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**THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
FRENCH LYRIC POETRY AND EPIGRAMS
DURING THE
CAROLINE PERIOD**

ANNE LOUISE CAMERON

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Abstract

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This doctoral thesis is the first comprehensive study of contemporary English translations of French lyric poetry during the Caroline period. While there has been extensive study of translations from French literature of other genres, notably drama, translations of lyric poetry have been largely ignored. The thesis examines the translations within the context of literary and cultural trends in France and England during the seventeenth century. Differing cultural tendencies and reader expectations are evident both in the selection of particular poems for translation, and in the changes translators made to their source texts.

Chapter one contains background information on the social and literary relations between France and England during the seventeenth century, and an overview of the social and political conditions in which poetry was written in each country. Chapter two investigates where and how translators obtained the texts of the poems they translated, and in particular the use of the *recueils collectifs* as sources for translations. Chapters three, four and five provide a thematic overview of the most significant and interesting translations. The themes chosen – eroticism, love and nature – constitute those most popular with translators, and the representation of these themes in both the original poems and the translations is closely connected to wider literary and cultural tendencies in both France and England.

Having provided a thematic overview of the translations, chapters 6 and 7 examine some of the more technical and linguistic aspects of the practice of translating from contemporary French poetry in Caroline England. Chapter seven studies the translation of the French lyric voice, and the effects of this on the representation of themes, particularly love and nature. Chapter eight examines the English treatment of some aspects of seventeenth-century French prosody, placing these and the changes made by translators in the context of prosodic developments in both France and England.

The conclusion highlights patterns identified in translators' handling of the source texts; these draw attention to the literary and cultural differences between France and England in the seventeenth century, and demonstrate that French poetry is altered in English translation to suit the tastes of translators and their intended English readership.

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Finally, I have immensely appreciated the support and kindness of family and many friends in Durham, particularly the postgraduate community within the School of Modern Languages and Cultures, and friends at Kings Church, Durham, particularly Jo Calcutt, Claire Durrell, Hannah Juby, Cassie Borodenko and Ruth Perrin.

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Note on References

Unless otherwise stated, quotations from translations and original poems are taken from modern editions of the works of poets and translators. The quotations follow the conventions of the editor; spaces before punctuation marks have been removed. Where original editions have been used, the letters u / v and i / j have been resolved in accordance with modern usage. The texts of longer translations, and translations of *épigrammes*, which are not included in modern editions, are given, along with their source poems, in Appendix B.

Abbreviations

The journals below will be referred to several times, and are given their standard abbreviations as follows. (All other journal titles will be given in full.)

<i>CAIEF</i>	<i>Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises</i>
<i>ELH</i>	<i>Journal of English Literary History</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>PFSC</i>	<i>Papers on French Seventeenth-Century Literature</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>

I declare that none of the material in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this, or any other university. Some of the material relating to Vincent Voiture was used in the article, 'La Poésie en Voyage: Vincent Voiture's Lyric Verse in Seventeenth-Century English Translation', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 30 (2008), 140-53. Some of the material on Théophile was used in 'Théophile de Viau's Lyric Voice in Seventeenth-Century English Translation', in *Reflections: New Directions in Modern Languages and Cultures*, ed. by Sarah Buxton, Laura Campbell, Tracey Dawe and Elise Hugueny-Leger (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2008), pp. 93-101.

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Introduction

Contemporary English translations of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry have never been the subject of a single, comprehensive study, and the practice of translating from contemporary French lyric during this period has thus gone largely unrecognised as a literary phenomenon. The principal reason for this seems to be the relatively small number of translations in comparison to the number of translations from other literary genres, notably drama and prose fiction. In the section devoted to translations from French poetry in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation into English vol 3, 1660-1790*, Peter France apparently uses the fact that poets such as Théophile and Saint-Amant ‘remained virtually untranslated in Britain’ as a reason to give no details of, or commentary on, the translations of their poems which were made.¹ I am unaware of any translations of Saint-Amant to be published after 1660, though four of his poems had been translated by Thomas Stanley in the late 1640s and early 1650s. Translations of three of Théophile’s poems appeared in Charles Cotton’s *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: Printed for Tho. Basset, at the George in Fleet Street; Will Hensman and Tho. Fox, in Westminster Hall. 1689). These translations are likely to have been made considerably earlier than the date the volume was published; further details on them will be given in the course of the study.² It should be noted that the small scale of a literary phenomenon does not necessarily mean that it is insignificant or unworthy of detailed investigation. Furthermore, the value and importance of individual translations is more clearly evident when they are examined alongside translations of other works by the same poet or works of a similar type or theme, and placed within the wider context of literary exchange between France and England during the seventeenth century, and of literary and cultural developments within each country.

The studies of contemporary English translations of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry carried out so far, which are relatively few in number, tend not to include such contextualisation, and in particular they frequently lack contextualisation

¹ Peter France, *The Oxford History of Literary Translation into English vol 3, 1660-1790*, ed. by Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins (Oxford: OUP, 2005), p. 310. It will be noted that this volume only covers the last forty years of the seventeenth century; volume 2 of the *History*, which will cover the period 1550-1660, has not yet been published.

² All subsequent references to Cotton’s *Poems on Several Occasions* will be given in parentheses in the text. A small number of the French poetry translations are printed twice in the volume, with minor variations; where this is the case, I will quote from and refer to the first printed version.

of the poetic and wider literary culture of seventeenth-century France. Most studies have been written by scholars specialising in seventeenth-century English poetry, and examine the French poetry translations of an individual English poet, approaching them in relation to the translator's wider *oeuvre*. Significant examples of such studies are Mario Praz's article on 'Stanley, Sherburne and Ayres as Imitators of Italian, Spanish and French Poets',³ an article by Fletcher Orpin Henderson which studies Suckling's French poetry translations in the context of French influence on his own poetry,⁴ and Charles Sembower's chapter on Charles Cotton's French poetry translations in *The Life and the Poetry of Charles Cotton* (New York: Appleton, 1911).

This study is particularly indebted to the work of William Roberts, the only specialist on French seventeenth-century literature to have studied any contemporary English translations of seventeenth-century French poems. Roberts has written several articles on Saint-Amant's relationship with English literary culture, focussing particularly on the French poet's visits to the English court,⁵ and on English translations of his work.⁶

Most of the works mentioned above, particularly the articles by Henderson and Roberts,⁷ study the translations they examine in some detail, and provide invaluable background and bibliographic information on the French poets and their English translators. However, while article-length studies of the translations of works by a particular French poet, or of the work of a particular English poet as a translator of French verse, are deliberately, and of necessity, limited in scope and narrow in focus, they are thus not conducive to providing a more complete picture. In 'Saint-Amant – plaque tournante de l'Europe au XVIIe siècle', for example, Roberts

³ Mario Praz, 'Stanley, Sherburne and Ayres as Imitators of Italian, Spanish and French Poets', *MLR*, 20 (1925), 280-94, 419-31

⁴ Fletcher Orpin Henderson, 'Traditions of *Précieux* and *Libertin* in Suckling's Poetry', *ELH*, 4 (1937), 274-98

⁵ See 'Saint-Amant and the Caroline Monarchs: Unknown Manuscripts', *Theatre, Fiction, and Poetry in the French Long Seventeenth Century*, ed. by William Brooks and Rainer Zaiser (Oxford: Lang, 2007), pp. 267-85; 'A French Lyric Poet at the Caroline Court', *Western Society for French History*, 9 (1982), 202-11; and 'Saint-Amant, Holland House, and the Queen of England', *Analecta Husserliana*, 81, (2004), 45-60.

⁶ See 'Saint-Amant – plaque tournante de l'Europe au XVIIe siècle', in *Horizons Européens de la littérature française au XVIIe siècle : L'Europe: lieu d'échanges culturels? La circulation des œuvres et des jugements au XVIIe siècle*, textes réunies et présentés par Wolfgang Leiner, *Etudes Littéraires Françaises* ser: 41 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr 1988), pp. 71-78, 'Saint-Amant, Aytoun, and the Tobacco Sonnet', *MLR*, 54 (1959), 499-506, and 'The Dating of Orinda's French Translations', *PQ*, 49 (1970), 56-67.

⁷ I am referring here particularly to 'Saint-Amant – plaque tournante de l'Europe au XVIIe siècle'.

provides detailed background information on the French poet's literary relations with England, and carries out an in-depth study of the translations of poems by Saint-Amant made by Thomas Stanley, Edward Sherburne and Thomas Fairfax. The article does not, however, mention the fact that Stanley's was not the only seventeenth-century English translation of 'La Jouyssance', or that Stanley himself also translated from Voiture, Théophile, Tristan and Ronsard. Collating all of the information known about which French lyric poems were translated in seventeenth-century England will facilitate future work in this relatively neglected area. To this end, I have also attempted to re-attribute translations where I am unconvinced of the attributions given by translators themselves or their editors; such misattributions are usually due to translators selecting poems published anonymously in the French poetic anthologies; this will be discussed further in chapter 2. I have also included as appendices tables containing lists of all poems translated and the names of their original authors and translators.

Rather than focussing on the translations either of particular French poets or by particular English poets, this study aims to approach the practice of translating from contemporary French lyric poetry in seventeenth-century England through examining how some of the major stylistic, thematic and cultural aspects of seventeenth-century French poetry are dealt with in translation, and the reasons for this. Whereas previous studies have examined French verse translations from an author-centred perspective, this study intends to adopt a comparative and thematic approach.

Some of the translations have received no critical attention at all, or almost none. Thomas Stanley's French poetry translations, for example, apart from the study of his translations from Saint-Amant mentioned above, have largely been ignored by specialists of both French and English seventeenth-century poetry. Even where translations have been studied in detail, most of the previous studies are now somewhat dated, and it seems necessary to re-examine translations in the light of more recent knowledge and perceptions of seventeenth-century French and English lyric poetry, and of cultural exchange between the two countries during the seventeenth century.

It seems particularly appropriate to re-examine translations in the light of the recent renewal of critical interest in seventeenth-century French lyric poetry. Several of the major seventeenth-century French lyricists have been the subject of recent

monographs and editions,⁸ and a more wide-ranging study of early seventeenth-century French lyric has been carried out by Véronique Adam.⁹ Salon poetry, in particular, has been the subject of quite recent studies which place it in its wider literary and cultural context.¹⁰ Recent studies relating to the cultural background to French seventeenth-century literature, which have provided essential contextualisation for this study, have also appeared.¹¹ Seventeenth-century English cultural Royalism, which is essential to the understanding of changes English translators made to their source texts, has also been the subject of recent critical interest.¹²

⁸ See Sophie Rollin, *Le Style de Vincent Voiture: une esthétique galante* (Saint-Etienne: Publications Universitaires de Saint-Etienne, 2006); Guillaume Peureux, *Le Rendez-vous des enfans sans soucy: la poétique de Saint-Amant* (Paris: Champion, 2002); Guido Saba, *Théophile de Viau: un poète rebelle* (Paris: Champion, 1999); Tristan L'Hermite, *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris: Champion, 1999-2001); and Théophile de Viau, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Guido Saba, 3 vols (Paris: Champion, 1999).

⁹ Véronique Adam, *Images fanées et matières vives: cinq études sur la poésie Louis XIII* (Grenoble: ELLUG, 2003)

¹⁰ See Alain Génétiot, *Les Genres lyriques mondains (1630-1660)* (Geneva: Droz, 1990), and *Poétique du loisir mondain, de Voiture à La Fontaine* (Paris: Champion, 1997) and Déphine Denis, *Le Parnasse galant: institution d'une catégorie littéraire au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2001).

¹¹ See Joan Dejean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity: Sex, Lies and Tabloids in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Jean-Christophe Abramovici, *Obscénité et Classicisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003); Elena Russo, *La Cour et la ville de la littérature classique aux lumières* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002); Hélène Merlin, *Public et littérature en France au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994), and Christian Jouhaud, *Les Pouvoirs de la littérature* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000).

¹² See James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: the Drawn Sword* (London: Macmillan, 1997); Adam Smyth, *"Profit and Delight": Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), and Richard Chiswell, 'The Destruction of Troy: Translation and Royalist Cultural Politics in the Interregnum', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23 (1993), 197-219. More specifically, Royalist coterie, which, as will be seen, provided a context in which translation from contemporary French poetry often took place, have attracted attention in recent years. See Catharine Gray, 'Katherine Philips and the Post-Courtly Coterie', *English Literary Renaissance*, 32 (2002), 426-51; Stella P. Revard, 'Thomas Stanley and "A Register of Friends" '; in *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), pp. 148-72, and Robert C. Evans, 'Paradox in Poetry and Politics: Katherine Philips in the Interregnum', in *The English Civil Wars in the Literary Imagination*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999). There has also been recent interest in the work of seventeenth-century women poets as translators, and more generally in the work of Katherine Philips and Aphra Behn, both of whom translated from contemporary French lyric poetry. See Helen Cooper, *Pastora: Medieval into Renaissance* (Totowa: Roman & Littlefield, 1997); *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, ed. by Derek Hughes and Janet Todd (Cambridge: CUP, 2004); Judith Keegan Gardiner, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Utopian Longings in Behn's Lyric Poetry', in *Rereading Aphra Behn: History, Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Heidi Hunter (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1993), pp. 273-300; Tina Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in The English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1992); Dorothy Mermin, 'Women Becoming Poets: Katherine Philips, Aphra Behn, Anne Finch,' *ELH*, 57 (1990), 335-55, and Ann Messenger, *Pastoral Tradition and the Female Talent* (New York: AMS Press, 2001).

This study will concentrate on English translations of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry during the Caroline period. Reference to English translations of sixteenth-century French lyricists during the Caroline period will also be made where appropriate. The study will be limited almost entirely to translations which appeared in print during the seventeenth century. I will, however, refer to Thomas Fairfax's translation of Saint-Amant's *La Solitude*, which remained in manuscript in the seventeenth century, as it constitutes a fascinating comparison with Katherine Philips's translation of the same poem.

'Lyric' is a controversial and difficult term whenever it is used, as its parameters are defined in so many different ways by critics and literary theorists. Modern dictionaries of literary terms divide poetic expression into the categories of dramatic, narrative and lyric, and define the latter as a fairly short poem expressing the thoughts and feelings of a single speaker.¹³ Some definitions stipulate that lyric poetry must represent a spontaneous, as opposed to a premeditated, discourse: 'À l'inverse des deux autres modes, plus objectivants (épique et dramatique), la poésie lyrique convient à l'expression spontanée de la vie intérieure'.¹⁴

Critics and anthologists of seventeenth-century French poetry tend to use the term 'lyric' without defining it, and to apply it to poems which would be difficult to categorise as lyric under the definitions given above.¹⁵ Odette de Mourgues,¹⁶ for example, includes excerpts from Saint-Amant's *La Solitude* and Théophile's *La Maison de Sylvie* in her *Anthology of French Seventeenth-Century Lyric Poetry*.¹⁷ While these poems use a first-person speaker and include some expression of personal feeling, they also contain detailed descriptions of landscape and, at twenty stanzas and a hundred and twenty-two stanzas long respectively, they cannot reasonably be described as 'short'. De Mourgues' anthology also contains some of Malherbe's

¹³ See J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 140, Karl Beckson and Arthur Ganz, *A Reader's Guide to Literary Terms: a Dictionary* (London: Thames Hudson, 1961), p. 121, Chris Baldick, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), p. 143, and Jack Myers and Michael Simms, *The Longman Dictionary of Poetic Terms* (New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 171-72.

¹⁴ *Dictionnaire des termes littéraires*, p. 289.

¹⁵ A possible reason for the lack of concern among scholars of early seventeenth-century French poetry about the definition of lyric is that critical debate has centred rather on definitions of 'baroque' and 'mannerism'.

¹⁶ Odette de Mourgues, *An Anthology of French Seventeenth-Century Lyric Poetry* (Oxford: OUP, 1966)

¹⁷ The text of *La Solitude* can be found in Marc-Antoine Girard de Saint-Amant, *Œuvres*, ed. by Jacques Bailbé, 5 vols (Paris: Didier, 1967-79), I, (1967) pp. 33-48. All subsequent references to this edition will be given in parentheses in the text.

encomiastic poems, such as ‘Prière pour le Roi Henri le Grand, allant en Limousin’, which contain little expression of personal feeling,¹⁸ and other poems which would not be classified as lyric according to certain definitions. These include Malherbe’s ‘Paraphrase du Psaume CXLV’,¹⁹ some satires by Boileau and Regnier, and some of Voiture’s *rondeaux*, which, while using a first person speaker, are ingenious word plays rather than expressions of personal feeling. De Mourgues also includes some of La Fontaine’s fables and Sigogne’s ‘Contre une jeune dame’, an epigrammatic poem mocking an ugly young woman, in which ‘je’ appears only in the final stanza.²⁰

This study will use the term ‘lyric’ as it is used in criticism of seventeenth-century French poetry, which is broadly to refer to any poem which is not clearly either dramatic or narrative. Thus, I will not examine Stanley’s translations of Saint-Amant’s ‘L’Arion’ (I, 109-24) or ‘La Métamorphose de Lyrian et Sylvie’ (I, 96-105), as these poems are predominantly narrative.²¹ I will, however, include Stanley’s translation of Saint-Amant’s ‘La Débauche’, a poem which principally presents the reader with a *situation*, rather than *feelings*, although the speaker’s delight in revelling with his friends is clearly evident. I will also include translations of *épigrammes*. Whereas some seventeenth-century French *épigrammes* do express the feelings of a single speaker, others, like the poem by Sigogne mentioned above, are rather mocking insults directed at individuals, and make little use of the first-person subject pronoun.²² While some of the *épigrammes* translated would be difficult to categorise under the normally-accepted parameters of ‘lyric’, these will be included because they pose similar challenges to translation, which are often resolved in a similar way, to

¹⁸ It is worth noting that French critics consider encomiastic and moral poems ‘le grand lyrisme’ of seventeenth-century France: ‘Malherbe avait remis en vogue le grand lyrisme, officiel ou moralisateur’. Raymond Lebègue, ‘Quelques thèmes de la poésie lyrique au temps de Louis XIII’, *Dix-septième siècle*, 66-67 (1965), 7-21 (p. 21). *The Longman Dictionary of Poetic Terms* includes ‘statements of moral, philosophical, or ethical values, and systems of thought’ among the ‘range of expression’ of lyric poetry (p. 172).

¹⁹ Kate Hämberger argues that psalm paraphrases cannot be considered lyric because they form part of ecclesiastical ritual rather than spontaneous personal expression, and therefore use a ‘parochial’ rather than a ‘personal’ voice. *Logique des genres littéraires*, traduit de l’allemand par Pierre Cadiot (Paris: Seuil, 1986), pp. 212-13.

²⁰ This poem is also studied in David Lee Rubin’s *The Knot of Artifice: A Poetic of the French Lyric in the Early 17th Century* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1981). Rubin also examines Malherbe’s ‘Prière pour Roi Henri le Grand, allant en Limousin’, and Théophile’s ‘Le Matin’, which concentrates mainly on description of landscape rather than personal feeling. Like De Mourgues, Rubin does not give a definition of the term ‘lyric’.

²¹ ‘La Métamorphose de Lyrian et Sylvie’ does, however, contain a long ‘lyric’ passage in which Lyrian voices his woes at Sylvie’s cruel treatment of him.

²² Lebègue includes *épigrammes* which mock lascivious old women in his brief overview of lyric poetry during the reign of Louis XIII (p. 12).

translations of more obviously lyric verse, and attracted some of the same translators. English translations of French verse satire, which were numerous in the last third of the seventeenth century, have already received ample critical attention.²³ This is also true of seventeenth-century English versions of La Fontaine;²⁴ besides which, I find it difficult to justify categorising verse fables as lyric due to their narrative content.

Having originally intended to study the translation of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry in England throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, it soon became clear that the most fruitful results would be obtained by concentrating on a more limited period, to extrapolate more easily the common features shared by many translations, as well as the occasional anomalies. I therefore decided to limit my investigation to translations first published during the Caroline period. It did, however, seem appropriate to include Charles Cotton's French poetry translations as an exception. While Cotton's *Poems on Several Occasions* was not published until 1689, two years after his death, the translations are likely to have been made during the 1650s and 1660s. At the end of the seventeenth century, Matthew Prior reworked numerous French *épigrammes*, but space would not have allowed for a discussion of all of these, and several are too different from their source poems to reasonably be described as translations. As regards the earlier seventeenth century, I am not aware of any translations of seventeenth-century French lyricists in England before 1625. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Scottish poets Robert Ayton and William Drummond made numerous imitations from French sixteenth-century poets.²⁵

The study will of necessity be confined to secular lyric. Despite the plethora of religious lyric poetry written in France during the first half of the seventeenth century,²⁶ there were virtually no translations of seventeenth-century French religious

²³ See A. F. B. Clark, *Boileau and the French Classical Critics in England*, 2nd edn (New York: Russel & Russel, 1965), Paul Hammond, *John Oldham and the Renewal of Classical Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), and Paul C. Davis, 'Rochester and Boileau: A Reconsideration', *Comparative Literature*, 2 (1969), 348-77. For a brief comment on Boileau's reputation, and on translations and imitations of his work, in late-seventeenth-century England, see France, pp. 312-15.

²⁴ On Anne Finch's reworkings of La Fontaine, see Jane Elizabeth Lewis, *The English Fable: Aesop and Literary Culture, 1651-1740* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), pp. 128-55. France notes that English reworkings of French verse fables tended to be imitations rather than actual translations (p. 311).

²⁵ See the articles by L. E. Kastner, 'Drummond of Hawthornden and the French Poets of the Sixteenth Century', *MLR*, 5 ((1910), 140-53; 'On the Italian and French Sources of Drummond of Hawthornden', *MLR*, 6 (1911), 462-70, and 'The Scottish Sonneteers and the French Poets', *MLR*, 3 (1907), 1-15.

²⁶ 'Jamais depuis l'invention de l'imprimerie, on n'avait vu (en ces temps de Réforme et de Contre-Réforme) une pareille floraison de poésie chrétienne, et cependant cette floraison a passé inaperçue'. Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le Libertinage au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, n. p., 1911), p. 138, quoted in Michèle Clément, *Une poétique de crise: poètes baroques et mystiques (1570-1660)* (Paris: Champion, 1996), p. 47.

lyric in contemporary England. Indeed, as far as I am aware, Joshua Sylvester's *Divine Weekes and Workes* (1605), his admired and highly influential translation of Du Bartas' *La Semaine*,²⁷ was the last complete translation of any French religious poem to be published in seventeenth-century England. There were, however, some partial translations and imitations; Katherine Philips translated a short section from Corneille's 'Paraphrase de L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ'.²⁸ Thomas Stanley imitated two French psalm paraphrases, of which M. J. O'Regan has identified the source poems for Stanley's imitations as being by Martial de Brives and Habert de Cerisy respectively.²⁹ In imitating French psalm paraphrases, Stanley was continuing a tradition begun in England during the sixteenth century (see Prescott). John Paulet, Marquess of Winchester, translated Pierre Le Moyne's *Gallerie des Femmes Fortes* (Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1647); his translation was entitled *The Gallery of Heroick Women*. Translated by the Marquess of Winchester (London: R. Norton for H. Seile, 1652). Le Moyne's work includes twenty sonnets on various *femmes fortes* taken from the Bible and ancient and more modern history. Paulet's translation will not be included in the corpus of this study, as the sonnets would be difficult to categorise as lyric, and do not coincide thematically with the majority of seventeenth-century poems translated in Caroline England. Like many other translations of French poetry during this period, Paulet's translation was produced in the context of Royalist suffering (imprisonment), and contains Royalist subtexts:

Use of the term 'Heroick' as a synonym for cavalier in Aphra Behn's post-Restoration satire on the Rump Parliament, *The Roundheads* (1682) helps to

²⁷ Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas, *La Sepmaine: (texte de 1581)*, ed. by Yvonne Bellenger (Paris: Nizet, 1981). The differences between Sylvester's *Divine Weeks* and Du Bartas's poem, and the influence of both on English poetic diction and style, have been the subject of several published and unpublished studies. These include George Coffin Taylor, *Milton's Use of Du Bartas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934); V. L. Simonsen, 'Joshua Sylvester's English Translation of Du Bartas "La Premiere Semaine"', *Orbis Litterarum*, 8 (1952), 259-85; Eric Wimmers, 'The Style of Joshua Sylvester, Translator of Du Bartas', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indian University, 1972); John Louis Lepage, 'Joshua Sylvester's Translation of Du Bartas' *Les Semaines*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1982) and Harry H. Ashton, *Du Bartas en Angleterre* (Paris: Larose, 1908). Anne Lake Prescott remarks that 'Du Bartas' popularity in England was virtually unmodified by doubt or reservation' [...] "until Milton's day and for a little time after". *French Poets and the English Renaissance: Studies in Fame and Transformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978) p. 174.

²⁸ This translation can be found in *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda, volume 2, The Translations*, ed. by G. Greer and R. Little (Stump Cross: Stump Cross Books, 1990), pp. 116-18, and the original section on pages 245-47. All subsequent references to this edition will be given in parentheses in the text.

²⁹ M. J. O'Regan, 'The French Source of Thomas Stanley's Paraphrases of Psalms 139 and 148', *MLR*, 59 (1964), 179-181

suggest the possible political weight behind the title and central concept of Winchester's translation in Interregnum England. The notion that his text is somehow embodying a topical spirit of royalist resistance is further implied by his informing his female dedicatees that 'some worthy Person of our Countrey... taking notice of your Vertuous Carriages and improved Actions in this land of trial, may hereafter erect a new Gallery, in which our Statues and Names will remain a Spectacle of Honour and Imitation to Posterity'.³⁰

The most obvious reason for the absence of translations of French religious lyric in seventeenth-century England is the Protestant-Catholic divide.³¹ Another possible factor is the frequent occurrence of encomiastic elements in seventeenth-century French religious lyric; these would have rendered it a very unlikely source for translation.³² A third possible factor is the prevalence of libertine sentiments and behaviour in Restoration England, which will be discussed in more detail in the course of the study.

As with the term 'lyric', it is difficult to find a consensus on where to limit the parameters of what constitutes a 'translation'. Where the source text is reworked with greater freedom than a word-for-word or line-by-line approach, the product is often termed an 'adaptation', or in the case of very free rewritings, an 'imitation'. *The Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies*, commenting on the lack of comprehensive definitions of 'adaptation', concludes that the term 'continues to be part of a fuzzy metalangage used by translation studies scholars.'³³ The encyclopaedia lists various ways in which adaptations are carried out, including 'omission', 'expansion', 'exoticism', and 'situational or cultural inadequacy'; the latter is defined as 'the recreation of a context that is more familiar or culturally appropriate from the target reader's perspective than the one used in the original' (p. 4). Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet define adaptation as the translation procedure which must be used

³⁰ Hero Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers 1650-1689* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), p. 41.

³¹ Anne Elizabeth Banks Coldiron has claimed that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, translations of French religious verse were most frequently 'invisible', presenting themselves as 'having originated in the target language', and attributes this to the fact that 'the French were unlikely to have been seen in England as reliable moral arbiters' ('Lyric Translations from French 1440-1591', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 1996, p. 125).

³² Malherbe's poetry provides numerous examples of how expressions of faith and praise to God often serve as a pretext for praise of the King. His 'Prière pour le Roy allant en Limozin', while addressed to God, is nonetheless about Louis XIII. In 'Fragment CXIII' the poet begins by praising God and then proceeds to ask him to help France defeat her enemies.

³³ Baker, Monica, ed., *The Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 3.

when the type of situation being referred to in the source text is unknown in the culture of the target text.³⁴ Some of the English translations which will be examined contain some of these features; there are instances where the length of the source text is considerably reduced, and where some linguistic and thematic elements of the source text are expanded. 'Imitation' would also be a fitting term for some of the English poems to be examined. Dryden's definition of 'imitation' as the third translation method he identifies, along with metaphrase and paraphrase, in the preface to *Ovid's Epistles*, remains one of the best-known:

The Third way is that of Imitation, where the Translator (if now he has not lost that Name) assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and sence, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion: and taking only some general hints from the Original, to run division on the ground-work, as he pleases.³⁵

Imitation is also often associated with cultural and temporal transposition, and was defined in these terms in seventeenth-century England. In the preface to his imitation of Horace's *Art of Poetry*, John Oldham explained that he transposed the Roman poet 'into a more modern dress than hitherto he has appeared in, that is, by making him speak as if were living and writing now. I therefore resolved to alter the scene from Rome to London, and to make use of English names of men, places and customs, where the parallel would decently permit'.³⁶ It can be seen from the definitions given here that there are overlaps and disagreements about where the boundaries between 'adaptation' and 'imitation' lie.

For the purposes of this study, the overall practice of transposing French poems into English will be, for ease and coherence, referred to as 'translation'. Again, for coherence, English translations of poems on a particular theme, or by a particular French poet, will be termed 'translations'. However, individual English versions of French poems will be called 'translations' where they are approximately the same length as the original poem and do not significantly alter the verse form or overall tone. 'Adaptation' will be used where there is a reduction of the length of the original

³⁴ Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelenet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English*, trans. and ed. by Juan C. Sager & M.-J. Hamel (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1995)

³⁵ John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. by H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., 20 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 10, pp. 114-15.

³⁶ Quoted in Classe, Olive, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Literary Translation into English*, 2 vols (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), p. 701.

poem, a significant change in tone or a major change in verse form. 'Imitation' will be used where there is a change in setting or very significant changes in length or thematic emphasis. It is recognised that these definitions are imperfect, and that some poems which are defined as 'translation', 'adaptation', or 'imitation' here would, and in some cases are, defined differently elsewhere. These definitions are intended to impose coherence on a practice which is, as will be seen, characterised by both similarity and convergence. In terms of limiting the study, I have included those adaptations and imitations which engage with the original poem despite often considerable changes in length, form or focus. I have not, however, included instances where a few lines or ideas from a source poem are used as a departure point for a new poem which bears very little resemblance to the source. I have, for example, included 'The Morn',³⁷ Philip Ayres' imitation of Théophile de Viau's 'Le Matin', which constitutes an attempt to engage with the whole source poem, despite significant reductions and shifts in thematic emphasis. I have not, however, included Thomas Stanley's 'Celia Singing' (pp. 13-14), which paraphrases and inflates five lines (ll. 19-24) of Théophile's 'Stances XXIX' to create a new poem which bears hardly, if any, resemblance to the content, themes or stylistic features of Théophile's poem.³⁸

It was mentioned that the translations will be examined in their wider literary and cultural contexts. This will lead to conclusions about how far the translations are the product of differing literary and cultural tendencies in seventeenth-century France and England. The following definition of 'culture', given in the context of discussing the importance of cultural transfer in translation, is extremely relevant to how both French source poems and English translations will be considered as products of 'culture' in this study:

The term 'culture' addresses three salient categories of human activity: the 'personal,' whereby we as individuals think and function as such; the 'collective,' whereby we function in a social context; and the 'expressive,' whereby society expresses itself. Language is the only social institution without which no other social institution can function; it therefore underpins the three pillars upon which culture is built. Translation, involving the

³⁷ The text of this translation can be found in George Saintsbury, ed., *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905-21), II (1906), pp. 316-17.

³⁸ Stanley's borrowings from Théophile's poem here were identified by Crump (p. 379). This poem was translated in its entirety by Charles Cotton; further details on this translation will be given in the course of the study.

transposition of thoughts expressed in one language by one social group into the appropriate expression of another group, entails a process of cultural de-coding, re-coding and en-coding.³⁹

French source poems and their English translations will be considered in the light of the 'personal', 'social', and 'societal' aspects of culture. The French poems will be considered as products of wider cultural and literary trends in France. The effects of France's political and wider social climate, and the expectations of seventeenth-century French society in general, on the production of poetry, will be considered. I will also examine the effects of producing poetry in the context of social gatherings of groups as part of *mondain* culture on poetic tastes, styles and subject matter. Both the 'societal' and 'social' aspects of poetic production in seventeenth-century France intertwine with the personal tastes and preferences of individual French poets. The texts translated will be considered in terms of how they express the individual experiences, feelings and tastes of their authors. Finally, I will consider how far the poetic styles and trends employed result from the restrictions placed on poets by the inherent linguistic structures of the French language.

In turn, the translations will be examined to establish how far the political and social climate of seventeenth-century England affected the poetic tastes and styles of the translators, and thus the changes they made to their French source poems. I will investigate who the translations were intended for, whether particular social groups or individuals. I will therefore consider the impact of adhering to the tastes and requirements of particular groups on the changes made by translators, and also the impact of the translators' own poetic tastes and preferences. The impact of individual translator choice, group requirements and social trends will be weighed against the restrictions placed on translators by the inherent linguistic differences between English and French.

Having outlined some of the possible problems and controversies which could arise in a study of the English translation of seventeenth-century French poetry during the Caroline period, and the approaches this study will adopt, the subsequent chapters will examine translations in detail from both linguistic and thematic perspectives,

³⁹ Alejandra P. Karamanian, 'Translation and Culture', *Translation Journal*, 6 (2002)
<<http://www accurapid.com/journal/19culture2.htm>

contextualising them within cultural and literary developments in seventeenth-century England and France.

Chapter 1

Literary, Cultural and Historical Background

1.1 Literary and Cultural Exchange Between France and England in the Seventeenth Century

1.1.1 The French and English Courts and 'Francomania'

The practice of translating from contemporary French lyric verse during the Caroline period in England can only be properly understood within the wider context of literary and cultural exchange between the two countries. The close relations between England and France and the widespread influence of French literary culture in England during this time make it a rich and interesting period for the study of any area of Anglo-French cultural exchange. The political and familial relations between the two Caroline courts and the French court stimulated interest in French fashions, culture and literature, both within the English court itself and in the country as a whole. The arrival in England of Henrietta Maria continued, and perhaps intensified, the influence of French literary culture which had already existed at the court of James I. However, it was during the reign of Charles II that 'Francomania reached new heights in England.'⁴⁰ Charles II and his court had acquired an enthusiasm for all aspects of French life and literary culture during their exile in France.⁴¹ The court's obsession with French culture was imitated by the nobility, who wore the latest French fashions and 'interlarded their talk with French words and phrases'.⁴²

1.1.2 The Role of Travel in Stimulating Knowledge and Translation of French Poetry in Seventeenth-Century England

Travel, as well as, and often closely allied to, the life of the court, also played an important role in the transfer of both literary culture in general, and poetic culture specifically, into England during the seventeenth century. The majority of English translators spent some time in France (Katherine Philips, Edward Sherburne and John

⁴⁰ Robert Gibson, *Best of Enemies: Anglo-French Relations since the Norman Conquest* (Exeter: Impress, 2004), p. 58.

⁴¹ See Gibson, p. 57.

⁴² Gibson, p. 58.

Oldham being the only exceptions of which I am aware); the main reasons for their sojourns being educational, diplomatic, and exile, whether imposed or voluntary, during the Civil War and Interregnum.

The relations between the French and English courts resulted in court poets from both countries making the journey across the Channel, thus facilitating the movement of poetic texts as well as the exchange of poetic styles and ideas.⁴³ During the first Caroline monarchy, ‘Englishmen of learning and distinction, whether closely attached to the queen or not, were constantly paying visits to the continent and making the acquaintance of its literature.’⁴⁴ Later in the century, several Royalist poets – Carew, Denham and Waller – served the exiled court of Charles II as its poets.⁴⁵ These poets, and also the court’s playwrights, William Davenant and John Killigrew, ‘came into contact with Continental tendencies which they transplanted to England after their return’ (Hardacre, p. 353). Thomas Stanley, another mid-century Royalist poet, is an archetypal example of the role of travel, in his case due to voluntary exile, from England to France in stimulating exposure to French poetic culture and, almost certainly, in obtaining the poetic texts which he subsequently translated.⁴⁶ At the outset of the Civil War, Stanley left England and travelled in Italy,

⁴³ It is well established that the direction of literary influence was almost entirely from France to England in the seventeenth century. As far as poetry is concerned, there seems to have been little interest in, or indeed knowledge of, even the most important seventeenth-century English poetry in France. See George Ascoli, *La Grande Bretagne devant l’opinion française au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Gamber, 1930), II, pp. 120-25. According to Ascoli, there were only two instances of English poetry being translated into French during the seventeenth century: ‘Je ne vois à signaler que deux poèmes traduits, et tous deux dans le roman de Mrs Manley, l’*Atlantis*: l’un d’eux, le *Progrès de la Vie*, était de la poétesse Anne Finch; l’autre, anonyme, révélait aux lecteurs français un art suprenant pour eux, mais caractéristique du goût anglais’ (p. 125). Ascoli notes that Latin poetry written in England, particularly that of John Owen, received more attention in contemporary France than English poetry (pp. 118-120).

⁴⁴ Alfred Horatio Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911), p. 344.

⁴⁵ Paul Hardacre, ‘The Royalists in Exile during the Puritan Revolution, 1642-1660’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 16 (1952-53), 353-70 (p. 354). Hardacre has usefully summarised the role of the Royalist exile to the Continent during the Civil War and Interregnum in transmitting contemporary European scientific, religious and artistic movements and concepts into England.

⁴⁶ It will become clear from several primary and secondary sources which will be referred to throughout this study that Stanley’s French poetry translations were made after his return from France in 1646. However, Warren Chernaik’s entry on Stanley in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* gives the impression that Stanley was translating from French whilst at Cambridge, before his European travels: ‘According to the editor of the 1743 edition of Stanley’s *History of Philosophy*, the “Madrigal Poems and other Pieces... together with some Translations out of the *French, Italian, and Spanish* in the 1647 collection were largely written at Cambridge, before Stanley set out on his travels’. Warren Chernaik, ‘Stanley, Thomas (1625-1678)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnd.com/view/article/26281>> [accessed 4 August 2008] Chernaik has, however, mis-read the relevant section of the ‘Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Stanley, Esquire’ from this edition. It actually reads as follows: ‘While he continued yet in the University, his Fancy began to exert itself, and give some Presages of what the World was to expect from his Genius: It was

Spain, and particularly France, and became acquainted with many of the contemporary authors of those countries (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. xxi-lxiv). However, I have been unable to find any details concerning precisely which French authors Stanley read or came across during his time in France, or any information regarding his contacts or activities there. On his return to England in 1646, Stanley established himself in the Middle Temple and became the initiator of a literary circle of Royalist sympathisers, which included Edward Sherburne, John Shirley, William Fairfax, Richard Lovelace and Robert Herrick.⁴⁷ After the execution of the king, Stanley retired to Cumberlow, taking Sherburne with him, and 'Fairfax and Hammond may have joined them as well' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. xxviii). Stanley and Sherburne devoted themselves to the study and translation of classical and contemporary authors, and appear to have collaborated on translations. Stella Revard gives details of the similarities between the translations of Stanley and Sherburne in the late 1640s, noting that both translated Girolamo Preti, Marino and Saint-Amant. She concludes, therefore, that there must have been a 'deliberate program of collaboration' (p. 159).

Travel from France to England, again stimulated by court politics, also played a role, though a less significant role than travel from England to France, in the transmission of French poetic culture into England. Several of the major seventeenth-century French lyric poets spent brief periods in England, and are likely to have taken some of their verses with them in manuscript. Théophile de Viau made two visits to England, the first in 1616 in the company of Candale, who made the voyage 'pour obéir à sa maitresse'.⁴⁸ Théophile's biographers do not give any information as to how long Théophile spent in England, nor what he did while he was there.⁴⁹ It is possible that Théophile may have taken some of his poems in manuscript form with him, and that these were subsequently circulated in England. There is a stronger likelihood that some of Théophile's poems were read and then circulated in manuscript during his second visit to England in 1621. There is some disagreement among critics and

here he composed those *Madrigal Poems*, and other Pieces, which, together with some Translations out of the *French, Italian and Spanish*, were published in one Volume after his Return from his Travels'. Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy: containing the lives, opinions, actions and discourses of the philosophers of every sect. By Thomas Stanley, ... The fourth edition. .. corrected, ... London, 1743.*

⁴⁷ See Praz, p. 282, and Revard, pp. 148-50.

⁴⁸ Antoine Adam, *Théophile de Viau et la libre pensée française en 1620* (Paris: Droz, 1935), p. 84.

⁴⁹ Théophile's ode 'Sur une Tempeste' recounts the perilous journey across the channel. See Adam, *Théophile de Viau*, pp. 83-84.

biographers about the reasons for this second visit, the most commonly held view that Théophile was in exile at this time being contradicted by Antoine Adam. Adam claims Théophile was ordered by Luynes to accompany his brother, the Maréchal de Cadanet, to England, and that he left on 30th December 1620, leaving England on 9th February 1621.⁵⁰ More details are provided by Danielle Haase-Dubosc, who claims that Cadanet's 'mission was to persuade James I not to support French Protestants and also to convince him that a French marriage for the Prince of Wales was preferable to the contemplated Spanish one. But nothing much came of it. Instead of settling the issues, the king chose to dazzle the ambassador with a series of magnificent receptions.'⁵¹ According to Adam, Théophile himself attended London fêtes and receptions.⁵² If this is true, it is highly possible that while there he read some of his early verses or circulated manuscript copies of them. Théophile was well received by the Duke of Buckingham, to whom he wrote an ode which he immediately sent to his publisher in Paris.⁵³

Voiture made a brief visit to England in 1633, during which he 'played at *galanterie*' with Lucy Hay, Countess of Carlisle. Lucy was the closest confidante of Henrietta Maria, and 'sought to recreate the atmosphere of a Parisian salon at the gatherings she hosted in her "chamber," as she called her reception room.'⁵⁴ It is possible that Edmund Waller may have met Voiture at the Countess's salon; Thomas Kaminski notes that Waller was 'admitted to this society as a gentleman-poet' at about the same time, and argues that Waller employed the poetic mannerisms typical of Voiture. It is highly likely that Voiture played the same role during his brief period at an English salon as he played at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, entertaining the company with readings of his own poems, and that some of these poems were subsequently circulated in manuscript at the English court, having either been transcribed by members of the salon, or given to them by the French poet.

The role of travel from France to England may also have played a part in transmitting Saint-Amant's texts across the Channel, although, as for Théophile, it would seem to have played a less significant role than that of travel from England to

⁵⁰ Adam, *Théophile de Viau*, p. 196.

⁵¹ Haase-Dubosc, p. 53.

⁵² Adam, *Théophile de Viau*, p. 197.

⁵³ Adam, *Théophile de Viau*, p. 84 and pp. 196-97.

⁵⁴ Thomas Kaminski, 'Edmund Waller, English précieux', *PQ*, 79 (2000), 19-43 (p. 27). Kaminski refers to earlier comments made by Emile Magne, in *Voiture et l'Hôtel de Rambouillet*, 4th edn, 2 vols (Paris: Emile-Paul, 1929), I, pp. 220-21.

France. Saint-Amant made two visits to England, the first of which, in 1631, has been the subject of controversy among his critics and biographers. One source of controversy, the issue of whether or not Saint-Amant met Charles I and Henrietta Maria during this visit, has been resolved by the recent discovery of a manuscript dedicatory epistle in which Saint-Amant dedicates his ‘Ode à Leurs Sérénissimes Majestez’ to the royal couple, and thanks them for the warm reception they had given him.⁵⁵ The actual purpose of Saint-Amant’s visit remains unknown.⁵⁶ It is very likely that Saint-Amant may have brought copies of his poems, in either printed or manuscript form, with him to England; indeed, William Roberts considers this to be ‘doubtless’ the case (‘Saint-Amant, Ayton and the Tobacco Sonnet, p. 506).

1.1.3 The Translation of French Lyric Poetry and English Royalist Cultural Politics

Given that the court played such a significant role in stimulating the transfer of seventeenth-century French literary culture into contemporary England, it is unsurprising that almost all of those who translated from contemporary French lyric verse were court poets, or at least those with Royalist sympathies; the only exception I am aware of is Thomas Fairfax. John Suckling was a popular and influential poet at the court of Charles I in the 1630s,⁵⁷ as was Edmund Waller, although the latter held no official position at the court of Charles I.⁵⁸ After a period of exile during the Civil War and Interregnum, Waller returned to England and ‘remained closely associated’ with the court of Charles II.⁵⁹ The tendency of poets with strong Royalist connections and sympathies to translate from contemporary French poetry did not cease during the Interregnum. As seen, in the late 1640s, a group of poets with Royalist sympathies was formed around Thomas Stanley on his return from France. Stanley encouraged the group, particularly his kinsmen Edward Sherburne and Richard Lovelace, in the study and translation of the French poets he had encountered while abroad.

⁵⁵ Roberts, ‘Saint-Amant and the Caroline Monarchs’, pp. 267-85.

⁵⁶ Roberts, ‘Saint-Amant and the Caroline Monarchs’, p. 274. Jean Lagny rejected the claim of earlier historians and biographers that Saint-Amant had been sent by Bassompierre to intercede on his behalf with the king and queen on the basis that the ‘Ode à Leurs Sérénissimes Majestez’ offered no proof in itself that Saint-Amant had seen the royal couple. Jean Lagny, *Le Poète Saint-Amant* (Paris: Nizet, 1934), pp. 162-63.

⁵⁷ See Tom Clayton, ‘Suckling, Sir John (bap. 1609, d. 1641?)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26757>> [accessed 10 December 2008]

⁵⁸ Warren Chernaik, ‘Waller, Edmund (1606-1687)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28556>> [accessed 10 December 2008]

⁵⁹ Chernaik, ‘Waller, Edmund (1606-1687)’

Restoration translators from contemporary French lyric verse were also either prominent courtiers themselves, such as Rochester, or, like John Oldham, were closely associated with, and under the patronage of, prominent courtiers. The Royalist sympathies of the translators, as will be seen throughout this study, had a significant impact on the changes they made to their French source poems.

1.2 The Status of French Lyric Poetry in Seventeenth-Century England

1.2.1 Introduction

It seems to be generally believed that seventeenth-century French lyric poetry attracted little interest in contemporary England. Peter France notes that ‘In comparison [with the French discovery of the poetry of Britain during the first half of the eighteenth century], although French culture in general retained its force as a model of civilization, the British showed little interest in the *poetry* of their neighbours, and even this was concentrated in the first half of the period’ (p. 309). While this view is by no means completely false, it appears to me to require some qualification. It seems clear from the evidence above that seventeenth-century French lyric poetry was well-known among English court and Royalist poets, and wider court circles. The influence of French culture and literary trends, including poetic trends, was all-pervasive at the first Caroline court, and this influence was even more strongly-felt at the Restoration court. As will be explained in more detail in a subsequent chapter, there is evidence of the influence of both French *précieux* and *libertin* attitudes towards love in the work of the Cavalier poets. Court poets were exposed to French poetry and poetic styles both at the English court and during their own visits to France. The fact that the first Caroline court received several French lyric poets as part of diplomatic missions suggests that these poets, or at least French poetry in general, was of high repute at the English court.

1.2.2 Comments on French Lyric Poetry in Seventeenth-Century England

In addition to general impressions, it is clearly important to consider concrete evidence for the extent of knowledge and popularity of French lyric verse in contemporary England. One source of evidence is the extent to which the genre and its writers drew comment. From this, it would indeed appear that seventeenth-century

French lyric poetry and poets attracted very little attention in contemporary England. Seventeenth-century English literary critical texts and periodicals almost completely ignored contemporary French lyric poetry.⁶⁰

In particular, there were virtually no comments on individual French lyric poets in seventeenth-century England. A good number of French poets are, however, listed in Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*.⁶¹ Phillips lists Scudéry, Saint-Amant, Théophile, Bouillon, Boursault, Brébeuf, Chapelain, Furetiere, Jean de Marests, Ronsard, Pierre Le Moyne, Segrais and Tristan. All of the references are brief, and several do no more than mention the title and date of the author's collected works. Nevertheless, Phillips clearly had quite a wide knowledge of contemporary French poets, and considered them worthy of inclusion. He may have included those French poets he thought his readers most likely to know or admire. Théophile is acclaimed by Phillips as 'a late Writer of French Poems, which have obtain'd a general fame and esteem' (p. 174). Saint-Amant is mentioned principally as the source for a commendable English translator, presumably Thomas Stanley: '*Saint-Amant*, one of the Chief in repute of French Poets, out of whom several things being render'd English by a Person of our Nation, no less considerable for Poetry then the other, have for certain lost no advantage' (p. 172).

Phillips declares Georges de Scudéry 'the most Voluminous and of the most Famous of late French Romancers', and praises him for a style 'much more gentile and polite then any of the old *Romances*'. His reference to Scudéry's poems appears something of an afterthought: 'there are besides not very long since publisht his *Poesies Diverses*' (p. 168). Interestingly, the French lyricist given the greatest acclaim by Phillips is not a seventeenth-century poet but Ronsard, hailed as 'a French Poet of the Vendosme, the most to be esteem'd in the judgment of *Thuanus*, not only of the French, but of all other Poets that have liv'd since the time of *Augustus*' (p. 150). Indeed, sixteenth-century French poets seem to have attracted considerably more

⁶⁰ See Ruth Wollstein, *English Opinions of French Poetry 1660-1750* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923). It is, however, unsurprising that, as Wollstein points out, English literary criticism limited itself almost entirely to comments on French dramatic poetry, as opposed to non-dramatic poetry, as the development of literary criticism in seventeenth-century England coincided with the rise of classical drama in both England and France.

⁶¹ Edward Phillips, *Theatrum poetarum, or, A compleat collection of the poets especially the most eminent, of all ages, the antients distinguish't from the moderns in their severall alphabets: with some observations and reflections upon many of them, particularly those of our own nation: together with a prefatory discourse of the poets and poetry in generall* / by Edward Phillips (London: Printed for Charles Smith, 1675). Subsequent references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.

comment in seventeenth-century England than the poets of that century. Prescott, who has studied the reputation in England of Ronsard, Du Bellay, Desportes, Du Bartas and Marot, and also the English translations and imitations of these poets, during the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth centuries, claims that Ronsard ‘came to be seen as his nation’s chief poet (or one of them), taking his place as he himself prophesied among authors of whom his country could boast’ (p. 118). In James Howell’s *Instructions for forreine travel*, the only seventeenth-century French poet to be mentioned, after a reference to some of the most prominent sixteenth-century French lyricists, is Théophile: ‘There bee some *French Poets* will afford excellent entertainment, specially *Du Bartas*, and ’twere not amisse to give a slight salute to *Ronsard*, *Desportes*, and the late *Theophile*.’⁶²

More general comments on contemporary French poetry in seventeenth-century England relate to such questions as rhyme and the suitability of the French language for poetic expression; most of these are unfavourable comparisons with English poetry,⁶³ and some of these will be mentioned specifically in Chapter 7.

1.2.3 The Availability of French Lyric Poetry in Seventeenth-Century England: Overview

A second means of measuring how far seventeenth-century French lyric poetry was known and admired in contemporary England is the extent to which it was available there. To my knowledge, this area has been little investigated. Establishing the extent of the availability of French poetic texts in England is made considerably more difficult due to the almost complete lack of scholarship on the book trade between France and England during the seventeenth century. Surprisingly, I have been unable

⁶² James Howell, *Instructions for forreine travel. Shewing by what cours, and in what compasse of time, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome, and arrive to the practicall knowledge of the Languages, to good purpose* (London, Printed by T. B. for Humphrey Mosley, at the Princes Armes, in Church-yard, 1642), p. 45.

⁶³ There were some exceptions to this; Dryden considered French more suited to poetic language than English: ‘The English has yet more natural disadvantages than the French; our original Teutonick consisting in monosyllables, and those encumbered with consonants, which cannot possibly be freed from those inconveniences ... But, on the other hand, the effeminacy of our pronunciation (a defect common to us, and to the Danes), and our scarcity of female rhimes, have left the advantage of musical composition for songs, though not for recitative, to our neighbors’ (Preface to *Albion and Albanus*, quoted in Wollenstein, p. 11). The musical quality of French was noted elsewhere: ‘The French tongue is as soft, as numerous, as musical as the Greek; and far more natural; it is more regular than the Latin, and has neither its dryness nor affectation’ (*The Freethinker*, no. 18, May 23, 1718, quoted in Wollenstein, p. 52).

to find any sources which provide a detailed summary or overview of this, and the only general comments I have found are brief remarks made in discussions of individual booksellers or library catalogues. Similarly, I have found no general study of the availability of French poetry in seventeenth-century England, and have therefore provided my own summary, through investigating which French poetic texts were available in the shops of booksellers who specialised in continental books, and through examining which French poetic texts English readers had in their libraries. Possible objections could be raised to this approach; knowing which texts were available in booksellers' shops does not necessarily provide an indication of which ones were subsequently bought and read. It can, however, be assumed that booksellers acquired texts which they thought would sell. Similarly, while the fact that English readers had copies of particular texts in their libraries does not necessarily mean that they read them, it nevertheless demonstrates some degree of interest in those texts and an effort to acquire them. It was clearly not feasible for the purposes of this study to attempt an investigation of all private libraries in seventeenth-century England.⁶⁴ I therefore decided to limit my investigation to the private libraries listed in the *List of Sale Catalogues of English book sales, 1676-1900: now in the British Museum* (London: Printed by order of the trustees [of the British museum], 1915). Some of the editions of French poetic texts listed are, as will be seen, considerably earlier than 1676, indicating that they were probably bought much earlier and therefore giving some idea as to what was bought and read earlier in seventeenth-century England.

1.2.4 English Booksellers and the Availability of Seventeenth-Century French Poetry in Contemporary England

I am not aware of any overview study of the booksellers who specialised in importing foreign, and especially French, books into England during the seventeenth century. The *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* and the two volumes of the dictionary under a slightly different title which cover the later seventeenth century, contain a comprehensive list of booksellers and some limited biographical information about

⁶⁴ E. S. Leedham-Green, ed., *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: a collection and catalogue of Tudor and early Stuart book-lists* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992-) contains catalogues of all private libraries in England in the period given in the title. To my knowledge, however, there is no equivalent list of library catalogues for the later seventeenth century.

each one.⁶⁵ As attempting to find stock lists or catalogues for each bookseller listed was clearly impossible, I limited my investigation to the booksellers who are mentioned as being importers of foreign books, and to those who worked in London over a significant period of time. I then consulted the available printed catalogues, some of which are sale catalogues, of these booksellers. Beyond dictionary entries, studies of the work of individual booksellers who possessed a large stock of foreign books are almost non-existent. A notable exception is Leona Rostenburg's informative chapter on Robert Scott, who was 'regarded by his contemporaries as one of the largest buyers of books from the Continent, obtaining his stock at "great expense from most parts of the learned world."'”⁶⁶ Rostenburg provides a brief synopsis of the practice, common among seventeenth-century booksellers, of publishing catalogues of their foreign books, of which Scott's 1674 catalogue is particularly interesting and informative as regards the availability of French poetic texts in England:

Although English stationers had begun the importation of books from the Continent as early as 1479 and continued this practice through the sixteenth century, it was not until 1628 that the first catalogue of foreign books was published. From St. Anne's, Blackfriar's, Master Henry Featherstone issued a catalogue announcing the sale of books published in diverse parts of Italy. Featherstone's literary innovation was repeated a few years later by the bookseller Robert Martin, who printed four catalogues of books imported from abroad, specifically from Rome and Venice. The apparent success of these ventures prompted George Thomason to offer in 1637 and 1647 two catalogues of books purchased in Italy, while Octavian Pullen circulated a list of various foreign books in 1657. The most distinguished of the catalogues

⁶⁵ R. B. McKerrow, ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society, by Blades, East & Blades, 1910). Henry R. Plomber, ed., *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society, by Blades, East & Blades, 1907). Henry R. Plomber, ed., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, by Blades, East & Blades, 1922)

⁶⁶ Leona Rostenburg, 'The Liberal Arts: Robert Scott, Importer and University Agent', in *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England, 1551-1700. Twelve Studies*. 2 vols (New York: Franklin, 1965), II, pp. 281-313 (p. 300). Further biographical information on Robert Scott can be found in Marja Smolenars, 'Scott, Robert (b. in or before 1632, d. 1709/20)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxfordnd.com/view/article/69229>> [10 December 2008]

was published in 1674 by Robert Scott of Little Britain, whose great collection remains one of the most coveted of seventeenth-century bibliophilic works.⁶⁷

Scott 'made frequent trips abroad to replenish his shelves and to purchase particular desiderata for favored customers.'⁶⁸ Based on this, it can reasonably be assumed that the French poetic texts in Scott's catalogue were those that his customers particularly wanted to read. Scott obtained his French books in Paris, where he had an agent and a warehouse.⁶⁹

Scott's 1674 catalogue contains French books on theology, law, mathematics, medicine, history, politics, philosophy and orators, as well as a vast array of literary works. The section of the catalogue entirely devoted to French poets contains ninety-nine items, of which a small number are dramatic works, including the works of Molière and Corneille, or French translations of the Classical poets including Homer and Virgil. The section nevertheless contains a wide variety of French non-dramatic poetic texts, including epic as well as lyric poetry, religious as well as secular, and some editions of individual poems as well as collected works of poets. Three editions of Théophile's works, those of 1642, 1661, and 1662 are listed, along with a copy of the 1660 edition of the *Parnasse satyrique*, with 'du mesme' printed after the title, suggesting both a considerable demand for Théophile's works, and also that he was associated in the minds of English booksellers and readers with the notorious collection of obscene verse. *Les Amours de Tristan* (1662) is listed, as is the *Œuvres de Saint-Amant* (1653). Also included are Scudéry's *Poesies diverses* (1659), Segrais' *Poésies* (1661) and the *Poesies chrestiennes & Morales de M. Godeau* (1663). Among lesser known poets, the works of Picardet (1663) and Beys (1652) also appear.⁷⁰ Editions of individual poems include Corneille's *Imitation de Jesus-Christ* (1665) and Saint-Amant's *Moyse Sauvé* (1650). The poets of the Pléiade are also represented; Scott had seventeenth-century editions of the works of Ronsard (1609) and Du Bellay (1669). The catalogue also includes six *recueils collectifs*. As well as the *Parnasse Satyrique*, Scott had copies of the *Poésies Choisies de Diverses Auteurs* (1660), *Recueil des plus beaux vers mis en chant* (1661), *Recueil de poesies Galantes*

⁶⁷ Rostenberg, p. 281.

⁶⁸ Rostenberg, p. 300. Scott's eminent customers included Samuel Pepys, Robert Hooke, Sir Christopher Wren, and John Cosin, Bishop of Durham. Scott also purchased books for Charles II ' "out of Monsr. Montmore's Library at Paris" ' (Rostenberg, p. 290).

⁶⁹ Rostenberg, p. 300.

⁷⁰ *Les Œuvres poétiques de Beys* (Paris: T. Quinet, 1652).

(n.d.), *Nouveau Recueil d'Airs de Cour* (1666) and *Pieces Diverses qui contiennent Ecloques, Elegies, Stances, Madrigaux, Chansons, & C.* (1668). The *Meslanges* section of the catalogue contains two editions of the works of Voiture, both without dates, *Poesies de Madame la Comtesse de Bregy* (1666), the *Œuvres de Malherbe* (1659) and the *Œuvres Galantes de M. Cotin* (1665).

Scott issued a second catalogue of foreign books in 1687, which 'apparently represents Scott's business assets after the disposal of the majority of his stock at auction in February 1687.'⁷¹ The 1687 catalogue also includes a significant number of French poetic texts, among the most notable of which are: *Les Œuvres de Monsieur Boileau* (n.d.), *Les Poesies de Muret* (n.d.), *Les Œuvres de Monsieur Arnaud D'andilly* (n.d.), and *Poesies de Malherbe avec les notes de Menage* (n.d.). Among the other booksellers mentioned in the *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, the 1657 sale catalogue of Octavian Pullen's stock, which does not include dates of any of the texts listed, contains six French poetic texts: *Apologie de Théophile au Roy*, *Nouvelles Œuvres de feu Mr. Théophile*, *Pseaumes de David mis en rime Francois*, *Les Tragiques du Sr. d'Aubigné*, *Nouvelle Recueil des belles Poesies*, and *Recueil de quelques vers Burlesques de Mr. Scarron*. The *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers* lists two men by the name of Octavian Pullen, of which the younger is presumed to be the son of the elder. It can be assumed that the 1657 catalogue was issued by the elder Pullen, as he was in business in St. Paul's Churchyard from 1636-66, while the younger Pullen owned a bookshop in the same place from 1666-67. The younger Pullen did, however, deal particularly in French literature in conjunction with John Dunmore.⁷² Robert Martin's 1640 *Catalogue des diverses Livres Francois: Recueillées dans la France* (London: Thomas Harper) provides an indication of which French poetic texts were available, and perhaps sought after, in the first half of the seventeenth century in England. The title of the catalogue makes clear that Martin, like Scott, made trips to France in order to purchase books. Unfortunately, the catalogue does not include the date of any works listed, although in many cases this can be deduced. Martin had Tristan's *Amours* and the works of Malherbe, Théophile and Saint-Amant. The catalogue also features the *Œuvres poétiques de monsieur Bertaut*, *Pieces nouvelles de Monsieur de Maynard* and the works of Ronsard and

⁷¹ Rostenberg, pp. 307-08.

⁷² *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*, pp. 149-50.

Rabelais. Martin also had several *recueils*: *Le Parnasse Satyrique du sieur Théophile*, *Les muses en deuil*, *Le Parnasse des plus excellents Poetes de ce temps* and the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, and a copy of *L'Imitation de Thomas à Kempe*, though the catalogue does not state which French translation it is. I have been unable to find any biographical information on Martin; he is not listed in either the DNB or the *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*.

The 1686 sale catalogue of the stock of Richard Davis, an Oxford bookseller, contained the *Traduction nouvelle de L'Imitation de Jesus Christ* (1667), *Les Pseumes de David Mis en Rime Francoise, par Clement Marot, & F. Beze* (1648), and Saint-Amant's *Moyse Sauvé* (1667). Davis, following in the footsteps of his father, became a stationer in 1639, and progressed to become 'Oxford's leading bookseller'. Davis's stock 'included works from many continental presses' and consisted of large holdings in theology, medicine, law and science as well literary works including those of Chaucer, Milton and Shakespeare.⁷³

Although the 1687 sale catalogue of the bookseller Charles Mearne contains thirty-two pages of French books, I have found no reference to Mearne as an importer of French or continental books. The *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* contains no details of Mearne's life or trade beyond that he was based in Little Britain, was the son of the renowned bookbinder Samuel Mearne, and usually worked in collaboration with others.⁷⁴ The section of the catalogue devoted to French books, which, unhelpfully, is not divided according to subject or genre, contains a large proportion of theological works, including several French Bibles and New Testaments, and also a considerable number of French history and grammar books and French translations from the Classics. The catalogue includes only a very small number of the French prose romances and dramatic works, and just seventeen poetic texts, including psalm paraphrases. The most interesting aspect of the poetic texts listed in the catalogue is the proportion of the number of *recueils* compared with the number of works of individual poets. Of the seventeen French poetic texts listed, seven are *recueils*. Mearne had the 1634 and 1669 editions of the *Cabinet Satyrique*, the 1663 and 1669 editions of *Recueil des Pieces Galantes*, *Recueils des Diverses Pieces Curieuses*

⁷³ Margaret Forey, 'Davis, Richard (1617/18-1693x1700)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69455>> [accessed 10 December 2008]

⁷⁴ *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, p. 202.

(1663), *Recueil des diverses Pieces* (1669) and *Les Poesies Facetieuses* (n.d.). Mearne also had *Le Cabinet de Monsr. Scudéry* (1649), *Les Peintures Morales de la Doctrine des Passions* (Pierre Le Moyne, n.d.), *Poesies diverses du Furetiere* (1669), *Les Œuvres de Boyleau* (1684), *Les Œuvres de Théophile, contenant l'Immortalité de l'ame, &c* (1661), *Les Œuvres Poétiques de S. Seigneur du Bartas* (n.d.), *Œuvres Diverses de Monsr. Boileau* (1683), *Œuvres Galantes de Monsr. Cotin* (1665) and *Paraphrase des Pseaumes de David* (Godeau, 1676).

Several conclusions can be drawn from the above-mentioned catalogues about the availability of French poetic texts in seventeenth-century England, and from this, suggestions can be made about the status of French lyric poetry in England. The works of all of the major seventeenth-century French lyric poets, and also some of the lesser-known poets including Beys and the Comtesse de Brégy, were available on the shelves of English booksellers. This indicates some degree of demand for French lyric poetry. Théophile seems to have been particularly popular; several of the booksellers mentioned above possessed more than one copy of his works, and, where dates of works are given, they are considerably later than the first publication of his collected works in 1621 and 1623, suggesting a sustained interest in his work. There also seems to have been quite a strong demand among the customers of the above-mentioned booksellers for the French *recueils collectifs*; the booksellers possessed a perhaps unexpectedly large number of these, especially the two best-known obscene anthologies, the *Parnasse Satyrique* and the *Cabinet Satyrique*. Several of the booksellers possessed copies of the works of poets from the previous century, including Ronsard, Du Bartas and Marot, suggesting a sustained demand in seventeenth-century England for these.

1.2.5 French Poetic Texts in Private Libraries in Seventeenth-Century England

Determining which French poetic texts English readers had in their libraries is, as has been remarked, made more difficult by the fact that there is no comprehensive list of private libraries in seventeenth-century England. As mentioned, my starting point for perusing the contents of seventeenth-century libraries was the *List of Sale Catalogues of English book sales, 1676-1900: now in the British Museum*. In line with the chronological limits of this study, I limited my investigation to the sale catalogues

listed between 1676 and 1690.⁷⁵ While earlier private libraries are not included in this volume, the dates of some of the French poetic texts listed are considerably earlier than 1676, giving an indication of reading tastes earlier in the seventeenth century. I also looked at a selection of other available library catalogues, some of which were printed contemporaneously and some of which have been published by modern bibliographers. Some of the printed catalogues I examined appear anonymously in electronic databases, and I have not been able to identify to whom the libraries belonged. To provide a clear and comprehensive record of French poetic texts owned from which conclusions and comparisons could be drawn, it seemed best to record the French poetic texts listed in each catalogue in tabular form.

⁷⁵ Although the Caroline period ends in 1685, several catalogues produced from 1685-1690 contained a significant number of French poetic texts, and it thus seemed appropriate to include these. In any case, if the contents of a library were being sold in 1689, it is almost certain that the contents of the library were acquired and assembled several years before this date.

Owner of catalogue	Occupation	Date of catalogue	French Poetic Texts Listed in Catalogue
Henchman, Humphrey (bap. 1592, d. 1675)	Bishop of London	1677	Les Pseaumes traduits par Godeau
Greville, Robert (1607-1643)	Second Baron Brooke of Beauchamps, parliamentarian army officer and religious writer	1678	<i>Œuvres de Du Bartas, Odes de Ronsard</i>
Digby, Sir Kenelm (1603-1665)	Natural philosopher and courtier	1680	<i>Les Œuvres de Théophile, Le Parnasse des Poetes Francois Modernes, par Gilles Carrozet, Poesies Chrestiennes de M. Odet de la Noue; L'Imitation de Jesus Christ Paraphrasee en Vers Fran. Par Corneille, Poesies diverses par Berenger de la Tour, Les Œuvres de Clement Marot de Cahors en Quercy, Le Cabinet des Vers Satyriques de ce temps, Lettres et Poesies de Madame de B., Les Œuvres Poetiques de Beys</i>
Arthur, John	Minister	1683	<i>Œuvres de Voiture, Traduction nouvelle de L'Imitation de Jes. Christ</i>
Gellibrand, John	Unknown	1684	<i>Œuvres de Boileau</i>
Hushar, Peter Castell, Edmund (bap. 1606, d. 1686)	Merchant Orientalist and Lexicographer, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge	1685 1686	<i>Œuvres de Théophile Œuvres de Théophile, Œuvres de Malherbe</i>

Annesley, Arthur (1614-1686)	Politician	1686	<i>Œuvres de Théophile, Satyres de Regnier, Œuvres de Voiture, Cabinet Satyrique, Œuvres de Malherbe, Œuvres de Boileau</i>
Copping, Jeremiah	Unknown	1686	<i>Œuvres de Du Bartas</i>
Coventry, Sir William (bap. 1627, d. 1686)	Politician	1687	<i>Œuvres de Voiture, Œuvres de Boileau, Le Parnasse Satyrique de Théophile</i>
Jacomb, Thomas (1623/4-1687)	Clergyman	1687	<i>Œuvres de Ronsard, Œuvres de Bellay, Poesies de Brebeuf, Œuvres Poétiques de Beys</i>
Cecil, William (1591-1668)	Politician	1687	<i>La Muse Dauphine par le Sr Subligny, Asterie, Eclogues, Sonnets, &c., Poesies Diverses de Mr. Scarron, Les Œuvres de Ronsard, Les Œuvres de Mr. Bovillon contenant Mascarades, Airs de Cour, Nouveau Recueil des Pieces Choisies en Prose et en vers, Nouveau Meslange des pieces curieuses en Prose & en Vers, Pieces diverses seconde & troisieme parties, Recueil des quelques pieces Nouvelles & Gallantes, Les Œuvres de Clement Marot, Les Poesies Francois par H. Piccardt, Elegies Poétiques de Sr. Brebeuf, Lettres et Poesies de Madam de Brancas</i>
Maitland, John (1616-1682)	Politician	1689	<i>Œuvres de Ronsard, Œuvres de Bellay</i>
Beaulieu, Jean de	Unknown	1699	<i>Imitation de J. Christ avec fig., Recueil de Sonnets sur Bouts rimés, Eloges poetiq. De Breboeuf,</i>

			<i>Poesies de la Comtesse de la Suze, Œuvres de Rabelais, Recueil de Poesies Choisies</i>
Skinner, Hampden	Unknown	1698	<i>Lettres et Poesies de Madame la Countesse de B., Contes & Nouvelles en vers de Mons. de la Fontaine, Recueil de Pieces Galants de Countesse de la Suze, &c., Recueil des plus beaux vers de Mess. de Malherbe,³⁷ Le Parnasse Francois (1685)</i>
<i>Catalogue de Livres Latins, Francois, Anglois & Italiens. Les quels seront vendus par AUCTION, au dessus d'Exeter-Exchange dans le Strand.</i>		1695	<i>Les Œuvres de Du Bartas, Les Œuvres de Malherbe, Poesies Chrestiennes de Mr. Arnaud D'Andilly, Saint Louis Poeme Heroique avec figures, Recueil de pieces gallantes en vers, Poeme sur la Naissance de Jes. Christ, Poeme sur la vie de Jes. Christ, Œuvres de Théophile, L'Imitation de Jesus Christ Nov. Traduct.</i>
<i>Bibliotheca Curiosa. Sive Catalogus Librorum in Plurimis Facultatibus variisque Linguis Insignium, viz. Gr. Lat. Ang. Gall. & Ital. Catalogue des Nouveaux Livres Francois, Qui seront Vendus par Auction. Au dessus de la</i>		1690	<i>L'Imitation de Jesus Christ Traduite & paraphrase, par Corneille</i>
		1693	<i>Poesies de Marc Ant. Moret,³⁸ Parnasse Satyrique du Sr. Théophile, Pieces Galantes Diverses, Peintures Morales avec figures, Œuvres Poetiques</i>

³⁷ This is the *Recueil des plus beaux vers* (1626), of which Malherbe is the first-named author listed in the title, and not, as a reader could be led to believe, an edition of the works of Malherbe.

