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# A "Pub Crawl" Through Old The Hague: Shady Light on Life and Art Among English Friends of John Donne in The Netherlands, 1627-1635

*Paul R. Sellin and Augustus J. Veenendaal, Jr.*

> . . . I said, not alone
> My lonenesse is, but Spartanes fashion,
> To teach by painting drunkards, doth not last
> Now; Aretines pictures have made few chast;
> No more can Princes courts, though there be few
> Better pictures of vice, teach me vertue. . . .
> John Donne, "Satyre IV," ll. 67-72

Among the so-called Conway Papers, a collection generally described as "early seventeenth-century" manuscripts in the British Library, there reposes a Dutch poem of ten stanzas entitled "Een Geestelijk Liedeken," or "A Spiritual Ditty" (Additional MS 23229, fol. 169$^{r-v}$). Neatly copied in a competent, albeit amateur secretary hand, the work is anonymous, undated, and one wonders at its inclusion. That is, the Conway papers are especially interesting to English literature because they contain copies and fragments of some eleven poems and six verse epistles by John Donne. The collection derives chiefly from Viscount Sir Edward Conway (ca. 1564-1631), Secretary of State (1623) and ambassador to Bohemia (1623-1625) under King James I and Privy Councillor after the accession of King Charles I to the throne of England in 1625, and from his son Edward, second Viscount Conway (1594-1655). Sir Edward the elder was a lifelong friend of Donne and known to the poet personally, while Sir Edward the younger was a man of literary interests. He was friends with both John Donne, Jr., who edited Donne's poetry and sermons posthumously, and with Algernon Percy, son of Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland, who had also known and befriended Donne. It is to the Northumberland family that we are indebted for the Percy (or Leconfield) manuscript, one of the main collections of

Donne's poetry.[1] Some items among the Conway papers (e.g., the satires) are in the same hand as the Leconfield manuscript, and at one time the Conways seem to have possessed a collection of Donne's poetry organized in somewhat the same fashion as those possessed by other noble families like the Egertons or the Percys.[2]

The presence of a Dutch poem among the Conway papers is especially intriguing, for it points directly to Conway interests and involvements in the Low Countries. Indeed, Sir Edward's father, Sir John Conway, had served with Leicester during the latter's governor-generalship in the Netherlands. In fact Sir John was the first English Governor of Ostend (from 1586 until joining the Anglo-Dutch attack on Portugal led by Drake in 1589), and later he became Lieutenant Governor of The Brill (then an English Cautionary Town) under Sir Francis Vere, General of the four English regiments that formed the backbone of the States' infantry all through the Eighty Years' War.[3] A close friend of the famous fighting Veres, Sir Edward the elder served in the Vere regiment during Prince Maurits' campaigns of the 1590s and ultimately succeeded to his father's post at The Brill.[4] Although Donne biographers ignore the point, Sir Edward spent much of his early career—that is, from 1598 up through the return of the Cautionary Towns to Dutch authority in 1616—residing in the Netherlands.[5] Indeed, Donne's relationship with the family during these very years was such that he is thought to have entrusted Sir Edward with manuscript copies of at least two of his works.[6] Moreover, Conway service with the States did not end when the garrisons of the Cautionary Towns were dissolved in 1616. On the contrary, Sir Edward's company was incorporated into the Vere regiment, and when Donne visited The Hague as a member of an English diplomatic mission to the United Provinces at the end of 1619, for example, Sir Edward still had a command in the Army of the States.[7] By this time, two of his sons, Sir Edward the younger and Sir Thomas, also held companies in the Dutch army, and they later rose to commands of some distinction.[8]

To some extent, as befits friends of the intense author of some of the greatest religious lyrics in English, the Conways were famous for their piety. Indeed, back in 1570 and 1571, Sir John had authored a set of pious meditations and prayers, and these were reissued, presumably with Sir Edward the elder's blessing, in 1611 under the title of *Poesie of Floured Praiers*.[9] One would expect, thus, that a poem entitled "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" preserved among the papers of Englishmen championing the Reformed faith abroad would reflect tastes faithful to their ancestor's. The text certainly adopts a soldier's point of view, for it reads as follows:

i.

De Kasewaeris is een juwel
dat is de capeteyn
van alle dees bordelen veel
hier in dit Haechse Plein.
Moer Tyssen kent haer pollen wel
die geern speelen het minnespel
ghij moet U toonne niet reebel
maer kompt daer slechs alleyn.

ii.

Op't midden vannet Kerkhof
daer is een groot bordeel
't Geschildert Huys isset genampt
daer vint ghij hoeren veel.
De weerdin is schoon Heleennae genampt
den roffiaen vrij onbeschampt
hebt ghij slechs gelt soo't wel betampt
soo valt daer geen krackeel.

iii.

