrative format (“Fables and Parables”). Also, it is interesting how “Fables and Parables” are included in category of communication possibly existing before “Letters themselves.” If the verbal, literal aspect of the narratives is not essential, because they possibly could have existed before the invention of the alphabet, then the importance of the “Fables and Parables” was in the images associated with them, which could possibly be conveyed equally by “Hieroglyphickes”, other visual art forms, or even perhaps by orally recited poetry.

Sandys soon after in the same “TO THE READER” section uses a similar expression related to images. Right after the passage quoted above concerning the idea of “ut pictura poesis” which he drew from Plutarch, Sandys uses the same idea of the old Egyptian language of pictures to express this convergence between “poetry and picture”, as he puts it. After saying that the two are “Both Daughters of the Imagination”, he states “the one [was] borne in the beginning of the World; and the other soone after, as appeares by the Hieroglyphicall Figures on the Aegyptian Obeliskes, which were long before the inuention of Letters” (xi). From the successive sentences, it is clear that the first of the “Daughters of Imagination” was poetry, the idea for this no doubt drawing on the Stoic, Neoplatonic, and Christian ideas of the *Logos*, which is a key player in the creation “in the beginning of the World.” The second “Daughter” is “picture”, which he immediately associates with the “Hieroglyphicall Figures” that were mentioned before.

The significance of all of this, having mentioned “Hieroglyphickes” before and just after his discussion of the full-page engravings at the head of each book, is that Sandys intends for us to treat the images for each book as “Hieroglyphickes.” In other words, he intends for the reader to understand that they are clearly meant to communicate something significant, just as the “antients” communicated their “Conceptions” and “their Philosophic and Diuinitie” (x).

In the course of his commentary, at several points Sandys uses the word “Hieroglyphicke” or a variation thereof to refer to an allegorical interpretation of an image occurring in one of the fables of Ovid. “*Iuno* is drawne into Heauen by her yoked Peacocks: in whose traine, as formerly fained, she had fixed the eyes of *Argus*. And as his eyes were taken for starres; so hieroglyphically they expressed night by the displayed traine of that foule” (71). Even without specific reference to a physical picture, the visual idea of the eyes that “were taken for

starres” is referred to with its interpretation or allegorical meaning. In another example, it becomes clear that the interpretation of the “hieroglyphick” is coming from an established traditional meaning for the image: “But other Authors affirme that *Diomedes* horses were his lasciuious daughters, who wasted the substance and strength of their louers: horses being the ancient Hieroglyphick of lust; as such desires in the sacred Scriptures are compared to their neighings” (325-26). These “hieroglyphicks” are not only drawn from the pagan tradition; the term also refers to biblical images: “For what fitter emblem (saith a moderne Author) to continue the remembrance of *Ioseph* (if it had not after proued an Idol) then an Oxe, the true and liuely Hieroglyphick of an industrious husband-man; by whose care and industry their liues were preserued?” (335). In this last example from Sandys’ commentary, the word “emblem” and “Hieroglyphick” are used synonymously to refer to an allegorical image. The “emblem” in particular is a concept of an allegorical image that has particular application to this 1632 edition. An understanding of the nature of these concepts will be essential to the understanding of the functioning and inter-relation of the various visual elements of Sandys’ “WORKE.”

The significant assertion of Imagination as the mother of the two “Daughters” evokes conceptual associations, particularly for an educated person of the Renaissance, of the practical unity of Imagination and Memory. There is a rich philosophical tradition dating back to Aristotle and continuing through Medieval scholars such as Avicenna that outlines the theory of this interplay between the two “Daughters of Imagination”:

According to Avicenna, imagination functions through similarity, opposition, or contiguity. These are the three ‘laws of association’ enunciated by Aristotle in *On Memory* (2.451b.15-20), when he describes the ways in which we can track down a recollection that has escaped us by starting with something that is still present in

our memory. They are the three laws by which imagination manipulates forms and by which one recollection is to be associated with another, thus bringing it back to life in our conscious minds. They are also the three laws, we may observe, by which metaphor and metonym are created, giving life and form to language.

(Bolzoni 132)

Imagination and its related laws of association are put to work by poets and artists alike to both create images and then to use them to associate and rhetorically strengthen or elaborate other ideas. Imagination, as conceived at this time, is important both for writers and for readers, and it involves a sort of imaginative respiration of images and ideas back and forth from invention to interpretation and back to invention. In this context, the Renaissance shows itself to have been an extremely visually-oriented culture, even while being a very book-centered culture:

From the earliest books on this theme and the endless variations on them produced in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, memory, imagination, and the knowing and artificial manipulation of images are closely related. They live side by side in a delicate and vital borderland whose location and internal map are constantly redrawn. (Bolzoni 132)

Sandys' commentary and "its shadow...in picture" the frontispiece of the 1632 edition of George Sandys' *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd and Represented in Figures* contains a series of allegorical figures (see Appendix A), at the top of which is represented a man wielding a club and wearing an animal skin, riding a flying chariot pulled by three horses off into the "heavens."



Fig. 1. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Frontispiece detail.

The club and the animal (Nemean Lion) skin clearly identify this character as the mythological Hercules and words beneath this image read in Latin “AD AETHERA VIRTUS” [“Virtue to the Heavens”] (iii; Vergil *Aeneid* 6.130). The myth of Hercules features in Book 9 of the verse translation, where the famous Labors of Hercules are only mentioned in passing, the poet choosing to focus more on the circumstances of the tragic death of the ancient hero. Sandys, however, thoroughly details the twelve canonical labors and other Herculean lore in his commentary “Upon the Ninth Booke of Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*”, including a philosophical interpretation. For example, when discussing a myth wherein Hercules fights and overcomes the Libyan Giant Antaeus, Sandys first proposes an interpretation based on the idea of Hercules as the heat of the sun and Antaeus, the coldness of the earth. He continues, “But the morall is more fruitfull: *Hercules* being the symbol of the Soule, and *Antaeus* of the Body; Prudence the essence of the one, and sensual Pleasure of the other; betweene whom there is a perpetuall conflict” (322). Here the translator and commentator reveals his methodology of interpreting this myth as a key allegory in the “Philosophicall sense” that his volume exposes. That this moral virtue of prudence and its connection to the mind and higher parts of the soul is a key component of the “Philosophicall sense” is clearly established at the very beginning of the beautiful 1632 edition on the page entitled “The Minde of the Frontispiece and Argument of this Worke”:

But, our Will, | Desire, and Powres Irascible, the skill | of Pallas orders: who the
 Mind attires | With all Heroick Vertues: This aspires | to Fame and Glorie; by her
 noble Guide | Eternized, and well-nigh Deifi'd. | But who forsake that faire
 Intelligence, | To follow *Passion*, and voluptuous *Sense*; | That shun the Path and
 Toyles of Hercules; Such, charm'd by Circe's luxurie and ease, | Themselves
 deforme: 'twixt whom, so great an ods; | That these are held for Beasts, and those
 for Gods. (ii)

The various aspects of the emotional life are ordered by wisdom or Pallas (Athena), which the mind develops through the cultivation of virtue. Whoever does this achieves fame, glory, and a godlike eternal life, while those who neglect the cultivation of this wisdom (prudence) and follow lower emotions and pleasure, not accepting the challenge of cultivating virtue, are deceived by the enticements of the world and become animal-like; on the other hand, those who cultivate virtue become godlike.

This preoccupation shown in the “The Minde of the Frontispeece and Argument of this Worke” for Wisdom, and therefore the associated virtue of prudence, is not just an arbitrary interest of Sandys unrelated to and independent of the design of images and commentary for the “WORKE.” There is an inherent structural and theoretical tendency in the art of memory to cultivate and develop wisdom and the virtue of prudence. Inasmuch as the “WORKE” of Sandys’ 1632 edition conforms to and operates by the principles of artificial memory, this internal tendency of the art to support the development of prudence coincides masterfully with the explicit aim of the “WORKE” expressed in the “Minde of the Frontispeece” to encourage the path of wisdom and prudence.

To explore this connection between memory and prudence, we must turn to another authoritative rhetorical text on the art of memory. Beyond the expositions on the art by Cicero and Quintilian already mentioned above, the fullest and most authoritative text throughout the Middle Ages for acquiring the principles of the art of memory was the *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, originally attributed to Marcus Tullius Cicero, but written by an unknown rhetorician of the first century. This classic rhetorical work was available almost exclusively in texts which placed it after Cicero's treatise *De Inventione* ("On Rhetorical Invention") and this composite of rhetorical texts became known as "Tully's Rhetoric." Thus it was known as Tully's *Rhetoric I and II* (*De Inventione* and *Rhetorica Ad Herennium* respectively). Error or not, this fortuitous placement of a rhetorical text with the clearest expression of the principles of the art of memory after a treatise that highlighted the virtue of prudence proved to be fruitful. This connection of the two concepts guided the application of the art of memory with a strong tendency to associate it with the development of prudence. Thus the art of memory came to be thought of not only as a tool to encode and memorize information; it was also used to increase the moral quality of thinking, i.e. to develop wisdom and prudence.

Therefore, in considering the "WORKE" as the whole of the 1632 edition of Sandys' translation, it is the "congruitie" between "Poetry and Picture" in the context of the art of memory resting on the tradition of Simonides that is key to this tradition. It must not be forgotten that memory had long been considered an integral part of the discipline of rhetoric, which was foremost an art of persuasion (rather than just a study of style). Making something memorable was not just encoding something for storage in memory; but compelling and enabling people to remember it by making it more appealing and likely to be retained in the mind. This study in one way explores the manner in which the highly visual art of memory relates to the rhetorical

aspects of the allegorical tradition of European literature, such as inherited by Sandys and which influenced his creation of the commentary. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and its translations had figured importantly in the allegorical tradition well before Sandys' 1632 edition, with its elaborate commentary and allegorical images, the medieval *Ovide Moralisé* (a notable influence on Chaucer) being the most famous example. Whereas at first allegory ("other-speaking" in Ancient Greek) was thought of primarily according to its grammatical/rhetorical function as a trope or figure of speech, it became later associated primarily with *hyponoia*, which is "the hidden, underlying meaning of a story or myth, or a conjecture or guess about such a meaning" (Rollinson 3). Sandys' commentary and his vision for his work as revealed in his "Minde of the Frontispiece and Argument of this Worke" clearly works on the level of *hyponoia*. For this study, we will explore the manner in which Sandys utilizes the principles of the art of memory and its reliance on the integral unity of poetry and painting to encode and interpret his allegory of *hyponoia*.

In this context, the tradition of emblems should be considered in relation to both the memory and allegorical traditions. Andrea Alciato's influential book *Emblemata* (first published in 1531) is arguably the best example of this tradition with its many printed engravings, emblems, and accompanying Latin poems conveying an allegorical or moral meaning. Sandys himself quotes Alciati two times in the course of his commentary, but the Italian emblematis't influence is more widely felt than this. Sandys' general approach to the images of his "WORKE" is drawn from this emblem tradition.

Sandys' commentary, following each book of Ovid's poem, consistently develops the "Philosophicall sense" of the work. The "shadow in Picture" is seen in the engravings such as the frontispiece and the elaborate full-plate engravings, which head each book of the translation. For

each image, the various episodes occurring in the book in question appear in the same visual space. The images of stories that occur at the beginning of the text for the book appear larger and closer to the front; images for stories occurring later in the text appear smaller and more distant. This arrangement closely follows the visual strategies of the art of memory. For example, in the engraving for Book 9 (see Appendix A), which was discussed above in relation to the myth of Hercules, images of Hercules fighting the shape-shifting river-god Achelous appear largest and closest to front because they occur at the beginning of the text for the book. But not only is this visual art of memory intended, or so I would like to argue, to encode in the memory the correct order of the stories of the poem; it also gives hints of the *hyponoia* or allegory which is so important to Sandys. In this same engraving, there is an image of Hercules in the forefront wrestling with a manlike figure, whom he has lifted off of the ground.



Fig. 2. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 9 engraving detail.

This image suggests strongly the story of Hercules' fight with Antaeus, whom the hero had to lift off of the ground to separate him from his source of power, the earth. Now, this story of Antaeus only appears very briefly in the text of the verse translation as a passing reference: "That from the earth earth-bred / Antaeus held" (305). Despite this most minuscule of treatments in Ovid's original text, it is important in relation to Sandys' "Philosophicall" commentary on Hercules and his allegorical interpretation of the hero as "symbol of the Soule" (322). Furthermore, a figure of Hercules ascending to the heavens in his horse-drawn chariot, practically identical to the one featured in the frontispiece, is found near the top of the engraving. The visual repetition serves to highlight the importance, or make memorable, this central allegorical myth of the virtuous hero.



Fig. 3. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 9 engraving detail.

One question that no doubt comes to mind when considering these connections to the practices of artificial memory is: why did George Sandys not simply state clearly and up front that he was creating an art of memory through this work? First of all, I believe he would consider it unnecessary to state this specifically, assuming an understanding of this tradition among his more educated readers. To declare this explicitly would be like a writer saying, "here I am going to use a figure of speech" or even "now I am going to follow the principles of logic to persuade you." It would seem pedantic and somewhat ridiculous. His use of the full-plate engravings for the frontispiece, the images heading each chapter like emblems, and his use of the marginal

glosses and notes would all bring up strong mental associations with the artificial memory tradition and practices. Secondly, the above reference to Simonides would make clear the connection for a “literate” intellectual (i.e. with a reading knowledge of Latin and who would most likely have read the central rhetorical texts by Cicero and Quintilian quoted above).

Nonetheless, it is not merely my purpose to suggest the probability of the fact that this work functions as an art of memory, but also to demonstrate how the “WORKE” as a whole, “Mind and Body”, commentary and images on the one hand, and verse translation on the other, work as an artificial memory system. I will also demonstrate how, in the traditional conceptions of the art of memory, the purpose was not only to store or codify a certain body of content into such a system. There was a dominant tendency and approach to the art of memory, wherein the practice was also intended to develop practical wisdom, or prudence.

Despite the references above to *hyponoia* and allegory, this is not intended as a traditional study of allegory as it applies to a work, though there is certainly overlap. The focus here, as should become evident, is particularly on the rhetorical practice of the art of memory and its integration with and application for a practical moral philosophy.

There are two main ways in which the art of memory created by Sandys functions in this composite “WORKE”: the visual memory places created the images that head each book of the verse translation and through the collection and quoting of authorities around the memorial loci identified in the text of the translation and reflected in the images. It will become apparent how these two modalities of the art of memory are complementary and organically united. I will also demonstrate how artificial memory modalities function in sources and analogous works that were available to Sandys as models. These are the Ovidian texts and commentaries of Raphael Regius and Georgius Sabinus, and reflecting the emblem tradition, most notably the works of Andrea

Alciati and Michael Maier. Francis Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients* should be included with the commentaries. Even though it is not specifically a commentary of Ovid, the myths treated allegorically are mostly drawn from the *Metamorphoses* and the methodology of interpretation is very similar to the same tradition of the Ovid commentaries. Though none of these works ties in all of these modalities in such a complete way as does the 1632 edition of Sandys, they nonetheless demonstrate clearly these principles of artificial memory.

Allegory, The Emblem Tradition and the Art of Memory

When considering the “WORKE” of the 1632 edition as a whole, the suggestive images that head each book, and the multiple interpretations in the commentary sections, will bring to mind for most scholars the subject of allegory. Sandys himself was clearly conscious of his application of the rhetorical practice, its utilization and theories about it existing from Greco-Roman times. Sandys mentions the word in the “TO THE READER” section. He recounts his interpretation of Plato's advice from the *Republic* (“his imaginarie Commonwealth”) that children should be raised with “instructive fables”, one of the purposes of which is their “Allegories expressing the wonderfull workes of nature” (x). He uses the word “allegory” or a form of it twenty times in the commentary. For example, in the section “VPON THE SIXTH BOOKE OF OVID'S METAMORPHOSIS” he writes: “*Tantalus* his feasting the Gods with his sonne, taken allegorically, and in the better sense, doth declare that nothing should be so deare vnto vs, which we would not voluntarily sacrifice to God and religion; who restores what we giue in a greater perfection” (225). His views on the use of allegory were, no doubt, formed from his readings of the “principall Authors” that he mentions as sources and influences on the page before the first commentary section (18).

The “Crowne” of the “moderne writers”, the “Vicount of St. Albons” (sic), expresses his own ideas about allegory and instructive fables, which appears to have influenced Sandys’ approach. Bacon in the preface of the *Wisdom of the Ancients* clearly believed that the fables were created with the lessons or allegories in mind: “Upon deliberate consideration, my judgment is, that a concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient fables” (Bacon 270). This is similar to Sandys’ notion expressed in “TO THE READER” of the ancient peoples who, before the invention of writing “as they expressed their Conceptions in Hieroglyphickes, so did they their Philosophic and Diuinitie vnder Fables and Parables” (x). Bacon also treats the idea of the hieroglyphics, most likely the source of Sandys’ conception of them: “For as hieroglyphics were in use before writing, so were parables in use before arguments” (269).

One thing that is apparent from reading Bacon’s preface is that he tends to highlight the civil or political interpretations of allegory. He gives some examples of myths and their allegorical interpretations:

For who can hear that Fame, after the giants were destroyed, sprung up as their posthumous sister, and not apply it to the clamour of parties and the seditious rumours which commonly fly about for a time upon the quelling of insurrections? Or who can read how the giant Typhon cut out and carried away Jupiter's sinews - which Mercury afterwards stole and again restored to Jupiter - and not presently observe that this allegory denotes strong and powerful rebellions, which cut away from kings their sinews, both of money and authority; and that the way to have them restored is by lenity, affability, and prudent edicts, which soon reconcile, and as it were steal upon the affections of the subject? Or who, upon hearing that

memorable expedition of the gods against the giants, when the braying of Silenus's ass greatly contributed in putting the giants to flight, does not clearly conceive that this directly points at the monstrous enterprises of rebellious subjects, which are frequently frustrated and disappointed by vain fears and empty rumours? (270-71)

Again, the conformity and purport of the names is frequently manifest and self-evident. Thus Metis, the wife of Jupiter, plainly signifies counsel; Typhon, swelling; Pan, universality; Nemesis, revenge, &c. (Bacon 269-70).