³⁸ This should be Marc-Antoine Muret.

*Partie Orientale D'Exeter
Exchange Dans le Strand.*

*Catalogous Librorum
Instructissimae Bibliotheca
Nobilis cujusdam Scoto-
Britanni*

1689

*Catalogue des Livres Francois
Italiens & Espagnols, Qui
seront Vendus par Auction Au
dessus de la Partie Orientale D.
Exeter Exchange Dans le
Strand.*

1693

*du P. Le Moyne, David, Poeme Heroique, par le
Sr. Les Fargues*

*Les Œuvres Poétiques du P. le Moyne avec
figures, Les Poesies de M. Malherbe avec les
Observations de M. Menage, Les Poesies
Francoises dediees a Madame de Pons par H.
Picard, Nouveau Recueil des plus beaux Airs de
Cour, Le Cabinet des Muses ou les plus beaux vers
de ce temps, La Muse Dauphine adresse a
Monseigneur le Dauphin, Œuvres du Sr. De
Boileau avec le Traite du Sublime, Le Parnasse
Satyrique du Sieur Theophile, Cabinet Satyrique
ou recueil des vers picquans de ce tems, Imitation
de Jes. Christ de Tho. A Kempis traduite par le Sr.
Beuel*

*Les Œuvres de Theophile divisees en 3 parties,
Nouveau Recueil des quelques Pieces Galantes,
Œuvres du Sieur de Saint Amant, Poesies diverses
du Sieur Furetiere, Le Cabinet Satyrique, Le
cabinet Satyrique ou recueil des Vers picquans &
gaillards*

In addition to the private libraries listed above (of which the named catalogues are included in the *List of Sale Catalogues*, and the anonymous catalogues were found on electronic databases), I have also looked at a small number of catalogues produced or reprinted by modern bibliographers. The library of John Morris (1586-1685), a book collector and antiquary, contained the works of Clement Marot.³⁹ Morris's library was the first major acquisition of the Old Royal Library at St James after the Restoration.⁴⁰ The library of Charles Spencer (1675-1722), third earl of Sunderland and politician, contained the *Fables* of La Fontaine and the *Œuvres poétiques* of Jodelle (1574), as well as the *Œuvres* of Marot. The only two French poetic texts owned by Samuel Pepys were the *Cabinet Satyrique* and the *Œuvres de Boileau*.⁴¹ John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, who possessed a collection of French theological works, also owned a copy of Voiture's *Œuvres*.⁴² The only French poetic text owned by John Locke was a copy of the 1672 edition of Voiture's *Nouvelles Œuvres*.⁴³ Edmund Waller, who translated a poem from French of which I have not been able to identify the source, owned a copy of Boileau's *Œuvres* and a copy of Malherbe's *Poésies* (1666). The latter appears in the 1832 sale catalogue of the Waller family library followed by 'and two others'; it is not unreasonable to assume that these 'two others' could also be editions of French seventeenth-century poetry.⁴⁴

From the twenty-six catalogues mentioned above, it is possible to draw some interesting conclusions about the extent of ownership of French poetic texts in seventeenth-century England, and subsequently about which French poets and types

³⁹ T. A. Birrell, *The Library of John Morris: the Reconstruction of a Seventeenth-Century Collection* (London: British Museum Publications for the British Library, 1976).

⁴⁰ Birrell, p. iii. Birrell's catalogue of Morris's library is mostly based on the author catalogue of the Old Royal Library, which 'dates in the main from 1761' (p. xix).

⁴¹ N. A. Smith, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Rochester, 2004), I. The *Cabinet Satyrique* is listed on p. 30 and the *Œuvres de Boileau* on p. 19. Pepys 'knew French well, and already had enough French books by 1660 to make them an item in his first will, but (again if we are to take the diary's evidence as complete) read it mostly in translation in the '60s - a little Scarron, Corneille's *Pompée* and *Le Cid*, and (with his wife) parts of the novels of the *précieuses*. [...] He speaks in the diary of reading or consulting only four books in French: Sorbière's *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre*, Furetière's *Nouvelle Allégorique*, Besongne's *L'Etat de France* and (to his shame) Millot's *L'Escholle des Filles*.' *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Robert Latham, 11 vols (London: Bell and Hyman, 1970-83), XI (1983), p. 38.

⁴² On the French books in Cosin's library, see Elfrieda Dubois, 'La Bibliothèque de l'évêque Cosin à Durham et sa collection de livres français de théologie et de spiritualité protestantes des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 128 (1982), 175-88.

⁴³ John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford: Published for the Oxford Bibliographical Society by the Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 260.

⁴⁴ A. N. L. Munby, ed., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons, vol i, Poets and Men of Letters* (London: Mansell, 1971). While the 1832 sale catalogue does include 'later accretions of books dating from after the poet's death in 1687', 'a high proportion of the library may well have belonged to him' (Munby, p. 4).

of poetry seem to have been popular with English book-buyers and readers. Firstly, the fact that most of these owners of seventeenth-century French poetic texts belong to the noble or educated classes suggests that some knowledge of seventeenth-century French poetry was considered part of a cultivated literary awareness. Also, some of those whose library catalogues are mentioned above, notably Peter Hushar, a merchant, and several clergymen, presumably did not belong to the uppermost echelons of society, suggesting that French lyric poetry was known outside court circles. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the library catalogues as were drawn from the booksellers' lists about the knowledge in England of French lyric poetry. The ownership of the works of minor as well as major French lyrists suggests quite a broad interest in French lyric poetry. It is somewhat surprising that a minor French poet such as Charles Beys should appear in two library catalogues, but this is consistent with the French poetic texts available on the shelves of English booksellers; Robert Scott, for instance, owned a copy of Beys's poetry. Another very minor poet it is, at first glance, surprising to find in an English library is the Comtesse de Brégy; again, the fact that Scott possessed a copy of her 1666 *Lettres et Poesies* suggests that there was some demand in England for her works, or at least that one of Scott's customers had requested a copy of her poems. Brégy's name appears in abbreviated form in the Skinner and Hampden catalogue. It is also highly possible that the 'Madame de B' of the *Lettres et Poesies de Madame de B.* which appears in Kenelm Digby's catalogue is Brégy. However, 'Madame de B' could also refer to the Madame de Brancas whose *Lettres et Poesies* is listed in William Cecil's library catalogue. Brancas was another frequenter of the Hôtel de Rambouillet; however, no copy of her *Lettres et Poesies* appears on the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is not impossible that the book owned by Cecil is actually the *Lettres et Poesies* of Brégy, and that either Cecil or the compiler of the catalogue supplied for the unidentified Madame B a name with which they were already familiar. Be this the case or not, it is clear that English readers were both familiar with, and created a large demand for, the works of salon poets; this can also be seen in the frequent appearance of Voiture's works, and in the two appearances of the Comtesse de la Suze. The demand for salon poetry is also obvious from the appearance of seven of the *recueils galants* in the library catalogues examined. This is consistent with the appearance of several of the *recueils galants* in the booksellers' catalogues investigated. Also, as for the booksellers, the overall number of *recueils* owned by private book collectors is both

considerable and surprising; of the one hundred and five French poetic texts in the library catalogues examined, twenty are *recueils*. Those who owned (and read) the general French poetic anthologies would have acquired quite a wide overview of French poets and the types of poetry they were writing. Again, as for the booksellers, two of the best known obscene *recueils*, *Le Parnasse Satyrique* and *Le Cabinet Satyrique*, were both frequently owned, the first appearing three times in the catalogues investigated and the latter appearing six times. It should be noted that the anonymous *Catalogue des Livres Francois Italiens & Espagnols* (1699) contained both the 1634 and the 1667 editions of the *Cabinet Satyrique*.⁴⁵ Again, it can be seen that these two *recueils* also appeared on the shelves of several of the booksellers mentioned, suggesting a significant demand for them in England. It seems to me entirely reasonable to conclude from the evidence just given that English seventeenth-century book collectors were more interested in particular *types* of French poetry, namely obscene poetry and salon verse, than in the works of individual authors. This would account for the initially surprising ownership of the works of minor poets such as Brégy and Beys, and also for the ownership of such works as Furetiere's *Poesies*, which contained satiric verses. It would, however, be going too far to conclude that the library owners examined never chose a particular work for its author rather than for its type or subject matter. The fairly frequent ownership of the works of Malherbe and Théophile is most probably due to their status and reputation as major French lyricists, although Théophile's popularity with library owners could also be attributed to his association with *libertinage* and with the *Parnasse Satyrique*.

A considerable amount of religious poetry appears in the library catalogues. Six out of nine French poetic texts listed in the anonymous *Catalogue de Livres Latins, Francois, Anglois & Italiens* (1695) are religious works, and these are, incidentally, juxtaposed with a *recueil galant* and Théophile's *Œuvres*. There is a similarly interesting mix of religious, *galant* and obscene French verse in Sir Kenelm Digby's library catalogue.

Another interesting feature of the library catalogues consistent with the booksellers' lists is the fairly frequent occurrence of sixteenth-century French poets; they account for fourteen of the French poetic texts listed, with Ronsard appearing four times and Marot, Du Bellay and Du Bartas each appearing twice. While

⁴⁵ The obscene anthologies will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

considerably less than the fifty-eight appearances of works by individual seventeenth-century poets, this is still a significant number, and it is worth noting that Ronsard appears in only one catalogue fewer than the three most frequently-occurring seventeenth-century lyric poets (Théophile and Malherbe, who each appear in four library catalogues). The fact that the works of French Renaissance lyricists were widely owned, as well as quite widely commented on, in seventeenth-century England, further attests to the enduring popularity of these poets across the Channel.

1.3 Overview of Lyric Poetry in France and England during the Seventeenth Century

1.3.1 Introduction

Translations in Caroline England of seventeenth-century French lyric verse can clearly only be fully understood within the context of the status and development of lyric in both France and England. This, in turn, can only be fully understood in the context of the literary, cultural, and political climates in which lyric poetry was written in each country. As there is not space here to provide a complete overview of lyric verse in both France and England during the seventeenth century, attention will be given to those areas that are most relevant to the subsequent discussions of how some of the most significant aspects of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry are dealt with in English translation.

1.3.2 Classicism and the Restrictions on Poetic Expression in Seventeenth-Century France

Lyric poetry was, like all other forms of literature in seventeenth-century France, increasingly subject to the constraints in content, form and expression which resulted from the emerging 'classicising' aesthetic. There have been attempts in recent years to question and re-define the notion of 'classicism' in relation to seventeenth-century France, and particularly the extent to which it can be considered a regulated and uniform set of 'rules' or principles to which authors consciously and intentionally adhered to. Alain Viala, pointing out that no seventeenth-century French author considered themselves as 'classique', regards the notion primarily as one of 'reception' rather than pre-conceived ideas or intentions on the part of so-called

'classical' authors.⁴⁶ He does, however, identify in literary practices those features and modes which are traditionally associated with 'classicism': 'clarté, finesse, grandeur, équilibre entre raison et affect' (p. 28). He sees these as resulting from the principles of 'grandeur' and 'modélisation'. 'Grandeur' is associated with the atmosphere of 'gloire', national pride and the need to affirm a national identity which prevailed in France under Louis XIV:

Qu'apparaissent des classiques français attestait la grandeur de la France, une grandeur comparable, sinon supérieure – selon que l'on était, à la charnière des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Ancien ou Moderne – à celle des grands siècles de l'antiquité, le siècle de Périclès, et celui d'Auguste. (p. 16)

'Modélisation' is seen as both the imitation of the authors of classical antiquity, and the ability to produce works which in turn can serve as models for other writers. The imitation of others, nevertheless, had to include adherence to the principles of taste, order and clarity noted above:

Racine, quand il fait *Les Plaideurs*, est classique: il imite un Ancien, Aristophane, et il ne l'est pas quand, toujours imitant, il met dans sa pièce des petits chiens qui 'pissent partout', ce qui n'est pas dans la lignée de l'harmonie la plus bienséante, et on le lui a reproché alors. Au fond, ce cocktail de grandeur et régularité n'a peut-être été qu'une construction idéale, une tension possible, une tension vers un schéma de perfection; en ce sens, elle marquerait une charnière entre une réception (une façon de voir et lire les classiques antérieures) et une option de production (un effort pour les imiter) (pp. 18-19).

The ways in which classical principles were both formed and disseminated, and the institutions responsible for this, has also been the subject of revision and debate. The writings of classical grammarians and literary theorists played some role in this, but, as Viala notes, the expression of theories and ideas about acceptable literary practices, though some coherence and agreement about what the characteristics of these should be was discernible, was nevertheless intertwined and interspersed with debate and disagreement:

On ne peut donc parler d'une esthétique classique au sens plein et restreint du terme esthétique (qui désigne un corps d'options, règles et motifs). Non que ces temps

⁴⁶ Alain Viala, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un classique', *Littératures Classiques*, 19 (1993), 11-31

n'eussent produits des arts poétiques. Mais en France, sauf à les modéliser brutalement pour leur trouver une unité, de *La Poétique* de la Mesnardière à la *Pratique du Théâtre* de d'Aubignac, des *Discours* de Corneille aux *Préfaces* de Racine, du *Discours* de Pellisson à l'*Art Poétique* de Boileau, les discords dominant. Certes, quelques données fondamentales convergent: la distinction des trois "styles" (élevé, moyen, familier), l'acceptation des règles au théâtre, l'appel au goût et à la raison. Mais que de divergences dans les manières d'appliquer ces principes. (p. 22)

In relation to lyric poetry specifically, Malherbe's poetic doctrines and their influence were to some degree responsible for the dissemination of these traits and concepts.⁴⁷ More generally, the principles of seventeenth-century French 'classicism' were created under the auspices of the Académie Française, which represented public, political authority and scholarly activity, and *mondain* culture, where principles of refinement and order were developed and required within the context of private social gatherings:

La règle alors devient règle d'or: c'est le canon des statues parfaitement proportionnées. Or il se trouve que cette distinction rend assez bien compte de l'opposition entre les deux logiques esthétiques qui, en profondeur, nous paraissent organiser la création du classicisme en France au XVIIe siècle: l'une, d'origine plutôt savante, se définissant en termes de dominance, tandis que l'autre, d'inspiration plutôt mondaine, forge dans la conversation galante du salon et de la cour, a pour principe la pertinence. Ici l'on s'adapte, là on s'impose: l'*aptum* de la parole élégante oppose à la *vis persuasitrix* du discours éloquent. (D'Andrey, pp. 146-47)

D'Andrey has observed that, where the Académie represented the attempts of the state to impose order and control on literary practices, particularly in terms of the use of grammar and the development of the language, salons created environments where 'classicising' principles of refinement and restraint of expression were developed in an atmosphere of social interaction, entertainment and pleasure:

Le modèle galant, élaboré dans les salons au milieu du siècle, porte en soi la promesse de bien des traits que nous mettons au compte d'une logique du relatif. Si l'esthétique de l'appropriation, de la convenance et de l'harmonie tempérée y a forgé ses armes, c'est qu'on s'y appliquait à raffiner la définition, les conditions et les moyens d'un art du plaisir et du plaisir que la poétique classique va tenter de prolonger en une véritable anatomie du plaisir esthétique. (p. 162)

⁴⁷ Earlier tendencies to ascribe too much importance to the influence of Malherbe's poetic doctrines have been questioned by Claude K. Abraham in *Enfin Malherbe: the Influence of Malherbe on French Lyric Prosody, 1605-1674* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971)

1.3.3 Seventeenth-Century England: a Less Restrictive Literary Culture

While literature in seventeenth-century France was produced in an atmosphere of increasing constraint and conformity to classical ideas, both the conditions under which literature was written, and the attitude towards literary creation, in seventeenth-century England, were less constraining and allowed greater space for the author's choice and for individual creativity. Several reasons can be suggested for this. The libertine culture which prevailed at the court of Charles II provided a diametric contrast with the absolutist and authoritarian atmosphere which was increasingly felt both at the court of Louis XIV and in France as a whole under his rule. In keeping with this greater freedom, seventeenth-century England did not have a national institution which attempted to impose adherence to particular literary codes and practices, despite numerous attempts to establish an English Academy in the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁴⁸

In addition to the absence of an Academy, seventeenth-century England also lacked an equivalent of French *mondain* culture, in which individual creativity was both subject and subordinate to the tastes and requirements of the group:

C'est hors de la Cour que fleurit la vie de société véritable, celle qui développe par l'intimité constante et de bon ton entre les hommes et les dames, la galanterie de l'esprit et des manières, fait une place à l'intelligence par la conversation, habitué à faire cas du jugements des autres, à craindre la réprobation même silencieuse, à rechercher l'estime et l'admiration discrètes, impose la réserve, la décence, la surveillance des propos et des attitudes, celle en un mot, qui polit vraiment les individus, et, par une action douce, lente et continue, arrête, atténue, si elle ne les supprime pas tout à fait, les grossièretés, les violences d'une nature fruste.⁴⁹

This is not, of course, to suggest that literature was not produced in England within the context of social gatherings or intended for the entertainment and approbation of certain groups.⁵⁰ Catharine Gray has recently highlighted the function of coteries during the Interregnum as a guarded means of asserting Royalist sympathies. Gray

⁴⁸ Paul Spencer Wood, 'The Opposition to Neo-Classicism in England Between 1660 and 1700', *PMLA*, 43, (1928), 182-197 (p. 184).

⁴⁹ M. Magendie, *La Politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France, au XVIIe siècle, de 1600 à 1660*, 2 vols (Paris: Felix Alain, 1925), I, p. 120.

⁵⁰ See Arthur F. Marotti's well-known study postulating that Donne's poetry was written for the Inns of Court: *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

interprets Katherine Philips's poetic exchanges with some of the leading male Royalist writers of the time as her participation in a largely male coterie which asserted common Royalist sympathies through literary exchange, often in the form of commendatory poems in which poets praised each other's work. Gray notes that 'Philips's poetry helps to create a paradoxical Royalist counterpublic, in which royalty becomes the prerogative of a politicized coterie rather than the King, a coterie that represents Caroline values poetically without engaging in the direct polemic that might compromise their elitist socio-political status' (pp. 450-51). As well as engaging in literary exchange, Royalist writers also participated in gatherings during the Interregnum.⁵¹ Indeed, the practice of translating from contemporary French lyric poetry itself took place within the context of groups with similar literary tastes and interests, stimulated by common allegiance to Royalism. The literary circle established by Thomas Stanley was both a haven for Royalist poets who had suffered during the Civil War, and a means by which these poets could express Royalist, anti-Puritan sympathies through the translation of texts such as the Anacreontics.⁵² Anti-Puritan sympathies were often expressed by Royalist literary groups through a preference for the reading and translation of sexual literature.⁵³ Royalist groups during and after the Interregnum, therefore, rather than representing refinement and conformity, as did the French salons, were gatherings in which anti-Puritan sympathies could be expressed through literature, and this included the translation and writing of sexually-subversive texts.

Despite an overall less restrictive and prescriptive attitude towards literary creation, both resulting from and encapsulated in the absence of an Academy, English literature, particularly in the second half of the seventeenth century, still subscribed to some extent to neo-classical doctrines, introduced through French literary criticism.⁵⁴ It has been suggested that the French desire for order and regularity in literary expression suited a need in Restoration England for order after the strife of the Civil Wars.⁵⁵ However, while neo-classical principles were widely accepted in England, in

⁵¹ Gray draws attention to the Royalist gatherings that took place at Henry Lawes's London House (p. 430). For more on these, see P. W. Thomas, *Sir John Berkenhead, 1617-1679: A Royalist Career in Politics and Polemics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 143-44 and Patrick Thomas, *Katherine Phillips ('Orinda')* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press on Behalf of the Welsh Arts Council, 1988), p. 9.

⁵² Revard, p. 160.

⁵³ More details on this will be given in chapter 2.

⁵⁴ Irène Simon, *Neo-Classical Criticism 1660-1800* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), p. 10.

⁵⁵ Simon, p. 11.

some quarters they were openly opposed, or at least qualified and interpreted with greater freedom. English criticism allowed greater space for individual creativity within adherence to accepted doctrines, and above all required poets to be true to 'nature':

From the first, then, English criticism adapted the neo-classical doctrine to its own needs. The fundamental principles and the general tendency of the theory remained unchanged, but on the whole English critics allowed the poet greater freedom. Though correctness was highly desirable, it was seen to border on dullness; though looseness of structure was severely condemned, too neat a design was felt to be against nature; though decorum was a prime requisite, it was not allowed to stifle the natural impulses altogether. The concept 'nature' was interpreted much more liberally than it was in France; as adherence to actual truth it could be invoked to justify departures from the rules of art, or as heightening of reality to sanction flights above what is acceptable to strict common sense.⁵⁶

The differences hinted at above between English and French conceptions of 'nature' in relation to literary creation need to be further highlighted. Whereas English critics interpreted Aristotelian concepts of 'nature' as a license for flights of poetic imagination or the representation of things which could offend taste or commonsense, in France the representation of 'nature' meant a nature and truth gleaned of elements likely to cross normally accepted boundaries of decency, commonsense and restraint in expression:

Imitation d'abord de la nature, objet visé par l'artiste; imitation des Anciens considérés comme modèles absolus d'une décantation et d'une pénétration qui offrent de cette nature une image non plus brute, éphémère et circonstancielle, mais épurée, définitive et essentielle. (D'Andrey, p. 149)

1.3.4 Relations between the Public and the Private in Seventeenth-Century French Poetry

In addition to the restrictions on poetic form, style and theme imposed by the emerging 'classicising aesthetic', the themes and content of seventeenth-century French poetry were also determined to a large extent by their intended audience. The question for whom poetry was written in seventeenth-century France leads to a

⁵⁶ Simon, p. 17.

discussion of the relationship between the 'public' and 'private' spheres of literary creation, and to the problem of cultural specificity. Seventeenth-century French lyric poets were writing within, and therefore generally subject to, the patronage system.⁵⁷ This meant that a great deal of their lyric output consisted of encomiastic verse, or verse on other subjects which included 'framing' addresses to patrons.⁵⁸ Such poetry would be an unlikely source for transference into another language because of its cultural specificity, which is part of its function as both 'public' and 'personal' poetry. Encomiastic poetry can be considered 'personal' in so far as it is the address of one individual to another; such poetry would be an unlikely source for translation because of the problem of being seen to identify, inauthentically, with the original speaker and his relationship with the addressee. This problem is intensified because the strongly-felt presence of the speaker in much seventeenth-century French encomiastic lyric adds to the impression that the poet is presenting a deeply-felt personal appeal to his addressee. Encomiastic poetry, while often containing an apparently intensely-felt personal address or a eulogy from speaker to addressee, usually refers to events of 'public', or national, significance; this would make it an unlikely source for transference into another culture.

The development of *mondain* culture also resulted in the production of poetry which was unsuitable for translation due to its cultural specificity. Salons created environments in which 'private' gatherings of individuals were the intended 'public' of literature. Salon poetry can be considered both 'social' and 'personal'. It is 'personal' in the sense that it discusses events in the life of the speaker, and constitutes the address of one individual to another. However, 'personal' addresses in salon poetry also have a 'social' or 'public' function, as the addressees were part of a social group, and the poems were thus intended for the consumption and entertainment of the group as a whole: 'Le destinataire premier n'est donc pas seulement la personne unique à qui le texte s'adresse ou à laquelle il fait allusion,

⁵⁷ Most of the major seventeenth-century French lyric poets originated from the bourgeois classes.

⁵⁸ Many French lyric poets were also employed in the service of *les grands*, and, as has been mentioned, they frequently accompanied them on diplomatic missions, or undertook such missions on their behalf. Poets also served the household of great nobles as secretaries or tutors. Alain Viala has drawn a distinction between this practice, which he terms *clientélisme*, and *mécénat*, which 'ne concerne que l'aide apportée par un grand personnage à des artistes pour les soutenir dans l'exercice de leur art. Dans le clientélisme, le service est premier; dans le mécénat, l'art est premier'. *Naissance de l'écrivain* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1985), pp. 52-55. Many seventeenth-century English poets, apart from those, such as Rochester, who belonged to the nobility, were also dependent on the patronage system. For a study of the system of literary patronage in England, see Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996).

mais le groupe, l'entourage de ses intimes, qui, dans le cas de mondains à l'entregent considérable, peut concerner tout un réseau salonnier, voire presque toute la cour'.⁵⁹ D'Andrey comments that, in both *mondain* poetry and in 'classical' works more generally, the need to adhere to the tastes and approbations of the group was balanced against, and intertwined with, the need to create an impression of author individuality and express sincere personal feeling:

Souci de renouvellement sans originalité intempestive, attention à approprier l'oeuvre au public, primat du goût sous les normes, esthétique du '*je ne sais quoi*', le tout conclu par l'expression de cette congruence du ton enjoué à tout sujet jusques aux plus sérieux: le badinage galant s'épanouit en esthétique du charme que fonde la logique du relatif maîtrisée avec la plus parfaite et discrète virtuosité. Cependant que le recours insistant à la première personne du singulier entend suggérer qu'ici c'est l'homme qui parle autant que l'auteur.

Ce dernier élément [...] constitue effectivement une part essentielle de l'héritage galant, et peut-être la plus décisive: cette émergence de l'individualité du créateur, à travers des médiations qui évitent discrètement l'épanchement sans pour autant en rester à une objectivité absolue et impassible, n'était pas ignorée des théoriciens du ton galant. Ils la désignaient par le terme de *manière* – que les classiques ne manquèrent pas de leur emprunter (pp. 162-63).

Aside from encomiastic poetry and salon verse, seventeenth-century French lyric generally contains a large number of personal addresses to friends, and references to events which occurred in the life of the historical author; these would also be unlikely sources for translation. Théophile's poetry, particularly the later poetry which discusses the details of his trial and imprisonment, includes numerous addresses to friends and supporters and many references to events known to have occurred in his life; the speaker in the poem has thus traditionally been identified with the voice of the historical poet.⁶⁰ Saint-Amant's drinking songs are full of references to the friends and fellow libertines present at the events referred to.

In seventeenth-century English lyric poetry, by contrast, there was an increasing trend towards universal or general, rather than personal, expression:

Lyrics were still written after the Restoration, but the most significant poems of this era were satirical or argumentative rather than lyrical. The lyrics even

⁵⁹ Génétiot, *Poétique du loisir mondain*, p. 365.

⁶⁰ This will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

of poets like Dryden were elegant but superficial, and revealed little personal feeling. This was so, not because the poets suffered from any lack of personal feeling, but because the theory was gradually becoming accepted that poetry should consider general truths and general aspects rather than strictly personal ones.⁶¹

The markedly individual voice heard (in the midst of much conventional matter) in the English lyric from Wyatt and Surrey to Sidney and the sonneteers of the 1590s, reaching different kinds of highly emphatic authority in the sonnets of Shakespeare and the poetry of Donne, give way a little later in the seventeenth century to a lyric force less urgently emphasising individual circumstances and so open to the expression of a wider and more public world. Accordingly, the first-person plural subject pronoun is often used instead of the singular subject pronoun. In the work of the Cavalier poets, the plural first-person subject pronoun is often used to identify the speaker with fellow Royalist sympathisers. Poets can be seen as speaking on behalf of a wider political cause and cultural movement rather than on their own behalf.⁶²

1.3.5 French Publishing Trends and the Translation of Poetry

Both the content and suitability for translation of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry were determined by the cultural and political circumstances in which it was written. Similarly, cultural and political differences between France and England strongly influenced which French poets and poems English translators chose to translate, and the changes they made to their source texts. The way in which French poetry was published during the seventeenth century also seems to have had a significant impact on what was selected for translation. In particular, the French poetic anthologies, or *recueils collectifs*, were an important source of original poems for English translators. The role of the anthologies in translation will be examined in

⁶¹ Maren-Sofie Røstvig, *The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphosis of a Classical Ideal* (Oslo: Akademisk, 1954), pp. 357-58. George Parfitt observes that Waller 'conveys the impression of speaking generally and of representative experiences'. *English Poetry of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Longman, 1985), p. 36, and that Cowley's lyrics, 'like Waller's, enact a retreat from individualism' (p. 38).

⁶² See for example, Katherine Philips's poems, 'To the Queen on her arrival at Portsmouth, May, 1662' and 'To the Queene's majestie, Jan 1.1660/61'. Gray observes that Philips's manuscript poems of commendation, which she interprets as part of the exchange of praise among a coterie of (predominantly male) Royalist poets, 'emanate from the first person plural, as Philips invokes a collective audience in part created out of their emulation of each poet' (p. 441).

more detail in chapter 2, but for now it is sufficient to mention briefly that the *recueils collectifs* played a very significant role in the publication, and therefore availability, of French poetry during the seventeenth century. The collected works of several major seventeenth-century French lyric poets were not published during their lifetime.⁶³ Alain Viala observes that for the eighty-five seventeenth-century French poets whose work only appeared in print during the seventeenth century in the *recueils*, the anthologies represented their only access into literary culture.⁶⁴ Often poets published their poems in the anthologies before publishing their collected works, a practice Viala considers a means of establishing fame and reputation before publishing an entire volume of work:

Aussi l'intérêt des auteurs, surtout des débutants, était d'y trouver place, même si le voisinage qui leur était imposé ne correspondait pas à leurs choix esthétiques. Il y a là un élément majeur des trajectoires littéraires en ce temps. La poésie, qui payait mal en droits d'auteur, donnait de la sorte des gains rapides de notoriété: la pratique des recueils et la vitalité de la poésie s'entretenaient ainsi mutuellement au moins durant les deux premiers tiers du siècle. Un jeune auteur avait tout intérêt à débiter par des poésies, plus brèves et plus vite composées qu'un roman ou une pièce de théâtre, et à les placer dans un recueil collectif. Il se faisait un nom et une carte de visite littéraire avant même d'être en mesure de donner un ouvrage entière à sa plume. Ainsi procédèrent Mainard, Racan, Saint-Amant, Tristan, parmi les plus célèbres. (*Naissance de l'écrivain*, pp. 126-27)

Alain Génétiot describes the practice of collecting salon poems into printed anthologies as the 'dernier stade de diffusion d'une poésie d'abord orale'.⁶⁵ Salon verses, which, as mentioned, originated as the oral exchanges of a private circle, were copied into portfolios by individuals who then circulated them among the group, before being collected into private manuscript collections, such as that of Valentin Conrart, and finally made available to the wider public in the printed anthologies.⁶⁶

It is clear that, while the English translation of contemporary French lyric verse during the Caroline period took place against a background of close literary and cultural relations between the two countries, English translators, on entering the French poetic landscape, encountered practices, forms, theories and cultural tendencies which differed widely from those at work in England. The impact which

⁶³ More details on this will be given in chapter 2.

⁶⁴ Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain* p. 125.

⁶⁵ Génétiot, *Poétique du loisir mondain*, p. 428.

⁶⁶ Génétiot, *Poétique du loisir mondain*, pp. 426-49.

these differences had on the translation of French lyric verse will be examined in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2

The Transmission and Obtainment of French Poetic Texts for Translation

2.1 Introduction

Before looking at the thematic changes made by translators, this chapter will consider both the translations and their original poems not principally as literary works but as physical objects, focusing on where and how the texts used for translation were obtained by translators, and what type of texts were most frequently used. Specifically, I aim to establish in what form (whether printed or manuscript) French poetic texts were transmitted across the Channel, how the texts were circulated in England, and which edition of a particular French poem was that used by translators. This is in many cases difficult to state with any certainty, due to the absence of any indication in prefaces or commonplace books as to which edition of a particular poem was that used for the translation, and where and how it was obtained by the translator. Modern editors and biographers of English translators naturally tend to assume that an edition of the translated poet or poem they owned was that used for the translation, although ownership of French poetic texts is also difficult to establish in the absence of surviving library catalogues. The information provided here will be in many cases highly speculative, and will draw on the primary research on text obtainment and transmission carried out by editors and critics of individual English translators. Nevertheless, collating all of this information will allow new comparative conclusions to be drawn about how poetic texts for translation were most frequently obtained and circulated, and about which types of text were most often used, whether editions of the collected works of an individual French poet or the *recueils collectifs*.

For clarity and coherence, it seemed best to consider the French poets who were translated in turn, listing both the principal seventeenth-century editions of their collected works and all known seventeenth-century appearances of the poems translated, before suggesting which edition was used, or was most likely to have been used, in each case. Establishing how many times a particular poem was published in France will give some indication of its popularity there, facilitating comparisons between what was popular in France and what was selected for translation in contemporary England.

2.2 The Texts Used in Translations and Their Obtainment by Translators

2.2.1 Théophile

There were more editions of the works of Théophile published in seventeenth-century France than of any other poet; Théophile was reprinted eighty-eight times, whereas there only sixteen editions of the works of Malherbe.⁶⁷ Théophile's early works were collected in 1621 as *Les Œuvres du sieur Théophile* (A Paris, chez Pierre Billaine, rue St-Jaques, à la Bonne Foy, 1621), and second and third editions appeared in 1622 and 1623 respectively.⁶⁸ The *Seconde Partie des Œuvres du sieur Théophile* was published in 1623, and the first edition of his complete works in 1626, under the title of *Les Œuvres du Sieur Théophile, Reveues, corrigées, & augmentées* (A Paris Par Pierre Bilaine, & Jacques Quesnel). A better-known edition of Théophile's complete works was published in 1632 by Georges de Scudéry.⁶⁹ A significant number of Théophile's poems were also published in the *recueils collectifs* throughout the seventeenth century. Among others, the *Cabinet des Muses* (1619), the *Second livre des Délices* (1620), the *Jardin des Muses* (1643), the *Nouveau Cabinet des Muses* (1658) and the *Recueil des plus belles pieces des Poetes Francois* (1692) all contained poems by Théophile.

Five of Théophile's poems were translated in Caroline England; Philip Ayres translated the famous nature poem 'Le Matin' (I, pp. 158-160), Thomas Stanley translated 'La Maison de Sylvie' (II, pp. 201-37), and Charles Cotton translated three poems; 'Stances XXIX' (II, pp. 201-37), 'Sonnet X' (II, p. 47), and 'Élégie XV' (II, pp. 56-59). Of these translated poems 'Le Matin' was by far the most popular in terms of publication; the first complete printed version of the poem appeared in *Le Cabinet des Muses* (1619) under the title of 'Description d'une matinee', and four stanzas of the poem appeared in the *Second livre des Délices* (1620) under the title of

⁶⁷ Guido Saba, 'Situations de Théophile de Viau', in *Actes de Las Vegas: théorie dramatique, Théophile de Viau, les contes des fées: actes du XXII colloque de la North American Society for Seventeenth-Century French Literature, University of Nevada, Las Vegas (1-3 mars 1990) édités par Marie-France Hilgar* (Paris: PFSCCL, 1991), pp. 83-99 (p. 85). Saba concludes that Théophile was 'le poète le plus lu et l'un des plus appréciés pendant longtemps' (p. 85).

⁶⁸ Three slim volumes of Théophile's encomiastic verse had been printed before 1621 (see *Œuvres complètes*, I, p. xlv).

⁶⁹ *Les Œuvres de Théophile, Divisées en trois parties. Première Partie, Contenant L'Immortalité de l'Ame avec plusieurs autres pieces. La Seconde les Tragedies. Et la troisième les pieces qu'il a faites pendant sa prison. Dediées aux beaux esprits de ce temps. A Rouen. Chez Jean de la Mare aux degrez du Palais. M.DC.XXXII.*

'L'Aurore'.⁷⁰ None of the other poems by Théophile which were translated in Caroline England were included in any of the *recueils collectifs*, perhaps indicating that they were not among his most popular poems. It should be noted, however, that the length of 'La Maison de Sylvie' and 'Elégie XV' would have made them unsuitable for inclusion in the *recueils*, which generally favoured shorter forms.

Of the three poems translated by Charles Cotton, 'Stances XXIX' first appeared in the *Première Partie des Œuvres*, while 'Sonnet X' and 'Elégie XV' were first included in the *Seconde Partie des Œuvres*. Cotton is likely to have taken all of these poems from the same edition, indeed the same copy, of Théophile's poems. 'La Maison de Sylvie' was first included in the *Recueil de Toutes les pieces faites par Théophile, depuis sa prise jusques à present* (Paris, 1625), and subsequently in the *troisième partie* of Théophile's collected works. Thomas Stanley is more likely to have used an edition of Théophile's collected works for the text of this poem, though no evidence as to which edition he used or owned is available. Stanley almost certainly obtained the French poetic texts he used for his translations while in France. On returning to England, Stanley established a considerable library at Cumberlow, which most probably contained texts of the French poems which he translated. Crump notes that 'Davies's dedication to Stanley in 1665 of his translation of Scarron's *Novels* – first published in 1657 – illustrate that the library at Cumberlow continued to be a place of meeting and a workshop for poets and translators' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. xxxi). I am not aware of the existence of a catalogue of Stanley's library, and again information as to any French poetic texts he may have brought back from France is highly speculative. John Hall certainly credited Stanley with bringing a considerable stock of literature back with him from the Continent:

'Tis he! 'tis he! we are no more
A barb'rous nation: he brought o'er
As much humanity as may
Well civilize America;
More learning than might Athens raise
To glory in her proudest days.⁷¹

Danielle Haase-Dubosc has claimed that Stanley brought back with him the works of Théophile, Saint-Amant and Tristan, but offers no direct evidence for this nor

⁷⁰ Lachèvre, I, pp. 317-18.

⁷¹ Quoted in *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, II, p. 200.

provides details of the particular editions of these poets brought back by Stanley (pp. 130-31). Haase-Dubosc could, therefore, be basing her assumption purely on the fact that Stanley translated from these poets, and did so after his return from France.

Charles Cotton is also likely, though again no concrete evidence exists, to have obtained the edition of Théophile's poems from which he subsequently translated while in France. Cotton travelled to the Continent in the autumn of 1655, 'having received a licence to travel with Francis Cholmondeley "for improvement of their studies". He visited France and Holland, and perhaps Italy.'⁷² The usual pattern, as with Stanley, was for those who spent time in France to translate the poetry they had encountered on their return to England rather than during their time in France, and this seems to have been the case for Cotton also.⁷³ It is highly possible, however, that Cotton had come into contact with the work of the early seventeenth-century poets he translated (Malherbe, Théophile, Racan and Maynard) before his visit to France in 1655.⁷⁴ His father had built up a considerable library at Beresford which may well have contained editions of the early seventeenth-century French lyricists.⁷⁵ According to Cotton's cousin, Sir Aston Cockayne, the library at Beresford was rich in Italian books:

D'Avila, Bentivoglio, Guicciardine,
And Machiavel, the subtle Florentine,
In their originals, I have read through,
Thanks to your library, and unto you.⁷⁶

Details relating to the French books in Cotton's library are again unfortunately scant. Stephen Parks has identified some of the books owned by Cotton through the poet's habit of inscribing his signature inside his books. Parks discovered Cotton's signature on a copy of Léry's *Brésil* (1580), and on two copies of *Espernon*, and has also identified a heavily annotated copy of Randle Cotgrave's *French-English Dictionary*

⁷² Charles Cotton, *Poems of Charles Cotton*, ed. by John Buxton (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. xxiii.

⁷³ Sembower, p. 84.

⁷⁴ Also noted by Sembower, p. 84.

⁷⁵ It is likely that the greater part of Cotton's education, including his acquisition of an excellent knowledge of French, was carried out principally in his father's library. Details of Cotton's formal education are unclear, and although he may have spent some time at either Oxford or Cambridge (see *The Poems of Charles Cotton*, ed. by John Beresford, pp. 17-18), 'it seems likely that for the most part he remained at home, encouraged by his father to read in his library and to make his first attempts at writing. [...] He learnt Greek and Latin, Italian and French'. *Poems of Charles Cotton*, ed. by John Buxton, p. xxi.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Beresford, p. 18.

(1650).⁷⁷ Cotton also owned copies of two of the French *recueils collectifs* from which he took most of the French poems he translated; more details will be given on this later in the chapter.⁷⁸

It is again difficult to say exactly where Philip Ayres obtained the copy of 'Le Matin' which he subsequently translated. Ayres, like Théophile's other English translators, Stanley and Cotton, was translating the French poet at least a generation after Théophile was writing. Ayres was born in 1638, and his *Lyrick Poems* were not published until 1687; he is therefore more likely to have read 'Le Matin' in a later edition of Théophile's works than one of the earlier versions printed in the *recueils*. Ayres was a keen scholar of French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese.⁷⁹ While there is no direct evidence that Ayres ever spent time in France, he is known to have travelled in Spain and Portugal in the late 1660s,⁸⁰ and must have also passed through France. Ayres could have obtained a copy of Théophile's collected works during this time.

It was noted in chapter 1 that Théophile visited England twice. His second visit to England was the subject of an *épigramme* translated by Richard Lovelace, in which the French poet apparently rails against being refused an audience with James I. The *épigramme* does not appear in any seventeenth-century edition of Théophile's *Œuvres*; it is, however, attributed to Théophile in tome III of the *Recueil des plus belles pieces Des Poetes Francois* ('Recueil Barbin'), 1692.⁸¹ Its inclusion in this *recueil* suggests it was both well-known and popular in France. Théophile's nineteenth-century editor established that the *épigramme* was actually written by Marc de Maillet, who published it in his volume of *épigrammes* in 1620.⁸² For Dubosc, this 'comparativist's red herring' demonstrates 'that Lovelace knew of Théophile and thought such a slight thing worth translating fifteen years later' (p. 57). I would suggest that it also does something more. Lovelace is extremely likely to have seen this *épigramme* in Maillet's *épigramme* collection, as this is the only recorded

⁷⁷ Stephen Parks, 'Charles Cotton and the Derby Manuscript', in *Literary Autographs*, ed. by Stephen Parks and P. J. Croft, pp. 3-35 (p. 15).

⁷⁸ These are the *Recueil des plus beaux vers* (1638) and the *Recueil des Poesies Choisies de Messieurs Corneille etc* (1653). While noting that Cotton signed his copy of the latter, Parks has misquoted both the title and the date of this volume, giving them as *Recueil de Poesies Diverses* (1563).

⁷⁹ *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, III, p. 265.

⁸⁰ Peter Davidson and Ian William McLellan, 'Ayres, Philip (1638-1712)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/946>> [accessed 10 December 2008]

⁸¹ See Richard Lovelace, *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. by C. H. Wilkinson (Oxford: OUP, 1930), p. 339, and 'Lyric Nature Poetry', pp. 56-57. Lachèvre does not mention the inclusion of this poem in any other seventeenth-century *recueil*.

⁸² Haase-Dubosc, p. 57.

printed version before 1692. If he did so, however, he would surely have known that Théophile was not the author of the poem, and yet the title of the translation misleadingly gives the impression that he was: 'Théophile *being deny'd his addresses to King James, turned the Affront, to his own glory, in this Epigram*'. The impression that Lovelace's readers would have gained of Théophile from this translation is that of a writer of lightly witty epigrams. It is interesting that if, as must be assumed, Lovelace knew Théophile, he chose to communicate that knowledge not through the translation of one of Théophile's own famous works, but through the translation of a poem which Théophile did not even write.⁸³ Also, it shows that Lovelace had read the collected works of a minor French poet. Lovelace probably came across this poem during his time in France. He spent most of the years 1643-46 in France and Holland, and 'may have supported the king and his brothers while abroad'.⁸⁴ Lovelace's principal activities on the Continent seem to have been military: 'He was probably serving in the French army against the Spaniards in 1644-45, and he was certainly fighting under Condé at Dunkirk in 1646.'⁸⁵ I have been unable to find any information on Lovelace's activities beyond the military while he was in France.

2.2.2 Saint-Amant

The first part of the collected works of Saint-Amant was published in 1629,⁸⁶ and what was most probably a counterfeit edition appeared at the same time.⁸⁷ *La Suite des Œuvres du sieur de Saint-Amant* (A Paris, chez Francois Pomeray) was published in 1631, and both parts were reprinted together in 1632.⁸⁸ The *Seconde partie* of Saint-Amant's works was published in 1643, and the *Troisième partie*, comprising the *première partie* and the *Suite* along with the 'épitre héroï-comique à Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans sur le siege de Gravelines' and 'Caprice', and the *seconde partie* along with 'Rome Ridicule', in 1649. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale lists ten additional editions of Saint-Amant's *Œuvres* between 1638 and 1668. The *Dernier*

⁸³ Lovelace may have chosen this poem for the sake of cultural interest due to its reference to England.

⁸⁴ *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, p. xli.

⁸⁵ Haase-Dubosc, p. 125.

⁸⁶ *Les Œuvres du sieur de Saint-Amant. A Paris. De l'imprimerie de Rob. Estienne. Pour Francois Pomeray et Toussaint Quinet, au Palais, en la grande et petite Galerie. M.DC.XXIX. Avec privilège du Roy.*

⁸⁷ Lachèvre, II, p. 450.

⁸⁸ *Les Œuvres du sieur de Saint-Amant. Sur l'imprimé, à Paris. De L'Imprimerie de Rob. Estienne pour Francois Pomeray et Toussaint Quinet, au Palais, en la grande et petite Galerie. 1632*

recueil de diverses poésies du sieur de Saint-Amant was published in 1658. Several of Saint-Amant's poems were also printed separately during the seventeenth century, including *La Vigne* (1627) and *Moyse sauvé* (1653). Five of Saint-Amant's lyric poems were translated in Caroline England; *La Solitude* (I, pp. 33-48) was translated twice, by Katherine Philips and Thomas Stanley. 'La Jouyssance' (I, pp. 33-48) was also translated twice, by Stanley and an anonymous translator. Stanley also translated 'La Desbauche' (I, pp. 201-07). Edward Sherburne translated 'Le Soleil Levant' (II, pp. 5-13) and 'Jamais rien n'approcha de mon heureux destin' (I, p. 197). As noted in the introduction, Robert Ayton produced a translation of 'Assis sur un fagot, un pipe à la main' (I, pp. 279-80) which remained in manuscript. *La Solitude* was first published separately before 1625. Two subsequent separate editions of *La Solitude* appeared in 1654 and 1678, suggesting that the poem enjoyed enduring popularity in France. Two other translated poems also appeared in *recueils* later in the century, again suggesting that they were well-known and enduringly popular in France: 'Assis sur un fagot, un pipe à la main' was included in *Muses Serieuses, Galantes et Enjouées* (1673), and 'La Desbauche' appeared in the third tome of the 'Recueil Barbin' (1692). 'La Jouyssance', 'La Desbauche' and 'Assis sur un fagot' were all printed for the first time in the first edition of the *Œuvres* (1629), in which *La Solitude* also appeared. 'Le Soleil Levant' appeared for the first time in the *Suite des Œuvres* (1631).

With the exception of Robert Ayton's translation of 'Assis sur un fagot', all of the English translations of Saint-Amant, as was also the case for Théophile, were made at least a generation after the original poems first appeared in print in France. Also, with the exception of 'La Maison de Sylvie', all of the poems translated from Théophile and Saint-Amant are among their earlier works. Indeed, except for 'Assis sur un fagot', all translations of the early seventeenth-century French lyricists were made a generation after the original poets were writing, or, at least, a generation after the poems translated were written. An important aspect of the transmission of French poetic culture into seventeenth-century England was that earlier trends in France were transmitted and translated a generation later, and the impression English readers would have gained of French poetry from what was translated is the impression French readers would have gained thirty or forty years previously.

For both Théophile and Saint-Amant, it was essential for their transmission into England that their collected works, which included their earlier poems, were

published at a later date than the first appearance of those earlier poems. It is highly probable that mid-century English translators used the later collected works as opposed to the earlier first or second parts of the works of Théophile and Saint-Amant. A possible exception to this is Thomas Stanley. Stanley, as has been mentioned, returned to England from the Continent in 1646, three years before the first appearance of Saint-Amant's collected works, and therefore if Stanley did, as is assumed, bring a copy of Saint-Amant's poetry back with him from France, it cannot have been the 1649 edition which comprised both the *premiere partie* and *second partie* of his *œuvres*. It is likely that Stanley took the poems he translated from a later edition of the 1629 *Première Partie des Œuvres*. It is possible that, as they are likely to have collaborated on translations, Edward Sherburne and Thomas Stanley used the same edition of Saint-Amant's poems. Sherburne's modern editor notes that his library contained a copy of Saint-Amant's works, but does not say which edition.⁸⁹ There is no mention of Sherburne ever having been to France himself; his copy of Saint-Amant must, therefore, have either been brought back from France by Stanley or bought by himself in England.

Along with Sherburne, Katherine Philips is one of the few English translators of seventeenth-century French poetry during the Caroline period never to have been to France. It is likely that Philips obtained her copy of Saint-Amant's works, and the other French texts she translated, from a London bookseller.⁹⁰ Philips cannot have used the 1629 *Œuvres*, as the poem's patron was addressed as 'Alcidon' in line 171, and not, as in later versions of the poem and as in Orinda's translation, as 'Bernières'.

Thomas Fairfax translated *La Solitude* in the early 1650s, after his retirement from public life. Fairfax travelled in France and the Low Countries between 1629 and 1632, and, as Roberts has noted, could well have brought back with him a copy of the 1629 *Œuvres*, which included *La Solitude*.⁹¹ If this is the case, it is interesting that Fairfax waited more than twenty years to translate *La Solitude*. Fairfax never intended his poems for publication, and, as William Roberts notes, the title of his translation, 'Recreations of my Solitude' 'indique une intention désintéressée chez son auteur, un

⁸⁹ Fran Jozef van Beeck, ed., *The Poems and Translations of Sir Edward Sherburne* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1961), p. xxxvii. Van Beeck also notes that Sherburne possessed copies of Regnier and Scarron.

⁹⁰ Referring to Scudéry's *Almahide*, Roberts observes that it 'could have reached her London in December [1660] at the earliest.' 'The Dating of Orinda's French Translations', p. 58.

⁹¹ 'Saint-Amant: plaque tournante de l' Europe', p. 78.

travail satisfaisant en soi.’⁹² When translating *La Solitude*, Fairfax was obviously not seeking to raise the profile of a French poet or poem he had admired, but merely returning to a poem he had read long ago which was suddenly particularly relevant to his own situation of retirement in the countryside.

Roberts argues, convincingly, that Robert Ayton obtained the text of ‘Assis sur un fagot, une pipe à la main’ in manuscript form. He bases his claim on the fact that Ayton’s translation is closer to an earlier manuscript version of the poem than to the version which appeared in the *Œuvres* (1629). Roberts records comments made by Boissière and Colletet which attest the popularity of the manuscript version of the poem in France.⁹³ Roberts claims that the manuscript version of the poem was brought over to England by Boisrobert in 1625, when he accompanied Henrietta Maria across the channel, and was subsequently passed around the English court, of which Ayton was a member.

2.2.3 Voiture

The first edition of the collected works of Vincent Voiture was not published until 1650, two years after the poet’s death.⁹⁴ This edition of the *Œuvres* was published again in six subsequent editions, some in the same year, attesting to the high demand in France for printed editions of Voiture’s works.⁹⁵ Other editions of Voiture’s *Œuvres* appeared in 1663, 1672, 1676, 1678, and 1679. Voiture’s poetry continued to be reprinted in the first half of the eighteenth century. Some of his poems, though none of those translated in Caroline England, appeared in the *Recueil de divers rondeaux* (1639) and the *Nouveau recueil des bons vers de ce temps* (1646). The first available printed versions of all poems translated would thus have been those in the first edition of the *Œuvres* in 1650. Two of the translated poems were published in *recueils* later in the century, in testimony to their enduring popularity in France. These were the famous ‘Sonnet d’Uranie’,⁹⁶ translated by George Etherege, and the subtly

⁹² ‘Saint-Amant: plaque tournante de l’ Europe’, p. 78.

⁹³ ‘Saint-Amant, Ayton, and the Tobacco Sonnet’, p. 503.

⁹⁴ *Les Œuvres de Monsieur de Voiture, A Paris, chez Augustin Courbé, dans la petite Salle du Palais, à la Palme, 1650*. All bibliographical information on Voiture is taken from Vincent Voiture, *Poésies*, ed. by Henri Lafay, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1971), I, and Lachèvre, II.

⁹⁵ The second edition of the *Œuvres* was published in 1650, the third in 1652, the fourth in 1654, the fifth in 1654, the sixth in 1660 and the seventh in 1665.

⁹⁶ Vincent Voiture, *Poésies*, ed. by Henri Lafay, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1971), pp. 66-67. All subsequent references to this edition will be given in parentheses in the text.

subversive ‘Stances sur une Dame dont la jupe fut retroussée, en versant dans une carrosse, à la campagne’, translated by John Oldham and an anonymous translator. ‘Uranie’ appeared in *Poésies choisies de Messieurs Corneille, Benserade, de Scudéry, Bosirobert, Sarrasin, Desmarets, Bertaud, S. Laurent, Colletet, La Mesnardière, de Montereuil, Vignier, Chevreau, Malleville, Tristan, Testu, Maucroy, de Prade, Girard, de Lage et plusieurs autres* (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1653) and ‘Stances sur une Dame...’ appeared in tome V of the ‘Recueil Barbin’, suggesting that in spite of, or indeed, because of, its subtle subversiveness, it was nevertheless enduringly popular and admired in seventeenth-century France. Two other poems by Voiture were translated in Caroline England; Thomas Stanley translated ‘Chanson XXVI’ beginning ‘Je me tais, et me sens brusler’, and John Dryden translated ‘Chanson XXV’ beginning ‘L’Amour sous sa loy’ (I, pp. 52-56).

Thomas Stanley clearly did not bring Voiture’s works back with him from France, but, as his *Poems and Translations*, in which his translation of ‘Je me tais, et me sens brusler’ first appeared, was published in 1651, he must have taken the text of the poem from the first or second editions of Voiture’s *Œuvres*, both of which had been published quite recently in France. This suggests that Stanley was very keen to obtain a copy of Voiture’s printed works, and that he may well have come across the French poet’s work in manuscript form while in France. He could have either obtained a copy of Voiture’s *Œuvres* from an English bookseller or had a copy sent over from France.

George Etherege is known to have owned a copy of the fifth edition of Voiture’s *Œuvres* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1656),⁹⁷ which he presumably used for his translation of ‘Uranie’. The *Œuvres de Voiture* appeared on the list of the books in Etherege’s library at Ratisbon made by his secretary Hugo Hughes. Etherege was ‘resident’ of Ratisbon from 1685 to 1689, a post which constituted ‘the lowest rank in the diplomatic service. His role was purely that of an observer with no official powers to treat with the other envoys there. His duties were to write dispatches to his immediate superior, Lord Middleton, reporting any developments, and to send any

⁹⁷ Peter Beal, ‘“The most constant and best entertainment”: Sir George Etherege’s Reading in Ratisbon’, *The Library*, 6th Ser., 10 (1988), 122-44. Beal provides a list of some of the books owned by Etherege at Ratisbon.

political news he could pick up, while representing his king with appropriate dignity.’⁹⁸

Etherege was obliged by the monotony of life in Ratisbon and the loss of his old court companions and fellow revellers, including Waller and Rochester, to acquire a new interest in reading.⁹⁹ In addition to the works of Voiture, Etherege also owned copies of the works of Sarrasin and Boileau.¹⁰⁰ While it is entirely reasonable to assume that the copy of Voiture owned by Etherege is that from which he took the text of ‘Uranie’, it is still unclear as to where Etherege obtained the edition of Voiture. If he did use it for his translation, he must have obtained it considerably earlier than 1685, as the translation first appeared in print in *A Collection of Poems, Written Upon Several Occasions*, 1672.¹⁰¹ Etherege may have spent time in France as a boy or as a young man, but there is no direct evidence for this, and in any case, the supposed period of residence in France would probably have been earlier than 1656.¹⁰² I have found no references as to where Etherege obtained his books prior to his time at Ratisbon. While in Ratisbon, Etherege was apt to ask correspondents in London and Paris to send him copies of new plays and operas.¹⁰³

There is scant information as to where John Oldham obtained his copy of Voiture’s ‘Stances sur une Dame...’. Oldham’s modern editor dates this translation to 1676 or 1677, when Oldham was writing other satiric and obscene verses intended to impress the court wits.¹⁰⁴ Oldham is perhaps most likely to have used a recently published edition of Voiture, such as that of 1665, 1668 or 1672. It is also not impossible that a suggestive poem such as ‘Stances sur une Dame’ could have been

⁹⁸ John Barnard, ‘Etherege, Sir George (1636-1691/2)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8923>> [accessed 10 December 2008]

⁹⁹ ‘“The life I have lead”, he observed, “has afforded me little time to turn over bookes”. But in Ratisbon, because conversation was there “as tedious to me as Books when I had the advantage of good Companie”, he declared, “Reading is the most constant and best entertainment I have now” ’ (‘Sir George Etherege’s Reading in Ratisbon’, p. 123). Beal quotes from Etherege’s letters to Dover and Middleton, 28 December 1687 and 25 March 1688. See Frederick Bracher, introduction, *Letters of Sir George Etherege* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974, pp. 166, 189).

¹⁰⁰ ‘Sir George Etherege’s Reading at Ratsibon’, p. 128.

¹⁰¹ George Etherege, *The Poems of Sir George Etherege*, ed. by James Thorpe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 76.

¹⁰² ‘If it could be confirmed, Oldy’s conjecture that he “travelled into France, and perhaps Flanders also, in his younger years” would explain Etherege’s facility with that language. Sir George’s father was certainly in France in, and probably for some time preceding, 1650. He might well have had with him his oldest son, then 12 or 13, especially since many schools, like Lord Williams at Thame, had been badly disorganized by the fighting during the Civil Wars. But I can find no real evidence’ (*Letters of Sir George Etherege*), p. xv.

¹⁰³ Beal, pp. 123-24.

¹⁰⁴ *Poems*, p. xxviii.

copied from an edition of Voiture's poems and circulated among the Restoration libertine courtiers.

There is a similar lack of evidence as to where John Dryden obtained the copy of Voiture's *Œuvres* from which he took 'Amour sur sa loy'. The first recorded performance of *Sir Martin Mar-all*, in which Dryden's translation was included, was in 1667.¹⁰⁵ Assuming that Dryden made the translation specifically for the play, and that the play was written shortly before its first performance, he is likely to have used a copy of the 1665 edition of the *Œuvres*. There is no record of Dryden ever having been to France.

2.2.4 Tristan

Tristan's output in terms of lyric poetry was 'la plus considérable du règne de Louis XIII'.¹⁰⁶ His first publication was a separate edition of *La Mer* in 1628, although it is likely he began to write poetry considerably earlier.¹⁰⁷ Tristan's lyric poems were read and circulated in manuscript before he assembled them into collections.¹⁰⁸ The first of these collections, *Les Plaintes d'Acante* (1633), was extended to become *Les Amours* in 1638. Tristan's third collection of lyric poems, *La Lyre*, was published in 1641 and his collection of *Vers Héroïques* in 1648. Tristan's poems also appeared in *Poésies Galantes et héroïques du sieur Tristan: contenant ses amours, sa lyre, les plaintes d'Acante, la maison d'Astrée, la belle gueuse, l'aveugle amoureux, les terreurs nocturnes, diverses chansons, la Comédie des fleurs, l'Amour travesty, la Belle ingrate, Epistre burlesque, la Servitude, la Belle gorge et autres pieces curieuses sur différents sujets* (Paris: J. B. Loyson, 1662). Despite this prolific output, however, while the works of Saint-Amant and Théophile were reprinted several times during the seventeenth century, and editions of their works appeared during the nineteenth century,¹⁰⁹ *La Lyre* and *Les Plaintes d'Acante* were not reprinted until the twentieth century.¹¹⁰ *Les Amours* was reprinted only once during the seventeenth century, with

¹⁰⁵ John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. by John Loftis, 10 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), I.

¹⁰⁶ Antoine Adam, quoted in *La Lyre*, p. xi.

¹⁰⁷ *Le Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, p. 1231.

¹⁰⁸ *La Lyre*, p. xiv.

¹⁰⁹ *Œuvres complètes de Théophile. Nouvelle Edition. Revue, annotée et précédée d'une notice biographique par M. Alleaume archiviste paléographe* (Paris: Jannet, 1855-56).

¹¹⁰ The *Plaintes d'Acante* were edited by Jacques Madelaine in 1909 and *La Lyre* by Jean-Pierre Chauveau in 1977.

some additions, under the title of *Les Amours de Feu Mr. Tristan, et Autres Pieces Curieuses* (Paris: Gabriel Quinet, 1662).

Three of Tristan's poems were translated in Caroline England; Thomas Stanley adapted the conventional love lyrics 'La Plainte d'Acante'¹¹¹ and 'Stances LXXV' from *Les Amours*, entitled 'Le Bracelet' (II, pp. 145-46), and Edward Sherburne adapted 'Fantaisie: un jour Amour sur la verdure' (II, p. 136). Sherburne's adaptation, entitled 'The Defeat', appears on page 59 of *Poems and Translations*.

None of these poems was included in the *recueils collectifs*, perhaps suggesting that they were not among Tristan's most well-known or popular poems. Tristan was poorly represented in the earlier *recueils*; only three of his poems were published in this form before 1635.¹¹² He fared better in the mid-century *recueils*, however, with thirty-seven appearances in those published between 1636-1661, including five in the *Recueil Sercy*.¹¹³

Thomas Stanley is more than likely to have taken the text of both 'Le Bracelet' and 'La Plainte d'Acante' from a copy of *Les Amours* (1638). As already noted, it is to be assumed that Stanley came across Tristan while in France, and that he brought a copy of the French poet's works back with him, although as far as I am aware there is no proof of this. As with their translations from Saint-Amant, Stanley and Edward Sherburne may well have used the same copy when translating from Tristan. Sherburne's modern editor does not mention the works of Tristan among the French poetic texts in his library.

2.2.5 Scudéry

Three poems claiming to be translations from Georges de Scudéry were written in Caroline England. In at least two of these cases, Scudéry's authorship is uncertain. The 'Stances Envoyez par le Sieur de Scudéry A l'Altezze de Madame la Duchess de Lorrein Avec son Grand Cyrus', of which the French and English versions are printed consecutively in Richard Flecknoe's *Epigrams of all sorts, made at divers times on several occasions* (London: Printed for the Author, and Will. Crook, at the Green-

¹¹¹ Tristan L'Hermite, *Œuvres complètes II Poésie (I)*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Chauveau with Véronique Adam, Alain Génétiot and Françoise Graziani (Paris: Champion, 2002), pp. 173-92. All further references to this edition will be given in parentheses in the text.

¹¹² Lachèvre, I, pp. 322-23.

¹¹³ Lachèvre, II, pp. 493-95.

dragon without Temple-bar, 1670, pp. 8-9), is not printed in the modern edition of *Le Grand Cyrus*.¹¹⁴ It is possible that both the French and English versions were written by Flecknoe, who may have been musing indulgently on the encomiastic and romantic activities of a well-known French salon author. The ‘Stances de Monsieur de Scudéry’ translated by Charles Cotton does not appear in Scudéry’s *Poésies Diverses* (1649).¹¹⁵ *Poésies Diverses* contained previously unpublished poems as well as poems which had appeared in a *plaquette* or a *recueil collectif* since 1637.¹¹⁶ Neither does the poem appear in an earlier collection of verse, the *Autres œuvres du Sieur de Scudéry*, of which there were editions in 1631, 1633 and 1635. It is possible, given that the lady is addressed as ‘Fair Nymph’ and has the pastoral name of Aminta, that these stanzas are taken from one of Scudéry’s prose romances. Katherine Philips adapted a pastoral poem from the first part of Scudéry’s *Almahide*.¹¹⁷ The French prose romances were a significant source of verses for English translators. Thomas Stanley translated a poem taken from D’Urfé’s *L’Astrée*,¹¹⁸ and Philips translated a poem entitled ‘Tendres Désirs’, with the sub-title ‘Out of a French Prose’, of which the source has yet to be identified.¹¹⁹ The French prose romances were popular with English readers, and were frequently translated into English.¹²⁰ Philips herself is known to have read them.¹²¹ Again, it is difficult to say with any certainty exactly where either Stanley or Philips obtained the texts of the verses taken from prose texts which they subsequently translated. Roberts hints that Philips, who, as has been mentioned, never went to France, may have requested that a copy of *Almahide* be sent to her from France: ‘The printing of this volume of Scudéry’s long Moorish novel was

¹¹⁴ The texts of both the French and English versions are given in Appendix B, p. 241.

¹¹⁵ Cotton’s translation appears on pages 260-61 of *Poems on Several Occasions*, and is given in Appendix B, pp. 240-41.

¹¹⁶ *Poésies diverses*, I, p. 13. Scudéry’s poems were not included abundantly in the *recueils collectifs*. Lachèvre lists just four inclusions in the *recueils* before 1635 and seventeen in the *recueils* published between 1636-1661. See Lachèvre, I, pp. 308-09, and II, pp. 474-75.

¹¹⁷ ‘A Pastoral of Mons. de = Scudéry’s. In ye first volume of *Almahide-Englised*.’ The translation is found in II, pp. 102-116, and the original on pages 232-44. The novel was published under the name of Georges de Scudéry, but it is now accepted that, along with most of Scudéry’s novels, it was actually written by Madelaine. (See *Le Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, p. 1169). It is not impossible, however, that the poem translated by Philips was written by Georges; as will be seen in chapter 6, it bears considerable similarities to his conventional love lyrics.

¹¹⁸ ‘The Breath’ can be found in *Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. 3, and the original poem, ‘Sonnet. Il parle au vent’, on pages 367-77.

¹¹⁹ The text of this translation is found in *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips*, III, p. 92.

¹²⁰ For example, an English version of *L’Astrée* was printed by W. W. Moseley, T. Dring, and H. Herringman (1658) and a translation of *Clélie* was printed by Herringman and others in 1678. Scudéry’s *Ibrahim* was translated by Henry Coogan (1674).

¹²¹ Philip Webster Souers, *The Matchless Orinda* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 33.

completed by 30 November 1660; hence the published text, however eager she might have been to obtain it, could have reached her in London in December at the earliest.¹²²

3.4 The *Recueils Collectifs*: an Important Source for English Translators

In most cases mentioned so far in this chapter, English translators are most likely to have taken their source poems from the collected works of the individual French poets from whom they were translating. This is surely in keeping with expectation; it would be natural to assume that poems by major poets such as Malherbe and Maynard would be read in and taken from their collected works. There are, however, several instances where translators took their source poems from the *recueils collectifs*, a phenomenon which raises interesting questions about how French poetry, and possibly other foreign poetry, was read in England, and about the effect of the way poetry was published in seventeenth-century France on what was translated in contemporary England. The library catalogues and booksellers' lists examined in chapter 1 support the impression gained from translations that English readers often tended to read French poetry in the poetic anthologies rather than reading the collected works of individual authors.

There were about sixty poetic anthologies published in France during the seventeenth century.¹²³ The *recueils* appeared in abundance during the first twenty years of the century, followed by a decline between 1620 and 1630.¹²⁴ While Viala notes that 'Le rythme redevient soutenu ensuite, jusqu'à la Fronde' (p. 125), Antoine Adam attributes little importance to the *recueils* published between 1630-1641, which consisted mainly of encomiastic verse and *galant* poetry.¹²⁵ It is generally agreed that there was a marked decline in the publication of the *recueils* during the Fronde. This decline ended in 1652 when Chamoudry and Sercy began to publish their anthologies. The surge in publication during the 1650s and early 1660s was followed by 'un net déclin' in the last third of the seventeenth century.¹²⁶

¹²² 'The Dating of Orinda's French Translations', p. 58.

¹²³ Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain*, p. 124.

¹²⁴ Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain*, p. 125.

¹²⁵ Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française au XVII^e siècle*, 5 vols (Paris: Domat, 1948-56), I, p. 333.

¹²⁶ Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain*, p. 125.

Critics and literary historians regard the changing fortunes and nature of the *recueils* as an indicator of the changes in fortune and taste which French lyric poetry itself underwent. Henri Lafay considers the ‘multiplication des recueils collectifs’ in the first third of the seventeenth century an ‘excellent signe’ of the flourishing of lyric at that time.¹²⁷ Delphine Denis considers the growth in the number of *recueils* with the word *galant* in the title during the 1660s as an indicator of the establishment of the term in literary and bibliographical terminology.¹²⁸

Viala shares the view expressed several times in this chapter, that the appearance of a poem in the *recueils collectifs* provides some indication of its popularity:

Ces anthologies proposaient au public ce qui passait pour le meilleur de la production, soit par sa nouveauté, soit par sa réputation bien établie. Les titres l’annoncent haut et clair: Chamoudry vend le *Nouveau Recueil des poésies des plus célèbres Auteurs de ce temps* (1653) comme Du Bray proposait les *Délices de la Poésie* (1620).¹²⁹

Viala also notes that while ‘On sait mal qui achetait ces recueils’, ‘on y retrouve quantité de textes qui avaient, auparavant, circulé dans le réseau académique ou dans les salons: ce que les spécialistes (académies) et les amateurs avertis (salons) ont apprécié est proposé, par le passage à l’imprimé, à l’ensemble du public curieux de littérature (*Naissance de l’écrivain*, p. 126).

The anthologies can be divided broadly into the categories of general and specific. The general *recueils* such as the *Jardin des Muses* (1643) interspersed many poetic types and forms, and often juxtaposed the works of rival authors such as Malherbe and Desportes.¹³⁰ Some general *recueils*, however, reflected particular literary trends and movements, such as the dominance of Malherbe and his followers in the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, and several anthologies published during the 1660s which were largely given over to *galant* poetry.¹³¹ The specific *recueils* were often encomiastic, celebrating the king or a noble. The *recueils satyriques* occupy, as Viala notes, ‘une place à part’ among the specific *recueils* (p. 127). Beginning with *La Muse folastre* (1600) and ending in 1626 following the publication of the *Parnasse*

¹²⁷ Lafay, p. 53.

¹²⁸ Denis, p. 13.

¹²⁹ Viala, *Naissance de l’écrivain*, p. 125.

¹³⁰ Viala, *Naissance de l’écrivain*, p. 126.

¹³¹ Viala, p. 127. See also Denis, p. 13.

Satyrique and the subsequent trial of Théophile de Viau and censorship of subversive literature, the *recueils satyriques* did not have an equivalent either in the sixteenth century or after 1626.¹³² Viala notes that these anthologies ‘ont bien une unité d’ordre thématique, mais réunissent des textes de “manières” diverses: *Le Cabinet Satyrique* associait des malherbiens et des tenants de Desportes’ (*Naissance de l’écrivain*, p. 127).