Sint Jooris is ons wel bekant
'tis een snoot roffiaen
daer vint ghij se oock aldermeest
seer net ende bey naam.
Is uwen buydel wel gestoffeert
soo krijcht ghij al wat ghij begeert
maar als dat geldeken is verteert
schampa[r] soo moet ghij gaen.

iv.

De Pellekaen op de Graft seer schoon
siet men seer veer en wijt
men kander ome een Franse kroon
speelen in Veennus krijt
in Veennus boogert met genucht
't geschiet daer al op eer en ducht
doe slechs maer soo wel als ghij muecht
al sonder haet en nijt.

v.

Al in de Gaepert oppet Spuy
siet men een soet gesicht
De man die is van a[ ]den luy
de vrou van neersen licht.
Mameerken met haer gaut geel haer
die sal wel speelen mijn soete kaer
als ghij slech wilt betoonen haer
dat ghij sult wesen dicht.

vi.

Op't Spuy al tot moer Oolevier
compt daer een braef soldaet
dan sechtse ick en heb wijn noch bier
omdat se de broeders haet.
Maer kompt daer dan een rijken boer
die hael men straek een floxe hoer
soo geeft men dan den lompen loer
al'tgeen daer hij nae staet.

vii.

De Clock dat is een eerlijk huys
men tapt daer wijn en bier
kompt daer slechs stillekens als een muys
vracht nae [e]en veennu[s] dier.
Ariaenken weet soo go[e]de raet
een getrout vrouken delekaet
terwijl soo geeft haer dochter een praet
en mackt doch geen getier.

viii.

In't Achterom in de Oranienstam
daer hebt ghij goet loogys
Maykens die hou[t] veel duyfkens aen
al voor dees man proopys.
Kompt daer vrij in ter middernacht
men salder op u wel neemen acht
hebt ghij slechs gelt daer sij nae tracht
maer stelt daer niet den [di]ef.

ix.

De Groene Pellekaen is een goet huys
men heeft daer g[oet] quartier
kompt daer al v[ry] sonder abuys
vracht nae een prooper dier.
Maer wilt ghij dan speelen den beyerman
de weert die weet der oock wel van
hij sal wel doen al wat hij kan
ghij en hebt daer geen dansier.

x.

Het Patmoes is t[e] veel bekant
daer wont te vee[l] gespuys.
Van hier soo ghaen wij oock ontrent
al nae dat Roode Cruys
brengt daer een hoer seven of tien
de weert en salder niet op sien
jae de weerdin sal self misschien
oock speelen metter sluys.
Finis is goet voor een erm bloet
die tot den hals toe in de stront is.[10]

What can we infer from this seeming bit of martial swagger? First, there are the questions of dating the poem and determining the extent to which it actually reflects life in The Hague at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Strictly speaking, of course, The Hague was no city but then (as is technically the case still today) only an open village without city rights and no defensive works except a series of canals and drawbridges intended rather to enhance tax collection than safety of the citizens against enemy action. In 1627, when a census was taken for tax purposes, the total population was about 18,000, far less than that of neighboring Delft, which was twice as large, or of Leiden, which by then had reached the 50,000 mark.[11] Yet this relatively small community was the center of the Dutch republic. After the death of William the Silent, the stadholder's court had moved to The Hague, and the administrative bodies of the central government—including the States General, the Council of State, the Estates of Holland, and the higher courts of Holland and Zeeland—were established here when the Dutch attained factual independence from Spain.

This development did not go without a marked impact on Hague

society. Under Maurice of Nassau, the son of William the Silent, the stadholder's court had been chiefly a military affair, although Maurice and the cavaliers around him were anything but averse to the company of the fair sex. When his younger half-brother Frederick succeeded Maurice as stadholder, things changed radically. The Hague had of course received its first taste of real court life when the exiled king of Bohemia, the Elector Palatine Frederick V, and his Stuart wife, Elizabeth of England, established their court there in 1620.[12] Along with the Winter King and his bright consort (as Sir Henry Wotton commemorated the Queen of Heart's beauty), a host of courtiers, English cavaliers and German nobility arrived to grace the town, including the countess Amalia of Solms, who caught the eye of Frederick Henry. Already renowned as a lover of wine and women, the prince married the pomp-loving Amalia in 1625, and their court soon attained a luster unknown in Holland before. Money was plentiful, and Amalia knew how to use it to elevate the prestige of the House of Orange among the princes of Europe.[13] Artisans and artists flocked to The Hague to build and decorate the numerous palaces that were going up in and around the town. Large numbers of military men descended on the Voorhout and the Binnenhof to study their craft under the most renowned commander in Christendom, while adventurers and tramps from all over Europe swarmed around the glittering court hoping for a job or some special stroke of luck. As the new state emerged as a *de facto* independent power, diplomats came in even larger numbers after 1609; the high colleges of state drew many visitors to the city, deputies from the other provinces, noblemen and commoners, lawyers and burgomasters, strict Calvinists, libertines, and people who were sometimes simply glad to escape the stifling discipline of the church in their home towns. Above all, the garrison, swelled to large proportions during the winter, added another dimension to this already cosmopolitan mixture. Officers were always seeking excuses for not having to serve in one of the dreary frontier towns, to which they greatly preferred the comforts of The Hague. They were a very international lot: Noblemen from the eastern provinces of the republic; Swedes and other Scandinavians pursuing glory in the art military; impecunious German princelings trying to attain a decent living impossible to get in their own impoverished estates; Walloon and French protestants unwilling to fight for Roman Catholic rulers; English cavaliers, many of them high born and highly placed, serving as auxiliaries in the Netherlands since the days of Queen Elizabeth; and Scottish Calvinists, who formed the redoubtable Scots brigade in the Army of the States.