Every one of the myths listed in this series, with the possible exception of the last two, addresses some issue related to politics or civil issues. This is a significant pattern and surely must have been noticed and taken to heart by Sandys. When he came to propose interpretations for the fables of the *Metamorphoses*, the tendency to interpret these myths with a politic and civic certainly formed his attitude and approach. Theories of and approaches to allegory were abundant in Sandys' time, and Bacon was certainly not his only influence in this area, although his influence must have had much weight considering his avowed debt to him as one of his "principall authors." Nonetheless, as we will discuss more thoroughly later, this emphasis shown by Bacon in the preface of *Wisdom of the Ancients* coincides with overall goals that Sandys had for his "WORKE."

The intensely visual aspect of the practices of artificial memory led to a natural convergence and overlap with the rhetorical use of allegory. Allegory as we know it involves the very closely related processes of the encoding and decoding the *hyponoia* or meaning behind, or inside, the allegory. In the practice of artificial memory, when one needs to generate a memory image, one of the *imagines agentes*, the process is very close to the process of encoding an image

in allegory. In the original texts of artificial memory, practitioners are recommended to adapt their memory images to their own experiences and contexts. In its latest manifestations in the Renaissance, the art had degraded somewhat from this standpoint, and the personalized, individual creation of memories was neglected in favor of ready-made catalogues of images for these purposes. As Frances Yates describes this development: “The memory rules become more and more detailed; alphabetical lists and visual alphabets encourage trivial elaborations ... letters and images are turning into childish games” (123). These visual alphabets, which had started as a set of images for each letter of the alphabet designed to aid in the memorization of texts word for word, inspired yet other series of images for standard words or concepts (c.f. Yates 119-124).

One illustrative example of this process is discussed by Yates in *The Art of Memory*. In the third book of Johannes Romberch’s *Congestorium artificiose memorie* (1520 first edition), while describing visual alphabets for mnemonic purposes, he develops an image of Grammar as “old Grammatica,” an old female figure to be used for creating a set of memory places designed to encode material about the liberal art of grammar. Using the memory images of a visual alphabet already described, he places these alphabet images around the main memory *locus* of the personification of Grammatica (see figure 1). In this late development of the art of memory, the memory *loci* are no longer necessarily actual buildings, or even imaginary buildings. It is sufficient, teaches Romberch, that the *imagines agentes* (in this case, the visual alphabet figures) be placed in a clear spatial arrangement about the main image comprising the *loci*. Following the guidelines of the work, the memory practitioner would first commit to memory the image of Grammatica (See figure 1) as the *loci*. Then the task would be to remember the various *imagines agentes* laid out across Grammatica’s body in a certain order. Later, at the moment of recollection, the images of Grammatica would be brought to mind and then one could progress

through the *imagines agentes*, recreating the information on grammar that was therein encoded (c.f. Yates 115-123). Referring to the later developments of artificial memory in the Renaissance, Yates states that “The art of memory in these later forms would still be acting as the hidden forger of imagery.” Speculating on this widespread convergence of artificial memory with allegories, Yates dramatizes the advice offered for memorizing Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy* contained in a fifteenth-century manuscript: “Would the Lady Philosophy have come to life during this attempt, and begun to wander, like some animated Prudence, through the palaces of memory?” (123). This forging of imagery at this confluence of artificial memory and allegory alike was a common source of inspiration, or *inventio*, for new works:

Perhaps an artificial memory gone out of control into wild imaginative indulgence might be one of the stimuli behind such a work as the *Hypnerotomachia Polyphili*, written by a Dominican before 1500, in which we meet, not only with Petrarchan triumphs and curious archaeology, but also with Hell, divided into places to suit the sins and their punishments, with explanatory inscriptions on them. This suggestion of artificial memory as a part of Prudence makes one wonder whether the mysterious inscriptions so characteristic of this work may owe something to the influence of visual alphabets and memory images, whether, that is to say, the dream archaeology of a humanist mingles with dream memory systems to form the strange fantasia. (123-24)

This cohabitation during the Renaissance of allegory and artificial memory, particularly in the practice of creating and utilizing memory images, manifested itself most conspicuously in the tradition of emblems and emblem books: “Amongst the most characteristic types of Renaissance

cultivation of imagery are the emblem and the *impresa*. These phenomena have never been looked at from the point of view of memory to which they clearly belong” (Yates 124).

Since the time of the publication of Yates’ famous work in 1966, there has been much scholarship along the lines of the insights she provided in her seminal work. In addition to Mary Carruthers cited above, the Italian scholar Lina Bolzoni has acquired a name for her research in the area of the arts of memory. Her work *The Gallery of Memory (La Stanza della Memoria, 1995)* focuses in particular on the art of memory as reflected in the printed production of the Renaissance. She addresses in particular this type of visual allegory and the process of codifying a series of allegorical meanings:

Mythological images are part of cultural memory, and, consequently, they are part of everyone's internal landscape. According to the traditional rules of allegorical interpretation, they furnish the clothes of our passions, and they are thus transformed into meaningful images of the human condition. (180)

As the meanings of certain images and their allegorical interpretations became standardized in the cultural memory, the traditional Greco-Roman mythology is mined for the thematically appropriate and dynamic images:

Thus, allegory plays an important role in the creation of a circular relationship between memory and invention and in a mirroring relationship between words and images. Passages like the one we have cited here - generally overlooked in literary criticism - help us to understand how the image of a mythological character can become an image of memory (and, therefore, a topical place, capable of setting into motion and enriching the process of invention): the figure of the hero, visually represented or described in words, presents in a condensed

form not only the narrative of his story but the different possible interpretations, the different texts that could be derived from it. In a culture like that of the sixteenth century, in which the tendency for syncretism is very strong, the practice of allegory is nourished by traditional biblical exegesis as well as by Neoplatonic and hermetic theories of 'hidden knowledge: of the hidden wisdom that lies beneath the surface of mythology and poetry. There is thus a tendency to construct a unified heritage, a great gallery of images capable of condensing, and thus expressing, various meanings, and capable, moreover, of reactivating them in different forms, in memory and in the text. (181)

Sandys, when composing his “WORKE” in the fullest sense with the commentary and images, did not come to the work neutrally or without a visual language to work with. He inherited a rich allegorical tradition of imagery, much of it centered on mythology. Although not mentioned as “principall authors” in the list before the commentary for Book 1, Sandys does mention Andrea Alciati and Michael Maier in the course of the commentaries. Both of these men were very well known publishers of works that could be termed “emblem books.” Alciati, called “Alciatus” and “Alciat” in the commentary, was the author of the very influential work *Emblemata*. Michael Maier, a well-known German alchemical researcher and writer who had stayed in London, was the writer of *Atalanta Fugiens*, ostensibly an emblem book presenting alchemical ideas. Both of these works, as we will see from examples below, show features that appear to be shared by Sandys’ “WORKE.”

The basic formula for an emblem book is seen in Alciati’s original work. There is an allegorical image, the emblem, and an epigram, or short poem, that goes with it. For example, the emblem on Prudentia from the *Emblemata* edition of 1548 (see figure 2) features Bellerophon

fighting the Chaemera. A Latin summary, almost like a motto from a coat of arms, is situated above the images and briefly states the allegorical meaning: “By means of counsel and virtue, the Chimaera, i.e. the stronger and the deceivers, are overcome” (my translation).¹ Beneath the image, an epigram more fully develops the allegorical meaning.

In what way, therefore, does Sandys adopt the characteristics of the emblem tradition for his work? Generally speaking, his allegorical approach to images imitates the use of emblems by Alciati and others in this tradition. More specifically, each of the full-page engravings that head each book of the translation is treated as an emblem. The relationship between the translation and the image is akin to that of the epigrams to the emblems, but in the case of Sandys’ “WORKE”, the full poem serves this purpose of developing the allegorical images.

The Commentary Tradition and the Art of Memory

In Europe the transformation of the culture of antiquity into that of medieval and Renaissance Europe took place over many centuries in the midst a long continuity of culture, a large part of which was embodied in the rich heritage of the Latin language and its enormous body of literature. Of all the Latin authors, Ovid is one that has been particularly present through almost all of this time and over most corners of Europe. Whereas the noble and revered names of Virgil, Seneca and Cicero come to mind when thinking of this impressive literary history, it is, as stated by James Clark, the “altogether unorthodox Augustan, Ovid...who provided the greatest number and diversity of Europeans with their most memorable encounter with the classical world” (Clark 1). This popularity waxed and waned over the centuries. Some have thought that his popularity only rose when that of Virgil or Horace declined; others, that his popularity only

¹ Consilio, & virtute Chimaeran superari, id est, fortiores & deceptores (Alciati 17).

declined because of a rapid and severe decline of the circulation of his manuscripts between the sixth and the eighth centuries. There does not seem to have been a complete discontinuity, but Ovid's works became rare enough in central Europe that they had to be reintroduced from the fringes of the old imperial frontier, i.e. Iberia and Northern Africa, near the end of the eighth century (c.f. Clark 1-5). With various spikes of interest scattered over the middle and high middle ages, Ovid arrived in the England of the 16th and early 17th century at the crest of the most recent wave of popularity. The 1632 edition under discussion here was a late manifestation of Ovidianism in 17th-century England. This edition is notable, among other things, in that it was accompanied by full plate engravings at the beginning of each of the fifteen books and the largest and most complete commentary of the *Metamorphoses* appearing in English to that point. This commentary and the rhetorical theory and processes involved in its creation are important in the context of artificial memory; they will shed light on the wider issues related to the design and composition of the whole "Work" of translation, emblematic images, and commentary.

The commentary appears as a late example in a long line of commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, perhaps because of the timeless appeal and entertaining value of the stories; perhaps because of a persistent interest in reconciling the pagan myths with Christianity. These commentaries are by no means simply a phenomenon related to Ovid's work; it was very much a literary practice arising out of the European rhetorical tradition handed down from antiquity. This rhetorical practice of commentary has a close relationship, almost symbiotic, with the rhetorical practices of artificial memory, or *memoria*, considered one of the five traditional parts of rhetoric. None of the five traditional parts of rhetoric were conceived as strictly separated, and that of *inventio*, or rhetorical invention, is also closely connected with the literary

practice of commentary, as are the key concepts of *auctoritas* (authorship) and *auctor* (author), which will be discussed shortly.

The most common conception of the art of memory, and expansion on the canon of *memoria*, is the very visual, spatial, and local manifestation, as typified by its exposition in the *Ad Herrenium* (previously attributed to Cicero), the *De Oratore* by Cicero, and the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, all mentioned above. Yet, there is another complementary side of the artificial memory tradition that is more explicitly textual, despite certain limited visual aspects. This complementary tradition is primarily inspired by indications from the work of the Roman rhetorician Quintilian. For Quintilian, the traditional *loci* of artificial memory are more usefully thought of with respect to the words on the written page. Thus, the position of the words on the page as it is laid out in columns, the relative spacing of words and letters should all be visualized as memory places or *loci*. Traditionally, the practitioner of artificial memory, at the time of remembrance, would bring to mind the visualization of the building or public space where he had associated, or placed, his images, and then proceed in a visual movement through the order of the locations and associated images. In this Quintilian interpretation of artificial memory, the journey of visualization through the memory places is focused on visualizing the progress of reading through the text of words as they are situated on the page (c.f. Yates 23-25). Considering this in the context of the traditional *res/verba* distinction, *res* signifies the “gist” or the more general meaning of a quote or passage, and the *verba* is the literal word-for-word text of the original. The Quintilian “method” makes each word, the *verba*, occupy its own memorable *locus* space on the page. Large, colorful and elaborate initials to start chapters, marginal headings and notes (as we will see in Sandys’ commentary) become both memory *loci* and *res* with respect to the text as a whole. With this focus on the text and its position on the page considered as the

source of the memory *loci* for this sort of artificial memory system, a whole new level of complication and sophistication has been added to the memory systems. In a more Quintilian memory system, one can consider two levels of memory *loci*: first, the level of the *verba*, the literal word-for-word text, and how each word follows or precedes others and is positioned above or below on the page. “Reading” a passage from memory, at this level one would visualize passing from one word to another in their textual order. Then, there is the level of the initials, marginal headings, and glosses, which can serve as *res* for remembering the gist or general idea of a passage in varying levels of specificity. One can also consider illustrations and engravings in this context as expressing the *res* of a passage for memorial purposes. Even in the Renaissance after the arrival of printing and wider access to books, the value of memorizing texts did not recede. Manufactured printed books inherited most, if not all, of the memorial characteristics that were important for manuscripts. Engravings and their images become even more important.

When deciding what texts to commit to memory, authors and authority would come to mind as a primary concern for practitioners of the art of memory. Commentaries were composed as a natural product of the rhetorical ideas about authority and authorship originating in antiquity but perfected and actualized in the Middle Ages. Sandys himself can be seen as a late flowering of this tradition who made very conscious choices about the textual authorities and authors in his composition of his commentary, the process of which made him an author himself. As *divisio*, or division, was considered an important component of memorial practice and reading, whereby texts were divided and split into memorable bits, composition could be thought of as placing together--a process of combination in writing. Mary Carruthers, the author of *The Book of Memory*, summarizes this process very succinctly: “The memory bits culled from works read and

digested are ruminated into a composition--that is basically what an "author" does with "authorities" (189).

In her analysis of how memorial practices relate to the process of rhetorical composition such as a commentary, Carruthers recognizes two distinct stages: first, the more individual, personal process of "authoring; and second, the social and communal activity of "authorizing." The first stage is more related to individual memory; the second stage involves what can be thought of as a public memory: "Texts are the primary medium of the public memory, the archival *scinia* available to all ... and individual stores, *ad res* or *ad verba*, the chest of his or her own memory" (189).

This concept of *res* is very important for understanding how ideas are extracted from a literal text, the text *ad verba*, and then variously digested and turned into new words via the mediation of the *res*. Carruthers emphasizes that "the *res* of a literary text was something extra-linguistic, for which words are 'found' in one's memorial store as one translated it into speech. These words mediate the public appearance of the *res*, rather as clothes may be said to mediate the public appearance ... they suggest and conceal, they give clues and cues, they reveal but never completely" (189-90). This is the multi-level phenomenon of the text, positing one more generalized and universal level, conceived to be even beyond or outside the text. Carruthers underlines the extra-textual and extra-linguistic aspect of the *res* as conceived in this rhetorical tradition: "The notion that a text has both *res* and *verba* posits an 'idea' or 'meaning' that lies 'within' or 'behind' speech as some sort of construct partly independent of and greater than the words from which it is constructed" (190). The manipulation and intellectual processing of this "extra-linguistic" meaning transforms and alters the text to fit new circumstances and contexts. It is akin to a process of translating meaning from author to author: "There is, as it were, *an*

intention of the text which can, and indeed must, be translated from one mind to another and adapted to suit occasions and circumstances” (ibid.). Importantly, for the concept of textual authority, this adaptation and translation process does not change the “enduring *res*” but instead is an important part of the interpretation of the text, “its plenitude of meaning being ‘perfected’ and ‘corrected’” (ibid.). Indeed, without this very process of transforming and changing the text, this concept of authorship and the textual authority of a text is meaningless: “The adaptation process, which is the work of interpretative commentary and meditative reading is crucially what makes the public, the ‘authorized’ text” (ibid). Thus, when we consider the nature of Sandys’ authors, or *auctores* in Latin, chosen for his commentary, we need to keep in mind that, in this rhetorical tradition, “*auctores* were, first of all, texts, not people” (ibid.).

Within this tradition and view of reading, memorizing, and composition, the rhetorical invention process related to composing naturally lent itself to creating commentaries and the collecting of other texts with complementary *res* to that of the primary text. This very process of collecting texts was directly related to the concept of *Cogitando* (“thinking” in Latin). Carruthers describes this process relative to a famous example from the *Confessions* of Augustine:

We discover such things as concepts and ideas when by an act of cogitation (*cogitando*) we collect (“colligere”), and by the act of turning our *animus* we attend to those things which the memory has held here and there and unarranged together in any particular design. These we place gathered together in our memory, so those matters which formerly lay scattered from each other and unnoticed now easily come together in a “familiar” opinion. [...] *Cogitation* finds (“invenire”) things held in various memory-places and collects them (“colligere”) into one place ready at hand. (198)

This finding process is *inventio* or rhetorical invention, which term derives from the Latin word for “to find” mentioned above: “invenire.” In this rhetorical tradition of reading and meditating on the meaning of texts, the processes of invention and composition were organically related: “So learning is itself a process of composition, collation and recollection. But the result of bringing together the variously stored bits in memory is ‘new’ knowledge” (Carruthers 199).

Commentary was not a value-neutral practice. The moral aspect of memory is important. Although persuasiveness is a general goal of rhetorical practice, it is important to note how memory, or the process of making something memorable, was consciously conceived as a way to promote certain values (c.f. Carruthers 186). As embodiments of certain “extra-textual” ideas, certain *res* had more importance and could integrate other ideas into a larger meaning for the text. In this line, one can see how easily this process of deriving a *res* from the *ad verba* text lends itself to allegorizing. Indeed, Philip Rollinson, in his study *Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture* states: “Allegory also exists at or between poles of content and form, of meaning and method of expressing meaning, of *res* and *verba*” (ix).