Charles Cotton provides a useful starting point for a discussion of the effect of using the *recueils collectifs* on which French poetic texts were translated in seventeenth-century England. Interestingly, Cotton took seventeen of the twenty-three French poems he translated from two of the most significant and best-known anthologies, the *Recueil des plus beaux vers* and *Poesies Choisies de Messieurs Corneille, Benserade, De Scudery, Sarrazin, Boisrobert, Desmarests, Cotin, Maleville, De Laffemas, De Montereuil, Chevreau, Menard, Vignier, Petit, Maucroy, Perain, Le Brut, De Issy, et de Plusieurs autres. Seconde Partie* (‘Recueil Sercy’, 1653).

As mentioned, Cotton owned a copy of the 1638 edition of the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, which, as he recorded on the inside cover, was given to him by Isaac Walton in 1668.¹³³ It is impossible to say where Walton obtained the *recueil*; I have not found any reference to him ever having been to France. The *Recueil des plus beaux vers* was published by Toussaint Du Bray, one of the most prolific producers of poetic anthologies in seventeenth-century France.¹³⁴ Du Bray had previously published the *Nouveau recueil des plus beaux vers de ce temps* (1609) and the three editions of the *Délices* in 1615, 1618 and 1620. The first edition of the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, in 1626, must have been acclaimed among literary audiences, as it was reprinted the following year, and an enlarged version was published in 1630. The 1630 edition was reprinted in 1638, and again in 1642, under a slightly different title.¹³⁵ The dominance of Malherbe and his followers in this *recueil* has already been mentioned. As Roméo Arbour has noted, Du Bray makes clear in his ‘avis aux

¹³² Frédéric Lachèvre, *Les Recueils collectifs de poésies libres et satyriques publiés de 1600 à 1626* (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), p. vii.

¹³³ Parks, p. 18.

¹³⁴ Roméo Arbour’s book *Un éditeur d’œuvres littéraires au XVIIe siècle: Toussaint Du Bray (1604-1636)* (Genève: Droz, 1992) provides a detailed account of Du Bray’s career as a publisher and editor. The second chapter, entitled ‘Le Spécialiste de la Littérature’, provides an overview of Du Bray’s output in the various genres and types of publication, including the *recueils collectifs*.

¹³⁵ See Lachèvre, I, p. 69 and Arbour, pp. 73-74.

lecteurs' that he intends the anthology to be 'en quelque sorte un hommage à Malherbe et à sa réforme'.¹³⁶ The poems of individual authors are grouped together in the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, with the works of lesser known poets grouped together under the heading of 'Divers Auteurs'. Arbour points out that, whereas in previous anthologies authors had been placed in no particular order, and the works of a particular author dispersed throughout the volume, 'Du Bray est le premier à grouper toutes les pièces d'un même auteur, formant en quelque sorte de mini-recueils, et à disposer les auteurs selon un ordre de célébrité, ordre qui dans les recueils postérieurs se modifiera selon le mouvement même de la poésie et l'émergence de nouvelles étoiles' (p. 68). For each author, the encomiastic poems are printed first, followed by the religious poems, and then other types of poetry.

As far as Cotton is concerned, the most significant example of how using a *recueil* rather than the collected works of an author affected which poems he translated is the nine Maynard *épigrammes* which he took from the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*. These are the only poems by Maynard to be translated in Caroline England. Maynard's collected works were not published until 1646,¹³⁷ the year of his death, and at least twenty years after many of the poems were written. A small collection of Maynard's verse, containing principally *épigrammes*, had been published by a friend without the poet's permission in 1638.¹³⁸ Before the publication of these volumes, many of Maynard's poems had already appeared in the *recueils*; indeed, he was 'le poète qui a apporté la plus forte contribution aux recueils collectifs de son temps.'¹³⁹ Two hundred and nine of Maynard's poems were published in the *recueils* between 1607 and 1635. Six of his poems appeared in the first volume of *Le Parnasse* (1607) and three in the second volume. The first edition of the *Délices* (1615) contained thirty-two poems by Maynard, and thus 'La rentrée de Maynard ou plutôt l'entrée du poète toulousain est le fait majeur du recueil'.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Arbour, p. 73. While Malherbe's poems had been placed second and third in Du Bray's previous *recueils*, they were placed first in the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, acknowledging Malherbe's position as the 'plus grand poète vivant et le plus respecté à la Cour et à l'Hôtel de Rambouillet' (p. 73).

¹³⁷ *Les Œuvres de Maynard*, à Paris, chez Augustin Courbé, dans la petite salle du palais, à la Palme, 1646.

¹³⁸ *Pieces nouvelles de Monsieur de Maynard*. A Toulouse, par Arnaud Colomiez, imprimeur ordinaire du Roy et de L'Université, 1638.

¹³⁹ Lachèvre, I, p. 242.

¹⁴⁰ A. Stegmann, 'Les recueils de poésie (1597-1720)', in *Maynard et son temps*, pp. 255-83 (p. 271). Stegmann provides an overview of the Maynard poems included in the 1615 *Délices* and its subsequent editions, noting interestingly that some of Maynard's more unsavoury *épigrammes* were removed from the 1620 *Délices*, indicating a 'nouveau purisme moral et esthétique' (p. 273).

Of the nine Maynard *épigrammes* translated by Cotton, only three were included in the 1646 *Œuvres*: ‘Ca, Maresse, le verre en main’,¹⁴¹ ‘Jean qui dans ce tombeau’,¹⁴² and ‘Pourquoy mettez-vous tant de peine’¹⁴³. The other six *épigrammes* Cotton translated appeared in print only in the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*. It is significant that Cotton used a later edition of this *recueil* as opposed to the first edition, as three of the *épigrammes* he translated (‘Des hommes à bonne cervelle’,¹⁴⁴ ‘Ca, Maresse, le verre en main’, and ‘Pourquoy mettez-vous tant de peine’), appeared for the first time in the 1630 edition of the anthology.

The publication of Maynard’s *Œuvres* (1646) was organised by the poet himself at the end of his life; it can therefore be assumed that the two hundred and sixty-eight poems included constitute what Maynard considered his best work, or at least those he thought fit for public consumption. Gomberville revealed in the *Préface* to the *Œuvres* that, contrary to his own opinion, Maynard considered some of his earlier *épigrammes* unworthy of inclusion:

Il est vray qu’il a supprimé un grand nombre d’excellentes pièces, et qu’estant devenu trop prudent en devenant sexagenaire, il est tombé dans un tel excez de scrupule que de la crainte de scandalizer quelque ame foible, il a passé jusqu’à l’injustice de persecuter l’innocence, j’entens celle de ses Epigrammes, que son humeur trop severe a condamnées à une prison perpetuelle. Je sçay qu’elles estoient Epigrammes, c’est à dire charmantes, delicieuses, capables de tanter l’esprit, et d’émouvoir quelque peu de désordre en la partie inferieure de l’homme. Mais si ces qualitez sont des crimes, il faut priver la nature de la plus belle partie d’elle mesme, il faut banir des villes leur principale gloire et leur veritable ornement: il faut peupler les deserts et les Cloistres de toutes les belles femmes, il faut que le monde soit le partage des laides et des vieilles.¹⁴⁵

Of the three *épigrammes* translated by Cotton which were included in the 1646 *Œuvres*, only ‘Pourquoy mettez-vous tant de peine’ is unsavoury and mildly offensive.

¹⁴¹ The French *épigramme* can be found in *Poésies de François Maynard: recueil de 1646 et choix de divers autres recueils*, ed. by Ferdinand Gohin (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1927), p. 106, and Cotton’s translation in *Poems on Several Occasions*, p. 632. Both are given in Appendix B, p. 243.

¹⁴² The original poem is in *Poésies de François Maynard*, p. 117, and Cotton’s translation in *Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 628-29. Both are given in Appendix B, p. 244.

¹⁴³ The text of this poem is found in *Poésies de François Maynard*, p. 97.

¹⁴⁴ The original poem is in the *Recueil des plus beaux vers de Messieurs de Malherbe, Racan, Maynard, Bois-Robert, Monfuron, Lingendes, Touvant, Motin, De Lestoile. Et autres divers Auteurs des plus fameux Esprits de la Cour. Revuez, corrigez, & augmentez*. A Paris, Par Pierre Mettayer, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy. 1638, p. 485, and Cotton’s translation is in *Poems on Several Occasions*, p. 651. The text of this *épigramme* and Cotton’s translation are given in Appendix B, p. 243.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Maynard, *Poésies*, p. 7.

Cotton would have been presented in the 1638 edition of the *Recueil des plus vers*, which includes one hundred and eighty-eight of Maynard's poems, with some *épigrammes* which Maynard would not have considered consistent with the public image which he wanted to create, and leave behind him, in his collected works. While there are no openly obscene poems included either in the section devoted to Maynard or in the whole of the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, the *recueil* does include several of Maynard's *épigrammes* which mock licentious old women and contain sexual references. Cotton chooses to translate some of the cruder and more potentially offensive *épigrammes* included in the *recueil*, and, as will be seen in the following chapter, heightens the vulgarity and brutality.

Cotton also translated two poems by Racan; 'Ode XXVIII', beginning 'Ingrate Cause de mes Larmes',¹⁴⁶ and 'Ode Bachique';¹⁴⁷ again, these were taken from his copy of the 1638 *Recueil des plus beaux vers*. Racan's complete works were not published until 1724;¹⁴⁸ he is thus one of the many seventeenth-century French poets of whom a large number of poems would only have been made available to prospective contemporary English translators in the *recueils collectifs*. The fact that there was no complete seventeenth-century edition of Racan's poetry could also be part of the reason why only two of his poems, thus given above, were translated in contemporary England.¹⁴⁹ Some of Racan's poems were published by La Fontaine in the first two of the three volumes of his own poems in 1671.¹⁵⁰ Twenty-nine of Racan's poems, including *épigrammes*, sonnets, madrigals, odes, stances, and chansons, followed by the *Bergeries* and the 'Stances sur la Retraite' were published in the second volume of Breugière de Barante's 1698 *Recueil des plus belles épigrammes des poètes françois*. Breugière's reason for not including any of Racan's poems in the first volume was the public clamour for an edition of Racan's works,

¹⁴⁶ The texts of the original poem and Cotton's translation are given in Appendix B, p. 238. Racan's poem can be found in *Poésies*, ed. by Louis Arnould, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1930), I, pp. 107-08. All subsequent references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text. Cotton's translation can be found in *Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 250-52.

¹⁴⁷ The text of the original poem is found in I, pp. 61, 65, and the text of Cotton's translation in *Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 319-22. Both are given in Appendix B, pp. 238-40.

¹⁴⁸ *Les Œuvres de M. Honorat de Bueil, Chevalier Seigneur de Racan*, 1724.

¹⁴⁹ There were, however, collections of some of Racan's poems, such as the *Bergeries*, first published in 1625 and re-edited several times in the seventeenth century, the *Odes sacrées* (1651) and the *Dernières Œuvres et poésies chrétiennes de Messire Honorat de Bueil* (1660).

¹⁵⁰ *Poésies lyriques*, I, p. vii. The title of the first volume is *Recueil de poésies chrétiennes et diverses par M. de la Fontaine*, and the title of the second volume, like the third, is *Recueil de poésies diverses par M. de la Fontaine*.

which led him to devote the entire second volume to Racan.¹⁵¹ Before these two editions, the only printed sources of Racan's poems were the *recueils collectifs*. Sixteen of Racan's poems were included in the second edition of the *Délices de la Poésie française* (1618), ten in the *Second Livre des Délices* (1620), and eight in *Les Délices de la Poésie française ou dernier recueil des plus beaux vers de ce temps* (1620). The *Recueil des plus vers* (1626) contained twenty-seven poems by Racan.¹⁵² Both poems translated by Cotton must have been admired and popular among readers, as both were included in the *Délices* (1620), as well as being included in the 1626, 1627, 1630 and 1638 editions of the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*.

Another well-known and admired French poem translated by Cotton and only made available to him in the *recueils collectifs*, and taken from his 1638 edition of the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, was the Comte de Cramail's 'La Nuit'.¹⁵³ The popularity of 'La Nuit', the only one of Cramail's poems to be published at all, is attested by its appearance in the 1615, 1618 and 1620 editions of the *Délices*.¹⁵⁴

As well as taking thirteen poems from the *Recueil des plus beaux vers* (those mentioned above and the *épigramme* by Malherbe mentioned in chapter 3), Cotton also took four *épigrammes* from the *Seconde Partie* of one of the most important mid-century anthologies, the 'Recueil Sercy'.¹⁵⁵ Inspired by the success of Chamoudry's *Recueil de diverses poesies des plus celebres auteurs de ce temps* two years previously, Charles de Sercy 'n'hésita pas à recueillir toutes les pièces les plus intéressantes dont il put se procurer une copie'.¹⁵⁶ Adam notes that both of these *recueils* aimed to 'faire connaître à un large public les compositions nouvelles'.¹⁵⁷ Sercy claimed in his *Épître décidatoire* in the *Première Partie* that the poems had been given to him by their authors:

¹⁵¹ 'Le public, dans la rareté des premiers exemplaires du poète, souhaitait depuis longtemps qu'on en fit une nouvelle édition', quoted in *Poésies Lyriques*, p. viii.

¹⁵² See Lachèvre, I, pp. 285-89.

¹⁵³ The text of 'La Nuit' can be found in Jean-Pierre Chauveau, ed., *Anthologie de la poésie française du XVIIe siècle* (Paris : Gallimard, 1987), pp. 170-72.

¹⁵⁴ The poem first appeared in the *Nouveau recueil des plus beaux vers de ce temps* (1609). See Lachèvre, I, p. 153.

¹⁵⁵ *Poésies Choisies de Messsieurs Corneille, Benserade, De Scudéry, Sarrazin, Boisrobert, Desmarets, Cotin, Maleville, De Laffemas, De Montreuil, Chevreau, Menard, Vignier, Petit, Maucroy, Perain, Le Brat, De Issy, et de plusieurs autres. Seconde Partie*. A Paris, Chez Charles de Sercy, au Palais, dans la Salle Daupline, à la Bonne-Foy couronnée. 1653. While, as mentioned, Cotton signed his copy of the 'Recueil Sercy', I have found no reference as to where he obtained it. Given that the *Seconde partie* was first published in 1653, the year before Cotton was in France, it is reasonable to suppose that Cotton brought this anthology back with him.

¹⁵⁶ Lachèvre, II, p. 52.

¹⁵⁷ Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française*, II, p. 47.

Je serois encore dans l'impuissance de reconesttre les obligations que je vous ay, si les plus grands Génies de ce Royaume ne m'avoient fourny de quoy vous satisfaire. Je vous offre ce qu'ils m'ont donné, m'assurant que vous n'aurez pas désagréable que je m'acquite du bien d'autrui, et que les plus agréables Rimes de ce temps vous persuadent que je ne seray jamais ingrâte à toutes vos bontez.¹⁵⁸

The poems included in the 'Recueil Sercy' were well received by contemporaries.¹⁵⁹ The public reception of the *Première Partie* surpassed Sercy's expectations, 'et il dut, quatre mois après, les réimprimer avec des augmentations importantes, en ajoutant la mention de *Première partie* (seconde édition); en même temps il publia une IIe partie (12 Août 1653).'¹⁶⁰ Subsequent editions of both the first and second parts appeared the following year, and the third, fourth and fifth parts were published in 1656, 1658 and 1660 respectively.¹⁶¹ All five volumes were reprinted by Laurens Maury in 1660-61, and Lachèvre notes at least two subsequent reprints between 1662 and 1666 (II, p. 52).

Delphine Denis has observed that Sercy drew more attention to the *galant* poetry included in his anthology with each successive part. While the 'Avis au Lecteur' in the *Première Partie* highlighted the diversity of the poems included, noting that serious and *galant* poems were often printed consecutively, that of the *Cinquième Partie* drew attention to the 'quantité de Pieces assez galantes et achevées' (pp. 12-13). The 'Libraire Au Lecteur' in the *Seconde Partie* presents the volume as homage to *galant* poetry as the mark of taste and delicacy:

Il n'y rien qui n'ait sa grâce particulière; et c'est tout ce qui s'est fait de plus spirituel et de plus galant depuis que la Poésie est venue à ce point de délicatesse où elle est maintenant.¹⁶²

Whereas the *Recueil des plus beaux vers* was effectively divided into mini *recueils* which included a substantial number of poems by individual authors, the 'Recueil Sercy' does not, on the whole, group poems of individual authors together,

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Lachèvre, II, p. 54.

¹⁵⁹ Lachèvre notes that Sorel was so impressed with Sercy's anthology of poetry that he commissioned him to produce an anthology of prose, under the title *Recueil de pièces en prose les plus agréables de ce temps*. II, p. 52.

¹⁶⁰ Lachèvre, II, p. 52.

¹⁶¹ Lachèvre, II, p. 52.

¹⁶² Quoted in Lachèvre, II, p. 62.

and includes many poems printed without attribution or signed only with an initial. Intermingling works by various authors was the more usual pattern in the *recueils collectifs*.¹⁶³ Véronique Adam has observed that the *recueils* therefore ‘brisent l’unité d’une oeuvre individuelle, et gommant l’individualité de chaque artiste.’¹⁶⁴ Delphine Denis has drawn attention to the significant number of poems which appeared in the *recueils collectifs* throughout the century without attribution, remarking that ‘La tendance s’affirme plus nettement encore dans la seconde moitié du siècle’, and ‘ce constat est particulièrement pertinent pour les recueils galants’ (p. 131). Denis suggests that this phenomenon, ‘qui rompt très largement avec la pratique du poète triomphant au XVIIe siècle, faisant sonner haut et fort son nom, sa langue et son “génie”’, can be explained by the desire of authors from the upper echelons not to be seen as professional writers (pp. 131-32).

Three of the *épigrammes* taken by Cotton from the *Seconde Partie* of the ‘Recueil Sercy’ are unattributed in the French anthology, and are given incorrect or unproven attributions in Cotton’s *Poems on Several Occasions*. This again raises interesting questions about the effects of French publication trends on what was used as source material, and how it was dealt with, in England, and about the impression of French poetry and poets given due to misattributions. The *épigramme* ‘Cy-dessous gist un grand Seigneur’,¹⁶⁵ unattributed in the French anthology, is attributed in Cotton’s *Poems on Several Occasions* to Benserade (p. 636), of whom Charles Sembower remarked that the poem is not characteristic.¹⁶⁶ While the *épigramme* is not of the *galant* type of verse with which Benserade is most frequently associated, the 1698 edition of his *Œuvres* includes a large number of comic epitaphs in the vein of ‘Cy dessous’.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, there is a whole section entitled ‘Le Cy Gist, ou Divers Epitaphs’. It is possible that Cotton had come across some of these in manuscript form while in France; that would provide a possible explanation as to why he

¹⁶³ Laure Himy-Piéri remarks of Du Bray’s first poetic anthology, the *Nouveau Recueil des plus beaux vers de ce temps* (1609): ‘Il a la particularité de regrouper les textes par nom d’auteur (alors que l’éparpillement était alors la règle), et de classer les auteurs selon un ordre de notoriété’. ‘Figure de Malherbe dans *Les Délices de la Poésie Française* de Toussaint du Bray (1620)’, in *Pour des Malherbe. Actes publiés sous la direction de Laure Himy-Piéri et Chantal Liaroutzos* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2008), pp. 125-37.

¹⁶⁴ Véronique Adam, *Images fanées*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁵ *Seconde Partie* of the *Recueil Sercy*, p. 208. The *épigramme* and Cotton’s translation are given in Appendix B, p. 244.

¹⁶⁶ Sembower, p. 84.

¹⁶⁷ Isaac de Benserade, *Les Œuvres de Monsieur de Benserade. Première Partie*. Chez Charles de Sercy, au Palais, au sixième Pilier de Grand’Sale, vis-à-vis la Monnaie de la Cour des Aydes à la bonne Foy couronnée. 1698.

attributed this *épigramme* to Benserade. In doing so, either Cotton or his editor could also have been adding importance to the translation by claiming the original was written by a well-known French salon poet. However, while the poem does not appear in either the 1698 or 1875 editions of Benserade's work, it is included in *Lettres et Poésies de Madame la Comtesse de Brégy*.¹⁶⁸

Charlotte Saumaise de Chezan, comtesse de Brégy, was lady-in-waiting to Anne of Austria. A favourite of both the queen and Mazarin, she was a frequent participant in court entertainments and composed 'Questions d'Amour'. She also frequently attended Mlle de Montpesier's salon. Brégy excelled in exchanging *galant* letters with leading court and society figures. Her published output consists of two light prose works, *La sphere de la lune* (1652) and *La reflexion de la lune sur les hommes* (1654), as well as the *Lettres et Poésies*.¹⁶⁹ This volume contains forty-four letters and only nine poems, excluding a pastoral dialogue and several 'Questions d'Amour'. The poems consist mainly of the predictable amorous lyrics which would have pleased both court and salon audiences. In one stanzas and one sonnet, the male speaker pours out his sufferings at the cruelty of his mistress. There is, however, a gently erotic stanzas, in which a shepherd invites his friend to go with him to observe a nymph. The only *épigramme* apart from that translated by Cotton is on the 'Querelle de Job et d'Uranie'. 'Cy gist un grand Seigneur' seems decidedly out of place among the conventional love lyrics and occasional verses. Indeed, it is probably easier to believe that the poem was written by Benserade. Whichever of the two poets wrote it, however, it is true that the poem is not representative of the *galant* and conventional lyrics with which they are most frequently associated, and that Cotton's use of a *recueil collectif* as opposed to an edition of collected works contributed to the selection of a poem which is not consistent with the literary image and reputation of either poet.

This kind of gently satiric *épigramme* mocking an individual does, however, appear very frequently in the *Seconde Partie* of the *Recueil Sercy*. The individuals mocked are invariably men; this *recueil* contains no misogynistic *épigrammes*. Cotton translated two other *épigrammes* mocking individuals, 'Après tant d'ouvrages divers'

¹⁶⁸ *Les Lettres et Poésies de Madame La Comtesse de Bregy*. A Leyde, Chez Antoine du Val, près de l'Academie. 1666. See Lachèvre, II, p. 536.

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.siefar.org/DictionnaireSIEFAR/SFBregy.html>

and ‘Martin ce fameux éffronté’.¹⁷⁰ The first of these is one of eleven poems attributed to Charles Cotin printed consecutively in the *seconde partie* of the *Recueil Sercy*. Grouping together several poems by the same author is, as has been mentioned, contrary to the trend of the *recueil* as a whole. The first collection of Cotin’s secular poems, entitled *Œuvres meslées de Mr. Cotin, de L’Académie Françoise. Contenant Enigmes, Odes, Sonnets et Epigrammes*, was published in 1659, with a second edition in 1666. Both Cotin’s *Œuvres galantes en prose et en vers* and *Suite des œuvres galantes de M. Cotin* appeared in 1663, and his *Œuvres galantes de M. Cotin, tant en vers qu’en prose* in 1665. ‘Après tant d’ouvrages divers’ was included in the *Œuvres Meslées* but not in the 1665 *Œuvres galantes*. ‘Martin ce fameux éffronté’ is unattributed in the *Recueil Sercy*, and despite his painstaking attempts to reattribute unsigned poems in the *recueils*, Lachèvre does not suggest any possible authors for this *épigramme*. It is, however, attributed to Corneille in Cotton’s *Poems on Several Occasions*. While it is impossible to state with certainty that Corneille did not write the *épigramme*, it seems far more likely that Cotton or the editor of his poems wanted to increase the value of the translation by attributing the original to one of the most prestigious French authors. Cotton’s use of the ‘Recueil Sercy’ as a source for his translations resulted in such an eminent author as Corneille being ‘represented’ in translation by a poem he is unlikely to have written. The Marty-Laveaux edition of Corneille’s *Œuvres* does not contain any *épigrammes* in the vein of ‘Martin’, which mock and satirise individuals. There are, however, a few translations of Latin epigrams by John Owen containing mild sexual jokes.¹⁷¹ An *épigramme* attributed to Corneille in a similar vein appeared in the *Cinquième Partie* of the ‘Recueil des plus beaux vers’.¹⁷²

The *galant épigramme* ‘Je mourray de trop de désir’, again unattributed in the *Seconde Partie* of the ‘Recueil Sercy’ (p. 207), is attributed to Cotin in Cotton’s *Poems on Several Occasions* (pp. 167-68).¹⁷³ There is some confusion as to who actually wrote this poem. It does not appear in Cotin’s *Œuvres*, but does appear in both the 1698 and 1875 editions of Benserade’s poetry. Lachèvre attributes the poem to C. Cerisy.

¹⁷⁰ These poems are printed on pages 256 and 60 respectively of the *Seconde Partie* of the *Recueil Sercy*. Cotton’s translations are on pages 634-35 of *Poems on Several Occasions*. All are given in Appendix B, p. 244.

¹⁷¹ Pierre Corneille, *Œuvres*, ed. by Ch. Marty-Laveaux, 20 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1862), X, pp. 46-49.

¹⁷² *Œuvres*, X, p. 173.

¹⁷³ The original poem and translation are given in Appendix B, p. 244.

Cotton was not the only English poet to use the 'Recueil Sercy' as a source for poems to translate. In a letter to Charles Cotterell, Katherine Philips refers to a translation he had sent her, now lost, of an *élégie* by the Comtesse de la Suze.¹⁷⁴ As the letter is dated 18 March 1661-62, Cotterell could not have taken this *élégie* from the *Recueil de pièces galantes en prose et en vers de Mme la Comtesse de la Suze et de M. Pelisson* (1664), in which the Comtesse's poems were first collected. Four of her *élégies* had been published in the 'Recueil Sercy'. Cotterell served the dukes of Gloucester and York at Dunkirk in 1658;¹⁷⁵ he could have come across the *élégie* during this time, and may have brought a copy of the *recueil* back with him to England.

As well as using two of the best-known general *recueils*,¹⁷⁶ Cotton is also very likely to have used one of the obscene anthologies as his source for Desportes's 'A Phyllis', which he translated as 'Epigramme de Monsieur Desportes' (*Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 165-66), in which a would-be lover / client asks a lady for favours in return for money, and is overjoyed when she eventually offers herself to him *gratis*. Desportes's *Premières Œuvres* were first published in 1573, with twenty-five subsequent editions between 1575 and 1607.¹⁷⁷ The poet's *Œuvres*, first published in 1584, were reprinted nine times between 1591 and 1615, after which date there were no editions of Desportes's secular verse until 1779, although his religious verses continued to be published until 1629. According to Lachèvre, six of Desportes's poems were published in the *recueils collectifs* between 1597 and 1635,¹⁷⁸ although he does not include the four which appeared in the *Délices* (1618).

¹⁷⁴ *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda, volume 2 The Letters*, ed. by Patrick Thomas (Stump Cross: Stump Cross Books, 1990), p. 21.

¹⁷⁵ Roderick Clayton, 'Cotterell, Sir Charles (1615-1701)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxfordnd.com/view/article/6397>> [accessed 4 March 2008]. The pastoral *élégie*, of which a section was imitated by Sir Charles Scroope and included as a song in Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (first performed in 1676), was taken from *Poesies de Madame la Comtesse de la Suze* (1666).

¹⁷⁶ Cotton also used an earlier general poetic anthology; as mentioned in chapter 3, the 'chanson' he translated from Bertaut appeared in the *Nouveau Recueil des plus beaux vers* (1609). The poem does not appear in either of the seventeenth-century editions of Bertaut's works: *Les Œuvres Poétiques de Mr. Bertaut, Evêque de Sees Abbé d'Aunay, premier Aumonier De la Royne. Dernière Edition. Augmentée de plus de moitié outre les précédents Impressions*. A Paris. Chez Toussaint du Bray, rue Saint Jacques aux Espics moeurs. Et en sa Boutique au Palais en la gallerie des prisonniers. 1620, *Recueil des Œuvres Poétiques de I. Bertaut, Abbé d'Aunay, et premier Aumonier de la Royne. Seconde Edition. Augmentée de plus de la moitié outre la précédente Impression*. A Paris, Chez Abel l'Angelin, au premier pillier de la grand'Salle du Palais. 1605.

¹⁷⁷ All bibliographical information on Desportes is taken from the bibliography of the poet's printed and manuscript works in Jacques Lavaud, *Un poète de cour au temps des derniers Valois: Phillipe Desportes (1546-1606)* (Paris: Droz, 1936).

¹⁷⁸ Lachèvre, I, pp. 162-63.

'A Phyllis', written just before Desportes's death, was not published in his collected works.¹⁷⁹ The poem did, however, appear in six *recueils collectifs*: *Le Parnasse* (1607), *Les Satyres Regnier* (1614), *Les Satyres Bastardes et Autres Œuvres Folistres du Cadet Angoulevant* (1615), *Le Recueil des plus excellens Vers Satyrique de ce temps* (1617), the *Délices* (1618) and the *Cabinet Satyrique* (1618), suggesting that the poem was extremely popular among editors and readers. Cotton must have taken his text of the poem from either the *Cabinet Satyrique* or the *Délices*, the only two *recueils* in which the poem is attributed to Desportes, as his translation is entitled 'Epigramme de Desportes' in his *Poems on Several Occasions* (1689). Cotton is perhaps more likely to have used the *Cabinet Satyrique*, as later editions were published in 1619, 1620, 1623 and 1632, and the 1619 edition was reprinted in 1666.¹⁸⁰ Cotton may have come across one of the earlier editions while in France, or equally may have bought or been given the later edition after his return. Another English translation of this poem were made by John Suckling, entitled 'Profer'd Love rejected'.¹⁸¹ Fletcher Orpin Henderson, in his article on the sources of Suckling's two lyric translations from French, has pointed out that Suckling was very likely to have come into contact with French literature while in France in 1629-1630,¹⁸² and it is highly probable that he came across Desportes's poem during this time. Suckling may have either brought back to England the *recueil* from which he took 'A Phyllis' or copied the poem into a commonplace book. Henderson suggests, reasonably, that as both this poem and 'Desdain', Suckling's other lyric translation from French, appeared in the *Satyres Regnier* and the *Recueil des Vers Satyriques*, he is likely to have taken both poems from either one of these *recueils*.¹⁸³

As with Cotton's translations from Maynard, the use of a *recueil* results in rather a different impression of Desportes's *oeuvre* than that which would have been gained if Cotton and Suckling had used an edition of Desportes's collected works. If

¹⁷⁹ Prescott, p. 159.

¹⁸⁰ Lachèvre, *Les Recueils collectifs de poesies Libres et satyriques publiés de 1600 à 1626* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), pp. 39-54.

¹⁸¹ John Suckling, *Sir John Suckling: The Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. by Thomas Clayton (Oxford: OUP, 1971), pp. 54-55. All subsequent references to this edition will be given in parentheses in the text. Desportes' original poem can be found on pp. 209-210 of this edition.

¹⁸² Henderson, p. 281.

¹⁸³ Henderson, p. 287. Henderson points out that 'Desdain' was first published in *Les Muses Gaillardes* (1609), that it was attributed to Motin in the *Recueil des plus excellens Vers de ce Temps*, and that no edition of Motin's works was published during the seventeenth century (p. 284). In 'Desdain', a female speaker refuses her suitor's advances, telling him that she now prefers another. The original is found in Suckling's *Non-Dramatic Works*, pp. 208-09, and the translation on pages 53-54.

'A Phyllis' had been included among Desportes's *Œuvres*, the impression thus given of a writer of delicate, conventional love lyrics would have been edged with a sully shadow. As will be explained further in the following chapter, the original was uncharacteristic of Desportes's poetry in its taste and subject matter, and the fact that the poem was not published in a *recueil* until after Desportes's death suggests he did not intend it for publication or public consumption.

The *recueils* were also a likely source for other unsavoury French poems, notably the 'Imperfect Enjoyment Poems', in which male sexual appetite succumbs to failure at the crucial moment. Richard E. Quaintance, who has provided a detailed examination of the seventeenth-century English translations of French 'Imperfect Enjoyment' poems,¹⁸⁴ notes that Charles Beys's 'Après mille amoureux discours',¹⁸⁵ translated by Etherege, appeared in three or four *recueils collectifs* after its publication in Beys's *Œuvres Poétiques* in 1651,¹⁸⁶ which suggests that the poem was popular with French readers and editors. As already mentioned, references to where Etherege obtained his French books is scant, and it is impossible to state whether he took the poem from Beys' collected works or from an anthology. It is possible that this kind of poem was copied down and passed around among libertine Restoration court circles. This may also be true of another 'imperfect enjoyment' poem, Benech de Cantenac's 'Un jour, le malheureux Lisandre',¹⁸⁷ translated by Aphra Behn and by an anonymous translator. I have found no reference to where or how Aphra Behn obtained any of the poetic texts which she translated from French. She was in France early in 1683,¹⁸⁸ but her translation of Cantenac's poem is likely to have been made around 1680.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Richard E. Quaintance, 'French Sources of the Restoration "Imperfect Enjoyment" Poem', *PQ*, 42 (1963), 190-99

¹⁸⁵ This poem is quoted in full from Beys' *Oeuvres Poétiques* (1651) in Quaintance, pp. 192-93.

¹⁸⁶ Quaintance, p. 194. The *recueils* in which the poem appeared are *Recueil de diverses poésies choisies des sieurs: La Ménardièrre, Rotrou, Benserade, Scarron, Chevrea, Rampalle, etc.* (1660), *Maximes et Loix d'Amour, Lettres, Billets doux et galans, Poésies* (1667), *Elite des Poésies heroïques et gaillardes de ce temps augmentées de plusieurs manuscrits non encore veus.* (1670). It may also have appeared in *Poésies gaillardes et héroïques de ce temps, augmentées du Poème de Zaga Christ, ou la mort du Roy d'Ethiopie, et de plusieurs pièces nouvelles* (1670).

¹⁸⁷ The poem was printed separately, without date or place of publication, and also appeared in several anthologies, including *Recueil de divers poésies choisies non encore imprimées* (1661), *L'Elite des Poésies héroïques et gaillardes* (1670), and *Maximes et Loix d'Amour*. Quaintance, p. 196 and Frédéric Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies publiés de 1597 à 1700* (Paris: Leclerc, 1904), pp. 31-35, 85, 89, 91, 93.

¹⁸⁸ Janet Todd, 'Behn, Aphra (1640?-1689)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxfordnd.com/view/article/1961>> [accessed 10 December 2008]

¹⁸⁹ Line Cotteganies, 'Aphra Behn's French Translations', in *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, ed. by Derek Hughes and Janet Todd (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 221-35 (p. 221).

A study of the transmission and obtainment of the French poetic texts which English translators used for their translations re-emphasises that the practice of translating from contemporary French poetry in Caroline England took place in the context of wider literary and cultural exchange. English poets who had been to France brought copies of the collected works of major French lyrists back to England, probably as part of an overall interest in the literary culture of France, and then proceeded to translate those poems which particularly appealed to their tastes. In some cases, direct contact with French poetry while in France prompted English poets to acquire further French poetic texts on their return to England, thus pursuing their interest in, and knowledge of, contemporary French poetry.

Some of the poems chosen for translation were widely available, appearing in numerous editions of their author's collected works as well as being published separately and included in the *recueils collectifs*. Other French poems translated into English were only published during the seventeenth century in the poetic anthologies. The *recueils collectifs* made available for English readers a significant number of poems which did not appear among their author's seventeenth-century collected works. The *recueils* often brought into the public domain poems which, while popular in private circles, did not form part of their author's desired public image and reputation. Editors often gathered poems for inclusion in their anthologies without the author's knowledge or permission.¹⁹⁰ Many of the poems translated appeared in several French anthologies, suggesting that they may well have been popular in private court and salon circles, but were not included among the collected works of their authors. Often, the use of the *recueils collectifs* as sources for texts to translate resulted in the selection of poems which their French authors would not necessarily have wanted to be identified with, and the creation of a different impression of their *oeuvre*, tastes and character than that created in their collected works, of which they often organised the publication. In taking their source poems from the *recueils collectifs* rather than the collected works of French poets, English translators reveal themselves to be more inclined towards types of poetry than towards individual authors. The large proportion of translations of bawdy and erotic verse can be accounted for by the tendency of poets like Suckling and Cotton to browse in the

¹⁹⁰ Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain*, p. 125. Viala also notes that 'Les auteurs des textes publiés dans ces volumes ne pouvaient donc faire valoir leur droit de propriété sur leurs écrits et en toucher des revenus'.

obscene anthologies, and also, to a lesser extent, in the more general anthologies such as the *Recueil des plus beaux vers*. Maynard's *Œuvres* would have been available to Charles Cotton by the time he was translating from the *Recueil des plus beaux vers* in or after 1668 when it was given to him by Walton. However, instead of using Maynard's collected works, Cotton took from an anthology six *épigrammes* which Maynard had probably wanted to consign to oblivion. The *recueils collectifs* provided a doorway for English poets into the private poetic activities of groups and individuals, and made available for English readers French poems which their authors did not consider fit for public perusal even in their native country.

Chapter 3

Translations of Erotic and Bawdy Poetry

3.1 Seventeenth-Century Attitudes Towards Sexual Literature in France and England

3.1.1 Refining Tendencies in Seventeenth-Century French Literary Culture

Translations of poems which may be categorised as erotic or bawdy make up a considerable number of English translations of French poetry during the Caroline period. These terms are difficult to define, and the uses and parameters of each of them is both varied and highly subjective, often incorporating or implying a value judgement on the part of the literary critic. There have been attempts in recent years to define such terms as ‘erotic’, ‘obscene’ and ‘pornographic’ in relation to French seventeenth-century literature. Roger G. Bougard, in *Erotisme et amour physique dans la littérature française du XVII^e siècle*, noting that ‘De nos jours, l’erotisme est généralement accepté comme la description et l’exaltation de l’amour physique’, defines the literary expression of eroticism as ‘avant tout celui des accouplements et de la jouissance. D’une part, la description des corps, des organes sexuels ou de l’accouplement, et d’autre part l’évocation du désir, du plaisir et de la volupté sont les éléments que l’on retrouve dans les œuvres érotiques.’¹⁹¹ Bougard includes in his corpus of ‘œuvres érotiques’ works which, while consistent with his definition of ‘érotique’, are categorised by more recent critics as obscene or pornographic, including the *Parnasse Satyrique* and *L’Ecole des filles*. More recently Michel Jeanneret has described érotisme as an expression of energy, desire and appetite which is by nature liberated and uncontrolled. The literary and artistic expression of érotisme gives this uncontrolled passion, which would otherwise ‘ne génère que la violence et conduit à la mort’,¹⁹² a form and intellectualisation which contains the very animalistic desire it expresses: ‘Ainsi fonctionne l’erotisme: il exprime d’autant mieux l’intensité du désir qu’il lui impose une bride – la prise en charge par la forme belle.’¹⁹³ Jeanneret notes the difficulties involved in drawing boundaries between such terms as érotique, obscène and pornographique: ‘Le normes qui définissent l’erotisme,

¹⁹¹ Roger. G. Bougard, *Erotisme et amour physique dans la littérature française du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Gaston Lachurié, 1986), p. 8.

¹⁹² Michel Jeanneret, *Eros rebelle: littérature et dissidence à l’âge classique* (Paris: Editions Du Seuil, 2003), p. 12.

¹⁹³ Jeanneret, p. 13.

et à plus forte raison les distinctions entre divers degrés de provocation – l’obscène, le pornographique – sont instables et appellent à chaque fois une enquête particulière’ (p. 14). Jeanneret defines ‘pornographie’ as ‘la représentation du corps humain qui focalise le regard sur les organes sexuels’, and ‘un ensemble de performances qui se déroulent au-dessous de la ceinture: le sexe à l’état pur et sans état d’âme, la jouissance programmée, qui laisse peu de place aux complications de l’imaginaire’ (p. 28). Jeanneret considers that some of the poems included in the *recueils satyriques* fit this category, as they ‘réduisent la personne à son corps, et le corps à ses parties intimes, selon une physiologie jalousement détaillée, célébrée et nommée avec une infinie complaisance (pp. 28-29). Jeanneret defines ‘obscène’ as ‘ce qui avilit la chair et exhibe, en elle, ce qui est perçu comme sale, dégradant, immonde. Si l’obscène est le versant morbide et honteux du sexe, s’il associe l’amour à l’abject, alors les Recueils collectifs ne relèvent pas seulement du pornographique, comme on l’a dit, mais aussi de cette catégorie-là’ (pp. 38-39).

No seventeenth-century French poems translated in Caroline England can be categorised as pornographic or obscene according to Jeanneret’s definitions. There are no translations of poems which describe the sexual organs in detail. Neither are there any translations of poems which describe the sexual organs in a way which is grotesque or humiliating. For the purposes of this chapter, then, the term ‘erotic’ will be used in a way consistent with part, but not all, of Bougard’s definition above: ‘erotic’ will refer to poems which portray sexual desire or enjoyment, but not to instances of precise focus on the sexual organs. Roger Thompson’s definition of erotic is also a helpful one in relation to the different ways in which sex-related themes are dealt with in the French poems and translations to be discussed. Thompson defines ‘erotic’ as ‘intended to place sex within the context of love, mutuality and affection’.¹⁹⁴ ‘Erotic’ will be used to refer to poems and translations where the aim and effect appears to be the presentation and enjoyment of sexuality within the context of love and affection. In some poems and translations the focus is entirely on male sexual pleasure, and the female appears to be merely a passive participant, but there is still evidence of a context of amorous affection, so the term ‘erotic’ will still be applied to such texts. The term ‘bawdy’ will be used where a poem or translation

¹⁹⁴ Roger Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears: A Study of Pornographic, Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. x. Thompson himself acknowledges the difficulties of defining these terms (p. x).

constitutes a joke on a sex-related theme, usually at the expense of a female object, but again does not include detailed or shocking presentation of the sexual organs. Thompson defines bawdy as ‘intended to provoke amusement about sex; most dirty jokes, for instance, belong to this category’ (p. x).

It is well known that in seventeenth-century France, both social convention and classical criticism increasingly demanded and promoted delicacy and refinement in taste, and the prohibition of obscene and suggestive vocabulary and direct references to the physical expression of love. Caution is clearly required when attempting to classify the precise nature, timing and extent of the process of refinement in evidence in tastes, language and literature in seventeenth-century France. Caution is also needed when trying to establish whether literature influenced, or was influenced by, the overall refining tendencies in taste: ‘il est impossible de décider si les salons, les livres, ont amendé les goûts, ou si les goûts, déjà épurés par une évolution naturelle, ont déterminé, peut-être inconsciemment, les livres et les salons.’¹⁹⁵

French literature, including poetry, was still marked by ‘La grossièreté du fond et de la forme’ in the first three decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁶ The works of Saint-Amant and Théophile contain openly erotic scenes. While erotic, obscene, and bawdy poetry is usually associated with, and was most abundantly available in, the *recueils satyriques*, it was by no means restricted to these. The general poetic anthologies printed in the first three decades of the seventeenth century intersperse refined poetry with bawdy *épigrammes*. Maynard’s *épigrammes* frequently cross the bounds of decency in both language and subject matter. From the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, however, there was an increasing stream of reaction against indecent language and subject matter. This stream of reaction began to bear fruit from the fifth decade of the seventeenth century onwards. French theatre was increasingly purged of its earlier indecencies as it came to be frequented by ‘la belle société’.¹⁹⁷ Poetry was similarly purged of the indelicate references and vocabulary which had been prevalent earlier in the century. These included suggestive words and expressions as well as open obscenities: ‘On se montrait implacable pour tous les mots, qui bien que n’ayant rien d’indécent, représentaient à l’esprit des objets

¹⁹⁵ Magendie, *La politesse mondaine*, I, p. 412.

¹⁹⁶ Magendie, I, pp. 106-107.

¹⁹⁷ Magendie, II, pp. 876-77.

déplaisants.¹⁹⁸ While, by the 1660s, the fruit of the refinement process was evident in all areas of French literature, there were still exceptions and instances of rebellion, La Fontaines's *Contes* being among the best known. The *Nouveaux Contes* (1674) were banned from sale, and copies confiscated.¹⁹⁹

The most significant factor influencing the refinement of tastes, language and literature in seventeenth-century France is seen to be the development of *mondain* culture:

C'est hors de la Cour que fleurit la vie de société véritable, celle qui développe par l'intimité constante et de bon ton entre les hommes et les dames, la galanterie de l'esprit et des manières, fait une place à l'intelligence par la conversation, habitué à faire cas du jugements des autres, à craindre la réprobation même silencieuse, à rechercher l'estime et l'admiration discrètes, impose la réserve, la décence, la surveillance des propos et des attitudes, celle en un mot, qui polit vraiment les individus, et, par une action douce, lente et continue, arrête, atténue, si elle ne les supprime pas tout à fait, les grossièretés, les violences d'une nature fruste.²⁰⁰

The culture of refinement and decency within the salons is attributed to the presence and influence of women.²⁰¹

3.1.2. The Coarsening of Literature in Seventeenth-Century England

While French literature throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, and more markedly from the 1640s, was becoming more refined and was rejecting all vaguely suggestive subject matter and vocabulary, the opposite cultural and literary tendencies were in evidence in England: 'Studies of different branches of English literature confirm a marked coarsening of erotic sensibilities in the second half of the century. An examination of prostitutes and women criminals in literature finds the firm moral frame work of the early years unhinged by Restoration obsessions with the indecent

¹⁹⁸ Magendie, II, p. 878.

¹⁹⁹ See *Contes et nouvelles en vers*, ed. by Nicole Ferrier and Jean-Pierre Collinet (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1980), pp. 19-20.

²⁰⁰ Magendie, I, p. 120.

²⁰¹ As Ferdinand Brunot expresses it, 'la cause véritable de la disparition des mots crus, c'est la reprise de la vie de société, et l'obligation de ménager les oreilles des femmes qui se trouvaient dans les salons'. Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours*, 13 vols (Paris: Colin, 1922; repr. 1966), III, pp. 152-53. 'Une chose est sûre, c'est aux femmes qu'on doit tous les progrès qui ont été réalisés' (Magendie, II, p. 838). 'Figure inversée du combattant courageux mais sans gêne, la salonnière transpose dans l'espace mondain les qualités de loyauté et de fermeté d'âme du premier; soucieuse elle aussi d'être honorée, elle impose une esthétique à la hauteur de sa vertu' (Abramovici, p. 18).

and the scabrous, with brutality and obscenity.’²⁰² The coarsening of literature in Restoration England is usually attributed to the ‘reaction against the sexual repressions of the Interregnum’, and the fact that ‘the general moral tone of Charles II’s court was fundamentally different to that of the Cromwellian regime’.²⁰³ Bawdy, erotic and sexually-subversive literature from the Interregnum onwards is associated with Royalist protest and statement of anti-Puritan sympathies.²⁰⁴ As observed in chapter 1 almost all seventeenth-century English translators of contemporary French verse were Royalist sympathisers. Much of the translators’ original poetry includes open references to sex, probably motivated by a mixture of Royalist statement, personal taste, and compliance with the tastes and expectations of English readers. Again, as noted in chapter 1, the translators were largely writing in groups where the reading and production of sexual literature formed part of a shared allegiance to the Royalist cause. Whereas some of the poems translated, as will be seen, were written for groups, in which women played an important role, within the refining and restrained French salon environment, some of the translations were produced for groups of men where there was a strong taste for the openly sexual and unrestrained.

Most of the translations of French erotic or sexually transgressive lyrics were made after 1650; the only translations I am aware of prior to 1650 of a French erotic or obscene poem, or a poem discussing sexual relations or transactions, is John Suckling’s adaptation of Philippe Desportes’s ‘A Phyllis’, and Thomas Stanley’s adaptation of Saint-Amant’s ‘La Jouyssance’.

²⁰² Thompson, p. 11.

²⁰³ Thompson, p. 11.

²⁰⁴ In his study of printed miscellanies in seventeenth-century England, Adam Smyth has observed that miscellanies were set in a ‘generally Royalist’ frame, and regards the types of verses included in them, particularly amorous lyrics, drinking songs and bawdy verse, as an expression of Royalist and anti-Puritan sympathies. In relation to bawdry he observes that: ‘Printed miscellanies’ preoccupation with the frank discussions of sex and lust, then, was part of a more general celebration of misrule. The bawdy was one of the more extreme means of signaling pro-Crown, anti-Puritan sympathies’ (Smyth, p. 129). Several translations of French erotic and salacious poetry were published in the miscellanies. The unattributed translations of Saint-Amant’s ‘La Jouyssance’ and Voiture’s ‘Stances sur une Dame’ were included in *A New Collection of Poems and Songs* (1674). This miscellany also included a poem entitled ‘The Imperfect Enjoyment’. Most of the English versions of French ‘Imperfect Enjoyment’ poems appeared in printed miscellanies. Etherege’s ‘After a pretty amorous discourse’, a free translation of Beys’ ‘Après mille amoureux discours’, appeared under the title of ‘The Imperfect Enjoyment’ in *A Collection of Poems* (1672). The anonymous version of Cantezac’s ‘Un jour, le malheureux Lysandre’ was included in *Wit and Drollery* (1682).

3.1.2 English Perspectives on French Attitudes to Eroticism

English translators are indeed likely to have translated a high proportion of erotic and bawdy poetry primarily because of their own inclinations and the cultural climate in which they were writing. However, a further, more subtle question needs to be addressed; why should English translators choose to look to French poetry as a source for this kind of material at a time when French literature as a whole was being refined and reacting against such tendencies? Several remarks can be made in response to this question. Firstly, as seen in the chapter 1, a poet such as Théophile seems to have been associated in the minds of English readers with the obscene anthologies, particularly the *Parnasse Satyrique*. Secondly, the French were traditionally associated in English minds with lasciviousness, an association which had become a 'growing tendency' during the sixteenth century.²⁰⁵ Thirdly, the tendency of English readers and translators towards erotic and bawdy French poetry was consistent with their tastes in French literature from other genres. In the 1650s France took over from Italy as the major European influence on English sexual literature.²⁰⁶ The pornographic novels printed in France during the second half of the seventeenth century were, like poetry on sex-related themes, part of a literary sub-culture of perversion and subversion. There appears to have been a large demand in Restoration England for obscene novels from France. Indeed, 'There is evidence that every time a pornographic book appeared on the continent, it was known in England within the year, and in many cases appeared in translation right away.'²⁰⁷ The French obscene novel *L'Escole des filles*,²⁰⁸ was translated into English under the title of *The School of Venus or the ladies delight reduced into rules of practice*. The publishers Streater and Crayle were prosecuted for the printing and publishing of this work in 1688.²⁰⁹ In France, the book had been immediately banned. Printed copies of *L'Escole des Filles*

²⁰⁵ Gibson, *The Best of Enemies*, p. 44.

²⁰⁶ Thompson, pp. 4-5.

²⁰⁷ David Foxon, *Libertine Literature in England 1660-1745* (New York: University Books, 1965), p. x.

²⁰⁸ *L'Escole des filles, ou la philosophie des dames. Divisé en deux dialogues, Agere & Pati. Corrigé et augmenté, d'un combat du... & du... d'un Dialogue entre le... & Perrette; & une instruction des Curiositez, dont la methode de trouver, est marquee par leur nombre suivant les tables* (Imprimé a Fribourg, Chez Roger Bon Temps. L'an 1668)

²⁰⁹ Foxon, p. 34. Joan Dejean claims that this translation 'played a key role in the early modern history of obscenity law and in the definitive secularisation of censorship in England' (p. 82); this helps to emphasise the overall significance of translation from French on English literary culture in the seventeenth century.

were burned and its alleged author, Michel Millot, was burned in effigy. The book had been published without a *privilège* and feigned to have been printed in Holland.²¹⁰ The availability and translation in England of obscene French novels could have given the English the impression that French literature as a whole in this period was characterised by eroticism and obscenity, and this in turn could have led translators of poetry to go to those minor and later rejected elements which conformed to English perceptions of French literature as a whole. It is interesting to note that, in the first half of the eighteenth century, England was criticised in France as a source of corrupting, sexually-explicit literature; English theatre was particularly associated in French minds with lewdness and obscenity.²¹¹

Critics have tended to resort to cultural stereotyping when attempting to explain why individual seventeenth-century English translators of French poetry tended to coarsen their originals. William Roberts, for example, attributes Thomas Stanley's weakening of some of the more potentially offensive phrases in Saint-Amant's 'La Desbauche' to British decency.²¹² This rather stereotypical view of British sensibilities does not seem to me to be consistent with general attitudes towards decency in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, or with the usual treatment of obscenity and eroticism by English translators of French verse. Charles Sembower gives the opposite cultural explanation for Charles Cotton's more explicit eroticism in his translation of Théophile's 'Stances XXIX',²¹³ claiming that Cotton was 'essentially English: more than once in his translations he seems almost consciously to assert his pride in his nationality by naming bluntly what he perhaps takes to be, let us say, an insincere delicacy in the French.'²¹⁴ These contradictory views provide evidence of the value of a comparative approach. Comparing translators' handling of source texts gives a broader and more complete view and hence a clearer indication of the extent of cultural influence on translation. My own view is that differing cultural and literary conventions merged with the personal taste of translators and with the inherent linguistic qualities of English and French in determining changes made in translations of this type of poetry. To gain a more

²¹⁰ Roger G. Bougard, *Erotisme et amour physique dans la littérature française du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Lachurié, 1986), pp. 161-62.

²¹¹ See Abramovici, *Obscénité et classicisme*, pp. 66-70.

²¹² Roberts, 'Saint-Amant – plaque tournante de l'Europe au XVIIe siècle', pp. 71-18.

²¹³ Théophile de Viau, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. by Guido Saba, 3 vols (Paris: Champion, 1999), I, pp. 194-95. All subsequent references to this edition will be given in parentheses in the text.

²¹⁴ Sembower, p. 73.

complete and balanced impression, it is important to place individual translations within their cultural and historical context, as this chapter aims to do.

3.2 Seventeenth-Century French Obscene, Bawdy or Erotic Poems Translated Twice in Caroline England

3.2.1 Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame dont la jupe fut retroussée en versant dans un carrosse, à la campagne'

A strong indicator of the taste in England for French erotic or bawdy poetry is the fact that four of the five French poems to be translated twice come under this category. In each case, the differences between the original poems and the translations is generally consistent with the overall tendency in seventeenth-century England to coarsen French verse in translation; and yet comparing different translations of the same poem reveals that the extent of the coarsening also depends on the tastes and inclinations of individual translators.

Vincent Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame dont la jupe fut retroussée en versant dans un carrosse, à la campagne' (I, pp. 52-56), one of only a handful of Voiture's poems to be translated at all in seventeenth-century England, attracted the attention of two English translators. An anonymous English translation of the poem appeared in an English miscellany,²¹⁵ entitled 'Upon the sight of a fair Ladies breech, discovered at being turned over in a Coach'. John Oldham produced a better-known adaptation, 'Upon a Lady, Who by overturning of a Coach, had her Coats behind flung up, and what was under shewn to the View of the Company'.²¹⁶

As Odette de Mourgues has noted, this poem is 'almost alone of its kind in the poetry of Voiture'.²¹⁷ While two of Voiture's rondeaux end with a joke which crosses the bounds of decency,²¹⁸ it is rare for Voiture to base an entire poem around bawdy humour and open references to female body parts.

²¹⁵ *A New Collection of Poems and Songs Written by Several Persons*, ed. by John Bulteel (London: printed by J. C. for William Crook at the Green Dragon without Temple-Bar, 1674), pp. 117-20. The text of this translation is given in Appendix B, pp. 231-32.

²¹⁶ John Oldham, *The Poems of John Oldham*, ed. by Harold F. Brooks and Raman Selden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 204-07.

²¹⁷ De Mourgues, p. 14.

²¹⁸ The opening words of LVIII, 'ou vous sçavez', are repeated in the final line, 'Mais laissez-moy vous toucher seulement / Où vous sçavez' (*Poésies*, II, p. 141). The opening words of LIX, 'Le Soleil', allow for the vulgar ending, 'Et n'a pas si bien faites qu'elle / Les Beautés qui ne voyent pas / Le

Voiture's poem seems to have been generally admired in France. Costar noted in his *Suite de la défense des Œuvres de M. de Voiture* (Paris: A. Courbé, 1655) that 'Il n'est guère de dame qui ne récite ou qui ne chante aux occasions, les vers que M. de Voiture a fait sur le derrière d'une demoiselle'.²¹⁹ This comment was part of a conflict which arose between Costar and Girac; Girac had criticised Voiture for referring to Mlle Aubry's spots, and Costar had undertaken to defend Voiture.²²⁰

It is at first glance surprising that a poem centring on the display of a woman's backside was acceptable in *mondain* circles and deemed worthy of publication. Génétiot places 'Stances sur Une Dame...' under the category of *grivoiserie*, which he defines as a watered down form of obscenity which remains within the bounds of decency:

La grivoiserie qui se fait jour dans notre corpus n'est donc que la version épurée de l'obscénité et elle met l'accent non plus sur la satire et la caricature, mais sur l'humour malicieux et la franche bonne humeur. D'ailleurs les dames en question ne sont pas les prudes et les pudibondes que seront certaines précieuses ridicules, et agréent d'autant plus volontiers ces bons mots osés qu'ils restent délibérément dans les limites d'une bienséance, plus libres certes, mais toujours de bon ton. Ceci permet à Voiture de faire agréer ses *Stances sur une Dame, dont la juppe fut retroussée en versant dans un carrosse*.²²¹

Voiture's poem achieves humour through 'sous-entendus et jeux de mots, propres à piquer l'esprit avec un raccourci inattendu au beau milieu d'un discours courtois'. The bawdy humour is 'manié avec subtilité pour rendre acceptable un thème scabreux'.²²² While Odette de Mourgues is clearly right to question the taste of the subject matter and the joke based around the puns on 'derrière' and 'siège',²²³ the overall tone of the poem is light-hearted, subtle and playfully rather than maliciously humorous, albeit at

Soleil.' (II, pp. 142-43). See Roger Lathuillier, 'Voiture et le "bon usage" à l'Hôtel de Rambouillet' *CAIEF*, 14 (1962), 63-78 (p. 74).

²¹⁹ Quoted in Magendie, I, p. 108. Maynard hints at the poem's popularity in a letter written from Rome in 1653: 'J'avois déjà vu les vers de M. de Voiture et je ne doute pas qu'ils ne soient estimez. Ils sont pleins d'esprit et de gentillesse, et à voir dans cet ouvrage le cu de Mlle Aubry, je croy que s'il estoit icy, il y courroit de grandes fortunes' (quoted in *Poésies*, I, pp. 52-53). Génétiot also quotes this letter (*Les Genres lyriques mondains*, p. 102).

²²⁰ For further details, see Magendie, II, p. 879, and Lathuillier, 'Voiture et le "bon usage"', p. 74.

²²¹ Génétiot, *Les Genres lyriques mondains*, p. 102.

²²² Génétiot, *Poétique du loisir mondain*, pp. 244-45.

²²³ De Mourgues, p. 14. Sophie Rollin also notes that 'Le jeu de mots n'est pas particulièrement fin; les mots "derrière" ou "cu" sont répétés à la fin de presque toutes les strophes, comme des plaisanteries lourdement rabâchées' (*Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, p. 159).

the lady's expense. The poem would have been understood to be, and functioned as, a game within French *mondain* culture, intended for the entertainment of the social group, which would have been substantially female.²²⁴ Several critics observe that Voiture uses Petrarchan conventions in this poem only to overturn and exploit them.²²⁵ The overturning of Petrarchan conventions, specifically, would have been considered a literary game, and indeed, contributes to the playful, inoffensive tone of Voiture's poem. Voiture achieves a playful tone through the use of subtle humour, hinting at, rather than naming openly, the female body parts:

Et Zephyre voyant encore
 D'autres appas que vous avez
 Mesme en la presence de Flore,
 Vous baisa ce que vous sçavez. (ll. 33-36)

By contrast, the tone of John Oldham's adaptation is unkindly and often viciously mocking. Oldham, like Voiture, parodies courtly language, but his effect is not playful, inoffensive humour but mockingly exaggerated praise of the lady's backside:

Against the Charms, your Eyes impart,
 With care I had secur'd my Heart;
 On all the wonders of your Face
 Could safely and unwounded gaze:
 But now entirely to enthral
 My Breast, you have exposed to view
 Another more resistless Foe,
 From which I had no guard at all. (ll. 9-16)

Oldham's exaggeration and mock praise here are characteristic of his adaptation. Another example occurs in stanza 4:

A sudden Heat my Breast inspir'd,
 The Piercing Flame, like Light'ning, sent
 From that new dawning Firmament
 Thro every Vein my Spirits fir'd' (ll. 25-28)

²²⁴ On poetry as a form of 'divertissement' in salon culture, see chapter 6 of G n tiot, *Po tique du loisir mondain*.

²²⁵ De Mourgues, p. 14; G n tiot, *Les Genres lyriques mondains*, p.102; Rollin, *Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, p. 159.

The mocking exaggeration conveys a stance of superiority over the lady. After the attempts of Puritanism to encourage a greater sense of mutuality between the spouses, 'The Restoration restored the theory of male mastery' and literature of the period was characterised by 'an underlying contempt for women.'²²⁶ The degradation of the lady and gloating irony of the male speaker in Oldham's version add extra weight to the claim that this adaptation was intended to impress the group of court wits, notably Etherege and Rochester.²²⁷ The original poem was written in a culture in which, as has been noted, the presence of women both regulated and necessitated certain levels of decency and politeness. As Génétiot observes, 'La grivoiserie mondaine est donc un art savant du juste milieu entre les nécessaires délicatesse et bienséance de qui s'adresse aux dames, et l'enjouement d'un discours brusquement osé, qui sait bien qu'elles ne sont pas si prudes.'²²⁸ Oldham transforms a poem intended to please ladies and avoid the extremities of vile humour and misogyny into an openly anti-women poem intended to impress the translation's intended male readers and conform to the lascivious and misogynistic culture in which he was writing. Oldham heightens the effect of the original bon mot *cul*, which would have been considered *grivois* but certainly not obscene or shocking, by placing some of his renderings, which alternate between 'arse' and 'bum', in capital letters. Oldham's ending is openly offensive where the original is mildly humorous and uses a subtle pun:

Les Dieux qui regnent dessus nous,
Assis là haut sur les Estoiles,
Ont un moins beau siege que vous. (ll. 64-66)

Not the bright Goddesses on high,
That reign above the starry Sky,
Should they turn up to open view
All their immortal Tails, can shew
An *Arse-h---* so divine as you. (Oldham, ll. 87-91)

Here, Oldham transforms the original, subtle pun, which again mentions the lady's backside without referring to it directly, into a direct reference expressed in offensive

²²⁶ Thompson, p 12.

²²⁷ Harold Brooks ed., *The Poems of John Oldham* (Oxford: OUP, 1987), pp. xxviii. James Ziggerell, who considers this translation 'a typical example of the poet's more unpleasant vein', places it alongside Oldham's other anti-women poems, including 'The Satire Upon a Woman'. *John Oldham* (Boston: Twayne, 1983), p. 100.

²²⁸ Génétiot, *Les Genres lyriques mondains*, p. 249.

terms which seem intended to deliberately shock, and therefore could be said to border on the obscene.

The anonymous translation of ‘Stances sur une Dame...’ in *A New Collection of Poems and Songs* is much less offensive and misogynistic than Oldham's version, and even tones down some of the original (albeit subtly) bawdy humour. The translator's attitude towards the lady is more tender and sympathetic than that of Oldham. In stanza 10, where Oldham uses offensive vocabulary and mocking humour, the miscellany author tones down the original reference to the lady's backside and instead attempts a delicate pun: ‘Qu'à chanter dignement la gloire / Du plus beau Cu qui fut jamais’ (59-60); ‘But with just Praises to proclaim | The fairest ARSE, that e're was seen’ (Oldham, ll. 81-84). ‘Who leaves behind her this report | Of th' sweetest Beauty e're was seen’ (Anon. ll. 59-60). In the final stanza, where Oldham was hyperbolically cruel, the miscellany version is hyperbolically tender:

O hide it then from all but me,
For were't unvail'd still, Gods would be
My Rivals, and descend anew;
Who (though they sit on Stars above)
They sit on meaner Thrones than you;
For your Breech is the Throne of Love. (ll. 61-66)

Referring to the lady's backside as ‘the throne of love’ adds a tender and affectionate quality absent from the original, and more obviously absent from Oldham's offensive and misogynistic version.

While these are the only full translations of Voiture's ‘Stances sur une Dame...’ I am aware of, two poems included in *Miscellany Poems: As Satyrs, Epistles, Love-Verses, Songs, Sonnets, etc. By W. Wycherly, Esq.* (London: Printed for C. Brome, J. Taylor, and B. Tooke; at the Gun at the West-End of St. Paul's, the Ship in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and at the Middle-Temple Gate, Fleetstreet, 1704) were clearly influenced by Voiture's poem. The opening lines of the first poem (p. 110) are an imitation of Voiture's second stanza:

My Heart held out, against your Face, and Eyes
But cou'd no more, against your Breech, and Thighs,
Which they, both took, and wounded by Surprise;
Who, till then, did (as 'twere) in Ambush ly
For my poor Life, at least, my Liberty. (ll. 1-5)

'Thighs' adds a physical, erotic touch. The title of the poem tells us that the speaker is here the active, if rejected, pursuer of the lady, rather than simply a passer-by observing her from a distance: 'Upon a Lady's Fall over a Stile, gotten by running from her Lover; by which she show'd her fair back-side, which was her best side, and made him more her pursuer than he was before'. The second poem (p. 372) retains only the basic idea of Voiture's poem, a lady falling and revealing her backside, and includes many ideas that are Wycherley's own invention. Like Oldham's translation, this poem is characterised by vulgar language and male superiority, heightened by the fact that the lady is not addressed directly. Wycherley's central theme is his criticism of women's attempts to please men by making themselves more attractive.

3.2.2 Desportes's 'A Phyllis'

The second poem on a sexual theme to be translated twice in seventeenth-century England was Desportes's 'A Phyllis', which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, consists of exchanges between a would-be prostitute and her client. Desportes's poetry excludes the open eroticism and explicit vocabulary characteristic of sixteenth-century verse, and prefigures the refining tendencies of the seventeenth century: 'Pourtant Desportes s'était déjà étudié à plaire aux plus raffinés. S'il est souvent lascif, il n'est jamais inconvenant.'²²⁹ Desportes's poetry was renowned in seventeenth-century France for its purity and careful avoidance of potentially offensive vocabulary. Vaugelas hailed Desportes as the originator of the term *pudeur*.²³⁰ 'A Phyllis' was not characteristic of Desportes's poetry; Anne Lake Prescott describes it as 'one of Desportes's few off-color poems' (p. 159), and points out that when perusing his poetry, English readers would have 'noticed Desportes' chastity' and that while 'In life he was not particularly repressed – he made an illegitimate son and a few obscene verses – [...] his poetry is usually reticent about just what the lover is after' (p. 135) The two adaptations of this poem, as with the above-mentioned translations from Voiture, take a poem which is not characteristic of the work of the original poet as a whole, and heighten the vulgarity in keeping with

²²⁹ Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française, tome III, la formation de la langue classique 1600-1660* (Paris: Colin, 1922), p. 151.

²³⁰ Charles Favre de Vaugelas, *Remarques sur la langue française, facsimile de l'édition originale*, Introduction, Bibliographie, Index par Jeanne Streicher (Paris: Droz, 1934), p. 538.

English cultural trends and the translators' own tastes. Desportes's poem contains no open references to sex, and the playfully rather than maliciously humorous tone is encapsulated in the pun on 'chère' in the penultimate line:

Il y peut avoir quatre années
 Qu'à Phillis j'ay voulu conter
 Deux mille pieces couronnées,
 Et plus haut j'eusse peu monter,
 Deux ans apres elle me mande
 Que por mille elle condescent,
 Je trouvay la somme si grande
 Je n'en voulus donner que cent,
 Au bout de six, ou sept semaines
 A cent ecus elle revient,
 Je dis qu'elle perdoit ses peines
 S'elle en pretendoit plus de vingt,
 L'autre jour elle fut contente
 De venir pour six ducats,
 J'ay treuvay trop haute la vente
 S'elle passoit quatre testons:
 Ce matin elle est arrivee,
 Gratis voulant s'abandonner,
 Ou je l'ay plus chere trouvee
 Que quand j'en voulus tant donner.

Fletcher Orpin Henderson has described John Suckling's adaptation as 'conversation in verse' (p. 287), an effect heightened by the fact that each encounter with Phillis is contained in a single stanza:

It is not four years ago,
 I offered Forty crowns
 To lie with her a night or so:
 She answer'd me in frowns.

Not two years since, she meeting me
 Did whisper in my eare,
 That she would at my service be
 If I contented were.

I told her I was cold as snow
 And had no great desire;
 But should be well content to go
 To Twenty, but no higher.

Some three months since or thereabout,

She that so coy had bin,
Bethought herself and found me out,
And was content to sin.

I smil'd at that, and told her I
Did think it something late,
And that I'de not repentance buy
At above half the rate.

This present morning early she
Forsooth came to my bed,
And *gratis* there she offered me
Her high-priz'd maidenhead.

I told her that I thought it then
Far dearer then I did,
When I at first the Forty crowns
For one nights lodging bid.

Suckling, whose adaptation Henderson considers as 'more pleasant and gay' (p. 287), omits the original pattern of offers and refusals. Whereas the encounters between Phyllis and the speaker are presented by Desportes in a more detached and business-like manner, Suckling transposes their relations into unmistakable exchanges between courtly lover and coquette. This transposition is created by the insertion of conventional vocabulary and motifs ('I told her I was cold as snow | And had no great desire').

Cotton's adaptation of 'A Phyllis' is described by Anne Lake Prescott as 'a piece of quasi pornography'.²³¹

Some four years ago I made Phyllis an offer,
Provided she would be my Wh-re,
Of two thousand good Crowns to put in her Coffers,
And I think should have given her more.

About two years after, a Message she sent me,
She was for a thousand my own,
But unless for an hundred she now would content me,
I sent her word I would have none.

She fell to my price six or seven weeks after,
And then for a hundred would doe;

²³¹ Prescott, p. 160.

I then told her in vain she talk'd of the matter,
 Than twenty no farther I'd goe.

T'other day for six Ducatoons she was willing,
 Which I thought a great deal too dear,
 And told her unless it would come for two shilling,
 She must seek a Chapman elsewhere.

This Morning she's come, and would fain buckle gratis,
 But she's grown so fulsome a Wh-re,
 That now methinks nothing a far dearer rate is,
 Than all that I offer'd before.

Cotton follows the original pattern of offers and refusals more closely than Suckling, while considerably heightening the crudity and offensiveness. The reference to ownership in the second stanza is Cotton's own invention, and, from the tone of the translation as a whole, can be understood as a reference to sexual possession of the lady, rather than to 'owning' her as an equal and loved partner. As with Oldham's adaptation of Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame...', Cotton's coarsening of the original results from the speaker's attitude to the lady; he would not use the word 'whore' if he did not perceive her as such. The final stanza is a cruel and misogynistic reversal of the original ending; Cotton reverses the meaning of the original, affectionate pun, to mock the lady and present her in a way which is degradingly unattractive.

