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Retelling Orpheus: Orpheus in the Renaissance

This paper examines the importance of the Orpheus myth during the English Renaissance. The Orpheus myth was one of the most common mythic intertexts of the period due to the fact that we could see the very story of Orpheus as being imbedded within the idea of the Renaissance itself. The main ambition of the Renaissance humanist was to bring the literature of the ancients back to life via the means of education. In other words, they attempted to bring the dead back to life and Orpheus serves as an embodiment of this ambition due to his ability to bring inanimate objects to life and in his journey to the underworld to rescue Eurydice. We find many different aspects of the Orpheus myth dealt with in Renaissance writing, for example Orpheus as poet, Orpheus as lover and the death of Orpheus being some of the key focal points. This paper, however, will focus specifically on the role of Orpheus as Poet as, due to the Renaissance love for art, rhetoric and eloquence, this seems to be the most popular dimension of the Orpheus myth at that time. We will see how Renaissance writers reinterpret the story of Orpheus, as originally told by Ovid and Virgil, in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Georgics* respectively, to show Orpheus as not only as being an archetypal poet but in fact the very first poet whose art is not only responsible for the civilisation of man, but also for the creation of a “Golden Age” in Renaissance England.

key words: Orpheus, *Metamorphoses*, Renaissance

The story of Orpheus is one of those told in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, many of which are still well known even today. The myth of Orpheus is no exception.¹ Orpheus, son of the muse Calliope and the god of poetry Apollo, is the paragon of all poets and can move animals, trees and even stones with his singing.² Ovid tells us that disaster strikes Orpheus and his young wife Eurydice merely hours after their wedding, when Eurydice is bitten by a snake and dies. Orpheus journeys to the underworld, and by the power of his poetry, persuades Hades and Persephone to return Eurydice to him, on the sole condition that he does not look back at her until they have left the underworld. However, Orpheus, unable to restrain himself, “*flexit amans oculos*” (“in love turned back his eyes”; 10.57) and Eurydice disappears with the single word “*vale*” (“goodbye”; 10.62).³ Unable to be consoled, Orpheus traverses the earth singing his song of grief and spurns the love of all women. Rejected, the Maenads tear Orpheus to pieces and his head is carried away down Hebrus’ stream. Meanwhile, the ghost of Orpheus descends to the Underworld and

¹ Some modern interpretations of the Orpheus myth include, for example, Rilke’s *Die Sonette an Orpheus*, Offenbach’s *Orpheus in the Underworld*, Rushdie’s *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* and Carol Ann Duffy’s “Eurydice.” For a selective history of the Orpheus myth from Apollonius’ *Argonautica* to A.D. Hope’s “Orpheus” (1991) see G. Miles 61-195.

² Throughout this essay I will be using the terms “poetry” and “song” interchangeably when referring to Orpheus’ art because the Latin word *carmen* used by Ovid and Virgil can be used to mean both.

³ All quotations from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* are taken from the Latin text accessed online via <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ovid.html>.

isreunited with his Eurydice. Thus, the story of Orpheus is a multi-faceted one showing, above all, the power of love, death and art and the interaction of these with one another.

Of all the myths encountered in the *Metamorphoses*, the myth of Orpheus, the paragon of poets, would have particularly captured the Renaissance imagination because of the pre-eminent place that the power of rhetoric and eloquence held in early modern humanist culture.⁴ In fact, we may even go so far as to say that the idea of Orpheus is embedded within the very idea of the Renaissance itself. The main ambition of the early modern humanist was to rediscover the literature of the ancients through education. In other words, they attempted to bring the dead back to life. Orpheus serves as an embodiment of this ambition in his ability to bring inanimate objects to life and in his journey to the Underworld to rescue Eurydice.