Small wonder, then, that a large number of inns, hotels, public houses,

cabarets, and the like sprang up in The Hague, ranging from high-class facilities for wealthy and important visitors down to the most sordid drinking-houses for the dregs of society. Not all inns were to be identified with brothels, as the author of "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" may seem to suggest. Although the line is sometimes difficult to draw, there was a certain distinction between good and bad inns, "goede en kwade herbergen."[14] The adjectives "good" and "bad" are here intended as indicative not of the quality of food and lodging provided but the kind of entertainment available. While ostensibly catering to the needs of the ordinary traveller, many an innkeeper was known to keep doves in his loft, as the saying went. So far as the contents of this poem are concerned, there was little taboo regarding sexuality in the first half of the seventeenth century. Dutch literature and the stage were very outspoken, and in this the work is no exception.[15] On the other hand, the official attitude of the Calvinist churches regarding prostitution and adultery was strictly disapproving. Prostitution was a sin and should be prohibited by the authorities. This attitude was reflected in measures taken by magistrates against brothels in every town in the land. Yet there must have been ways of escaping the penalties by coming to composition with the authorities—that is, by buying off the sheriff and his officers. In short, The Hague was in fact widely known for its many bordellos and the like, and it was considered second only to Amsterdam in this respect, far surpassing all other Dutch towns.[16]

With respect to the trustworthiness of the poem and the dates it reflects, it is in fact possible to identify some of the houses mentioned in the text. The first of them, the Kasewaeris, the jewel in the crown and captain of the company, was of course named after the cassowary, an ostrich-like bird from Australia and New Guinea, the first specimen of which had been introduced into Europe in 1597. The birds quickly became collector's items. Dutch sailors brought them home from the Indies, and they were sold and exhibited as rarities.[17] The inn named after this exotic fowl was situated strategically just north of the Binnenhof, the government center, on a corner of the large square called the Plein, which had originally been the cabbage patch of the stadholders.[18] The garden was finally parcelled out in building lots in 1633, but the first houses surrounding it, one of them the Kasewaeris, had been built earlier. The neighborhood quickly became fashionable in the higher social circles in The Hague.[19] In fact, the house stood on the corner of the Houtstraat and the Sterlincxstraat, where our "moer Tyssen," together with her husband François Potharst van Hoxteren (or Oxteren) bought a house and garden in 1617. In the notarial records of The Hague, her name appears as Willemtje Thyssen van Breen, and her

husband's occupation as no less than the chief supervisor of all fortifications of the Dutch republic![20] The couple was evidently well-to-do, and during the next few years they kept adding to the property.[21]

That they used the house as a hotel or inn during this period is improbable, and it is nowhere mentioned as such. But when François died in 1625 or 1626, the widow probably turned her home into a hotel or high class bordello to maintain a living. At the time of the census in 1627, her property was assessed at fl. 4000, not rich, but solidly middle class, and she must have done a thriving business as her house was situated in a neighborhood just coming into vogue.[22] After that we lose trace of the proprietess, but in 1635, the house in the Sterlincxstraat is referred to as "formerly named the Casewaris."[23] Obviously the establishment had lost its name by then, and it is highly probable that Moer Willemtje was no longer in business. Incidentally, the name "Casuaris" lives on unexpectedly. Sometime during the seventeenth century, the name Sterlincxstraat went out of fashion and was replaced by that of the Casuaristraat, by which the street is still known today.

Some of the other houses alluded to by the mock soldier-speaker in the poem have also turned up, but identification is less certain. There was an inn called the Sint Joris on the Nieuwe Turfmarkt mentioned in the notarial records for 1618, and this could be the "Saint George" listed in the poem.[24] Apparently it was much frequented by military personnel. The Spui, a canal linking the city center with the Vliet, the main waterway between Leiden and Delft, was renowned for its many brothels and cabarets.[25] It was the place from which barges left for other Dutch towns, and this traffic made it a busy place where every need of weary travellers was catered to. There were no genteel houses here, though, for only lower class people cared to frequent this neighborhood. Other brothels that the poem mentions as situated on the Spui have not been traced, however.