It is difficult to say who Cotton intended as the readership of his adaptation. *Poems on Several Occasions* (1689) was published surreptitiously two years after his death. Cotton's eldest son claimed that his father had prepared another, very different edition of poems, which excluded the kind of openly explicit and potentially offensive verses that were intended merely for personal enjoyment and not public consumption:

For by these ungenerous proceedings he hath obstructed the publishing of a collection very different from that; and well chosen by the author, with a preface by himself and all copied out for the press. This digression I thought due to the character of a person, whose other performances have been so well received, who knew how to distinguish between writing for his own diversion, and the entertainment of others; and had a better judgment than to thrust anything abroad unworthy himself or his readers.²³²

²³² Quoted in Charles Cotton, *Poems of Charles Cotton 1630-1687*, ed. by John Beresford (London: Butler and Tanner, 1923), p. 28. All further references to this edition will be given in parentheses in the text.

If we take the younger Cotton at his word, this translation would doubtlessly fall into the category of works which Cotton produced merely for his own entertainment. Cotton had an evident taste for eroticism; his original poetry contains open references to physical love and to the female body parts.²³³ Cotton's choice of Desportes's *épigramme* and the other 'unworthy' poems he translated from French was probably due to a mixture of personal taste, the influence of the culture he was writing in and Royalist sympathies.²³⁴

3.2.2 Saint-Amant's 'La Jouyssance'

The third French bawdy or erotic poem to have been translated twice in Caroline England is Saint-Amant's 'La Jouyssance'. 'La Jouyssance' stands alone among the poems of Saint-Amant (or at least those included in his collected works) in openly portraying erotic pleasure.²³⁵ An anonymous translation of 'La Jouyssance', entitled 'The Enjoyment', appeared in *A New Collection of Poems and Songs* (1674),²³⁶ and Thomas Stanley also produced a shortened adaptation of the poem (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 22-25).

Stanley's adaptation was made at the end of the 1640s, when the upsurge in demand for erotic literature in England was just beginning. Stanley's Royalist, anti-Puritan sympathies, and those of the literary circle he was writing for, were doubtlessly an influence on his decision to translate both this poem and Saint-Amant's 'La Desbauche'. However, cultural influence and political allegiance intermingle and collide with personal taste and literary ambition. Stanley's original poetry was noted for its chastity by contemporaries (*Poems and Translations*, p. xxxiv). His toning down of the erotic sentiment and expression of 'La Jouyssance' was probably due to personal inclination and to a desire to project a literary image of refinement and chastity. One of the effects of shortening the original from eighteen stanzas to nine is to weaken the sense of excessive, rapturous delight, the 'doux excès' (l. 108) of Saint-

²³³ See for example 'The Visit' (*Poems*, pp. 171-72) and 'Forbidden Fruit' (*Poems*, pp. 161-63).

²³⁴ Beresford describes Cotton as a 'devoted Royalist' (*Poems*, p. 23).

²³⁵ Bougard observes, however, that 'Les scènes de plaisir et de volupté sont assez nombreuses dans les œuvres érotiques du XVIIe siècle' (p. 51). A few of Saint-Amant's sonnets contain mild references to physical desire. The sonnet beginning 'Quand je la voy, cette gorge yvoirine' (II (1967), p. 254) the speaker imagines kissing the parts of his lady which are concealed under her dress.

²³⁶ *A New Collection of Poems and Songs Written by Several Persons*, pp. 79-90. The text of this translation is given in Appendix B, pp. 232-36.

Amant. While expressing rapturous erotic pleasure, however, the French poet exploits the inherent abstract tendencies of his language, of which more will be said in chapter 7, and, doubtlessly tries to render the erotic theme acceptable and avoid open sexual references or obscenities, by using expressions and images which are vaguely rather than explicitly erotic, and avoid direct reference to the sexual organs. Jean-Christophe Abramovici argues that the use of subtle, vague expressions and the avoidance of naming sexual organs and activities directly or providing details about them was essential in keeping within acceptable limits of decency:

Trop infime pour être significatif, jugé inutile et redondant, le détail est à l'âge classique une forme particulière de mauvais savoir. La méfiance qu'il suscite se situe au croisement du tri épistémologique des connaissances et du procès esthétique et moral de l'obscène. L'obscénité d'un mot tient en effet autant à son champ sémantique qu'à son extrême précision (p. 114).

While Saint-Amant avoids crossing boundaries of decency by using vaguely erotic expressions, these same expressions could also be intended to provoke erotic imaginings in the reader. Where other translators make vaguely erotic references more explicit to heighten the vulgarity, Stanley makes some of Saint-Amant's subtle expressions more explicit precisely to avoid the French poet's suggestiveness. He replaces the vaguely erotic 'Faisans naistre aussi tost mille divins apas' (ll. 48), intended to incite the reader to flights of imagination, with a favourite image of his own, that of the lovers' breath being exchanged in kissing. In his fourth stanza (which corresponds to Saint-Amant's fifth) he omits 'Entre les Ris et les Caresses' (l. 41) and focuses entirely on the 'Amours eveillez' (l. 42).²³⁷

By contrast, the anonymous translation of 'La Jouissance' retains all of the original erotic scenes and vocabulary. In the third stanza, male sexual appetite is given a stronger and more explicit emphasis than in Stanley's version: 'But whilst thereon I fed, the more that I enjoy'd, | The more my appetite was fix'd | To taste agen and yet my sense was never cloyed' (Anon., ll. 28-30) 'My pleasures knew not griefs allay: | The more I tasted I desir'd, | The more I quencht my Thirst was fir'd' (Stanley, ll. 18-20). These examples could indicate that the miscellany author has a less respectful attitude towards the lady and considers himself superior to her; he seems to regard her

²³⁷ Stanley also tones down the erotic impulse in his adaptation of Théophile's *La Maison de Sylvie*; Stanley's speaker sees Diana in the woods each day but, unlike Théophile's speaker, does not observe her bathing.

as an entirely passive participant in his search for erotic satisfaction. Male sexual appetite is given extra emphasis by the use of 'fed'. In the fifth stanza the miscellany author replaces the original reference to Sylvia's 'bosom', retained by Stanley, to a slightly more explicit reference to her 'snowy breasts'. In stanza 11, the anonymous translator retains the image of the lover drinking a toast to their love on his mistress' lips, which, as Roberts notes, was omitted by Stanley, contributing to the increased delicacy of his version.²³⁸ As noted, printed miscellanies were written in a Royalist framework, which included a taste for bawdry, eroticism and misogyny.

3.3 The Lady as Object of Male Aversion and Desire

3.3.1 Translations of *Épigrammes* Mocking Licentious Old Women

Translations of poems such as 'La Jouyssance', which portray equal and mutual participation in, and enjoyment of, erotic encounters, are rare. Preference seems to be given to poems which either mock the lady or portray her merely as the object of male sexual appetite. Some of Charles Cotton's adaptations of Maynard's *épigrammes*, for example, again reveal his taste for unkind misogyny. Like other seventeenth-century French poets mentioned so far in this chapter, François Maynard wrote poems, in his case mostly *épigrammes*, containing scatological references and obscenity which were circulated in manuscript form and appeared, often anonymously, in the *recueils satiriques*.²³⁹ As mentioned in chapter 2, such verses were not included among Maynard's *Œuvres* of 1646. Cotton does not adapt any of the poems in which open reference to the male and female sexual organs seems to be the principal aim; he does, however, adapt four *épigrammes* which mock licentious old women ('Pourquoy mettez-vous tant de peine', 'Que ton front est coupé de rides', 'Tu veux qu'on t'aime constamment' and 'Tes levres ont perdu leurs roses'), which certainly contain open sexual references and mockingly bawdy humour. Nevertheless, none of these four *épigrammes*, contain the open obscenity and vilification of the female sexual organs which was present in some of the *épigrammes* on a similar theme included in the *recueils satyriques*. Such poems are given by Jeanneret as examples of his definition of 'obscène' (see pp. 36-38). The theme of the licentious old woman occurred

²³⁸ 'Saint-Amant – plaque tournante de l'Europe au XVIIe siècle', p. 74.

²³⁹ Yves Giraud, 'Aspects de l'épigramme chez Maynard', in *Maynard et son temps* (Toulouse: Association des Publications de L'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail: 1976), pp. 80-81.

frequently in the French *épigramme* during the first third of the seventeenth century: 'L'impossibilité d'aimer une vieille est un sujet très fréquent dans les Priapées, dans les épigrammes et c'est même le sujet d'une Ode.'²⁴⁰ Aragon regards the licentious old woman poem as a reversal of the Petrarchan love lyric:

Enfin l'approche de la mort est destructrice en ce qu'elle opère un renversement de la relation amoureuse. L'héritage courtois donne à la Belle la fonction de susciter l'amour plus que de l'éprouver; la femme est adorable et inhumaine; c'est l'amant qui tente de mériter et d'émouvoir cette Beauté insensible, ou du moins difficile à conquérir. Or le temps qui transforme la Belle en Vielle transforme aussi l'idole en suppliante (p. 40).

As with Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame...', the overturning of Petrarchan conventions in these poems would have been intended as a literary game, and, while the humour could be viewed as highly distasteful, would have been regarded in its original context as playfully rather than maliciously humorous. As in Oldham's translation of Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame...', Cotton transforms the playful bawdy humour into much more brutal, mocking degradation of the lady. Cotton's translation of 'Pourquoy mettez-vous tant de peine' is considerably more vicious than the original:

Pourquoy mettez-vous tant de peine
A vous coiffer de faux cheveux?
Vieille, mon Amour est trop vaine
Pour vous honorer de ses vœux.

Le cours des ans qui tout moisonne
Vous fait si laide, que personne
Ne veut se mettre dans vos fers.

Mes Laquais vous ont refusée;
Et si l'on ne baise aux enfers
N'esperez-plus d'estre baisée.

Old Fop, why should you take such pains
To paint and Perriwig it so?
My nobler love, alas! Disdains
To stoop so infamously low.

²⁴⁰ E. Aragon, 'L'Amour et la mort chez François Maynard', in *Maynard et son temps*, pp. 35-51 (p. 40).

Time, that does mow the fairest Flow'rs,
 Has made so very bold with yours,
 You should expect to be deni'd;
 The Footmen can no more endure ye,
 And if no sport in Hell, assure ye,
 You'll never more be occupi'd. (*Poems on Several Occasions*, p. 167)

Cotton's opening insult sets the tone for what will follow. The addition of 'alas!' in the third line adds a touch of ironic cruelty. The adaptation is rendered more brutal by the use of sarcasm where the original humour is more direct; contrast 'Le cours des ans qui tout moisonne' with 'Time, that does mow the fairest Flow'rs,' / Has made so very bold with yours'. Cotton crows over the lady and considers himself more superior to her than the original speaker. In his translation of 'Tes levres ont perdu leurs roses',²⁴¹ Cotton is entirely vicious and offensive where Maynard hints at an underlying sympathy with the lady:

Tes levres ont perdu leurs roses
 Et ton corps est desja cassé:
 Il faut te mettre au rang des choses
 Qui furent au siecle passé.
 Lise, ton eloquence est forte,
 Mais non pas tant qu'elle me porte
 A plaire à ta lubricité;
 Mon engin, que ta main caresse,
 N'a pas assez de charité
 Pour estre baton de vieillesse.

Thy cheeks having their Roses shed,
 And thy whole frame through Age become
 So loathsome for all use in bed,
 That 'tis much fitter for a Tomb;

Cocca, thou should'st not be so vain,
 Although thy Eloquence be great,
 As to expect it should obtain
 That I should doe the filthy Feat:

And that same engine in your hand
 You cherish, court, and flatter so,
 Now you have made him bravely stand,
 Is not so charitable though,
 As in his vigorous youth to be
 A crutch to your Antiquity. (*Poems on Several Occasions*, p. 50)

²⁴¹ *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, p. 407.

In the first four lines of his poem, Maynard merely hints at the fact that the lady would no longer be able to sexually satisfy, but does not state this in an explicit or grotesque way. Cotton, by contrast, openly describes the woman's physical unattractiveness and sexual uselessness: 'And thy whole frame through Age become / So loathsome for all use in bed. Typically, Cotton reserves the most offensive and explicit lines for the end of the poem. The rendering of 'baston' as 'crutch' increases the original sense that the old woman is desperately trying, and failing, to hold on to her sexual attractiveness and prowess. In his translation of 'Tu veux qu'on t'ayme constamment' (*Recueil des plus beaux vers*, 1638, p. 469), Cotton transforms the playful tone of the original into a brutal, mock-serious lament of the lady's loss of beauty:

Tu veux qu'on t'ayme constamment,
Et d'une amour démesurée,
Mais ta jeunesse est demeurée
Dans les ans du vieux Testament.

Tes yeux ne sont plus homicides;
Ton front est honteux des ses rides,
Et cherche l'ombre d'un bandeau.
Qu'un chapelet soit ton refuge:
Tu fondas le premier bordeau
Qu'on bastit apres le deluge.

Cocca thou'dst still be lov'd; nor wilt abate
Our Primitive ardour, but with Discontent
Altho' thou knowst thy Youth bears the same date
With that alas! Of the Old Testament.
Thine Eyes no more are Homicides,
And thy warpt front its furrows hides
Under the Paint-house of a Hood.
Now ply thy Beads; thy Name's renowned,
Thou the first Baudy-house hast founded,
Has been erected since the Flood. (*Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 630-31)

Again, Cotton's insertion of 'alas' heightens the sense of scornful, ironic cruelty. Cotton's 'And thy warpt front its furrows hides' is a more explicit and nastier version

of 'Ton front est honteux de ses rides'. Cotton's awkward syntax in the last two lines undermines the deadpan humour of the original.²⁴²

3.3.2 Erotic Imaginings: Cotton's Translation of Théophile's 'Stances XXIX'

Cotton also translated Théophile's 'Stances XXIX', beginning 'Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras'.²⁴³ In this poem, sexuality is at least placed within the context of love, even if the male speaker appears to be the agent of the physical acts while the lady is merely the passive recipient. However, as Robert T. Corum Jr. has pointed out, the erotic act is in reality a male fantasy: '“Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras” (p. 93) met en scène l'amant qui paraît se déclarer le plus directement possible à la dame qui partage son lit. Mais cette communion intime n'est qu'apparente, puisque le lecteur apprend à la fin de la deuxième strophe que l'autre dort et donc s'enfuit devant le regard pénétrant du poète-voyeur.'²⁴⁴

Charles Sembower rightly claims that the spirit of the original is reproduced in Cotton's translation,²⁴⁵ Cotton's first stanza certainly replicates the French poet's delight in the erotic expression of love:

Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras,
 Que tu poses nus sur tes draps,
 Bien plus blancs que le linge même;
 Quand tu sens ma brûlante main
 Se promener dessus ton sein,
 Tu sens bien, Cloris, que je t'aime. (ll. 1-6)

²⁴² *Épigrammes* account for fifteen of Cotton's twenty-four translations from French poetry. 'Cocoa thou'dst still be lov'd' is not the only one of Cotton's translated *épigrammes* to suffer from jarring syntax; this also occurs in 'After so many works of various kinds', a translation of a mildly satiric *épigramme* by Cotin. Both this and a translation of another mildly satiric *épigramme* attributed to Corneille lack wit and sharpness. French *épigrammes* were popular with other English translators and imitators in the seventeenth century. Matthew Prior imitated several French *épigrammes* and, like Cotton, took his originals from one of the French *recueils collectifs*. See Matthew Prior, *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, ed. by H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1959), II, p. 951. English poets may have considered the *épigramme* an easy form to translate, or translated French *épigrammes* as a stylistic exercise. English schools taught Latin through the reading and translation of epigrams. The translation of *épigrammes* could also have been a form of relaxation; major poets of the time wrote original epigrams for this purpose. See Hoyt Hopewell Hudson, *The Epigram in the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), p. 213.

²⁴³ Cotton's translation is found in *Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 542-44. The texts of this translation and the original poem are given in Appendix B, pp. 230-31.

²⁴⁴ Robert T. Corum, Jr., 'La Quête de l'autre dans la poésie amoureuse de Théophile de Viau', in *Théophile de Viau: actes du colloque du CMR offertes en hommage à Guido Saba*, ed. by Roger Duchêne (Tübingen: Papers on French Seventeenth-Century Literature, 1991), pp. 63-73 (p. 69).

²⁴⁵ Sembower, p. 92.

When thy nak'd Arm thou see'st me kiss
 Upon the snowy Sheet display'd,
 Which whiter than the Linnen is;
 And, when my glowing Hand's betrayed,
 Wandring about thy Paps: Thy Sense may prove,
 Chloris, that with a burning heat I love. (ll. 1-6)

The erotic spirit is reproduced in the first two lines by retaining the original emphasis on 'nak'd'. A greater emphasis is, however, placed on the physical nature of the speaker's passion by the addition of 'with a burning heat'. Cotton makes references to physical love more overt in the final stanza by replacing the vaguely erotic 'Tirer d'une si belle chose' (l. 29) with the more explicit 'How canst thou from such excellent Limbs, as these' (l. 29), thus referring directly to the lady's physical attributes where Théophile hinted at them. Sembower's claim, mentioned above, that in making erotic references more specific Cotton was attempting to specify what he perceived as Théophile's 'insincere delicacy', perhaps requires expansion and qualification. The overall tone of the original poem is, as has been mentioned, deeply erotic. Also, it could be argued, as I did in reference to 'La Jouyssance', that the French poet actually achieves a more intense eroticism by referring less specifically to body parts and sexual acts; by being left to imagine certain details, the reader is drawn into the erotic imaginings of the speaker. Théophile's poem is certainly more elevated in tone, but this does not necessarily imply a greater 'delicacy' of sentiment. It is also very likely to be true, however, that Théophile, writing for publication and within the patronage system, felt less at liberty to express erotic sentiment openly than did Cotton, who is likely to have made the translation merely for his own entertainment.

3.3.3 Ayres's Imitation of 'Le Matin'

Philip Ayres's imitation of Théophile's 'Le Matin' eroticises the original non-erotic poem. 'Le Matin' is a rare example of a French source poem which portrays love that seems innocent and mutual. In his version, 'The Morn', Philip Ayres transposes innocent mutual companionship into an expression of male erotic pleasure, in which the lady appears to be merely a passive recipient:

Il est jour, levons-nous, Phyllis!

Allons à notre jardinage,
 Voir s'il est, comme ton visage,
 Semé de roses et de lis. (ll. 61-64)

Then I wake too, and viewing Lesbia's charms,
 Do glut myself with pleasure in her arms. (ll. 15-16).

3.4 Translations of French 'Imperfect Enjoyment' Poems

A group of seventeenth-century French poems which come under the category of bawdy or erotic verse translated in England during the Caroline period were the 'Imperfect Enjoyment' poems, which depict male sexual failure.²⁴⁶ This group both follows the usual trend of erotic poems translated into English, in that the speaker is male and focuses on his own desire and activity rather than mutual enjoyment, and yet at the same time represents a departure from the usual trend, precisely because the poems depict male sexual failure. Charles Beys's 'La Jouissance Imparfaite' was adapted by George Etherege under the title of 'The Imperfect Enjoyment'. Merle I. Protzman has noted that this is the only one of the poems included in Beys's *Œuvres Poétiques* (1651) which is 'definitely *libre*'.²⁴⁷ Quaintance has observed that Etherege follows the original quite closely for the first forty-four lines and transposes each stanza into a heroic couplet (p. 194). As Quaintance notes, Etherege's adaptation is 'surely smooth and fashionable enough to get by without any acknowledgement of its source' (p. 194). Etherege's modern editor, James Thorpe, claims that 'Etherege is more witty and mannerly, less crude and bawdy',²⁴⁸ giving the latter's version of Beys's first two stanzas as evidence:

Après mille amoureux discours
 Interrompus d'un long silence;
 Elle repousse mes Amours
 D'une agreeable violence.
 Je sçay qu'en cette occasion,
 Ce qui cause nostre querelle,
 Ce n'est pas son aversion,

²⁴⁶ For more on this theme in seventeenth-century French poetry, see Bougard, pp. 97-103.

²⁴⁷ Merle I. Protzman, 'Les Illustres Fous' of Charles Beys: A Critical Edition, Johns Hopkins Studies I Romance Literature and Language, vol. 42 (Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), p. 14, quoted in Quaintance, p. 194.

²⁴⁸ George Etherege, *The Poems of Sir George Etherege*, ed. by James Thorpe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 77-78. The text of 'The Imperfect Enjoyment' is found on pages 7-8 of this edition.



Mais c'est sa pudeur naturelle. (ll. 1-8)

After a pretty amorous discourse,
She does resist my love with pleasing force,
Moved not with anger but with modesty:
Against her will she is my enemy. (ll. 1-4)

The 'conventional imagery of worship and warfare'²⁴⁹ is likely to have attracted Etherege to this poem; English translators have a strong preference for poems which use conventional sentiment and imagery. Etherege produces a less crude, more delicate version of Beys's fifth and sixth stanzas:

Ayant porté ses belles mains
Dessus ces deux Globes d'Albastre,
Je baise les doigts inhumains,
Qui cachent ce que j'idolastre.

Helas! à quoy, dis-je, vous sert,
D'estre à mon Amour si farouche;
Vos mains ont vostre sein couvert,
Et m'ont descouvert vostre bouche. (ll. 17-24)

Then with her lovely hands she does conceal
Those wonders chance so kindly did reveal.
In vain, alas, her nimble fingers strove
To keep her beauties from my greedy love;
Guarding her breasts, they do her lips expose,
To save a lily she must lose a rose. (ll. 9-14)

The reference to lilies and roses in the final line adds a delicate flavour, although the inserted reference to 'greedy love' heightens the emphasis on the male sexual appetite.

Etherege renders Beys's twelfth stanza more explicit, making an actual, if veiled, reference to the female sexual organ where the original was vaguely erotic:

Au lieu de me repousser,
Ses bras sans aucune contrainte,
Ne servent plus qu'à m'embrasser,
D'une amoureuse et molle estrainte. (ll. 37-40)

Her arms, which did repulse me, now embrace,
And seem to guide me to the fought-for place. (ll. 19-20)

²⁴⁹ Quaintance, p. 195.

As was the case with Oldham's translation of Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame...', this translation is likely to have been made to impress his fellow court wits and libertine poets such as Sedley and Rochester, the latter of whom wrote a more famous and explicit poem entitled 'The Imperfect Enjoyment'.²⁵⁰ While Etherege himself was not above extreme obscenity and direct reference to the female sexual organs,²⁵¹ his poetry generally avoids directly sexual themes and is characterised by refinement and praise of the lady. Thorpe observes that 'His satire was thought of as "refined" ' (p. vii). Another 'imperfect enjoyment' poem, 'L'Occasion Perdue Recouverte' by Benech de Cantenac, was the fourth bawdy or erotic poem to be translated twice in seventeenth-century England. An anonymous translation, entitled 'The Lost Opportunity Recovered', which followed the original 'quite slavishly' appeared in *Wit and Drollery* (1682).²⁵²

The first third of Cantenac's poem was adapted by Aphra Behn.²⁵³ Behn's 'The Disappointment',²⁵⁴ being open to a variety of responses and interpretations, has justly received wide critical attention. It is generally agreed that the most significant aspects of Behn's translation are her subversion of the original ending, in which Lysander's initial failure turns into success,²⁵⁵ the fact that Behn's narrator tells the story as much from the point of view of the shepherdess as from that of the shepherd, and the transposition of the setting from urban apartment to pastoral thicket.²⁵⁶ Behn not only gives the shepherdess a voice and a name, she also intervenes at the end of the end of the poem to express empathy with the nymph's chagrin and disappointment: 'The *Nymph's* Resentments none but I / Can well imagine or Condole' (l. 131). For Behn, the translation of a French poem is used as a means to subvert the original through subverting the gender roles played by the protagonists, and thus to intimate the translator's opinions on gender politics and to present female as well as male perspectives on sexuality.

²⁵⁰ John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. by Harold Love (Oxford: OUP, 1999), pp. 13-15.

²⁵¹ See 'Mr. Etherege's Answer', pp. 38-39.

²⁵² *Quaintance*, p. 195.

²⁵³ *Quaintance*, p. 196.

²⁵⁴ The text of 'The Disappointment' can be found in Aphra Behn, *The Works of Aphra Behn, Volume 1: Poetry*, ed. by Janet Todd (London: Pickering, 1992).

²⁵⁵ *Quaintance*, p. 198.

²⁵⁶ Gardiner, p. 278.

It is interesting that English translators should select erotic and bawdy French verse as a source at a time when this type of poetry was being subject to refinement and criticism in France. English translators working in the second half of the seventeenth century were obliged in most cases to go to the type of erotic and bawdy verse written in France during the first three decades of the seventeenth century, and gradually purged, at least from the published domain of French literature, as the century progressed. In translating a high proportion of bawdy and erotic French poems, and in tending to heighten the crudity and eroticism, English translators were clearly pandering to English cultural expectations of the time in which they were writing. However, the personal tastes of individual translators were also important; despite Royalist sympathies, Thomas Stanley chose to tone down the eroticism of 'La Jouissance'. The erotic and bawdy poems translated were often not characteristic of their original author's work as a whole; poets such as Voiture and Desportes had a general reputation for chastity and refinement. The bawdy humour of a poem such as 'Stances sur une Dame...' was tempered by the fact that it was intended for a largely female audience. A poem which harmlessly makes fun of a lady's unfortunate accident, written in a culture in which women were a significant influence on general refining tendencies, and itself intended for a social group consisting of a number of women, becomes offensive and misogynistic when transferred into a culture which degraded women, and translated for a group of male libertines. Heightened misogyny is characteristic of other translations of bawdy or erotic poems; women appear as passive objects in the satisfaction of male erotic pleasure, or are the victims of cruel and often obscene humour. The subtle humour which is both a characteristic feature of the French language, and a deliberate tool used to make bawdy subject matter more acceptable, is rendered more direct and explicit in English translation. Overall, then, French refining tendencies are weakened or reversed in conformity with general cultural tendencies in seventeenth-century England, as well as with the needs and tastes of the groups of Royalist and libertine poets for whom many of them were intended, and with the tastes of individual translators themselves, which reflected and intertwined with the tastes of wider society and their own immediate social and literary groupings. This refining process does not occur to the same extent or in the same way in every case, however. Divergence within overarching trends is particularly evident in the different handling of the same poem by different translators. Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame...' is both 'translated', where the

original gently mocking and subtly subversive humour is maintained and even softened, and adapted, where the tone is completely altered to affect the brutal misogyny required by its intended audience. Interestingly, Thomas Stanley chose to 'adapt', rather than 'translate', Saint-Amant's 'La Jouyssance', to create the opposite effect; a softening of the original erotic impulse. The anonymous 'translation', however, preserved and even heightened the eroticism in conformity with English Restoration demands for open sexuality. Divergence between 'adaptation' and 'translation' are evident elsewhere. Cotton completely alters the tone of Maynard's *épigrammes*, affecting adaptations which are much more brutal and misogynistic than their original poems, whereas his translation of Théophile's 'Stances XXIX' heightens some of the erotic effects but largely retains the tone and spirit of the original poem.

Chapter 4

Translations of Love Poetry

4.1 Overview of Love Lyric in Seventeenth-Century France and England

4.1.1 Introduction: Relations Between Love, Nature and Pastoral as Themes for Lyric

Poems on non-erotic amorous themes also account for a considerable number of seventeenth-century French lyrics used as source poems by English translators during the Caroline period. This is unsurprising, given that love was such a prominent theme in seventeenth-century French lyric poetry:

Certes l'amour est un thème historiquement constant - n'abusant pas du mot éternel - de toute littérature. Mais son importance dans la poésie au début du XVII^e siècle est assez exceptionnelle pour mériter d'être relevée, analysée et expliquée. L'amour y est le thème obligé ou privilégié de genres aussi importants que la poésie pastorale et rustique (bergeries, églogues), la poésie romanesque et ovidienne (longs récits versifiés d'aventures amoureuses), les ballets, mascarades, cartels, etc., mais surtout la poésie amoureuse constitue par elle-même un genre qui a ses formes préférées (sonnets, stances, chansons, élégies) et aussi ses sujets (désirs, tourments de l'absence, éloge des charmes de la Belle, etc.) et même sa langue (reprise des mêmes images, des mêmes expressions du vocabulaire amoureux).²⁵⁷

As all of the translations of French pastoral poems I am aware of are concerned with either an amorous encounter between a shepherd and shepherdess, or a shepherd's lament over his cruel treatment at the hands of a disdainful nymph, love poetry and pastoral poetry will be dealt with simultaneously. It is often difficult when dealing with both French and English poetry of the seventeenth century to separate certain types of poetry from others, and to place individual texts within just one category of poetic type. Seventeenth-century French pastoral constantly intertwines with both love and nature poetry: 'Poésie de la nature, la pastorale permettait à ces auteurs d'aborder, avec une remarquable diversité, les différentes facettes du descriptif. Poésie de l'amour, elle favorisait l'essor d'un lyrisme personnel où

²⁵⁷ Henri Lafay, *La Poésie française du premier XVII^e siècle (1598-1630): esquisse pour un tableau* (Paris: Nizet, 1975), pp. 93-94.

épancher ses blessures et ses espoirs.’²⁵⁸ It is equally difficult to separate love, nature and pastoral themes in the work of seventeenth-century English poets: ‘love is such a frequent topic in pastoral that by the eighteenth century the terms “swain” and “nymph” were standard designations for a lover and his lady even in poems entirely devoid of flowers and lambs’.²⁵⁹

4.1.2 Seventeenth-Century French Love Poetry: from Neo-Petrarchism to *Galanterie*

A significant proportion of the seventeenth-century French love poems selected for translation in England during the Caroline period fall within the category of what Alain Génétiot terms both ‘Neo-Petrarchan’ and ‘serious’ love poetry.²⁶⁰ Themes and images taken from Petrarch and his predecessors and imitators, having featured prominently in the poetry of the *Pléiade*, continued to largely dominate French love poetry until around 1650. During the sixteenth century, French Petrarchan poetry had filtered out both the courtly emphasis on service of the lady and the mysticism of the *Canzoniere*, and was characterised mainly by idealisation and hyperbolic praise of the lady, and by expressions of the lover’s endless suffering and willingness to die for love.²⁶¹ While it remained the principal convention in French love poetry during the first half of the seventeenth century, Neo-Petrarchism nevertheless existed alongside several direct counter-discourses, often employed by poets who also wrote Neo-Petrarchan lyrics. For poets writing during the reign of Louis XIII, the rejection of Neo-Petrarchan convention involved recourse to themes and arguments which represented its exact antithesis:

Mais c’est bien le pétrarquisme qui règle en profondeur le comportement amoureux; il exerce sur les coeurs et sur les esprits une influence telle que

²⁵⁸ Stéphane Macé, *L’Eden perdu: la pastorale dans la poésie française de l’âge baroque* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), p. 391.

²⁵⁹ Messenger, p. 5.

²⁶⁰ See *Les Genres lyriques mondains* and *Poétique du loisir mondain de Voiture à La Fontaine*.

²⁶¹ Génétiot, *Poétique du loisir mondain*, p. 185. Génétiot observes that during the 1630s, and notably in the work of Tristan L’Hermite and Georges de Scudéry, Petrarchan and courtly influences intermingled with images and themes taken from Marino (p. 185). For a more detailed study of both the idealisation of the lady and the presentation of the suffering lover in the work of Voiture, Sarasin and Vion D’Alibray, see Génétiot, *Les Genres lyriques mondains*, pp. 85-96, and on the representation of these themes more generally in the work of *mondain* poets, see Génétiot, *Poétique du loisir mondain*, pp. 193-209.

pour lui échapper il faut le combattre et en prendre le contrepied (poésie licencieuse et gaillarde, éloge de l'inconstance masculine, satire de la femme légère et vénale, description réaliste des laideurs de la vieille, etc.), donc être déterminé (négativement) par sa vision de l'amour et de la femme.²⁶²

Included alongside Neo-Petrarchan poetry in the amorous corpus of the libertine poets, notably that of Saint-Amant and Théophile, was the portrayal of love which was mutual, passionate, and physical, often enjoyed in natural surroundings.²⁶³

Neo-Petrarchism was the dominant vein of love poetry written in *mondain* circles until around 1650, although, again, it existed alongside direct counter-discourses, including the mocking of old and ugly women and the denunciation of women as unfaithful.²⁶⁴ After 1650, however, there was a general shift from allegiance to the conventional conceptions of love, based around idealised portrayals of the lady and the lover's delight in his suffering, towards the *galant* concept of love.²⁶⁵ *Galanterie* was characterised by irony, *badinage* and lightness of tone as opposed to the seriousness and lament of Neo-Petrarchism, and the joy of inconstancy as opposed to undying faithfulness to a single cold-hearted mistress. Génétiot defines the *galant* concept of love as 'plus humain, plus souriant et plus léger, il cesse d'être un prison.'²⁶⁶

4.1.3 Seventeenth-Century English Poetry: the Absence of Petrarchism

There are obvious dangers in attempting to compare the presence and influence of Petrarchan sentiment in French and English poetry of the seventeenth century, not least because Petrarchism is often mediated through, and intermingled with, other literary influences. The presence (and absence) of Petrarchan elements in the original works of the English poets who translated from French lyric will be considered where appropriate. Overall, however, it is possible to observe that while poetry which conformed entirely to Petrarchan sentiment was being written in France until around

²⁶² Lafay, pp. 95-96.

²⁶³ See Saint-Amant's 'La Jouissance' and Théophile's 'La Solitude' (I, pp. 160-65).

²⁶⁴ See Génétiot, *Poétique du loisir mondain*, pp. 211-26.

²⁶⁵ Jean-Michel Pelous traces this development in detail in *Amour précieux, amour galant (1654-1675)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1980). Pelous notes that *galanterie* had been established by Voiture prior to 1650, and that the posthumous publication of his works in that year led to a flux of other works written in the *galant* vein (p. 143).

²⁶⁶ *Les Genres lyriques mondains*, p. 106. For more on the *galant* concept of love, see Génétiot, *Les Genres lyriques mondains*, pp. 97-110, and Pelous, pp. 154-59.

1650, very little poetry in a purely Petrarchan vein seems to have been written in England after 1600. That Petrarchism in its various forms and manifestations was generally less popular in England than in France can be seen in the fact that Petrarch was translated and imitated less often in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England in comparison with the same period in France. There was a 'long silence, an unexplained gap of a century and a half between Chaucer's inaccurate version of no. 132, the sonnet 'S'amor non è', in the *Troilus and Criseyde* (i. 400-20) – the only surviving medieval English version of any poem from the *Canzoniere* – and the versions made by Wyatt after his first visit to Italy in 1527.'²⁶⁷ Furthermore, there was 'a marked avoidance of direct imitation of Petrarch among the finest poets of the age of Elizabeth I and James I.'²⁶⁸ By contrast, 'by 1600 almost all of Petrarch's sonnets had been translated into French, and many of these versions were to prove more available sources to the Elizabethans than the *Canzoniere* itself.'²⁶⁹ George Watson, from whom the above quotations are taken, concludes that:

The obvious explanation for this avoidance is the one repeatedly offered by the Elizabethans themselves: that by 1600 the poetic system inherited from Petrarch and his French and Italian imitators was felt to be damagingly obsolete. Petrarch's woes, by that date, were as long deceased as Pope's are to us, and in a less historically minded age are likely to have seemed remoter still. Protestantism, too, probably offered a certain barrier, especially to the poems of the 'Morte'. In general, if an Elizabethan wanted a guide to continental conventions of love, he would have turned more readily to a work of his own century, such as Hoby's translation (1561) of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*.²⁷⁰

While the Cavalier poets, who produced the vast majority of English translations of seventeenth-century French poetry, made very frequent use of Petrarchan imagery, their works include no poetry which follows Petrarchan conventions in a pure and unadulterated form.²⁷¹ John Suckling's love lyrics

²⁶⁷ George Watson, *The English Petrarchans: A Critical Bibliography of the Canzoniere* (Worcester: Trinity Press, 1967), p. 1.

²⁶⁸ Watson, p. 1.

²⁶⁹ Watson, p. 2. For more on Petrarch's influence and on imitations of the *Canzoniere* in sixteenth-century France, see Joseph Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe Siècle* (Montpellier: Coulet et Fils, 1909).

²⁷⁰ Watson, p. 8. For further details on English Protestant opposition to the Petrarchan ideal, see Alan Sinfield, *Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660* (London: Croom Helm, 1983).

²⁷¹ The Cavalier poets were exposed to Platonic and *précieux* conceptions of love at the court of Henrietta Maria. These influences, however, became intermingled in the poets' own amorous discourse with French libertine attitudes to love, to which they were also exposed: 'Within the familiar repertoire

frequently express direct desire for sexual encounters with the lady (e.g. ‘*Lutea Allison: Si sola es, nulla es*’).²⁷² In several poems, the male speaker pronounces freedom from his enslavement to the lady. In the few poems which do express Petrarchan sentiment, such as ‘Upon the first sight of my Lady Seimor’ (p. 26), which contains hyperbolic praise of the lady, and ‘The Invocation’ (pp. 44-45), in which he states that crossed lovers have the right to die, the tone is brisk rather than lamenting.²⁷³

Richard Lovelace’s amorous lyrics often refer to open erotic encounters or seduction. In ‘The Scutinie’, he declares that he has been faithful to the same lady for twelve hours and now wants to play the field.²⁷⁴ Several of Lovelace’s lyrics are characterised by precision and realism, portraying the lady engaged in precise, everyday activities (see, for example, ‘Gratiana dauncing and singing’, p. 25).²⁷⁵ In the few poems which do express Petrarchan sentiment, Lovelace’s tone is brisk and dramatic rather than lamenting: ‘Now fie upon that everlasting Life, I Dye! | She hates! Ah me! It makes me mad’ (‘Valiant Love’, p. 93, ll. 1-2).

4.2 Studies of Translations of Love Poems

It is interesting that, despite the unpopularity of Petrarchan conventions among seventeenth-century English poets, Neo-Petrarchan poems account for a high proportion of French amorous lyrics translated in Caroline England. It seems most appropriate to study each translation of a French Neo-Petrarchan poem in turn,

of his free range, the court poet found the obvious polarities of stance available for the representation of the sentiment of sex and for capturing the excitements of eroticism at the Caroline court to be the *libertinism* of the Taverns and the *préciosité* of the acolytes of the Hôtel de Rambouillet’. M. L. Donnelly, ‘The Rack of Fancy and the Trade of Love’, in *Renaissance Discourses of Desire*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Peabworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), pp. 107-29 (p. 108). Donnelly claims that both Suckling and Carew, while playing ‘with various *libertin* stances’, nevertheless use and exploit some of the ‘exquisite and curious refinements’ of Platonic love (p. 109). The Cavalier poets were also influenced by earlier English writers, notably Donne, whose lyrics, while using Petrarchan images and ideas, react against the purely spiritual nature of love characteristic of Petrarchism and Platonic love.

²⁷² Suckling, *The Works of Sir John Suckling*, p. 25. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text.

²⁷³ Examining the influence of *précieux* and *libertin* conceptions of love in Suckling’s verse, Henderson concludes that despite a full awareness of the *précieux* cult introduced at the first Caroline court, ‘In practice, he either ridiculed or ignored it. [...] His usual expression in love poetry was guided by a “libertine” naturalism which he derived directly from Donne, whose poetic disciple he was, and from the minor *libertin* poets in France, of whom he had first-hand knowledge’ (p. 298).

²⁷⁴ Richard Lovelace, *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. by C. H. Wilkinson, 2nd edn (Oxford: OUP, 1968), pp. 26-27. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text.

²⁷⁵ Richmond notes that ‘Such concern with precise and immediate situations is a frequent characteristic of Stuart love poetry’ (p. 154).

grouped according to their French authors, in order to make comparisons and highlight patterns in the changes made. I will then examine the few translations of poems where Neo-Petrarchan conventions are undermined or overturned.

4.2.1 Ronsard

Included in Thomas Stanley's *Poems and Translations* (1651) was 'The Revenge',²⁷⁶ adapted from one of Ronsard's conventional love lyrics. George Saintsbury had claimed that the source for Stanley's translation was Ronsard's famous sonnet beginning 'Quand vous serez bien vieille'; this was corrected by Mario Praz, who correctly identified the source as Ode XIII from Ronsard's *Troisième Livre des Odes*, beginning 'Jeune beauté, mais trop outrecuidée'.²⁷⁷ The changes made by Stanley are characteristic of the alterations English translators made when reworking French amorous lyrics. Stanley shortens Ronsard's seven stanzas to three but retains his stanzaic form and rhyme scheme, except for the first and third lines of each quatrain, which are octosyllabic as opposed to Ronsard's decasyllabic lines:

Jeune beauté, mais trop outrecuidée
 Des presents de Venus,
 Quand tu verras ta peau toute ridée
 Et tes cheveux chenus,

Contre le temps et contre toy rebelle
 Diras en te tançant:
 Que ne pensoy-je alors que j'estoy belle
 Ce que je vay pensant?

Ou bien, pourquoy à mon desir pareille
 Ne suis-je maintenant?
 La beauté semble à la rose vermeille
 Qui meurt incontinent.

Voilà les vers tragiques, et la plainte
 Qu'au ciel tu envoyras,
 Incontinent que ta face dépeinte
 Par le temps tu voirras.

Tu sçais combien ardemment je t'adore,

²⁷⁶ The text of this poem can be found in *Poems and Translations* (1962), pp. 49-50.

²⁷⁷ Praz, pp. 280-81. The text of the original can be found in Pierre de Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Jean Cérard, Daniel Ménager et Michel Simonin, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), I, pp. 761-62.

Indocile à pitié,
 Et tu me fuis, et tu ne veux encore
 Te joindre à ta moitié.

Ô de Paphos et de Cypre regente,
 Deesse aux noirs sourcis!
 Plustost encore que le temps, sois vengente
 Mes desdaignez soucis,

Et du Brandon dont les coeurs tu enflames
 Des jumens tout autour,
 Brusle-la moy, à fin que de ses flames
 Je me rie à mon tour.

Fair Rebell to thy self, and Time,
 Who laughst at all my tears,
 When thou hast lost thy youthfull prime
 And age his Trophie rears,

Weighing thy inconsiderate pride
 Thou shalt in vain accuse it,
 Why Beauty am I now deni'd
 Or knew not then to use it?

Then shall I wish, ungentle Fair
 Thou in like flames may'st burn;
 Venus, if just will hear my prayer
 And I shall laugh my turn.

Like Ronsard, Stanley uses a variety of enjambement and end-stopped lines, and his second stanza follows the form of Ronsard's exactly; the sense of the first and third lines runs on, while the second line pauses in a comma. However, while Stanley retains Ronsard's form, he alters the personalities of the lovers. Ronsard's lady is the cold and unfeeling object of the lover's affections normally associated with courtly and Petrarchan love lyrics. While Stanley's lady is also unresponsive and unsympathetic to the lover's advances, she is also portrayed as somewhat coquettish. Whereas Ronsard's lady will offer 'vers tragiques' and a 'plainte' to heaven, Stanley's will coquettishly come to regret not making the most of her feminine charms ('Weighing thy inconsiderate pride / Thou shalt in vain accuse it'). Stanley's lover is similarly less mournful than Ronsard's; the latter mourns over the waste of beauty and time whereas the former is half-joking throughout. Gone are the intense, plaintive appeals in Ronsard: 'Tu sais combien ardemment je t'adore' (l. 13). As Anne Lake Prescott has remarked, Stanley 'remains wittily detached' and does not 'stress the

agony of the narrator'. Prescott concludes that Stanley thus achieves a 'dispassionate clarity that may even improve upon the original' (p. 117). This is simply a matter of taste; Ronsard's lover conveys a greater sense of personality and expresses his feelings more strongly, but seems self-obsessed, particularly in the final stanza, whereas Stanley lightens the tone but removes the impression of expressing intense personal feeling.

A. J. Smith has remarked that detachment and impersonality are key features of Stanley's wit: 'Stanley studiously maintains his witty argument at the level of an urbane performance, cultivating a civilised anonymity and an impersonal intellectual grace.'²⁷⁸ Hugh Richmond has noted that the undermining of the lover's individuality is characteristic of Caroline love poetry.²⁷⁹ Comparing Ronsard's 'Mignonne, allons voir si la rose' with Herrick's 'To the Virgins, to make much of Time', he remarks that 'The sense of personality and situation is conspicuously weaker than in Ronsard, though the naturalness of tone and energy is if anything superior to the French poet's rhetoric'.²⁸⁰

Stanley's original poetry reveals an ambivalent attitude towards the Petrarchan sentiments expressed both in this poem of Ronsard and in some of the other amorous lyrics he chose to translate from French. Some of Stanley's poems undermine the Petrarchan sentiments of undying faithfulness and willingness to suffer for an ungrateful mistress, and several directly reject or criticise the notion of platonic love.²⁸¹ In several poems, including 'Love Deposed' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. 37), and 'Loves Heretick' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 32-35) a male speaker urges his (male) listeners against faithfulness to just one woman. 'Chang'd, yet Constant' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. 7) expresses a lively, briskly ironic undermining of Petrarchan sentiment; Stanley's lover claims that he 'vow'd to adore / the fairest Saint' (ll. 4-5) and is therefore justified in no longer loving the lady once she is no longer the fairest lady in his acquaintance. Referring to 'The Deposition' (*Poems and Translations*, p. 31), Smith notes that Stanley 'persistently undercuts his own praises on precise philosophical grounds'.²⁸² Even in poems which do express

²⁷⁸ A. J. Smith, *The Metaphysics of Love: studies in Renaissance love poetry from Dante to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 233.

²⁷⁹ Richmond, *The School of Love*, p. 202.

²⁸⁰ Richmond, *The School of Love*, p. 62.

²⁸¹ See, for example, 'Speaking and Kissing' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 29-30), in which the satisfaction of physical love is expressed in complex intellectual arguments.

²⁸² Smith, p. 224.

Petrarchan sentiments, such as 'The Repulse' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 20-21) and the 'Song' beginning 'When I lie burning in thine eye' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 15-16), there is little sense of the extreme complaint and lament usually associated with Petrarchism, and the tone is light and brisk rather than mournful. Indeed, this lightness and briskness of tone characterises Stanley's verse as a whole. Richmond has traced the movement away from deep expression of lament, towards a more detached and intellectualised expression of sentiment, in seventeenth-century English poetry:

The wounded sensibility that provokes the characteristically plaintive poetry of Wyatt has discovered weapons and resources in the complexity of Renaissance intellectual theories that arm delicate sensibility against the challenges of any situation. Lament, the hallmark of lovers from earliest times, but more particularly since the era of the troubadours, becomes less and less characteristic of love poetry. Instead, we hear a new note of self-confidence, which was to characterise much of English literature for a century. The explanation lies in the fact that, just as the Middle Ages had given to the religious emotions a structure of logical concepts which allowed them the fullest and most effective development (until the intellectual machinery crushed the impulses it had once braced and assisted), so in the seventeenth century secular love had received the same invigorating injection of intellectual discipline, which liberated it from the elementary patterns of response afforded by most earlier models. The seventeenth century saw the advance in the intellectual awareness of love to be as significant as that in the revision of astronomy's picture of the universe.²⁸³

Stanley's lovers frequently adopt a dramatised position, addressing the lady directly, in the form of questions or exclamations, rather than focusing on the speaker's own emotions and sufferings:

Then my complaint how canst thou hear,
Or this passion fly,
Since thou imprisoned hast thine ear
And not confin'd thine eye? ('Song', *Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. 17, ll. 16-20)

While Stanley's poetry contains few Petrarchan sentiments and arguments, it nevertheless abounds in Petrarchan motifs such as eyes and fire.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Richmond, *The School of Love*, p. 223.

²⁸⁴ See, for example, the following lines from 'Excuse for wishing her lesse Fair': 'If the flames within thine eye / Did not too great heat inspire' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. 6, ll. 7-8).

4.2.2 Malherbe

The only poem I am aware of by Malherbe to be translated into English during the Caroline period is a conventional love lyric. Amorous lyrics, usually written in the Neo-Petrarchan vein, constitute a sizeable proportion of Malherbe's poetic output. However, it is noted by critics of seventeenth-century French poetry that Malherbe wrote Petrarchan lyrics despite having little taste for them: 'Malherbe, qui critiqua Pétrarque et Ronsard, eut néanmoins sa période pétrarquiste dans les sonnets à Caliste qui célèbrent la vicomtesse d'Auchy.'²⁸⁵ Raymond Lebègue suggests that Malherbe only followed convention to pander to the expectations of patrons and contemporary literary audiences: 'Ainsi, d'un côté, un poète qui, pour plaire au public et être bien vu d'Henri IV et des Grands, développe des thèmes pétrarquistes; de l'autre, un homme plus sensuel et plus orgueilleux que passionné' (p. 8). Malherbe's amorous verses in the Petrarchan mode are not considered to equal the quality or poetic value of his encomiastic verse: 'Personne ne s'occuperait des quelques vers pétrarquistes de Malherbe, s'il n'était pas l'auteur de ces odes et de ces paraphrases de *Psaumes* qui ont inauguré chez nous le règne de l'art classique. Comme poète amoureux il ne compte guère'.²⁸⁶

The translation of the conventional love lyric, an *épigramme* entitled 'Pour Mettre Devant les Heures de Caliste',²⁸⁷ was produced by Charles Cotton.²⁸⁸ The poem addresses Malherbe's mistress, the vicomtesse d'Auchy, under the pseudonym of Caliste. The theme is one characteristic of the conventional love lyric, the lady's unrelenting cruelty and rejection of the speaker's devoted love:

Tant que vous serez sans amour,
Caliste, priez nuit et jour,
Vous n'aurez point miséricorde:

²⁸⁵ Rollin, *Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, p. 116.

²⁸⁶ Vianey, p. 279.

²⁸⁷ *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. by René Fromilhague and Raymond Lebègue (Paris: Société Les Belles Lettres, 1968), p. 134.

²⁸⁸ 'Writ in Calista's Prayer-Book. An Epigram of Monsieur de Malherbe' (*Poems*, p. 284). An English translation of another of Malherbe's conventional love lyrics, 'Cette Anne si belle', written on the occasion of the French court preparing to go to the Spanish border to meet Anne of Austria when she had just married Louis XIII, appeared anonymously in Dryden's *Examen Poeticum: Being the third part of Miscellany Poems. Containing variety of new translations of the Ancient Poets. Together with many original copies, by Most Eminent Hands* (London: Printed by R. E. for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges Head in Chancery Lane, near Fleetstreet, 1693). The translation of a poem discussing specific events in France is highly unusual.

Ce n'est pas que Dieu ne soit doux:
 Mais pensez-vous qu'il vous accorde
 Ce qu'on ne peut avoir de vous?

Whilst you are deaf to love, you may,
 Fairest Clista, weep and pray,
 And yet, alas! No mercy find:
 Not but God's mercifull, 'tis true,
 But can you think he'll grant to you
 What you deny to all mankind?

Sembower observes that 'Here, somewhat as in translating from Desportes, Cotton has evidently tried to heighten the effect of the original by introducing an exclamation in the third line and by giving in general more rhetorical *pointe* to the *épigramme*. Otherwise, except in translating the second line "Fairest Calista, weep and pray," instead of "Pray night and day," the translation is literal' (p. 77).

Cotton's original poetry makes little use of Petrarchan sentiment. Some of his poems, such as 'An Invitation to Phyllis' (*Poems*, pp. 98-101) and 'The Entertainment to Phyllis' (*Poems*, pp. 101-03), adopt the libertine sentiments of urging the lady to engage in mutual companionship and erotic pleasure in nature. In some poems, Cotton chides the lady for her coldness, but the sentiments cannot be described as 'Petrarchan', as the lover seeks a response from the lady in terms of mutual companionship and affection (see, for example, 'Ode to Love', *Poems*, pp. 121-22, and 'The Picture', *Poems*, pp. 122-23). Cotton's greatest recourse to Petrarchan sentiment occurs in the poems which discuss the theme of the lady's absence, such as the 'Song' beginning 'Why Dearest, should'st thou weep' (*Poems*, pp. 126-27), and an elegy beginning 'God! Are you just' (*Poems*, pp. 234-37). In several poems, notably the 'Song' beginning 'How comes it to pass with so little ado' (*Poems*, pp. 136-37), and 'To Chloris' (*Poems*, pp. 142-44), Cotton's lovers reject the ideal of unending servitude to the lady, and pronounce their freedom. Even where, as in 'The Expostulation' (*Poems*, pp. 130-31), the lover chides the lady for her cruelty, there is little expression of lament or sense of the lover's suffering.

4.2.2 Racan

Cotton also translated Racan's Neo-Petrarchan 'Ode XXVIII', beginning 'Ingrate Cause de mes Larmes', written before the French poet was thirty, on the occasion of his having to go on a military campaign and leave behind him a romantic attachment

at court (I, p. 107). Racan's love lyrics, which, along with encomiastic and religious verse constitute a considerable proportion of his lyric output, exploit to the full all of the themes associated with Neo-Petrarchism. His ladies are the subject of vague and yet exaggerated praise, and his lovers suffer excruciating torment and yet delight in their agony. Cotton's translation of 'Ingrate Cause de mes Larmes', in which the central theme is the lover's determination to be faithful to the lady despite intense torment, suffers from an excessive closeness to the original words and rhymes, resulting in a jarring translation which could not pass for an original poem. See, for example, his translation of the first three lines: 'Ingrate cause de mes larmes, | Je vais chercher dans les alarmes | Le trepas, et la liberté'; 'Ingrateful cause of all my harms, | I go to seek amidst Alarms | My Death, or Liberty'. Cotton preserves Racan's form of six stanzas of six lines each, and retains the octosyllables apart from in the third and sixth lines, which he shortens to six syllables.

4.2.4 Tristan

Love poems constitute by far the greatest proportion of Tristan's lyric verse, although financial dependence also forced him to write a considerable number of encomiastic poems. Tristan's love lyrics, while steeped in Neo-Petrarchan imagery and expressions of suffering, nevertheless convey conventional sentiment with an intensity which takes them beyond convention. As Margaret Belcher has observed, Tristan, like Malherbe, made use of conventional images and concepts solely in order to satisfy the demands of patrons and wider society:

Only later does his real seriousness about poetry become evident, in his scattered observations on the nature of poetry and particularly in his reiterations on the poet's need for intellectual and material independence. Yet, because circumstances cast Tristan in the role of gentleman at the court of Gaston d'Orléans, he continued to offer the stylized *vers de circonstance* which make up a large part of his last volume of poetry, *Les Vers héroïques* (1648). Thus there is always present in Tristan's poetry a tension created by the conflicting exigencies of his role as a social poet and his sense of the poet's true vocation.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ 'Tristan's Annotations on "Les Plaintes d'Acante"', *PFSCS*, 9 (1982), 327-39 (pp. 327-28). Guillaume Peureux further expands the notion that 'Les Plaintes d'Acante' were intended to attract financial support from noble patrons, and sees the annotations as an extra tool used by the poet to convince both Gaston and the wider public of his position as a serious author: 'En même temps qu'il honorait Gaston et l'incitait explicitement à se montrer plus large dans ses gratifications, Tristan

'La Plainte d'Acante', one of Tristan's best known conventional love poems, was adapted by Thomas Stanley. Margaret Belcher interprets Tristan's annotations on the two editions of 'La Plainte d'Acante' published in 1633 as ironic comments on some of the poem's more conventional features, notably the response of the natural world to Acante's sufferings.²⁹⁰ The presentation of a melancholic shepherd indulging his sufferings in nature and expressing them in lengthy monologues is the principal feature of 'La Plainte d'Acante', and the shortening of these passages and the resulting weaker sense of the shepherd's suffering is the principal feature of Stanley's translation, 'Acanthus' Complaint'. Interesting parallels can be drawn here with *Titus and Berenice*, Thomas Otway's 1676 adaptation of Racine's *Bérénice*.²⁹¹ Like Stanley, Otway frequently omits or reduces monologues in which protagonists express their inner anguish at the suffering caused by love, resulting in an adaptation which is emotionally weaker than the original. Long passages of speech were frequently shortened in Restoration adaptations of contemporary French tragedies. French classical critics such as D'Aubignac considered that dramatic action should be contained in discourse rather than physical action.²⁹² Seventeenth-century English dramatic principles, however, held that the representation of physical action on stage should take precedence over long speeches.²⁹³ To return to 'Acanthus' Complaint', a more detailed study of the reduced impression of suffering in Stanley's adaptation and the way in which it is achieved will be given in chapter 6, though brief comments are appropriate here. In the opening stanzas of Stanley's adaptation, lines of the original which prefigure Acante's emotional outpourings later in the poem are weakened. For example, the line 'Acante qui n'a rien que des soucis dans l'ame' (l. 2) is reduced to 'Acanthus, hapless youth' (l. 2). In his rendering of 'Où souvent en secret j'entretiens ma tristesse' (l. 58), Stanley somewhat moderates the sentiment and diminishes the

affirmait aussi sa position d'auteur, notamment en recherchant l'audience du public élargi que permet de toucher un ouvrage imprimé - un public plus large assurément, que celui de la petite cour bruxelloise'. 'Les Plaintes d'Acante' et leurs annotations: Tristan à la recherche de son public', *Cahiers Tristan L'Hermitte* (2001), 33-50 (pp. 38-39).

²⁹⁰ Belcher, pp. 333-34. Several of Tristan's lovers indulge their pain in nature, notably the speaker in *L'Amant en langueur* (*Les Amours*, II, pp. 77-78).

²⁹¹ Thomas Otway, *The Works of Thomas Otway*, ed. by G. C. Gosh, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1932, repr. 1968), I, pp. 253-92.

²⁹² See Abbé D'Aubignac, *La Pratique du théâtre*, ed. by Pierre Martino (Alger: Ancienne Maison Bastide-Jourdan, 1927), p. 283.

²⁹³ See James J. Supple, *Bérénice*, Critical Guides to French Texts Ser. 57 (London: Grant & Cutler, 1986), p. 9.

sense of the shepherd retreating to the woods to indulge his pain: 'Which with my woes doth oft resound' (l. 50). Stanley's shepherd retains the sense of self-identity of Tristan's; stanzas in which he boasts of his own lineage and courage are retained, but passages in which he pours out his own emotions are omitted or shortened, and the sense of awareness of his own suffering is thus greatly reduced. Tristan's shepherd is predominantly a melancholic, unable to find happiness and satisfaction despite the beauty of nature around him:

Si vostre coeur s'obstine avecque tant de haine
 A ne m'accorder jamais rien,
 Puis-je pas protester que je n'ay point de bien? (ll. 306-308)

In his corresponding passage, Stanley's emphasis is not on unhappiness but servitude and being enslaved to the lady:

How can I call these riches mine,
 When ev'n myself, alas! am thine? (ll. 101-102)

Stanley also adapted Tristan's 'Le Bracelet' (II, pp. 145-46), a poem imbued with conventional images and sentiment, notably the lingering, rapturous adoration of the lady in the first two lines:

Amour en soit béni, le sujet de mes vœux,
 Cette jeune beauté qui captive mon âme
 De cent chaînes de flame,
 La veut lier encore avecque ses cheveux.

Cette chère faveur que je n'osois prétendre,
 Rendra de mon destin les dieux même jaloux;
 Voyant qu'un feu si doux
 Se trouve accompagné d'une si belle cendre.

Agréables chaînons, beau fil d'ambre flottant,
 Vous ne faisiez qu'errer autour de son visage;
 Étiez-vous si volage
 Pour venir aujourd'hui me rendre si constant?
 Ô cieus! Ma servitude est tellement plaisante,
 Que comparant les fers où je suis arrêté
 A quelque royauté,
 J'estime une couronne importune et pesante.

Where Tristan's lover delights in his slavery to the lady, Stanley's bemoans her cruelty and longs to be free, although his complaints are again expressed without any deep sense of suffering or lament.²⁹⁴

Now Love be prais'd! that cruel Fair,
 Who my poor Heart restrains
 Under so many Chains,
 Hath weav'd a new one for it of her Hair.

These threads of Amber us'd to play
 With every courtly wind,
 And never were confin'd,
 But in a thousand Curls allow'd to stray.

Cruel each part of her is grown,
 Nor lesse unkind then She
 These fetters are to Me,
 Which to restrain Freedome, lose their own.

As in his adaptation from Ronsard, Stanley's lady becomes a coquette. His translation of 'Agréables chaînons, beau fils d'ambre flottant, | Vous ne faisiez qu'errer autour de son visage', is more coquettish than the original, and implies that the lady herself is as flirtatious as her hair: 'These threads of Amber us'd to play | With every courtly wind'. Stanley's modern editor considers that 'the result is perhaps superior to the French poem' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. xli), although as with Stanley's translation from Ronsard, his translation is so different from the original that preference is merely a matter of taste.

4.2.5 Théophile

Amorous verses also constitute a significant proportion of Théophile's lyric output, and the contrasting variety of themes, stances and motifs he employs (Neo-Petrarchan declarations of undying faithfulness and delight in suffering, declarations of freedom from slavery to the lady, libertine enjoyment of physical love in nature, real or imagined erotic encounters) have already been hinted at in both this chapter and the previous chapter. Charles Cotton produced the only seventeenth-century English translations of which I am aware of poems by Théophile on amorous themes. In

²⁹⁴ The text of 'The Bracelet' can be found in *Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 27-28.

addition to his translation of Théophile's 'Stances XXIX', Cotton produced a close translation of Théophile's 'Elégie XV',²⁹⁵ which is on the Neo-Petrarchan theme of the lady's absence. Théophile's poem is characterised by a strong sense of the male speaker's suffering. Cotton's translation will be referred to in more detail in chapter 6, but it is necessary for the moment to observe that Cotton again reduces the sense of the lover's suffering, and increases the impression of tenderness towards the lady, through emphasising and addressing her more strongly and reducing the speaker's sense of self-awareness.

4.2.6 Scudéry

As noted earlier, Katherine Philips adapted a pastoral poem from Scudéry's *Almahide* containing conventional reproaches to the shepherdess for her coldness, and invitations to her to enjoy the beauties of nature with the adoring shepherd. William Roberts has remarked that the theme of *Almahide*, 'the suffering of Ponce de Leon, a desperate but suitably gallant shepherd disguised as Leonce, for his elusive shepherdess Almahide, disguised as Aminta', suited Orinda's literary taste: 'Such precious and complete devotion to an inaccessible mistress doubtless pleased Orinda, and reminded her of the faithfulness in "friendship" which she so ardently cultivated.'²⁹⁶ The most significant feature of Orinda's adaptation is the increased tenderness of tone. This is a frequently-occurring feature of contemporary English translations of seventeenth-century French love poems. In the fourth stanza, the slower rhythm of Philips's translation increases the impression that the shepherd's thoughts are lingering tenderly over both lady and landscape:

Cet Astre qui te ressemble,
De rayons perçans & longs;
Illumine et dore ensemble,
Ces Plaines & ces Vallons. (ll. 13-16)

That Planett, which so like thee seems,
In his long and peircing beams,
At once Illuminates & Guilds.
All these valleys, and these Fields. (ll. 13-16)

²⁹⁵ Cotton's translation can be found in *Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 575-80. The texts of the original and the translation are given in Appendix B, pp. 228-30.

²⁹⁶ Roberts, 'The Dating of Orinda's French Translations', p. 59.

In the first line quoted above, the break after 'That Planett', which slows the rhythm, and the stronger emphasis on the lady through the increased grammatical emphasis on 'thee', effects the increased tenderness.

Philips also achieves a greater tenderness than Scudéry in the stanza immediately following:

Entends soupirer Zephire,
 Et murmurer ce Ruisseau;
 Tous les deux semblent te dire,
 Leve-toy, le jour est beau. (ll. 17-20)

The winds doe rather sigh then blow,
 And Rivers murmure as they goe,
 And all things seem to thee to say,
 Rise fayr one, 'tis a Lovely Day. (ll. 17-20)

Here, again, the increased tenderness is effected by the heightened emphasis on the lady through the emphasis on 'thee', and also through the insertion of 'fayr one'.

It has been noted that on several occasions, male translators of French love poetry reduce the original hyperbolic praise of the lady. Philips's rendering of passages in which the lady is praised, however, reveal interestingly different gender perspectives. Philips's shepherd is more hyperbolically expressive in his admiration of the shepherdess; compare 'La couleur de nos Cerises, | De ta bouche est la couleur' (ll. 187-88); 'The blushes that our Cherry's weare, | Do hardly to thy lips come neare' (ll. 187-88). Philips's translation places greater emphasis on faithfulness in love, and its tone is more refined. In the passage below, where the original hints at fulfilled and even erotic love, Orinda emphasises kindness and fidelity:

Vois, vois, ces deux Tourterelles,
 Entends-les gemir d'icy;
 Ce sont deux amants fidelles,
 Ne veux-tu pas l'estre aussi? (ll. 224-28)

Observe these Turtles, kind & true,
 Hearken how fervently they woo.
 They faithful Lovers are, & who
 That sees thee, would not be so too? (ll. 224-28)

Orinda transposes the mildly erotic ‘Entends-les gemir d’icy’ to the more refined and platonic ‘Hearken how fervently they woo’. In the last two lines, where Scudéry’s shepherd persuades the lady to enjoy love with him merely on the basis of copying other lovers, (‘Ne veux-tu pas l’être aussi?’) Philips’s shepherd emphasises the lady’s attractiveness, and again, there is the tender emphasis on ‘thee’.

4.2.7 Bertaut

Isaac Bertaut’s amorous lyrics are steeped in Neo-Petrarchan images and sentiment.²⁹⁷ Charles Cotton produced a translation of one of Bertaut’s ‘chansons’,²⁹⁸ entitled ‘Stances de Monsieur Bertaud’ (*Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 147-49), in which the speaker expresses simultaneous love and hatred for the lady, pours out his sufferings and chides her for her ingratitude.²⁹⁹ Cotton follows the original closely, retaining the original five six-line stanzas, octosyllabic lines and rhyme scheme, and also reproducing the original lover’s self-awareness and intense complaints. However, Cotton’s address to the lady in line 22 is tender (‘my fair one’) where the original was accusatory.

4.2.8 Parodies of Petrarch: Voiture

Sophie Rollin observes that amorous lyrics constitute a relatively small proportion of Voiture’s lyric output:

Les sujets amoureux sont chez lui peu représentés: sur ses soixante-douze poésies lyriques, on n’en dénombre que quarante et une qui développent une thématique amoureuse, soit 58%; c’est peu en comparaison de la dominance de cette thématique dans la poésie lyrique. Voiture se plaît à traiter des sujets

²⁹⁷ On Petrarchism in Bertaut’s poetry, see *Le Pétrarquisme en France*, pp. 271-79. Vianey remarks that Bertaut’s Petrarchism, while still highly conventional, is more original than that of other contemporary French Petrarchans; Bertaut’s main source is Tansillo, whereas Desportes and Ronsard took their inspiration mainly from Tebaldeo (pp. 273-75).

²⁹⁸ The text of Bertaut’s poem appeared in the *Nouveau Recueil des plus beaux vers de ce temps*. (A Paris, Chez Toussaint du Bray, rue saint Jacques, aux Espics meurs, & en sa boutique au Palais, en la gallerie des prisonniers. 1609), pp. 155-56. The texts of Bertaut’s poem and Cotton’s translation are given in Appendix B, pp. 237-38.

²⁹⁹ Vianey notes that Bertaut’s preference for *stances* and *chansons* rather than the sonnet form is a strong feature of his originality (p. 277). Another mark of his originality is his frequent use of strong parallelisms and antitheses (pp. 277-78); the poem translated by Cotton is, as mentioned, based around the antithesis of love and hatred.

familiers et bascule volontiers dans un burlesque léger en abordant des sujets triviaux, ostensiblement dépourvus de toute grandeur.³⁰⁰

Rollin challenges the traditionally-held view that Voiture is principally a ‘poète précieux’ whose amorous lyrics draw entirely on the Platonic and Petrarchan conceptions of love favoured by the précieux:

En réalité, ses discours amoureux laissent apparaître des modulations stylistiques différentes, voire contradictoires. Une tendance précieuse se fait jour dans certaines poésies et lettres inspirées du style des pétrarquistes, mais dans d’autres productions, Voiture subvertit la tradition pétrarquiste en la tournant ironiquement en dérision. Dans d’autres productions, Voiture s’affranchit de la tradition pétrarquiste en privilégiant un mode d’expression passant surtout par la suggestion. (p. 105)

Rollin draws attention to various discourses in Voiture’s love poetry which subvert Petrarchan conventions. These include ‘poésies d’amour burlesques’, in which the serious, elevated style associated with Petrarchism is juxtaposed to a much lower style,³⁰¹ ‘poésies licencieuses’, such as ‘Stances sur une Dame...’, in which, as noted in the previous chapter, Petrarchan conventions are mocked and used to refer to *grivois* or trivial subjects, and poems which imitate Marot’s *badinage*.³⁰²

The two ‘chansons’ by Voiture adapted in Caroline England, like ‘Stances sur une Dame...’, use Petrarchan conventions and images in order to parody and undermine them. Like the ‘Stances...’ these poems would have been intended to entertain the salon community through literary games which mocked and overturned conventions. Rollin notes that at a time when ‘le choix des formes poétiques témoigne des intentions d’un poète’ (*Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, p. 81), the use of shorter forms, rather than the use of longer forms such as ‘élégies’, demonstrates that Voiture’s intention was principally to write light, entertaining, rather than serious, lyrics: ‘En négligeant le grand lyrisme, fort prisé tout au long du XVIIe siècle, il

³⁰⁰ Rollin, *Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, p. 101. Rollin also observes that ‘parmi les thèmes traditionnellement traités dans les formes du grand lyrisme, il ne retient que celui de l’amour. Il n’a composé ni poésies religieuses, ni poésies historiques, et une seule poésie encomiastique’ (p. 82).

³⁰¹ Rollin, *Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, pp. 153-57. Rollin gives ‘La terre brillante de fleurs’ as her principal example.

³⁰² On poems which make use of ‘le badinage marotique’, see Rollin, *Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, pp. 211-19. All of these discourses would be included in Génétiot’s definition of the *galant* conception of love. Rollin interprets the whole of Voiture’s poetic discourse, including those instances where he draws heavily on Petrarchan conventions, as part of his ‘esthétique galante’, which she defines primarily as intended to please (p. 162).

dédaigne le registre sérieux et le style élevé' (p. 82). Voiture used 'chansons' principally for lighter themes; Rollin notes that of the five 'chansons' on amorous themes, only two are in a serious register, and the 'chansons' on non-amorous themes are on anecdotal and familiar themes (p. 85). Voiture's 'Chanson' beginning 'Je me tais, et me sens brusler', classified as one of the 'chansons' which 'parodient les chansons d'amour traditionnelles' (p. 85), was adapted by Thomas Stanley, entitled 'Song de Voiture' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 57-58). Rollin describes Voiture's poem as 'une chanson ludique composée en forme d'énigme' (p. 120):

Je me tais, et me sens brusler,
 Car l'objet qu'adore mon ame,
 Est si parfait que je n'en puis parler,
 Sans faire voir à tous le sujet de ma flamme.
 Si je dis que dans l'Univers,
 Celle pour qui je meurs n'eut jamais de pareille,
 Qu'elle est de tous les yeux l'amour et la merveille
 Qui ne devinera la beauté que je sers?