As early as the composition of his *A Relation of a Journey* between 1612 and 1615, Sandys was developing an interest in undertaking a translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. In that book he shows an avid interest in the fables and folklore of the regions of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, through which he passed on his journey, and which, not so coincidentally, are the regions wherein many of the fables of Ovid’s work occur. There are even quotes from the *Metamorphoses* in the text of *A Relation*, which are connected with particular locations that Sandys visits and seem to suggest that his travels through these regions brought to mind many passages from Ovid due to the presence of these regions in the very text of the *Metamorphoses* (c.f. Davis 200, 207). Besides his love for the fables themselves *A Relation*

shows the poet's interest in their euhemeristic, scientific, and moral interpretations. When deciding on a choice of his next literary endeavor, Sandys' decision must have been aided by the fact that "[o]f all the great classical poems, the *Metamorphoses* most nearly summarized these interests" (Davis 207).

As the writer of a biography on the poet-translator remarks, "Sandys' very choice of subject for translation almost compelled allegorical commentary. The tendency to read allegory into Ovid appears to have been well underway by the time of Charlemagne" (Davis 215). There were many medieval commentaries available for Renaissance editors. "It could be said without too much fear of contradiction that the Middle Ages invented the theory that the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid was capable of allegorical exposition" (Allen 163). It is evident that Sandys immersed himself in readings in this tradition before compiling his commentary to the 1632 edition.

In the facing page to the beginning of the first section in the 1632 edition, "Upon the First Booke," Sandys chose to use the space to recognize the debt he owed to previous scholarship for the compilation of his commentary:

I hold it not amisse in this empty Page... to mention the principall Authors out of whom I have compiled these commentaries. The first place is due to diverse of the Greeke, and most of the latine Poets, together with their Expositors. I am much indepted to Plato, the poetickall Philosopher: not a little to Palaphates, Apollidorus, Aratus, Strabo, Diodorus, Pausanias, Plutarch, and Lucian: among the Romans chiefly, to Cicero, Higinus, Pliny, and Macrobius. Neither have I beene sparingly supplied by those antient Fathers, Lactantius, Eusebius, St. Augustine, and Fulgentius. Of moderne writers, I have received the greatest light from Geraldus, Pontanus, Ficinus, Vives, Comes, Scaliger, Sabinus, Pierius, and the crowne of the latter, the Vicount of St. Albons. (18)

One notices that in this list there is no mention of the anonymously authored 14th-century *Ovide Moralisé*, which is so often spoken of in relation to the tradition of Ovid's reception and commentary. It appears that this influential work was very important for the process of allegorizing the myths and fables of Ovid's work and reconciling them with Christianity, but its influence on Sandys' commentary is indirect and mediated through other commentaries, particularly those associated with the various versions and manifestations of the famous Regius Latin text for the *Metamorphoses*. This text by Raphael Regius was allegorized with commentary and appeared in dozens of editions from various European presses starting from 1492. According to noted Shakespearean scholar Jonathan Bate, it is very likely that the bard himself possessed a copy of the famous Latin text, despite the traditional emphasis of his dependence on Golding's English translation of Ovid (Bate 28). Richard Beale Davis and other scholars tend to agree that the primary model for Sandys' commentary and notes was the particular Regius-Micyllus edition of 1543, while he likely consulted Italian and French Ovid editions and commentaries as well. I personally have consulted a facsimile reprint of the Latin edition by the German Georg Sabinus entitled *Metamorphosis: Seu, Fabulae Poeticae* and printed in Frankfurt in 1589. This Georg Sabinus is the "Sabinus" mentioned above in Sandys' list of "moderne writers." The marginal notes and headings, though in Latin, appear very reminiscent of Sandys' commentary, as does the separate commentary section that follows each section of the original Latin of Ovid. It is likely that Sabinus developed his text and commentary after this same influential Regius edition.

In his commentary Sandys embodies the memorial practice of collecting from various authors. His commentary is called by one scholar of mythology in the Renaissance "the greatest repository of allegorized myth in English" (Bush 242-43). Nonetheless, within certain limits set by his assumptions as to the authority of the Scriptures and the apparent acceptance of the

possibility of magic and other superstitions, Sandys is a critical editor and compiler. Rather than simply stating his own opinion, he prefers to offer up various interpretations from several authorities, and he declares this methodology in his address “TO THE READER”: “In the Muthologie I haue rather followed (as fuller of delight and more vseful) the varietie of mens seuerall conceptions, where they are not ouer-strained, then curiously examined their exact propriety; which is to be borne-with in Fables and Allegories, so as the principall parts of application resemble the ground-worke” (Sandys x; c.f. Davis 220). One can observe here how his rhetorical process of collecting various “auctores” around certain *res* dictated by the fables and their mythology formed his philosophy of composition for this commentary.

Tully’s First and Second Rhetoric and the Importance of Prudence for the Art of Memory

From its earliest formulation in the classical traditions of rhetoric and philosophy, the virtue and ideal of prudence had grown to be associated with memory as a part of rhetoric, and particularly with the cultivation of artificial memory. This close association of memory to the development of prudence is a further reason for which the principles of the art of memory would have been appealing to Sandys when he was planning his 1632 “WORKE.”

An important starting point for this theoretical connection of memory and prudence came through the recognition of memory as a “habit of the soul.” Through the process of applying the techniques and principles of artificial memory and adapting them to the personal intellectual and psychological makeup of the individual, an extensive adaptation takes place wherein the practice of artificial memory becomes a part of the way one thinks and remembers, changing the person’s intellectual habits. As Carruthers puts it, “The ability to recollect is natural to everyone, but the procedure itself is formed by *habitus*, training, and practice” (64). What starts as a natural

capacity to remember and recollect is transformed through this training into a new set of mnemonic habits.

By conceiving of memory as a *habitus*, it comes within the realm of human behavior and psychology that is involved with moral conceptions of virtue and its development. *Habitus* can be thought of as a psychological element that serves as a link between an ability or power and its intended goal or object: “The habit is a mediator between a power and its object ... Defining memory as *habitus* makes it a key linking term between knowledge and action, conceiving of good and doing it” (Carruthers 64). Thus memory as *habitus* takes it out of the realm of the merely intellectual or psychological and grants it the power, in theory, to shape and direct action and behavior. The majority of the important *habitus* of behavior thus developed is not neutral ethically. In the charged moral climate of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, drawing on the conceptions of Ancient Greek and Roman philosophy, these *habitus* are conceived of as virtues, if they tend towards good action, and as vices, if they tend towards bad deeds. In today’s society and way of thinking, we view memory primarily for the content or information that it may or may not preserve and make available to us in our minds. (Even here it is not the most efficient method, we might think, for storing our information; our computers, notebooks, or other tools for recording and accessing information seem to do a much more efficient job.) This older tradition of memory, prevalent still during the Renaissance in which Sandys lived and wrote, viewed memory thus not only for its ability to store and retrieve information, but also for its key role in the development of good moral habits, or virtues. In the conception of this time: “Memory is an essential treasure house for both the intellect and virtuous action” (ibid.).

Though these ideas could have been read in many sources from the Renaissance, there is no reason to suppose that Sandys had not been exposed to them in their original Latin, as found

in “Tully’s First and Second Rhetoric.” In the *Ad Herennium*, “Tully” outlines the two aspects of Prudence, or Wisdom. There is prudence conceived primarily in its ethical sense: “Wisdom is intelligence capable, by a certain judicious method, of distinguishing good and bad,”² and there is prudence conceived as an art, in the old sense, a practical knowledge or skill at something: “likewise the knowledge of an art is called Wisdom.”³ In both of these quotes, “Wisdom” is translating the Latin word “*prudentia*,” the cognate of our “prudence.” Immediately following this definition of *Prudentia*, in both its ethical and specifically practical aspects, Tully asserts that *memoria* (memory) can also be a type of *Prudentia*: “again, a well-furnished memory, or experience in diverse matters, is termed Wisdom.”⁴ It is important for this matter at hand to notice the specification of “a well-furnished memory” in this third definition of *Prudentia*. A natural memory would not necessarily be “well-furnished” and, therefore, for memory to be considered *Prudentia*, it would need to be trained and developed to become “well-furnished.” This “well-furnished memorial or experience in diverse matters” also implies the textual-memorial practice of the collection of authorities around a certain quote, image, or memorial *res*, discussed elsewhere in this study. In *De Inventione*, Cicero prefers the word *Sapientia*, presumably because it connotes the more deliberative, abstract aspects of wisdom, but in relation to memory he maintains the same distinction.

As touched upon before, when George Sandys was in the process of creating his elaborate 1632 edition of his translation, the goal of making the allegorical lessons that he believed were contained in the fables of Ovid “memorable” was not at all a vague proposition

² *Prudentia est calliditas quae ratione quadam potest dilectum habere bonorum et malorum (Cicero Ad Herennium 162).*

³ *Dicitur item prudentia scientia cuiusdam artificii (ibid.).*

⁴ *item appellatur prudentia rerum multarum memoria et usus conplurium negotiorum (ibid.).*

like it might be for a contemporary writer today. There was a very specific “art” or array of rhetorical techniques available to him for making something more likely to be retained in the memory, namely the art of memory. Likewise, while writing a book with the ethical and educational purpose of providing images and allegorical lessons for the development of virtue, it would not have been at all necessary for George Sandys to innovate or “re-invent the wheel”, as we might say, in creating a new technique. His education and reading, particularly of rhetorical works from which he also would have gotten his ideas on the art of memory, would have instilled in him a belief in the value of a developed memory for the cultivation of virtue. Therefore, to Sandys it would have seemed very reasonable for a book aimed at encouraging the development of moral virtue to be structured in a way that would also facilitate the building of a trained memory around the moral lessons and allegories contained in the book. If there was any innovation in the creation of Sandys’ “WORKE,” it was not his using memory techniques for this purpose; it was his ingenious idea to combine these various rhetorical techniques and conceptions into one literary work.



Fig. 4. Johannes Romberch, *Congestorium artificiosae memoriae* (Venice: Melchior Sessa, 1533). p. 83.

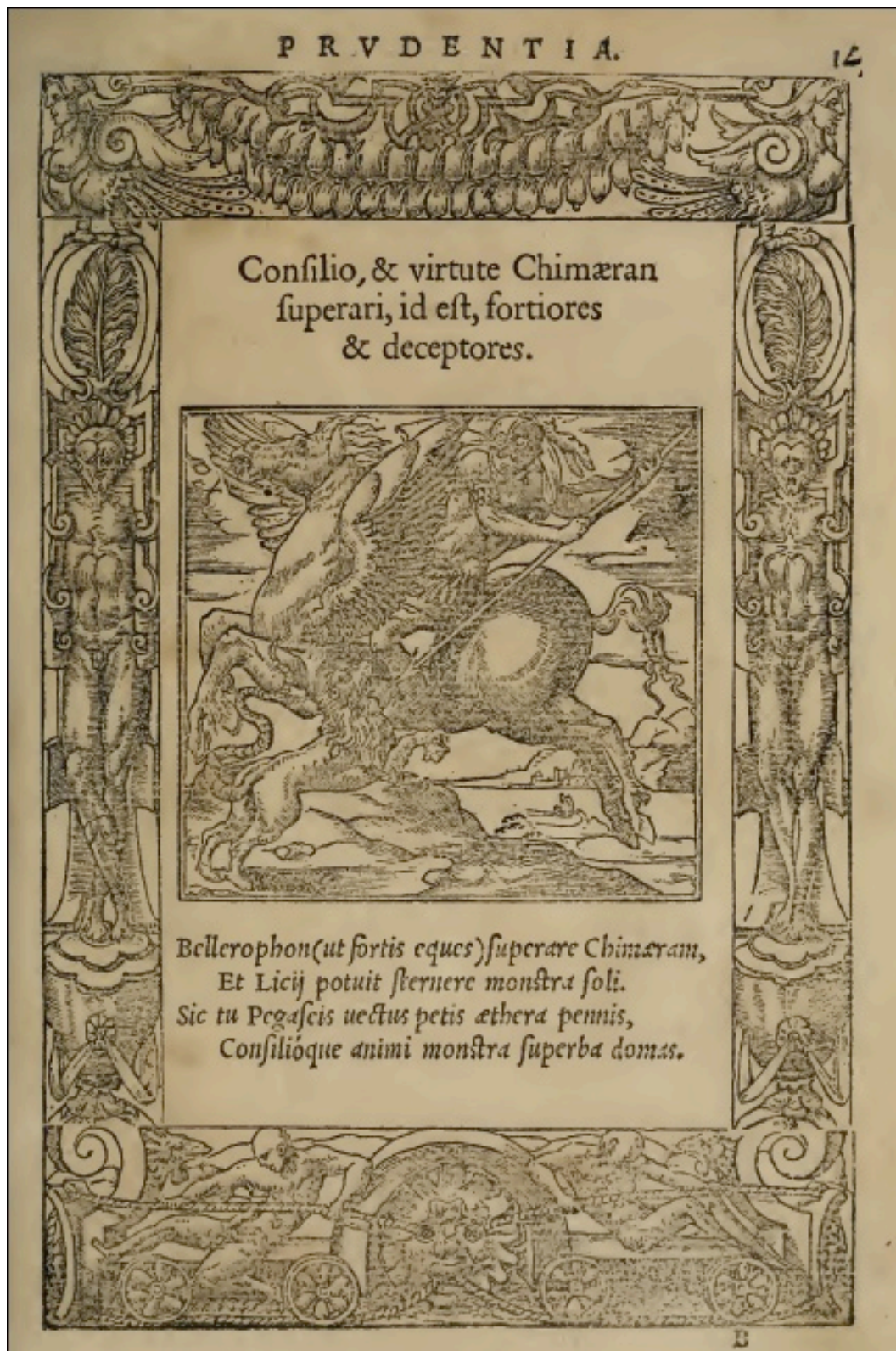


Fig. 5. Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata* (Lyons: Gulielmus Rovillius, 1548). p. 17.

Demonstration of Sandys' Commentary

Now, as we turn to look at the actual experience of reading the 1632 edition itself, we can see how the approach of the art of memory has structured not only its composition, but also the manner in which the reader would experience it. As was argued before, the images of the full plate engraving at the heading of each chapter were designed and drawn for use according to an artificial memory system. The main indication of this, beyond their similarity to emblems, is that the figures, or image groups, on the engravings are arranged spatially in a distribution along an axis of foreground and background (see appendix A for photographs of full plate engravings). This truly allows for the creation of spaces, or memory *loci*, where the *imagines agentes* can be stored. These are more or less consistent locations on all of the images and the pattern repeats itself relatively consistently throughout. For example, easily identifiable locations or *loci* are the front bottom-left, front bottom-right, middle left, middle right, center, back left, back right, top left front, top right front, top left back, and top right back. These memory *loci* are not all equally utilized in every full-page engraving. For example, the entire left side engraving for book one (xxiv) is almost entirely dominated by the figures and burning building corresponding to the fable of Lycaon (5-6).

It is important to recognize the fact that the full-page engravings do not represent every detail of the poem. Although this may seem to be an obvious statement of fact, it is useful to consider how this relates to the relationship of the figures to the interpretations of the commentary. The figures of the image groups are a snap shot of one particular point in the given fable, and have been chosen by Sandys, in conjunction with the artists, to represent the particular fable. Most often, this is their way of representing the point of transformation that is the linking theme among all of the fables. For example, the full-page engraving for Book 3 (80b) shows

Acteon with the head of a deer to show that he is going through a transformation into a deer. Sometimes the figure appears already transformed, such as the figure of Callisto on the Book 2 image (38*b*) and that of Cadmus on the Book 4 image (112*b*). Otherwise, if the transformation is hard to depict graphically, such as in the fable of Pyramis and Thisbe in Book 4 (*ibid.*), where the transformation is the change of the tree's berries from white to black, the figure instead depicts a particularly dramatic moment in the fable. For example, in the fable of Pyramis and Thisbe, a marvelous scene is shown of Thisbe kneeling over the corpse of Pyramis with the sword to her heart (112*b*). In all of the figures, the choice of the moment depicted conforms to a key principle in the artificial memory system for the construction of images: that they be violent, strange or ridiculous, exceptionally beautiful or ugly (c.f. Cicero *Rhetorica Ad Herennium* 3.22). Often the choice of moment depicted does not appear particularly significant other than to make the fable identifiable and memorable. Sometimes, as I will discuss below in a few detailed examples, the choice of the moment depicted emphasizes a particular detail and leads to a new interpretation.

Considering the text of the verse translation in each of the fifteen books, the glosses and headings that occur in the margins have an essential role in the functioning of the "WORKE" of the 1632 edition as a system of artificial memory. The headings are foremost used to mark and identify the various fables. Of course, the use of headings in this way is not at all unique. However, in this edition they are used to identify the key fables that appear in the text of the translation and, most importantly of all, to mark out the corresponding commentary discourse for the given fable. Sandys himself describes this use of these marginal headings in his "TO THE READER":

The heads of the stories set in capitall letters in the Margent of the Translation are the same with those in the margent of the Commentary: by which you may readily find the Mythologie peculiar vnto euery Fable. (xi)

Although this correspondence between the headings in both sections need not be explained by the principles of artificial memory, the manner in which they correspond to the image groupings in the various *loci* on the engravings is the deciding factor. This phenomenon of reading the “WORKE” as a system of artificial memory is powered by this close and consistent connection of the verse translation sections, the associated commentary, and the image groupings that occur in easily recognizable memory *loci* on the full-page engravings. The fables themselves serve as memorial nodes, so to speak, that appear on three levels: fable as image, fable as recounted in verse translation, and fable as memory locus around which authorities are collected in the commentary sections. This integral and organic tripartite structure is even suggested by the full title of the edition: *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, And Represented in Figures* (emphasis mine). Again, “Englished” refers to the verse translation of the poem; “Mythologiz’d” refers to the commentary which develops the mythology, understood generally, around the fables; “Represented in Figures” refers to the full-page engravings that represent the important fables for each of the fifteen books.