The "Bell" must have been quite a bit more respectable. Appearing in the notarial records for the first time in 1612 and again in 1627, when the landlady, widow of one Michael Hartgers, was taxed for property assessed at fl. 12,000, the house stood on the old Warmoesmarkt.[26] Her children would sell it in 1648.[27] The "Patmos," the establishment pilloried in the last stanza of the poem, represented the very opposite. It stood indeed in a disreputable quarter of the town notorious for flophouses, brothels, and wine shops. Drunken brawls, street fights, and murders must have been common events, and indeed, virtuous citizens did not dare to come there. The area was also known as the Scottish quarter because many Scottish soldiers serving in the Army of the States

lived there. The name "Padmoes" fell into disuse, leaving no trace, and the street is now known as the Sint Jacobstraat.[28]

None of the other houses can be identified with certainty. All of these streets, however, recur on any modern map of The Hague, with the exception of the Graft, where the famous "Pelican" was evidently located. "Graft" (or "Gracht") means "canal," and it is difficult to say which of several possibilities is intended, although the Lange Gracht between the Spui and Wagenstraat is the most probable. The Kerckhof, where the suggestively named "Painted House" stood, is the square surrounding the great St. Jacobskerk, the largest church in The Hague, then mostly an area occupied by small shopkeepers and artisans. A brothel there must have been very conspicuous indeed, certainly if it dared to sport such a sign under the very nose of the main Reformed congregation in the city.

Given the historical evidence, therefore, the Conway document is not a product of pure fancy but reflects real places, persons, life and society in The Hague during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In all likelihood, it dates from somewhere in the late twenties or early thirties of the seventeenth century, with 1627 and 1635 as the terminal extremes. Unless the poet composed his verse from memory, the document is actually contemporaneous with Donne's last years. Its presence among the Conway papers suggests considerable interest in and familiarity with both the language and things Dutch on the part of Sir Edward the elder and his sons, and that at a time when they all enjoyed high place either at court in England or in the Army of the States in the Netherlands.[29]

Upon first encountering the poem, the initial inclination, certainly of an English-speaking reader, is to dismiss it as nothing more than trifling soldier's doggerel in an inartistic tongue, not worth serious attention. Yet, the stanzaic pattern that the verse employs is an uncommon one with a remarkable history in both English and Dutch literature.[30] Indeed, the complicated rhyme scheme and the meter invest it in more subtlety than we would look for if the sole purpose were but to elicit cheap laughs through bawdy content. At first glance, the opening lines lead one to expect something like ordinary ballad meter common in much narrative poetry of barrack-room exploits—that is, quatrains alternating lines in tetrameter and trimeter, and rhyming *a-b-a-b*. But in the eight line stanzas of "Een Geestelijk Liedeken," the second half of the strophe does not repeat the familiar scheme. Instead it employs a tercet in tetrameter rhyming *c-c-c*, followed by a final line in trimeter that repeats the rhyme *b* in the opening quatrain and neatly rounds off the stanza as a

whole. In other words, the stanza divides into two sections, the first consisting of parallel structure common in old songs, and the second of an entirely different form but preserving unity with the first by repeating a rhyme (*c-c-c-b*) from the beginning.[31]

The pedigree of this pattern is apparently rooted in medieval song, whether in the Low Countries, England, or elsewhere.[32] In the oldest extant version of the Dutch *Geuzenliedboek*, there is a song entitled "Hoe salich sijn die Landen" composed by Willem van Haecht, *factor* of the Antwerp *rederijker* Chamber *der Violieren*.[33] However, this text is older than 1581, for the content is thought at least to predate the outbreak of the Dutch revolt, and as for the rhyme scheme, an instance of it occurs in Psalm 93 of the famous *Souterliedekens* (one of the foremost collections of early Protestant music and poetry in the Netherlands), which pushes the date back to at least 1540.[34] During the late sixteenth century and the first decennia of the seventeenth in both the free and Spanish Netherlands, the rhyme pattern occurs again and again in various applications.[35] Early versions entail serious ethical, military, political, and religious contexts, but in Bredero it recurs as a drinking song ("Haarlemsche drooghe harten nu"), and Vondel uses it in the chorus closing the *Leeuwendalers*:

> Wy zien de huislien blijde,
> En vrolijck, nu alree
> Vol hoops van wederzijde
> Krieoelen onder 't vee.
> De Heemraet leit den Haet aen toom.
> De koeien geven melck en room.
> Het is al boter tot den boom.
> Men zingt al *Pais* en *Vre*.[36]

Not surprisingly, there was a closely related poem circulating in England during the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century too. "King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid" was probably familiar to the Conways and their friends, for it was a well-known ballad alluded to by dramatists like Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, a 1612 version of which is preserved in Percy's *Reliques*.[37] Since the poem uses a twelve line stanza (*a-b-a-b-c-c-c-c-b-d-d-d-b*) rather than an eight, the Percy version is not absolutely identical with the Dutch pattern. Nevertheless, the first eight lines of the English song duplicate the Antwerp rhyme scheme. That is, they consist of precisely the *a-b-a-b-c-c-c-b* arrangement employed by Haecht and the author of "Een Geestelijk Liedeken." The last four lines occasion no basic shift from Haecht. They

add but one rhyme word and simply double the pattern of the second quatrain.