Si je dis que dans ses beaux yeux
 Cet archer qui m'y fait la guerre,
 Forge des traits qu'il garde pour les Dieux,
 Meprisant désormais tous les coeurs de la terre;
 Et que dans le fort des Hyvers,
 Quand la rigueur du froid efface toutes choses,
 Son teint paroist toujours plein de lis et de roses,
 Qui ne devinera la beauté que je sers?

Que si je parle dignement
 De son esprit incomparable,
 Dont la grandeur partage esgalemment
 Avecque sa beauté le titre d'adorable.
 Si je puis dépeindre en mes vers
 Combien son ame est grande et genereuse et belle,
 De tant de qualitez qu'on ne trouve qu'en elle,
 Qui ne devinera la beauté que je sers?
 Mais sans parler de sa beauté,
 De son esprit, ni de ses charmes;
 Si je decris comme sa cruauté
 Meprise désormais les soupirs et les larmes;
 Et que ceux qui sont dans ses fers
 N'en receurent jamais un regard favorable,
 Que le Ciel n'en voit point de plus inexorable,
 Qui ne devinera la beauté que je sers?

The use of conventional images, such as the references to Cupid and the lady's eyes in stanza 2, is undermined by the 'registre plaisant' (Rollin, p. 120); particularly by the question at the end of each stanza, which marks the poem as a 'guessing game' and therefore as a salon 'divertissement'.

Stanley's version contains both close translation and extensive adaptation of the original:

I languish in a silent Flame;
 For she to whom my vowes encline
 Doth own perfections so divine,
 That but to speak were to disclose her Name.
 If I should say that she the Store
 Of Natures Graces doth comprize,
 The Love and wonder of all Eyes,
 Who will not guess the Beauty I adore?

Or though I warily conceal
 The Charms her looks and Soul possess;
 Should I her cruelty expresse,
 And say she smiles at all the Pains we feel,
 Among such suppliants as implore
 Pitty, distributing her Hate,
 Inexorable as their Fate:
 Who will not guesse the Beauty I adore?

Stanley reduces the length of Voiture's poem by half. Stanley's first stanza contains some exactly equivalent lines and the same basic ideas as Voiture's opening stanza, albeit with some changes of language and emphasis, and his second stanza follows the original final stanza quite closely but with some alterations, including references to omitted passages. While Voiture's use of Petrarchan conventions is here parodic, Stanley seems to respond to them as if they are sincere, handling them in similar ways to the handling of Neo-Petrarchan conventions already mentioned in this chapter. Voiture's poem contains hyperbolic praise of the lady, which, in a non-parodic usage, was one of the most notable features of serious, Neo-Petrarchan poetry: 'Le culte rendu à la dame vient de ce qu'elle est une idole douée de toutes les perfections physiques et morales: aussi son portrait élogieux est-il le premier lieu commun du bon discours sérieux.'³⁰³ As in his adaptations from Tristan and Ronsard, Stanley presents

³⁰³ Génétiot, *Les Genres lyriques mondains*, p. 95.

the lady in a less adoring manner. He omits Voiture's apparent lingering, awestruck praise of the lady in his second and third stanzas, and the worship of the lady in the first stanza is less hyperbolic than the original: 'Si je dis que dans l'Univers, | Celle pour qui je meurs n'eut jamais de pareille' (ll. 5-6); 'If I should say that she the store / of Nature's Graces doth comprise' (ll. 5-6).³⁰⁴ Stanley's less adoring attitude towards the lady continues in his final stanza, in which he presents her as crueller than Voiture; the phrase 'smiles at all the Pains we feel' (l. 12), in creating the impression that the lady delights in the pain she causes, gives a greater impression of unkindness than 'Meprise desormais les soupirs et les larmes' (l. 28). In Stanley's original poetry, rather than the indulgent, exaggerated tone characteristic of French Neo-Petrarchism, praise of the lady is expressed in brisk, matter-of-fact tones: 'Or to be more fair, for thee | *Celia*, is lesse fair to be' ('Excuse for wishing her lesse Fair', ll. 23-24).

Voiture's 'Chanson XXV' beginning 'L'Amour sous sa loy' apparently expressesses all the sentiments of the conventional love lyric: the lover's delight in his own suffering ('Je chéris ma douleur', l. 21), the hyperbolic praise of the lady ('Je la veux adorer', l. 33), and the use of conventional images ('Les yeux qui m'ont pris, | Payeroient tous mes maux avec un souris', ll. 26-27). However, the apparent declarations of undying faithfulness to an unresponsive mistress are overturned in the final two stanzas of the poem, which becomes a celebration of the 'charmes de l'inconstance' (Rollin, *Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, p. 85):

Estant dans les fers
De la belle Cloris, je chantay ces vers;
Maintenant d'un sujet
Mille fois plus parfait,
Je suis amoureux,
Et le Ciel ne voit point d'Amant plus heureux.

La seule beauté
Qui soit digne d'amour, tient ma liberté,
Et je puis desormais
Dire mieux que jamais,
Je suis amoureux,
Et le Ciel ne voit point d'Amant plus heureux.

³⁰⁴ Stanley is here alluding to Voiture's comparison of the lady's beauty with nature which he omits.

John Dryden's adaptation,³⁰⁵ which was included in *Sir Martin Mar all*, was referred to twice in Gerard Langbaine's *An account of the English dramattick poets* (1691).³⁰⁶ The first occasion provides an opportunity for a slight on Voiture:

And should Monsieur de Voiture presume to lay claim to his own Song *L'Amour sous sa Loy &c.* which Mr. Dryden has robb'd him of, and plac'd in the Play of Sr. *Martin Marr-all*, (being that Song which begins *Blind Love to this Hour &c.*) our Poet would go nigh to beat him with a Staff of his own Rimes, with as much ease, as Sr. Martin defeated the Bailiffs in rescue of his Rival. (p. 133)

Later on, when discussing *Sir Martin Mar-all* in detail, Langbaine observes that Dryden's version 'kept to the Sence, and the same measure of verse' as Voiture's poem (p. 170). Dryden reduces Voiture's nine stanzas to five. He follows Voiture closely only in the first two stanzas; his fifth stanza is entirely his own invention. Dryden's third stanza is largely his own invention but the third line is suggested by Voiture's tenth line: 'J'ay le feu dans le coeur'; 'My Soul's all on fire', l. 13). Dryden, doubtless to add variation, does not retain Voiture's repetition of the last two lines of each stanza.

Voiture's 'Uranie' (I, pp. 66-67), the subject, along with Benserade's 'Sonnet de Job', of the famous 'querelle',³⁰⁷ has been described by Génétiot as a 'modèle de discours sérieux où l'amoureux transi chérit sa soumission à une Belle cruelle'.³⁰⁸ Rollin, while agreeing that Voiture adheres to 'la rhétorique amoureuse traditionnelle' in this poem, also argues that this is expressed in the form of an 'art de la suggestion plus subtil et plus original' (p. 179). In particular, she remarks that while Voiture develops 'le thème traditionnel du désarroi amoureux avec emphase', he also 'suggère le mal d'amour plus qu'il ne l'exprime, offrant à son discours le pouvoir de séduire' (p. 179). 'Uranie' was adapted by Etherege as 'Voiture's Urania' (p. 76). Despite the fact that the Neo-Petrarchan sentiments are perhaps weakened and contained in Voiture's poem, Etherege's treatment of them, like Stanley's treatment of them in the

³⁰⁵ John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, X, pp. 272-73.

³⁰⁶ Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramattick Poets. Or, Some observations and remarks on the Lives and Writings, of all those that have Publish'd either Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces, or Operas in the English Tongue* (Oxford: printed by L. L. for George West, and Henry Clements, 1691)

³⁰⁷ For more details on the 'querelle de Job et d'Uranie', see Emile Magne, *Voiture et les Années de Gloire de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet, 1635-1648: Portraits et documents inédits*, 2 vols (Paris: Mercure de France, 1912), I, 33.

³⁰⁸ Génétiot, *Les Genres lyriques mondains*, p. 95.

'Song de Voiture', is consistent with their treatment in translations of poems where they are more strongly emphasised. While Etherege's translation reproduces the basic premise of the original – the speaker's entrapment by his remembrance of the lady's beauty – the prevailing sentiment in *Voiture*, the lover's expressed wish to die,³⁰⁹ is omitted:

Il faut finir mes jours en l'amour d'Uranie,
L'absence ni le temps ne m'en sçauroient guerir,
Et je ne voy plus rien qui me pût secourir,
Ni qui sçeust r'appeler ma liberté bannie.

Dés long-temps je connois sa rigueur infinie,
Mais pensant aux beautez pour qui je dois perir,
Je benis mon martyre, et content de mourir,
Je n'ose murmurer contre sa tyrannie.

Quelquesfois ma raison, par de foibles discours,
M'incite à la revolte, et me promet secours,
Mais lors qu'à mon besoin je me veux servir d'elle;

Après beaucoup de peine, et d'efforts impuissans,
Elle dit qu'Uranie est seule aymable et belle,
Et m'y r'engage plus que ne font tous mes sens.

Hopeless I languish out my days,
Struck with Urania's conquering eyes;
The wretch at whom she darts these rays
Must feel the wound until he dies.

Though endless be her cruelty,
Calling her beauties to my mind,
I bow beneath her tyranny
And dare not murmur she's unkind.

Reason this tameness does upbraid,
Proffering to arm in my defence;
But when I call her to my aid,
She's more a traitor than my sense.

No sooner I the war declare
But strait her succour she denies,
And joining forces with the fair
Confirms the conquest of her eyes.

³⁰⁹ On Voiture's use of 'la métaphore de la mort par amour', see Rollin, *Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, pp. 143-47.

Etherege reduces both the intensity of the lover's suffering in the first stanza, and the sense of pleasure in suffering in the second stanza; more will be said on this in chapter 7.

4.2.9 Petrarch Overturned: Sherburne's Translation of 'Jamais rien n'approcha de mon heureux destin'

Another rare example of a translation of a poem in which Petrarchan conventions are undermined is Edward Sherburne's adaptation of Saint-Amant's 'Jamais rien n'approcha de mon heureux destin', entitled 'Change Defended' (*Poems and Translations*, p. 58). Saint-Amant's poem opens with the conventional rapturous praise of the lady, but then subverts convention as the lover defends his right to love this lady instead of a previous love he has now rejected:

Jamais rien n'approcha de mon heureux destin;
 J'adore une Beauté qui n'a point de pareille,
 Soit pour enchanter l'oeil, soit pour ravir l'oreille,
 Ou pour faire d'un Coeur un amoureux butin.

Son visage est plus frais qu'une Rose au matin
 Quand au chant des oyseaux son Coeur se reveille;
 Elle remplit mes sens de gloire et de merveille,
 Et me fait mespriser la bergere Catin.

Accuse qui voudra mon humeur d'inconstance,
 Je n'en veux, ny ne puis luy faire resistance,
 Et croy ne point faillir changeant de bien en mieux:

O Divine Amarante, acceptez mon service,
 Et daignez admirer comme pour vos beaux yeux
 Je fais une vertu de ce qui fut un vice.

Where the original lover uses a lingering, luxurious tone and focuses on his own feelings and response to his new love, Sherburne's speaker addresses the forsaken mistress in a tone made much brisker and more ironic:

Leave *Chloris*, leave, prethee no more
 With want of Love, or Lightness charge Me:
 'Cause thy Looks captiv'd me before,
 May not anothers now enlarge me?

He, whose misguided Zeal hath long
 Pay'd Homage to some Stars pale light,
 Better enform'd, may without wrong
 Leave that, t'adore the Queen of Night.

Then if my Heart, which long serv'd thee,
 Will to *Carintha* now encline;
 Why term'd inconstant should it be,
 For bowing 'fore a richer shrine?

Censure that Lover's such, whose will
 Inferiour Objects can entice;
 Who changes for the better still,
 Makes that a Vertue, you call vice.

Similar tendencies can be seen in English translations of French seventeenth-century non-erotic love poetry to those which were apparent in English translations of erotic and bawdy verse. Most of the translations of Neo-Petrarchan poems were made after 1650, at a time when Neo-Petrarchism had been replaced in France by *galanterie*. In reworking such verses, English translators were not only representing French poetic culture as it had existed twenty or thirty years previously, they were also translating verses which certain French poets claimed they only wrote to fulfil the demands of patrons and salon audiences, and which were not necessarily in keeping with their own tastes and inclinations. Again, having chosen poems which had begun to be mocked and rejected in France, English poets proceeded to undermine their principal features in order to satisfy their own poetic tastes and the current tendencies dominant in English poetic culture. The extent to which Neo-Petrarchan conventions are undermined is not the same in every case, however. Stanley's adaptation of Tristan's 'Le Bracelet' completely reverses the original argument, advocating freedom from slavery to adoration of the lady. The adaptations of Tristan's 'Plainte d'Acante' and Voiture's 'Uranie', while not subverting the arguments of their source poems, reduce them to their basic premise and significantly undermine all of their conventional features. Stanley's adaptation of Ronsard similarly effects a significant reduction of all of the original features of Neo-Petrarchism. Less significant reductions and changes in tone are evident in translations of Neo-Petrarchan poems by Racan and Théophile, though the sense of suffering and lament in the original poems is still significantly weakened.

The translators' own poetry, in keeping with general traits in Cavalier poetry and its English predecessors, is characteristically less lamenting, and expresses less hyperbolic adoration of the lady, than is apparent in French Neo-Petrarchism. In their translations of contemporary French verse, therefore, ladies are typically rendered more coquettish and flirtatious, while lovers are less mournful and seem less of an individual presence in the poem.

Chapter 5

Translations of Nature Poetry

5.1 Nature as a Subject for Lyric in France and England during the Seventeenth Century

5.1.1 Nature in French Poetry

If it is unsurprising that love and erotic poetry constitute the greatest part of English translations of seventeenth-century French lyric poems during the Caroline period, it is perhaps equally unsurprising to find few translations of French nature poems, as nature was a considerably less important theme for lyric than love and eroticism in both France and England during the seventeenth century. There is a lack of critical consensus about the scope and importance of nature as a subject for lyric in seventeenth-century France.³¹⁰ My intention here is not to engage with that debate, but to outline briefly some of the ways in which nature was used and dealt with in seventeenth-century French lyric poetry. While nature as a theme for lyric is by no means absent from poetry written after 1640,³¹¹ it is most often associated with poets writing in the first four decades of the seventeenth century, notably Théophile, Saint-Amant, Tristan and Racan. All four display both an apparently sincere appreciation of nature and the countryside, and an ability to describe the natural world in precise

³¹⁰ Fukui claims that nature is 'pratiquement absente de tous les poèmes de cette époque' (p. 68). Raymond Lebègue, on the contrary, claims that: 'Le thème de la nature occupe une place importante dans la poésie française de la première moitié du siècle, et, tout en étant influencé par diverses traditions littéraires, il est très souvent traité avec une sincérité qu'on rencontre plus rarement dans les poésies "amoureuses" de la même époque' (p. 13). Lebègue notes that the 'grossière erreur' of considering nature as absent from seventeenth-century French literature other than in the work of Madame de Sévigné and La Fontaine has been undermined by several studies on nature, including Phyllis Crump, *Nature in the Age of Louis XIV* (London: Routledge, 1928); N. H. Clement, 'Nature and the Country in sixteenth and seventeenth century French poetry', *PMLA*, 44 (1929), 1005-47; G. L. McCann, *Le Sentiment de la nature en France dans la première moitié du dix-septième siècle* (Nemours: [n. pub], 1926), and volume 6 (1954) of *CAIEF*, which is entirely devoted to the theme of nature. All of these studies are now somewhat dated and each examines the theme of nature from a limited perspective. It seems to me that there is a need for a modern and wide-ranging study of nature as a subject for lyric in seventeenth-century France.

³¹¹ Fukui notes the occurrence of typically 'baroque' aspects of nature, such as wild, secluded mountains, albeit without the hyperbolic horror or close attention to detail of Théophile and Saint-Amant, in the work of Sarasin, Monplaisir, and Chevreau, among others, writing in the 1630s and 1640s (pp. 227-235). Richard G. Maber has drawn attention to both an apparently sincere love of nature for itself, and a hyperbolic, baroque vein of description, in the work of the Jesuit Pierre Le Moyne, also writing during the 1630s and 1640s. See *The Poetry of Pierre Le Moyne* (Berne: Lang, 1982), particularly pages 164-180. Nature was not totally absent from lyric written slightly later, when classicism was becoming more firmly established. Fukui notes that Salomon de Priezac (*Poésies*, 1650) wrote several nature poems (p. 157).

detail.³¹² In Théophile's poetry, in which nature is always linked either with love or with the expression of philosophical ideas,³¹³ these are nevertheless interspersed with detailed and vibrant natural descriptions. A poem such as 'Un Berger prophète' (I, pp. 257-58) extolls the pleasure and simplicity of country life. The innocence of rural life, and the contrast it represents with life at court, is a prevalent theme in Tristan's nature poetry; see, for example, his best-known nature poem 'La Mer'.³¹⁴ Saint-Amant's nature poetry is noted for his ability to describe precise natural elements in minute detail and create visual pictures through words.³¹⁵ As Françoise Gourier has observed, the variety of Saint-Amant's *oeuvre* as a whole is reflected in the variety of ways in which he deals with the theme of nature.³¹⁶ While his natural descriptions are frequently interlinked with the themes of love and patronage, several of Saint-Amant's poems describe nature for itself. In the four season sonnets, nature is described with precision, sensuousness and colour. For Gourier, the season sonnets demonstrate that:

[Saint-Amant] a su dépasser la note purement bucolique de la nature de ses contemporains; il élargit son inspiration pour y inclure des paysages les plus divers, non seulement les jardins et les champs, mais encore les forêts, les montagnes et la mer; en délicat épicurien, il sait en apprécier le spectacle, la fragrance, les couleurs, tous les multiples et changeants aspects. (p. 173)

'L'Hyver des Alpes' (II, pp. 124-25) includes minutely observed details of the effects of winter on the landscape, and, as Gourier remarks, 'ce sont les couleurs qui

³¹² Lebègue gives Racan's *Bergeries* and Théophile's 'Plainte à un ami' and 'Lettre à son frère' as examples of the 'descriptions précises, sans apprêt, inspirées par un sincère amour de la nature' which existed alongside the abstract and conventional descriptions of nature avocated by Malherbe. (p. 14).

³¹³ 'L'importance de la nature est plus que le signe d'une poésie descriptive. Associé au refus nuancé des modèles et des contraintes, elle devient signe de ce qu'Antoine Adam nomme la "libre pensée" de Théophile de Viau, d'un refus de voir l'imitation entraver l'élan naturel. Le regard sur la nature est aussi un regard qui se porte sur la seule force gouvernant la vie de l'homme et proche de lui, "destinée" ou "nature", et non sur un Dieu indifférent et inaccessible, même si, dans cette nature elle-même aveugle, nous ne sommes qu'un chaînon' (Véronique Adam, *Images fanées*, p. 29).

³¹⁴ The text of 'La Mer' can be found in *Œuvres complètes III Poésie (II)*, ed. by Jean Pierre Chauveau with Véronique Adam, Amédée Carriat, Laurence Grove and Marcel Israël (Paris: Champion, 2002), pp. 51-61.

³¹⁵ See Françoise Gourier, *Etude des œuvres poétiques de Saint-Amant* (Genève: Librairie E. Droz, 1961), pp. 171-73, and Christopher D. Rolfe, *Saint-Amant and the theory of "Ut picture poesis"* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1972).

³¹⁶ Gourier, p. 171. Individual poems often include widely varying depictions of nature. For example, *Le Contemplateur* (I, 48-69) contains mythological characters, demons, precise description, the worship of God through the created world, and the recourse to nature for consolation for the anguish of unrequited love. 'La Pluye' (I, pp. 137-41), in which seriousness is juxtaposed with liveliness and debauchery, begins with knowledgeable description of country life and expressions of faith in God's providence, and ends with a raucous celebration of drinking wine.

frappent le plus le poète' (p. 176). 'L'Automne des Canaries' (III, 1969, pp. 149-50) presents nature as rich, ripe and succulent:

Le deuxième quatrain s'arrête à la description précise de la végétation, en une énumération des fruits qui semble faire choisir exactement à Saint-Amant ceux qui semblent les plus voluptueux par la forme, le toucher ou la couleur, ceux que le lecteur pense voir éclater sous l'abondance de leur suc. (Gourier, p. 175)

Several of Saint-Amant's lyrics reveal close observation and sincere appreciation of the simple life of the countryside; these are particularly prevalent in 'Sur La Moisson d'un lieu proche de Paris' (III, pp. 182-83) and 'La Pluye'. Gourier notes Saint-Amant's 'sympathie pour le travailleur de la terre' in the latter poem (p. 171).

As well as being described for itself, nature is interlinked with amorous discourse in several ways in early seventeenth-century French lyric poetry. In the work of the libertine poets, notably Théophile and Saint-Amant, the natural world becomes the setting for a 'solitude à deux',³¹⁷ in which nature provides a backdrop for the enjoyment of erotic pleasure, and physical love is presented as acceptable and unbounded because it is 'natural'. Apart from Saint-Amant's 'La Jouissance', which was studied in the previous chapter, the best-known examples of the 'solitude à deux' poem are Théophile's 'Solitude' and Tristan's 'Le Promenoir des deux amants' (II, 105-113).³¹⁸ In addition to portraying the enjoyment of passion in nature, the libertine fusion of love and the natural world expresses itself through nature reflecting and responding to the lady's beauty. Nature also furnishes the poet-lover with consolation and a place to both retreat from and indulge in the suffering caused by unrequited love; Tristan's 'Plainte à la belle banquière' (II, 201-04) is a notable example. Retreat into nature also serves as the setting for solitude and contemplation, which is often portrayed as a favourable alternative to a life of servitude at court.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ Gourier uses this term (p. 75).

³¹⁸ For more on the interlinking of nature and passion in 'La Solitude', see Saba, *Théophile de Viau, Un poète rebelle*, pp. 77-79. Saba remarks that the fusion of nature and erotic love is more complete in Théophile's more mature erotic verse.

³¹⁹ By far the best-known example is Saint-Amant's *La Solitude*. It should be noted, however, that in the final stanzas Saint-Amant reverses his argument on the superiority of solitude, asserting a desire to rejoin the world of court and servitude. As Edwin Duval expresses it, 'by addressing himself to another, and by making a gift of the lines which precede, the poet necessarily re-enters the world and its commerce which he fled in line 3'. *Poesis and Poetic Tradition in the Early Works of Saint-Amant* (York, S. C.: French Literature Publications, 1981), p. 63. Similarly, Théophile's 'Un Berger Prophète', in which, through the voice of a shepherd, the poet extols the countryside as a place in which freedom and individuality can be expressed, nevertheless ends with a panegyric on the young Louis XIII.

5.1.2 Nature in English Poetry

Whereas French lyric poetry in the first half of the seventeenth century includes several instances where nature is described for itself, in seventeenth-century England the natural world seems to be relegated to a secondary function, notably a background for panegyric,³²⁰ an observer and reflector of amorous delights, or a place of retreat into solitude from the noise of the cities and the upheaval of the Civil War and Interregnum. Poems praising the life of retirement and rural solitude began to be produced in abundance by Royalist poets during the 1630s, when conflict between the king and the Puritan opposition became more open.³²¹ Indeed, the poetry of retirement and retreat into nature was, according to Røstvig, 'the most typical expression of the Royalist and Anglican spirit of the seventeenth century.'³²² After the Civil War had been lost by the Royalist party, 'Royalist poets such as Henry Vaughan and the Earl of Westmorland were compelled by the defeat of their party to retire into the countryside.'³²³ Røstvig interprets the habit of Royalist poets to retire to their country estates after defeat in the Civil War as a means of applying a 'Horatian therapy to their mental wounds' (p. 60). It is unsurprising that Royalist translators of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry were attracted to those poems which celebrate country life and the pleasures of rural solitude. Indeed, the practice of translating from contemporary French lyric poetry itself often took place within the context of rural retreat. Thomas Stanley and Edward Sherburne made their French lyric verse translations during their retirement at Stanley's estate in Cumberlow, and Charles Cotton's translations were made at his country estate at Beresford.

Another aspect of seventeenth-century French nature poetry popular with contemporary English translators was the French libertine 'solitude à deux', to which critics of English literature have observed two conflicting responses in seventeenth-century England. Marvell's nature poetry, particularly 'The Garden', has been interpreted as both a reaction against the advocacy of enjoying passion in nature, and

³²⁰ See Katherine Philips's 'On the fair weather at the coronacon' (*The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, the Matchless Orinda, volume 1 The Poems* ed. by Patrick Thomas [Stump Cross: Stump Cross Books, 1990]), pp. 73-75. Further references to this edition will be given in parentheses in the text.

³²¹ Røstvig, pp. 59-60.

³²² Røstvig, p. 22. By contrast, Røstvig notes, 'The Puritan concept of the happy life was that of the Christian warrior who fights a never-ending battle with Satan and the unregenerate Adam. He served God actively through his particular calling, and so not for him was the peaceful enjoyment of woods and fields and gardens' (p. 22).

³²³ Røstvig, p. 60.

an assertion that nature itself offers delights superior to those of sexual love.³²⁴ While the Puritan Marvell rejected the celebration of human passion in natural surroundings, the Cavalier poets were strongly influenced by this aspect of French lyric nature poetry: 'Randolph and Stanley may have learned a great deal from this technique'.³²⁵ As seen in the previous chapter, Stanley translated Saint-Amant's 'La Jouyssance', which depicts erotic enjoyment in natural surroundings.³²⁶ Stanley translated other similar poems from both contemporary European and classical authors. In 'Loves Embassy' (a translation of Boscan's 'En el lumbroso y fertile oriente', itself translated from Bembo's 'Ne l'odorato e lucido Oriente'),³²⁷ nature both reflects and invites human love:

The Rivers in their courses Love invite,
 Love is the only sound their motion bears:
 The winds in whispers sooth these kinde desires,
 And fan with their mild breath, loves glowing fires. (ll. 29-32)

Similar passages occur in Stanley's translations from Marino, a favourite source he shared with Saint-Amant.³²⁸ The influence of French libertine and Marinist depictions of passion in nature on Stanley's own poetry can be seen in 'The Magnet' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 241-42), in which love is shown to be natural and permissible through relationships in the natural world:

Ask the female Palme how shee
 First did woo her husbands love;
 And the Magnet, ask how he
 Doth th'obsequious iron move;
 Waters, plants, and stones know this,
 That they love, not what love is. (ll. 7-12)

Several other Cavalier poets and translators of contemporary French poetry shared Stanley's taste for such scenes. In Philip Ayres's 'Cynthia Sporting', of which

³²⁴ See Ruth Wallerstein, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic*, 2nd edn (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), pp. 317-322, and Donald M. Friedman, *Marvell's Pastoral Art* (London: Routledge, 1970), p. 154.

³²⁵ Friedman, p. 154.

³²⁶ Røstvig notes that the 'solitude à deux' poem in England had precursors in France, and refers briefly to Stanley's translation of 'La Jouyssance' (pp. 383-84).

³²⁷ The text of 'Loves Embassy' can be found in *Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 187-93.

³²⁸ Praz observes that Stanley and Sherburne only translated those poems of Saint-Amant which were inspired by Marino's *La Sampogna* (p. 288).

the first two stanzas are given below, nature reflects and responds to the lady's beauty:

Along the river's side did Cynthia stray,
 More like a Goddess, than a Nymph, at play
 The flood stopt to behold her; pleas'd to see't,
 She to its kisses yields her naked feet.

Brisk air saluted her, ne'er stayed to woo;
 The very boughs reach'd to be toying too;
 The little birds came thronging to admire,
 And for her entertainment made a choir. (ll. 1-8)

The involvement of the natural world in amorous activity also appears in Charles Cotton's poetry, notably 'The Entertainment to Phyllis', in which the poet expresses a desire to enjoy love in nature: 'I have a bower for my Love, | Hid in the centre of a grove | Of aged oaks, close from the sight | Of all the prying eyes of Night' (ll. 11-14). Such scenes also occur in the work of Richard Lovelace; see, for example 'The Rose' (pp. 23-24) and 'Aramantha. A Pastorall.' (pp. 107-118).

5.2 Studies of Translations of Nature Poetry

5.2.1 Poems in which Nature is Described for Itself

Having given a brief overview of the treatment of nature in lyric poetry in both France and England, the rest of the chapter will examine translations of poems in which nature is a dominant theme. French lyric poems in which nature is described for itself, distinct from any references to love, patronage, or the desire for solitude, were almost completely ignored by contemporary English translators. The only translation I am aware of on a solely natural theme is 'Winter' (*Poems*, pp. 69-71), translated by Charles Cotton. Cotton's translation is addressed to Sir Robert Coke and subtitled 'De Monsieur Marigny'. I have not been able to identify the original of this translation. Beresford remarks that 'The only contemporary Marigny who would seem at all probable as the writer of such a poem is the Abbé Carpentier de Marigny, the author of "Le Pain Bénit" and other Satirical Poems' (p. 406).³²⁹ The fast rhythm and easy,

³²⁹ The poem does not appear in Marigny's collected works (*Les Œuvres en Vers et en Prose de Monsieur de Marigny*. A Paris, chez Charles de Sercy, au Palais, au sixième Pilier de la grand' Salle, à la Bonne-Foy Couronnée. 1684).

natural flow of 'Winter' make it sound like an original poem. It does not contain any detailed or realistic descriptions of the effects of winter, being full of the kind of mythological references which are frequently omitted from French sources by English translators. Cotton's few critics and biographers have commented on his genuine appreciation and close observation of nature at a time when this was a rarity in English poetry. Emily Taylor remarks of 'The Wonders of the Peake': 'The choice of subject in the reign of Charles II was an original choice, even though Hobbes had preceded him with a work in Latin. It was the first poem of any length to deal almost exclusively with mountainous country, with wild, barren moorland, and the first to give detailed and not fantastic descriptions of places underground. It is original too in that it contains touches of natural observation, at this time exceedingly novel and rare.'³³⁰

Apart from this, the only French lyric poems to be translated in which the natural world features strongly were those which sing the praises of solitude or in which nature is connected in some way with love.

5.2.2 The Rural Retreat – Saint-Amant's *La Solitude*

Chapters 3 and 4 highlighted the tendency of English translators to select French poems which were not characteristic of their author's *oeuvre* as a whole, or poems which were not admired by their author or by contemporaries in France. Saint-Amant's *La Solitude* is an exception; its influence in seventeenth-century England, and the fact that it was translated there twice, is consistent with its popularity and influence in France.³³¹ *La Solitude* was written sometime between 1617 and 1619.³³² The opening stanza praises solitude and the possibility of contemplation 'Esloignez du monde et du bruit' (l. 3). The poet proceeds to describe in detail, apparently at

³³⁰ Emily Taylor, 'The Poetry of Charles Cotton', unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1937, pp. 16-17. While 'Winter' is Cotton's only translation of a French lyric poem on a solely natural theme, his 'The Tempest' (*Poems*, pp. 68-69) and 'The Storm' (*Poems*, pp. 83-89) are both strongly reminiscent of Saint-Amant's *Le Contemplateur*.

³³¹ Saint-Amant described the poem as 'Mon noble coup d'essay, ma chère Solitude' ('Élégie à Monseigneur le duc de Retz', I, 18, quoted in Gourier, p. 176. *La Solitude* was widely imitated in France (Gourier, p. 176). Marvell's most recent editor identifies echoes of Fairfax's translation of *La Solitude* in 'Upon Appleton House', written during Marvell's stay at Nun Appleton. *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Nigel Smith, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007), p. 213. Fairfax made his translation while Marvell was at Nun Appleton (see Wallerstein, pp. 306-07).

³³² The date of composition of *La Solitude* is uncertain; Gourier suggests that it was written during Saint-Amant's stay at Belle-Isle in 1617 (p. 176).

random, the various aspects of nature he observes on his walk across the landscape.³³³ Nature is sometimes represented as pleasant and tranquil, and at other times as wild and foreboding.³³⁴

La Solitude was, as noted, translated by Katherine Philips and Thomas Fairfax.³³⁵ It is likely that both Philips and Fairfax chose the poem primarily for its theme of solitude and retreat into the countryside rather than for its close natural descriptions, although both retain these in their translations.³³⁶ For Philips and Fairfax, the themes of solitude and country life represented escape from political strife. Patrick Thomas remarks that in 'A Country Life' 'Orinda made the Horatian claim that a life of quiet retirement was the only way to find true contentment in a troubled world. In her retreat she felt sheltered from political upheavals, and she scorned the attractions of London social life' (p. 7). In contrast to earlier seventeenth-century presentations of the retired country life, which advocated complete solitude, Philips advocated an enjoyment of rural simplicity shared with friends:

In her poetry the motif of solitary retirement was cleverly combined with a half Platonic, half Epicurean concept of friendship. The public evidently enjoyed this mixture of motifs or attitudes, and so in the poetry of Mrs. Philips we find the first examples of the popularization of the theme of retirement. (Røstvig, p. 348)

Fairfax, who had retired from public life to find rest and tranquillity in the retired life, would also have been attracted by the theme of solitude. Both Fairfax and Philips follow Saint-Amant closely. Indeed, William Roberts observes that:

Dans 'The Solitude' Fairfax conserve les dixains de Saint-Amant, et fait un effort visible pour maintenir un rythme de tétramètre iambique comme équivalence des octosyllabes originaux. A la place du schéma abba, il choisit abab; autrement il s'efforce plus ou moins de suivre de près son modèle.³³⁷

³³³ John D. Lyons has challenged the views of earlier critics including Odette de Mourgues, Imbrie Buffum, and Francis L. Lawrence that *La Solitude* presents a disconnected, random series of visions and descriptions. 'Saint-Amant's *La Solitude*: the rhetoric of fragmentation', *Orbis Litterarum*, 30 (1978), pp. 4-17.

³³⁴ Gourier, p. 179.

³³⁵ Philips's translation is in III, pp. 94-102. Fairfax's translation can be found in *The Country House Poem*, ed. by Alistair Fowler (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), pp. 330-34.

³³⁶ Røstvig notes that Philips's own landscapes 'are not particularly individualized, and in her use of the English language she seldom resorts to ambiguities of the kind which had enriched the nature lyrics of her predecessors' (p. 358).

³³⁷ Roberts, 'Saint-Amant – plaque tournante de L'Europe', p. 78.

One of the most interesting aspects of both Fairfax's and Philips's translations of *La Solitude* is their treatment of Saint-Amant's presentation of the landscape as sombre, wild and horror-filled. This type of nightmarish landscape appeared in the work of many poets writing during the reign of Louis XIII, including Tristan, Saint-Amant and Théophile.³³⁸ In the fourth stanza of *La Solitude*, Saint-Amant creates a picture of nature as wild and uncontrolled through the use of words such as 'vagabond' and 'sauvage', and the enjambement between the third and fourth lines quoted below, which heightens the impression that the water lands roughly and wildly in the valley:

Que je trouve doux le ravage
 De ces fiers Torrents vagabonds,
 Qui se precipitent par bonds
 Dans ce vallon vert et sauvage!
 Puis glissans sous les arbrisseaux
 Ainsi que des serpens sur l'herbe,
 Se changent en plaisans ruisseaux,
 Où quelque Naïade superbe
 Regne comme en son licet natal,
 Dessus un throsne de christal! (ll. 31-40)

Fairfax's translation of this stanza presents nature as more tranquil and restrained. He Fairfax turns Saint-Amant's 'vallon sauvage' into a 'shady valley' and adds to his description of the 'raging torrents' a sense that their force is nevertheless held back and restrained, through replacing 'se precipitent par bonds' with 'just measures keep':

How pleasant are the murmuring streams
 In shady valleys running down,
 Whose raging torrents as it seems
 Just measures keep in skips and bounds;
 Then gliding under th'arboured banks,
 As winding serpents in the grass,

³³⁸ See Jean Rousset, *La Littérature de l'âge baroque en France* (Paris: Corti, 1953), pp. 106-10. A particularly well-known example was Philippe Habert's 'Le Temple de la Mort' (1633). 'Le Temple de la Mort' was translated into English by John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave. *The Temple of Death, A Poem; Written by the Marquess of Normanby. Horace of the Art of Poetry, Made English by the Earl of Roscommon. The Duel of the Stags. By the Honourable Sir Robert Howard. Together with several other Excellent Poems by the Earls of Rochester and Orrery, Sir Charles Sedley, Sir George Etheridge, the Honourable Mr. Montague, Mr. Granvill, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Chetwood, and Mr. Tate. To which is added several Poems by the Honourable Madam Wharton.* The Second Edition Corrected. (London: Printed by Tho. Warren for Francis Saunders at the Blue Anchor in the Lower Wall of the New Exchange, 1695). There were no instances of landscapes being inhabited by monsters or nightmarish elements in seventeenth-century English non-dramatic literature before *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

The sportful nai'des play their pranks
 Upon the watery plains of glass,
 The crystal elements wherein
 These watery nymphs delight to swim. (ll. 31-40)

Fairfax omits the dead monsters from his description of the sea, substituting a greater degree of realism with a reference to sailors: 'Des gens noyez, des Monstres mors' (l. 157); 'Poor mariners find his cruel laws' (l. 127). Katherine Philips, by contrast, retains the original horror and ghostliness: 'Drown'd Men, dead Monsters casts on land' (l. 157). There are other instances, however, where Fairfax heightens the drama of the original or increases the sense of nature being wild and destructive: the storms in the following quotation are his own addition: 'En quel lieu se font les bruïnes' (l. 134); 'Where mist and storms engendred are' (l. 104). In his eleventh stanza Fairfax increases the force of the darkness and the sense of horror through the insertion of 'hideous' and 'deep'. Citing the same section in Philips, who stays closer to the original, is again useful for purposes of contrast:

Là dessus s'estend une voute,
 Si sombre en un certain endroit,
 Que quand Phoebus y descendroit,
 Je pense qu'il ne verroit goutte. (ll. 111-14)

Philips:
 Below, there does a Cave extend,
 Wherein there is so dark a Grott,
 That should ye Sun himself descend,
 I think he could not see a Jot. (ll. 111-120)

Fairfax:
 Yet lower an archèd vault extends,
 So hideous, dark and deep doth sink
 That did the sun therein descend
 I thinke he scarce could see a wink. (ll. 91-94)

The handling of Saint's Amant's treatment and perception of the natural world in *La Solitude* will be looked at further in chapter 6.

5.2.3 The 'retraite sentimentale': Tristan's 'La Plainte d'Acante'

As mentioned briefly above, Tristan wrote several poems extolling both the simple life of the countryside and the act of contemplation in nature; these contain detailed descriptions of the natural world. For Tristan, as for Théophile, nature is usually interlinked in some form with love; he does, however, interrupt his descriptions of amorous encounters to provide detailed descriptions of the natural world.³³⁹

'La Plainte d'Acante' was the only poem by Tristan in which descriptions of nature feature strongly to attract the attention of English translators. The central premise of this poem is the conventional retreat of the shepherd-lover to the woods to indulge his pain; this is the only feature of the poem retained by Stanley. Tristan pauses in his narrative to give detailed descriptions of the landscape:

Une Grote superbe & de rochers de prix
 Que des Pins orgueilleux couronnent de feuillage;
 Y gardent la fraîcheur sous ses riches lambris
 Qui sont d'un rare coquillage:
 Mille secrets tuyaux cachés sur son passage,
 Mouillent soudain les imprudens
 Qui sans discrétion veulent entrer dedans. (ll. 148-154)

Passages such as this, and also lines 162-65, in which Tristan expresses delight in the simple life of the countryside, are frequently omitted or shortened by Stanley; indeed, his omission of Tristan's passages of natural description is almost as significant as his omission of passages of complaint and lament in altering the impression of Tristan's *oeuvre* which a reader of his translation would gain.

³³⁹ 'Le Promenoir des deux amants' opens with several stanzas describing the beauty of the place before any mention of the lady is made. Claude Abraham has called Tristan 'un poète à part, quant à ses poèmes sur la nature'. Abraham contrasts Tristan favourably with Racan, 'qui parle de la nature sans la décrire', Théophile, who 'est abstrait, analysant les sentiments humains à la vue de la campagne, plutôt que cette campagne même', and Saint-Amant, in whose poetry 'la beauté de la nature y est voilée par une imagination exaltée, presque fantastique'. 'Un poète de la nature au XVII siècle: Tristan l'Hermite', *The French Review*, 34 (1960), 51-59 (p. 51). The debate concerning the balance of artifice and sincerity in Tristan's poetic descriptions will be referred to in more detail in chapter 6, but it seems appropriate here to remark that I think Abraham perhaps goes too far in favourably contrasting Tristan's natural descriptions with those of Théophile and Saint-Amant. Tristan's landscapes are certainly not free of the fantastical elements present in *La Solitude*; the woods frequented by the shepherd in 'La plainte de l'illustre pasteur' (*La Lyre*, pp. 252-57) are inhabited by demons: 'Ministres des choses funèbres, / Démons, noirs Amis des ténèbres' (ll. 97-98).

5.2.4 Praising the lady in nature

‘Sylvia’s Park’ (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 156-63), Thomas Stanley’s adaptation of ‘La Maison de Sylvie’, has received surprisingly little critical attention considering the original is one of the best known works of a major French poet. J. B. Leishman, the only critic I am aware of to have commented on this translation, presents an unfavourable view of Théophile’s original poem: ‘Nearly half the stanzas of Théophile’s poem, stanzas which Stanley has wisely omitted or compressed, are filled, not with witty descriptions of the domain, but with the thinnest and flattest kind of hyperbolic compliment, with allusions to the poet’s misfortunes and imprisonment [...], and (in the concluding ode) with professions – partly hypocritical, it would seem, and partly ironical – of religious faith.’³⁴⁰ Leishman has summarised the most significant features of ‘La Maison de Sylvie’; Stanley’s handling of these, and also his handling of Théophile’s treatment of nature in the poem, will here be expounded in more detail. The central precept of the poem is the speaker’s delight in the beauty of the place, which is reflected in and epitomised by the beauty of its mistress. Alongside this central premise, Théophile’s poem presents the reader with various subjects, references to both past and present, and with an array of dreams and visions as well as realistic description.³⁴¹ ‘La Maison de Sylvie’ describes and uses nature in a variety of ways: precise elements of nature are described in detail,³⁴² nature empathises with the speaker’s suffering, and the landscape is often described as sombre and nightmarish. All of these aspects of nature and natural description are either omitted or considerably reduced or altered by Stanley. The reflection and response of the natural world to the lady is the only feature of Théophile’s treatment

³⁴⁰ J. B. Leishman, *The Art of Marvell’s Poetry* (1966; London: Hutchinson, 1966; repr. 1968), p. 237. Leishman’s comment on ‘Sylvia’s Park’, given in a footnote, is made within the context of comparing Théophile’s poetic style with that of Marvell. Leishman suggests that *La Maison de Sylvie* may have been one of the sources of ‘Upon Appleton House’, noting parallels between the two poems in their ‘particular detail’ as well as in their ‘general scheme’. Hugh Richmond comments on the use of nature to praise the lady in both poems: ‘This protracted series of lyrics (‘La Maison de Sylvie’) in octosyllabic couplets, some occasional, others reminiscences refracted through the dark prism of his imprisonment, provides a conspicuous precedent for Marvell’s ‘Upon Appleton House,’ with its dark themes derived from the Fairfax experience of the Civil War and its analogous local female ‘divinity’ in the person of Mary Fairfax. Each woman defines and stabilizes her environment by her mere presence’. *Puritans and Libertines: Anglo-French Literary Relations in the Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 366.

³⁴¹ Saba considers *La Maison de Sylvie* an organised whole despite the scope and variety of its subject matter: ‘Riche de thèmes variés qui se succèdent avec une naturelle continuité, il forme un ensemble homogène’ (Saba, *Théophile de Viau: un poète rebelle*, p. 97).

³⁴² See, for example, the description of the snow in Ode II.

of nature, and indeed of the poem as a whole, retained by Stanley. Stanley reduces the original 122 stanzas to 22, and, as Leishman has noted, retains Théophile's rhyme scheme and stanzaic form of ten octosyllabic lines (p. 23).

Stanley omits elements which reveal Théophile's taste for the macabre, notably the ghostly visions in Ode V and the descriptions of nature at war with itself in Ode VI (ll. 111-120). Stanley's descriptions of nature are less foreboding and more tranquil than those of Théophile. He combines the first two stanzas of Ode III, thus creating an atmosphere which is the antithesis of the original:

Dans ce parc un vallon secret
 Tout voilé de ramages sombres,
 Où le soleil est si discret
 Qu'il n'y force jamais les ombres,
 Presse d'un cours si diligent
 Les flots de deux ruisseaux d'argent,
 Et donne une fraîcheur si vive
 À tous les objets d'alentour,
 Que même les martyrs d'amour
 Y trouvent leur douleur captive.

Un étang dort là tout auprès,
 Où ces fontaines violentes
 Courent et font un bruit exprés
 Pour éveiller ses vagues lentes.
 Lui d'un maintien majestueux
 Reçoit l'abord impétueux
 De ces Naïades vagabondes
 Qui dedans ce large vaisseau
 Confondent leur petit ruisseau
 Et ne discernent plus ses ondes. (III, ll. 1-20)

Here a close Valley Trees protect,
 With twisted branches overlaid:
 To which the Sun bears such respect,
 He never violates their shade.
 To wait on whom, on either side,
 Two purling Rivers gently glide.
 A lazy lake sleeps at his feet,
 Rous'd from his sluggish dreams by these
 Self-chasing sister-Naiades,
 Who kindly in his Bosom meet. (ll. 171-80)

Stanley combines the basic ideas of the two stanzas but loses both the melancholic atmosphere in the first and the sense of violence and confusion in the second. His rendering of 'Tout voilé de ramages sombres' as 'With twisted branches overlaid' replaces the original dark, sombre description of the trees with one which creates an atmosphere of safety and protection. Overall, Stanley's more sentimental version of these two stanzas creates a peaceful, pleasant scene in which elements of nature are co-operative and mutually protective rather than antagonistic.³⁴³

Another significant feature of Théophile's use of nature in 'La Maison de Sylvie' is his worship of God through describing the divine power and majesty revealed in the created world. This trait occurs very frequently in the work of seventeenth-century French poets. Many of Racan's religious poems centre on the Creator's self-revelation in the natural world. Whole collections of verse, such as Jean de Bussièrès *Descriptions Poétiques* (1649) and Laurent Drelincourt's *Œuvres Chrestiennes* (1677), are devoted entirely to this theme.³⁴⁴ In 'Sylvia's Park', Stanley omits sections in which Théophile praises God in nature. Stanley may have shared Leishman's belief that Théophile's expression of religious faith in this poem was insincere.³⁴⁵ Even where Stanley does not entirely remove Théophile's religious references, the religious impulse is softened, as can be seen in the following lines, where Stanley replaces Théophile's direct reference to God with a more vague reference to a heavenly power: 'Le Dieu que nous allons chercher' (l. 43); 'A Power Celestial we implore' (l. 13).

³⁴³ Saba draws attention to the contrast of tones and atmospheres in this ode; lines 51-80 present a 'tableau d'une nature parfaitement belle et comme immergée dans un bonheur absolue' which ends with 'des vers qui annoncent, tel un signe menaçant l'harmonie de l'univers, l'évocation d'un épisode mythique imprégné de douleur et de mort' (*Théophile de Viau: un poète rebelle*, p. 102).

³⁴⁴ For studies of poetry in which nature is presented as a revelation of God's existence and character, see Gilbert Delley, *L'Assomption de la nature dans la lyrique française de l'âge baroque* (Berne: Herbert Lang & Cie SA, 1969); A. Kibédi Varga, 'La Poésie religieuse au dix-septième siècle', *Neophilologus*, 46 (1962), 263-78 (pp. 269-71); R. G. Maber, *The Poetry of Pierre Le Moyne*, and Anne Mantero, *La Muse théologique* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1995). For details on the wider debate surrounding nature as a revelation of God's existence in seventeenth-century France, see Bernard Tocanne, *L'Idée de nature en France dans la seconde moitié du XVIIème Siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978).

³⁴⁵ Leishman's assertion is not consistent with the evidence produced on the subject by French scholars, notably Antoine Adam: 'Nous comprenons maintenant ce qu'eut de sincère la conversion de Théophile, et le caractère qu'elle revêtit. Le poète s'est converti, aucun moyen d'en douter. Il n'a pas dans sa prison joué la comédie. Quand il en sort, il est croyant. Une longue lettre qu'il écrit à Bourteville nous apprend qu'il a fait ses Pâques, et qu'il les a faites avec un grand sérieux. Il ne veut pas passer pour un béat ou pour un faiseur de miracles à point nommé, mais pas davantage "pour echanteur ny pour athée". Il prétend donc être en règle avec Dieu, et ne devoir qu'à Lui compter son cœur' (*Théophile de Viau et la libre pensée française*, p. 418).

Théophile's 'Sonnet X', another poem in which nature reflects and praises the lady's beauty, was adapted by Charles Cotton.³⁴⁶ This poem could have been placed in chapter 3, but the erotic impulse is reserved until the final stanza, and the poem begins with more general praise of the lady. In the opening stanzas, the lady's beauty is reflected in the natural world. As Sembower has noted, Théophile's sonnet is transposed into an 'ode' by Cotton (p. 90).³⁴⁷ Cotton alters the original stanza form and replaces the alexandrines with octosyllables:

Chère Isis, tes beautés ont troublé la nature,
 Tes yeux ont mis l'Amour dans son aveuglement,
 Et les dieux occupés après toi seulement,
 Laissent l'état du monde errer à l'aventure.

Voyant dans le soleil tes regards en peinture,
 Ils en sentent leur Coeur touché si vivement
 Que s'ils n'étaient cloués si fort au firmament,
 Ils descendraient bientôt pour voir leur créature.

Crois-moi qu'en cette humeur ils ont peu de souci
 Ou du bien ou du mal que nous faisons ici;
 Et, tandis que le Ciel endure que tu m'aimes,
 Tu peux bien dans mon lit impunément coucher.
 Isis, que-craignons-nous, puisque les dieux eux-mêmes
 S'estimeraient heureux de te faire pécher.

Thy Beauties, *Dearest Isis*, have
 Disturbed *Nature* at their sight,
 Thine Eyes to *Love* his blindness gave,
 Such is the vigour of their light:
 The *Gods* too only minding thee,
 Let the *World* err at liberty.

And having in the *Suns* bright Eye
 Thy glances counterfeited seen,
 Even their Hearts, my *Sweet*, thereby
 So sensibly have wounded been:
 That, but they're fixt, they'd come to see,
 And gaze upon their *Creature* thee.

Believe me, in this humor *They*
 Of things below have little Care,
 Of good, or ill, we do; or say,
 The since, *Heaven* lets thee love me, *Dear*,

³⁴⁶ Cotton's 'Ode de Monsieur Theophile' appears in *Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 573-75.

³⁴⁷ Sembower, p. 90.

Without revenging on thine Eye,
Or striking me in *Jealousy*.

Thou mayst securely in mine Arms
And warm Womb of my wanton bed,
Teach me t' unravel all thy Charms
Thou nothing, *Isis*, needest dread:
Since *Gods* themselves had happy been,
Could all their power have made thee Sin.

Cotton increases the erotic impulse in the fourth stanza, describing, rather than simply referring to, the lovers in bed, though there is no open physicality and the tone is affectionate and reassuring towards the lady: 'thou mayst securely in mine Arms'.

Another seventeenth-century French lyric poem in which love and nature are interlinked is Le Comte de Cramail's 'La Nuit', in which the poet begs night to return so that he can see his lady again. 'La Nuit' was translated by Charles Cotton; I have found no critical reference to Cotton's translation, which is entitled 'The Night. Written by Monsieur Le Comte de Cremail' (*Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 237-40).³⁴⁸ Cotton follows the original line by line, retaining Cramail's octosyllabic lines. The first three lines reveal how closely Cotton's version reproduces the rhythm and emphasis of the original: 'O Nuit tant de fois désirée, | O Nuit tant de moi esperée, | Cause de ma félicité'; 'O Night! By me so oft requir'd, | O Night! By me so much desir'd, | Of my Felicity the cause'. In both original and translation 'night' and 'cause' are strongly emphasised.

English translators were also inclined towards poems in which the lover heralds the return of the morning so he can see his beloved again.³⁴⁹ As seen in the previous chapter, Philip Ayres imitated Théophile's 'Le Matin', the best known of these poems. 'Le Matin' consists largely of colourful, precise descriptions of various aspects of nature and the life of the countryside. Théophile reveals both a sincere appreciation and a direct knowledge of rural life. The lover's invitation to the lady to go out and enjoy the delights of nature (and there is no suggestion that anything more

³⁴⁸ The texts of Cramail's poem and Cotton's translation are given in Appendix B, pp. 236-37.

³⁴⁹ Connected to this theme was the 'Belle Matineuse' theme, in which the beauty of the poet's lady is compared favourably with the beauty of the new day. This theme was inherited from the Italian Petrarchan poets by sixteenth-century French poets, including Ronsard, Scève and Du Bellay. It appeared in the seventeenth century in sonnets by Voiture and Malleville. For full texts and studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century 'Belle Matineuse' poems, see Rollin, pages 162-78.

than a walk is intended) is reserved until the final stanza.³⁵⁰ Ayres's 'The Morn' was included, as noted, in his *Lyric Poems* (1674).³⁵¹ In the preface to this volume, Ayres remarked of French poets that 'I could scarce find anything amongst them of this sort, worth my pains of translating' (II, p. 269). Ayres did not acknowledge the source of 'The Morn'; this was a conscious decision which he at least acknowledges in his preface: 'Nor can I deny, but that I have purposely omitted the names of some of the authors, not acknowledging them to be translations: either because I was not willing my own things should be distinguished from the rest; or indeed because most of those nameless pieces may more properly be said to be mine, than the Authors, from whom I only took the hint of them' (p. 270). Mario Praz justly considers that Ayres 'pitiably pastiches' the original.³⁵²

When Light begins the eastern Heav'n to grace,
 And the night's torches to the Sun give place,
 Diana leaves her Shepherd to his sleep,
 Griev'd that her horns cannot their lustre keep.
 The boughs on which the wanton birds do throng,
 Dance to the music of their chirping song,
 Whilst they rejoice the dusky clouds are fled,
 And bright Aurora rises from her bed.
 Then fools and flatterers to Courts resort,
 Lovers of game up, and pursue their sport;
 With last night's sleep refresh'd, the lab'ring swain
 Cheerfully settles to his work again.

Pleas'd Hobb unfolds his flocks, and whilst they feed,
 Sits, and makes music on his oaten reed;
 Then I wake too, and viewing Lesbia's charms,
 Do glut myself with pleasure in her arms.

³⁵⁰ For this reason, caution would seem necessary when, as does Saba, placing 'Le Matin' and *La Solitude* in the same category of poems in which passion and nature are fused: 'En somme, dans *Le Matin* et *La Solitude*, le poète mêle déjà avec un grand bonheur la sensualité érotique et la nature amie' (p. 79).

³⁵¹ Loose parallels can be also be drawn between 'Le Matin' and the following stanzas from Charles Cotton's 'Morning Quatrains' (*Poems*, pp. 48-53):

Now each one to his work prepares,
 All that have hands are labourers,
 And manufacturers of each trade
 By op'ning shops are open laid.

Hob yokes his oxen to the team,
 The angler goes unto the stream,
 The wood-man to the purlieus hies,
 And lab'ring bees to load their thighs.

³⁵² Praz, p. 421.

Like Stanley, Ayres does not preserve any of the features which are characteristic of Théophile's treatment of nature and which constitute the essence and appeal of the poem as a whole. Ayres retains none of Théophile's use of colour and the senses or imaginative detail, and his descriptions are more prosaic and mundane. Théophile's delight in observing the countryside is also diminished by Ayres, whose description of rustic life in the fourth stanza is general and conventional where the French poet reveals a genuine knowledge of country life. Ayres's reference to the flattery and servitude of court life is entirely his own addition.³⁵³

Edward Sherburne produced a close translation of Saint-Amant's 'Le Soleil Levant', entitled 'The Sun-Rise' (*Poems and Translations*, pp. 44-47). 'Le Soleil Levant' is another poem in which the male lover expresses joy in the return of morning as he can see his lady again. As in 'Le Matin', references to love seem to function merely as a frame, and by no means detract attention from Saint-Amant's close descriptions of nature, such as that of the dew in the fourth stanza, or his appreciation of the simple life of the countryside.³⁵⁴ Sherburne follows Saint-Amant very closely and reproduces all of the main features of the original.

In translating seventeenth-century French nature poems, English translators during the Caroline period only select those poems, or parts of poems, which conform to the uses made of the natural world in seventeenth-century England, particularly the Royalist theme of escape and the interlinking of love and nature. Nature seems to have been very rarely described for itself in seventeenth-century England, and this helps to explain why there were no translations of poems discussing a single aspect of nature such as the rain or the sun, of which there are several in the work of Tristan and Saint-Amant. Some of the nature poems which were selected for transposition into English, notably Théophile's 'La Maison de Sylvie' and Tristan's 'La Plainte d'Acante', are considerably adapted in order to reduce passages of detailed natural description and preserve only those aspects consistent with the needs and preferences

³⁵³ His hatred of servitude is repeated several times in his original poetry. In 'In Praise of a Country Life' (II, pp. 332-33), Ayres praises the man who retreats to the countryside and 'Waits at no state-man's crowded gates, / Nor servile phrase does use' (ll. 9-10). Ayres's rejection of servitude would have made him sympathetic towards Théophile, and may suggest the influence of the French libertine poet.

³⁵⁴ Gourier considers, however, that nature functions merely as a pretext to love in this poem, but still acknowledges Saint-Amant's ability to describe nature with precision and imagination: 'Dans *Le Soleil Levant*, Saint-Amant se sert d'un sujet traditionnel, mais ne célèbre l'aurore que parce qu'elle lui permettra de revoir bientôt l'objet de son amour. Pourtant, lorsqu'il représente la nature entière rendant hommage au jour naissant, il dépeint avec exactitude chacun des animaux qui participent à cette adoration' (p. 170).

of the adaptor and with the uses made of nature in English poetry. In other cases, notably the translations of *La Solitude* by Fairfax and Philips, the poems are preserved in their entirety, but some stylistic effects and representations of nature are altered; most notably, nightmarish descriptions of nature are rendered more tranquil and realistic. It could be said generally that English translations of nature poems perhaps stay closer to their originals than translations of bawdy and both erotic and non-erotic love poetry.

Chapter 6

Translating the French Lyric 'je'

6.1 Problems Relating to the Discussion of the Lyric 'I'

Seventeenth-century French lyric poetry is often addressed to named, real individuals, and often describes precise events which occurred in the life of the historical poet. These strong 'personal' elements of French lyric of the period interlink with, and are intensified by, the presence of a strong and frequently-occurring lyric voice. The highly dominant lyric 'je' common in seventeenth-century French lyric poetry, particularly where it could be identified with the voice of the poem's historical author, would have presented challenges for contemporary English translators. It is therefore unsurprising that most poems which discuss specific events in the life of the historical author were ignored by contemporary English translators. Where these are translated, and in translations of other poems where the presence of 'je' within the text is particularly strong, the handling of the lyric voice alters the persona created within the original text. This chapter aims to investigate these changes and the resultant impressions that English readers would have gained of the original French poems and their authors through reading the translations. I will also examine the effects of altering the lyric voice on the presentation of some of the most significant themes in seventeenth-century French lyric verse, particularly love and nature. For clarity and coherence each seventeenth-century French poet who was translated into English during the Caroline period, and in whose work a dominant lyric voice is particularly prevalent, will be discussed in turn.

Firstly, however, it is necessary to outline some of the controversies and complications which arise in any discussion of the lyric 'I'. There is not space here to discuss these issues more widely in any detail, and my intention is therefore to engage with the criticism which has examined them in relation to the French poets which will be studied in this chapter. The most significant controversy relating to any discussion of the lyric 'I' is the extent to which the speaker in the text can be identified with the historical author. The general critical move away from associating the first person speaker with the historical author of the text is reflected in most modern critical

approaches to the works of seventeenth-century French lyric poets.³⁵⁵ Earlier views, such as that of Samuel Borton, regard a poem such as Saint-Amant's *La Solitude* as a record by the historical poet of real experiences he had had in actual places: 'As the title of the poem implies, *La Solitude* is an ode in praise of solitude, and it is a poetic record of the sights, discoveries, and adventures Saint-Amant encounters on a private walk through the wilds of the Breton countryside, especially in and around a large, natural grotto.'³⁵⁶ More recently, John D. Lyons has challenged the views of critics such as Borton who 'seem to make the equation of author with speaker and then to have difficulty with the relationships (1) between the person addressed (designated reader) and the poet on the grounds that the qualities ascribed to the receiver of the poem seem exaggerated or inappropriate (e.g., in 'Le Contemplateur'); (2) between the poet and his experience in the scene described (e.g., in *La Solitude*)'.³⁵⁷ Lyons's own view is that 'As author [Saint-Amant] creates an internal speaker who seems to be producing the poem but who is in fact a character in the poem's fictions' (p. 12). Saint-Amant often refers to himself by name in his poems. Such references have undoubtedly contributed to the impression that the speaker within the poem can be identified with the historical poet, and that Saint-Amant is truly recording his own circumstances, thoughts and experiences. It seems to me that Lyons perhaps goes too far in his separation of the historical poet from the speaker within the poems. He is, however, clearly correct to observe that the act of writing poetry in the first person necessitates the creation of a persona, and that Saint-Amant created so many poetic images of himself that it is difficult to judge when, if at all, he is being sincere, and thus when or if the speaker within the poem can be identified with the historical poet:

One of the ironies of literary history is that its failures are often the result of a profound complicity with the authors and movements that seem to be its victims. Saint-Amant, as *égaré*, as *grotesque*, or as *écrivain indépendant*, would be delighted at the way in which his own playing with the forms and themes of history is echoed in history's ways of playing with him. (p. 9)

³⁵⁵ One of the most important theoretical works which separates historical author from internal speaker is Wayne Booth's *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Catherine Attwood adopts Booth's division of historical author, 'implied author' and 'I' within the text in *Dynamic Dichotomy: The Poetic "I" in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Lyric Poetry* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998).

³⁵⁶ Samuel L. Borton, *Six Modes of Sensibility in Saint-Amant* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 45.

³⁵⁷ John D. Lyons, *The Listening Voice: an Essay on the Rhetoric of Saint-Amant* (Lexington: French Forum, 1982), p. 12.

The question of whether the ‘je’ in Théophile’s lyric poetry can be identified with the historical poet has also been the subject of much critical debate. Théophile’s poetry has traditionally been regarded as the sincere expression of the poet’s individual nature, thoughts and feelings. Even his most recent biographer has said that for Théophile, ‘la poésie doit être avant tout l’expression sincère et personnelle de son monde intérieur’.³⁵⁸ Michael Taormina, however, has recently claimed that the patronage system within which both Théophile and other early seventeenth-century French lyric poets were writing excluded any possibility of a poetry of the self: ‘Poetry in the early seventeenth century is more accurately described as a species of eloquence, and so is not a song at all, let alone a song of the self, but a discourse of praise and blame.’³⁵⁹ Taormina interprets what has been seen as Théophile’s ‘franchise – his expressed desire for individuality and independence, strongly linked with a poetics of the self – as a purely literary pose adopted as that most likely to attract the patronage of certain free-thinking nobles, particularly Luynes and Montmorency:

What determines Théophile’s configuration of character traits is precisely an ethical ideal shared by this audience of great nobles. Théophile calls it *franchise* (‘Mon Dieu que la franchise est rare!’). It is a configuration of frankness, spontaneity, and independence. So Théophile’s strategy is this: if he can establish a reputation for *franchise*, then he can distinguish himself for odes of extravagant praise that seem sincere, and simultaneously present the greater nobility with an ethical ideal they find appealing. (p. 403)

While convincingly argued and carefully contextualised within the patronage system, Taormina’s argument seems to me to go perhaps too far in denying Théophile any choice or personal inclination in the subject matter of his poems, particularly in the libertine verses, which he regards as being solely intended to impress potential patrons with libertine tendencies.

The questions of sincerity and the extent to which the speaker within the text can be identified with the historical poet are particularly difficult in those poems of Théophile which refer to people, places and events known to have occurred in his own life. This is especially true of his later poems, which refer abundantly to his banishment, trial and imprisonment. As Andrea Grewe has observed, in some of these

³⁵⁸ Saba, *Théophile de Viau: un poète rebelle*, p. lxxx.

³⁵⁹ Michael Taormina, ‘Poetry and Power: Théophile’s “Franchise” and the Limits of Clientage, 1621-1623’, *Romanic Review*, 93 (2002), 387-413 (p. 392).

poems, the discussion of real historical places, people and events blurs the distinction between fiction and reality to the extent that it is difficult to separate the speaker in the poem from the historical author.³⁶⁰ As Grewe remarks, the strongly-present lyric 'je' in Théophile's 'Elégie XIII' (II, pp. 50-52) contributes to the apparently deeply personal nature of the poem' (p. 221). However, Grewe regards Théophile's frequently-occurring 'je' not as emanating from his need for sincere personal expression but as a literary technique used to add authenticity to a poetry which presents itself as the genuine account of the experiences and reactions of the historical poet.³⁶¹ Théophile's apparent self-presentation is perhaps best understood as the author's desired literary representation of himself, rather than as a sincere expression of individual sentiment and experience. Nevertheless, the experiences, beliefs and emotions expressed must have had some basis in reality, otherwise the desired credence and authenticity among literary audiences would have been by definition unattainable.

Throughout this chapter, as in the study as a whole, I will refer to the 'je' within the text as 'the speaker', in keeping with modern trends, rather than using the name of the historical poet. The only exception to this will be when referring to the sections of *La Maison de Sylvie* which refer to Théophile's trial and imprisonment; as Grewe observes, it is difficult in such instances to reasonably separate the speaker in the text from the historical poet. It is nevertheless to be understood that I consider the 'je' to be representing and expressing Théophile's desired literary self-creation, rather than necessarily presenting a 'sincere' account of the poet's emotions and sufferings.

6.2 The Treatment of the Seventeenth-Century French Lyric 'je' in English Translation during the Caroline Period

6.2.1 Théophile

A frequently-occurring and dominant lyric 'je' is considered to be one of the principal features of Théophile's poetry:

³⁶⁰ Andrea Grewe, 'La Poésie de Théophile de Viau: une poésie subjective?', in Christopher Miething, ed., "*Diversité, c'est ma devise*": *Studien zur französischen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Paris: PFSCS, 1994), pp. 215-27 (pp. 221-22).

³⁶¹ Grewe, p. 227.

C'est tout le charme du 'je' (idées, sentiments, sensations) que Théophile introduit dans cette poésie du début du XVII^e siècle expressive des grands sentiments (spécialement de l'amour) saisis dans leur profonde essence ou des idées les plus générales.³⁶²

Jean Marmier's article 'La Poésie de Théophile de Viau, théâtre du moi' describes Théophile's poetry as a dramatisation of the self, in which 'le moi [...] tend à extérioriser sa présence, à s'objectiver par le travail de l'écriture, et à se détacher comme sur un théâtre'.³⁶³ Marmier studies Théophile's strong subjectivity in considerable detail, observing that personal pronouns, possessive pronouns and possessive adjectives occur with remarkable frequency (p. 59). Marmier outlines some of the thematic effects of Théophile's frequently-occurring and inward-looking 'je'. In the love poems, 'la personne de l'amant occupe le devant de la scène, et le poète l'avoue sans detours. [...] S'il imagine la mort de sa maîtresse, ce qui le préoccupe est sa propre réaction, et l'évolution qu'elle suit à mesure que son imagination travaille' (p. 57). In the nature poetry, 'Un centre est posé, même dans *Le Matin* et *La Solitude*: c'est la personne du poète, lieu géométrique des perceptions multiples, et dont l'attitude, en évoluant, produit une action implicite' (pp. 54-55). Marmier comments that 'Le "je" prend d'autant plus de poids qu'il intervient dans des propositions de sens conatif. Or on découvre à chaque page, en tête de vers, des "je veux" ou "je prie", "j'aime que" ' (p. 60). Of particular relevance to the treatment of how Théophile's lyric voice is dealt with in English translation is Marmier's observation of how 'je voy' functions at the beginning of a sentence as a framing device to focus attention on the speaker rather than on the object being observed and described: 'Outre les "je veux", "je prie", on remarque à tout instant des formules présentatives qui désignent l'objet, non directement, mais comme contenu de la conscience de l'auteur. "Je voy" éatit, dans les débuts du poète, l'intervention introductrice de la description: "Je voy le généreux Lion..." (I, 74 v.17; cf.v.25...)' (p. 61). In an interesting article on the creation and imaginative function of private spaces in Théophile's poetry, Bernard Bray has noted that the rhetorical position in

³⁶² Lafay, p. 499. Bernard Bray has also noted the strong self-awareness and frequent occurrence of first-person pronouns in Théophile's prose: 'Dans la correspondance, on constate parfois une présence envahissante du moi. La courte lettre à M. Boyer (I, III) contient sur quinze lignes, dont la première fait d'ailleurs référence à "ma liberté", plus de vingt pronoms et adjectifs à la première personne.' Bernard Bray, 'Effets d'écriture, image du moi dans l'oeuvre en prose', in *Théophile de Viau: actes du colloque du CMR*, pp. 129-38 (p. 130).

³⁶³ Jean Marmier, 'La Poésie de Théophile de Viau, théâtre du moi', *PFSCS*, 9 (1978), 50-65 (p. 50).

these poems belongs to the 'genre *délibératif*,' in which the speaker's attention is 'tourné vers le moi, forme de la consolation à soi-même adressée.'³⁶⁴ The space inhabited by the speaker pouring out his woes in nature thus becomes 'un paysage intérieur et l'exercice poétique prend valeur cathartique comme pour le Socrate du Phédon qui poétisait "pour se purger l'âme"' (p. 120).