This united and integrated three-part structure allows Sandys’ “WORKE” to function as an art of memory, i.e. as an intellectual work, which can be used according to the principles of artificial memory in order to consciously and systematically remember and recall a text *ad verba* (word for word) or *ad res* (general idea or concepts). As with any art of memory, this book contains well-ordered memory *loci*, which we have identified above as existing conceptually in the various consistently distinguished locations on the full-plate engravings. The second essential

component of an art of memory, the *imagines agentes* or vivid, dynamic images, are the image groupings themselves that have been placed in the various memory *loci*. These *imagines agentes* of the figures also obtain part of their memorability from their evocation of the dramatic events that occur in the fables recounted in the verse translation. Furthermore, Sandys claims to have put much thought into their design, in collaboration with the artists, in order to make them particularly expressive of emotions relative to the fables. Speaking of the craft of painters for the sort of work seen in these engravings, he writes: “so the Painter expresseth the Poet with equall Felicitie; representing not onely the actions of men, but making their Passions and Affections speake in their faces; in so much as he renders the liuely Image of their Minds as well as of their Bodies” (*xi*).

Sandys’ collaborators in the creation of the engravings were Francis Clein and Salmon Savery. Francis Clein was a well-know artist, who was also the owner a tapestry-making factory at Mortlake under the king’s patronage. Clein in particular seems to have been a personal friend of Sandys, and it is likely in conjunction with him that Sandys planned and designed the elaborate engravings for the 1632 edition. Salmon Savery’s role was seemingly limited to performing the actual work of engraving the design created by the other two. As a sign of his gratitude to his painter friend, Sandys presented Clein with his own copy of the 1632 edition (Davis 205-6). This was a remarkably fruitful collaboration between Sandys and Clein and was a living example of the poet’s idea of the unity of poetry and painting expressed in the “TO THE READER” section (*x-xii*).

The marginal glosses serve the standard purpose of clarifying an obscure name or passage. In the section “TO THE READER”, Sandys explains this:

I haue also added Marginall notes for illustration and ease of the meere English Reader, since diuers places in our Author are otherwise impossible to be vnderstood but by those who are well versed in the ancient Poets and Historians; withall to auoid the confusion of names which are giuen to one Person, deriued from his Ancestors, Country, Quality, or Achieuements. (xi)

However, they can also serve the function of drawing attention to certain personages or details, which will then be significant in the commentary. One of the best of examples of this will be treated below with respect to the commentary on the fable of Cadmus in Book 3. I will now discuss a few detailed examples and demonstrations of how the images function memorially in respect to the commentary and moral philosophy contained therein.

Actaeon: The Dangers of the Passions and the Perils of Power

This passage in Book 3 (84-86) recounts the story of the grandson of Cadmus, who, while hunting in the forest with his dogs, happens upon the virgin goddess Diana bathing in a secluded pool with her nymph attendants. The image grouping or figure for this fable is found on page “80b” (between 80 and 81) where you can see the figure of Actaeon with his head already changed into that of a deer. This figure is located in the front bottom-left memory *locus* on the engraving for Book 3.



Fig. 6. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 3 engraving detail.

Sandys first offers up some interpretations by citing several authorities, which rationalize the fantastic elements of the fables:

Iuno in *Lucian* vpbraides *Latona* that her daughter *Diana* converted *Actaeon*, hauing seene her naked, into a Hart; for feare he should divulge her deformity: and not out of modesty; being so farre from a Virgin, as continually conversant at the labours of women, like a publike midwife. *Actaeon* thus transformed, is deuoured by his owne hounds. *Stesichorus* writes that she sewed him within the skin of a Stag, and set his dogges vpon him: others, that he was neither turned into a Stag, nor clothed in his skin; but that she possessed his dogges in their madnesse with such an imagination. And perhaps they ran mad in the Canicular dayes through the power of the Moone, that is, of *Diana*; augmented by the entrance of the Sunne into *Leo*: and then what force or knowledge could resist their worrying of their master? *Scaliger* reports that the like befell to diuers hunters of *Corsica* in his time: and some auerre that *Lucian*, the Apostata and Atheist, came to that end. Yet the *Tartarians* and *Hyrceanians* left the dead bodies of their friends and

kinsfolke to bee deuoured by dogges, esteeming it the noblest and most happy
sepulture. (100)

Thus we see the collecting process of these various quotes related to the fable of Actaeon. This is part of the memorial practice of rhetoric, the aspect that overlaps with rhetorical invention, wherein the authorities are gathered around the various memory nodes, represented by the fables, the verse translation, and here the commentary. Notable too is the euhemerist bent of many of the interpretations. Besides being an already important trend in the commentary tradition, the euhemerist interpretations support the overall interpretive strategy of relating the fables and the moral lessons associated with them to the domain of politics and the virtue of a good prince. These less fantastical or miraculous interpretations allow one to see these ancient mythical and legendary heroes, gods, and kings as early examples of princes to emulate, or by whose mistakes to learn valuable moral lessons for a ruler.

Some interpretations are delivered in a direct moral discourse. In this very short passage, the transformation of Actaeon into a deer signifies his neglect of virtue and thereby his descent into subhuman nature: “ That *Actaeon*, neglecting the pursuite of virtue and heroicall actions, puts off the minde of a man, and degenerates into a beast; while hee dayly frequents the wild woods to contend with such enimies” (100). Here we see the prevalent tendency, in Sandys and throughout the Ovidian commentary tradition, to interpret the transformations of humans into animals as an allegory of this moral and intellectual descent into subhuman morality and spiritual nature.

Next is an interesting and well-developed interpretation that demonstrates the grave dangers for those who run in the circle of very powerful persons or rulers. The fable of Actaeon

is taken to symbolize the fate of someone “who sees something they shouldn’t” relative to a dangerous or sensitive situation involving powerful persons:

But this fable was invented to shew vs how dangerous a curiosity it is to search into the secrets of Princes, or by chance to discover their nakednesse: who thereby incurring their hatred, euer after liue the life of a Hart, full of feare and suspicion: not seldome accused by their seruants, to gratulate the Prince, vnto their vtter destruction. For when the displeasure of a Prince is apparent, there commonly are no fewer Traitors then seruants, who inflict on their masters the fate of Actaeon.
(100)

This is an interesting bit of practical political wisdom. When frequenting the company of princes and other persons of great political power, it is essential to have the utmost discretion and, more importantly, tremendous caution. Sandys even associates this with the sad fate of his beloved poet Ovid, who was banished by the Emperor Augustus and spent the last seven years of his life in exile in the rustic and remote frontier outpost of Tomis on the Black Sea (*ibid.*).

Sandys draws a lesson from these interpretations and anecdotes, giving valuable advice to his readers, but also including himself as one who should take the lesson to heart:

Guard we therefore our eyes; nor desire to see, or knowe more then concernes vs: or at least dissemble the discovery. Iulius Montanus meeting with Nero in the darke, by his vnseasonable respects vpbraiding, as it were, his ruffianly licentiousnesse, was put to death: The art was vnderstood (saith Tacitus) by Mutianus: but the disguising of his knowledge was a point of obedience. (100)

This “art”, as I understand this passage, is the ability of a courtier to disguise one’s knowledge. One might also wonder whether this is not also an indirect message by Sandys to his own

“prince,” King Charles I (to whom he dedicated this book), that he himself had learned this lesson of extreme discretion and that he could therefore be trusted as an intimate royal advisor. Finally, this fable is interpreted as a warning tale for a powerful prince of the dangers of his wealth and means being consumed by his entourage or his court:

And some imagine how he was said to be deuoured by his hounds, in that he impouerished his estate in sustaining them. But what was that expence to a Prince? I rather agree with those, who thinke it to bee meant by his maintaining of rauenuous and riotous sycophants: who haue often exhausted the Exchequors of opulent Princes, and reduced them to extreame necessity. Bountie therefore is to be limited according to the ability of the giuer, and merit of the receauer: else it not onely ruins it selfe, but looseth the name of a vertue, & converts into folly. Plutarch in the life of Sertorius makes mention of two Actaeons, the one deuoured by his hounds, and the other by his fauorites: not as if this latter were the allegory of the former. (100)

Again we see a preoccupation on Sandys' part with practical wisdom relative to courtly life and the political domain. The commentary for the next fable, also appearing in Book 3, offers an interesting comparison as another productive memory node that generates many interpretations, more positive this time, relative to the good ordering of the mind and of the commonwealth.

Cadmus: The Ruler with a Sublime Visage

The Cadmus fable is interesting because, in contrast to the myth of Acteon, it portrays a successful hero and, most importantly for Sandys, a successful ruler. This passage also occurs in

Book 3 (81-84) and the memory locus is the front bottom right-hand corner of the full-page engraving for Book 3 (80b).



Fig. 7. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 3 engraving detail.

First in Sandys' commentary, Cadmus' travels, consultation of the oracle, and determination are praised, marking him as a model of virtue (98). This is combined with his victory over the dragon in battle—an interpretation offering a Neoplatonic allegory of reason over the passions: “[The] Oracle is thus interpreted, that excessiue labour was to be vndergone in that iourney; much to be suffered, and much to be done, ere he could attaine to the desired ende: meane while by the continuall exercising of the minde, to indue it with such habituall fortitude as might inable him to subdue the Dragon; which is, intemperance, and all euill desires” (*ibid.*). Cadmus' victory over the dragon, symbolizing the victory of the “minde” over “intemperance” and “euill desires,” shows an example of a virtuous and wise man who becomes a good ruler, tying into a common theme throughout the commentary, which is the tendency of the interpretations to see the fables depicting rulers or future rulers.

The commentary relative to Cadmus goes on to discuss the wondrous events that occur right after his slaying of the dragon. Pallas descends from the heavens and advises the hero to sow the dragon's teeth in the earth "that future men might growe" (83). This he does, and fully armed men miraculously begin to grow out of the ground. Cadmus prepares to defend himself, but the newly arisen armed men fight each other: "Slaughter, with equall furie, runnes through all: / And by vnciuill ciuill blowes they fall" (*ibid.*). Sandys' gives an interpretation of moral allegory to the sowing of the teeth:

The sowing of the Dragons teeth in the earth (the mother of monsters) is to restore to euery one his owne: true fortitude being alwaies accompanied with moderation and iustice; ingendring loue in the good, and enuy in the bad; that earthly brood which thus prodigiously ascend (like vpstarts on a sudden to honour & power) with weapons in their hands; which he by the aduice of Pallas, or Wisdome, conuerts on their owne bosomes: wounding themselues in not wounding of others. (98)

Two interesting details can be noted from this section of commentary. Firstly, the armed men that arise from the earth "like vpstarts on a sudden to honour & power" are by this comparison interpreted in a markedly political context. Secondly, Pallas is directly identified as "Wisdome" in this commentary. This identification of Pallas with Wisdom points to this special relationship that is created between a ruler, Cadmus, and personified wisdom—an association that is very important to Sandys' overall method of interpretation, as will be discussed in more depth below.

Notice that the translation describes the slaughter with this phrase: "by vnciuill ciuill blowes they fall." Sandys' commentary builds on this suggestion of civil conflict in his further interpretation:

Palaeophatus giues this fable an historicall sense: how Cadmus slew Draco the sonne of Mars, then King of Thebes, in battle, and possessed his kingdome. The sonnes and friends of Draco drew to a head; but finding themselues too weake for so strong and couragious an enimie, disbanded; yet bore away much of his treasure, among the rest many Elephants teeth; dispersing themselues some in Achaia, others in Peloponesus, many in Phocis, and in Locris not a few: from whence not long after with recollected powers they inuaded the Thebans, maintaining a difficult, and a doubtfull warre: in so much as the Thebans, euer after they fled with the Elephants teeth, accustomed to say, that such horrid mischiefes had befallne them for Cadmus killing of the Dragon; from whose teeth dispersed here and there, so many puissant enimies arose. But he rather sowing by his policie the seed of dissention amongst them, ouer-threw them by their owne power. (98-99)

Even if one was not already reading the commentary concurrently with the text, there is an interesting gloss to the right of the verse text that is marked by the superscript “^c” before the word “mans.” The text of the gloss states: “^c Being both the Goddesse of wisdom and valour : by which men are inabled to subdue all difficulties” (*ibid.*).

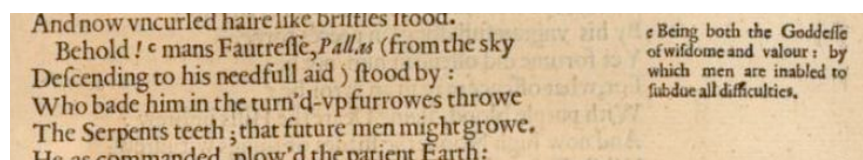


Fig. 8. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished*
(Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). pg. 83.

The presence of this gloss with its evocation of “wisdom and valour” serves to highlight the importance of the fable, and its interpretation in particular. It ties in with the important allegory

on Wisdom/prudence signaled at the very beginning of the book in the “THE MINDE OF THE FRONTISPEECE And Argument of this WORKE” (ii).

This figure, however, is a little more complicated in its location relative to a memory *locus*. The depiction of Cadmus gazing up at Pallas could be considered simply a way to show him receiving advice from Pallas on sowing the teeth. Yet one could wonder why this detail is even depicted. With the commentaries’ repeated references to Wisdom as Pallas or Minerva, the insertion of this detail makes more sense. Also, why was Pallas not depicted as already on the ground beside Cadmus in his section of the engraving? After all, in the middle-right *locus*, the armed men arising from the earth are depicted as already fighting.



Fig. 9. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 3 engraving detail.

Normal logic would suggest that Pallas was already on the ground by the time she gives her advice and the text of the translation supports this interpretation: “Pallas (from the sky / Descending to his needfull aid) stood by: / Who bade him in the turn'd-vp furrowes throwe / The Serpents teeth” (83; emphasis mine). One could suppose that the positioning of Pallas in the sky

highlights her divine nature, possibly also underlining her identity with the lofty virtue of Wisdom. Furthermore, this positioning of Pallas at the top of the engraving and the connection with Cadmus below by means of his uplifted gaze creates a dramatic frame of sorts, occupying half of the whole engraving. This expansive spread over several memory *loci* of the engraving should not be taken as simple coincidence. Taken with the emphatic gloss in the margin of the translation passage, it strongly suggests an importance for this scene and connection between Cadmus and Pallas. We will see that this connection between a “prince” such as Cadmus and Pallas-Wisdom is very important for the “Minde” of the “WORKE.”

Perseus: The Brother of Pallas

At the beginning of Book 5 we read the fable relative to Perseus and Phineus, which occurs after Perseus’ most famous accomplishment of slaying the sea monster and saving Andromeda, which occurs near the end of Book 4. The figure is found in the front bottom-right *locus* of the full-page engraving for Book 5 and depicts Perseus on the far-right corner, identifiable because he is holding the Medusa’s head. He is facing inward to the left brandishing the head at two armed figures, one of which is undoubtedly his rival Phineus.



Fig. 10. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 5 engraving detail.

The first interpretation in the commentary focuses on negative moral aspects of this sort of civil strife, i.e. a bloody battle occurring at a wedding:

Phineus, the brother of Cepheus, precontracted to Andromeda; who lately durst not attempt her deliury, now impatient that a stranger should carry her away, conuerts the banquet into a bloody battle. In which is expressed the sightlesse fury of warre; respecting neither old age, neutrality, diuine endowments nor sacred orders; but confoundeth all in a generall slaughter. (187)

Here we see an interesting commentary on the blind horrors of warfare, this “sightlesse fury of warre.” The commentary thus far seems to follow a similar pattern as previous commentary sections by adding moral interpretation to the occurrences of the fable.

Right after this short passage quoted above, Sandys returns to an important theme: Pallas or Wisdom. This point of commentary focuses on the lines of the poem, which state: “The warlike Pallas, present, with her shield / Protects her Brother, and his courage steel'd” (172).

Sandys builds on this idea of Perseus as the brother of Pallas in the commentary:

Yet Perseus assisted by his sister Pallas; that is, Valour protected and directed by Wisdome; astonishing his enemies with feare and wonder, as stupified by the sight of Gorgon, obtaineth a glorious victory, the euent of a iust war; which, as here, is euer fauoured by the diuine assistance: without which vaine is the strength and courage of mortalls, whose hands are but the instruments of that power which inables them. And as victory is ascribed only vnto God, (the lord of Hosts) by the Pen-men of the sacred Histories: so the ancient Poets either deriuing it from them, or enlightned with the same truth, describe no notable atchieuement without the conduction of a Deity. (187)

Sandys thereby interprets this aid of Pallas as the allegory of “Valour protected and directed by Wisdome”, which he expands to the theme of divine assistance in a “iust war.” His interpretation then takes a more practical (international) political turn:

So assistant *Pallas* here giues our *Perseus* the victory in so great a disparity of power. This fable may in generall allude to that which is in practise so common; How forren aides drawne in by liberall promises, whereof the necessitated are prodigall, to the reliefe of a distressed kingdome (as *Perseus* to the rescue of *Andromeda*) when the danger is past, instead of the promised reward, are vngratefully sleighted; an occasion not seldome of warre betweene the deliuered and there deliuerers. (*ibid.*)

Now the same fable, the same memory node, is interpreted to apply to a lesson on the risks of “forren aides drawne in by liberall promises,” that are then broken or military alliances between foreign powers, which can bring further political problems of their own and even engender further bloodshed after the original military threat is eliminated.