The common denominator in all these texts, whether Dutch or English, was music, apparently, and it thus seems likely that "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" was meant to be sung, probably to an existing melody, one so familiar that it did not need to be specified. However, unlike the rhyme scheme, whatever tune "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" employed could not possibly have derived from the *Geuzenliedboek* or anything like the Dutch music it uses.[38] Whereas the rhythm of Haecht's stanza essentially resembles hymnodic Short Meter doubled—i.e., it consists exclusively of trimeter lines alternating masculine and feminine rhyme—the pattern used in "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" is Common Meter, oscillating between tetrameter lines and trimeter. In this respect the Conway text differs radically from Haecht's poem and its Dutch descendents, and the words simply cannot be sung to that rhythm.

From the title one might suspect that our anonymous poet intended a parody of a psalm or a church hymn. True, by stretching things a bit, one can come close to fitting it to several tunes in the Dutch psalter (e.g., Psalm 20: "Dat op uw klacht de hemel scheure" [Louis Bourgeois, 1558]) that employ Common Meter doubled (i.e., eight-line stanzas alternating tetrameter and trimeter). However, in the sixth line, "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" frustrates that possibility by perversely substituting tetrameter where hymns in Common Meter employ trimeter. And of course the *a-b-a-b-c-c-c-b* rhyme scheme does not fit the pattern of alternating couplets that Genevan psalters invariably employ in such cases either. The tetrameter in the sixth line makes it, perhaps deliberately, impossible to sing the text to the tune of a regular psalm or hymn.

But although there seems to be no Dutch ancestor of the metrical pattern in "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" that springs readily to mind, the same is not true of English. For in the first eight lines of "King Cophetua," remarkably enough, one finds not only that the rhyme scheme is the same as that in the Dutch poem, but that the meters are identical too.[39] That is, the first quatrain of each stanza consists of alternate tetrameter and trimeter lines; the second, of three lines in tetrameter followed by a concluding trimeter so that the meter and the rhyme scheme exactly coincide. Inasmuch as the final quatrain of the twelve-line Cophetua stanza duplicates (as we observed above) not only the rhyme scheme of the second quatrain but the metrical pattern as well, it is artistically feasible, as Swinburne's "The Garden of Proserpine" shows, for poets to drop it.[40] Musically, the last quatrain of the "Cophetua" stanza may have involved nothing more than a repeat, for it would not necessarily have required any new melodic materials. Take away the metrically repetitive

third quatrain of "King Cophetua," and lo, the exact rhymes and rhythms of "Een Geestelijk Liedeken." It is as though the poet had composed his verse to fit an old Dutch rhyme scheme and an English melody, and the Conway document seems truly to be an Anglo-Dutch poem in more than one sense. In light of the sixteenth-century Dutch tradition in this vein, editors are probably not far from the mark who speculate that the version of "King Cophetua" to which Shakespeare and Jonson refer not only antedated the text recorded in Percy but indulged in matters low and naughty as well.[41]

A second reason for subjecting "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" to more serious scrutiny than at first seems warranted is a possible relation it may bear to contemporary Dutch genre painting. By this we are thinking not so much of the "city-scape" or interior scenes of disorderly conduct in general such as those painted by Jan Steen or for that matter William Hogarth later. It reminds us rather of certain subtle, yet nonetheless sexually suggestive "kortegaardjes" (figure paintings of soldiers) or more explicit "bordeeltjes" (brothel scenes) depicting not so much the vices of low life as those of a more refined and certainly richer monde involving courtiers, cavaliers and women that masters like Willem Buytewech, Adriaen van de Venne, Anthonie Palamedesz, Dirk Hals, Pieter Codde, Hendrik Pot, Willem Duyster, and many others began to put on canvas in the seventeenth century.[42] Think, for example, of Jacob Duck's "Kroegscene met soldaten" (Fig. 1);[43] of the same painter's "Interior with Girl and Soldiers," with its suggestive interior (a cellar of an inn?) and maid of seemingly stealthy gesture (Fig. 2);[44] of Adriaen Brouwer's "Tabakskroeg met soldaten en vrouwen," a rougher environment (Fig. 3);[45] of Pieter Quast's "A Girl and a Soldier Playing Cards"—is she inebriated or trying to cheat? (Fig. 4);[46] of, again, Duck's "A Street Scene," which suggests a milieu like that probably surrounding establishments like the Patmos (Fig. 5);[47] or of even the decorous, "monumental stillness" caught in Vermeer's "Officer and Laughing Girl" (Fig. 6).[48]