As well as the *Metamorphoses*, another major classical source of the Orpheus and Eurydice myth is Book IV of Virgil's *Georgics*, written approximately 40 years before Ovid's version.⁵ In fact, it is from Virgil that we first receive an account of the myth as we know it today.⁶ Virgil's and Ovid's accounts of the myth differ in various aspects and, as a result, they emphasize different themes. Virgil focuses more on the tragedy of Eurydice's second death and the *furor* of Orpheus' love, while Ovid's account centres more on Orpheus' poetic talent and its ability to subdue even the King and Queen of Hell. Just as Ovid and Virgil, although telling the same story, pick up on different resonances of the myth so we can see the same process occurring in the literature of the Renaissance. James Neil Brown, in his entry for Orpheus in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, tells us that "for Renaissance humanists, Orpheus became a hero of the arts, the archetypal poet" (519). This is the aspect of the myth that we will focus on here because it is the most prominent reading, although it is worth noting that it is not the only one – the roles of Orpheus in the Renaissance are many and diverse including various depictions of Orpheus as lover and also of his death. By focusing on this aspect of the myth, we will see how Renaissance writers reinterpret the story of Orpheus to show him as not only being the archetypal poet but, in fact, the very first poet, whose art has a civilizing effect on mankind as well as creating a "Golden Age" in Renaissance England.

Orpheus as Supreme Poet

Given the Renaissance love for art, rhetoric and eloquence, the most popular dimension of the Orpheus myth at that time was undoubtedly that of Orpheus as supreme poet, able to move all things, both literally and metaphorically, by the power of his words alone. Neil Rhodes, in his book *The Power of Eloquence and English Renaissance Literature*, tells us that "the first embodiment of language as power is Orpheus" (3), and indeed, Orpheus' words are more than just pleasing to the ear – they are performative. They can control the actions of animate and inanimate objects alike. We can see this, for example, in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, when Proteus, describing to Sir Thurio how he can woo Silvia through the medium of speech, says:

For Orpheus' lute was strung with poet's sinews,

⁴ For an enlightening discussion of the importance of eloquence in the Renaissance see N. Rhodes, *The Power of Eloquence and English Renaissance Literature* (St. Martin's Press, 1992).

⁵ I mention the *Metamorphoses* first over the *Georgics* because Ovid was read more, and by a wider audience in the Renaissance than Virgil and so was more likely to be where Renaissance readers first encountered the story of Orpheus. (See, for example Root 3-4 or Miles 9).

⁶ See Warden 4.

Whose golden touch could often soften steel and stones,
 Make tigers tame and huge leviathans
 Forsake unsounded deeps to dance on sands. (3.2.77-80)

Not only can Orpheus' poetry "soften steel and stones" but it can also tame, or in other words "soften," the nature of living creatures. This idea of the "softening" power of poetry is an important one and one to which we will return, particularly to Proteus' implication that these "softening" properties can also be extended to human nature (he tells Sir Thurio that it is by the use of words that he will be able to persuade Silvia to give him his heart). Significantly, Shakespeare takes the idea of taming tigers from Virgil's account (who tells us that Orpheus "*mulcentem tigres et agentem carmine quercus*" 4.510)⁷ but then goes on to add his own example of the "huge leviathans," emphasizing this miraculous power of Orpheus even further. Leviathans are sea creatures of enormous size, and the fact that even they can be moved by the song of Orpheus to do something that is not only unnatural to them but in fact fatal (dancing on sands), is a great testament to the performative power of his words. It has been said that this passage "is distinguished writing in a play not much known for it" (Martindale 84) and thus perhaps Shakespeare himself has been inspired by the immense poetic power he is writing about. Shakespeare is not the only one to pay tribute to the performative power of Orpheus' words. We see this also in Campion's *A Relation of the Late Royal Entertainment*, Gifford's *A Posie of Gilloflowers* and Fletcher's *The Purple Island*, to name but a few. It is noticeable that in many of these examples, in particular in Gifford and Fletcher, the writers are especially captivated by Orpheus' descent into hell and his ability to overcome the inhabitants of the Underworld with his song. Thus, they are following on from Ovid, who greatly expands Virgil's original catalogue of the inhabitants' various reactions to Orpheus' song and indeed details the song itself. This fascination with Orpheus' journey to the Underworld is surely because Orpheus' success there reveals that his words have power not only in our world but even over Death himself, the ultimate adversary, and is thus the ultimate proof of the power of his poetry as well as of the fact that the Renaissance humanists, too, can be successful in their mission.