This allegorical pairing of “Valour protected and directed by Wisdome” is not portrayed in just one memory *locus* of the full-page engraving. In a technique similar to that used on the engraving for Book 3 relative to Cadmus and Pallas, Sandys and his artists utilize more than one *locus* and this complex of figures occupies the whole bottom section of the engraving:



Fig. 11. George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 5 engraving detail.

Pallas is indeed present in the engraving, but she appears to be occupying a place in the front bottom-left corner *locus* with the nine Muses, which would be appropriate for a later fable from the same book (177-78). Her figure seems to be serving “double-duty” for two fables. Nonetheless, it is a memorable image for the underlining of the allegory of “Valour protected and directed by Wisdome” to have Pallas and her brother Perseus depicted on the same level, looking in the same direction.

The fact that the figure of Pallas is serving two memory *loci* is interesting and may be yet another example of visual emphasis. This next fable and its commentary to which Pallas is the link expounds some revealing interpretations on the nature of poetry:

Minerva now leaues her victorious brother and repaires to Helicon to visite the fountaine Hippocrene, late raised by the hoofe of Pegasus, and therefore so called, which is showne her by the Muses. [...] Now are wee arriued at Helicon with the Muses; so called of the connexion of Sciences: and said to be the daughters of Ioue and Mnemosyne, because that excellent facultie and diuine affection which

is requisite to poetry, is not acquired by art or industry, but inspired from above; yet fostered and augmented by Mnemosyne, or a happy memory. (188)

This formulation of the Muses as “the connexion of Sciences” is interesting and expresses a notion of these goddesses of poetry as a manifestation of unity beneath all knowledge (“Sciences” here should be taken in the older sense of “knowledge” or “bodies of knowledge”). What is also notable here with respect to Sandys’ views of poetry is the allusion to the mythical parentage of the Muses. By saying mythically that “Iove and Mnemosyne” are the parents of the Muses, it amounts to expressing an integral relationship to the principals embodied by the divine parents. “Mnemosyne, or happy memory,” as the mother of the Muses, expresses the fundamental connection of poetry (represented by the Muses) with memory. That Sandys brings this to light in his commentary is a telling mythological statement relative to the already identified characteristics of his “WORKE” as a system of artificial memory. We cannot ignore the fact, here expressed, that the poet-creator of this 1632 edition was aware of this organic and fundamental mythological connection of memory to poetry expressed in Mnemosyne as mother of the Muses.

The commentator also explains the mythological significance of the fatherhood of the Muses by Jove, or Jupiter: “Iupiter the diuine mind, inspires Apollo; Apollo the Muses; and they their legitimate issue. Who are called by Plato the fathers of wisdom; and interpreters of the Gods (among the Heathen the only Theologians, and therefore called by St Paul their Prophets)” (189). Thus Jove, or Jupiter, is equated with the “divine mind,” expressing thereby a connection of the divine mind to poetry. The philosophical value of poetry is further supported by the citation of Plato and St. Paul. The Muses are called “the fathers of wisdom” who were responsible for “accustoming to celebrate their praises and the heroical actions of men,

inflaming the hearers with emulation: teaching the causes of things, the knowledge of the Coelestiall motions; how to order the mind, and curb the rebellious affections” (189-90). Is this not what Sandys has been attempting to do through his translation and commentary? Through this “WORKE” of the 1632 edition, he has celebrated the “praises and the heroicall actions of men, inflaming the hearers with emulation.” He has taught “the causes of things, the knowledge of the Coelestiall motions” through his more scientific commentary. Finally, and probably most significantly for our poet, he has taught “how to order the mind, and curb the rebellious affections.” It is difficult to read this commentary section without seeing a reflection of Sandys’ own views about his own role as a poet and his poetic creation. This figure of Pallas, by linking two memory *loci* in the engraving of Book 5, and thereby linking two fables and their respective commentary, seems to also be making an additional point: the importance and centrality of Wisdom (Pallas) to both poetry (Muses) and to warfare (Perseus or “Valour”).

“Poeticall Philosophie” Revealed

Sandys had a particular esteem for the ancient Greek philosopher Plato, whom he called the “poeticall Philosopher” and considered him one of his most important “authors.” It is important to recognize, while reading Sandys’ commentary, that Platonic, or more precisely Neoplatonic, notions form important *res* around which other authorities are gathered. Particularly the Platonic, or Neoplatonic, *res* on the immortality of the soul, on the danger of the passions weighing down the soul, etc. hold a special importance and reappear throughout the work. A good example of this is near the beginning of the commentary, in the section “Upon the First Book” where Sandys leads with a Neoplatonic commentary on the creation of man, which occurs

in the verse text near the beginning of the first book (2-3). The commentary begins in the section following the first book of the translation:

The last in act, but the first in intention, was the creation of Man, for whom the rest were created: extolled by our Poet as a sacred creature, and therefore not to be violated; indued with a Minde, which is, with Reason and vnderstanding; the Lord of the rest of the creatures, so deputed by his Creator, sprung of caelestiall seed, in regard of the essence of his soule, made of the earth, to teach him humilitie, yet after the image of God: not only in regard of his originall integritie (*a good man, saith Plato, is like vnto God*) for that had beene lost by his fall, nor in the inuisibility, eternity, and wonderfull faculties of the soule; nor in his domination: but also (according to the opinion of the *Iewes* as appeares by *Iosephus*: as of *Zanchius*, and many of our moderne Diuines) in the symetry and beauty of his body: Beauty is a quick and sprightly grace (as the *Platonists* hold) infused at first by a heauenly Ray; shining in the Minde of man, the concinnitie of the body, and harmony of the voice: which by Reason, by the Eye, and the Eare, stirre-vp, and delight, delighting rauish, and rauishing inflame vs with ardent affection: by contemplating and affecting of this, wee contemplate and affect the diuine refulgency, as in that the Deitie. But if this seeme incongruous in respect of our corruptible bodies, yet holds it well as they shall bee glorified, and clad with a Sun-like brightnesse. (24-25)

This passage is chock full of Neoplatonic ideas such as the immortality of the “Minde” and the soul, the association of beauty and goodness, and the delight and “ardent affection” that come from the contemplation of true beauty.

Fortunately for us, Sandys did not leave his commentary without explanation or a guide to its interpretation. He included very elaborate prefatory material to his 1632 edition, one of which is the section entitled “TO THE READER” (x-xii). In this passage, he makes it very clear how he wants his translation and commentary to be received with respect to their handling of the fables that are such an important part of the commentary tradition:

In the Muthologie I haue rather followed (as fuller of delight and more vseful) the varietie of mens seuerall conceptions...I haue also endeauored to cleare the Historicall part, by tracing the almost worne-out steps of Antiquitie; wherein the sacred stories afford the clearest direction. For the first Period from the Creation to the Flood, which the Ethnickes called the Obscure, some the Emptie times; and the Ages next following which were stil'd the Heroycall, because the after deified Heroes then flourished; as also the Fabulous, in that those stories conuayed by Tradition in loose and broken Fragments, were by the Poets interwouen with instructing Mythologies, are most obscurely and perplexedly deliuered by all, but the supernaturally inspired *Moses*. (Sandys x-xi)

By this statement, claims Davis in *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer*, “Sandys set the tone and purpose of his work well within the allegorical tradition, for the general as well as the learned reader. The mediaeval reconciliation of Ovid and Scripture which had continued and even grown in the earlier Renaissance is still present” (218).

To shed light on the reason for Sandys’ high esteem for the Poeticall Philosopher Plato and his particular method of interpreting him, one should look back at his revealing statements in the opening section of the “TO THE READER” section of the 1632 edition. He first outlines the clearly moral and formative influence that he believes any worthwhile book should have for its

readers: “It should be the principall end in publishing of Bookes, to informe the vnderstanding, direct the will, and temper the affections” (x). It is important to note the tripartite psychology of traditional Neo-Platonism that he is alluding to here: the “understanding,” which is the reason or what he appears to call “Minde” elsewhere; the “will,” which is the volitive aspect of human psychology related to will-power, decision-making etc.; and the affections, traditionally considered the lowest part of the soul related to more passive responses to sensations and outside impulses—most commonly thought of as feelings. Thus, Sandys is saying that the goal of any book worth printing, and therefore this book in particular, should be to shape and guide the humans’ psychological being. This is a traditional idea coming out of the classical philosophical tradition.

Lest we begin to think that Sandys here is proposing an early form of “self-help” and techniques aimed for the betterment of the individual alone, he clarifies later in the passage that he holds the social and political benefits to be equally or even more important than personal moral improvement. After explaining his method, discussed above, “to collect out of sundrie Authors the Philosophicall sense of these fables of *Ouid*” (x), he outlines his view as it relates to society as a whole:

Plato in his imaginarie Commonwealth ordaineth, that Mothers and Nurses should season the tender minds of their children with these instructiue fables, wherein the wisdome of the Antient was inuolued: Some vnder Allegories expressing the wonderfull workes of nature; Some administring comfort in calamitie; others expelling the terrors and perturbations of the mind; Some inflaming by noble examples with an honest emulation, and leading, as it were, by the hand to the Temple of *Honour* and *Vertue*. (x)

The “imaginarie Commonwealth” of Plato, of course, is the ideal political state as imagined in the classical Greek philosopher’s famous dialogue *The Republic*. One should notice how “Allegories” are referred to as a manifestation of what he previously stated should be the goal of literature: to positively manipulate the emotions for the development of “Honour and Vertue.”

Thus we see how clearly ideological and pedagogical George Sandys the poet views his craft of poetry to be. He is very different from a contemporary writer who would prefer to reveal problems or uncover uncomfortable truths for readers to consider and about which to come to their own realizations and conclusions. Sandys has a fairly clear idea of what the truth should look like, though he might say it is not always obvious or apparent and would likely counsel study and reflection for any serious soul.

Of all the “principall Authors” who can be termed commentators on Ovid, or who were relied upon as sources for Sandys, it seems that the influence of Francis Bacon was particularly significant. As his biographer states: “Sandys’ acknowledged debt to Bacon is quite evident” (Davis 219). On the facing page to the “Upon the First Booke”, he finishes his short list of “moderne writers” by referring to “the Crowne of the latter, the Vicount of St. Albons” (18). Of all of Bacon’s works, it seems that *Wisdom of the Ancients* was the most important source for particularly Ovidian content, but his general approach and methodology as seen in other works must have been a very strong and formative influence on Sandys as well. In the introduction of Christopher Grose’s *Ovid's Metamorphoses, an index to the 1632 commentary of George Sandys*, Bacon and his *Wisdom of the Ancients* are mentioned several times (c.f Grose vii-xi). Grose describes Sandys’ Baconian traits and mythology in terms not so different from those of the rhetorical tradition of collecting authorities for a text: “Thus described, Ovid appears almost as a prototypical Bacon, gathering together in parabolic form the entire history and wisdom of

antiquity--those fragments of philosophy 'scattered here and there like planks from a shipwreck.'

" (Grose x). Grose also states that, in his very general and universal interests and his goal of gathering all of this into his commentary, his work demonstrates a universal approach to documenting knowledge such as seen in encyclopedic literary projects: "In Ovid's work [by Sandys], they were further collated into a kind of encyclopedic *Metamorphosis*" (Grose x).

Giuseppe Mazzotta has notably described in detail this conception of the universality of knowledge, which arose in the Middle Ages, and how it led to encyclopedic scholarly projects (c.f. Mazzotta 3-33). There is an attempt at such universal collecting of various authors in many domains that makes this encyclopedic phenomenon particularly applicable to Sandys' commentary. Sandys gravitated to other writers with such encyclopedic tendencies, such as his "principall author" Pliny and his *Naturalis Historia*.

This debt to Bacon and his allegorical method of interpretation can be clearly seen by a close comparison of passages from Bacon's *De Sapientia Veterum*, published in Latin in 1609, and translated as *Wisdom of the Ancients* in 1619. Bacon's preface to *The Wisdom of the Ancients* contains wording very similar to that of Sandys in his address "TO THE READER" (c.f. Grose x):

THE earliest antiquity lies buried in silence and oblivion, excepting the remains we have of it in sacred writ. This silence was succeeded by poetical fables and these, at length, by the writings we now enjoy; so that the concealed and secret learning of the ancients seems separated from the history and knowledge of the following ages by a veil, or partition-wall of fables, interposing between the things that are lost and those that remain. (269)

Bacon describes his intellectual motivations for the use of allegory:

Upon deliberate consideration, my judgment is, that a concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient fables. This opinion may, in some respect, be owing to the veneration I have for antiquity, but more to observing that some fables discover a great and evident similitude, relation, and connection with the thing they signify, as well in the structure of the fable as in the propriety of the names whereby the persons or actors are characterized; insomuch, that no one could positively deny a sense and meaning to be from the first intended, and purposely shadowed out in them. For who can hear that Fame, after the giants were destroyed, sprung up as their posthumous sister, and not apply it to the clamour of parties and the seditious rumours which commonly fly about for a time upon the quelling of insurrections? (270)

So, one can see that, even more than as a source for particular allegorical content, Bacon seems to have been most important to Sandys as an example of a general allegorical methodology of interpreting fables. For example, in a key passage of “Upon the Sixth Booke,” he relates his common theme of Minerva, or Pallas, as an allegorical representation of wisdom or the higher part of the soul, “Minde.” In a near paraphrase from “S. Albanes,” or Bacon himself, he used the myth of Metis and Jupiter as the parents of Minerva to make a point about the effective governance of a commonwealth:

This fable by the Vicount of S. *Albanes* is referred to the politick vse which Princes make of their Councillors: to whom they are tied as it were (like *Iupiter to Metis*) in a nuptiall conjunction: whereby they not only preserue their authority and dignity, but augment the one and aduance the other, in popular opinion: esteeming it no diminution (and truely) to deliberate with them in their waightiest

affaires. But when their designs are elaboratly formed, as it were in the womb, they deuoure this *Metis*, in appropriating all to themselues, (except in matters distastfull and obnoxious to Enuy) as the issue of their braines; no lesse then the execution to their power, which because it implies a necessity; is elegantly disguised vnder armed *Minerva*. Who in this contention produces an Oliue tree; and by the sentence of the admiring Gods, obtaineth the victory. As here shee is celebrated for the Oliue, and else where for the author of others arts; so was she stiled, and adored for their Goddess in generall: because of that admirable wit, and little lesse then diuine inventions which flow from the fountaine of the braine, the Temple of this Deitie. (217-18)

The passage in question taken from “St. Albanes” is from Chapter XXX of *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, which is entitled “Metis, or Counsel *Explained of Princes and their Council.*” Bacon first describes the marriage and association of Metis with Jupiter and the strange and unique manner of the birth of Pallas: “THE ancient poets relate that Jupiter took Metis to wife, whose name plainly denotes counsel, and that he, perceiving she was pregnant by him, would by no means wait the time of her delivery, but directly devoured her; whence himself also became pregnant, and was delivered in a wonderful manner; for he from his head or brain brought forth Pallas armed” (355). Bacon goes on to develop this idea of the nuptial bond linking the king to his council, and the allegorical meaning of the resulting pregnancy and fruitful progeny in the decisions of state.

It is also interesting to note in passing the use of the word “brain” in Bacon’s original passage. This detail is, no doubt, due in Bacon to the respect and importance shown for experimental science, but Sandys picks it up and uses it not once, but twice in his parallel

passage. He first states, referring to princes: “they deuoure this *Metis*, in appropriating all to themselves...as the issue of their braines,” and then at the end of the passage, when he is discussing the fruit of Minerva: “because of that admirable wit, and little lesse then diuine inventions which flow from the fountaine of the braine, the Temple of this Deitie.” It seems very much like a sign of the times that he both uses an expression like “fountaine of the braine” and refers to the brain as the “Temple of this Deitie” (218). This is likely a manifestation of Sandys’ eclectic interest for the new science combined with more traditional scholarly interests: “Sandys’ own manner of presentation might well be described as the sort of eccentricity which necessarily attends the arrival of a modern scientific spirit” (Grose x).

“S. Albanes” continues his interpretation of the “fable” and makes even clearer the application of the idea of the “nuptual conjunction” linking a wise king with his council: “Nor are kings content to have this seem the effect of their own authority, free will, and uncontrollable choice, unless they also take the whole honour to themselves, and make the people imagine that, all good and wholesome decrees proceed entirely from their own head, that is, their own sole prudence and judgment” (356). One could not imagine reading this passage soon after its publication in 1609 and not thinking of the contemporary constitutional situation of Stuart England at the time with a strong monarch in James I. Sandys would later read this passage from Bacon, and he, no doubt, thought it useful and worthy of being “collected” into his commentary, designed to instruct and form the soul and society (c.f. Sandys x).

For Sandys, it seems, as discussed before, the rule of “Pallas” or Reason in the human Minde is not only for individual or personal benefit, though this would no doubt have been very important to him. It also had a very important political and social message related to the importance of an orderly society. It also appears that he wanted his king Charles I to know this in

his dedication. In *A Panegyricke to the King*, Sandys begins by praising King Charles I using the name of “Jove.” One can note in this passage the exhortation to imitation and the cultivation of virtue that is referred to as a purpose of the translation and commentary in the “TO THE READER” section:

Ioue, whose transcendent Acts the Poets sing,
 By Men made more then Man, is found a King:
 Whose Thunder and ineuitable Flame,
 His Iustice and maiestick Awe proclaims:
 His chearfull Influence, and refreshing Showers,
 Mercy and Bounty; Marks of heauenly Powers.
 These, free from Ioues disorders, blesse thy Raigne;
 And might restore the golden Age againe,
 If all men, by thy great Example lead,
 Would that prepared way to Vertue tread. (6)

Reading this alongside the above passages on Counsel and Councils of a king derived from Bacon’s commentary, it is hard not to observe that a very ideological agenda with political implications, howsoever noble it may be, is being promoted by Sandys through his commentary (c.f. Oakley-Brown 82). Nonetheless, as interesting and outstanding an example of an Ovidian commentary as this is, it is only one in a long line of commentaries of the *Metamorphoses* that have a strong allegorical and ideological tendency.