Ultimately, the painstakingly crafted realism of such poems as "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" and Dutch genre paintings like these is puzzling. Just what is the point, if there is one?[49] The Conway manuscript serves to remind us that certain coarser elements in Donne's own poetry are not far removed from Netherlandish work in this vein. Indeed, compared with some of Donne's, even Dutch frankness sometimes pales, and the effects go well beyond the simply prurient or amusing. That is, in addition to the clever indecencies touching fornication, adultery, inconstancy, and blind sexual passion on which much of the charm in the *Songs and Sonets* rests, Donne's muse also indulged, particularly in the love

elegies, in harshly realistic allusions little softened by play of clever wit to such brutally direct, crude, and sometimes even taboo matters as the stink of perspiration on female breasts; menstrual flow; resemblances between semen and pus; venereal disease infecting female genitalia as ripe boils; the warm vulva or womb as a fired gun, a repulsive volcano ("The Comparison," lines 1-12), or a purse with a mouth aversely placed ("Loves Progress," 91-92); aphrodisiacs and contraception (*Metempsychosis*, 150); enema with overtones of anal sex ("Loves Progress," 93-96); female pubic hair and rough male hirsuteness ("Loves Progress," 69-72; "The Comparison," 40-42; "Sapho to Philaenis," 33-38; *Metempsychosis*, 147-49); "muddy," plump "nakednesse" and "barenesse" whether male or female ("Satyre I," 37-40--cf. "Going to Bed," 33; "The Sunne Rising," 17-20 [?]; "The Flea," 1-18 [?]; "The Baite," 9-26); male genitalia (*Metempsychosis*, 454-56); erection ("Going to Bed," 20-24; possibly "A Valediction Forbidding Mourning," 29-32); incest (*Metempsychosis*, 193-203); sodomy and pederasty ("Satyre I," 37-40; "Satyre II," 75; "On his Mistris," 37-41; "The Jughler," 1-2; *Metempsychosis*, 470); bestiality and female liquefying (*Metempsychosis*, 471-89); spawning and fertilization (*Metempsychosis*, 223-30); barrenness ("ages glory") as a practical advantage in love ("The Autumnal," 40-41); formation of the human embryo (*Metempsychosis*, 403-509); venereal disease as revenge ("The Apparition," 11-17; cf. "Satyre I," 103); nocturnal dreaming almost at the point of emission ("The Dreame"); post-coital depression and premature ejaculation ("Loves Alchymie," "Farewell to Love," "Loves Progress"); orgasm and female appetite ("The Dampe," 21-24; *Metempsychosis*, 91-93; "The Apparition," 7-9); the throes of lesbian desire ("Sapho to Philaenis," 41-57); and female masturbation by hand or object, complete with mirrors ("Sapho to Philaenis," 51-56; "The Anagram," 53-54; "Satyre II," 32; "Self Love," 20-24 [?]).[50]

However liberated we may be, some of these materials can still come as a surprise. For enlightened sensibilities, whether of contemporaries with Donne or of our modern university students, to whom frank sexuality is no stranger, a number of passages in Donne's poems are hard to take because at points they spill over into what even for our gross times seems, if not downright indecent or obscene, then at least tasteless and repulsive.[51] Donne was himself an ex-soldier, into whose sensual character as a young swashbuckler the Lothian portrait gives striking insight (Fig. 7).[52] He had fought as an English volunteer serving with veteran units of the States' Army against the king of Spain at Cadiz, the Azores, and perhaps in the Low Countries themselves during the 1590s.[53] Like the Conways, he too must have known very well the fallen

world of camp and court soon to be depicted by the author of "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" and many figure painters of the next generation. Even so, why did a manifestly devout poet like Donne not only write but distribute such lines among a wide coterie of highly respectable friends and patrons? Why such wide-spread fascination in a supposedly "Calvinist" Dutch society with painting and art possessing such realism? And what is a poem like "Een Geestelijk Liedeken" doing among the papers of a Conway?

There is no certain answer. Yet it is worth remarking that any number of Donne's Elegies and *Songs and Sonets* mimic similar objects and plot situations, sometimes drawing overtly on circumstances prompted in both England and the Low Countries alike by the Eighty Years' War, albeit a generation earlier than most of the genre painters we have mentioned. Consider, for example, courtly military adventurers explicitly populating some of Donne's best known poetry: The Captain—for so a rank warranting pages implies (cf. lines 14, 39)—portrayed in the elegy "On his Mistris" as dissuading an infatuated, impossibly romantic young Rosalind from accompanying him across seas and over Alps in projected missions to Italy, France, and the Low Countries; the valedictory campaigner bravely bidding "farewell" in "His Picture," bestowing his likeness and fair words about "mature" love on the one he leaves behind; the gallant, yet scorned and pitied "atheist" of "Satyre III," who with rash courage stands prepared instantly to hazard life and limb at home and camp in duelling over trifles and abroad in service on suicidal Anglo-Dutch expeditions around the globe against the King of Spain, all for the wrong reasons, viz., "earths honour" and "gaine," not love of "faire Religion"; or the amusing antithesis of all three, that effeminate shirker of "Loves Warre," who makes no bones about preferring rapture in his mistress' arms to actually wielding arms, as many of Donne's friends did, against the foe in Flanders, France, and Ireland (lines 5-16) or, like the poet himself, going on those dangerous raids in Spanish waters (lines 17-25).