As noted, several of Théophile's later poems address specific individuals and discuss events known to have occurred in the poet's own life to an extent that renders them extremely unlikely candidates for translation. It is perhaps doubly interesting from this perspective that 'La Maison de Sylvie' was adapted into English by Thomas Stanley. As Guido Saba notes, in this poem:

Théophile a bâti plus savamment encore que la *Lettre à son frère* un ensemble où tout se tient, où le lecteur est amené à suivre l'auteur dans le parcours que lui suggère sa mémoire - en particulier le rappel des récents épisodes de sa vie dramatique-, où s'exprime son affection profonde et comme exclusive pour son ami Tircis, où est évoqué le parc de Chantilly dans lequel il a connu des moments de rare bonheur.³⁶⁵

Part of Stanley's solution to the problem of how to render Théophile's lyric voice into English in instances where the speaker refers to events in the life of the historical poet is simply to omit these sections. Stanley omits, for example, sections in which Théophile refers to his own imprisonment. Such omissions, however, lead to the removal of one of the most significant aspects of Théophile's *oeuvre* and literary self-creation: the apparently 'sincere' presentation of events known to have happened in his own life.

The persona created in 'La Maison de Sylvie' emerges as a strong literary personality; the speaker is preoccupied with the act and function of writing. In the first stanza, omitted by Stanley, Théophile states that his purpose in writing is to preserve the past for the future and hints at an awareness that he is close to death: 'Pour laisser avant que mourir' (l. 1). The basic idea of the French poem, which is all that remains in Stanley's 'unified version',³⁶⁶ namely the exhortation to nature to praise the beauty of the girl, is only necessitated by Théophile's fear that his writings will fall into oblivion:

³⁶⁴ Bernard Bray, 'L'Imaginaire de l'espace privé dans l'œuvre de Théophile', in *Théophile de Viau: Actes du colloque du CMR*, pp. 111-22 (p. 119).

³⁶⁵ Saba, *Théophile de Viau: un poète rebelle*, pp. 97-98.

³⁶⁶ Leishman, p. 237.

Que si mes écrits méprisés
 Ne peuvent voir autorisés
 Les témoignages de sa gloire,
 Ces eaux, ces rochers et ces bois
 Prendront des âmes et des voix
 Pour en conserver la mémoire. (ll. 65-70)

In the opening stanzas of 'La Maison de Sylvie', 'je', usually occurring at the beginning of lines, is often followed by verbs relating to the process of artistic creation, giving the impression of a dominant and self-aware speaker intensely concerned with and in control of his own act of writing: 'Je passe des crayons dorés' (l. 5), 'j'étouffe ce vieil abus' (l. 15), 'Je ne consacre point mes vers' (l. 21). Stanley often undermines the force and personality of the speaker by rendering 'je' as 'we' in such passages. This could be a technique intended to remove the association of 'je' with the original poem's historical author. Stanley's rendering of lines 20-21 not only removes the force of 'je' by pluralising the speaker, but also makes the plural first-person speaker passive where Théophile's singular speaker is the subject of an active verb and therefore seems forceful and determined: 'Je ne consacre point mes vers | À ces idoles effacées'; 'Those dark Impostors shall no more | Intrap us in their dangerous snares' (ll. 11-12). A similar example is Stanley's translation of the following lines:

Après lui je m'en vais louer
 Une image de Dieu si belle
 Que le Ciel me doit avouer
 Du travail que je fais pour elle. (ll. 51-54)

Then we an Image so divine
 Of his bright Glories will rehearse,
 That Heav'n it self shall gladly joyn,
 To justifie our sacred Verse. (ll. 21-24)

In the original, a whole line is devoted to the actions of the speaker before the lady is introduced, and she is very quickly passed over before the focus returns to the speaker, marked by the use of the personal pronoun in 'me doit avouer' and the use of the first person subject pronoun which interjects in the final line quoted above. These lines support Grewe's claim that the strong lyric voice is used to increase authenticity; Théophile is addressing the wife of his patron, and therefore his praise must appear

both 'personal' and 'sincere', to the extent that he exalts his own writing while simultaneously praising her.³⁶⁷ In Stanley's version the focus is shifted to the lady much more quickly. Where Théophile uses 'je' and an active verb in the first line, a technique used to focus the speaker on himself and his own actions, Stanley separates the subject pronoun ('we') from the verb ('rehearse'). The lady's grammatical interference between the speaker and his actions reflects her dominance over himself in his thoughts. In the last line quoted, the use of 'je' and an active verb makes the speaker and his actions / efforts, rather than his verse, the focus. Stanley's plural speaker focuses rather on the writings than on the self. It is difficult to say who 'we' refers to in Stanley's version, particularly as he does on some occasions use 'I' when referring to the process of artistic creation or the act of praising the lady. Indeed, his first three stanzas alternate several times between the use of 'I' and 'we'. Stanley may, as has been remarked, have used 'we' as a distancing device from the original poem's historical author, but felt that some use of 'I' was still necessary to the conventions of love poetry and the praise of the lady. 'We' could also be used to identify the speaker with the lady's other admirers, thus increasing her glory by suggesting she is the object of universal admiration, or to create a greater detachment between lady and speaker, giving the speaker a greater appearance of humility, respect and innocence. It should also be noted that, unlike Théophile's original poem, Stanley's adaptation was not intended for a patron. Stanley does not appear to have needed literary patronage; indeed, as an 'independently wealthy peer', Stanley himself provided support for Royalist poets, notably Sherburne and James Shirley, who had fallen upon hard times during the Civil War.³⁶⁸ It would seem that Stanley intended his French poetry translations for the perusal of his friends; the title-page of Stanley's *Poems and Translations* (1647) states that the volume was 'Printed for the Author, and his friends.'³⁶⁹ 'Friends' can be understood as the circle of Royalist poets Stanley gathered around him. His use of 'we' in his translation of Théophile can therefore also be understood as the 'we' used by Cavalier poets to suggest mutual Royalist sympathy. Stanley transposes Théophile's boastful literary persona into a more self-

³⁶⁷ Poetic self-glorification in encomiastic verse is a literary commonplace, and occurs frequently in seventeenth-century French encomiastic lyrics.

³⁶⁸ Revard, p. 149.

³⁶⁹ Chernaik, 'Stanley, Thomas (1625-1678)'. While Stanley's French poetry translations were not included in the 1647 edition, it can reasonably be assumed that the volume in which they did appear, the *Poems* of 1651 (London: n. pub, 1651), an enlarged and revised edition of the earlier volume, was written for the same audience.

effacing voice befitting a work produced in an atmosphere of communion, mutual support and collaboration.

There are other instances where a strong lyric voice, relating to the act and art of writing, are modified by Stanley. In the lines below, Théophile's references to hostile reactions to his poetry, personal to *him*, are transposed into a general reference to Fate:

Que si mes écrits méprisés
Ne peuvent voir autorisés
Les témoignages de sa gloire (ll. 65-67)

But if cross Fate my verse cast down,
Eclipsing by some Potent frown
The sacred Reliques of her Glory. (ll. 35-37)

Théophile's strongly-felt reference to his own writing in line 62, placed at the beginning of the line, is removed by Stanley: 'Mes vers promettent à Sylvie'; 'Thus *Sylvia* from the just presage | Of my unspotted vows, shall claim' (ll. 31-32). Again, Stanley shifts the original emphasis from lover to lady by mentioning the lady first where Théophile's speaker began with a reference to himself.

As well as contributing to the creation of a self-confident literary persona within the text, the strong lyric voice in 'La Maison de Sylvie' is closely linked with a discourse of suffering. Throughout the poem, and notably in Ode VIII, the speaker returns to the theme of the sufferings endured by the historical poet. In such passages, the speaker's extreme self-awareness and absorption with his own suffering is reflected in the constant interjection of the first-person subject pronoun. Through omitting sections in which the speaker focuses inwardly on his own sufferings, Stanley removes the melancholic atmosphere and expression of extreme anguish which is strongly characteristic of both 'La Maison de Sylvie' and much of Théophile's poetry. In keeping with overall trends in French Neo-Petrarchan discourse, Théophile's Neo-Petrarchan love poetry is marked by intense expressions of personal suffering.³⁷⁰ In writing love poetry in which a self-absorbed speaker pours out his own sufferings at his cruel treatment at the hands of the lady, Théophile is not only conforming to the traditions of Petrarchan and courtly love poetry, he is also constructing his own poetic image of melancholy and suffering. In removing and

³⁷⁰ Saba, *Théophile de Viau: un poète rebelle*, p. 72.

weakening passages which express intense suffering, Stanley is deconstructing this image. Stanley effects a total change of atmosphere; the tone of his translation is often light and positive where the tone of the original is dark and melancholy. This is frequently achieved through weakening the lyric voice. Notably, Stanley's lyric voice interjects less frequently in the text than Théophile's in the sections taken from Ode IX in which the nightingale speaks. As the nightingale pours out its woes, Théophile (or the persona he creates) longs to pour out his own sorrow:³⁷¹

Dieux! que c'est un contentement
 Bien doux à la raison humaine
 Que d'exhaler si doucement
 La douleur que nous fait la haine! (VIII, ll. 51-54)

Stanley's nightingale, mirroring the less mournful attitude of his speaker, sings not of its pain but of its joy:

The Nightingale above the rest,
 Her joyes in this soft language drest,
 Doth to fair *Sylvias* ear present. (ll. 198-200)

In the lines below, Théophile's use of 'je vois' reminds us of the speaker's (nightingale's) presence and gives the description of the woods through the nightingale's act of seeing. Stanley removes this and places a greater emphasis on the outward description of the forest:

Moi qui chante soir et matin
 Dans le cabinet de l'Aurore,
 Où je vois ce riche butin
 Qu'elle prend au rivage more,
 L'or, les perles et les rubis,
 Dont ses flammes et ses habits
 Ont jadis marqué la Cigale,
 Et tout ce superbe appareil
 Qu'elle dérobaît au Soleil
 Pour se faire aimer à Céphale. (IX, ll. 1-10)

³⁷¹ 'Dans *La Maison de Sylvie*, un savant entrelacement de thèmes mène du parallélisme à l'identification entre le personnage du rossignol et celui du prisonnier qui "sait chanter"' (Marmier, p. 56). Sandrine Berregard has noted that in Tristan's poetry, also, the nightingale 'peut être vu comme l'image même du poète'. 'Tristan ou l'image d'un poète mélancolique', *Cahiers Tristan L'Hermitte*, 24 (2002), 15-29 (p. 19).

I, who so oft the Eastern Bowers
 Visit, my sacred Hymns to sing;
 And view the spicy sweets, the Flowers,
 With all the rich Embellishing
 Of Gold, Pearls, Rubies, which the Morn
 Takes her fair Tresses to adorn;
 And that bright flame with which she dies
 (Stoln from the Sun) her pale Cheeks,
 When she to seem most lovely seeks
 In her dear *Cephalus* his Eyes. (ll. 201-210)

Turning to 'Le Matin', Jean Marmier has remarked on Théophile's use of 'je voy' in this poem as a framing device to convey the description of the natural world through the speaker's act of seeing, thus communicating a sense of the speaker's personal appreciation of nature and the simple life of the countryside. Théophile's speaker is describing the dawn before the lady asleep beside him has woken. In his imitation, however, Philip Ayres alters the original rhetorical situation; this in turn leads to a removal of the speaker's sense of personal observation of, and delight in, nature. Ayres's poem ends with the speaker, as well as the lady, waking up, which renders the preceding description of nature an act of memory rather than visual perception. The strong implication is that Ayres's speaker is describing the *habitual* arrival of a new day, rather than a single, particular experience. Ayres's omission of an equivalent of 'Je vois' in lines 16 and 25 removes the sense of the speaker's personal delight in nature. In Ayres's version, 'I' does not occur until the final lines of the poem, and is the subject of the erotic act which Ayres inserts into his version. 'I' allows Ayres's speaker to revel in a delight in which the lady appears to be merely passive, whereas Théophile's use of 'nous' contributes to what is a delicate invitation to the lady to partake in mutual enjoyment of the natural world:

Il est jour, levons-nous, Phyllis!
 Allons à notre jardinage,
 Voir s'il est, comme ton visage,
 Semé de roses et de lis. (ll. 61-64)

Then I wake too, and viewing Lesbia's charms,
 Do glut myself with pleasure in her arms. (ll. 15-16)

The link between the strong lyric voice and the expression of personal feeling and experience is also relevant to Charles Cotton's rendering of 'je' in his translations of

love lyrics by Théophile. Guido Saba notes that in the epistle ‘A Monsieur du Fargis’ (II, pp. 218-19), ‘Théophile affirme que toute poésie, spécialement celle inspirée par l’amour, a un lien indissoluble avec l’expérience personnelle’.³⁷² While Saba quotes the first twelve lines of this epistle, it suffices here to quote only lines 11-12:

Il faudrait comme Ovide avoir été piqué;
On écrit aisément ce qu’on a pratiqué.

Whereas older critical views tend to take Théophile at his word and assume that his amorous verses refer to actual love affairs, recent criticism tends to challenge this, particularly when there is no direct evidence within the text itself, such as the inclusion of real names and places. Guido Saba remarks in his notes on ‘Stances XXIX’ (‘Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras’) that ‘Adam (p.170) rattache ces stances au cycle des poésies écrites durant l’exil pour la Cloris de Boussères. Au fait, on n’ensait rien.’³⁷³ It seems to me that caution is indeed required when attempting to associate a change of attitude towards love in Théophile’s love poetry with the historical poet’s actual amorous experiences. This is the approach of Clare Gaudiani, who attributes the development of Théophile’s anti-Petrarchan sentiments to his relationship with Cloris of Boussères: ‘During his exile spent in southern France in 1619, Théophile fell in love with a passionate *méridionale* whom he called Cloris of Boussères. Unlike the women of the Parisian court, this Cloris was a willing partner in an apparently satisfying erotic relationship.’³⁷⁴ It should be pointed out, firstly, that the anti-Petrarchan, libertine attitude to love is itself a literary convention, and secondly that poetry is still a literary creation even when it claims to be a sincere representation of reality. It is undeniably the case, however, that some of Théophile’s amorous lyrics contain references to events which occurred in the life of the historical poet. ‘Stances XXVI A Cloris’ (I, pp. 189-92), for example, contains references to Théophile’s banishment from court amid conventional praise of the lady: ‘Que la mort serait importune | De venir changer ma fortune | A la félicité des dieux! (ll. 5-7)’; ‘Lesort, qui menace ma vie | Quand les cruautés de l’envie | Me firent éloigner du Roi’ (ll. 15-17). According to Adam, Théophile’s ‘Elégie XV’ (II, pp. 56-59), translated by Cotton, refers to Théophile’s relations with a woman called Caliste

³⁷² Saba, *Théophile de Viau: un poète rebelle*, p. 2.

³⁷³ *Viau, Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Saba, I, p. 347.

³⁷⁴ Gaudiani, p. 123.

and was written during the winter of 1622-23 when she was absent from Théophile.³⁷⁵ Saba again rejects this claim as unfounded.³⁷⁶ The strong lyric voice is one of the distinguishing features of this *élégie*, and results in a deep sense of the speaker's suffering. Apart from lines 13-31, in which the lyric voice does not interject at all, there is scarcely a line which does not include either 'je' or 'me'. 'Je' is placed at the beginning of several lines. In line 46, the double use of 'je' emphasises the speaker's sense of imprisonment: 'Je traine une prison d'où je ne puis sortir'. Possessive adjectives occur very frequently, particularly in the opening lines of the poem:

Depuis ce triste jour qu'un amour malheureux
M'ôta le cher objet de mes yeux amoureux,
Mon âme de mes sens fut toute désunie (ll. 1-3)

By contrast, 'vous' occurs very rarely, and where it does occur the second person does not become the focus of the line but is merely mentioned as a pretext for the expression of the speaker's own feelings: 'Tant me couta l'honneur de vous avoir suivie' (l. 12). On the whole, the strong lyric voice in this poem is retained by Cotton. This is notably true of his rendering of line 2: 'My Eyes the object of my flame forbid'. Cotton retains the strong presence of the speaker in lines 5-6: 'Je me trouvai si seul avec tant d'effroi | Que je me crus moi-même être éloigné de moi'; 'I find me so distractedly alone | That from myself methinks myself am gone'. Cotton also retains references which could connect the speaker in the poem with the historical poet: 'Au milieu de Paris je me suis fait ermite' (l. 43); 'In Paris, like an *Hermit*, I retire' (l. 43).³⁷⁷ There are, however, instances where Cotton's lyric voice is weaker. In lines 39-40 Cotton's speaker is less predominant and more passive; 'I' is not the subject of active verbs as in Théophile's version: 'Je suis chagrin partout où le plaisir abonde, | Je n'ai plus nul souci que de déplaire au monde'; 'With all Delights my Thoughts distasted are, | And only to dislike the World take care'. The lyric voice is also weaker in Cotton's rendering of lines 3-4:

Mon âme de mes sens fut toute désunie,
Et privé que je fus de votre compagnie

³⁷⁵ Adam, *Théophile de Viau*, p. 287.

³⁷⁶ *Viau, Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Saba, II, p. 302.

³⁷⁷ Reflexive verbs, such as 'se faire' here, are another device frequently employed by Théophile to increase the speaker's focus on himself.

My Soul, and Sense so disunited are,
That being thus deprived of thee, *My Fair*.

Cotton omits the second possessive adjective in line 3, and in line 4, where Théophile's grammatical interjection of 'je' reflects an inward focus on the self, Cotton's speaker focuses outwardly on the lady, reflected in the strong emphasis on 'thee'. Cotton similarly shifts the emphasis from speaker to lady in line 50: 'Son appas ne me sert qu'à renforcer ma foi'; 'Serve only to confirm my Faith to thee' (l.50). Cotton increases the tenderness and reduces the detachment of speaker from lady by replacing the third-person speaker with the second person, and by placing a strong emphasis on 'thee'. Cotton's original poetry contains little use of 'I' and thus focuses on the object being described or addressed rather than on the inner feelings of the speaker. In 'An Invitation to Phyllis' (*Poems*, pp. 101-03), for example, 'I' is used rarely and only to talk about the things the speaker is going to do for the lady. There is, by contrast, a very frequent use of 'thy' followed by a noun, thus creating a tender emphasis on the lady and her attributes. In his nature poetry, Cotton places a greater emphasis on outward nature than the inner self and the act of contemplation. In the following lines from 'The Retirement', the speaker discusses the effects of solitude on mankind in general rather than on himself: 'O Solitude, the soul's best friend, | That man acquainted with himself dost make, | And all his Maker's wonders to intend' (ll. 15-17). In the opening stanza of Théophile's 'Stances XIII', also translated by Cotton, the use of 'tu' as opposed to 'je' results in a greater detachment of the narrator from the 'je' within the text, and in a greater focus on the lady than on the inner feelings of the speaker:

Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras,
Que tu poses nus sur tes draps,
Bien plus blancs que le linge même;
Quand tu sens ma brulante main
Se promener dessus ton sein,
Tu sens bien, Cloris, que je t'aime. (ll. 1-6)

James Sacré has commented on the varying degrees of intimacy and detachment created by the use of 'I', 'you', 'we' and 'he / she' respectively: 'Impression de grande coincidence donc entre le je d'un texte et le sujet (narrateur, énonciateur ou auteur) qui écrit! L'effet d'intimité est moins grand avec le tu (qui introduit l'autre);

moins grand encore avec le il (qui est l'autre plus une distanciation) et le nous (qui réduit l'intimité à ce qu'il y a de commun à chacun).³⁷⁸ In the lines quoted above, even while the use of 'tu' indicates an outward focus on the lady / addressee, the interjection of 'me' also suggests that the speaker is aware of his own actions. Cotton's decision to place the reference to the lady's arm at the beginning of the line gives the arm a stronger emphasis, thus detracting attention from the speaker: 'When thy nak'd Arm thou see'st me kiss' (1). In Théophile's second stanza the strong self-awareness and inward focus of the speaker results in a strong sense of his pleasure:

Comme un dévot devers les Cieux,
 Mes yeux tournés devers tes yeux,
 A genoux auprès de ta couche,
 Pressé de mille ardents désirs,
 Je laisse sans ouvrir ma bouche,
 Avec toi dormir mes plaisirs. (ll. 7-12)

In Cotton's rendering of line 8, 'thine' is given a greater emphasis than 'tes', increasing the original emphasis on the addressee: 'So mine Eyes unto thine are turn'd' (l. 8). In lines 11-12 of the original, 'je' is given emphasis by being placed at the beginning of the line and made the subject of an active verb. Cotton uses a translation technique seen in his translation of 'Elégie XV', creating a greater distance between 'je' and narrator by making a part of his body, rather than 'I', the subject of the sentence: 'My lips from whispering murmurs then are free'. In his translation of line 12, Cotton inverts the order of the references to the addressee and the speaker's own pleasure. Théophile emphasises 'mes plaisirs' by placing these at the end of the line; Cotton reverses this: 'And suffer my delights to sleep with thee.' In the opening lines of the final stanza, the use of 'je' with an active verb again turns the speaker's attention inward to his own actions and feelings: 'Là je soupire auprès de toi' (l. 25). Again, by contrast, Cotton's speaker turns his focus outwards to the lady; the presence of 'I' is almost lost amid the heavy emphasis on 'thee': 'Then by thee did I breathe a Sigh' (l. 25).

6.2.2 Saint-Amant

³⁷⁸ James Sacré, 'Quand je dis te / je dans le poème', in *Le Sujet lyrique en question*, ed. by Dominique Rabaté, Joelle de Sermet et Yves Vadé (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1996), pp. 223-32 (p. 226). Sacré's definition of the function of 'we' can be applied to Stanley's use of 'we' in his adaptation of 'La Maison de Sylvie'.

The critical move away from reading Saint-Amant's nature poetry, particularly *La Solitude* and *Le Contemplateur*, as a record by the historical poet of real experiences he had had in actual places, has already been noted. In a reading of *Le Contemplateur* that has similarities with Marmier's reading of Théophile, M. E. Kronegger has gone perhaps a step further, challenging the view of earlier critics, such as Odette de Mourgues, that Saint-Amant's nature poetry is principally about the description and enjoyment of outward nature.³⁷⁹ For Kronegger, nature and landscape merely provide a starting point for the speaker's inner reflections, and the real focus is not the natural world but the act of contemplation:

The poet is not fascinated with the actual landscape at Belle-Isle, with its stillness and its life independent of man. He interprets landscape as allegorically meaningful. Belle-Isle is the poet's island of mind, standing above the sea of appearances. Lost, engulfed in space, may he not confirm himself as the centre of this space? The poet bent over the ocean can be said to be the poet bent over his own creative process. Nature is perceived through the medium of awakened imagination in the light of the poet's experience.³⁸⁰

In another similarity with Marmier's reading of Théophile, Kronegger observes that Saint-Amant's 'insistence on the act of seeing reveals his contemplative mood: in order to comprehend life as a whole, he must view it in simultaneity, and that means spatially and visually' (p. 128).

Nathalie Négroni has remarked that addressees and objects in Saint-Amant's poetry serve as pretexts for the presentation of the speaker's own thoughts and emotions:

Ainsi, l'ont peut voir que le recours à autrui comme destinataire permet au Je d'échapper au temps et de créer en quelque sorte un autre chronotope, favorable à l'érection de son imagination et à la production de son discours. Cependant, le sujet lyrique n'a pas forcément recours à autrui pour dresser un portrait de lui-même ou pour faire part de sa vision du monde. Le Je fait parfois irruption dans le discours sous la forme d'un individu fragmenté, aux

³⁷⁹ 'Théophile, Saint-Amant and Tristan consider nature as a succession of landscapes to be enjoyed for their own sake and depicted with some precision'. Odette de Mourgues, *Metaphysical, Baroque and Précieux Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 93.

³⁸⁰ M. E. Kronegger, 'The Growth of Self-Awareness in Saint-Amant's *Le Contemplateur*: A Baroque Vision', *PFSC*, 14 (1981), 125-42 (p. 134).

prises avec une multiplicité de spectacles et de tableaux. Il se met alors lui-même en scène sous différentes formes.³⁸¹

Kronegger's reading of *Le Contemplateur* can also be applied to *La Solitude*. The speaker's act of seeing is constantly emphasised, for example in lines 5-7: 'Mon Dieu! que mes yeux sont contens | De voir ces Bois qui se trouverent | A la nativité du Temps'. Descriptions of nature are given through the speaker's visual perceptions, and his act of seeing is often, as in the lines quoted above, linked with the expression of pleasure. As Kronegger remarks of *Le Contemplateur*, 'Astonishment, emotion, confusion are communicated through sight' (p. 126). The use of 'je' with verbs such as 'aimer' and 'trouver' has a structuring function within the poem, and is frequently used to introduce the description of a particular scene: 'Saint-Amant, dans sa *Solitude*, passe des bois aux torrents, des marais aux châteaux en ruine, avec cette formule passe-partout: *que j'aime!*' (Lebègue, p. 17). The emphasis of individual lines usually falls on such phrases, and the speaker thus focuses on his own feelings and reactions rather than on the aspect of nature he is describing: 'O que j'ayme la Solitude!' 'Je' frequently occurs at the beginning of a line, particularly when the speaker's actions are being described: 'Je monte au haut de ce Rocher' (l. 132). Katherine Philips's translation of *La Solitude* does not retain Saint-Amant's repetition of phrases such as 'j'aime' and 'je trouve', which is one of the French poem's most significant thematic and grammatical features. In the opening line, where Saint-Amant's speaker opens with 'j'aime', thus emphasising his own feelings and delight, the speaker in Philips's poem emphasises the object of delight, addressing 'solitude' directly: 'O! Solitude my sweetest choice'. Philips similarly loses the force of the speaker's emphasis on his own reaction to nature in her translation of lines 31-32: 'Que je trouve doux le ravage | De ces fiers Torrents vagabonds'; 'What pleasant desolations make | These Torrents vagabond, & fierce' (ll. 31-32). While the use of 'what' at the beginning of the line has an exclamatory function that does create some sense of the speaker's delight, the lack of 'I' removes both the self-absorption and strong sense of individuality in the original. The speaker in Philips's translation could be speaking on behalf of mankind in general, and therefore using a universal, rather than personal, voice. However, the retention of Saint-Amant's place signifiers ('*These Torrents vagabond and fierce*',

³⁸¹ Nathalie Négroni, 'Poète, poésie et altérité dans l'oeuvre de Saint-Amant', in *L'Autre au XVIIème siècle*, ed by Ralph Heyndals and Barbara Woshinsky (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1991), pp. 403-23 (pp. 411-12).

italics mine) does suggest the presence of a particular person in a particular place. Philips uses a similar technique in her translation of line 25: ‘Que je prens de plaisir à voir’; ‘O! how agreeable a sight’ (l. 25). The exclamation is indicative of a speaker’s presence, but the speaker does not make their presence explicit, and thus does not emphasise their own feelings, through the grammatical use of ‘I’. A final example is the beginning of stanza 8, where Philips loses the sense of the speaker’s act of seeing: ‘Que j’ayme à voir la decadence | De ces vieux chateux ruinez’ (ll. 71-72); ‘How pleasant’s ye declining State | of these old ruin’d Castle walls!’ (ll. 71-72). There are a couple of occasions where Philips’s speaker steps outside of himself | herself to analyse his / her own feelings where Saint’s Amant’s speaker expresses his inner feelings: ‘Que j’aime ce Marests paisible!’ (l. 41); ‘This Fen, beset with River Plants, | O! how it does my Sences charm!’ (ll. 41-42). It should be noted that there is no direct indication in the text as to whether Philips intended her speaker to be understood as herself, and therefore female, or whether she intended it to be understood that the speaker in her translation is that of the original poem, and whether she understands this to be Saint-Amant himself.

That Philips had difficulties in knowing how to translate Saint-Amant’s lyric voice is shown in the revisions she made to her renderings of sections where the presence of the speaker is particularly strong. All of the quotations used in this study are taken, as noted, from Germaine Greer’s 1993 edition of Philips’s translations, which uses as its copy text MS 776B, in the National Library of Wales. Greer’s textual notes provide variant versions from the 1667 edition of Philips’s *Poems*. The 1667 version of line 71, of which the original and Philips’s manuscript version are quoted above, retains the original sense of sight: ‘What beauty is there in the sight’. The 1667 version of ‘Dont le sommet semble chercher’ (l. 133), is closer to the original (‘Whose lofty brow seems to enquire’, l. 133), whereas the manuscript version inserts the grammatical presence of the speaker: ‘Whose Top, I fancy does enquire’. The manuscript rendering of line 141, ‘Que c’est une chose agreeable’, strengthens the lyric voice by inserting a possessive pronoun (‘How highly is *my* fancy pleased’) which is absent from the 1667 version: ‘How highly is *the* fancy pleased’ (italics mine).

In the latter stanzas of *La Solitude*, Saint-Amant’s speaker is focused on his own creative art. In stanza 18 his strongly-felt ‘je’ is the subject of a verb of boasting, giving the impression of a confident artistic persona: ‘ALCIDON, pour qui je me

vante | De ne rien faire que de beau' (ll. 171-72). Like Théophile in the examples quoted above from 'La Maison de Sylvie', Saint-Amant is attempting to attract and retain literary patronage by suggesting that he is a competent writer who serves his patrons well, and thus glorification of the patron becomes intertwined with glorification of the self. By contrast, Philips removes the boastful 'je' and places a stronger emphasis on the addressee: 'Bernieres! (for whose beloved sake, | My thoughts are at a noble strife)' (ll. 171-72). In drawing attention away from her own creative practice, Philips is attempting to create a more self-effacing literary persona,³⁸² consistent with both her position as a woman and her claim that she never intended her poems for publication.³⁸³ However, Philips generally retains the strong lyric voice in the last three stanzas:

Je ne cherche que les deserts,
Où rêvant tout seul, je m'amuse
A des discours assez diserts
De mon Genie avec la Muse:
Mais mon plus aymable entretien
C'est le ressouvenir du tien. (ll. 175-80)

I only seek ye Desarts rough,
Where all alone I love to walk,
And with discourse, refin'd enough,
My Genius, & ye Muses talk.
But ye converse most truly mine,
Is ye deare memory of thine. (ll. 175-80)

Philips's original poetry is characterised by a generally weak lyric voice, although a number of her poems recount personal experience, and some of these express strong personal emotion.³⁸⁴ A poem such as 'On the faire weather at the Coronacon'

³⁸² Philips similarly weakens the lyric voice in order to appear more humble and self-effacing in her translation of part of Corneille's *Paraphrase de L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*.

³⁸³ Elaine Hoby has remarked that Philips nevertheless entered the public world of writing through transmitting her poems in manuscript. *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing 1649-1688* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), p. 129. Harold Love interprets the circulation of texts in manuscript as an alternative form of 'publication'. *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

³⁸⁴ See, for example, the following lines from 'In memory of F. P. who dyed at Acton 24 May. 1660-13th of her Age' (I, pp. 109-110), in which Philips expresses intense grief at the death of her stepdaughter: 'Ah beauteous blossom! too untimely dead! | Whither, ah whither is thy sweetness fled?' (ll. 7-8). See also poems in which Philips expresses intense anger at friends she thinks have wronged or rejected her, such as 'For Regina' (I, p. 125), and 'To the Queen of inconstancie, Regina, in Antwerp' (I, pp. 120-21). The views of earlier critics such as Ellen Moody ('Orinda, Rosania, Lucasia et aliae: Towards a New Edition of the Works of Katherine Philips,' *PQ*, 66 (1987), 323-54) and Dorothy Mermin ('Women Becoming Poets: Katherine Philips, Aphra Behn, Anne Finch,' *ELH*, 57

describes scenes which the speaker has witnessed, but without the grammatical use of 'I' or any sense of personal reaction or emotion. Several of Philips's poems are reflections on human emotion in general, without any impression of the speaker's own experience of the emotions.³⁸⁵ In Philips's 'La Grandeur d'esprit' (I, 157-590), in which there is again no use of 'I', the speaker's retreat into nature leads not to the outpouring of her own emotions but to reflections on the general condition of life and mankind:

As Lucian's Ferry=man aloft did view
The angry world, and then laught at it too:
So all its sudden follys seem'd to me
But as a too well acted Tragedy.
One dangerous ambition does befoole,
Another envy to see that man rule:
One makes his Love the parent of his rage,
For private friendship publicly t'engage. (ll. 9-16)

Philips often begins a poem with 'I' before switching to 'we': the self's experiences and emotions are merely a prelude to the discussion of wider human experience and existence; see for example 'A Countrey Life' (I, pp. 159-69, ll. 29-32) and 'Submission' (I, pp. 178-81, ll. 1-4).

Thomas Fairfax is often closer to the original than Katherine Philips when translating Saint-Amant's lyric voice. In Fairfax's opening line, the speaker's delight is emphasised by the stress on 'love'. In his third and fourth lines, however, the original speaker's focus on the self becomes a general, 'outward' comment on the peace of the countryside:

O how I love these solitudes,
And places silent as the night,
There where no thronging multitudes
Disturb with noise their sweet delight. (ll. 1-4)

(1990), 335-55), who regard Philips's poetry as principally devoted to private themes, and disengaged from the public controversies prevalent at the time she was writing, have been contradicted by recent critics including Catharine Gray. As noted earlier, Gray interprets Philips's commendatory poems to male Royalist poets as expression of Royalist sympathy.

³⁸⁵ See, for example, 'Content, to my dearest Lucasia' (I, pp. 91-94). The king's struggles and eventual defeat, and even their own sufferings which resulted from their support of the king, generally led the Royalist poets to reflect on the general nature of suffering and existence rather than on their own personal feelings. See Lovelace's prison lyrics, e.g. 'To Althea, From Prison' (pp. 78-79), which praises the king and ends in a general statement on the true nature of liberty.

In these lines, as elsewhere in his translation, it is difficult to separate the speaker in the poem from Fairfax, and easy to associate the voice decrying the noise of the multitudes with the general who had retired to his country estate from the tumult of war and public life. It is also relatively easy, in Fairfax's case, to assume that his acclamation of retired solitude was sincere. He did not intend his poems for publication, and therefore would have had little need to deliberately create a literary persona which did not reflect his own tastes and personality. Fairfax's translation of line 5, 'Oh how mine eyes are pleased to see' (l. 5), is again closer to the original, and places a greater emphasis on the speaker's act of seeing, than Philips's version: 'O heavens! What content is mine! | to see these Trees which have appear'd | From ye nativity of Time' (ll. 5-6). Like Philips, however, Fairfax considerably weakens the lyric voice and thus the sense of the speaker's own pleasure in line 25 ('And to behold is no less rare', l. 25), and loses the framing, 'Que je trouve' in line 31 ('How pleasant are the murmuring streams', l. 31). In his translation of line 41 ('Que j'aime ce Marests paisible!'), Fairfax retains the sense of self, but his placing of nature first creates a speaker who seems less robust, more self-effacing and less joyful than that of Saint-Amant: 'The quiet marsh I love to see' (l. 41). Fairfax could again be speaking here as the public figure who has suffered during the civil war and is seeking quietness and rest in the countryside. Like Philips, Fairfax removes 'je' and the speaker's sense of personal delight in lines 71-72: 'How pleasant is it to behold | These ancient ruinated towers' (ll. 61-62). In contrast to Philips, Fairfax does not compensate for the loss of 'je' with an exclamation mark. Fairfax omits lines 121-30, in which Saint-Amant's speaker refers to playing the lute, an activity for which the historical author was well known. Like Philips, Fairfax weakens the strong lyric voice and sense of boasting in the original final stanzas; this is again consistent with the fact that Fairfax did not intend his poems for publication or public attention. This also explains his omission of the last two stanzas, in which the original speaker glories in his own poetic gifts. A man retiring from public life would also be likely, as Fairfax does, to want to remove the last few lines, in which Saint-Amant destroys his own argument by rejecting the solitude he has spent twenty stanzas exalting.

Thomas Stanley's treatment of the lyric voice in his adaptation of Saint-Amant's 'La Jouissance' is similar to that in his translation of *La Maison de Sylvie*. In the opening stanza, where Saint-Amant's speaker delays mentioning the lady in order

to reveal his own sufferings, Stanley's speaker reduces the references to self in order to focus the attention more quickly on Sylvia:

J'estois libre dans ma Masion,
 Bien que mon coeur fust en prison
 Dans les beaux yeux de ma Sylvie. (ll. 5-7)

I liv'd from all disturbance free,
 Though Prisoner (Sylvia) unto thee. (ll. 5-6)

Again, to use Sacré's terms, the use of the second person as opposed to the first person creates a greater detachment between the subject and the 'I' within the text. The direct address to the lady, again with the strong emphasis on 'thee', heightens the sense of the speaker's awareness of the lady (and weakens the awareness of himself), thus creating a greater impression of affection for the lady. Stanley omits the second half of the second stanza, in which nature responds to the speaker's passionate affections, and the extreme self-consciousness of the speaker is effected through the repeated use of possessive adjectives: 'mon bonheur', 'mon mérite', 'mes affections'. In his rendering of Saint-Amant's eighth stanza, in which self-absorption is created by placing 'je' at the beginning of the lines, Stanley again reduces the speaker's references to himself and increases his tenderness towards the lady:

Tantost feignant un peu de crainte,
 Je disois à ceste Beauté,
 Pour sonder sa fidélité,
 Que son humeur estoit contrainte:
 Tantost d'un visage mourant,
 Je lui tenois en souspirant,
 Ces propos de glace et de flame. (ll. 71-77)
 Then to my Dear (as if afraid,
 To trie her doubted faith) I said,
 Would in thy Soul my Form as cleer
 As in thy Eyes I see it, were.
 She kindly angry saith, Thou art
 Drawn more at large within my Heart. (ll. 61-66)

Where Saint-Amant's speaker illuminates his own feelings and actions ('Tantost d'un visage mourant, / Je lui tenois en souspirant'), Stanley removes these references and passes more quickly to the lady's response. The insertion of 'my Dear' creates a greater tenderness and affection towards the lady. There is a rare example, in his

translation of lines 28-30, where Stanley retains the first-person subject pronoun and thus the impression of the speaker's self-awareness and pleasure:

Car plus j'en goutois, m'y laissant emporter,
Et tant plus contre ma coustume,
S'augmentoit en mon coeur le desir d'en gouster.

My pleasures knew not griefs allay:
The more I tasted I desir'd,
The more I quencht my Thirst was fir'd. (ll. 18-20)

The only possible weakening of the speaker's self-absorption here is in Stanley's removal of the aside 'Et tant plus contre ma coustume'.

The lyric voice is very weak in Stanley's original amorous verse. Usually the speaker's presence is felt only implicitly; 'I' occurs very rarely. In 'Desiring her to burn his Verses' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 3-4), the detachment of the narrator and focus on the lady is effected by a constant use of the second-person possessive pronoun: 'thy breath', 'thy hand', 'thine ear'. Often the thematic emphasis is on the general nature of love and relationships between the sexes, rather than on the speaker's own feelings; Stanley thus uses a universal, rather than personal, voice.

6.2.3 Racan

In his now time-worn but still useful study of Racan's life and poetry, Louis Arnould notes that Racan's verse 'a souvent fait entendre des notes personnelles'.³⁸⁶ Commenting on the 'Stances sur la Retraite' (I, pp. 176-85), Arnould remarks that 'C'est le chef d'oeuvre du poète, parce qu'il y met, sans s'en douter, son âme toute entière, sa lassitude de la lutte, son ambition douce, son besoin de repos, et en même temps son amour sincère de la campagne et sa soif sensée d'honnêteté rustique' (p. 130). Addresses to specific individuals, both friends and patrons, are a commonly-occurring feature of Racan's lyric poetry, which is also marked throughout by a particularly strong subjectivity. In the first three stanzas of his 'Ode à Monsieur de Balzac' (I, pp. 77-83), praise of the addressee appears secondary to the presentation of the speaker's expression of his own thoughts and feelings:

³⁸⁶ Louis Arnould, *Racan (1589-1670): histoire anécdotique et critique de sa vie et de ses œuvres*, (Paris: Armand Colin, 1901; repr. 1970), p. 152.

Enflé de cette belle audace,
 A peine sçavois-je marcher,
 Que j'osay vous aller chercher
 Au plus haut sommet de Parnasse:
 Apollon m'ouvrit ses tresors
 Et vous me jurastes deslors
 Par vos sciences immortelles,
 Que mes escrits verroient le jour,
 Et tant qu'on parleroit d'amour
 Vivroient en la bouche des belles. (ll. 11-20)

Racan's amorous lyrics, particularly, contain a very strong lyric voice. Frequently the object of the speaker's affections is mentioned only as a pretext for the expression of the speaker's own thoughts and emotions:

Seul objet de mes yeux dont mon ame est ravie,
 A combien de malheurs me dois-je preparer,
 Puis qu'aucune raison ne sçauroit moderer
 Vostre extrême rigueur, ny mon extrême envie? ('Sonnet XL', I, pp. 144-45,
 ll. 1-4)

Similarly, in 'Ode XXXI' (I, pp. 114-16) the direct address to the lady, made only in passing, does not lessen or detract from the speaker's extreme subjectivity and self-absorption:

Bien que je brusle incessamment
 D'une ardeur qui ne peut s'esteindre,
 Et que je meure sans me plaindre,
 N'en ayez point d'estonnement,
 Cloris, vos beautez perdurables
 Ont tant de graces adorables,

Et moy du merite si peu,
 Que ce penser m'oste l'audace,
 Quand l'amour me rend tout de feu,
 Le respect me rend tout de glace. (ll. 1-10)

In the *élégies* and love lyrics which draw on courtly and Petrarchan conventions, the frequent grammatical use of 'je', 'me' and 'mon' results in an intense self-awareness and strong sense of inner suffering on the part of the speaker: 'Les ennuis que je sens me sont si douloureux' ('Stances XXIII', I, pp. 98-100, l. 7). Similarly, the outside

world is often described and praised not for itself but as a pretext for the speaker's feelings and contemplations:

Saison des fleurs et des plaisirs,
 Beau temps parfumé de Zephirs:
 Espoir d'une fertile année,
 Que tes apas ont de rigueur,
 Et que ta plus claire journée
 Produira de nuits en mon coeur! ('Ode XLIV, pp. 153-55, ll. 1-6)

Racan's 'Ingrate cause de mes larmes', translated by Charles Cotton, is an archetypal example of how the frequent grammatical interjection of the speaker creates an intensely self-absorbed persona:

Ingrate cause de mes larmes,
 Je vais chercher dans les alarmes
 Le trepas, et la liberté,
 C'est le conseil que je dois suivre,
 Puisqu'en servant vostre beauté,
 Je ne puis ny mourir, ny vivre. (ll. 1-6)

The opening line both introduces the theme and sets the emotional tone for the whole poem. The lady is mentioned merely as the cause of the speaker's distress, which will form the subject matter of the rest of the poem. The speaker's self-absorption is reflected both in the placing of 'je' at the beginning of the line as the subject of an active verb (l. 2) and in its mid-line interjection (l. 4). In the second stanza, the praise of the king is given through the use of a personal pronoun which again draws attention to the speaker by giving him a grammatical presence in the text, and gives a sense of the personal and individual nature of his praise of Louis: 'Mon Roy voit ses villes desertes' (l. 7). In his translation of this line, Cotton distances himself from what he may have perceived as Racan's own direct praise of Louis XIII by changing '*Mon Roy*' to '*the king*' (italics mine). While the subject of Racan's second stanza appears to be the current political struggles of the king, the stanza both opens and ends with a reference to the self, which thus forms both a grammatical and psychological frame within which outer events are discussed. Racan makes very frequent use of the possessive pronoun to reflect the speaker's self absorption, particularly in stanza 3: 'mon esperance' (l. 13), 'ma peine' (l. 14).

As in his translations of Théophile's love lyrics, Cotton generally retains the strong lyric voice, though there are instances where the thematic focus shifts from speaker to lady due to an increased grammatical emphasis on 'you' rather than 'I':

Ingrateful cause of all my harms,
 I go to seek amidst Alarms
 My Death, or Liberty;
 And that's all now I've left to do,
 Since (cruel Fair) in serving you
 I can nor live nor dye. (ll. 1-6)

In line 5 above, where Racan addressed the lady in a less forceful, more abstract way ('Puisqu'en servant vostre beauté'), Cotton addresses her more directly, although here the strong emphasis on 'you' creates an accusing tone rather than a tender tone as has been seen elsewhere.

In line 16, Cotton emphasises 'you' where the original emphasis falls on 'ma vie': 'Vous tenez ma vie enchainée'; 'Tis you that hold my Life enchain'd'; again, this effects a greater sense of reproaching the lady for her coldness.

Racan's final stanza is characterised by a very intense self-awareness and impression of suffering:

Non, non, il faut que je languisse,
 Et qu'en l'excez de mon supplice
 Je montre ma fidelité,
 Ou que la raison m'en delivre,
 Puisqu'en servant vostre beauté
 Je ne puis ny mourir, ny vivre. (ll. 31-36)

While Cotton does retain some sense of the speaker's suffering, the reduced use of personal pronouns and possessive pronouns nevertheless results in an emotionally weaker version:

No, I must languish still unblest,
 And in worst Torments manifest
 My firm Fidelity;
 Or that my Reason set me free,
 Since (Fair) in serving you I see,
 I can nor live nor dye.

The second of Racan's poems to be translated by Cotton, the 'Ode Bachique' beginning 'Maintenant que du Capricorne' (I, pp. 61-65) is, like some of the poems by Théophile and Saint-Amant examined so far, an example of a French lyric poem from the first third of the century in which it seems difficult to separate the speaker in the text from the historical poet, as the whole poem centres on a direct address to an actual person and discusses events which are known to have happened in the life of the historical author. Louis Arnould, in his note on this poem, clearly regards it as a poetic message of solidarity to a friend in distress.³⁸⁷ In the second stanza of his 'Ode Bachique' (*Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 319-22), Cotton retains both the strongly felt 'Je' and the direct personal reference in the opening stanza: 'Je scay, Menard, que les merveilles | Qui naissent de tes longues veilles'; '*Menard*, I know what thou hast writ, | That spritely issue of thy Wit' (ll. 7-8). Cotton does, however, omit the address to Maynard in line 25; 'Beuvons, Menard, à pleine tasse' becomes 'Let us drink brimmers then, Time's fleet'.

6.2.4 Tristan

The vast majority of the verses in Tristan's *La Lyre* and *Les Vers Héroïques* are addressed to specific individuals. As such, they present themselves as sincere expressions of personal feeling and experience. The question of sincerity in Tristan's poetry, particularly the amorous lyrics, has been the subject of considerable critical comment.³⁸⁸ Claude Abraham astutely points out, however, that 'in the seventeenth century, artifice and sincerity were not considered opposites',³⁸⁹ and therefore Tristan's use of artifice should not be considered as automatically exclusive of

³⁸⁷ 'Il a un ami, un condisciple un peu plus âgé de l'école de Malherbe, François Maynard, actuellement président au présidial d'Aurillac, qui, au fond de sa province où son peu de bien le confine la plupart du temps, se travaille à composer des vers quelquefois crus, souvent piquants, avec l'inquiétude de ne point arriver à forcer la renommée: à présent en bon parlementaire, il se fait de la bile contre le Clergé, dans la grande querelle des Etats-Généraux. Alors, au mois de décembre, Racan envoie à Maynard, l'insouciance adressé à l'inquiétude, cette ode pénétrée d'un grand charme volupté épicurien' (Arnould, p. 90).

³⁸⁸ Amédée Carriat has called Tristan 'passionné plus que galant' (p. 90). Phillip Wadsworth regards Tristan's libertine love lyrics, in which Petrarchan concepts are rejected, as sincere and based on the poet's actual experiences, and concedes that 'Even his most artificial pieces are characterised by [...] a kind of emotional frankness'. Phillip Wadsworth, 'Artifice and Sincerity in the Poetry of Tristan L'Hermite', *Modern Language Notes*, 74 (1959), 422-28 (pp. 427-28).

³⁸⁹ Abraham, *Tristan L'Hermite*, p. 31.

sincerity.³⁹⁰ Nevertheless, Abraham seems to me to go too far in asserting that in *Les Plaintes d'Acante*, which, it was discovered in 1937, was written for a patron, 'Tristan, no less a lover than his patron, expressed his own innermost feelings.'³⁹¹ This claim seems to me to be difficult to support merely on internal textual evidence, and assumes that it is necessary to be in love to write love poetry. Similarly, Anne-Elisabeth Spica has claimed that Tristan exploits the pastoral tradition to create a literary space in which his own feelings and experiences can be expressed and explored:

En se reflétant dans le 'miroir enchanté' tristanien, la pastorale et ses figures lexicalisées retrouvent une énergie toute à fait singulière. Entraînées par la dynamique d'écriture qui fait de la pastorale non plus un motif poétique, mais l'espace littéraire propre au poète, elles se transforment en coordonnées d'un imaginaire tristanien dont le héros emblématique permet de rêver la figure du poète.³⁹²

It seems to me that caution is required when arguing, as does Spica, that the shepherd figure in *Les Plaintes d'Acante* can be identified with the historical poet: 'Le complexe de Celadon permet au poète de s'inscrire dans son proper chant' (Spica, p.20). In a recent article, Sandrine Berregard also admits the possibility of identifying the shepherd figure with Tristan.³⁹³ More convincingly, however, Berregard argues that the figure of the melancholic shepherd indulging his sufferings in the solitude of nature is consistent with the literary image which Tristan wanted to create for himself as 'poète mélancolique':

Bien que les personnages mis en scène appartiennent au monde de la fiction, inévitablement ils reflètent une certaine image du poète. [...] Dans son avertissement au lecteur, Tristan fait apparaître cette coïncidence entre réel et imaginaire, et la référence à Ovide joue dans l'établissement de ce lien un rôle essentiel: 'Je m'assure que les honnêtes gens y trouveront au moins des

³⁹⁰ Tristan himself clearly perceived no contradiction between Acante's declarations of intense suffering and the artifice with which they were expressed: 'Et se laissant emporter aux mouvements de son amoureux génie, tâche par toutes sortes d'artifices, de représenter sa passion, et de porter insensiblement sa Sylvie, à faire plus d'état de ses soins.' From the 'Sujet des Plaintes d'Acante' which preceded the poem (III, p. 172).

³⁹¹ Abraham, *Tristan L'Hermite*, p. 32.

³⁹² Anne-Elisabeth Spica, 'Le poète et l'illustre pasteur: la figure mythique de Celadon', *Cahiers Tristan L'Hermite*, 19 (1997), 17-27 (p. 17).

³⁹³ 'Le berger de la pastorale, désespéré par un amour non-partagé, peut en effet apparaître comme la projection de l'écrivain, insatisfait de l'ingratitude de son maître'. Sandrine Berregard, 'Tristan ou l'image d'un poète mélancolique', *Cahiers Tristan L'Hermite*, 24 (2002), 14-29 (p. 15).

choses assez agréables pour avouer que tous les Exilés qui ont écrit d'amour, depuis l'ingénieux Ovide, n'ont pas mieux employé de tristes loisirs'. Ainsi, dès le début de son recueil, l'écrivain construit une image de lui-même, celle d'un poète mélancolique qui, à l'exemple d'Ovide, exprime une double insatisfaction: l'inconfort de l'exil et la souffrance de l'amour. (pp. 22-23)

As will be shown, Tristan's self-creation in *Les Plaintes d'Acante* as a 'poète mélancolique' is not the impression given of the poet and his literary personality in Stanley's adaptation. Melancholy, expressing itself in the text in outpourings of complaint and lament, is universally regarded as one of the most notable features of Tristan's poetry, and especially of his amorous verses. As Catherine Grisé expresses it, 'Comme dans toute poésie amoureuse la tristesse, les ennuis, et les plaintes abondent dans la poésie amoureuse de Tristan. Assez souvent ces souffrances sont liées explicitement à la mélancolie.'³⁹⁴ Stéphane Bouttet has commented on the relationship between the first person speaker and the expression of melancholy in mannerist poetry:

Signalant une dissociation de l'unité du sujet, elle structure des œuvres écrites à la première personne, mettant en avant, dans une forme antithétique, et avec une tendance à l'oxymoron, un moi solitaire, envahi par des fantasmes de mort prenant volontiers la forme de visions d'enfer, et associant son déséquilibre humoral à un déséquilibre cosmique.³⁹⁵

Bouttet goes on to remark that early seventeenth-century French love lyrics written in the Petrarchan mode are characterised by the expression of the lover's suffering, to the exclusion of any other viewpoint or the feelings of the object of the speaker's affections:

Jusqu'à la fin des années 1630, la mélancolie amoureuse résume l'expérience complaisante des souffrances de l'âme. Le monologue de la plainte se mue en un dialogue destiné à ébranler ou à persuader l'interlocuteur. Mais l'appréhension de soi et de l'autre par le biais de la seule souffrance de l'âme aimante, qui détermine la poétique néo-pétrarquiste à ce moment (16), est par

³⁹⁴ Catherine Grisé, 'Tristan l'Hermitte, poète Saturnien', *Cahiers Tristan L'Hermitte*, 9 (1987), 19-25 (p. 19).

³⁹⁵ Stéphane Bouttet, 'De l'inquiétude à la sagesse: mélancolie et création poétique', *Cahiers Tristan L'Hermitte*, 9 (1987), 12-18 (p. 13).

définition infinie. La fixation sur la seule mélancolie amoureuse menace le moi d'enfermement. (p. 14)³⁹⁶

This point can be applied to the amorous verses by Théophile and Racan already examined in this chapter, as well as to the conventional love lyrics of Tristan. In an illuminating article, Yvonne Bellenger has further examined the function of women in Tristan's amorous lyrics, demonstrating that their role is only ever permitted to be that of addressee or object. The female addressee is, contrary to Tristan's male addressees, never addressed by her actual name (titles such as 'Reine' or Petrarchan pseudonyms being used instead) and is therefore denied a 'real' existence in the text. The female object of the speaker's affections and sufferings, despite her substantial presence in Tristan's love lyrics,³⁹⁷ remains nevertheless merely an object, and is never given a voice within the poem or allowed to become its subject.³⁹⁸ Before embarking on a discussion of how the rendering of 'je' affects the relationship between speaker and object / addressee in English translations of Tristan, it seems helpful to give some concrete examples of how the grammatical use of the first-person pronoun contributes to the creation of lovers / speakers characterised by extreme self-absorption and melancholy in Tristan's poetry. The lover's entire absorption with self to the exclusion of any presentation of the lady's emotions or experiences is again frequently created by the placing of 'je' at the beginning of the line as the subject of an active verb:

Je perds pour trop aimer l'usage du sommeil.
Je goute peu de joie avec beaucoup de peine.
(‘Les Travaux inutiles’, *Les Amours*, II, p. 82, ll. 1-2)

In ‘Les Secrètes consolations’ (*Les Amours*, II, pp. 69-70), the lady is mentioned only in passing, while the speaker is both the *subject*, the voice expressing suffering at the hands of the lady, and the *object* of that suffering:

Je dépite l'envie, et les traits qu'elle tire,
Ma constance et ma foi bravent sa cruauté;

³⁹⁶ Bouttet refers to Bernard Groethuysen's *Anthropologie philosophique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1952), which discusses Petrarch's presentation of a speaker whose soul revels in its own experiences and sufferings.

³⁹⁷ Yvonne Bellenger, ‘L “Objet” amoureux dans la poésie de Tristan’, *Cahiers Tristan L’Hermite*, 5 (1983), 8-17 (p.15).

³⁹⁸ Bellenger, pp. 9-17.

Et par quelques rigueurs dont je sois tourmenté,
La palme glorieuse est jointe à mon martyre. (ll. 5-8)

The speaker's obsession with self is reflected in the repetition of the possessive pronoun in the second line quoted above.

As noted in chapter 4, the reduced sense of suffering is one of the principal features of Stanley's adaptation of 'La Plainte d'Acante'. Where Stanley does not completely remove passages of complaint and lament, a less frequently-occurring and more passive lyric voice still results in a greatly reduced sense of self-awareness and personal anguish. In the following line, 'je' is the subject of a verb of emotional indulgence, and is juxtaposed with a possessive pronoun and an emotion: 'Où souvent en secret j'entretiens ma tristesse' (l. 58). In Stanley's translation, in which the shepherd's awareness of his own pain is greatly reduced, the woods, rather than Acanthus, are the subject of the verb: 'The other day, in yonder den, | Which with my woes doth oft resound' (ll. 49-50). In the following lines, the use of reflexive verbs and possessive pronouns relating to personal emotion result in a strong sense of the speaker's preoccupation with his inner thoughts and sufferings: 'Je me plains du coup qui me tue: | Tout cesse en l'Univers, mais mon mal continue | Et la rigueur de mon destin | Ne se modère point le soir ni le matin' (ll. 312-315). By contrast, Stanley's speaker seems detached from his inner self, and the original outpourings are reduced to 'My early griefs rise with the light, | Encreasing with the shades of Night' (ll. 107-108). A technique frequently used by Stanley and by other English translators to weaken the strong French lyric voice is to reduce a double grammatical occurrence of the personal pronoun in a line to a single occurrence: 'Il ne m'en reste qu'un, que je veux vous offrir' (l. 64); 'One that's left, for Thee I keep' (l. 55). It will be noted that again, where in the original the emphasis is given to 'je' and an active verb, in Stanley's version the emphasis falls on the addressee, 'thee', creating a greater impression of tender affection towards the lady. Tristan's shepherd does address the lady directly, but only as a pretext to expressing and indulging his own emotions:

Si vostre coeur s'obstine avecque tant de haine
A ne m'accorder jamais rien,
Puis-je pas protester que je n'ay point de bien? (ll. 306-308)

In Stanley's version of these lines the reverse seems true: 'I' seems to be the pretext for referring to the lady, while 'thine' receives a strong emphasis at the end of the line:

How can I call these riches mine,
When ev'n myself, alas! Am thine? (ll. 101-102)

Tristan often uses multiple nouns or adjectives to create the sense that Acante is pouring out his woes, as in the following passage:

Que me sert-il d'avoir tant de fruits assemblés,
Tant de chèvres, de boeufs & de troupeaux à laine,
Et d'être possesseur des raisins & des blés,
De ces monts et de cette plaine? (ll. 302-305)

According to Stanley's modern editor, his version 'attains a moving simplicity entirely lacking in the banal statement of the French' (*Poems and Translations*, 1962, p. xl):

But foolishly I glory in
My trees, though they of fruit be full:
Or by my flocks esteem would win,
Though they abound in Milk and Wool. (ll. 97-100)

Stanley achieves a plaintive tone in the first two lines, aided by the use of enjambement, although overall his neatness of expression may be said to undermine the sense of deep suffering in the original. Stanley's shepherd is much less absorbed with his own feelings than Tristan's. The French poet constantly emphasises Acante's emotional fragility; he is unable to control his thoughts: 'De l'esprit & du corps, errant de tous côtés' (l. 323). The word 'excès', referring to Acante's emotions, recurs throughout Tristan's poem and is ignored by Stanley, as are the scenes in which the shepherd contemplates suicide and imagines himself eating the heart of an imaginary rival. Tristan's lovers frequently imagine their own suicide ('Me nourrissant toujours d'un si cruel poison | Que pour m'en délivrer je cherche un précipice', 'Plainte à l'amour', ll. 7-8), a trait which intermingles Petrarchan convention with melancholy and scenes of horror.

It was seen in chapter 4 that Stanley's adaptation of Tristan's 'Le Bracelet' adjusts both the original tone and argument; Stanley lightens the tone and his lover hints at a desire to be free where the original lover gloried rapturously in the suffering caused by unrequited love. Tristan's lover is characterised by a strong absorption with his own feelings, created by frequent use of the personal pronoun and possessive adjectives. This is particularly true of the second stanza, which Stanley omitted:

Cette chère faveur que je n'osois prétendre,
 Rendra de mon destin les dieux mêmes jaloux;
 Voyant qu'un feu si doux
 Se trouve accompagné d'une si belle cendre. (ll. 5-8)

Again, Stanley's weakening of the sense of self contributes to a considerably reduced sense of the lover's suffering. In the final stanza, Stanley's focus is on the lady and her hair, reflected in the increased use of 'her' and 'she', where the original speaker focuses on his own feelings and reactions to being enslaved:

Ô cieux! Ma servitude est tellement plaisante,
 Que comparant les fers où je suis arrêté
 A quelque Royauté,
 J'estime une couronne importune et pesante. (ll. 13-16)

Cruel each part of her is grown,
 Nor lesse unkinde then She
 These fetters are to Me,
 Which to restrain my Freedome, lose their own. (ll. 9-12)

6.2.5 Voiture

I am unaware of suggestions that any of the love lyrics by Voiture translated in Caroline England refers to an actual person or a real love affair. Voiture's serious love poems are characterised by a very frequent grammatical occurrence of 'je', through which the speaker looks inwardly at his own sufferings and emotions. The speaker in 'Elégie II' (I, pp. 13-23) communicates an intense awareness of, and indulgence in, his own pleasure and pain: 'Plein d'une joye, et d'un repos extremes, | Il me semble n'estre plus qu'à moy mesme' (ll. 61-62). The speaker frequently analyses his own emotions and actions in his pursuit of the lady, such as in the following lines where

his obsession with self is communicated through the repetition of 'je' at the head of each line:

J'avois réglé ma crainte, et mes desirs,
Je n'avois plus de facheuses pensées,
Je me riois de mes erreurs passées. (ll. 68-70)

In lines 99-101, 'je' occurs repeatedly, as the subject of verbs relating to love:

J'ay soupiré, j'ay prié, j'ay pressé,
Je me feignis languissant et blessé;
Je luy juray que je mourrois pour elle.

The lady is never permitted to be the subject of a sentence; her act of listening to the lover is expressed in a passive form of which *he* is the subject: 'Enfin, je fus escouté doucement' (l. 119). In 'Stances III' (I, pp. 24-25), the speaker's focus on self is communicated through the repetition of possessive adjectives relating to his own emotions and behaviour: 'Qu'est-il besoin de cette preuve, | Pour vous monstrier que ma langueur | Et que ma constance est extreme?' (ll. 6-8). The speaker does address the lady frequently as 'vous', appropriately enough as he is trying to persuade and question her, and there is a brief focus in the second stanza on her beauty, but the speaker's presence and emotions nevertheless dominate, and each stanza ends with a reference to himself in the refrain 'Si vous m'avez touché le coeur.'

As noted in chapter 4, Etherege's translation of 'Uranie' weakens the sense of the lover's suffering; again, this is achieved through the weakening of the lyric voice, which is strong in the original poem. Sophie Rollin observes that 'La femme est nommée à deux reprises, mais elle est évacuée hors du champ du discours. Voiture la qualifie d' "aimable et belle" sans s'attarder sur sa beauté. Le sonnet est dévolu à l'expression du moi; des marques de la première personne apparaissent dans douze vers sur quatorze' (*Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, p. 179). Rollin concludes, however, that 'Bien que le registre lyrique domine dans le "sonnet d'Uranie", le poète est finalement moins tourné vers lui-même que vers le lecteur: le travail stylistique ne se cristallise pas sur l'expression des sentiments personnels, mais sur la création d'un charme capable de séduire' (*Le Style de Vincent Voiture*, p. 181). In Voiture's opening stanza, the lady is mentioned only as the pretext for the lover's obsession with his own thoughts and emotions:

Il faut finir mes jours en l'amour d'Uranie,
 L'absence ni le temps ne m'en sçauroient guerir,
 Et je ne voy plus rien qui me pût secourir,
 Ni qui sçeust r'appeler ma liberté bannie.

In Etherege's adaptation, the lover's reference to self in the second line is replaced with a reference to the lady's eyes. In the third and fourth lines, where the repeated use of the personal pronoun turns the speaker's perspective inwards, Etherege's speaker refers to himself in the third person, thus stepping outside of himself and creating a greater detachment between the speaker and his emotions:

Hopeless I languish out my days,
 Struck with Urania's conquering eyes;
 The wretch at whom she darts these rays
 Must feel the wound until he dies.

In the first line of the second stanza, Etherege removes the original interjection of 'je', again resulting in a greater focus on the lady rather than the speaker: 'Des Long-temps je connois sa rigueur infinie' (l. 5); 'Though endless be her cruelty' (l. 5). Etherege's change in focus from speaker to addressee is summed up in the final line; Etherege ends with the lady's eyes where Voiture ended with the speaker's feelings: 'Et m'y r'engage plus que ne font tous mes sens' (l.14); 'Confirms the conquest of her eyes' (l. 16).

It was noted in chapter 4 that Voiture's 'Chanson XXV', beginning 'L'Amour sous sa loy' opens with the expression of Neo-Petrarchan sentiments before these are comically overturned. Consistent with the expression of Neo-Petrarchan sentiments the speaker seems obsessed with himself; obsession with self is conveyed through a striking number of lines beginning with 'je', a structural feature of the poem which is not retained by Dryden. Dryden's speaker is still conscious of his own suffering, but the removal of 'je' at the beginning of the sentence nevertheless results in a weaker sense of self: 'Je me meurs de langueur' | J'ay le feu dans le coeur', (ll. 9-10); 'From my heart still I sigh | And my Eyes are ne'er dry' (ll. 181-82). In his rendering of part of Voiture's fourth stanza, in which the lyric voice is very strong, Dryden replaces the original inner reflections with a romantic and somewhat silly comment on the pleasant pain of unrequited love: 'A tous ses martyrs | L'Amour donne en leurs maux de

secrets plaisirs (ll. 19-20); ‘Such a pretty soft pain | That it tickles each vein’ (ll. 187-88). Similarly, Dryden replaces the speaker’s inner musings on his own pain in the original seventh stanza with courtly lines praising the lady’s smile: ‘Je maudis sa rigueur, | Mais au fond de mon cœur | J’en suis amoureux’ (ll. 39-41); ‘But streight a sweet smile / Does my anger beguile’ (ll. 193-94).

6.2.6 Scudéry

It was observed in chapter 4 that while the novel *Almahide*, from which Katherine Philips adapted a pastoral poem, is now thought to have been written by Madelaine de Scudéry, there is a possibility that the poem itself may have been written by Georges. It is interesting that the use of the lyric voice in this poem resembles its use in Georges de Scudéry’s poetry. Scudéry’s lyric poetry is not characterised by an omnipresent and constantly interjecting ‘je’ to the same extent as the lyric verse of Théophile, Saint-Amant or Racan. Indeed, in some of Scudéry’s poems ‘je’ is entirely absent; see ‘sonnet II’, for example (*Poésies diverses*, I, pp. 43-44). In other poems ‘je’ occurs only once or twice and only in one stanza. In ‘Sonnet IV’ (I, p. 45) the self interjects grammatically only in the first quatrain, and the speaker’s reaction to the river serves only as a pretext for the description which follows:

Ce Serpent de Cristal, qui traverse la Plaine;
 Qui porte la richesse en plus d’une Maison;
 Estonne mon esprit, et suspend ma raison;
 Et son cours incertain, rend mon ame incertaine. (ll. 1-4)

In Scudéry’s conventional love lyrics, the emphasis is frequently on the object | lady rather than on the speaker’s own feelings and reactions, and ‘tu’ occurs much more frequently than ‘je’; see particularly ‘sonnet XVII’ (I, p. 54). There are very few poems by Scudéry in which the lyric voice occurs with any real frequency, and where the speaker expresses and indulges in his own feelings with little reference to the object of his affections. A notable exception is ‘Sonnet XXII’ (I, pp. 57-58), in which ‘je’ occurs frequently, both at the beginning and in the middle of lines, and there is a strong sense of the speaker’s concern with his own thoughts and feelings:

Helas, que dois-je faire, en l’estat où je suis?

Il le faut; je le dois; et pourtant je ne puis;
De quelque vain discours, que l'espoir me console. (ll. 9-11)

While there is often a greater emphasis on the lady than the speaker in Scudéry's love lyrics, descriptions of the lady are nevertheless frequently channelled through the speaker's act of seeing. The thematic emphasis in Scudéry's love poems is frequently on the lover observing the lady, and the speaker makes us aware of his own presence and observation by the interjection of 'je voy': 'Sous ces arbres touffus, je voy venir Silvie' ('Sonnet XLVI', I, p. 75, 2). In the sonnets on Petrarch and Laura, the focus is on the protagonists, but their descriptions and actions are nevertheless given through the speaker's act of seeing: 'Sans doute je le voy, cet Amant si vanté' ('Sonnet IX', I, p. 48, l. 5).

Many of these features are present in the pastoral poem from *Almahide*. The frequent use of 'nous' results in an emphasis on shepherd and shepherdess being together in nature. The rhetorical stance adopted by the speaker is one of imploring the lady; this accounts for the frequent use of 'tu'. The speaker frequently communicates his presence in the text, and addresses the lady directly, often in the form of imperatives. He seeks to instruct her in the correct response to his own advances through commanding her to observe amorous relations in the natural world: 'Entends ces voix innocentes, | Des Aigneaux tout innocens' (ll. 49-50). There are few instances where the personal pronoun is used repeatedly with reference to the speaker's own actions or feelings, and where the speaker thus focuses inwardly on his own emotions. The most notable exception occurs in lines 121-124:

Mon coeur en bondit de joie;
Il succombe à cét effort;
Mais pourveu que je la voye
Je meurs d'une douce mort.

The speaker's focus is frequently on the lady and on the natural landscape, and both are often described without any interjection of 'je'. Nevertheless, Scudéry's poem is still characterised by a strong self-awareness, and 'je' frequently has a structuring function within the text. Particularly, the use of 'je voy' ensures that presentations of both lady and landscape are focalised through the speaker's act of seeing: 'O Dieu je la voy paraistre | Tout brillante d'appas!' (ll. 113-114). In her version of these lines, Philips removes the speaker's act of observation, although, as in her translation of *La*

Solitude, the speaker's presence and delight are still communicated through the use of an exclamation mark: 'She comes! From far, ye Lovely Mayd | Is by her shining charms betray'd' (ll. 113-114). In her version of lines 123-24 (of which the French is quoted above), Philips replaces the original active sentence with a passive reference to seeing the lady, and replaces the speaker's active reference to his own 'death' with a conditional; both changes result in a reduced self-awareness: 'But in her sight to yield my breath, | Would be an acceptable Death' (ll. 123-124). In Scudéry's opening stanza, 'je voy', placed at the end of a line, ensures that the speaker's attention turns inwardly to himself, and there is no mention of *what* he sees: 'Viens revoir ce que je voy' (l. 2). Philips, by contrast, turns the speaker's attention outwards through a direct reference to the landscape: 'With me again ye fields survey' (l. 2). Although the original obviously contains an invitation to the lady to join the shepherd in nature, Philips's insertion of 'With me' increases the sense of the shepherd's desire to be together with the lady. In stanzas 24-26, the shepherd refers to himself in the third person. The phrase 'Il t'apporte' opens each of these stanzas, and thus serves a structuring function by which the shepherd simultaneously communicates self-awareness and tries to convince the shepherdess of his faithfulness. 'Il t'apporte' is removed entirely from Philips's version. In stanza 25, 'Il t'apporte' is replaced with a tender reference to the lady, in which the emphasis falls on 'thee': 'Il t'apporte une Guirlande' (l. 97); 'A Garland too, for thee hath stay'd' (l. 97). Like the examples which were given in chapter 4, here again the increased emphasis on the addressee rather than the speaker results in a greater tenderness towards the lady. Even when Philips retains the first person speaker and active verb, the emphasis falls on the addressee: 'Je t'apporte une Houlette' (l. 85); 'I have for thee a sheephook brought' (l. 85).