Conclusions

After his return from Virginia, George Sandys published the first full edition of his translation of the *Metamorphoses* in 1626. This 1626 edition contains all fifteen books of the poem by Ovid, but beyond the frontispiece and some other dedicatory engravings at the beginning of the volume, there are none of the fifteen emblematic full-page engravings to head each of the fifteen books. Nonetheless this edition was also dedicated to King Charles I, as had been his publication of the *A Relation of a Journey* in 1615 (to him as crown prince at the time) and it was a considerable success. The popularity of this translation in “court circles” and among the educated of London encouraged him to prepare an even more ambitious edition: the 1632 edition here under consideration (Davis 204). Whether because of these literary accomplishments, or due to his service to the crown in promoting English interests in the Virginia colony (or both), Sandys was created a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber between 1626 and 1628. He appears to have led a busy but happy existence for nearly two decades until the outbreak of the Civil War. He began to associate more closely with the group of courtiers gathered around Lord Falkland (Davis 227). Sandys thus had established his life around service to the crown, and in particular to the fortunes of Charles his prince and eventual king. The exact proportion of personal ambition relative to pious duty in his choice of this life is irrelevant—it is an indelible mark of his public life and career.

Whether completely sincere or not, Sandys dedicated his efforts both literarily and in practice, to his sovereign prince and king. With the complete realization of his vision for the translation of the *Metamorphoses*, this service takes a very dramatic literary form. His comments in his dedicatory letter and the poem “A Panegyricke to the King” make it clear that he had this goal, at least in a general sense. As we have seen in our analysis of the “WORKE” as a whole,

particularly in the “Minde” of the emblematic images and commentary, there is a consistent preoccupation with prudence as it relates to the actions and decisions of “princes.” The euhemerist interpretations of the myths of the various god and heroes serve to maintain the commentary and interpretation in the conceptual realm of rulers and leaders. The passage borrowed from the “Vicount of St. Albanes” (sic) on the birth of Pallas, allegorically Wisdom (Sapientia) or Prudence, from Juppiter and Metis, or counsel, (217-18) makes most clear how this development of prudence can relate to the role of an advisor to a prince. As a prospective and later an actual courtier, Sandys undoubtedly viewed his role, beyond undertaking specific tasks and duties, as providing good counsel to his sovereign lord. As an intellectual and a successfully published writer and poet, this role of providing counsel would be even more appropriate and expected.

In his complete design of the “WORKE” of the 1632 edition, it is clear that Sandys intended to serve this purpose of intellectually furnishing his prince and king with wise counsel. What I believe I have demonstrated here is that by conceiving and executing his “WORKE” according to the principles of artificial memory, he amassed the whole array of rhetorical benefits that these techniques could provide. Much more than just providing content with instruction and examples of prudence, the very nature of artificial memory to aid in the development of prudence is on full display through the copious use of numerous authors around each topic and the creation of visual memory *loci* and vivid *imagines agentes* through the emblematic full-page engraving heading each of the fifteen books.

Even more than the simple rhetorical goal of making his “WORKE” memorable, Sandys well understood the traditional theory behind artificial memory as a *habitus*, or habit of the soul; the art of memory had intrinsic qualities that facilitated and aided the development of prudence.

Thus Sandys' recurring theme of prudence—reflected on the three levels of the figures, verse translation, and commentary—is outwardly expressed in a more explicit embodiment of his poetic counsel. Nonetheless, there is an internal and structural aspect of the “WORKE”’s construction as an art of memory, i.e. a system of signs operating according to the principals of artificial memory, that is an equally powerful vehicle of poetic counsel on prudence.

This kind of literary service for the purpose of providing counsel was nothing new by 1632. The most famous example would probably be the influential treatise on political philosophy, *The Prince*, authored and dedicated by Niccoló Machiavelli to the prince of the ruling family of Florence, Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici. Interestingly, Sandys brought his comparable work to publication exactly one hundred years after that famous work was published (1532). Though clearly not a treatise on political philosophy, the 1632 edition was conceived to provide fables and commentary in a memorable way to aid a prince in the development of prudence, particularly as it relates to governing. Theoretically, Sandys could have chosen to develop such a prosaic treatise relying on dialectic and traditional logical discourse. However, he had long established himself as a poet, in the general sense, rather than an academic philosopher (c.f. Davis 227-38). In choosing a literary expression appropriate to his vocation as a poet, Sandys has consciously chosen a more visual and poetic medium for counsel, thus “leaving behind a deeper impression, then can be made by the liuelesse precepts of Philosophie” (“TO THE READER”, x).

Works Cited

- Allen, Don C. *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970. Print.
- Alciati, Andrea. *Emblemata Andreae Alciati Iurisconsulti Clarissimi*. Lugduni: Rovillius, 1548. Print. <<http://archive.org/details/emblemataandreae00alcia>>
- Bacon, Francis, and Francis Bacon. *Essays; Or, Counsels, Civil and Moral, and the Wisdom of the Ancients*. Boston: Little, 1883. Web. *Google Book Search* 15 Nov. 2012. <<http://books.google.com/>>.
- Bush, Douglas. *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1963. Print.
- Carruthers, Mary J. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Print.
- Carruthers, Mary J. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Print.
- Carruthers, Mary, and Jan M. Ziolkowski. *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. Internet resource.
- Cicero, Marcus T. and Harry Caplan. *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999. Print.
- Cicero, Marcus T, Edward W. Sutton, and H Rackham. *De Oratore: Books I-II*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948. Print.
- Clark, James G, Frank T. Coulson, and Kathryn L. McKinley. *Ovid in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Print.

- Curtius, Ernst R. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. New York: Harper & Row, 1963. Print.
- Davis, Richard B. *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer: A Study in Anglo-American Culture in the Seventeenth Century*. London: The Bodley Head, 1955. Print.
- Ellison, James. *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism, and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002. Print.
- Fox, Cora. *Ovid and the Politics of Emotion in Elizabethan England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. Print.
- Grose, Christopher, George Sandys, and Ovid. *Ovid's Metamorphoses, an Index to the 1632 Commentary of George Sandys*. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1981. Print.
- Keith, Alison, and Stephen J. Rupp. *Metamorphosis: The Changing Face of Ovid in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007. Print.
- Maier, Michael. Atalanta Fvgiens: Hoc Est, Emblemata Nova De Secretis Naturae Chymicae, Accommodata Partim Oculis & Intellectui, Figuris Cupro Incisis, Adiectisque Sententiis, Epigrammatis & Notis, Partim Auribus & Recreationis Animi Plus Minus 50 Fugis Musicalibus Trium Vocum, Quarum Duae Ad Unam Simplicem Melodiam Distichis Canendis Peraptam, Correspondeant, Non Absque Singulari Iucunditate Videnda, Legenda, Meditanda, Intelligenda, Diiudicanda, Canenda & Audienda. Oppenheimii: De Bry, 1618. Web. *Google Book Search*. 10 Dec. 2012. <<http://books.google.com/>>.
- Mazzotta, Giuseppe. *Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1993. Print.
- Oakley-Brown, Liz. *Ovid and the Cultural Politics of Translation in Early Modern England*.

Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006. Print.

Ovid, and Georg Sabinus. *Metamorphosis: Seu, Fabulae Poeticae, Frankfurt 1589*. New York: Garland, 1976. Print.

Ovid, and George Sandys. *Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished*. New York: Garland, 1976. Print.

Praz, Mario. *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964. Print.

Quintilian, , and Harold E. Butler. *The Institutio Oratoria*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979. Print.

Romberch, de K. J. Congestorium Artificiose Memoriae: U.p.f. Joānis Romberch De Kyrspe ; [regularis Obseruantie Predicatorie] ; Omnium De Memoria Preceptioēs Aggregatim Complectens ; [opus Oībus Theologis, Predicatoribus & Confessoribus, Juristis, Iudicibus Procuratoribus, Aduocatis & Notarijs, Medicis, Philosophis ; Artiu_ Liberalium Professoribus ; Insuper Mercatoribus Nuntijs & Tabellarijs Pernecessarium]. Venetijs: Per Melchiorem Sessam, 1533. Web. *Google Book Search*. 10 March 2013. <<http://books.google.com/>>.

Rollinson, Philip B. *Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture*. Pittsburgh, Pa: Duquesne University Press, 1981. Print.

Sandys, George, trans. *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, And Represented in Figures*. Oxford: Iohn Lichfield, 1632. Print. (University of California San Diego, Special Collections (Rare) PA6522.M2 S3 1632.)

Sandys, George, Richard Field, and William Barrett. *A Relation of a Iourney Begun An. Dom. 1610: Foure Bookes, Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire of Aegypt, of the*

Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy and Ilands Adioyning. London: Printed for W.

Barrett, 1615. *Google Book Search*. Web. 10 Jan. 2013. <http://books.google.com/>

Valeriano, Pierio, Horapollo, and David Hoeschel. Joannis Pierii Valeriani Bellvnensis

Hieroglyphica: Sive De Sacris Aegyptiorum Aliarvmqve Gentivm Literis,

Commentariorvm Libri Xviii. Cum Duobus Aliis Ab Eruditissimo Viro Annexis,

Accesserunt Loco Auctarii Hieroglyphicorvm Collectanea, Ex Veteribus & Recentioribus

Auctoribus Descripta, & in Sex Libros Ordine Alphabetico Digesta: Horapollinis Item

Hieroglyphicorvm Libri Duo, Ex Postrema Davidis Hoeschelii Correctione, Praeterea

Eivsdem Pierii Declamativncvla Pro Barbis Sacerdotum: & De Infelicitate Literarorum

Libri Duo: Deniqve Antiqvitatvm Bellvnensivm Sermones Qvatvor a Varias Ejusdem

Poemata & Opuscula. Editio Ad Novissimas Germaniae Composita, Quibus &

Annotationes Ad Marginem, Atque Necessarios Indices Debet. Coloniae Agrippinae:

Apud Ioannem Wilhelmvm Friessem, 1685. *Google Book Search*. Web. 17 March 2013.

<http://books.google.com/>

Yates, Frances A. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. Print.

Appendix A: Full Plate Engravings



George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished*
(Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Frontispiece.



George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 3 engraving.



George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished*
(Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 3 engraving.



George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). Book 9 engraving.

Appendix B: Full Text of Relevant Commentary Sections

Actaeon

His grand-child *Actaeon* was the first that made a breach into his felicities. *Diana* bathes her selfe in the Valley of *Gargaphia*; attended by six Nymphs whose names sute well with that seruice. *Crocale* signifieth pibble stones in the fountaine which serue as a strainer to clarifie the water: *Nyphe* one that washeth; *Hyale* glasse, in regard of the cleerenesse of the spring; *Rhanis* sprinkling; *Phecas* a drop of dew; and *Phiale* a filling of water into lauers, as is here in the verse expressed. *Actaeon* by chance came hether and beheld her naked; whom the blushing and angry Goddesse transformes into the shape of a long-liu'd Hart: so called in that the longest liuer of all that hath life, whereof *Ausonius*:

The yeares that consummate the age of men,

Spin out to three times two and nine times ten:

The pratling Crow nine times as aged growes:

The Harts long life foure times exceeds the Crowes.²

Iuno in *Lucian* vpbraides *Latona* that her daughter *Diana* converted *Actaeon*, hauing seene her naked, into a Hart; for feare he should divulge her deformity: and not out of modesty; being so farre from a Virgin, as continually conversant at the labours of women, like a publike midwife. *Actaeon* thus transformed, is deuoured by his owne hounds. *Stesichorus* writes that she sewed him within the skin of a Stag, and set his dogges vpon him: others, that he was neither turned into a Stag, nor clothed in his skin; but that she possessed his dogges in their madnesse with such an imagination. And perhaps they ran mad in the Canicular dayes through the power of the Moone, that is, of *Diana*; augmented by the entrance of the Sunne into *Leo*: and then what force or knowledge could resist their worrying of their master? *Scaliger* reports that the like befell to diuers hunters of *Corsica* in his time: and some auerre that *Lucian*, the Apostata and Atheist,

came to that end. Yet the *Tartarians* and *Hyrceanians* left the dead bodies of their friends and kinsfolke to bee deuoured by dogges, esteeming it the noblest and most happy sepulture. But this fable was invented to shew vs how dangerous a curiosity it is to search into the secrets of Princes, or by chance to discouer their nakednesse: who thereby incurring their hatred, euer after liue the life of a Hart, full of feare and suspicion: not seldome accused by their seruants, to gratulate the Prince, vnto their vtter destruction. For when the displeasure of a Prince is apparent, there commonly are no fewer Traitors then seruants, who inflict on their masters the fate of *Actaeon*. Some such vnhappy discouery procured the banishment of our *Ovid*: who complaining of his misfortunes, introduceth this example.

Why had I sight to make mine eye my foe?

Or why did I vnsought-for secrets knowe?

Actaeon naked Dian vnaware

So saw; and so his hounds their master tare.

The Gods sure punish fortune for offence:

Nor, when displeased, will with chance dispence.³

Guard we therefore our eyes; nor desire to see, or knowe more then concernes vs: or at least dissemble the discouery. *Iulius Montanus* meeting with *Nero* in the darke, by his vnseasonable respects vpbraiding, as it were, his ruffianly licentiousnesse, was put to death: *The art was vnderstood* (saith *Tacitus*) by *Mutianus*: but the disguising of his knowledge was a point of obedience. But why may not this fable receaue a double construction? Those being the best that admit of most senses. That *Actaeon*, neglecting the pursuite of virtue and heroicall actions, puts off the minde of a man, and degenerates into a beast; while hee dayly frequents the wild woods to contend with such enimies. And some imagine how he was said to be deuoured by his hounds,

in that he impouerished his estate in sustaining them. But what was that expence to a Prince? I rather agree with those, who thinke it to bee meant by his maintaining of rauenous and riotous sycophants: who haue often exhausted the Exchequors of opulent Princes, and reduced them to extreame necessity. Bountie therefore is to be limited according to the ability of the giuer, and merit of the receauer: else it not onely ruins it selfe, but looseth the name of a vertue, & converts into folly. *Plutarch* in the life of *Sertorius* makes mention of two *Actaeons*, the one deuoured by his hounds, and the other by his fauorites: not as if this latter were the allegory of the former.

Cadmus

Cadmus is sent by *Agenor* in search of his sister *Europa*; either to bring her back, or neuer to returne: in that one act an affectionate father, and a cruell. *Agenor* by interpretation is a valiant man: and *Cadmus* his sonne confirms this assertion;

From strenuous Sires bold sonnes proceed;

Braue horses from a generous breede:

Nor doth that awfull bird of Ioue

*Beget a weake and fearefull Doue.*¹

Who not degenerating, ascends that craggy and *Herculian* path which leads to immortall glory. This is that *Europa*, in quest of whom he was sent by his father. For experience and renowne is not gotten by such, as affect their owne ease; but through painefull trauell, and attempts of danger. True glory adheares to the Supream goodnesse: and therefore *Iupiter* is fained to carry *Europa* away; whom to find was a labour of excessiue difficultie: which induceth *Cadmus* to consult with *Apollo*; since diuine aduice is the true Philosophie, and only guide to

noble indeauours; which is not to be disputed off, but effected. He is commanded to follow the conduct of a Cow (a creature expressing patience and labour) where shee reposes to build his Citty, and to call it *Boeotia*. Not vnlike was the counsell of *Epimenides* of *Crete*, who aduised the *Athenians* in the time of a great pestilence, to turne their cattle loose into the fields which they intended to offer; the Priests to follow, and where they stayed to sacrifice them vnto the vnknowne propitiatory Deity. And *S. Paul* in that citty saw an Altar with such an inscription. But the former Oracle is thus interpreted, that excessiue labour was to be vndergone in that iourney; much to be suffered, and much to be done, ere he could attaine to the desired ende: meane while by the continuall exercising of the minde, to indue it with such habituall fortitude as might inable him to subdue the Dragon; which is, intemperance, and all euill desires. This Dragon by *Cadmus* slaine was aduanced to a constellation; placed betweene the two Beares, and consisting of one and thirtie starres, incompassing the Northerne Pole of the Ecliptick. The sowing of the Dragons teeth in the earth (the mother of monsters) is to restore to euery one his owne: true fortitude being alwaies accompanied with moderation and iustice; ingendring loue in the good, and enuy in the bad; that earthly brood which thus prodigiously ascend (like vpstarts on a sudden to honour & power) with weapons in their hands; which he by the aduice of *Pallas*, or *Wisdom*e, conuerts on their owne bosomes: wounding themselues in not wounding of others. *Palaephatus* giues this fable an historicall sense: how *Cadmus* slew *Draco* the sonne of *Mars*, then King of *Thebes*, in battle, and possessed his kingdome. The sonnes and friends of *Draco* drew to a head; but finding themselues too weake for so strong and couragious an enimie, disbanded; yet bore away much of his treasure, among the rest many Elephants teeth; dispersing themselues some in *Achaia*, others in *Peloponesus*, many in *Phocis*, and in *Locris* not a few: from whence not long after with recollected powers they inuaded the *Thebans*, maintaining a difficult, and a doubtfull

warre: in so much as the *Thebans*, euer after they fled with the Elephants teeth, accustomed to say, that such horrid mischiefes had befallne them for *Cadmus* killing of the Dragon; from whose teeth dispersed here and there, so many puissant enimies arose. But he rather sowing by his policie the seed of dissention amongst them, ouer-threw them by their owne power. Onely it should seeme he drew *Echion*, with other foure, *Cithonius*, *Vdeus*, *Hyperener*, and *Pelorus*, men of principall quality, with their followers, to his party: perswaded thereunto by *Minerva*, or a prudent regard of their present condition. *Cadmus* was the first that invented letters, or rather the first that divulged them in *Greece*; who before, as the *Aegyptians*, expressed their conceptions in hieroglyphicks: Erasmus expounds those serpents teeth, to be letters, in that the Authors of such wrangling and discord. The Consonants are interpreted for those souldiers who confounded one another: the Vowels, which render of themselues a sound, and giue a power of expression to the Consonants, the same who ioyned in mutuall amitie. The *Phoenicians* writ, as all the Easterne Nations, from the right hand to the left: the reason why the outermost figure to the right hand in Arithmetick stands in the first place; they also being the inventers of that science.