It is doubtful to what extent, if any, Donne intended the many concrete allusions in the *Songs and Sonets* to things military—powder flasks burning, navigational dividers, maps, charts, new worlds, storms and high seas, treason, taking latitudes and longitudes, awaiting enemy action on the battlefield, doffing armor, digging mines, comparative velocity of cannon balls in proportion to their charge—as a deliberate means of characterizing his speakers as soldiers-of-fortune in poems as diverse as "The broken heart," "A Valediction forbidding mourning," "Sweetest love, I do not goe," "Valediction of the booke," the Elegy "Going to bed" (which speaks explicitly of "pictures . . . made / For

lay-men," lines 39-40), or even "The Dissolution," with its (at first glance) jarringly incongruous simile in the final couplet. Nevertheless many of these poems, particularly the valedictions, clearly involve adventurers, often on the point of leaving for distant seas and shores from the dangers of which they may never return, though their destinations and reasons for going remain dark. Perhaps not unlike, say, the young woman reading, writing, or receiving letters (sometimes against a background map) in paintings by Vermeer or Gerard Terborch, these poetic vignettes of life during the Netherlands wars have long raised analogous musings about how to relate to Donne's poems. Is there a point to them, and if so, what exactly? Yet, even if one cannot prove beyond a shadow of doubt that certain poems involve soldiers or entail specific settings like an inn or guard room, envisioning such elegies as "The Comparison," "The Anagram," or "Loves Progress" as though they were poetic equivalents of Dutch "bordello-ettes" may help to clarify their structure and lend better rationale to what otherwise seems but rather pointless indulgence in verbal indecency, seemingly but spouted for its own sake. Indeed, viewed as a "bordeeltje" or a "kortegaardje," "The Comparison"—particularly if our eye is on the final couplet--turns into perhaps a cavalier (hence the vulva as "the dread mouth of a fired gunne" [line 39]?) in the act of dissuading his companion-in-arms from the loathsome, essentially pathetic creature that he is fancying; "The Anagram" into an adventurer ribbing his fellow about the foulness of a similar love; and "Loves Progress" into lewd if rollicking guardroom jest, fit for an Iago swaggering among boon companions.

However all this may be, surely such tough, satirical poetry drives vividly home, if not what to choose, then certainly what to avoid. Flesh as it really is does not always afford a pretty picture; ill can be its own antidote.[54] Yet for Protestants schooled in doctrines of original sin and the total depravity of man like Donne and many of his friends in the Dutch military, acknowledging things to be what they are without illusion was perhaps a first step to salvation. Unlike Hieronymus Bosch or Jonathan Swift, notably enough, Donne eschews the scatological. For him the shadow zone is rather the libidinous drive(s) inhering in post-lapsarian man, that "deathless" soul, as *Metempsychosis* puts it, once inhabiting the "apple which Eve eate" and by "fate" now "plac'd in most shapes." Perhaps behind "Een Geestelijk Liedeken," Donne's more shocking realism, and thematically allied genre paintings alike lies a sad, "puritanical" perception of "this corruption" that grows "so fast in us" that "wee dare aske why we should be so." Ultimately, the "painfull love" to which mankind is "yoak'd" involves ironic paradoxes blasphemous to "dispute":

Would God . . . make
A law, and would not have it kept? Or can
His creatures will, crosse his? Of every man
For one, will God (and be just) vengeance take?
Who sinn'd? t'was not forbidden to the snake
Nor her, who was not then made; nor is't writ
That Adam cropt, or knew the apple; yet
The worme and she, and he, and wee endure for it.[55]

None of Adam's progeny, no, not even "curious Rebell[s]," can find satisfactory answers to such riddles as these, for baffling relativity marks the predicament of fallen man:

Ther's nothing simply good, nor ill alone,
Of every quality comparison,
The onely measure is, and judge, opinion.[56]

In probing the compelling itch that animates living things, evidently, there is no arriving at certainty, no escape from "this vain / Reckoning" of "vanities," this hazardous "heretiques game" of meditating "on ill," though "with good minde." In seeking to grasp the mystery of this human compulsion, the grace of faith itself begins to seem of dubious sufficiency. For, in the irreverent words of *Metempsychosis*, after even soaring poet-seers have been "snatch"-ed away from such error by the "heavenly Spirit," the "gaine" at best amounts to but "hands, not tongues," not "liberties / Of speech, but" . . . a Vermeer-anticipating "silence?"[57]