Orpheus as First Poet

Yet some writers, not being satisfied with depicting Orpheus as the archetypal, exemplary poet, went even to the length of seeing him as, in fact, the very first artist who created and brought many different forms of poetry into being. We see this perhaps most clearly in Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*:

Nay, let any historie be brought, that can say any Writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skil, as Orpheus, Linus, and some other are named: who hauing beene the first of that Country, that made pens deliuerers of their knowledge to their posterity, may iustly challenge to bee called their Fathers in learning: for not only in time they had this priority (although in it self antiquity be venerable,) but went before them, as causes to drawe with their charming sweetnes, the wild vntamed wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as Amphion was sayde to moue stones with his Poetrie, to build Thebes. And Orpheus to be listened to by beastes, indeed, stony and beastly people. So among the Romans were Liuius, Andronicus, and Ennius. So in the Italian language, the first that made it aspire to be a Treasure-house of Science, were the Poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch. So in our English were Gower and Chawcer. (96)

⁷ Translation: Orpheus was "charming tigers and leading oak trees with his song."

Orpheus is one of the “Fathers of learning” because he made “pens deliverers of their knowledge to posterity.” Sidney then emphasizes this point by giving examples from more recent times, using names that all his readers would recognize. Chaucer may be commonly regarded as being “the father of English poetry” and Ennius as the first writer of Latin epic, but Sidney is telling us that, behind all these famous writers of great works of literature, stands Orpheus, without whom the creation of these later works would not have been possible.⁸ In the sixteenth century poem, *Orpheus and His Journey to Hell*, the anonymous author known to us only as R.B. illustrates this point through the means of the poem itself both by mentioning various types of poetry within the poem, including “ditties” (68),⁹ “tragicke tunes” (118), “solemne sonnets” (196), “rimes” (484) and “inuectiue ditties” (655), and also by having Orpheus sing not only one song as he does in Ovid but many poems of various genres, thereby representing the fact that “Orpheus ‘founds’ or creates all poetic genres” (DeNeef 22). Moreover, the poem contains many typically Elizabethan elements as well as classical ones, thus proving Gros Louis’ point that “part of the triumph of Orpheus in the sixteenth century is the result of his adaptability to the themes and conventions of the time” (66). For example, although R.B. has already described how Orpheus sings “to delight Euridice his ioy” (92) and other maidens, the first song we actually hear him sing comes after her death, when Orpheus bewails his sorrow to his companions. The song of Orpheus’ “sorrowes” is introduced in the following manner:

Vnto whose musicke flockes the neighboring hilles,
 The shadie groves, the pleasant murmuring springs,
 And all the plaines with companie now filles,
 As beasts and birds, fish, foule, and other things.
 And when as euery one had tane his seat,
 This Orpheus gins his sorrowes to repeat. (139-44)

Here, the setting of the “neighboring hilles” and the “shadie groves” is a typically pastoral one and is common in Renaissance poetry and literature (we need only think of Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*, for example). Furthermore, at the very start of the poem, R.B. sets Orpheus unequivocally in the time of the Golden Age, which is often evoked alongside the idea of the pastoral, whereas, implicitly in the *Metamorphoses* and explicitly in the *Georgics*, the tale of Orpheus is set in the Iron Age.¹⁰ Thus, R.B. deliberately changes the setting in order that the story might accord more with Elizabethan pastoral conventions. The setting of the Golden Age is also significant because it reveals to us an important aspect of the place held by Orpheus in the Renaissance imagination. For them, the presence of Orpheus, the great poet, within the poem is enough to make sixteenth century England equivalent to the classical Golden Age paradise where the land produces food of its own accord and where it is eternally springtime. As we will see below, some writers go even further and make Orpheus the creator of the Golden Age rather than just a symbol of it.

⁸ Sandys, in his commentary on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (479) and Puttenham in his *Art of English Poesie* (99) make similar points, specifying that it was hymns in particular whose creation Orpheus was responsible for.

⁹ All quotations from R.B. Gent, *Orpheus and His Journey to Hell* are taken from the text given in A. Leigh DeNeef, ‘The Poetics of Orpheus: The Text and a Study of *Orpheus His Journey to Hell* (1595)’, *Studies in Philology* 89.1 (Jan. 1992):20-70.

¹⁰ In *Georgics* Book 1 Virgil tells us that the Golden Age is over and Jupiter has now instigated the Iron Age by *predarique lupos iussit pontumque moveri* (commanding the wolves to predate and the seas to become rough 1.130) while in the *Metamorphoses*, the human race becomes so depraved that Jupiter must send down the flood in order that all sin be purged (see 1.231-61).