Cadmus, after so many difficulties, aduanced to a flourishing kingdome (Honour is to be courted with sweat and blood, and not with perfumes and garlands) now seemeth happy in his exile: hauing besides *Harmione* to wife; whose nuptialls were honoured by the presence of the Gods, & their bountifull endowments. So beloued of them is the harmony of exterior and interior beauty espoused to Virtue. Shee is said to be the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*; in that musick not onely recreates the minde with a sweet obliuion of former misfortunes, but also inflames it with courage, and desire of instant encounters especially the *Dorick* and *Orthian*; the latter when *Alexander* at any time heard, as a man transported with fury, hee would fly to his weapons. *Cadmus* had but one sonne by *Harmione* called *Polidorus*, though here our Poet intimate many,

and foure daughters; *Ino*, *Semele*, *Agaue*, *Autonoë*. *Athamas* by *Ino* had *Melicerta* and *Learchus*; *Ioue* by *Semele*, *Bacchus*; *Echion* by *Agaue*, *Pentheus*; and *Aristaeus Actaeon* by *Autonoë*:

Whose succeeding stories are the arguments of as many Tragedies. To these ensuing miseries, yet ô fortunate *Cadmus*, adde thine owne exile in thy old age: and then confesse with our Author, or rather with *Solon* from whom he hath borrowed it;

That man must censur'd be by his last houre:

Whom truely we can neuer happy call

Before his death, and closing funerall.

Perseus

Phineus, the brother of *Cepheus*, precontracted to *Andromeda*; who lately durst not attempt her deliury, now impatient that a stranger should carry her away, conuerts the banquet into a bloody battle. In which is expressed the sightlesse fury of warre; respecting neither old age, neutrality, diuine endowments nor sacred orders; but confoundeth all in a generall slaughter.

Yet *Perseus* assisted by his sister *Pallas*; that is, Valour protected and directed by Wisdome; astonishing his enemies with feare and wonder, as stupified by the sight of *Gorgon*, obtaineth a glorious victory, the euent of a iust war; which, as here, is euer fauoured by the diuine assistance: without which vaine is the strength and courage of mortalls, whose hands are but the instruments of that power which inables them. And as victory is ascribed only vnto God, (the lord of Hosts) by the Pen-men of the sacred Histories: so the ancient Poets either deriuing it from them, or enlightned with the same truth, describe no notable atchieuement without the conduction of a Deity: as euery where apparant in *Homer*; from whom we receiue this position,

Loves spirit mans controules: with feare he shakes

The valiant mind: graspt conquest from him takes

And hearts, detesting warre, courageous makes.

And againe,

Be they or faint or bold, the darts they throw

Are tipt with death, on whom Ioue will bestow

The victory; for Ioue directs them all:

On earth their foes dull'd lances idly fall.

So assistant *Pallas* here giues our *Perseus* the victory in so great a disparity of power.

This fable may in generall allude to that which is in practise so common; How forren aides drawne in by liberall promises, whereof the necessitated are prodigall, to the reliefe of a distressed kingdome (as *Perseus* to the rescue of *Andromeda*) when the danger is past, instead of the promised reward, are vngratefully sleighted; an occasion not seldome of warre betweene the deliuered and there deliuerers.

Perseus hauing extended his conquests far into the East, and left his name vnto *Persia*; now returning into his countrey, found *Acrisius* expelled *Argos*, by his brother *Praetus*: whom he queld with the like felicity, and restored his Grandfather to his kingdome; rather expecting a reuenge for his, and his mothers exposure. Yet could not preuent his destiny by *Perseus* soone after accidentally slaine, according to the Oracle.

From *Argos* *Perseus* sailes to *Seriphus*; and confutes the incredulous King *Polydectes*, the author of his dangers and enuier of his glory, with the stupifying head of *Gorgon*. Of which though I haue formerly spoken at large, yet will it not be superfluous to adde this historicall relation. *Phorcus*, a *Cyrenian*, the Lord of three Ilands, made a statue of *Minerva* fower cubits high, all of massy gold. *Minerva* being called *Gorgon* by the *Cyrenians*; a name agreeing with her war-like disposition. But *Phorcus* dyed before he could inshrine it in her temple: who left

three daughters behind him, *Sthnelio*, *Euriale*, and *Medusa*. They vowing virginity, liu'd a part in those seuerall Ilands; and equally shared his substance: yet would not diuide the *Gorgon* statue, nor dedicate it as intended; but kept it by turnes as a publique treasure. They had among them a trusty seruant, vigilant in all their affaires, as their common eye and so called him.

Exiled *Perseus* preying vpon those coasts with a well appointed fleete (For Piracy in ancient times, as wee read in *Thucidides*, was held no reproach but a glory) and taking this *Gorgon* for a wealthy Queene, yet of small resistance, intended an inuasion: but better informed that nothing there was of vallue but that golden statue, plyed too and fro betweene *Cyrene* and *Sardinia*; till at length he intercepted this seruant their eye: nor would ransome him to the sisters, now met together, vnless they would shew him this statue: in the meane while landing, by the inforced information of the prisoner hee surprized them, and threatned to kill who soeuer refused. *Medusa* refusing, was slaine: but reuealed by *Stherelio* and *Euriale*, he restored their seruant. Then breaking the Image, and dispersing the peeces in seuerall bottoms, he kept the head intire in his owne, and called it *Gorgon*. Rouing about, and euerywhere extorting mony, with the death of those who resisted; at length he arriued at this Ile of *Seriphus*, where he was strongly repulst at the first assault by the inhabitants: but entring at the second, and finding none in the citty (for the Cittizens were secretly fled) he scoffingly said that the men were turned into stones at the sight of *Gorgon*: and when others elsewhere denied contribution, he would threaten them with the fate of the *Seriphians*. Hence sprung those former fables of the *Graeeae* and *Gorgons*, if wee may beleieue *Palephatus*.

Hercules

Achelous, esteeming it no disgrace to be ouer-come by such an aduersary, relates his contention with *Hercules* for the Loue of *Deianira*. Such a complement

Hanniball in *Liuy* bestowes vpon *Scipio*: *My comfort is, that by thee I am inforced to sue for a peace.* *Achelous* in strength inferior, flyes to his slights, and converts himselfe into a Serpent: subdued by *Hercules* with a scoffe; as the exercise and conquest of his infancy. For *Iuno* is said to haue sent two serpents to destroy him in his cradle; who strangled them both before he was so old as to know them: the *Grecians* naming him *Hercules* of the glory he had atchieued by *Iuno*. By which they would haue vs to know, that those who are markt for great actions, and are couetous of a virtuous prayse; should betimes, and as it were from their cradles, accustome themselues to dangers; and exercise their fortitude in subduing of pleasures; which infeeble the mind, and destroy it with serpentine imbracements. Nor is pleasure and lust vnaptly expressed by serpents; not onely for their naturall subtilty and inueterate hatred to man; but also for their inbred lasciuiousnes: the femal viper (our Adder) according to *Pliny*, out of a frantick delight, biting of the head of the Male in the time of their coiture. And we read in *Plutarch* that sometimes Serpents haue beene in loue with women, manifesting all the signes of a wanton affection. As one with a maid of *Aetolia*, which nightly crept into her bed, gliding to and fro, and winding about euery part of her body; retiring alwayes about the dawning of the Day. This obserued, the maid was forthwith remoued by her Guardians. The serpent missing her for diuers dayes together, at length found her out: who now not louing and gentle as accustomed, but horrid and ful of danger, leapt vpon her, pinnioning her armes with his foldes, and lashing her thighs with the remainder of his length: yet with such an anger as seemed to be mixt with indulgency, as rather intending to chastize, then to hurt her. A Serpent was said to haue beene found about *Olympia's* bed, that night wherein she conceaued with *Alexander*; which gaue a colour to the claime of his descent from *Iupiter*. The like the *Romans* diuulged of *Scipio Africanus*, both reports no doubt but proceeding in part from the Serpents amorous inclination.

The *Scythians* painted *Araxa*, a woman infamous for her lust, with the tayle of a serpent. But *Achelous*, wel nigh suffocated by *Hercules* in that counterfeit shape, now puts on the forme of a furious Bull: but speedes no better then formerly; hauing one of his hornes broken off by the Conqueror, which the *Naiades* replenish with fruits and flowers, euer after called the Horne of Plenty. These Nymphes take their names from fluency; supposed of old to be the Deities of springes and originals of Riuers: being indeed that moysture of the Earth which so much conferres to fertility and propagation: thus deliuered by *Orpheus*.

*Lyaeus Nurses, whom the Earth imbowers,
Fertill and frolick in your fruits and flowers;
Who cattell feed, and men sustaine with feasts:
Ceres and Bacchus nourisht by your brests.*¹

And therefore aptly here fained to bring in the Horne of Abundance to *Achelous* his table. Diuers of the *Roman* Emperours stamped this on their Coynes: some expressing thereby (as appeared by their Inscriptions) Liberality; others Felicity, Concord, Peace, and Plenty; or what so euer was delightfull or profitable to man. Now the strife betweene the *Aetolians* and *Acarnanians* (whose Countryes are watred by that Riuer) concerning their bounders (arbitrated for want of vmpires by the sword, wherein the stronger preuailed) was the ground of this fiction of *Hercules* his subduing of *Achelous*: *Deianira* the daughter of *Oeneus* (for it should seeme the *Aetolians* had the better) the reward of his victory. *Achelous* is said to convert himselfe into a Serpent; because of the wrigling and many flexures of his Current: as into a Bull, for the bellowing of waters, and their violent Course, when raised by raine. But *Hercules* is said to ouer-come his fury and to breake off one of his hornes: in that, to gratify his father in law, he restrained the riuer with bancks, extenuating his force by digging of sundry trenches, & draining those grounds which his

ouerflowes had surrounded; whereby they became extraordinary fruitefull; which here is deciphered by the horne of Plenty. This fable hath also a relation to the condition of warre: *Hercules*, the stronger, and inuading party, proceeding with maine strength and expedition: *Achelous*, the weaker, and inuaded, by delay and policy; who changeth the forme and order of his fights according to occasion; now like a subtil Serpent, auoiding, or with stratagems circumuenting his enemies; now like a furious Bull vpon aduantage assailing. When beaten in battaile, he is inforced to retire vnto his holdes of strength; and leaue the riches of his Country (the horne of Plenty) to the spoyle of the Conqueror.

Hercules returning with *Deianira* to *Thebes* from *Caledon*, haue their passage impeached by the swelling of *Euenus*: to whom the Halfe-horse *Nessus*, as acquainted with the ford, doth tender his seruice; and vndertakes to transport his wife, while he himselfe swom ouer: who now being landed on the other side, the perfidious Centaure attempts to rauish her; but is preuented, and his speede ouertaken, by a mortall wound receaued from his arrow. This *Nessus* was one of those who fled from the Battaile betweene the *Centaures* and the *Lapethites* (which is in the twelue booke related by *Nestor*) where in *Hercules* was a principal actor: who now contrary to humane policy, giues credit to a reconciled enemy; wherein an *Italian* would neuer haue offended, who rather hate whom they haue iniured, as euer suspecting them. But credulity proceedes from a mans owne integrity: a vice more honest then safe; the ouerthrow and death of the Great Duke of *Burgundy*, who committed a maine part of his army to an Earle whom he had formerly stricken; the respects and seruices of such, being no other then a maske to disguise their treacheries. *Nessus*, though dying, meditates on reuenge, and giues *Deianira* a garment dipt in his blood, infected by the impoysoned arrow, as a receipt to reuiue in the wearer decayed affection. A pretence to tempt a womans acceptance, who are either too affectionate, or too apt to

be iealous. Not considering with all that it was the gift of an enemy, which euer tendes, as this did, vnto Mischeife. But more circumspect was that *Troian*, if he could haue beene beleiued

*The Greekes, though bringing gifts, I feare.*²

For *Hercules*, hauing now fil'd the world with the fame of his actions, was about to sacrifice vnto *Cenaeon Iupiter*: when newes was brought to *Deianira* of his loue to *Iôle* (of whom we shall speake hereafter) who easily beleiuues what she feares, and greedily swallowes that mortal poyson, which infects her soule with all varietyes of distemper: now full of indignation, and purpose of reuenge; which she thus expresseth in his tragedy,

O sorrow, which no vengeance can suffice!

Some vnknowne horrid punishment deuice.

What hate can doe, let Iuno learne of me:

*She is too patient.*³

But againe retracts that cruel intention, out of the alternate raigne of affection, which then is most great when most in danger of loosing: confirmed sometimes in the truth of the wrong, and presently hoping the contrary. All diseases of the Mind but Doubt haue their remedies. Nor are the actions of the Body lesse inconstant: content with no one place, or settled posture; sorrow wandring throw the visage in like variety of aspects and complections. *Deianira* at length resolves to regaine her husband with the garment which *Nessus* had giuen her. But according to *Seneca* he gaue her his infected blood in one of his hooues; with this instruction

Dimne with approaching death, the gore that drild

From his black wound he tooke, and gaue me, fild

In his tuffe hoofe; thence violently rent:

And said; This will lous fickle flight preuent.

*Thus Mycale Thessalian Matrons told:
 Whose powerfull art the struggling Moone contrould.
 With this, if thy inconstant husband roue,
 And giue an other daughter vnto Ioue,
 Anoint his robe. That it the virtue may
 Retaine, conceale it from the sight of Day.*⁴

The poison likewise which was giuen to *Alexander* was so strong as nothing but the hoofe of an Asse could containe it. *Diodorus* reports that he bad her take of the seede which he had shed to mix it with oyle, and the blood which dropt from the arrow, infected with the blood of *Hidra*: and to vse it as aforesaid, when she had occasion to practice the experiment: which now she doth, and sends it by *Lycas*. Put on by *Hercules*, he broyls with heate, which subdues his fortitude with intollerable torments: who in his anguish disputes: with the Gods, for so rewarding his virtues (an impatience vnto which the best of mortall men haue beene subiect as *Germanicus* and *Titus* charged the Gods with their vntimely and vnderserued deaths,) then briefly relates his particular merits.

Busiris, a king of *Aegypt*, who built *Busiris* and *Nomos* in a barren and vn hospitable part of his Country; was said to haue killed his guests, because the passengers by the Heards-men there about were robd and assassinated. Or, according to *Diodorus*, that they sacrificed onely red oxen and red-hair'd men to the soule of *Osyris*; for that *Tiphon* his brother, who slew him, had his haire of that coloure. Insomuch that *Aegypt* hauing few redd-heads, and other countryes many, it was reported that he sacrificed strangers at the tomb of *Osyris*: the cruelty rather proceeding from that inhumane custome. Yet was he a wicked Tyrant; of whom that Country was deliuered by *Hercules*. He is held to be that king of *Aegypt* who so grievously oppressed the Israelites: and

the author of that inhumane Edict of drowning their male-children; whence arose the tradition of his sacrificing strangers: his daughter supposed to be the same who fostered *Moses*.

Reinecius proues that he was a king of a new Famely, who vsurped that crowne: as intimated by this text in Exodus; *There arose a new king, who knew not Ioseph*.

Antaeus was a Gyant of *Lybia*, the supposed son of the Earth; who compelled forreiners to wrastle, & strangled them with his vnmatchable strength. Him *Hercules* incountred: who as oft as throwne to the ground, rose vp againe with redoubled vigour. This perceaued; he held him aloft so long, till he had crushed the breath out of his body. *Hercules*, here taken for the heat of the Sun, ouer-throwes *Antaeus*, which signifies the contrary, with his too much feruor: when by the touch of the Earth, being naturally cold, his strength is restored: approuing that Axiome in Physik, how contraries are to be cured by Contraries; Yet neither too much to exceed, least the one be made more violent by the opposition of the other: which holds as well in a Politick Body. But the morall is more fruitfull: *Hercules* being the symbol of the Soule, and *Antaeus* of the Body; Prudence the essence of the one, and sensual Pleasure of the other; betweene whom there is a perpetuall conflict. For the Appetite alwaies rebells against Reason: nor can Reason preuaile; vnlesse it so raise the body, and hold it aloft from the contagion of earthly thinges, that it recouer no more force from the same, till the desires and affections thereof, which are the sons of the Earth, be altogether suffocated. *Antaeus* is also said to be the sonne of the Earth, in that the *Tingitani* whose king he was, did boast themselues to be originally *Africans*. By which Citty, saith *Mela*, *there is a little hill in the forme of a man, lying with his face vp-ward, which they report to be his sepulcher: and that when at any time diminished, how it neuer ceaseth raining vntill it be againe repaired*.

Geryon was a Prince of *Spaine*, as great in power as in riches; who is fained to haue had three heads; if so to haue be not impossible. For some Historians haue written of the like: and one abated, this Iland in the memory almost of the liuing hath exhibited an vncontrolable example; which I will insert for the rarenesse. This Monster was below the wast an ordinary man; but had aboue two bodys of exact proportion, and euery limme of vigour and vse.