In her translation of the following lines, another rare instance in which Scudéry makes repeated use of the personal pronoun, and also a reflexive verb, Philips uses the second person pronoun to create a tender emphasis on the lady:

Tout autre Objet m'importune
 Lors que je me trouve icy:
 Et Venus & la Fortune
 M'importuneroient aussi. (ll. 109-112)

What ever company were nigh,
 Would tedious be, when thou art by,

Venus & Fortune would to me
 Be troublesom, if I had Thee. (ll. 109-112)

In the second and fourth lines quoted above, where Scudéry's shepherd turns inwardly to himself, Philips's turns his attention to the lady, addressing her directly as 'thou' and 'thee'. The result is a greater impression than that in the original of the shepherd's affection for the lady and a greater sense of him delighting in the lady's company.

The frequently-occurring and dominant lyric voice present in much seventeenth-century French lyric poetry contributes to its intensely personal nature, and is also essential in forming the persona created within the text, and thus in forming the author's desired literary self-presentation. The strong self-awareness results in speakers who are self-obsessed; usually this self-obsession is focussed on the suffering caused by unrequited love or the process of artistic creation. In the work of some poets, notably Tristan and Théophile, the strong lyric voice, closely linked with a discourse of suffering, is central to their literary self-creation as melancholic and negative. For Théophile and Saint-Amant, the strong lyric voice contributes to their self-presentation as confident literary personalities. The weakening of the lyric voice in contemporary English translation often removes the problem of associating the 'je' in the text from the poem's historical author. It also conforms to the English tendency to present universal rather than individual experience, and allows for the creation of a new persona, one which conforms to the desired literary self-presentation of the translator rather than that of the poem's original author.

Chapter 7

The English Translation of Some Aspects of French Prosody

7.1 Introduction

This study has so far concentrated principally on how some of the thematic aspects of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry are dealt with by English translators during the Caroline period. This chapter will focus primarily on the ways in which translators approach some of the stylistic aspects of seventeenth-century French poetry. Translators' treatment of versification and poetic language will be examined in the context of wider prosodic and linguistic developments in both France and England during the seventeenth century. It will be seen that in both countries the development of poetic language and prosody is related to wider literary and cultural tendencies. The chapter will examine the treatment of French imagery and descriptive language, rhyme and line length, and finally the treatment of the sonnet form.

7.2 The Translation of Imagery and Descriptive Language

The use of imagery and descriptive language in seventeenth-century French poetry, like all of its other aspects, was affected by the development of the 'classicising' aesthetic. This section will consider two of the effects of 'classicing' notions on the use of descriptive language in seventeenth-century French poetry; these are the increasing tendencies towards abstract rather than precise description, and the use of simple, plain, rather than highly decorative, images. These were part of the wider classicising principles of refinement and avoidance of excess which have been referred to already in this study. It was seen in chapter 3 that abstraction, rather than detail and precision, was essential in keeping within normally accepted boundaries of decency in literature on sex-related or potentially suggestive themes. The same principle applied more generally to the use of abstract rather than precise description. Classical grammarians did not consider realistic vocabulary and references to natural processes sufficiently refined and elevated: 'La nature ne donne pas la délicatesse et la

dernière perfection aux choses qu'elle produit; elle laisse faire cela aux arts.'³⁹⁹ They thus rejected the concrete, realistic expressions and precise terminology which had occurred frequently in the work of the *Pléiade* poets, particularly in descriptions of nature and rural life. In the work of Ronsard, 'La nature, les bêtes, les végétaux sont peints avec les mots vrais et précis.'⁴⁰⁰ Henri Estienne's *Précurrence* presents the argument 'qu'une des supériorités du français est de posséder en abondance des mots artisans, qui non seulement ont un emploi métaphorique, mais qui valent par eux-mêmes, car "les autres nations ne sont pas semblablement fournies de mots nécessaires pour exprimer tout ce qui appartient aux mestiers."⁴⁰¹ Whereas the *Pléiade* poet 'devait être médecin et anatomiste',⁴⁰² Malherbe and the classical grammarians who followed him criticised the use of technical and scientific vocabulary.⁴⁰³ Malherbe considered the medical and anatomical vocabulary prevalent in such works as Du Bartas's *Première Semaine* contrary to *bienséance*.⁴⁰⁴ Jean Abramovici is critical of this avoidance of precise and realistic expressions:

A censurer tout mot *bas*, toute expression trop réaliste (termes d'arts et de métier), on se privait de surcroît de la partie la plus vivante de la langue, pour ne parler plus qu'un jargon intellectuel et abstrait, indifférent à la réalité de l'usage.⁴⁰⁵

Closely linked to the requirement for abstract as opposed to precise and realistic expression was the rejection of excessively decorative and hyperbolic language in favour of simple, conventional images and unadorned description.⁴⁰⁶ It was seen in chapter 1 that the French interpretation of the concept of 'nature', a central feature of the developing 'classicising' aesthetic, meant 'nature' which was to be limited within normally accepted boundaries of refinement, reason, and commonsense. Poetic imagination needed to be similarly limited and controlled by classicising 'rules' and reason:

³⁹⁹ Dominique Bouhours, *Les Entretien d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, ed. by René Radouant (Paris: Bossard, 1920), p. 76.

⁴⁰⁰ Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, III, p. 185.

⁴⁰¹ Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, III, p. 186.

⁴⁰² Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, III, p. 188.

⁴⁰³ See also chapter 10 of Ferdinand Brunot's *La Doctrine de Malherbe* (Paris: Masson, 1891).

⁴⁰⁴ Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, III, p. 188.

⁴⁰⁵ Abramovici, *Obscénité et classicisme*, p. 75.

⁴⁰⁶ Fukui's *Raffinement précieux dans la poésie française du XVIIe siècle* traces the increasing tendency towards abstraction and rejection of the hyperbolic imagery characteristic of the *Pléiade* and baroque poets within the context of the purification of the French language and the emergence of classicising ideals.

Architectes de l'abstrait, les théoriciens du classicisme français n'eurent plus qu'à projeter cette matière dans un montage rigoureux, organisé, dirons-nous pour faire simple, autour de deux pôles: celui de l'objet (la nature imitée) et celui du sujet (le poète inspiré). De ce côté-ci, d'abord, trois notions fondamentales: le génie, les règles et la raison. Don inné, promesse de fécondité généreuse et spontanée mais désordonnée, irrégulière et immaîtrisée, le génie doit être contrôlé et canalisé par le métier, fruit de la pratique (l'art) et du savoir (la science). (D'Andrey, 'Les deux esthétiques', p. 150)

Limiting poetic imagination involved curbing the employment of excessively decorative imagery. The use of complex, adorned images was criticised by Malherbe and by the classical grammarians who followed him. It should be noted that Malherbe's attempts, after his arrival at court in 1605, to purify the French language, as spoken at court and used in literature, of the hyperbolic and ornamental imagery which had been characteristic of the poets of the *Pléiade*, did not originate with him but cemented work already started by court poets such as Bertaut, Du Perron and Desportes.⁴⁰⁷ In contrast to the lyric poets of the sixteenth century, who sought to increase the capacities of the French language for rich description and abundant imagery, Malherbe sought to reduce the language in order to avoid these, and to limit poetic language to plain descriptions and a prescribed set of conventional images: 'Ses prédécesseurs avaient déclaré la langue pauvre et cherché à l'amplifier; il la juge, lui, assez et même trop riche, et s'étudie à l'épurer.'⁴⁰⁸ This demand for understated images and relatively abstract, unadorned vocabulary was by no means adopted by all of the poets writing at the same time as, and slightly later than, Malherbe. Gradually, however, though there were of course exceptions, the plain, restrained images advocated by Malherbe and by later classical grammarians became the accepted form of poetic description in seventeenth-century France.⁴⁰⁹

The situation in seventeenth-century England regarding the use of decorative language is somewhat more complex than that in France. While there was some evidence of discontent with the use of hyperbolic rather than plain language in the first half of the seventeenth century,⁴¹⁰ Restoration criticism was 'the first reasoned

⁴⁰⁷ Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, III, pp. 1-3.

⁴⁰⁸ Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, III, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁹ Bouhours's *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, for example, praised the writers of Port-Royal, who, in their version of *L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*, had succeeded in avoiding 'la plus grande et la plus punissable de toutes les hardiesses' which had characterised their earlier work (p. 130).

⁴¹⁰ See Herbert's 'Jordan' poems.

attempt to lay down principles of evaluation and to define standards of literary excellence.⁴¹¹ As noted in chapter 1, neo-classical doctrines and practices were introduced into seventeenth-century England through French literary criticism. French critical texts produced from the 1630s onwards, including La Mesnardière's *Poétique* (1639) and d'Aubignac's *La Pratique du théâtre* (1657) made Aristotelian theories relating to the strict boundaries which should govern poetic expression accessible to the unscholarly Englishman.⁴¹² As mentioned in chapter 1, even when neo-classical principles were not directly opposed, English tastes required some degree of freedom in the application of the rules, and the retention of some space for individual creativity within the bounds of critical theory. Some of the same poets, notably Dryden, who advocated adherence to neo-classical rules and principles, later recognised the limitations which arose from the rejection of figurative language in poetry:

Poets, however, soon felt that to distrust figurative language was to strike at the very root of poetry. Dryden more than once contended that poetry beautifies and therefore must have recourse to such embellishments as figures of style, or that poetry is not bound to adhere too closely to actual nature, and therefore may employ figures to elevate or warm the heart. Gradually, as the fanatics' jargon began to be forgotten, it was taken for granted not only that figurative language is acceptable in poetry but that it constitutes its main beauty. Epic poetry required that the style be both perspicuous and sublime; metaphors were the best means of raising the language, and Aristotle had sanctioned their use. Beauties-and-defects criticism mostly concentrated on the poet's use of figures; though these were generally treated as mere decoration, some poets and critics saw that metaphor is the proper language of poetry. [...] Usually, metaphors and similes were praised for being "speaking pictures"; as such they were particularly apt in descriptions, where their use was amply justified by the current interpretation of Horace's *ut pictura poesis*. (Simon, p. 43)

Ut pictura poesis was widely advocated in English criticism during the second half of the seventeenth century,⁴¹³ though the trend had begun earlier.⁴¹⁴ Robert Wolseley's comment in the 'Preface to *Valentinian*' is particularly representative:

⁴¹¹ Simon, *Neo-Classical Criticism 1660-1800*, p. 10.

⁴¹² Simon, p. 10. Simon notes that Sidney and Jonson were already familiar with the work of Renaissance scholars who, 'with Horace as their guide', had elaborated Aristotelian theories.

⁴¹³ See Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), and Jeffrey B. Spencer, *Heroic Nature: Ideal Landscape in English Poetry from Marvell to Thompson* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973).

⁴¹⁴ Sidney had used *ut pictura poesis* to emphasise the didactic function of poetry: 'Poesy therefore is an art of imitation [...] that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth – to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture – with this end to teach and delight'. Phillip Sidney, *The Defence of Poetry*, ed. by Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford: OUP, 1966, repr. 1975), p. 25.

'There are no two things in the world that have a nearer affinity and resemblance than Poetry and Painting; the Parallel between 'em runs throughout; every Body knows the old Adage That Poetry is *Pictura loquens* and Painting is *Poema silens*; that paints with Words and this speaks by Colours'.⁴¹⁵ One of the most influential statements of the *ut pictura poesis* formula in seventeenth-century England was Dryden's translation into English prose of Alphonse Dufresny's Latin poem 'De arte graphica', of which the original 'embodies *ut pictura poesis* in a form more codified and doctrinaire than in earlier expressions.'⁴¹⁶ Jean H. Hagstrum comments that 'It is quite remarkable how much attention the English paid the French critic', noting further translations of 'De arte graphica' by Defoe in 1720, Wright in 1728 and Wells in 1765 (p. 175).

French poetry was criticised in late seventeenth-century England for its plain descriptions, which seem to be perceived as mundane: 'The French are so far from thinking abstrusely that they often seem not to think at all. It is all a run of numbers, common-place descriptions of woods, floods, groves, loves etc. Those who write the most accurately fall into the manner of their country; which is Gallantry.'⁴¹⁷

Modern translators and linguists observe that the inherently abstract nature of the French language, as opposed to the tendency of the English language towards precise, detailed description, is a factor which must be taken into account when translating between the two languages.⁴¹⁸

Both to satisfy their own tastes and the expectations of English readers, while at the same time conforming, willingly or otherwise, to the inherent linguistic structure of their own language, English translators almost invariably replaced abstractions and undecorative imagery in their source poems with precise references and more vibrant images. One technique frequently used to achieve this was to place a greater emphasis on sight and presenting the reader with visual pictures. In the early eighteenth century, Joseph Addison, in his series of essays in *The Spectator* on 'Taste and the Pleasures of the Imagination', 'repeats the ancient notion that sight is the greatest of the senses' (Hagstrum, p. 136), and his 'aesthetic system retains the old associations of literary *enargeia* with the rendition of particular, visible, nature'

⁴¹⁵ J. E. Spingarn, ed., *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908, repr. 1957), III, pp. 16-17.

⁴¹⁶ Hagstrum, p. 174.

⁴¹⁷ Wollestein, p. 58, quoted from *The Guardian*, No. 28, April 13, 1713.

⁴¹⁸ See Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English*, pp. 51-58.

(Hagstrum, p. 137). English translations of French lyric poetry both during the Caroline period and throughout the seventeenth century tend much more than their originals to create precise, visual pictures.⁴¹⁹ Notable examples can be found in Katherine Philips's translations from French poetry. Philips's description of the ancient trees in her translation of *La Solitude* places a far greater emphasis on sight than the original: 'Estre encore aussi beaux, & vers, | Qu'aux premiers jours de l'univers' (ll. 9-10); 'To look to day as fresh, & green | As when their beauty's first were seen' (ll. 9-10). The opening stanza of Philips's translation from Corneille's *Paraphrase de l'imitation de Jésus-Christ* is similarly more visual and descriptive: 'marcher dans ta route | Et les jours, & les nuits' (ll. 3-4); 'And in thy pleasant paths will goe | When ye Sun shines, or disappears' (ll. 3-4). It was seen in the previous chapter that in the opening stanza of her adaptation of the pastoral poem from Scudéry's *Almahide*, Philips's shepherd refers to the fields specifically where Scudéry's merely refers to 'ce que je voy':

Parasseuse, mensongère,
Viens revoir ce que je voy;
Ne dors plus, belle Bergere,
Si tu ne songes à moy. (ll. 1-4)

Slothfull deceiver, come away,
With me again ye fields survey.
And sleep no more, unless it be
My Fortune thou should'st dream of me. (ll. 1-4)

Where Scudéry refers to the landscape only vaguely, focussing instead on the speaker, Philips's translation presents a physical object (the fields) to the reader's view and outlines a visual picture. It could be argued that the original is both illogical and deliberately obscure in referring to sight without specifying *what* is seen or creating a visual image. Scudéry does, however, present colourful descriptions of the landscape from the second stanza onwards.

Philips reveals a similar inclination for specifying details in her description of the trees in stanza 11 of 'Solitude'. Where Saint-Amant refers vaguely to 'chiffres' (l.

⁴¹⁹ Increased 'visuality' is a frequently-occurring feature of William Drummond's imitations of French poetry at the beginning of the seventeenth century. His 'Translation on the death of a sparrow, out of Passerat', for example, includes the phrases 'salt showers' and 'blubbered eyes'. William Drummond, *The Poetical Works of Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. by L. E. Kastner, 2 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1913), II, p. 212. Passerat's original poem can be found on pages 385-86 of the same edition.

104), Philips specifies that what was written on the bark were lovers' engravings: 'Icy, l'âge a presque éffacé | Des chiffres taillez sur les arbres' (ll. 103-04); 'There age hath almost quite defac'd, | What Lovers carv'd on every Tree' (ll. 103-04).

Similarly, in 'Acanthus' Complaint', Thomas Stanley replaces Tristan's abstract lines by vivid, visual images: 'Après que par ses yeux, son Coeur se fut purgé | De l'humeur qui tenoit ses puissances contraintes' (ll. 8-9); 'When by those briny streams, his eyes | Had given his heart a little vent' (ll. 7-8). In his translation of Théophile's 'Elégie XV', Cotton replaces an abstract description with strongly visual hyperbole: 'Et que je suis tombé par un coup de tonnerre | Du plus haut lieu du ciel au plus bas de la terre'; 'And that from Heaven with Thunder wrapt in Flame | To th' Centre I precipitated am' (ll. 35-36). Similarly, in his translation of Racan's 'Ingrate cause de mes larmes', 'Bloody Fields' (l. 25) provides both a more visual and more specific alternative to 'les hazards de la guerre'.

Like other mid-century English translators of seventeenth-century French poetry, Cotton reveals an ambivalent attitude towards the use of highly-imaged language in his original poetry. His lyrics contain both almost prosaic descriptions, in which he employs plain vocabulary, and rich, luxuriant imagery. His descriptions in 'The Retirement', for example, are simple and undecorative: 'Good God! How sweet are all things here! | How beautiful the fields appear!' (ll. 8-9). In 'The Angler's Ballad', the unadorned vocabulary contributes to the impression of simple delight in countryside pleasures: 'The day's not too bright, | And the wind hits us right'. (ll. 37-38). Elsewhere, however, Cotton's descriptions are extremely visual and highly-imaged:

Under the black cliff's spumy base,
The sea-sick hulk her freight displays,
And as she walloweth on the sand,
Vomits her burthen to the land. ('Winter', ll. 61-64)

As well as being more decorative, natural descriptions are invariably more energetic in English translation. This is frequently achieved through giving nature an active function rather than a passive one, such as the following lines from Philips's adaptation from Scudéry: 'Dont la belle onde est versée | Sur les Joncs, & sur les Gais'; 'Whose sportfull wave does swell & spread, | And is on flags, & rushes shed'

(ll.157-58).⁴²⁰ In his translation of Théophile's 'Stances XXIX', Charles Cotton creates a more dynamic image by effecting an action where the original simply describes a state: 'Une Naiade dedans l'eau' (l. 22); 'And Naiads when in Flouds they play' (l. 22). Nature similarly assumes an active rather than a passive role in the fourth stanza of Cotton's translation of Cramail's 'La Nuit': 'Fais que dans l'horreur effroyable | De l'ombre et de l'obscurité'; 'Grant, in this horroure of the Skies, | This dreadfull shade thy Curtain draws' (ll. 5-6). In the sixth stanza Cotton replaces an abstract verb with a more precise verb phrase which is both more visual and conveys a sense of movement: 'Ah! Je vois naître les ténèbres'; 'Ha! I see shades rise from th'Abiss' (l. 41). French syllabic count would have prevented Cramail from using 'paraître' as opposed to 'naître', which, while still not conveying the sense of movement present in the English translation, would nevertheless have placed a stronger emphasis on sight. Here, both personal choice and inherent linguistic features seem to influence the changes made by Cotton. He could have opted for a more literal translation, 'I see shadows appearing', but his energetic, active 'rise' also results from the fact that, as part of its tendency towards concrete rather than abstract expression, English places greater emphasis on physical movement than French.⁴²¹ The Earl of Roscommon considered that the internal structure of the French language, or at least the language as it had evolved during the seventeenth century, was responsible for the lack of energy in French poetry:⁴²²

Vain are our *Neighbours Hopes*, and *Vain* their *Cares*,
 The *Fault* is more their *Languages* than theirs:
 'Tis courtly, florid, and abounds in words,
 Of softer sound than ours perhaps affords;
 But who did ever in *French Authors* see
 The comprehensive *English Energy*?
 The *Weighty Bullion of One Sterling Line*,
 Drawn to French Wire, would thro' whole Pages shine. ('An Essay on Translated Verse', ll. 23-30)

Vinay and Darbelnet note that English has an inherently wider range of expression than French for describing both visual and auditory perception.

⁴²⁰ Vinay notes that 'French would use 'être' and a preposition for indicating the position of objects, when English, though it can use the same construction, prefers a concrete verb of action' (p. 53).

⁴²¹ Vinay, p. 51.

⁴²² Spingarn, II, p. 298. It is interesting to contrast Roscommon's claim here that the French language is 'florid, and abounds in words', with the earlier quoted contemporary claim that French poetry is characterised by 'common-place descriptions'.

Concerning auditory perception, they give the example of ‘grincement’, which they observe is more precise than ‘bruit’ but still more general than its English equivalents, such as grating, screeching (of chalk on a blackboard) and squeaking (p. 51). English translators of seventeenth-century French poetry during the Caroline period consistently insert or specify references to sound. Again, this results partly from the inherent linguistic features of French and English and partly from personal choice and conformity to contemporary English literary culture. Addison considered that the imagination was stimulated by sound as well as by sight:

As the fancy delights in everything that is great, strange, or beautiful, and is still more pleased the more it finds of these perfections in the same object, so it is capable of receiving a new satisfaction by the assistance of another sense. Thus any continued sound, as the music of birds, or a fall of water, awakens every moment the mind of the beholder, and makes him more attentive to the several beauties of the place that lies before him.⁴²³

In Cotton’s translation of Théophile’s ‘Stances XXIX’, the insertion of references to sound (‘whispering murmurs’) contributes to the heightened eroticism: ‘Je laisse sans ouvrir ma bouche, | Avec toi dormir mes plaisirs’ (ll. 11-12); ‘My lips from whispering Murmurs then are free, | And suffer my Delights to sleep with thee’ (ll. 11-12). In her translation of Corneille’s *Paraphrase de l’imitation*, Philips renders the original reference to noiselessness both active and more specific: ‘Fay-la couler sans bruit au milieu de mon coeur’ (l. 10); ‘And as a whisper to my heart’ (l. 10). Similarly, in her translation of the pastoral poem from Scudéry’s *Almahide*, the reference to the shepherdess’s song is active rather than passive. Both the shepherd and the reader ‘hear’ Aminta sing: ‘J’ay composé des parolles, | Pour ses aimables Chansons’; ‘While my Aminta’s voice affords, | In charming Notes to cloth my words.’ (ll. 31-32). In stanza 7, Philips adds an enchanting auditory touch, transposing ‘beau Concert’ into ‘warbling Concert’ (l. 26). In the following example, Philips exploits the tendencies of English towards more precise and condensed description to produce another delightful equivalent: ‘O chanteur scavant qui volles’ (l. 29); ‘Feather’d Musician’ (l. 29).⁴²⁴ William Roberts claims that in his translation of ‘La Desbauche’, Thomas Stanley often improves on the French poet, ‘déployant un

⁴²³ Joseph Addison, *Critical Essays from the Spectator by Joseph Addison with Four Essays by Richard Steele*, ed. by Donald F. Bond (Oxford: OUP, 1970), pp. 180-81.

⁴²⁴ Vinay and Darbelnet give examples of the tendency of English to express information more simply and in a more condensed form than French (p. 54).

vocabulaire plus précis et pittoresque là où le poète français s'était contenté de pures chevilles ou d'abstractions.⁴²⁵ It is perhaps fairer to the French poet, however, to argue that some of his more abstract phrases, notably those referring to sound, are due to the abstraction inherent in the French language rather than to personal choice. In the following lines, for example, French inclines naturally to the abstract 'menons du bruit': 'Chantons, rions, menons du bruit' (l. 21). English allows for the specification of sound, though the insertion of 'revel' is clearly Stanley's own choice: 'Wine my Boy; Wee'l sing and laugh | All night revel, rant and quaffe'. (ll. 18-19). There is a rare instance in this translation where a reference to sound is made less specific than the original: compare 'Par le doux chant de tes orgies' with 'By the sound thy Orgies spread' (l. 51). By contrast, the more usual pattern, in which the English translation specifies a reference to the senses, is seen in Stanley's substitution of 'By this Olive's unctuous savour' for 'Par ceste olive que je mange' (l. 82). The use of the personal pronoun indicates that Saint-Amant's focus is on himself and his own pleasure, rather than on the olive.

As was seen in the example above from Cotton's translation of 'La Nuit', English translators also insert and specify references to movement; this is another means by which English versions are rendered both more precise and more vivid. In the example below from stanza 13 of her adaptation from Scudéry, Katherine Philips inserts both extra adjectives ('pretty') and nouns ('leaps and bounds'), rendering the original reference to movement more vibrant: 'Mesler aux voix mugissantes | Leurs cris à pas bondissantes; 'While with their bleating notes are mix'd, | Their pretty bounds, & leaps betwixt.' (ll. 51-52). In her description of the hanged shepherd in 'Solitude', Philips specifies the fact that the carcass is being moved *by the wind*, where Saint-Amant left this to be understood. Philips thus increases the horror of the scene: 'Sous un chevron de bois maudit | Y branle le squelette horrible' (ll. 85-86); 'Here on curs'd wood ye wind does move, | A carcass, which did once belong' (ll. 85-86). By contrast, Thomas Fairfax chooses to omit the reference to movement, thus weakening the horror of the scene: 'Ther in a Cursed beam might see | The horrid Skeleton of some poore lover' (ll. 85-86). As a final example, in his translation of *La Maison de Sylvie*, Stanley tells us *how* Daphne is moving where Théophile simply states *that* she is moving: 'Tous les jours la Reine des bois | Devant mes yeux passe et

⁴²⁵ 'Saint-Amant – plaque tournante de l'Europe', p. 75.

repassé' (IX, ll. 21-22); 'Daily the Woods fair Queen I see | With nimble feet the thickets trace' (ll. 211-212).

English translators use a wide variety of techniques to render their descriptions more vivid, and to extend original concepts and images. Sometimes a descriptive detail absent from the original is simply inserted, such as Fairfax's description of the trees in 'The Solitude': 'Oaks that such spreading branches bear' (l. 4). Cotton similarly inserts descriptive detail into his translation of Théophile's 'Stances XXIX: 'Que ton esprit tout arrêté | Ne murmure ni ne respire' (ll. 17-18); 'That thy soft slumber'd- charmed Spirits lye | Dumb, without murmur at his *Tyranny*' (ll. 17-18). Another common technique is the insertion of adjectives, for example in the following lines from Cotton's 'Elegy de Théophile': 'Ainsi que le soleil est suivi de la nuit' (l. 21) | 'For, as black Night pursues the glorious *Sun*' (21).⁴²⁶ In stanza 4 of his translation of 'La Nuit', Cotton increases the sense of brightness by using a double adjective: 'Changeant la couleur de sa face | En celle d'un jour gracieux?'; 'Changing the colour of its face | Into a bright and glorious day' (ll. 29-30). In the lines below from 'Sylvia's Park', in which Stanley takes the original concept much further, adding both specific detail and imagery, his added adjectives increase the emotional force of nature's reaction to Orpheus's lyre: 'Et si la masse du rocher | Se laisse quelquefois toucher | Aux chansons que disoit Orphée' (I, ll. 78-80); 'If Stubborn Rocks and senseless Stones | Could melt with Pitty, and in Grones | Keep Time with Orpheus's charming lyre' (ll. 48-50). In the scene in which Sylvia goes fishing, Stanley's description of nature's response to her is considerably more exaggerated and dramatic: 'Les flots n'osoient s'entrepousser, | Le Zephire n'osoit passer' (II, ll. 18-19); 'No Rage the quiet Billows swell'd | Favonius his soft breath withheld' (ll. 108-109). In the same passage, the insertion of adjectives ('doubtful Sun', 'inventive Stars') increases the force of nature's reaction to Sylvia.

Personification is another technique used to make natural descriptions both more active and more decorative. In stanza 13 of 'Solitude', Katherine Philips presses Saint-Amant's image further through her personification of the water:

Tantost, la plus claire du monde,

⁴²⁶ Sembower gives this line as an example of how Cotton, in this translation and in that of 'Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras', 'with bold strokes of his brush, almost altogether overlays the delicate limning of the original' (p. 91). In contrasting the styles of the two poets, Sembower remarks that 'Théophile is keenly delicate both in drawing and coloring; Cotton is comparatively rough and bold' (p. 94).

Elle semble un miroir flottant,
 Et nous represente à l'instant
 Encore d'autres Cieux sous l'onde. (ll. 161-64)

Sometimes, so gently does she smile,
 A floating mirrouer she might be,
 And you would fancy all that while,
 New heavens in her face to see. (ll. 161-64)

It should be noted, of course, that the translation of the female subject pronoun leads naturally to personification in English. In addition to this, the English language tends naturally towards the personification of both animate and inanimate objects (Vinay and Darbelnet, p. 117). Water is similarly personified in Stanley's 'Sylvia's Park':

Je sais que ces miroirs flottants
 Où l'objet change tant de place,
 Pour elle devenus constans
 Auront une fidèle glace,
 Et sous un ornement si beau
 La surface même de l'eau,
 Nonobstant sa délicatesse,
 Gardera sûrement encrés
 Et mes caractères sacrés
 Et les attraits de la Princesse. (ll. 101-110)

These floating Mirrouers, on whose Brow
 Their various figures gently glide,
 For love of her shall gently grow,
 In faithful Icy fetters ty'd.
 This cheerful Brooks unwrinkled face,
 Shall smile within its Christal case,
 To see it self made permanent,
 And from Times rage secur'd, the deep
 Impression of my Cyphers keep,
 And my fair Princess form present. (ll. 71-80)

In 'Acanthus' Complaint', Stanley's added descriptive detail given of the trees on which Acanthus carved Sylvia's name takes the form of a personification: 'And on the rugged coats they wear' (l. 87).⁴²⁷

⁴²⁷ In his translation, which remained in manuscript, of Saint-Amant's 'Assis sur un faggot, une Pipe à la main', Robert Ayton personifies an abstract concept, hope: 'L'espoir, qui me remet du jour au lendemain | Essaye à gagner temps sur ma peine obstinée'; 'Then Hope steps in, and with a smiling brow | Such cheerful expectations doth infuse' (lines 5-6). The English version is both clearer and perhaps more truly 'hopeful' in its reference to 'cheerful expectations'. Malherbe criticised the

The abstract and undecorative expression and imagery which increasingly characterised seventeenth-century French poetry was rendered more precise and highly-imaged in contemporary English translation in conformity with less stringent ideas in England about the application of neo-classical doctrines relating to poetic style, particularly the use of decorative imagery.

7.3 Line Length

The treatment in English translation of the abstraction which is both inherent in the French language and was particularly advocated by classical critics is another significant example of how translators tended to subvert some of the most important characteristics of seventeenth-century French poetry. Of perhaps even greater significance is the way in which translators handle the Alexandrine, which has been by far the most commonly used line in French poetry since the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴²⁸ Unlike tragic drama, in which the Alexandrine became the only accepted metre, it is difficult to generalise about the use of the Alexandrine in seventeenth-century French lyric poetry. It can be said, however, that the Alexandrine seems to have been frequently used by lyric poets for serious themes and for the expression of lament and melancholy, to which it is suited. This is particularly evident in the poetry of Théophile, who uses the Alexandrine for the expression of melancholy and the suffering caused by love, particularly in his sonnets and *élégies*.⁴²⁹ By contrast, Théophile uses the octosyllable for the expression of joy and fulfilment in love, to which the shorter line is more suited, particularly in his odes and stanzas. A notable example is his 'Stances A Cloris' (I, pp. 189-92), which focuses on the delights of love. Similarly, Voiture uses shorter lines for his occasional verses and when declaring freedom from slavery to the lady,⁴³⁰ and Alexandrines when expressing Petrarchan adoration of the lady or lament at her cruelty.⁴³¹ Some of

personification of abstractions prevalent in France in the Middle Ages (Brunot, *La Doctrine de Malherbe*, p. 167).

⁴²⁸ L. E. Kastner, *The History of French Versification* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), p. 147.

⁴²⁹ See 'sonnet LI' (I, p. 245), and 'élégie XVI' (II, pp. 59-61).

⁴³⁰ See 'Chanson XXX', beginning 'J'avois de l'Amour pour vous', which uses lines of 5, 6, 7 and 8 syllables (I, pp. 89-91).

⁴³¹ 'Stances V' (I, pp. 27-29) and 'Sonnet XVII' (I, pp. 65-66) are good examples of the use of the Alexandrine for the expression of rapturous, hyperbolic praise of the lady. Voiture's 'Stances IV' (I, pp. 26-27), which both praises the lady and bemoans her cruelty, nevertheless contains no deep

Voiture's poems use a mixture of line lengths for the expression of a variety of sentiments and tones. 'Stances IX' (I, pp. 42-44), for example, uses Alexandrines in the first two lines of each stanza for the expression of intense suffering or rapturous praise, and an octosyllable and a decasyllable in the third and fourth lines of each stanza respectively, which serve to lighten the tone or reaffirm the speaker's joy in spite of suffering:

Je me meurs tous les jours en adorant Sylvie,
 Mais dans les maux dont je me sens perir,
 Je suis si content de mourir,
 Que ce plaisir me redonne la vie. (ll. 1-4)

While the Alexandrine is particularly suited to the expression of serious subjects and negative feelings, it should be noted that seventeenth-century French lyric poets also made use of other metres for these. Saint-Amant, particularly, uses octosyllables for poems on serious themes, including *Le Contemplateur* and *La Solitude*, although the latter poem clearly contains expressions of delight in the natural world. In keeping with expectation, he does, however, use Alexandrines in 'Les Visions', a painfully meditative poem,⁴³² and employs octosyllables in lighter poems such as 'La Débauche', 'Le Melon' (II, pp. 14-31), and 'Le Fromage' (I, pp. 230-35).

The Alexandrine is generally considered an unsuitable metre for English poetry.⁴³³ It had been used by some poets of the sixteenth century, but occurs very rarely in the seventeenth century.⁴³⁴ The decasyllable, used in heroic poetry later in the seventeenth century, also seems to have been the staple metre for the expression of serious themes and melancholic sentiments in lyric. Cotton's 'To my old and most Worthy Friend Mr. Izaak Walton, on his Life of Dr. Donne, etc' (*Poems*, pp. 113-117)

expression of the lover's suffering or lingering adoration of the lady, and the use of octosyllables instead of Alexandrines contributes to the weakened Petrarchan sentiments.

⁴³² Saint-Amant uses Alexandrines for sonnets on lighter themes, such as 'Sonnet XLIV' beginning 'Voicy le rendez-vous des Enfants sans soucy' (I, pp. 281-82).

⁴³³ Saintsbury considers 'the continuous Alexandrine' as 'an impossible meter in English'. *A History of English Prosody*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1923), II, p. 99. G. S. Fraser notes that 'Of the longer lines, the Alexandrine, or six-foot iambic line, is useful to end a stanza with'. *Metre, Rhyme and Free Verse* (London: Methuen, 1970), p. 37.

⁴³⁴ 'The first of these liberties that is worth mentioning is perhaps the use of the Alexandrine, which Sidney indulged in, and after him others. Their reason is clear; for though it is a mistake to say (as Dryden and others who might have been better informed than Dryden, have said) that the Alexandrine was "the commonest form up to Shakespeare's time", it undoubtedly, as we have seen in many cases, and have still to see in more, imposed itself to some extent, and from curiously different sides (Saintsbury, II, p. 149). Fraser notes that 'Dryden liked to intersperse his heroic couplets with occasional Alexandrines, but Pope, [...] thought it a useless encumbrance' (p. 37).

contains a stately, serious tone, and is written in decasyllables.⁴³⁵ By contrast, Cotton uses octosyllables in poems which deal with serious themes but still express either joy or vigour. ‘The Retirement’, for example, is on a serious theme, and yet contains several expressions of delight in the countryside: ‘Good God: how sweet are all things here! | How beautiful the fields appear!’ (ll. 8-9). ‘Winter’ (*Poems*, pp. 59-68), written in octosyllabic quatrains, is on the negative theme of the poet’s aversion to the rigours of winter, but the tone is vigorous and energetic rather than melancholy and stately. In most cases, English translators shorten Alexandrines to octosyllables. This shortening contributes to some of the thematic changes highlighted in earlier chapters, particularly the reduced sense of suffering in English translations of Neo-Petrarchan poems. The twelve-syllable line, ideally suited to both the expression of lament and lingering adoration of the lady, is frequently shortened in translation to produce a lighter, brisker effect.

A particularly striking example of this is Etherege’s adaptation of Voiture’s ‘Uranie’. In the first stanza of Voiture’s poem, the use of the Alexandrine creates a slow rhythm and thus contributes to the sense of deep suffering, particularly in the second line. In the second stanza, the use of the Alexandrine allows the lover to revel indulgently in his own pain and willing slavery to the lady:

Il faut finir mes jours en l’amour d’Uranie,
L’absence ni le temps ne m’en sçauroient guerir,
Et je ne voy plus rien qui me pût secourir,
Ni qui sceust rappeler ma liberté bannie.

Dés long-temps je connois sa rigueur infinie,
Mais pensant aux beautez pour qui je dois perir,
Je benis mon martyre, et content de mourir,
Je n’ose murmurer contre sa tyrannie. (ll. 1-8)

By contrast, Etherege’s use of the octosyllable creates a brisker tone, and thus helps weaken the sense of lingering, self-indulgent lament:

Hopeless I languish out my days,
Struck with Urania’s conquering eyes;
The wretch at whom she darts these rays
Must feel the wound until he dies.
Though endless be her cruelty,

⁴³⁵ See also ‘The Tempest’, in which the decasyllables contribute to the sad, reflective tone.

Calling her beauties to my mind,
 I bow beneath her tyranny
 And dare not murmur she's unkind. (ll. 1-8)

The Alexandrine similarly contributes to the sense of indulgent delight in slavery to the lady in Tristan's 'Le Bracelet':

Amour en soit béni, le sujet de mes vœux,
 Cette jeune Beauté qui captive mon âme,
 De cent chaînes de flame,
 La veut lier encore avecque ses cheveux. (ll. 1-4)

In Stanley's adaptation, the change in form reflects the change in tone and meaning. The Alexandrine in the first line of each stanza is replaced by an octosyllable, and that in the second line by a line of only six syllables. The shorter lines contribute to the brisk, ironic tone of Stanley's version:

Now Love be prais'd! that cruel Fair,
 Who my poor Heart restrains
 Under so many Chains,
 Hath weav'd a new one for it of her Hair. (ll. 1-4)

Similarly, the replacement of the Alexandrine by octosyllables and nine-syllable lines in 'Change defended', Sherburne's translation of Saint-Amant's 'Jamais rien n'approcha de mon heureux destin', contributes to the replacement of the original lingering, self-conscious adoration of the speaker's new love by a brisk address to the lady he has now rejected:

Jamais rien n'approcha de mon heureux destin;
 J'adore une Beauté qui n'a point de pareille,
 Soit pour enchanter l'oeil, soit pour ravir l'oreille,
 Ou pour faire d'un Coeur un amoureux butin. (ll. 1-4)

Leave *Chloris*, leave, prethee no more
 With want of Love, or Lightness charge Me:
 'Cause thy Looks captiv'd me before,
 May not anothers now enlarge me? (ll. 1-4)

In Stanley's adaptation of Tristan's *Plaintes d'Acante*, the shortening of the Alexandrines to lines of eight and six syllables helps effect the greatly reduced sense

of the shepherd's suffering: 'Acante qui n'a rien que des soucis dans l'ame' (l. 2) is reduced to 'Acanthus, hapless youth' (l. 2).

There are, however, some instances where the original line length is retained, or where Alexandrines are transposed into decasyllables rather than octosyllables, thus allowing the translator to preserve the original slow rhythm and serious tone. This is the case in Cotton's translation of Théophile's 'Élégie XV', in which the argument is not subverted and the melancholic, serious tone is largely retained, even while, as seen in the previous chapter, there is a reduced sense of the lover's suffering.

7.4 Rhyme

One of the most significant developments in seventeenth-century English prosody was the emergence of the heroic couplet as the most common form of rhyme. Whereas earlier seventeenth-century English poets made use of more varied and complex rhyme schemes,⁴³⁶ rhyming couplets were the most favoured form for Restoration poetry:

For forty years and more on either side of 1700 there was agreement that, henceforth and forever, literary innovation meant repetition and correction of existing forms and genres. This was, of course, part of a project to fix the language of all communication: vocabulary, orthography, prosody. Exposure of literary devices, like all innovation, is now defined as correction; and the device of rhyme, used so wantonly by the Elizabethans, will now be tamed and resolved into couplets. (Wesling, p. 48)

Again, there is clear overlap between prosodic developments during the seventeenth century and the inherent linguistic features of the English language, to which the couplet is naturally suited. G. S. Fraser points out that whereas languages such as Italian (and French could also be included) are suited to 'a musical use of rhyme' which often includes open vocalic endings, 'Where English, on the other hand, excels is not in this musical use of rhyme but in the sharp, pointed use of rhyme (and here the clustered consonant endings can help) to point sense: this is particularly so in the

⁴³⁶ Donald Wesling notes that 'The metaphysical poets from Donne through Marvell, arrange unpredictable rhymes on taut, uneven line length lines; Abraham Cowley writes carefully asymmetrical stanzas in his influential Pindar translations of 1656; and we have in Richard Crashaw an amazing scheme of pet rhymes, where the poet exposes the device by working up his own system of rhyme-word associations, re-using rhymes as personal symbols'. *The Chances of Rhyme* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 48.

heroic couplet'.⁴³⁷ In seventeenth-century France, as is the case in both earlier and later French poetry, rhyming couplets are largely confined to dramatic, heroic, satiric, narrative and elegiac poetry, whereas poems divided into stanzas in general use *rimes croisées* or *rimes embrassées*.⁴³⁸

More complex rhyme schemes in French source poems are typically simplified to rhyming couplets in English translation. William Roberts has observed that Stanley's translation of Saint-Amant's 'La Jouyssance' preserves the original stanzaic form of octosyllabic dizains but simplifies the original abba ccdede rhyme scheme to rhyming couplets.⁴³⁹ Stanley's use of rhyming couplets leads to a greater neatness and completeness of expression: 'Nous l'écrivons sur son escorce; | Mais il estoit gravé bien mieux dans nostre Coeur' (ll. 69-70); 'And grav'd the Oak in its smooth Rind, | Which in our Hearts we deeper find' (ll. 59-60). Another good example is found in Stanley's translation of the following lines: 'Mes sens en bonne intelligence | S'entendoient avec mes desirs' (ll. 11-12); 'My senses and desires agreed, | With joynt delight each other feed'. Here, the rhyming couplets speed up the rhythm and pace of the original, producing a less lingering and more exultant tone. The anonymous translator of 'La Jouyssance', whose translation appeared in *A New Collection of Poems and Songs* (1674), chose to preserve the original rhyme scheme.

This is not the only instance where two translators of the same poem adopt a different rhyme scheme, again demonstrating that personal preference, as well as current poetic trends and inherent linguistic features, influenced the choices made by translators. Oldham's decision to alter the aabcbc rhyme scheme in Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame...' results in his translation being much more polished than the anonymous translation in *A New Collection of Poems and Songs* (1674), where the original rhyme scheme is retained. Oldham's insertion of an extra pair of rhyming couplets at the beginning of each stanza allows for a greater completeness of expression, and is suited to comic effect and particularly to the sharp, razor-edged wit which characterises his adaptation:

⁴³⁷ Fraser, p. 62. For Fraser, this is one of the qualities which renders English generally unsuited to lyric: 'though of course there are great English songs and song-writers, still on the whole the greatest English poetry tends to be dramatic, narrative, reflective, or descriptive and to be written for the speaking rather than the singing voice' (p. 63).

⁴³⁸ Jean Mazaleyrat, *Éléments de métrique française* (Paris: Colin / SEJER, 2004), pp. 55-56. A rare example of a seventeenth-century French stanzaic poem which uses rhyming couplets is Voiture's 'Chanson XXV' beginning 'L'Amour sous sa Loy'. Rhyming couplets contribute to the unusually weak sense of self-awareness and lament, and are preserved in Dryden's version.

⁴³⁹ Roberts, 'Saint-Amant – plaque tournante de l'Europe', p. 74.

Against the Charms, your Eyes impart,
 With care I had secur'd my Heart;
 On all the wonders of your Face
 Could safely and unwounded gaze:
 But now entirely to enthral
 My Breast, you have exposed to view
 Another more resistless Foe,
 From which I had no guard at all. (ll. 9-16)

By contrast, the anonymous translator's decision to retain Voiture's rhyme scheme clearly leads to jarring syntax and weakening of the comic effect, notably in the opening stanza:

I yield, I yield, fair *Phillis*, now
 My Heart must to your Empire bow;
 I am your Pris'ner, for I find,
 Y've Conquered both my Will and Reason;
 But you surprized me behind,
 And is not that a kind of Treason? (ll. 1-6)

In Saint-Amant's 'La Desbauche' (I, pp. 201-07) the use of closed rhyming couplets contributes to the fast rhythm and raucous, lively tone. On occasion, however, the rhythm is slowed and the sense of boisterous enjoyment perhaps undermined by the use of enjambement:

Morbleu! Comme il pleut là dehors!
 Faisons pleuvoir dans notre corps
 Du vin, tu l'entens sans le dire,
 Et c'est là le vray mot pour rire (ll. 17-20)

Loing de nous sommeil et repos;
 Boissat, lors que nos pauvres os
 Seront enfermez dans la tombe
 Par la mort, sous qui tout succombe,
 Et qui nous poursuit au galop,
 Las! Nous ne dormirons que trop. (ll. 25-30)

Stanley's use of closed couplets, by contrast, creates a completeness and brisk liveliness which improve upon the original:⁴⁴⁰

See the Rain soaks to the skin,
Make it rain as well within. (ll. 15-16)

When our Bones (alasse) shall have
A cold lodging in the Grave,
When swift Death shall overtake us,
We shall sleep and none can wake us. (ll. 21-24)

In the lines below from 'Acanthus' Complaint', Stanley uses the closed couplet to render the lover's tone less melancholic and more detached: 'Et le ressentiment de tant de longs services | Ne sçauroit porter son orgueil | A tourner seulement les yeux vers mon Cercueil' (ll. 26-28); 'Nor will (unkinde!) vouchsafe to turn | Her eyes though but to see my urn' (ll. 23-24).

In Katherine Philips's adaptation of the pastoral poem from Scudéry's *Almahide*, the replacement of the original abab rhyme scheme with rhyming couplets again creates a greater sense of completeness. In the following lines, where Scudéry's open lines convey a sense of indulgent wonder at the landscape, Philips's couplet seems more detached and prosaic: 'Desia le Ciel se colore, | D'un incarnate non pareil' (l. 5-6); 'The Sky, from which ye Night is fled, | Is painted with a matchless Red' (l. 5-6). Philips similarly effects a greater sense of narrative completeness than Scudéry in the lines below:

Vois sortir des bergeres,
Au son de cent Chalumeaux
Tout ce qu'on meine aux Prairies,
Brebis, Chevres, & Taoureux.

Come my Shepherdess, survey
(While a hundred pipes doe play,
From every fold, & every Shed,
How ye heards, & flocks are led. (ll. 45-48)

⁴⁴⁰ Saintsbury notes that the 'self-contained' couplet gradually triumphed over the 'overlapped' couplet in seventeenth-century English poetry (II, p. 274). Stanley's translation is found in *Poems and Translations*, 1962, pp. 142-44.

7.5 The Translation of the Sonnet Form

The altering of the sonnet form is a further example of how English translators of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry during the Caroline period changed stylistic features of their source poems in order to effect desired thematic changes. The sonnet was a considerably less popular form for translation into English during the Caroline period than other lyric forms such as stances and odes.⁴⁴¹ This can be accounted for by the decline of the sonnet during the seventeenth century in both France and England. In France, the sonnet, widely produced by the poets of the Pléiade, declined overall in production after 1620, although sonnets still made up a significant part of the work of individual poets.⁴⁴² André Gendre claims that, as is considered true of lyric poetry as a whole in seventeenth-century France, the decline of the sonnet was due to its excessive regulation and restriction by Malherbe:

Malherbe a voulu éclairer le sonnet jusque dans ses moindres recoins. C'est en maître qu'il y a réussi. Mais quel avenir réserve-t-il à une forme qu'il a si bien travaillée? La perfection malherbienne ne serait-elle pas à l'origine de son déclin au XVIIe siècle? Quand une esthétique atteint un point de perfection formelle presque absolu, que peut-elle devenir, sinon être reproduite?⁴⁴³

Some French poets writing in the second quarter of the seventeenth century conformed to Malherbe's demand for clarity and formal perfection as opposed to creative expression in the sonnet form. Others, notably Tristan, Saint-Amant, Théophile, Colletet and Scudéry, who 'ont pour caractéristique commune de ne pas avoir limité le rôle de l'imagination dans le processus de l'écriture poétique', used the sonnet for the expression of the creative imagination.⁴⁴⁴ As the century progressed, the sonnet increasingly became 'un genre de salon, un poème de divertissement'.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴¹ In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Scottish poets William Drummond and Robert Ayton imitated widely from the sonnets of French Renaissance poets. On Drummond's imitations from French Renaissance sonnets, see Simone Dorangeon, 'William Drummond de Hawthornden: mémoire et création', in *Le Sonnet à la Renaissance des origines au XVIIe siècle, actes des troisièmes journées rémoises 17-19 janvier 1986* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1988), pp. 265-78. (p. 266).

⁴⁴² André Genre, *Evolution du Sonnet Français* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), p. 130. Jean-Oger Gombault's *Poésies* (1646) contained 197 sonnets on Neo-Petrarchan, encomiastic and Christian themes (see Genre, pp. 136-43).

⁴⁴³ Genre, pp. 129-30.

⁴⁴⁴ Genre, p. 130.

⁴⁴⁵ Y. Bellenger, introduction, *Le Sonnet à la Renaissance* (Paris: Publications du Centre de Recherche sur la Littérature du Moyen age et de la Renaissance de L'Université de Reims, 1986), p. 2.

Some mid-century poets, notably Saint-Amant and Scarron, used it for burlesque and satire.⁴⁴⁶ During the reign of Louis XIV, the sonnet was discredited as a form for serious poetry.⁴⁴⁷

Having been introduced into England by Thomas Wyatt in 1530, the sonnet was immensely popular and widely produced in England during the sixteenth century, but declined in production and popularity as the seventeenth century progressed. The overall decline of the sonnet in seventeenth-century England is attributed to its association with Petrarchism, which, as mentioned, was little used as a discourse for love poetry after 1600:

The crisp explanation for this decline [...] is that British poets so identified the sonnet with Petrarchan love that when a queen who governed through the rituals of erotic flattery was replaced by a king who prided himself on academic learning the Petrarchan mistress was replaced as an ideal by the philosopher king. There is a certain truth in this- Sir Walter Raleigh, for example, curried favour with Queen Elizabeth by writing Petrarchan verse to her; but he curried favour with James VI and I by dedicating his *History of the World* (1614) to him instead (with disastrous results).⁴⁴⁸

As noted, William Drummond and Robert Ayton, writing in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, imitated widely from the sonnets of the *Pléiade* poets. The tastes of these poets were those of the sixteenth century rather than the seventeenth.⁴⁴⁹ This is reflected in the fact that they not only imitated extensively from French Renaissance sonnets, but also retained the sonnet form. By contrast, later in the seventeenth century, on the rare occasions where sonnets were translated, they were transposed into octosyllabic quatrains, the change in form both reflecting the tastes of the translators and effecting the changes made in tone and emphasis. Octosyllabic quatrains occur frequently in the work of the Cavalier poets, particularly for lyrics on lighter themes.⁴⁵⁰ By contrast, they are rarely used by seventeenth-century French

⁴⁴⁶ See Roger Guichemerre, 'Le Sonnet Burlesque', in *Le Sonnet à la Renaissance*, pp. 241-50.

⁴⁴⁷ Bellenger, introduction, *Le Sonnet à la Renaissance*, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁸ Spiller, p. 176. Patrick Cruttwell claims that Donne did not use the sonnet for love poetry because of its associations with Petrarchan sentiment. *The English Sonnet* (London: Longmans, 1966), p. 27. Indeed, the sonnet, where it does appear, was rarely used as a form for love poetry in seventeenth-century England. Exceptions to this included William Alexander's sequence *Aurora* (1604), David Muray's *Caelia* (1611), and the sonnets included in William Drummond's *Poems* (1616) (see Spiller, pp. 176-77 and 183-88).

⁴⁴⁹ See Dorangeon.

⁴⁵⁰ See Saintsbury, who comments on how 'the octosyllabic quatrain was a common form in the early Restoration period' (*The History of English Prosody*, p. 394).

lyrists, although Théophile employs them on several occasions when expressing the lighter, joyful aspects of love, and Maynard uses them for satiric verse.

Transposing the sonnet form into octosyllabic quatrains allowed translators to both make thematic changes and simplify the original rhyme scheme; as seen above, rhyme schemes were frequently made simpler in English translation, a necessity which arose from the fact that English is less rich in rhymes than many other languages.⁴⁵¹

Voiture's 'Uranie', while not conforming to the Petrarchan sonnet form, conforms very much, as seen, to the type of sentiments expressed in Petrarchan sonnets.⁴⁵² The fact that the sense runs on from the first tercet into the second contributes to the impression that the speaker is pouring out his thoughts with emotional abandon. In Etherege's adaptation, by contrast, each quatrain contains a single thought. Transposing the sonnet form into quatrains in this way contributes to the weaker emotional effect and results in a greater impression of unity and crispness:

Quelquesfois ma raison, par de foibles discours,
M'incite à la révolte, et me promets secours,
Mais lors qu' à mon besoin je me veux servir d'elle;
Après beaucoup de peine, et d'efforts impuissans,
Elle dit qu'Uranie est seule aymable et belle,
Et m'y r'engage plus que ne font tous mes sens.

Reason this tameness does upbraid,
Proffering to arm in my defence;
But when I call her to my aid,
She's more a traitor than my sense.

No sooner I the war declare
But strait her succour she denies,
And joining forces with the fair
Confirms the conquest of her eyes.

Charles Cotton, the only seventeenth-century English poet after Milton to write sonnets,⁴⁵³ chose to adapt Théophile's sonnet beginning 'Chère Isis, tes beautés'.

⁴⁵¹ Fraser, p. 61.

⁴⁵² Yvonne Bellenger's assertion that 'Le sonnet de Malherbe, celui de Voiture, celui des salons de l'Incomparable Arthénice ne sont plus les sonnets lyriques douloureux et émouvants du *dolce stil nuovo* ou de la première Pléiade en France' seems to me to require qualification (*Le Sonnet à la Renaissance*, p. 2).

⁴⁵³ 'Neither Dryden nor the so-called Restoration lyricists ever employed the form. Cotton's volume it would appear, with the exception of the one interesting experiment by William Walsh, was the last to

Cotton only wrote original sonnets on amorous themes, and only when portraying suffering in love; he preferred the ode when describing the positive, lighter aspects of love, as is the case here. Altering the stanzaic form allows Cotton to insert additional lines suited to his own thematic purposes, notably the insertion of the conventional love lines in the third stanza ('Without revenging on thine Eye, | Or striking me in Jealousy', ll. 17-18) and the increased erotic reference in the final stanza ('Thou may'st securely is my arms, | And warm Womb of my wanton bed, | Teach me t'unravel all thy Charms' (ll. 19-21).

In approaching the seventeenth-century French poems they chose to translate, English translators during the Caroline period were confronted with stylistic and linguistic features which resulted both from the inherent nature of the French language and from its development during the classical period. Some of the most defining features of French poetic language as it evolved with the rise of the classical movement are subverted in conformity with English tastes and with the inherent structure of the English language. Abstract phrases and plain images are altered in keeping with the English preference for concrete and vibrant expression. The French Alexandrine, used in lyric in the classical and pre-classical periods to effect a serious tone and express anguish and lament, is shortened in translation to help create the lighter, brisker tone characteristic of Cavalier poetry.

Conclusion

As it crossed the Channel in translation, seventeenth-century French poetry entered a cultural and literary climate which was in many ways very different from its own. The growing French 'classicising' aesthetic, a reflection of the increasing atmosphere of constraint and control in France, resulted in poetry which was being gradually purged of all forms of excess and indelicacy in both subject matter and stylistic expression. By contrast, seventeenth-century England, while adhering to some degree to neo-classical theories and practices, adopted a freer and less restrictive attitude towards poetic expression, in conformity with the libertine and unrestrained climate of the Restoration.

From the points made in the preceding chapters, it can be concluded that the practice of translating from seventeenth-century French lyric poetry in Caroline England can best be understood not 'simply' as translation but as a form of cultural transposition. (It is noted that all translation could be considered as cultural transposition, as all transfer between languages involves transfer between cultures; in this case, however, the process of rendering translations acceptable to seventeenth-century English culture is particularly prevalent and noticeable). English translations are altered to make French original poems conform to English literary trends and styles, and to English culture, with 'culture' being understood in the terms in which it was defined in the introduction, in relation to the expression of the needs and tastes of the individual, of particular social groups, and of wider society. I will firstly refer to some of the more general ways that this process of cultural transposition expresses itself, before drawing conclusions in relation to individual translations.

There are several instances where translators seem to have deliberately selected poems of a type, theme or form that were not current in England in order to subvert the principal ideas and characteristics of the French poem, thus making it conform to English literary and cultural trends. The archetypal example of this is the English treatment of French Neo-Petrarchan poetry, a type of poetic discourse which hardly existed in seventeenth-century England. The most prominent features of French Neo-Petrarchism – willing, undying devotion to an unkind mistress, and expressions of languishing and lament – are removed, weakened or reversed to conform to the amorous discourse and

types of lovers being created in seventeenth-century England generally and favoured in the original work of the translators.

In other cases, English translators select a type of poetry which in some ways was consistent with trends apparent in English literary culture, and heighten and expand its effects in order to make it conform even more to their own personal tastes, to the tastes of the group or individuals for whom the translations were intended, or more generally to English cultural climate or societal expectations. The best example of this is the translation of bawdy and erotic poems. The French poems selected by English translators were either predecessors of, or subtly-expressed exceptions to, the overall refining tendencies at work in the literature of seventeenth-century France. Erotic and bawdy references in the original poems were often subtly expressed in general conformity with 'classicing' principles of refinement, and with the requirement of salons, in which women played a prominent role, for playful humour which did not cross socially accepted boundaries of decency. English translators heighten erotic effects and coarsen content and language in conformity with their own preferences, which intertwine with the generally libertine, anti-Puritan atmosphere of Restoration England and with the need to conform to the expectations of other Royalist poets or court wits in the literary or social circles they were part of or sought to impress.

In other instances, translators remove themes and stylistic devices, notably the use of colourful and precise descriptions of nature in the work of Tristan, Théophile and Saint-Amant, which either did not exist at all in seventeenth-century English literary culture, or at least were of less significance.

Some important elements of seventeenth-century French poetry, particularly the wealth of religious and encomiastic lyric written in the first third of the century, were ignored by English translators due to their cultural specificity. Similar problems of cultural specificity are evident in translators' handling of the 'personal' aspects of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry: those instances where poets refer to people, places and events from their own lives. On the rare occasions where poems containing a significant number of personal references were translated, these allusions were either removed or transposed into universal or general references in keeping with the increasing trend towards general rather than personal expression in seventeenth-century English

poetry. Often the 'voice' or 'persona' of the original poet is transposed into that of the translator; it is noted that in both originals and translations, the persona created often reflects the desired literary self-presentation of the poet or translator, rather than a sincere representation of the self. The weakening of the characteristically strong seventeenth-century French lyric voice in English translation contributes both to this and to other thematic changes commonly effected by English translators, notably the reduced sense of suffering in translations of Neo-Petrarchan poems.

This process of cultural transposition is evident, to a greater or lesser degree, in almost all English translations of seventeenth-century French poems during the Caroline period. In almost every case, there is evidence of some change in form, emphasis, tone, spirit or thematic effect which is intended in some way to render the product more acceptable to wider English literary culture or inherent linguistic tendencies, or to the needs and tastes of particular groups or individuals, or to transform the 'personal' expression of the original poet into the 'personal' expression of the translator.

Some of the products of the process of cultural transposition, which I have termed 'translations' throughout the study, approximately retain the length of the source poem, and, while making some prosodic changes, do not drastically alter the verse form or overall tone of the source poem. In almost all cases, however, they do, to varying degrees, alter some of the stylistic effects or thematic emphases of the original in order to conform to English linguistic tendencies and cultural expectation. Of the translations examined in detail, 'The Sun-Rise', Edward Sherburne's translation of Saint-Amant's 'Le Soleil Levant', is rare in following the original closely in form, sense, thematic emphasis and stylistic devices. Cotton's translation of Cramail's 'La Nuit' also follows the original closely in form, rhyme scheme, tone and thematic emphasis, though some images are made more vibrant and visual in translation to conform to English linguistic tendencies towards, and demands for, more precise and vibrant poetic language. The two translations of Saint-Amant's *La Solitude* follow the original closely, although Fairfax slightly alters the rhyme scheme. Both Fairfax and Philips reduce the grammatical presence of 'je' in order to transform the desired literary persona of Saint-Amant into their own desired literary persona. A similar altering of the persona and the thematic emphasis through the weakening of the lyric voice occurs in Cotton's translation of Théophile's 'Elégie XV',

although Cotton retains the length and rhyme scheme. In his translation of Théophile's 'Stances XXIX' Cotton slightly alters the rhyme scheme; the persona within the text is again less strongly-felt and the original erotic spirit is both retained and heightened in conformity with both Cotton's own taste and the seventeenth-century English desire for specific references to erotic acts. Cotton follows Racan closely in both form and spirit in his translations of 'Ingrate cause de mes larmes' and 'Ode Bachique', slightly altering the rhyme scheme in the first poem. In both of these poems, the strong sense of the speaker's personality and self-awareness are weakened to reduce the impression of suffering and remove the association of the speaker in the poem with the original historical author. The anonymous translations of 'La Jouissance' and 'Stances sur une Dame...' retain the original length of the source poems, and largely retain their tone, although the translator of Voiture's poem is slightly more sympathetic towards the lady than the original.

The poems I have termed 'adaptations' effect either a change in form, a significant change in tone or significant reduction of their source material, or a combination of these factors. Charles Cotton's transposition of Théophile's sonnet form into an 'ode' allows him to heighten and specify the erotic effects in conformity with both personal taste and wider English literary trends; although it must be said that the tone of the adaptation is not significantly different from that of the French poem. George Etherege, in his adaptation of Voiture's 'Uranie', effects perhaps a more global change in tone, to which the change in form contributes, reducing all of the original Neo-Petrarchan themes and images and retaining only the basic premise of the original. In some adaptations, the reduction in length of the source material reflects and effects the reduction or removal of some (often most) of its most significant thematic or stylistic features. The adaptations by Dryden and Stanley of two of Voiture's 'chansons' reduce their source material and thus weaken and undermine the Neo-Petrarchan elements which are being parodied in the original poems. Similarly, Stanley's reduction of Ronsard's 'Ode XIII' results in an adaptation which is much more emotionally weak and impersonal, and removes the lingering expressions of self and pain in the original Neo-Petrarchan poem, again in conformity with both Stanley's own literary preferences and contemporary English literary practices. In his adaptations of Tristan's 'Plainte d'Acante' and Théophile's 'La Maison de Sylvie', Stanley reduces the length of the source poems

considerably, thus reducing them to their basic premise and removing most of the features for which the original poems and their authors are best known. The adaptation of 'La Maison de Sylvie' transposes the original poem, with its wealth of expressions of 'personal' feeling and experience, into more general references and literary commonplaces which are culturally transferable. The dominant 'literary' persona created in Théophile's poem, consistent with the fact that it was written for a patron, is transformed into a self-effacing literary persona consistent with the voice of a translator writing, at least in the first instance, for a group of friends and fellow Royalists. In Stanley's adaptation of Tristan's 'Le Bracelet', reduction of the source material coincides with a subversion of the original argument. Some of the poems which were 'translated' were also 'adapted'; the authors of the English poems effecting more significant changes in form, length, or tone. Where the anonymous translator of 'La Jouyssance' retained the length and largely the tone of the original, Stanley's reduction of the length resulted in the reduction of the original erotic sentiment. While John Oldham retained the length of Voiture's 'Stances sur une Dame...', albeit altering the rhyme scheme, the process of cultural transposition is perhaps more evident in this adaptation than anywhere else. Oldham effects a complete change in the tone of the original poem. That Voiture's poem and Oldham's translation were the product of very different cultural climates and intended for very different audiences – the women of the French salons in Voiture's case and male Restoration courtiers in Oldham's – is clear from the transposition of a gently mocking literary game into a cruel and misogynistic joke. That the process of cultural transposition, while evident overall in English translations of French poetry during this period, is not, however, uniform or predicatable, is evident in the differing treatments of a bawdy or erotic poem by different translators. Charles Cotton's adaptation of Desportes's 'A Phyllis' both alters the form of the original and, like Oldham, completely transforms the original playful humour into cruel and vulgar misogyny in conformity with Cotton's own preferences and English cultural demands. A similar change in tone is the main characteristic of Cotton's adaptations of Maynard's *épigrammes*, which do not, however, significantly alter the form of their original poems. In some adaptations, different tones and thematic emphases are the result of different gender perspectives on the part of the translator. This is the case in Katherine Philips's adaptation of the pastoral poem from

Scudéry, which effects a much more tender tone towards the lady than the source poem, through the slower rhythm and the altering of the lyric voice. A more obvious and dramatic gender subversion is evident in Aphra Behn's imitation of Cantezac's 'L'Occasion Perdue Recouverte'. I have termed this an 'imitation' as Behn's poem only uses the first third of Cantezac's poem, effects a transposition of setting from urban to pastoral and completely subverts the original ending through the use of a female narrator in place of the original male speaker. Philip Ayres's imitation of 'Le Matin', while not altering the setting or gender perspective of the original, nevertheless effects a significant alteration of all of the thematic and stylistic effects of Théophile's poem.

The process of translating from contemporary French poetry in Caroline England appears at first glance to be unsystematic, a fact which may well help to explain why it has been largely ignored or undervalued by scholars. While it is unsurprising that such an important and influential poem as *La Solitude* was chosen for translation, other choices are somewhat unexpected and do not seem to conform to any obvious or coherent pattern. Some well-known seventeenth-century French poems were ignored by English translators, while other poems were translated more than once. Translators selected little-known or little-admired poems by well-known French poets, and obscure works by poets who were minor in the seventeenth century and are virtually unknown today. There is no attempt to translate the complete works of major seventeenth-century French lyric poets, such as Malherbe or Théophile. However, this lack of an author-centred approach, while immediately surprising, is consistent with the remarks made thus far about the process of cultural transposition evident in the practice of translating from contemporary French poetry in Caroline England. English translators do not appear to have been aiming to exalt individual French poets, or make their works known or accessible in England. Rather, translators seem to choose poems which either already suited both their own tastes and the wider tastes and expectations of English literary culture, or could be altered to suit them; this led translators to select poems of a certain *type* or theme, rather than poems by certain authors.

Almost all of the translators were Royalist sympathisers, and English Royalist cultural politics had a significant effect both on which poems English poets chose to translate and the changes they made. The act of reading and translating French poetry

often took place in the context of Royalist rural retreat, and was itself a means of escape from defeat and political upheaval. As mentioned, the translation and coarsening of French bawdy and erotic poems formed part of the literary expression of Royalist protest and anti-Puritan sentiments.

The frequent use of the *recueils collectifs* as a source for poems to translate helps to explain the apparently random nature of poems chosen, and also contributed to the preference of type over author. As noted, the *recueils* often deliberately obscured author individuality, and presented poems of a particular theme or type, such as obscene poetry or salon verse. Rather than reading the works of individual French lyricists, English poets seem to have browsed in the anthologies for poems which appealed to their tastes or current situations. This often resulted in the selection of poems for which their authors were not, or would not have wished to be, reputed.

Had seventeenth-century English readers only come into contact with contemporary French poetry through English translations, the impression gained of the French poetic landscape would have differed greatly from the impression they would have gained had they explored it for themselves. They would have discovered only those elements which were being rejected in France or represented exceptions to overall trends there, conformed to English literary culture, or could be transferred easily into another culture. They would have encountered French poets through works which often did not reflect their overall, or desired, literary reputation. Also, in reading translations of early seventeenth-century French poetry made after 1650, English readers would have met with poems, themes and forms of expression which were no longer common, popular, or, in some cases, acceptable, in France. Translations frequently reflect French poetry as it had existed thirty or forty years previously. Seventeenth-century French poetry in English translation during the Caroline period thus appears frozen in time, and some of its most defining characteristics are diluted as they pass through the waters of English literary culture.