Orpheus as Civilizer

This poetic skill, however, was not appreciated by Renaissance humanists on the basis of aesthetic pleasure alone. As Plett says, “in the eyes of the humanists, rhetoric is equivalent to culture as such, the perennial and substantial essence of man” (14). Thus, the most prevalent representation of Orpheus, the great rhetorician and poet, in the Renaissance was that of Orpheus as civilizer, of which there are a vast number of examples.¹¹ Indeed, if we return to the passage of Sidney quoted above we can see that Orpheus’ power is performative not only in terms of his ability to move trees, tigers and the inhabitants of hell with his song, but also to bring “wild vntamed wits to an admiration of knowledge.” This idea of Orpheus as civilizer first appears in antiquity in Apollonius’ *Argonautica*, where Orpheus accompanies the Argonauts on their quest and, as Spenser was later to put it in *The Faerie Queene*, “when strife was growen / Amongst those famous ympes of Greece, did take / His silver Harpe in hand, and shortly friends them make” (2.8-10). This idea is then made even more explicit in Horace’s *Ars Poetica*:

Silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum
Caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones. (391-93)¹²

Significantly, here Horace already begins the tradition in which Orpheus’ ability to tame wild beasts is seen as an allegory of his ability to tame the beast within mankind itself. Renaissance humanists equated the use of rhetoric with power, a trait, as we have already seen above, that is embodied in the person of Orpheus. One of the reasons for their great love of language and rhetoric was the fact that it was language, above all else, that separated the human race from all others, their “greatest ontological privilege” (Plett 14). Thus Orpheus, by using his own power of speech to civilize others and draw them away from their inner bestiality, embodies a key Renaissance ideal. We see Puttenham, in his *Art of English Poesie*, taking his cue from Horace:

Orpheus assembled the wild beasts to come in herds to hearken to his music, and by that means made them tame, implying thereby, how by his discreet and wholesome lessons uttered in harmony and with melodious instruments, he brought the rude and savage people to a more civil and orderly life, nothing, as it seemeth, more prevailing or fit to redress and edify the cruel and sturdy courage of man than it. (96)

Puttenham’s use of the word “implying” is equivalent to Horace’s *dictus ob hoc* in setting up Orpheus’ taming of wild beasts as an allegory for bringing “the rude and savage people to a more civil and orderly life.” However, whereas in the *Argonautica*, Orpheus steps in only in times of strife, in Puttenham’s version, like in Horace’s and Sidney’s, Orpheus’ role is a more permanent and encompassing one. This Orpheus seeks not only to stop savagery in mankind at the very moment when it is about to erupt into a violent struggle, but, in fact, to change the way of life, and the nature of man, permanently. Thus, it is not merely the melody of his poems sung “on a lute strung with poet’s sinews” that enchants the natural world, as it is in Shakespeare’s *Two*

¹¹ There is a vast number of examples of this representation of Orpheus. Some of these include William Kempe’s *The Education of Children in Learning*, Thomas Lodge’s *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage Plays*, Louis Leroy’s *Of the Interchangeable Course, or the Variety of Things in the Whole World*, William Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice*, William Vaughan’s *The Golden Grove*, William Webbe’s *A Discourse of English Poetrie*.

¹² Translation: “Orpheus, the holy interpreter of the gods, prevented wild men from massacres and barbaric living. On account of this, he was said to have softened the natures of tigers and mad lions.”

Gentleman of Verona, but the melody itself is being used as a means through which to deliver “discreet and wholesome lessons” which have the power to change the entire nature of mankind forever. Indeed, Puttenham believes that there is nothing “more prevailing or fit” to carry out this role than the skill of Orpheus, and thus he is not only emphasizing the Renaissance concern with the civilizing power of language but also with the key role that poetry itself plays in delivering this knowledge.