King *Iames* the forth tooke an especiall care of his education and instruction: but cheifely in musick, where in he became most excellent, as in diuers languages. In these two bodyes were two different wills: sometimes they would bitterly contend in argument, sometimes fall together by the eares; and often consult about their common vtility. But what more memorable; both vnder the nauil were sensible of one hurt, but neither aboue felt the anguish of the other: which was in their death more apparent. For the one body dying many dayes before the other, the suruiuer pined away with the stench thereof. This Monster liued eyght and twenty yeaes; and dyed when *Ione* was Regent in *Scotland*. Which I haue writ, saith *Buchanan*, with the greater confidence, in that yet many liue of honest reputation, who haue seene it. But the triple figure of *Geryon* was fained of three brethren; who gouerned the three Ilands, *Maiorca*, *Minorca*, and *Yuica* with such vnanimity, as if they had all but one will: whereupon *Geryon* the eldest was said to haue three heads to one body: by their concord, mutual counsell, and assistance, becomming both wealthy and formidable. With the like vnion the *Scribonian* brethren gouerned the Vpper and the Lower *Germany*: vntill *Nero* growing iealous of their greatnes, they were both accused: when by opening their owne veines they dyed together. So the other were a baite to the auarice, and a spur to the valour of *Hercules*: who dispossess them by force of armes, and bore away their substance. *Palephates* will haue this fiction to grow from his dwelling in *Tricarenia* (a citty on the *Euxian* Sea) which signifies three-headed. Others allude it to the

three soules in man, the vegetatiue, the sensitiue, and rationall: as concord to the number of three, and strength to the triangular figure.

Of *Cerberus* we haue spoken more then in one place: to which we will add this historicall relation, together with the allegory. *Aideus* (from whom came the name of *Ades*, for the receptacle of the dead) the king of *Molossus*, called himselfe *Pluto*, his wife *Ceres*, his daughter *Proserpina* (or rather his wife whom he had stolne) and his Ban-dog *Cerberus* of his feirce and churlish conditions. *Theseus* and *Perithous*, attempting to steale away his daughter, were both taken prisoners: *Theseus* retained in chaines; but *Perithous* worried by his Mastiue *Cerberus*. *Hercules* deliuered *Theseus* soone after by force: and brought the Ban-dogg away with him. Here vpon grew the fable of *Hercules* descent into Hell, and of his dragging the Hel-hound thence: *Molossus* ordinarily called Hell, in that it lyeth west of *Attica* and *Baeotia*; whereof we haue formerly rendred the reason. Now *Cerberus* was after stolne by the procurement of a noble man of *Mycena*, and shut vp with diuers bitches in the caue of mount *Tenarus*; where of *Hercules* hauing intelligence fetcht him from thence: vpon this it was fained that he drag'd him from Hell through that Caue, the supposed infernall passage. From hence we may collect; that the reason and virtue of the Mind, which is *Hercules* subdues all vice and base earthly affections (*Cerberus* being taken for the Earth) but especially Gluttony (his name importing a deuourer of flesh) which is said to haue three heads, of his triple desires, consisting in the superfluity of quantity, of the expense of time, and pleasing of the Palat. All which are suppressed by virtue, who moreouer redeemes from Hell whatsoever is captiuated by the minds infirmities.

The *Cretan* Bull representeth the *Cretan* Generall *Taurus*; *Pasiphaes* sweetheart. A cruel enemy to the *Athenians*: whom *Hercules* vanquished (not with out the conniuance of *Minos* who

mortally hated him) and brought into *Peloponesus*: which also allegorically declares the conquest ouer brutish affections.

Augeus was king of *Elis*; who had a stable so full of dung, that it became prouerbiall. This *Hercules* cleansed vpon a compact betweene them by turning *Alphaeus* thorow it: or rather by meanes of diuerting that Riuer, made a barren part of his Country fertil. But *Augeus* refused to giue him his reward, as done with so little difficulty: for fooles more consider the labor of the body, then that of the braine. Where at incensed, he demolished his citty, and draue him out of his kingdom. This filthy stable representeth the Court of *Augeus*; contaminated with luxury, and all sorts of vncleanesse: which by the expulsion of the vitious king and his Parasites, was said to haue beene purged by *Hercules*.

The *Stymphalides* were birds so called of a lake in *Arcadia*, which they chiefly frequented: chased away by *Hercules*; partly with his arrowes, and partly with the sound of a brazen Cimball which was giuen him by *Pallas*: A greedy and filthy foule which fed vpon mans-flesh: killing men with their feathers which they shot from their bodies as they flew; or poysoning them with the stench of their ordure. Alluding to the auarice and filthy converse of Harlots; who deuoure the substance, pollute the fame, and infect the bodyes of their desperate louers. Such therefore are to be chased away with the arrowes, or indignation, of Virtue? But especially by *Minerva's* Cimball; diuine instructions, and precepts of Philosophy; which penetrate the eare like the sound of a Trumpet. Nor are they vnaptly said to be man-eaters; who suck their blood like leeches, and deuoure them like the rauenous *Lamiae*. But historically the *Stymphalides* are taken for theeues who forraged that Country; as appeares by these verses of *Claudian*.

I, Stymphalus, heard of thy fowle, that threw

*Thick showres of darts; and slaughtered as they flew.*⁵

Partheneus is a mountaine of *Arcadia*, which tooke that name from the virgin Huntresse, where *Hercules* with indefatigable labour pursued and caught the Hart, which had feet of brasse and hornes of Gold: signifying not only his subiecting of Feare, expressed in the nature of that creature, an enemy to all noble indeauours; but that vnwearied and constant course of virtue, by which immortall fame can be only obtained; more durable then brasse, then gold more refulgent.

About the riuer of *Thermedon*, which runnes through *Cappadocia* into the *Euxine* Sea, the *Amazons* were said to inhabit. A race of warlike women; who suffered no men to liue among them, but such as they imployed in their drudgeries: managing couragious horses; expert themselues, and instructing their daughters in military exercises. For during two months in the spring they accompanied with their neighbours; and when they were deliuered, sent back the male issue to their fathers; searing the right brest of the femals (from whence they tooke their denomination) that it might not hinder their shooting, nor the throwing of their iauelins. These became so famous and formidable, that in the end it drew on the courage of *Hercules*, together with the desire of *Hippolita's* rich Belt, to assaile them: who slew *Antiope* their Queene, and tooke *Hippolita* prisoner, whom hee gaue to *Theseus*, his companion in that warre. In this battaile hee so weakned their forces, that they became a prey to their neighbours; who after a while extinguished in those parts both their name and nation. *Penthesilea* with the remainder, flying her country, assisted *Priamus* in the warres of *Troy*.

With Amazonian troopes, and moone-like sheilds

Penthesilea scoures the trampled fields;

Her seared brest bound with a golden Bend:

*Bold maid, that durst with men in armes contend.*⁶

Who there was slaine by *Achilles*. *Pliny* reports that she was the first that invented the Battailaxe. *Plato* affirms that there was a nation of *Amazons* in his time in *Saramatia Asiatica* at the foot of *Caucasus*: from whence it should seeme that their Queene *Thalestria* came into *Hircania* vnto Alexander, that she might haue a daughter by him; who participating of both their spirits, might conquer the whole vniuerse. But *Strabo* doubts by the vncertainty of authors, and vnlikeliness thereof, that there euer were any such women: and *Palephates* writes that the *Amazons* were a people couragious and hardy, who wore linnen shashes on their heads, and gownes to their heeles (as now the *Turkes* doe) suffering no haire to grow on their faces: and therefore in contumely called women by their enimies. *Goropius*, a late author, conceaues them to be the wiues and sonnes of the *Sarmatians*; who inuaded *Asia*, together with their husbands, and after planted in *Cimbria* which he endeauours to proue by certaine *Dutch* etymologies. *Francis Lopez* and *Vlrichus Schimdel* finde them in the Riuer *Orellana* in *America*; called thereof the Riuer of *Amazons*: and *Edward Lopez* affirms that there are of these in *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteene Degrees Southward of the line; the strongest guard of that Emperour, as the East Indian *Portugalls* acknowledge.

The Golden Apples of the *Hesperides*, with the Dragon that kept them, we haue interpreted at large in the story of *Perseus*. An aduenture reserued for *Hercules*: who killing the Shepherd *Ladon*, called a Dragon for his immanity, brought away the Golden Apples; which was *Atlas* sheepe with the yellow fleeces; the name equiuocall to either: sheep being so honoured by the ancient for enriching their owners, that riches in mony or cattle was of them so named. But allegorically, *Hercules*, or Virtue, cannot reape the fruit of his indeauours, those golden

Apples, vntill he haue killed the Dragon, Malice and Enuy, which continually watch to frustrate his reward.

Of *Hercules* fight with the *Centaures* you shall read in the Mythologie vpon the twelke booke, where that battle is particularly described.

The *Erymanthian* Bore, which wasted all *Arcadia*, was slaine by *Hercules*: meant by some notable and cruell theefe, either of that name, or bearing that beast for his deuice, which infested that country, and was subdued by him: but morally denoting the virtue of the minde, which subiects all terrors and difficulties.

Hydra, was said to be a venomous Serpent, which did much spoyle in the *Argiue* territories; lurking in lake of *Lerna*: and to haue had many heads; whereof one being cut off, two rose in the roome more terrible then the former: which *Hercules* assailed and destroyed, by suddenly cauterizing her headlesse necks. This fable hath relation to that place; which by the eruptions of waters annoyed the neighbouring citties, when one being stopt many rose in the roome: this *Hercules* perceauing, burnt it with fire, and so choaked the passages. For *Hydra* signifies water: & that this might be done, these verses might inferre.

Corruption boyles away with heat;

*And forth superfluous vapours sweat.*⁷

Or rather the Sun, (presented by *Hercules*, according to *Macrobius*) with his extraordinary feruor dried vp those noysome and infectious waters. Another writes that *Lernus* was a petty King; who built a strong fort on the confines of his kingdome, and called it *Hydra*; placing therein a garrison of fifty souldiers. This *Hercules* besieged. As often as any one was slaine on the battlements, two stept in his place, not inferiour in fortitude: nor would yeeld vntill the fort it selfe was consumed with fire. And there be who write that this serpent with many heads were as many brothers vnited

in inuiolable concord: when one cut off in battaile, others seemed as it were to rise in his place with fresh and more strong preparations. Like the Band among the *Grecians*, which, in that continually reinforced, was called Immortall. *Plato* deliuers *Hydra* for a Sophister whose confutation begat more wrangling. Therefore to cut off a head from *Hydra*, is to take away one inconueniency that more may succeed: like sutes in law, which begin where they end, and continually multiply. But *Hydra* in truth is a kinde of water-snake; which will turne on the assailant, and repulse him with his stinking exhalations: whose mortall & terrible poyson is noted by the infected arrow dipt in her gall, and rauing death of the *Heroe*.

Diomedes, that bloody king of *Thrace*, fed his horses with mans-flesh; whom *Hercules* fed with the flesh of the Tyrant. A punishment agreeable to the law both of God and man, that offenders should suffer what themselues inflicted. But *Palephates*, a confuter of such like stories, reports how *Diomedes* was one who had wasted his estate by keeping of Horses: a prodigality deriued from the *Greeks* to the *Romans*:

He dares presume t' expect a Regiment,

Who all his substance hath in mangers spent.

And, what his Ancestors had left, forsakes;

*While he Flaminia with swift charriot rakes.*⁸

For which cause *Diomedes* friends cal'd his horses man-eaters. But other Authors affirme that *Diomedes* horses were his lasciuious daughters, who wasted the substance and strength of their louers: horses being the ancient Hieroglyphick of lust; as such desires in the sacred Scriptures are compared to their neighings. For there is no creature so prone vnto *Venus* as a Mare; and therefore fained to conceaue with the Wind:

But Mares most furious: then by Venus stung
When Potnean Charriot wretched Glaucus flung,
And tare in peeces. Led by loue, they skud
O're Gargarus, Ascania's roring flood;
Swim riuers, mountaines clime, when that fire stewes
Their greedy marrowes, and the Spring renewes
Heat in their bones. They to high cliffes repaire;
And yawning to the west, that gentle aire
Suck in with pleasure: when (what's strange to tell:)
Vnbackt by horse, with Foles their bellies swell.
O're craggess, high hills, and lowly dales they runne:
Not to thee Eurus and the rising Sunne,
Boreas, nor Caurus; or where Auster vales
Sad heauen with clowdes, and earth with showres assailes.
That poyson trickles from the groynes of these,
Which rightly rurals call Hyppomenes:
Hyppomenes, which oft dire step-dames vse;
*With wicked charmes, and banefull weeds infuse.*⁹

Others apply this fable to his riotous followers, maintained by his excessiue tributes & exactions; feeding, as it were, on the bowels of his miserable subiects. But *Diomedes* horses, together with their master, were slaine by *Hercules*: cruelty, auarice, and vncleanenesse, chastized, or confounded by the zeale of virtue.

A Lyon of huge proportion, whose skin no steele could penetrate, frequenting the *Nemaeian* woods and fields of *Mycena*, was encountred and strangled by *Hercules*; who euer after wore his hide for defence and terror. This may be no fable, since the like was performed by *Sampson* (supposed by some the same man) and after by little *Dauid*. Yet hereby is vnderstood the fortitude of the minde, against which no bodily strength can preuaile; being euer adorned with the spoyle of the vanquished. But *Heraclides* conceaues that the same was deuised in regard of the selfe-cure of his owne furious melancholy, producing a temporary distraction; which gaue an argument to the tragicall Poets. And surely these his conquests ouer beasts and monsters were chiefly invented to expresse the excellency of Virtue in subduing inordinate affections: as Intemperance by the Bore, rash Temerity by the Lyon, by the Bull Anger, Panick Feare by the Hart, Vncleanesse of life by *Augeus* his stable, by the *Stymphalides* Auarice, by *Hydra* Ignorance, by the *Centaures* lust, &c. And therefore many of them placed by *Virgil*, as vices, before the gates of Hell.

There Centaures, there the hissing Hydra stands,
Scylla, Briarius with his hundred hands,
Fire-arm'd Chimaera's, Harpyes full of rape,
*Snaky hair'd Gorgons, Geryons triple shape.*¹⁰

Hercules is mystically taken for the Sunne, to whom the Lyon is sacred, in that his mayne resembles the raies of the other; the one called *Iuba*, and the other *Iubar*.

Cacus, a mighty Gyant, the son of *Vulcan*, depopulated that part of *Italy* which lies about Mount *Aventine* with his robberies: said to vomit fire, in that he burnt the corne on the ground, and enuiously destroyed, what he could not reap. He, while *Hercules* slept, stole away the fairest of his Oxen; and drew them into his Caue by their tayles, that no impression might be seene of

any feet going thether. A subtilty deriued from the shee Beare, who euer backward retires to her den, that shee might not be traced by the Hunter. But these discouered by their bellowings, *Hercules* forced his Caue, and brained *Cacus*, breathing clowds of smoke, with his Club. Now *Cacus* is by interpretation Euill; which lurkes in Caues, in that neuer secure; when *Hercules*, or Virtue vindicates his owne, by the destruction of the other; although with hypocrisie and fraudulent mists he endeauour to conceale himselfe.

Hercules sustaineth heauen, his last labour, on his shoulders: of which thus *Iuno* in his tragedy.

He shewes, by bearing Heauen, how he may gaine

Heauen by his force. Whose shoulders did sustaine

The world: nor shrunk beneath so great a fraught;

*Prest with the Poles, the starres; what more, might waight.*¹¹

For the fable goes how *Atlas*, who sate on a mighty mountaine, and supported Heauen on his backe, desired *Hercules*, hauing heard of his surpassing strength, to ease him for a while in bearing of his burthen; who readily vndertooke it. As *Atlas* was said to haue supported Heauen in regard of the heigth of that mountaine which carries his name, and of his excellency in Astronomy: so *Hercules*, skilfull in that art, hauing trauelled to the vttermost bounds of the Earth to increase his knowledge by conferring with *Atlas*, is said to haue assisted him, by informing him in many secrets which before he knew not. Nor wants the fable a morall; declaring how those who patiently vndergoe the burthens which are imposed by Heauen, shall at length with *Hercules* inioy euen Heauen it selfe, the reward of their sufferance.

And here is an end of the Heroicall actions of *Hercules*: whereof those mentioned in these ensuing verses haue onely the repute of his labours.

First he the grim Cleonian Lyon slew:

Next Hydra did with sword the fire subdew:

The Erimanthian Bore, with iauelin strooke:

The Brasse-hou'd Stagge with golden antlers tooke:

The chac'd Stymphalides his arrowes felt:

From th' Amazonian won her precious belt:

Then cleans'd Augeus stalls with ordure full:

And vanquished the furious Cretan Bull:

Sterne Diomed t' his rauenous horses threw:

Three-headed Geryon in Iberia slew:

The Hesperian Dragon-guarded Apples won:

*And skowling Cerberus shewd to the Sun.*¹²

Although there were many *Herculeses*, as the *Aegyptian*, the *Lybian*, and the *Tirinthian*; yet the acts of them all were attributed by the Poets to this our *Theban*, the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Alcmena*.

He continues his complaint against the malice of *Iuno*: not without some doubt that the Gods regarded not the actions of men, when the wicked prospered, and the good were oppressed with miseries and torments: cruell and vniust *Euristheus* liuing in prosperity, the instrument and imposer of all his calamities. But his tragicall end approued the contrary. This *Euristheus* was the sonne of *Sthnelius* king of *Mycene*, who by *Iuno's* instigation imposed these labours on *Hercules* with purpose to destroy him; being commanded to obay him in all things by *Iupiter*: the Oracle at *Delphos* fore-telling, how he, hauing finished those enterprizes, should obtaine a

Deity. So are the virtuous not seldome aduanced by the malice of their enimies; and so craggy and thorny is that steepe ascent which leads vnto Glory.

© James Gregory Hellman 2013

All Rights Reserved