Appendix A

Tables Listing Translations and Source Poems and Names of Original Authors and Translators

A

Author	Poem Translated and date of first known publication	Translator	Title of Translation and date of first known publication
Saint-Amant	Le Soleil Levant (1631) Jamais rien n'approcha de mon heureux destin (1629) La Jouissance (1629)	Edward Sherburne	The Sun-Rise (1651) Change Defended (1651)
	La Debauche (1629) La Solitude (prior to 1625)	Thomas Stanley Anon. Thomas Stanley Katherine Philips	The Enjoyment (1651) The Enjoyment (1674) The Debauche (1651) Solitude (1667)
Théophile de Viau	La Maison de Sylvie (1625) Elégie XV (1623) Sonnet X ('Chère Isis, tes beautés') (1623) Stances XXIX ('Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras') (1621) Le Matin (1619)	Thomas Stanley Charles Cotton	Sylvia's Park (1651) Elegy de Theophile (1689) Ode de Theophile (1689)
		Philip Ayres	Stances de Monsieur Theophile (1689) The Morn (1687)
Voiture	Stances sur une Dame dont la jupe fut retroussee on versant dans un carrosse, à la campagne (1650)	John Oldham	Upon a Lady, Who by overturning of a Coach, had her Coats behind flung up, and what was under shewn to the View of the Company (1683)
	Sonnet d'Uranie (1650) Chanson XXVI ('Je me tais, et me sens bruler') (1650)	Anon. George Etherege Thomas Stanley	Upon the sight of a fair Ladies breech, discovered at being turned over in a Coach (1674) Voiture's Urania (1674) Song out of Voiture (1651)

	Chanson XXV ('L'Amour sous sa loy') (1650)	John Dryden	'The Song' ('Blind Love to this Hour') (1668)
Tristan	La Plainte d'Acante (1638) Le Bracelet (1638) Fantaisie: un jour Amour sur la verdure (1638)	Thomas Stanley Edward Sherburne	Acanthus' Complaint (1651) The Bracelet (1651) The Defeat (1651)
Racan	Ode Bachique (1618) Ode XXVIII (1618)	Charles Cotton	Ode Bachique. De Monsieur Racan (1689) Ode de Monsieur Racan (1689)
Malherbe	Caliste, priez nuit et jour (1615)	Charles Cotton	Writ in Calista's Prayer-Book. An Epigram of Monsieur de Malherbe (1689)
Scudéry	unknown Pastoral poem from <i>Almahide</i> (1660) Stances Envoyez par le Sieur de Scudery A l'Altezze de Madame le Duchess de Lorrein Avec son Grand Cyrus	Charles Cotton Katherine Philips Richard Flecknoe	Stances de Monsieur Scudery (1689) A Pastorall of Mons. de Scudéry's. In ye first volume of <i>Almahide</i> , Englished (1667) Stances sent to her Highness the Duchess Of Lorrein, By the Sieur de Scudery, Together with his Grand Cyrus (1670)
Boileau?	unknown	Anon.	Verses Made by Sapho, Done from the Greek by Boyleau, And from the French By A Lady of Quality (1685)
Maynard	'Jean qui dans ce tombeau' (1626) 'Ca, Maresse, la verre en main' (1630) 'Tu veux qu'on t'ayme constamment' (1626) 'Tes levres ont perdu leurs roses' (1626) 'Pourquoi mettez-vous tant de peine' (1630) 'Que ton front est coupé de rides' (1626) 'Des hommes à bonne cervelle' (1630)	Charles Cotton	Epitaph de Maynard (1689) Epig. de Maynard ('Come, let's drink') (1689) Epig. de Maynard ('Cocca thou'dst Still be loved') (1689) Epig. de Maynard ('Thy cheeks having their roses shed') (1689) Epig. de Maynard ('Old Fop, why shoud'st thou take such pains') (1689) Epig. Maynard (Lord, how wrinkled is thy forehead') (1689) Epig. de Maynard ('Some men of sense')

	<p>'Antoine feint d'etre malade' (1626)</p> <p>'Le grand ventre de la nature' (1626)</p>		<p>(1689)</p> <p>Epig. de Maynard 'Anthony feins him sick of late' (1689)</p> <p>Epig. de Maynard 'The extended wont of nature' (1689)</p>
Cotin	Epigramme ('Après tant d'ouvrages divers') (1652)	Charles Cotton	Epig. de Cotin ('After so many works') (1689)
Comtesse de Brégy	Epigramme ('Cy-dessous gist un grand seigneur') (1652)	Charles Cotton	Epig. de Benserade ('Here lies a great load of extraordinary merit') (1689)
Unknown (possibly Cotin or Benserade)	Epigramme ('Je mourray de trop de desir') (1652)	Charles Cotton	Epig. de Cotin ('I perish of too much desire') (1689)
Unknown	Epigramme ('Martin, ce fameux effronté') (1652)	Charles Cotton	Epig. de Corneille ('Martin, Pox on him') (1689)
Bertaut	Chanson ('Souhaitant que le ciel punisse') (1609)	Charles Cotton	Stances de Monsieur Bertaut (1689)
Comte de Cramail	La Nuit (1609)	Charles Cotton	The Night. Written by Monsieur le Comte de Cramail. Stanzas. (1689)
Desportes	A Phyllis (1607)	Charles Cotton John Suckling	Epigramme de Desportes (1689) Profer'd love rejected (1659)
Ronsard	Ode XIII (1550)	Thomas Stanley	The Revenge (1651)
Beys	La Jouissance Imparfaite (1651)	George Etherege	The Imperfect Enjoyment (1672)

Cantenac	L'Occasion Perdue Recouverte (1661)	Anon. Aphra Behn	The Lost Opportunity Recovered (1682) The Disappointment (1680)
D'Urfe	Sonnet. Il parle au vent (1633)	Thomas Stanley	The Breath (1651)
unknown	unknown	Anon.	Song, out of French (1685)
unknown	unknown	Edmund Waller	Translated out of French
Motin?	Desdain (1609)	John Suckling	Disdain (1659)

B

Translator	Poem Translated	Author	Title of Translation
Thomas Stanley	La Jouissance (1629) La Debauche (1629) La Maison de Sylvie (1625) La Plainte d'Acante (1638) Le Bracelet (1638) Chanson XXVI ('Je me tais, et me sens bruler') (1630) Ode XIII (<i>Trosième Livre des Odes</i>) Sonnet. Il parle au vent (1633)	Saint-Amant Théophile de Viau Tristan L'Hermite Voiture Ronsard D'Urfé	The Enjoyment (1651) The Debauche (1651) Sylvia's Park (1651) Acanthus' Complaint (1651) The Bracelet (1651) Song out of Voiture (1651) The Revenge (1651) The Breath (1651)
Charles Cotton all translations were first published in Cotton's <i>Poems on Several Occasions</i> (1689)	Elégie XV (1623) Sonnet X ('Chère Isis, tes beautés') (1623) Stances XXIX ('Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras') (1621) Ode Bachique (1618) Ode XXVIII (1618) Caliste, priez nuit et jour (1615) 'Jean qui dans ce tombeau' (1626) 'Ca, Maresse, la verre en main' (1630) 'Tu veux qu'on t'ayme constamment' (1627)	Théophile Racan Malherbe Maynard	Elegy de Theophile Ode de Theophile Stances de Monsieur Theophile Ode Bachique. De Monsieur Racan Ode de Monsieur Racan Writ in Calista's Prayer-Book. An Epigram of Monsieur de Malherbe Epitaph de Maynard Epig. de Maynard ('Come, let's drink') Epig. de Maynard ('Cocca thou'dst Still be loved')

	<p>'Antoine feint d'être malade' (1626)</p> <p>'Tes levres ont perdu leurs roses' (1626)</p> <p>'Pourquoi mettez-vous tant de peine' (1630)</p> <p>'Que ton front est coupé de rides' (1626)</p> <p>'Des Hommes à bons cervelle' (1630)</p> <p>'Le grand ventre de la nature' (1626)</p> <p>Epigramme ('Après tant d'ouvrages divers') (1652)</p> <p>Epigramme ('Cy-dessous gist un grand seigneur') (1652)</p> <p>Epigramme ('Je mourray de trop de desir') (1652)</p> <p>Epigramme ('Martin, ce fameux effronté') (1652)</p> <p>Chanson ('Souhaitant que le ciel punisse') (1609)</p> <p>La Nuit (1609)</p> <p>A Phyllis (1607)</p> <p>unknown</p>	<p>Cotin</p> <p>Comtesse de Brégy?</p> <p>Unknown (possibly Cotin or Benserade)</p> <p>Unknown</p> <p>Bertaut</p> <p>Comte de Cramail</p> <p>Desportes</p> <p>Scudéry</p>	<p>Epig. de Maynard ('Anthony feins him sick of late')</p> <p>Epig. de Maynard ('Thy cheeks having their roses shed')</p> <p>Epig. de Maynard ('Old Fop, why shouldst thou take such pains')</p> <p>Epig. Maynard (Lord, how wrinkled is thy forehead')</p> <p>Epig. de Maynard ('Some men of sense')</p> <p>Epig. de Maynard ('The extended wont of nature')</p> <p>Epig. de Cotin ('After so many works')</p> <p>Epig. de Benserade ('Here lies a great load of extraordinary merit')</p> <p>Epig. de Cotin ('I perish of too much desire')</p> <p>Epig. de Corneille ('Martin, Pox on him')</p> <p>Stances de Monsieur Bertaut</p> <p>The Night. Written by Monsieur le Comte de Cremail. Stanzas.</p> <p>Epigramme de Desportes</p> <p>Stances de Monsieur de Scudéry</p>
John Oldham	Stances sur une Dame dont la jupe fut retroussée on versant dans un carrosse, à la campagne (1650)	Voiture	Upon a Lady, Who by overturning of a Coach, had her Coats behind flung up, and what was under shewn to the View of the Company (1683)

Edward Sherburne	Fantaisie: un jour Amour sur la verdure (1638) Jamais rien n'approcha de mon heureux destin (1629) Le Soleil Levant (1631)	Tristan L'Hermite Saint-Amant	The Defeat (1651) Change Defended (1651) The Sun-Rise (1651)
Katherine Philips	La Solitude (prior to 1625) Pastoral Poem from <i>Almahida</i> (1660) Paraphrase de L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ	Saint-Amant Scudéry Corneille	Solitude (1667) A Pastoral of Mons. de= Scudéry's. In ye first volume of <i>Almahide</i> , Englished. (1667) A Fragment. Mr. Corneille upon ye Imitation of Jesus=Christ: Lib.3. Cap. 2. Englished. (1667)
John Suckling	A Phyllis (1607) Desdain (1609)	Desportes Motin?	Profer'd love rejected (1659) Disdain (1659)
Anon.	Stances sur une Dame dont la jupe fut retroussée on versant dans un carrosse, à la campagne (1650)	Voiture	Upon the sight of a fair Ladies breech, discovered at being turned over in a Coach (1674)
Anon.	La Jouissance (1629)	Saint-Amant	The Enjoyment (1651)
Aphra Behn	L'Occasion Perdue Recouverte (1661)	Cantenac	The Disappointment (1680)
Anon.	L'Occasion Perdue Recouverte (1661)	Cantenac	The Lost Opportunity Recovered (1682)
Edmund Waller	'Translated out of French'	unknown	unknown
Richard Flecknoe	Stances sent to her Highness the Duchess Of Lorrein, By the Sieur de Scudery, Together with his Grand Cyrus (1670)	Scudéry	Stances Envoyez par le Sieur de Scudery A l'Alteze de Madame le Duchess de Lorrein Avec son Grand Cyrus
Anon.	unknown	unknown	Song, From the French (1685)
Anon.	Verses Made by Sapho, Done from the Greek by Boyleau, And from the French By A Lady of Quality (1685)	Boileau?	unknown

Appendix B

Below are the texts of longer translations referred to in the study, which are not included in modern anthologies or modern editions of translators' works, and their French source poems. I have also given translations of *épigrammes* which do not appear in modern editions, and are not discussed in detail, and therefore not printed in, the main body of the study.

Elégie XV Théophile de Viau

Depuis ce triste jour qu'un adieu malheureux
M'ôta le cher objet de mes yeux amoureux,
Mon âme de mes sens fut toute désunie,
Et privé que je fus de votre compagnie,
Je me trouvai si seul avecque tant d'effroi
Que je me crus moi-même être éloigné de moi.
La clarté du soleil ne m'était point visible,
La douceur de la nuit ne m'était point sensible,
Je sentais du poison en mes plus doux repas,
Et des gouffres partout où se portaient mes pas.
Depuis rien que la mort n'accompagna ma vie,
Tant me coûta l'honneur de vous avoir suivie.
O Dieux qui disposez de nos contentements,
Les donnez-vous toujours avecque des tourments?
Ne se peut-il jamais qu'un bon succès arrive
A l'état des mortels qu'un mauvais ne le suive?
Mêlez-vous de l'honneur au sort plus gracieux
De celui des humains que vous aimez le mieux?
Ici votre puissance est en vain appelée,
Comme un corps son ombre, un couteau sa vallée,
Ainsi que le soleil est suivi de la nuit,
Toujours le plus grand bien a du mal qui le suit.
Lorsque le beau Pâris accompagnait Hélène,
Son âme de plaisir vit sa fortune pleine,
Mais le sort ce bonheur cruellement vengea,
Car comme avec le temps la fortune changea,
De sa prospérité naquit une misère
Qui fit brûler sa ville et massacrer son père.
Bien que dans ce carnage on vit tant de malheurs,
Qu'on versa dans le feu tant de sang et de pleurs,
Je jure par l'éclat de votre beau visage,
Que pour l'amour de vous je souffre davantage,
Car si longtemps absent des grâces de vos yeux,
Il me semble qu'on m'a chassé d'auprès des dieux
Et que je suis tombé par un coup de tonnerre
Du plus haut lieu du ciel au plus bas de la terre.
Depuis tous mes plaisirs dorment dans le cercueil,
Aussi vraiment depuis je suis vêtu de deuil,
Je suis chagrin partout où le plaisir abonde,
Je n'ai plus nul souci que de déplaire au monde,
Comme sans me flatter je vous proteste ici
Que le monde ne fait que me déplaire aussi.
Au milieu de Paris je me suis fait ermite,
Dedans un seul objet mon esprit se limite,
Quelque part où mes yeux me pensent divertir

Elegy de Théophile Charles Cotton

Since that sad Day, a sadder *Farewell* did
My Eyes the object of my flame forbid,
My Soul, and Sense so disunited are,
That being thus deprived of thee, *My Fair*,
I find me so distractedly alone,
That from my self, methinks myself am gone.
To me invisible's the Sun's fair Light,
Nor do I feel the soft repose of Night:
I Poyson tast in my repast most sweet;
And sink where-ever I dispose my feet;
My *Life* all company, but *Death*, has lost,
Chloris, so dear the love I bear thee cost.
Oh Gods! who all the joys we have bestow,
Do you with them always give torments too?
Can that, we call *Good Fortune* never hit
Humane designs, but ill must follow it?
If equally you interweave the *Fate*
With good, and ill of those you love, and hate.
In vain I sue to her, I so adore,
In vain her help that has no Power implore.
For, as black night pursues the glorious *Sun*,
The greatest *Good* does but some *Ill* fore-run.
When handsome *Paris* liv'd with *Helen* fair,
He saw his *Fortune* rais'd above his *Care*;
But *Fate* severely did revenge that bliss;
For (as with time his *Fortune* chang'd is.)
From his Delights sprang a debate, that Fire
Brought to old *Troy*, and massacred his *Sire*.
And though in that subversion there appear
Such sad mishaps of Bloud, of Fire, and Tears
Yet by that *Heavenly Face* I so adore,
I swear, for love of thee, I suffer more,
For so long absent from thy gracious Eyes,
Methinks I banisht am the *Deities*.
And that from *Heaven* with *Thunder* wrapt in *Flame*
To th' Centre I precipitated am.
Since I left thee, my Pleasures in their Tomb
Ye dead, and I their *Mourner* am become.
With all Delights my Thoughts distasted are,
And only to dislike the *World* take care;
Which as complying with my peevish Will,
Does nothing, *I protest*, but vex me still.
In *Paris*, like an *Hermit*, I retire,
And in one *Object* limit my Desire.
Where e'er my Eyes seek to divert my Mind,

Je traîne une prison d'où je ne puis sortir,
 J'ai le feu dans les os et dans l'âme déchirée
 De cette flèche d'or que vous m'avez tirée.
 Quelque tentation qui se présente à moi,
 Son appas ne me sert qu'à renforcer ma foi.
 L'ordinaire secours que la raison apporte
 Pour rendre à tout le moins ma passion moins forte,
 L'irrite davantage et me fait mieux souffrir
 Un tourment qui m'oblige en me faisant mourir.
 Contre un dessein prudent s'obstine mon courage
 Ainsi que le rocher s'endurcit à l'orage.
 J'aime ma frénésie et ne saurais aimer
 Aucun de mes amis qui la voudraient blâmer.
 Aussi ne crois-je point que la raison consente
 De m'approcher tandis que vous serez absente.
 J'entends que ma pensée éprouve incessamment
 Tout ce que peut l'ennui sur un fidèle amant,
 J'entends que le soleil avecque moi s'ennuie,
 Que l'air soit couvert d'ombre et la terre de pluie,
 Que parmi le sommeil de tristes visions
 Enveloppent mon âme en leurs illusions,
 Que tous mes sentiments soient mêlés d'une rage,
 Qu'au lit je m'imagine être dans un naufrage,
 Tomber d'un précipice et voir mille serpents
 Dans un cachot obscur autour de moi rampants.
 Aussi bien loin de vous une vie inhumaine
 Sans doute me sera plus aimable et plus saine,
 Car je ne puis songer seulement au plaisir
 Qu'une mort ne me vienne incontinent saisir.
 Mais quand le Ciel, lassé du tourment qu'il me livre,
 Sous un meilleur aspect m'ordonnera de vivre,
 Et qu'en leur changement les astres inconstants
 Me pourront amener un favorable temps,
 Mon âme à votre objet se trouvera changée,
 Et de tous ces malheurs incontinent vengée.
 Quand mes esprits seraient dans un mortel sommeil,
 Vos regards me rendront la clarté du soleil,
 Dessus moi votre voix peut agir de la sorte
 Que le Zéphyr agit sur la campagne morte.
 Voyez comment Philis renaît à son abord,
 Déjà l'hiver contre elle a fini son effort.
 Désormais nous voyons épanouir les roses,
 La vigueur du printemps reverdit toutes choses,
 Le ciel en est plus gai, les jours en sont plus beaux,
 L'Aurore en s'habillant écoute les oiseaux,
 Les animaux des champs qu'aucun souci n'outrage,
 Sentent renouveler et leur sang et leur âge,
 Et suivant leur nature et l'appétit des sens,
 Cultivent sans remords des plaisirs innocents.
 Moi seul dans la saison où chacun se contente,
 Accablé des douleurs d'une cruelle attente,
 Languis sans réconfort et tout seul dans l'hiver,
 Ne vois point de printemps qui me puisse arriver.
 Seul je vois les forêts encore désolées,
 Les parterres déserts, les rivières gelées,
 Et comme ensorcelé ne puis goûter le fruit

I bear the Prison, where I am confin'd.
 My Blood is sir'd, and my Soul wounded lies,
 By th'golden Shaft shot from thy killing Eyes
 All the *Temptations*, that I daily see,
 Serve only to confirm my Faith to thee.
 The usual helps, that humane Reason bless,
 To render a Man's Passion something less,
 Stir mine up more to suffer cheerfully
 Th'obliging Torments, that do make me dye.
 My *Prudence*, by my *Courage*, is withstood,
 As by a rock the fury of the Flood.
 I love my *Frenzy*, and I could not love
 Him of my friends, that it should disapprove;
 Nor do I think, my reasonable part
 Will e'er approach me, whist thou absent at.
 I find my Thoughts incessantly approve
 The torturing effects of faithful Love.
 I find, that *Day* it self shares in my pain;
 The *Air's* o'respread with Clouds, the *Earth* with Rain;
 That horrid *Visions* in my starting Sleep,
 My *Souls* in their illusions tangled keep:
 That all the apprehensions in my Head
 Are *Madness*, by my feverish Passion bred,
 That at husht midnight I imagine Storms,
 And see a *Ship-wrack*, in its dreadfull'st Forms,
 Fall from the top of an high precipice
 Into the Jaws of an obscure Abyss:
 And there a thousand ugly *Serpents* see,
 Hissing t'advance their scaly Crests at me.
 I cannot once dream of a false Delight,
 But cruel *Death* straight seizes me in spite.
 But when *Heaven* (weary to have gone thus far)
 Gives, that I live under a better *Star*;
 And when th'unconstant Stars, by their chang'd power,
 Present me for my Pains one happy hour;
 My *Soul* will find it self chang'd at thy sight,
 And of all past mishaps revenged quite.
 Though in *Nights* Sleep my Spirits buried lay,
 Thy sight, my *Dear*, would lend them beams of *Day*.
 Thy *Voice* has over me the self same power,
 With *Zephyr's* Breath over th'*Earth's* wither'd Flower;
 The vigorous *Springs* makes all things fresh and new;
 The blowing *Rose* puts on her blushing hue;
 The *Heavens* more gay, the *Days* more fair appear
Aurora dressing to the Birds gives ear,
 The wild Beasts of the Forrest free from Care,
 Do feel their Bloud, and Youth renewed are,
 And naturally obedient to their Sense,
 Without remorse, their *Pleasures* recommence.
 I only in the season all are blest,
 With cruel, and continual Grievs opprest,
 Alone in *Winter*, sad, and comfortless,
 See not the glorious *Spring*, that we should bless.
 I only see the *Forrest* fair forsook,
 Th'*Earths* surface Desart, and the frozen Brook,
 And, as if charm'd, cannot once tast the Fruit,

Qu'à la faveur de tous cette saison produit.
 Mais lorsque le Soleil adoré de mon âme
 Du feu de ses rayons réchauffera ma flamme,
 Mon printemps reviendra, mais mille fois plus beau
 Que n'en donne aux mortels le céleste flambeau.
 Si jamais le destin permet que je la voie,
 Plus que tous les mortels tout seul j'aurai de joie.
 Ô dieux! pour défier l'horreur du monument
 Je ne demande rien que cela seulement.

Stances XXIX Théophile de Viau

I.

Quand tu me vois baiser tes bras,
 Que tu poses nus sur tes draps,
 Bien plus blancs que le linge même;
 Quand tu sens ma brûlante main
 Se promener dessus ton sein,
 Tu sens bien, Cloris, que je t'aime

II

Comme un dévot devers les Cieux,
 Mes yeux tournés devers tes yeux,
 À genoux auprès de ta couche,
 Pressé de mille ardent désirs,
 Je laisse sans ouvrir ma bouche,
 Avec toi dormir mes plaisirs.

III

Le sommeil, aise de t'avoir,
 Empêche tes yeux de me voir
 Et te retient dans son empire
 Avec si peu de liberté
 Que ton esprit tout arrêté
 Ne murmure ni ne respire.

IV

La rose en rendant son odeur,
 Le Soleil donnant son ardeur,
 Diane et le char qui la traîne,
 Une Naïade dedans l'eau,
 Et les Grâces dans un tableau,
 Font plus de bruit que ton haleine.

V

Là je soupire auprès de toi,
 Et considérant comme quoi
 Ton oeil si doucement repose,
 Je m'écrie: ô Ciel! peux-tu bien
 Tirer d'une si belle chose

That in this season to all Palats suit.
 But when those *Suns* my adoration claim,
 Shall with their Rays once reinforce my Flame,
 My *Spring* will then return more sweet, and fair
 By thousand times than those, *Heavens Lamp* gives, are,
 If ever *Fate* allow mine Eyes that grace,
 My Joys will transcend those of the humane Race,
 Nothing, but that, *Oh Gods!* nothing but that
 Do I desire to battle Death, and Fate.

Stances de Monsieur Theophile Charles Cotton

When thy nak'd Arm thou see'st me kiss
 Upon the snowy Sheet display'd,
 Which whiter than the Linnen is;
 And, when my glowing Hand's betray'd
 Wandring about thy Paps: Thy Sense may prove,
Chloris, that with a burning heat I love.

[...] Zealots Eyes to *Heaven* tend,
 So mine Eyes unto thine are turn'd,
 When to thy Couch my Knees I bend,
 With thousands of warm Passions burn'd,
 My Lips from whispering Murmurs then are free,
 And suffer my Delights to sleep with thee.

Morpheus glad of the surprise,
 In his black *Empire* thee detains;
 And hides from seeing me thine Eyes
 With so dull, so heavy Chains,
 That thy soft slumber'd- charmed Spirits lye
 Dumb, without murmur at his *Tyranny*.

In breathing her perfume the *Rose*,
 In shooting forth his heat the *Day*,
The Chariot, where Diana goes,
 And *Naiad's* when in Flouds they play,
 The silent *Graces* in a Picture to
 Make more of noise, than thy soft Breathings do.

Then by thee did I breathe a Sigh,
 And when thy rest I had descryed;
 The sweet Repose, that seal'd thine Eye:
 With *Passion* then; *Oh Heaven!* I cryed
 How canst thou from such excellent *Limbs*, as these

Un si cruel mal que le mien?

Stances sur une Dame dont la jupe fut retroussée on versant dans un carrosse, à la campagne Voiture

Phyllis, je suis dessous vos loix,
Et sans remède à cette fois,
Mon ame est vostre prisonnière:
Mais sans justice et sans raison,
Vous m'avez pris par le derriere,
N'est-ce pas une trahison?

Je m'estois gardé de vos yeux;
Et ce visage gracieux,
Qui peut faire paslir le nostre;
Contre moy n'ayant point d'appas,
Vous m'en avez fait voir un autre,
De quoy je ne me gardois pas.

D'abord il se fit mon vanqueur,
Ses attraitz percerent mon coeur,
Ma liberté se vit ravie;
Et le méchant en cét estat,
S'estoit cache toute sa vie,
Pour faire cét assassinat.

Il est vray que je fus surpris,
Le feu passa dans mes esprits:
Et mon coeur autrefois superbe,
Humble se rendit à l'Amour,
Quand il vit vostre cu sur l'herbe,
Faire honte aux rayons du jour.

Le Soleil confus dans les Cieux,
En le voyant si radieux,
Pensa retourner en arriere,
Son feu ne servant plus de rien;
Mais ayant veu vostre derriere,
Il n'osa plus montrer le sien.

En découvrant tant de beautez,
Les Sylvains furent enchantez,
Et Zephyre voyant encore
D'autres appas que vous avez;
Mesme en la presence de Flore,
Vous baisa ce que vous sçavez.

La Rose la Reine des fleurs,
Perdit ses plus vives couleurs,
De crainte l'oeillet devint blesme;
Et Narcisse alors convaincu,
Oublia l'amour de soy-mesme,
Pour se mirer en vostre cu.

Extract so great an ill, as my Disease.

Upon the sight of a Fair Ladies breech, discovered at being turned over in a Coach
Anon.

I yield, I yield, fair *Phyllis*, now
My Heart must to your Empire bow;
I am your Pris'ner, for I find,
Y'ave Conquered both my Will and Reason;
But you surprized me behind,
And is not that a kind of Treason?

Against your Eyes I plac'd a Guard,
And kept my freedom, though 'twere hard
Withstanding that most tempting Face;
When finding I again drew near,
You chang'd your Ambush, and did place
Your murdering *Cupids* in your Rear.

At this full sight my heart did yield;
For every glance did pierce my Shield:
The fairest Face it did outbid.
Could I resist my Fate, or Stars,
When this slye enemy lay hid
So close, and took me unawares?

It seiz'd me both with love and fear,
Seeing so many beauties there;
And brought me, fond fool, to that pass,
That, *Persian*-like, I straight did run,
Seeing your white Breech on the grass,
To adore that new-rising Sun.

Phebus was glad to veil his eyes,
Finding that greater lustre rise,
And thought to steal away ere night,
Thinking his beams were useless now:
Which he had done, but that the sight
Staid him, in hopes to kiss it too.

The Satyrs much enamour'd were,
Beholding all the Graces there;
And *Zephyus* espying too
Some other Charms, so lik'd them, that
Despight of all *Flora* could do,
He often kiss'd your You-know-what.

The *Rose*, the Flowers lovely Queen,
Droopt, when your fresher skin was seen:
Lillies lookt pale, and shed a tear:
Narcissus was brought to the pass,
He left his self-lov'd Shade, and there
Gaz'd in your brighter Looking-glass.

Aussi rien n'est si precieux,
Et la clarté de vos beaux yeux,
Vostre teint qui jamais ne change,
Et le reste de vos appas,
Ne meritent point de louange,
Qu'alors qu'il ne se montre pas.

On m'a dit qu'il a des defaux
Qui me causeront mille maux
Car il est farouche à merveilles:
Il est dur comme un diamant,
Il est sans yeux et sans oreilles,
Et ne parle que rarement.

Mais je l'aime, et veux que mes vers,
Par tous les coins de l'Univers,
En faisant vivre la memoire;
Et ne veux penser desormais
Qu'à chanter dignement la gloire
Du plus beau Cu qui fut jamais.

Phillis, cachez bien ses appas,
Les mortels ne dureroient pas,
Si ces beautez estoient sans voiles ;
Les Dieux qui regnent dessus nous,
Assis là haut sur les Estoilles,
Ont un moins beau siege que vous.

La Jouyssance Saint-Amant

Loin de ce pompeux Edifice
Où nos Princes font leur sejour,
Et lassé de voir à la Cour
Tant de contrainte et d'artifice,
J'estois libre dans ma Maison,
Bien que mon Coeur fust en prison
Dans les beaux yeux de ma Sylvie
Et sans craindre en amour l'inconstance du sort,
Je menois la plus douce vie
Qu'on puisse voir passer par les mains de la Mort.

Mes sens en bonne intelligence
S'entendoient avec mes desirs,
Me recherchans mille plaisirs
D'une soigneuse diligence:
Chacun admiroit mon bon-heur;
Le Ciel pour me combler d'honneur,
Ne juroit que par mon merite,
Et disoit au sujet de mes affections,
Que la terre estoit trop petite
Pour pouvoir contenir tant de perfections.

Mon bien estoit incomparable
Ainsi que ma dame et ma foy;
Le plus content au prix de moy,
Ne s'estimoit que miserable.

Nor is there ought on earth so fair,
No Face that's worthy its compare:
No Cheeks, no Lips, Eyes darting rays:
'Mongst all those Beauties, there's no grace
Nor Meen, but soon will loose its praise,
When your Breech but appears i'th'place.

'Tis true, I fear't has some defects
Will trouble me in these respects:
For it is very coy and shy,
Harder than the white Rock to break;
Nor hath it either Ear or Eye,
And's very rarely heard to speak.

But so I love it, that my Verse
Shall to the World its praise rehearse:
Whilst dayly I will make resort
To pay my homage to this Queen,
Who leaves behind her this report
Of th'sweetest Beauty e're was seen.

O hide it then from all but me,
For were't unvail'd still, Gods would be
My Rivals, and descend anew;
Who (though they sit on Stars above)
They sit on meaner Thrones than you;
For your Breech is the Throne of Love.

The Enjoyment Anon.

Far from the stately Edifice,
Where Princes dwell, and Lords resort;
Weary of seeing in the Court
So much constraint and Artifice,
At home I liv'd in liberty,
Though my Heart did imprison'd lye
Within my dearest Silvia's Brest:
Nor fearing in her Love th'inconstancy of Fate,
I led the sweetest life for rest,
That ever scap'd the Snares of Envy, Grief, or Hate.

My Senses kept intelligence
With my Desires in equal measures,
And sought me out a thousand pleasures
With a most faithful diligence.
Each one my Fortune did admire,
To bless me Heaven did conspire:
To make me happy, every Star
Call down so mild an influence on all my actions,
No opposition e're did bar
Me from enjoying to the full all my affections.

Thus was my state incomparable,
So was my Mistress, and my Love;
All other joyes I soar'd above
So high, that they seem'd miserable.

J'estois Amant, j'estois aymé,
 La douceur qui m'avoit charmé
 Ne me gardoit point d'amertume;
 Car tant plus j'en goutais, m'y laissant emporter,
 Et tant plus contre ma coustume,
 S'augmentoit en mon Coeur le desir d'en gouter.

Sous un Climat où la Nature
 Montre à nu toutes ses beautez,
 Et nourrit les yeux enchantez
 Des plus doux traits de la peinture :
 Nous voyons briller sur les fleurs,
 Plustost des perles que des pleurs
 Qui tomboient des yeux de l'Aurore,
 Dont celle à qui Zephire adresse tous ses vœux,
 Et que le beau Printemps adore,
 Se paroît au matin la gorge et les cheveux.

Entre les Ris et les Caresses,
 Les petits Amours éveillez
 Dançoient par ces champs émaillez
 Avec les Graces leurs Maistresses:
 Et souvent pour s'entre-baiser
 Ils se venoient tous reposer
 Au milieu du sein de ma Belle,
 Faisans naistre aussi tost mille divins apas,
 De qui la puissance estoit telle
 Qu'ils donnoient tout d'un coup la vie et le trepas.

Tantost nous voyons un Satyre
 Assis à l'ombre d'un Ormeau,
 Faire plaindre son chalumeau
 De son agreable martyre:
 Tantost dans un bois escarté
 Où n'entre qu'un peu de clarté,
 Nous visitons la Solitude;
 Et trouvant le Repos qui luy faisoit la cour,
 Nous chassions toute inquietude,
 De peur de les troubler en leur paisible amour.

Là sous un Mirthe que les Fées
 Respectent comme un Arbre saint
 Où Venus elle-mesme a peint
 Ses mystères et ses trophées :
 Nous faisons des coeux solempnels
 Que nos feux seroient éternels
 Sans jamais amoindrir leur force;
 Puis prestans le serment au Dieu nostre vainqueur,
 Nous l'escrivions sur son escorce,
 Mais il estoit grave bien mieux dans nostre Coeur.

Tantost feignant un peu de crainte,
 Je disois à ceste Beauté
 Pour sonder sa fidelité,
 Que son humeur estoit contrainte:
 Tantost d'un visage mourant,

I was a Lover much belov'd,
 And midst the frequent joy I prov'd
 No bitterness was intermix'd,
 Erst whilst thereon I fed, the more I enjoy'd,
 The more my appetite was fix'd
 To taste agen, and yet my sense was never cloy'd.

Under our Climate Nature shows
 Her Beauties naked to each eye,
 Glutting the light enchantingly
 With the choice Objects she bestows.
 Upon the flowers we glittering spie
 Tears, or rather Pearls to lie,
 Dropt from the Cheeks of fair Auroa
 Wherewith she to whom Zephire makes Vows and Pray'rs
 And whom the blithe Sprong does adore,
 Does beautiful each Morn her Neck and Curled Hair.

There 'mongst the Smiles and the Caresses,
 The little frolick God inspir'd,
 Danc'd on th'enameled Grass till tir'd
 With his sweet Mistresses, the Graces.
 And still when he desir'd to Kiss,
 He came to rest himself, Oh Bliss!
 Betwixt my Silvia's snowy Brests;
 Whence he created thousand new and fresh delights,
 Whose Charms No Language can express,
 For every moment Life or Death was in their mights.

Sometimes we saw a Satyr come,
 Who sitting in an Oaks fresh shade,
 Upon his Pipe complaints then made
 Of Love, and its sweet Martyrdome.
 Then walk'd we to a Grove apart,
 Wherein the Sun no beam could dart,
 To find our Solitariness.
 And finding peaceful Reat, with solitude there sporting,
 We banish'd all unquietness,
 Lest that might have disturb'd our pretty harmless courting.

There under a straight Mirtle-tree,
 (Which Lovers holy do esteem)
 Where grav'd by Venus hand had been
 Her Trophies, and Loves Mystery:
 Most solemn Vows betwixt us past,
 That our bright Flame should ever last,
 Nor should its Ardour weaker grow.
 Ten offering up those Oathes to our Victorious King,
 We wrote them on the Bark below,
 But they were deeper printed on our heart within.

Sometimes a little doubt I feign'd,
 And in her Ear thus whisper'd I,
 (Only to sound her constancy)
 Is your Love free, or else constrain'd?
 Then keeping silence for a space,

Je luy tenois en souspirant,
 Ces propos de glace et de flame,
 Oseroy-je esperer, ô Miracle des Cieux,
 D'estre aussi bien dedans tone ame,
 Comme en te regardant je me voy dans tes yeux?

Lors elle disoit toute esmeuë,
 En m'accusant de feu de foy,
 Lysis, ton image est en moy
 Bien plus avant que dans la veuë:
 Je t'en prends toy mesme à tesmoin,
 Reconnoy qu'elle est bien plus loin,
 Puis qu'elle y paroist si petite;
 Et croy que tu la voids, par un regard fatal,
 Dans mon Coeur où l'Amour habite,
 Comme on voit un portrait au travers d'un crystal.

A ce discours l'ame ravie
 De ne sçavoir que repartir,
 Je la priois de consentir
 Aux voeux de l'amoureuse envie:
 Et pour terminer tout debat,
 Je l'invitois au doux esbat
 Où jamais femme ne se lasse;
 L'estreignant en l'ardeur qui m'avoit provoqué,
 Mieux que le Houbelon n'embrasse
 L'Aubesquine qui l'ayme, et dont il est piqué.

Là sur sa bouche à demy close,
 Je beuvois, baisant nuit et jour,
 A la santé de nostre amour
 Dedans une coupe de rose:
 Ma Bergère en toute saison,
 Ardente à me faire raison,
 S'enyvroit de la mesme sorte:
 Et dans ce doux excès non sens quasi perclus,
 Sous une countenance morte,
 Confessoient par nos yeux que nous ne pouvions plus.

Nos desirs reprenans courage
 Quand nos efforts s'allentissoient,
 De toutes façons exerçoient
 Les traits de l'amoureuse rage:
 Cette bouillante passion
 Portoit avec tant d'action
 Tous nos mouvemens à la guerre,
 Qu'à nous voir en ce point dans les jeux de Cypris,
 On eust dit que toute la terre
 Estoit d'un tel combat le sujet et le pris.

Cependant en cette querelle
 Suffisoit à nous contenter,
 Le lieu qu'elle daignoit prester
 A nos corps estendus sur elle:
 Nous l'estimions plus mille fois
 Que tous les Pays que nos Rois

I sighed, and with a mournful face
 Proceeded thus with Lovers Art:
 Shall I e're dare to hope? Oh heavenly Miracle!
 To be as truly in your Heart
 As in your Eyes, where I behold my self so well.

She mov'd with this, would answer me,
 (Accusing first my want of Faith)
Lysis, a place thy Image hath
 Deeper than in my Eye can be:
 I'll take thy self to judge it here,
 You know it cannot be so neer,
 Since it appears so little, - Well,
 Believe then, by Reflected Lines thou doest it see
 Gravd on my heart, where it does dwell,
 Thorow my eyes, as under Chrystals pictures be.

At this reply, my ravisht spirits
 Being rapt into a huge content,
 I did implore her quick consent
 Unto more amorous delights.
 And thus to make our contest short,
 I tempted her to that sweet sport
 Wherewith a Woman's seldom cloy'd:
 Claspng her in the heat, that great desire provokes
 (She yielding then to be enjoy'd)
 Closer then amorous Vines embrace the Sturdy Oake.

Then on her melting Lips half closed
 I tipp'd, kissing night and day
 A health unto our Love always,
 Sipping that Cup whose brim was Rosed:
 My Sheperdess, as free as I,
 Pledging those healths not greedily,
 Was o'recome with the same excess,
 When having lavishly thus spent our Amorous store,
 Our drooping Countenance did express,
 Thorow our languish'd looks, that we could do no more.

Yet our desires resuming courage,
 When our endeavors weakest grew,
 Exercis'd many ways anew
 Loves Game, for which each sense did forage,
 That sweet bewitching passion
 Led us with so much ardour on,
 And all our motions were so hurl'd,
 That who at that same time in *Cypria's* Grove had seen us,
 Would sore have judg'd, that all the World
 Had been the Wager of so fierce a Fight between us.

In this enjoyment ne'retheless
 We scorn'd the World, and did content us
 With those only Joyes Love lent us,
 Whilst my stretcht Body hers did press.
 A thousand times of this more glad,
 Then if both *Indies* we had had,

Ont eu sous leur obeissance;
 Ny mesme que ces Lieux pour qui ce grand Demon
 Qui detient l'Or en sa puissance,
 Fit trouver aux Nochers l'usage du timon.

Dieux! Quelle plume assez lascive,
 Fust-ce de l'aile d'un Moineau,
 D'un combat si doux et si beau,
 Descriroit l'ardeur excessive?
 Jamais alors qu'à membres nus
 Adonis embrassoit Venus,
 Tant de bons tours ne s'inventerent:
 Ny jamais l'Amour mesme et sa belle Psyché,
 Tant de delices ne gouterent,
 Que nos sens en goustoient en ce plaisant peché.

La langue estant de la partie,
 Si tost qu'un baiser l'assiegeoit,
 Aux bords des levres se rengeoit
 Afin de faire une sortie:
 L'ennemy recevant ses coups,
 Souffroit un matyre si dous,
 Qu'il en benissoit les atteintes;
 Et mille longs soupis servans en mesme temps
 De chants de victoire et de plaints,
 Monstroient que les vaincus estoient les plus contens.

Un jour prez d'une vive source,
 D'argent liquide et transparent,
 Qui prend la fuite en s'esgarant
 Vers la Mer où finit sa course:
 Mon Lut parlant à basse vois,
 S'entretenoit avec mes dois
 De mes secrettes fantaisies;
 Et parfois s'esclattant en la vigueur des sons,
 Les Roches se sentoient saisies
 Du mignard tremblement de mille doux frissons.

Les Oyseaux tirez par l'oreille,
 Allongeants le col pour m'ouyr,
 Se laissoient Presque esvanouyr
 Tous comblez d'aise et de merveille,
 Les Animaux autour de nous
 Nous contemploient à deux genous
 Plongez dans un profound silence;
 Quand d'un vieux chesne esmeu de ce contentement,
 Avec un peu de violence
 Sortirent ces propos assez distinctement.

Orphée aux yeux de Radamante,
 A donc ramené des Enfers,
 Malgré les flames et les fers,
 Sa chere et gracieuse Amante!
 Ce rare exemple d'amitié
 Est donc rejoint à sa moitié
 Par deux fois de luy separée!

We wanted nothing those short hours:
 'Twas not our wish, a Crown or Kingdom for to have
 We envy'd not Riches or Powers,
 T' enjoy those Pleasures still, was all that we did crave.

But oh! What Pen's enough lascivious,
 Were it pluckt from a Sparrows wing,
 For to describe so sweet a thing
 As these so oft enjoyments with us:
 Never (though with Cloathes unlaced,
 Venus her dear Love embraced)
 Were such various Sports invented:
 Nor ere did Love, and's Psyche fair with him,
 Taste such delights, were so contented
 As were our ravisht Souls, with this enticing Sin.

The Tongue being o'th'party too,
 When a close Kiss besieg'd it, straight
 On the Lips borders it would wait,
 And sometimes forth in sallies go:
 The Enemy when is strokes did come,
 Found it so sweet a Martyrdome,
 That it did welcome each attaint,
 Whilst thousand Smacks and Sighs at the same time serv'd there
 For Songs of Victory, without plaints
 Both vanquisht and the Victor equally contented were.

One day close by a murmuring Spring
 Of liquid Silver purifi'd,
 Whose wandring winding Stream did glide
 Towards the Sea, and ran therein;
 My Lute did speak the forest strain
 Fingers could make, to entertain
 My Fancy with; but then anon
 I made the Strings break forth in a more vigorous sound,
 Which mov'd the very Rocks whereon
 The lusty sprightly Goats did often skip and bound.

Birds by the Musick drawn in numbers
 Stretch'd forth their pretty necks to hear,
 Panting is if they ravish'd were,
 Alike o'recome with joy and wonder.
 The Beasts we every where did see
 Gazing at us on bended knee;
 Charmed into silence all things were,
 Whilst from an aged Oak, inspir'd with our content,
 These words distractedly we hear,
 Which in a pleasing tone to us were sent.

Orpheus from Radamanthe's sight,
 Hath now redeem'd from Hell again,
 (Spite of its Flames, and Fates strong Chain)
Euridice to heavenly Light.
 That most unparallell'd Pair to Love,
 Are once more now rejoyn'd above;
 Twice parted against boths desires,

Et sa teste où les Dieux tant de dons ont enclos,
Ny sa lyre tant admirée,
Ne furent donc jamais à l'abandon des flots!

La Nuit Stances
Comte de Cramail

Ô Nuit tant de fois désirée,
Ô Nuit de moi tant espérée,
Cause de ma félicité,
Ô Nuit à mes yeux favorable,
Fais que dans l'horreur effroyable
De l'ombre et de l'obscurité,
Je puisse adorer, cette nuit,
L'astre qui me brûle et me luit.

Épands sur la terre tes voiles,
Et cache du ciel les étoiles,
Qui semblent allumer le jour:
Je n'ai point d'autre lumière
Pour ma visite coutumière
Que celle de mon amour;
Car toute autre claret me nuit
Que celle de l'oeil qui me luit.

Oubli de nos peines passées,
Charme de nos tristes pensées,
Repos des esprits langoureux,
Qu'attends-tu pour sortir de l'onde?
Ne vois-tu pas que tout le monde
Est plein de pauvres amoureux,
Ennemis du jour et du bruit,
Qui ne désirent que la nuit?

Verrais-tu point par la fenêtre
Le bel oeil d'Aminthe paraître,
Qui comme un soeil radieux
Les ombres dans le ciel efface,
Changeant la couleur de sa face
En celle d'un jour gracieux?
Ne crains pas le soleil qui luit,
Car il est ami de la Nuit.

Sors donc, chère Nuit que j'honore,
Qui sert à mon soleil d'aurore,
Prends ton plus noir habillement;
Déjà le sommeil te devance,
Et partout un muet silence
Annonce ton avènement.
Je sais que l'astre qui me luit
N'attend pour me voir que la nuit.
Ah! je vois naître les ténèbres:
Je sors donc pour baiser les lèvres,
Le sein et l'oeil qui m'ont déçu.
Ô Nuit, de mes desirs la gloire,
Puisses-tu devenir si noire

His Head in which the Gods such rare Gifts have enclos'd,
Nor his so much admired Lyre,
To the Waves mercy then it seems were not expos'd.

The Night. Written by Monsieur le Comte de Cremail.
Stanzas. Charles Cotton

Oh Night! by me so oft requir'd,
Oh Night! by me so much desir'd,
Of my Felicity the cause,
Oh Night! so welcome to my eyes,
Grant, in this horror of the Skies,
This dreadful shade thy Curtain draws,
That I may now adore this Night
The Star that burns and gives me light.

Spread o'er the Earth thy Sable Veil,
Heaven's twinkling sparklets to conceal,
That darkness seems to day t'improve;
For other light I do need none
To guide me to my lovely one,
But only that of mine own love;
And all light else offends my sight,
But hers whose eye does give me light.

Oblivion of our forepass'd woes,
Thou Charm of sadness, and repose
Of Souls that languish in despair,
Why dost not thou from *Lethe* rise?
Dost thou not see the whole World snies
With Lovers who themselves declare
Enemies to all noise and light,
And covet nothing but the Night?

At her transparent Window there
Thou'lt see *Aminta's* eye appear,
That, like a Sun set round with Ray,
The shadows from the Sky shall chase,
Changing the colour of its face
Into a bright and glorious day;
Yet do not fear this Sun so bright,
For 'tis a mighty Friend to Night.

Rise then, lov'd Night, rise from the Sea,
And to my Sun *Aurora* be,
And now thy blackest Garment wear;
Dull sleep already thee Forgoes,
And each-where a dumb silence does
Thy long'd for long approach declare;
I know the Star that gives me light,
To see me only stays for Night.
Ha! I see shades rise from th'Abiss,
And now I go the Lips to kiss,
The Breasts and Eyes have me deceiv'd;
Oh Night! the height of my desire,
Canst thou put on so black attire

Que je ne sois pas aperçu,
Et que je puisse cette nuit
Voir le beau soleil qui me luit.

Que puisses-tu, déesse sombre,
Dedans l'épaisseur de ton ombre
Éteindre du ciel les flambeaux,
Et quoiqu'ils te fassent la guerre,
Dominer toujours sur la terre,
Et jamais n'aller sous les eaux;
Et qu'éternelle soit la nuit
Quand je vois l'astre qui me luit.

Chanson Bertaut

Souhaitant que le ciel punisse
De quelque rigoureux supplice
Ce Coeur contre Amour endurcy,
Il faux de dire que je l'aime,
Quoy que mon amour soit extreme:
C'est hair que d'aimer ainsi.

Mais ne hayssant l'inhumaine,
Que pour ce qu'ingrate à ma peine
Elle n'en a point de soucy:
Ma haine est si plaine de ma flame,
Qu'Amour la causant en mon ame,
C'est aymer que hayr ainsi.

Vueille l'Amour plus favourable,
Ou vueille la mort plus secourable
Rendre ce tourment accourcy:
Car toute paix m'estant ostee,
Ma pauvre ame est bien agitee
D'aimer & de hayr ainsi.

Qu'Amour soit clement ou severe,
A tort je crains, à tort j'espere
Et sa rigueur, & sa mercy:
Ne meritant de ma cruelle
Amour ny haine mutuelle
D'aymer & de hair ainsi.

Ou si cette haine amoureuse
Veut que plus & moins rigoureuse
Elle m'aime & haisse ainsi;
Dieux, faites par vostre clemence
Que pour peine & pour recompense,

That I by none can be perceiv'd,
And that I may this happy Night
See the bright Star that gives me light?

Oh that my dusky Goddess could
In her thick Mantle so enfold
Heaven's torches, as to damp their fire,
That here on Earth thou might'st for ever
Keep thy dark Empire, Night, and never
Under the Waves again retire;
That endless so might be the Night,
Wherein I see the Star my light!

Stanzas de Monsieur Bertaud. Charles Cotton

I.
Whilst wishing Heaven in his ire
Would punish with some judgement dire
This heart to love so obstinate;
To say I love her is to lie,
Though I do love t'extremity,
Since thus to love her is to hate.

II.

But since from this my hatred springs;
That she neglects my Sufferings,
And is unto my love ingrate,
My hatred is so full of flame;
Since from affection first it came,
That 'tis to love her thus to hate.

III.

I with that milder Love, or Death,
That ends our Miseries with our breath,
Would my affections terminate;
For to my Soul, depriv'd of peace,
It is a torment worse than these
Thus wretchedly to love and hate.

IV.

Let Love be gentle or severe,
It is in vain to hope or fear
His grace or rage in this estate,
Being I from my fair one's Spirit
Nor mutual love, nor hatred merit,
Thus foolishly to love and hate.

V.

Or, if by my example here
It just and equal do appear,
She love and loath who is my fate,
Grant me, ye powers, in this case,
Both for my punishment and grace,

Elle m'aime & haisse ainsi.

Ode XXVIII Racan

Ingrate cause de mes larmes,
Je vais chercher dans les alarmes
Le trespas, et la liberté,
C'est le conseil que je dois suivre,
Puisqu'en servant vostre beauté,
Je ne puis ny mourir, ny vivre.

Mon Roy voit ses villes desertes,
Ses plaines d'escadrons couvertes,
La violence a tout permis,
On ne voit que fer et que flâme,
Et s'il n'a point tant d'ennemis
Comme j'en porte dans mon ame.

Mais que mon esperance est vaine,
De chercher la fin de ma peine
Par des moyens desesperez!
Vous tenez ma vie enchainée,
Et vous seule deiberez
Après Dieu ma destinée.

Dans la presse de ses armées,
D'injuste colere animées
Si je vais la mort invoquer,
Quiconque verra mon teint blesme
Aura crainte de m'attaquer,
Et me prendra pour la mort mesme.

Parmy les hazards de la guerre
Où Mars du bruit de son tonnerre
Estonne la terre et les Cieux,
Qu'est-ce qui peut m'oster la vie,
Puis qu'avec les traits de vos yeux,
Amour ne me l'a point ravie?

Non, non, il faut que je languisse,
Et qu'en l'excez de mon supplice
Je monstre ma fidelité,
Ou que la raison m'en delivre,
Puisqu'en servant vostre beauté
Je ne puis ny mourir, ny vivre.

**Ode Bachique A Monsieur Menard
President D'Aurillac. Racan**

Maintenant que du Capricorne
Le temps melancholique et morne,
Tient au feu le monde assiegé:
Noyons nostre ennuy dans le verre,

That as I do, she love and hate.

Ode de Monsieur Racan Charles Cotton

Ingrateful cause of all my harms,
I go to seek amidst Alarms
My Death, or Liberty;
And that's all now I've left to do,
Since (cruel Fair) in serving you
I can nor live nor dye.

The King his Towns sees desart made,
His Plains with armed Troops o're-spread,
Violence do's controul;
All's Fire and Sword before his Eyes,
Yet he has fewer Enemies
Than I have in my Soul.

But yet, alas! My hope is vain
To put a period to my pain,
By any desperate ways,
'Tis you that hold my Life enchain'd,
And (under Heaven) you command,
And only you, my days.

If in a Battel's loud'st Alarms,
I rush amongst incensed Arms,
Invoking Death to take me,
Seeing me look so pale, the Foe
Will think me Death himself, and so
Not venture to attaque me.

In Bloody Fields where *Mars* doth make
With his loud Thunder all to shake,
Both Earth, and Heav'n to boot;
Mans pow'r to kill me I despise,
Since Love, with Arrows from your Eyes,
Had not the Pow'r to doo't.

No, I must languish still unblest,
And in worst Torments manifest
My firm Fidelity;
Or that my Reason set me free,
Since (Fair) in serving you I see,
I can nor live nor dye.

**Ode Bachique. De Monsieur Racan.
Charles Cotton**

I.

Now that the Day's short and forlorn,
Dull Melancholy *Capricorn*
To Chimney-corners Men translate;
Drown we our Sorrows in the glass,

Sans nous tourmenter de la guerre
Du Tiers Estat et du Clergé.

Je sçay, MENARD, que les merveilles
Qui naissent de tes longues veilles
Vivront autant que l'Univers,
Mais que sert-il que ta gloire
Se lise au Temple de Memoire
Quand tu seras mange des vers?

Quitte cette inutile peine,
Beuvons plutost à longue haleine
De ce Nectar delicieux,
Qui pour l'excellence precede
Celuy mesme que Ganymede
Verse dans la coupe des Dieux.

C'est luy qui fait que les annees,
Nous durent moins que des journees,
C'est luy qui nous fait rajeunir,
Et qui bannist de nos pensees,
Le regret des choses passees
Et la crainte de l'avenir.

Beuvons, MENARD, à pleine tasse,
L'âge insensiblement se passe,
Et nous meine à nos derniers jours,
L'on a beau faire des prieres,
Les ans non plus que les rivieres,
Jamais ne rebroussent leur cours.

Le Printemps vestu de verdure
Chassera bien-tost la froidure,
La Mer a son flus et reflux:
Mais que depuis que nostre jeunesse
Quitte la place à la vieillesse
Le Temps ne la rameine plus.

Les loix de la mort sont fatales,
Aussi bien aux maisons Royales
Qu'au taûdis couverts de roseaux,
Tous nos jours sont sujets aux Parques,
Ceux des Bergers et des Monarques,
Sont coupez de mesmes ciseaux.

And let the thoughts of Warfare pass,
The Clergy, and the third Estate.

II.

Menard, I know what thou hast writ,
That sprightly issue of thy Wit
Will live whilst there are men to read:
But, what if they recorded be
In Memory's Temple, boots it thee,
When thou art gnawn by Worms, and dead?

III.

Henceforth those fruitless studies spare,
Let's rather Drink until we stare
Of this delicious juyce of ours,
Which does in excellence precede
The Beverage which *Gannimede*
Into th'Immortals Goblet pours.

IV.

The Juyce that sparkles in this glass,
Make tedious Years like Days, to pass,
Yet makes us younger still become,
By this fom lab'ring thoughts are chac't
The sorrow of those Ills are past,
And terrour of the Ills to come.

V.

Let us drink brimmers then, Time's fleet,
And steals away with winged feet,
Haling us with him to our Urn,
In vain we sue to it to stay;
For years like Rivers pass away,
And never, never do return.

VI.

When the Spring comes attir'd in Green,
The Winter flies, and is not seen;
New Tydes do still supply the Main:
But when our frolick Youth's once gone,
And Age has ta'ne Possession ;
Time nere restores us that again.

VII.

Death's Laws are Universal, and
In Princes Palaces command,
As well as in the poorest Hutt,
We're to the *Parce* subject all,
The threds of Clown's and Monarchs shall,
Be both by the same Cizors cut.

Leurs rigueurs par qui tout s'efface,
 Ravissent en bien peu d'espace
 Ce qu'on a de mieux estably,
 Et bien-tost nous meneront boire
 Au delà de la rive noire
 Dans les eaux du fleuve d'oubly.

VIII.

Their rigours which all things deface,
 Will ravish in a little space,
 What ever we most lasting make;
 And soon will lead us out to drink,
 Beyond the Pitchy Rivers brink,
 The Waters of Oblivion's Lake.

Stances de Monsieur de Scudery. Charles Cotton

Fair Nymph, by whose Perfections mov'd,
 My wounded heart is turn'd to flame,
 By all admir'd, by all approv'd,
 Endure at least to be belov'd,
 Although you will not love again.

Aminta, as unkind as fair,
 What is there that you ought to fear?
 For cruel if I you declare,
 And that indeed you cruel are;
 Why the Reproach may not you hear?

Even reproaches should delight,
 If Friendship for me you have none,
 And if no Anger, I have yet
 Enough perhaps that may invite
 Your hatred or Compassion.

When your Disdain is most severe,
 When you most rigorous do prove,
 When frowns of Anger most you wear,
 You still more charming do appear,
 Am I more and more in Love.

Ah, let me, Sweet, your sight enjoy,
 Though with the forfeit of my Life,
 For fall what will, Id rather dye,
 Beholding you, of present Joy,
 Than absent, of a lingring grief.

Let your Eyes lighten, till expiring
 In flame, my Heart a Cinder lye,
 Falling is nobler than retiring,
 And in the glory of aspiring,
 'Tis brave to tumble from the Sky.

Yet I would any thing embrace
 Might serve your Anger to appease,
 And if I may obtain my grace,
 Your steps shall leave no print, nor trace
 I will not with Devotion kiss.

If, Tyrant, you will have it so,
 No word my Passion shall betray,
 My wounded Heart shall hide its woe;

But if it sigh, those Sighs will show,
And tell you what my Tongue would say.

Should yet your rigour higher rise,
Even those offending Sighs shall cease,
I will my Pain and grief disguise;
But, Sweet, if you consult mine Eyes,
Those Eyes will tell you my Disease.

If th'utmost my Respect can do,
Still will your Cruelty displeas,
Consult your Face, and that will shew
What love is to such Beauty due,
And to the state of my Disease.

**Stances Envoyez par le Sieur de Scudery
A l'Altezza de Madame la Duchesse de Lorrein
Avec son Grand Cyrus.**

Cyrus passa tous les vainqueurs
Il fut l'exemple des Grands Princes;
Mais vous surmontez plus des Coeurs
Qu'il ne surmonta des provinces.

O mervileuse nouveaute
O rare pouvoir de vos Charmes
De faire plus par la Beaute
Qu'un Heros ne fit par ses Armes.

Vous voyant vaincre en un moment
Le Brave qui vainquit l'Asie
Chacun a de l'estonnement
Mandane a de la Jalousie.

En fin le plus grand des Guerriers
Va mettre a vos pieds sa Couronne
Heureux si parmy ses Lauriers
Vous prenez son Coeur qu'il vous donne.

**Stances Sent to her Highness the Duchess of
Lorrein, By the Sieur de Scudery, Together with
his Grand Cyrus. Richard Flecknoe**

Cyrus a mighty Conqueror was,
To whom for valour none but yields:
But yours, his Conquests far surpass,
Who win more hearts then he did fields.

O strange to admiration!
O wondrous power of your Charms!
Your beauty shud do more alon,
Then coud a *Heroe* by his Arms.

To see you overcome so soon
Him, who all *Asia* overcame;
Gives wonder unto every one!
And jalousie unto *Mandane*.

In fine, the best of Warriars layes
His Crown down at your feet, and shall
Count it his happiness, if with's bayes
You but accept his heart and all.

Song, From the French.

The other day a fair yong Maid,
Who in a Neighb'ring Cottage dwells,
Beneath the Shade was sleeping laid,
To a soft Fountains murmuring Rills;
Her Robe was thin, and did discover
Enough to tempt the gazing Lover,
Which Am'rous ruffling Winds did move,
Discovering not in vain, the Throne of Love:

I need not tell you what they did,
Since Modesty such Tales forbid,
Without my aid you may presume,
That *Silvia* had a pleasant Dream,
She waking blush'd, and wou'd have fled;

But I retain'd her on the Grassie Bed,
While I her Pardon did implore,
By oft repeating what we'd done before.⁴⁵⁴

**Verses Made by Sapho, Done from the Greek
by Boyleau, And from the French by a
Lady of Quality.**

1.

Happy who near you sigh, for you alone,
Who hears you speak, or whom you smile upon:
You well for this might scorn a Starry Throne.

2.

To this compar'd the Heav'nly Bliss they prove,
No Envy raises; for the Powers a Love
Ne'er tasted Joys, compar'd to such above.

3.

When ere I look on you, through every Vein,
Subtil as Lightning flies the nimble Flame,
I'm all o'er Rapture, while all over Pain.

4.

And while my Soul does in these Transports stray,
My Voice disdains to teach my Tongue its way;
Each faculty does now its trust betray.

5.

A Cloud of wild Confusion veils my sight,
Sounds vainly strike my Ears, my Eyes the Light,
Soft Languishment my Senses disunite,

6.

Swift trembling streight o'er all my Body flies,
Life frightned thence, Love does his place supply,
Disorder'd, Breathless, Pale, and Cold, I die.⁴⁵⁵

Epigramme Maynard

Le grand ventre de la Nature,

On Cation a Dwarf. Charles Cotton

The extended wont of Nature,

⁴⁵⁴ This translation appears in *Miscellany, Being a Collection of Poems by several Hands. Together with Reflections on Morality, or Seneca Unmasked*. London: Printed for J. Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1685, p. 179. I have not yet identified the source poem.

⁴⁵⁵ This translation appeared in *Miscellany, Being a Collection of Poems by several Hands. Together with Reflections on Morality, or Seneca Unmasked*. (London: Printed for J. Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1685), pp. 212-13. I have not been able to identify the source poem; it does not appear in the *Pléiade* edition of Boyleau's works (*Œuvres Complètes*, ed. by Françoise Escal [Paris: Gallimard, 1966]).

Au jugement commun de tous
Jamais n'a pissé creature
Si mince & si Nain que vous,
On pourroit vous cacher à l'aise,
Entre les plis de vostre fraise:
Vous n'est pas homme à demy,
Allez produire vostre taille,
Jean, dans le gros d'une bataille
A cheval sur un fourmy.⁴⁵⁶

Epigramme Maynard

Antoine feint d'estre malade
Pour montrer comme il est chez soy
Couché dans un lit de parade
Plus riche que celui de Roy;
Et que sa chambre est embellie
De tableaux venus d'Italie,
Et de chandeliers de crista :
Si l'on veut trouver le remede
De la fièvre qui le possède,
Qu'on le couche dans l'Hopitale.⁴⁵⁷

Epigramme Maynard

Ca, Maresse, le Verre en main,
Beuvons, le temps nous y convie;
Et que sçavons nous si demain
Est un des jours de nostre vie?
La Mort nous guette; et quand ses lois
Nous ont enfermés une fois
Au sein d'une fosse profonde,
Adieu, bons vins et bons repas.
Je t'apprens qu'on ne trouve pas
Des Cabarets en l'autre Monde.

Epigramme Maynard

Des hommes à bonne cervelle
Et vieux amis de ta maison,
Asseurent qu'avec raison
On peut t'appeler maquerelle:
Tu jures qu'ils en ont menty
Et que jamais il n'est sorty
Mot de verité de leurs bouches,
Mais Lyse, il n'est que trop certain
Que pres de ton cornard tu couches
Toutes les nuits une putain.

As all Mens Judgments will allow,
Never piss'd so small a Creature;
Nor such a Mannikin as thou.
One might conceal thee well enough
In the least plet of thy small Ruff;
Alas! Thou half a Man art scant:
Go, and shew Stature (*Cation*)
In the gross of some Batallion,
Most bravely mounted on an Ant.

Epig. de Monsieur Maynard. Charles Cotton

Anthony feigns him Sick of late,
Only to shew how he at home,
Lies in a Princely Bed of State,
And in a nobly furnish'd Room,
Adorn'd with Pictures of *Vandike's*,
A pair of Chrystal Candlesticks,
Rich Carpets, Quilts, the Devil, and all
Then you his careful Friends, if ever,
You wish to cure him of his Fever,
Go lodge him in the Hospital.

Epig. de Monsieur Maynard. Charles Cotton

Come, let's Drink, and drown all Sorrow,
'Tis what the Time invites us to,
And who knows whether to morrow
Was ordained for us or no!
Death watches us, and when that Slave
Has once enclos'd us in the Grave,
And heaps of Mold upon us hurl'd;
Farewell good Victuals and good Wine;
I read in no Author of mine
Of Taverns in the other World.

Epig. de Monsieur Maynard. Charles Cotton

Some Men of Sense, and who pretend to be
Ancient Well-willers to your Family,
Futin, give out, that Baud Men may thee call
And do thy modesty no wrong at all.
Thou swearst they infamously lye
And that no Word of Verity
They ever spake, then; or before:
And yet it cannot be deny'd
But by thy Cuckold Husbands side,
Thou every Night does lay a Whore.

⁴⁵⁶ This *épigramme* appears in *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, 1638, p. 441, and Cotton's translation on p. 629 of *Poems on Several Occasions*.

⁴⁵⁷ *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, p. 448. Cotton's translation is in *Poems on Several Occasions*, p. 630.

Epigramme Maynard

Jean qui dans ce tombeau repose entre les Mors,
 Prenant de toutes mains, amassa des Trésors,
 Plus qu'il n'en eseroit de sa bonne fortune.
 Il possède beaucoup, mais il ne donna rien;
 Et n'estoit qu'il avoit une femme commune,
 Jamais homme vivant n'eût part à son bien.

Epigramme Anon

Martin, ce fameux effronté
 Qui ne vit plus que par adresse
 Voulut sur mon papier me faire une promesse
 D'un malheureux Louis qu'il m'avoit emprunté
 Moy qui scait que le galant home
 N'a pas vaillant un seul denier;
 C'est, ce luy dis-je, assez que je perde ma somme,
 Sans perdre encore mon papier.

Epigramme Cotin

Après tant d'ouvrages divers
 Dont le mespris fut le salaire,
 Si Damon ne fait plus de vers
 C'est qu'il s'est lassé de mal faire.

Epigramme Comtesse de Brégy

Cy dessous gist un grand Seigneur
 Qui de son vivant nous apprit,
 Qu'un home peut vivre sans coeur,
 Et mourir sans rendre l'esprit.

Epigramme Cotin or Benserade

Je mourray de trop de desir
 Si je la trouve inexorable:
 Si je la trouve favourable
 Ainsi je ne scaurois guerir:
 De la douleur qui me possède,
 Je suis assure de perir
 Par le mal ou par le remede.

Epig. de Monsieur Maynard. Charles Cotton

John, who below here reposes at leisure,
 By pilf'ring on all hands, did rake up a Treasure
 Above what he e're could have hop'd for himself;
 He was Master of much; but imparted to no Man,
 But that he had not had a Wife, that was common
 Ne're any Man living had shar'd of his Wealth.

Epig. de Monsieur Corneille. Charles Cotton

Martin, Pox on him, that impudent Devil,
 That now only lives by his Shifts,
 By borrowing of Dribblets, and Gifts,
 For a forlorn Guinny I lent him last Day,
 Which I was assured he never would pay;
 On my own Paper would needs be so civil,
 To give me a Note of his Hand,
 But I did the Man so well understand,
 I had no great mind to be doubly trapan'd,
 And therefore told him 'twas needless to do't:
 For said I, I shall not be so hasty to Dun ye,
 And 'tis enough surely to part with my Money,
 Without losing my Paper to boot.

Epig. de Monsieur Cotin. Charles Cotton

After so many Works of various kinds
Darwen with so great pains has writ,
 And all the recompense the Poet finds,
 Is but the poor contempt of Wit;
 If *Darwen* now forbear to write on still,
 'Tis that he weary is of doing ill.

Epig. de Mons. De Bensaurade. Charles Cotton

Here lies a great load of extraordinary merit,
 Who taught us to know ere he did hence depart,
 That a Man may well live without any Heart,
 And die (which is strange!) without rend'ring his Spirit.

Epigramme de Monsieur Cotin. Charles Cotton

I Perish of too much desire
 If she inexorable prove,
 And shall with too much Joy expire
 If she be gracious to my love.
 Thus nought can cure my wounded Breast,
 But I most certain am to die,
 Or by the ill by which possess'd,
 Or by the happy remedy.

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A catalogue of the libraries of Mr. Jer. Copping, late of Sion College, Gent. And Inscel Beaumont, late of the Middle Temple, Esq; With others. Containing A Large Collection, and great Variety of English Books in Divinity, History; Law, Physick, Travels, Romances, Poetry, &c. As also French, Italian, Spanish and Dutch books, which are to be exposed to Sale. By way of Auction at. Johanan's Coffe-House, in Exchange-Alley, in Cornhil, London, on Monday the 21st Day of March, 1681.

A catalogue of the libraries of two eminent persons, consisting of choice English books, in divinity, history, physick, mathematicks, poetry, &c. Which will be sold by way of auction at Tunbridge-Wells, upon Friday the 8. of August, 1684. Catalogues shall be there given gratis. (London: [n. pub.], 1684)

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Bibliotheca illustris, sive, Catalogus variorum librorum in quavis lingua & facultate insignium ornatissimae bibliotheca viri cujustdam praenobilis ac honoratissimi olim defuncti libris rarissimis tam typis excusis quam manuscriptis refertissimae: quorum auction habebitur Londini, ad insigni Ursi in vico dicto Ave-Mary-Lane, proper tempium D. Pauli, Novemb. 21. 1687

Bibliotheca Skinneriana & Hampdeniana, Quorum Auctio habenda est Londini in Aedibus vulgo dictis Temple-Change Coffe-house in Fleet-street, 13 Die Februarii, 1698

Catalogue de Livres Latins, Francois, Anglois & Italiens. Les quels seront vendus par Auction, au dessus d'Exeter-Exchange dans le Strand. Mardy prochain le 12eme du present Mois de Mars 1695, à trois heures apres midi.

Catalogue de Livres Latins, Francois, Italiens, & Espagnols, en toutes sortes de facultés, que defunt Jean de Beaulieu, Marchand libraire. A Londres: Pour la Veuve de Beaulieu... 1699

Catalogue des Livres Francois Italiens & Espagnols, Qui seront Vendus par Auction Au dessus de la Partie Orientale D'Exeter Exchange Dans le Strand. Lundy prochain le Quinzieme de May 1693. A trois heures apres Midy.

Catalogue des Nouveaux Livres Francois, Qui seront Vendus par Auction. Au dessus de la Partie Orientale d'Exeter Exchange Dans le Strand. Lundy prochain le Vint & Septième de Novembre, 1693. A Trois-heures apres Midy.

Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Humphredi, Episcopi Londinensis: cum Pluribus aliis nuper è Transmarinis Provinciis huc transmissis ad Roberumt Scott, Bibliopolam

Londinensem. Londini, Venales prostant apud dictum Robertum Scott, via vulga dicta Little Britain. 1677

Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Selectissimae Doctiss. Rev. Viri D. Joannis Athurii Londinensis. Una cum Bibliotheca Eximi Alterius Theologi haud itapridem Defuncti. Necnon varius Libris Modernis in plerisque Facultatibus ex diversis Europae Partibus in Angliam nupperrime advectis. Quorum Auctio hebebitur Londini apud Domum Auctionarium ex adverso Nigri Cygni, in vico vulgo dicto Ave-Mary Lane prope Ludgate Street duodecimo die Februarii, 1682. Per Edoadum Millingtonum Bibliopolam

Catalogus Librorum Ex Bibliotheca Nobilis Cujusdam Angli qui ante paucos annos in humanis esse deslit accesserunt libri eximi theologi D. Gabrielis Sangar, adjunctis theologi alterius magni, dum vixit, nominis libris selectioribus: quorum amnium auction habebitur Londini 2 die Decembris proxime sequenti 1678... / per Nathanielem Ranew, bibliopolam.

Catalogus Librorum Instructissime Bibliotheca Nobilis cujusdam Scoto-Britanni In quavia Lingua & Facultate Ingignium: Quibusdjicitur Figurarum Manu-Delineatarum, Nec non Tabularum Aera Incisarum Artis Chalcographice Magistros Collectio Refertissima. Quonum Auctio habenda est Londini, ad Insigne Urfi in Vico (vulgò dicto) Ave-Mary-Lane, prope Ludgate-street, Tricesimo die Octobris, 1688

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