The mythographer Francis Bacon, in his *De Sapientia Veterum*, interprets various myths as either political or scientific allegories and as such makes even more explicit Puttenham’s allegorical reading of the Orpheus tale by telling us that the entire tale “may seem to represent the image of Philosophy.” It is important to note that Bacon does not mean philosophy in the sense that we use it today but rather natural philosophy, which we would most likely describe as physics,¹³ as well as a kind of moral philosophy. Bacon goes on to say that Orpheus’ descent into hell represents “the preservation of bodies in their estate, detaining them from dissolution and putrefaction,” in other words, the attempt to use science to create human immortality. However, due to the “curious diligence” and “vntimely impatience” of man, represented in Orpheus’ backward glance, this is highly difficult to achieve and philosophy instead:

busies herselfe about humane obiects, and by perswasion and eloquence, insinuating the loue of virtue, equitie, and concord in the minds of men, draws multitudes of people to a society, makes them subject to lawes, obedient to gouernment, and forgetfull of their vnbridled affections, whilst they give eare to precepts, and submit themselves to discipline, whence follows the building of houses, erecting of townes, and planting of fields and orchards with trees and the like, insomuch that it would not be amisse to say, that even thereby stones and woods were called together, and settled in order. (Sig. Q6r)

Here, Bacon brings Puttenham’s argument to its logical conclusion – that it is the civilizing power of language, as represented by the figure of Orpheus, that is responsible for the formation of “lawes,” “discipline,” “the building of houses” and so on. Making the minds of men “forgetfull of their vnbridled affections” is his way of saying that the nature of man, too, can be tamed, or “softened,” just like that of a tiger, which is highlighted by the use of the word “vnbridled.” Bacon, however, does not stop here. He goes on to say:

Besides euen the very works of wisdome, (although amongst all humane things they doe most excell) doe neuerthelessse meete with their periods. For it happens that (after kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished for a time) euen tumults, and seditions, and warres arise; in the midst of which hurly burlies: first, lawes are silent, men returne to the prauity of their natures, fields and towns are wasted and depopulated, and then, (if this fury contine) learning and philosophy must needs be dismembered, so that a few fragments only, and in some places will bee found like the scattered boords of shipwracke, so as a barbarous age must follow; and the streams of Helicon being hid under the earth vntill (the vicissitude of things passing) they breake out againe and appeare in some other remote nation, though not perhaps in the same climate. (Sig. Q7v)

Just as Orpheus himself is dismembered, so that all that remains are “a few fragments,” so too is that which he represents, philosophy and learning. Noticeably, Bacon’s description of these events as a cyclical process of gradual deterioration and subsequent renewal brings to mind the myth of the Ages of Man where, as it is first described by Hesiod in the *Works and Days*, the

¹³ The Oxford English Dictionary defines “natural philosophy” as “the study of natural bodies and the phenomena connected with them; natural science; (in later use) *spec.* physical science, physics” (“Natural Philosophy”).

human race initially lives in the Golden Age. The Golden Age, however, comes to an end and the human race then descends down through the Age of Silver, the Age of Bronze, the Age of Heroes, right down to the Iron Age where, as Hesiod tells us, “there will be no help against evil” (105), until, it is hoped, the Golden Age comes again.¹⁴ Thus here, like in *Orpheus and His Journey to Hell*, the time of Orpheus is seen as being symbolic of the Golden Age of Man. Moreover, Bacon emphasizes that it was Orpheus himself, through his role of poet as civilizer, who was responsible for the creation of this Golden Age from the previous Iron Age by the introduction of these “lawes” whose absence means that the time of the Golden Age, too, disappears. In an anonymous poem published in 1598, the poet also makes it clear that Orpheus was responsible for the creation of the “goodly golden age.”¹⁵ Bacon, however, unlike the author of the anonymous poem, does not pretend that this Golden time of Orpheus can last forever. Eventually, and inevitably, the Iron Age will come again because, after all, the Renaissance, like the Golden Age, cannot and will not last forever. Like the character of Orpheus whom they so admire, the Renaissance humanists will find that it may not be so easy to be successful in their mission as they might have thought. One way or another, however, the song of Orpheus will always be heard.

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¹⁴ Ovid’s version of the Ages of Man, as related in the *Metamorphoses* (1.89-150), does not contain the Age of Heroes.

¹⁵ Anonymous, *A Most Pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus the Kings Sonne of Valentia and Amadine the Kings Daughter of Arragon* (Printed for William Iones, dwelling at Holborne conduit, at the signe of the Gunne, 1598) Sig. O2v.

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