*University of California, Los Angeles*
*Rijkscommissie Voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis, The Hague*

Notes

[1] Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, I: 1450-1625 (New York, 1980), pp. 247-48, 254-55. The Dutch poem occurs on leaf 169 of 170 leaves folio. A brief pilot version of this study appeared as "Een krogentocht door oud Den Haag: Shady Light on English Friends of John Donne in the Netherlands," *Publications of the American Association For Netherlandic Studies: Papers from the Third Interdisciplinary Conference on Netherlandic Studies, 12-14 June, 1986*, ed. T. J. Broos (Lenham/London: University Press of America, Inc., 1988), pp. 13-23.

[2] Alan MacColl, "The Circulation of Donne's Poems in Manuscript," *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A. J. Smith (London, 1972), pp. 35-36.

[3] F. J. G. ten Raa and F. de Bas, *Het Staatsche Leger 1568-1795* (Breda, 1911- ), I, 249; II, 275, 281, 301.

[4] Ten Raa and De Bas, III, 46, 178, 274.

[5] *In So Doth, So Is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contacts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-1620* (Columbia, 1988), pp. 17-18, I point out that, as the correspondence between Sir

John Throckmorton, Lieutenant Governor of the sister garrison at the Cautionary Town of Flushing, and his commandant Sir Robert Sidney the elder suggests, superior officers spent much of their time in The Hague or London while the Lieutenant Governors tended shop *sur les lieux* for their absentee chiefs. See *Letters and Memorials of State*, ed. A. Collins (London, 1746), *passim*. "Cautionary Towns" (*pandsteden*) were Dutch citadels "pawned" or handed over to English control (Flushing, The Brill, Fort Rammekens) in return for Elizabeth's aid against Spain.

[6] *Biathanatos* and *Problems*, discussed in *So Doth*, pp. 17-30. Regarding the former, see R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (New York, 1970), p. 201; John Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour (1651)*, ed. M. Thomas Hester (New York, 1977), pp. 34-35; E. W. Sullivan II, "The Genesis and Transmission of Donne's *Biathanatos*," *The Library*, Ser. 5, 31 (1976), 52-53; and Sullivan, *Biathanatos by John Donne* (Newark, 1984), pp. xxxiv-xxxv. Regarding the latter, see Helen Peters, ed., *John Donne: Paradoxes and Problems* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 139-40.

[7] Ten Raa and De Bas, III, 46, 178; Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, Raad van State, Staten van Oorlog, 1620, No. 1244.

[8] When the States' forces were expanded in 1624, Sir Edward the younger and Sir Thomas became Lieutenant Colonel and Sergeant Major of the Willoughby regiment respectively. In the summer of 1625, Edward accompanied Sir Edward Cecil in the unsuccessful Anglo-Dutch attempt on Cadiz as Lieutenant Colonel, and in 1629 Thomas served as Lieutenant Colonel in the Morgan regiment during the conquest of 's Hertogenbosch. See Ten Raa and De Bas, III, 181; IV, 5, 29.

[9] A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, rev. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer, Vol. 1 (2nd ed.; London, 1986), Nos. 5651-53.

[10] Transcribed and edited by Dr. Veenendaal. *In re* the word "[di]ef" closing line 64, there is no doubt about the reading "f," although the ending "ef" breaks the rhyme scheme in this instance. The "f" is plainly distinct from final "s" in lines 58 and 60.

The following translation by Professor Sellin attempts roughly to preserve the meter but makes no effort to imitate the rhyme scheme:

i.

The Cassowary is a jewel,
It is the commandant
Of all of these bordellos fair
Here in this *Haagse Plein*.
Ma Thyssen knows her clients well,
Who're glad to play the game of love.
You must not look like holding back,
But just show up alone.

ii.

In the middle of the *Kerkhof*,
There is a brothel huge.
The Painted House is its true name,
You'll find there plenty whores.
Beauteous Helen's the Madam's name,
The Pandar's almost without shame.
If you've but money, as is right,
No argument at all.

iii.

Saint George's familiar to everyone,
Nefarious is the bawd.
You'll find the girls there by and large
Quite classy, and with names.
If you've a wallet well stuffed out,
You will get all that you desire.
But once that precious money's gone,
In scorn they'll turn you out.

iv.

The Pelican on the Graft so fine
One sees from far and wide.
One can there for a Gallic crown
Go duel in Venus' field,
In Venus' orchard with delight,
In honor bright and virtue right,
Do only that which you best like,
From rancor free, and spite.

v.

There in the Gaper on the Spuy
One sees a pretty sight.
The man is slack [from everything],
The woman light of rump.
[Mameerken] with her bright gold hair,
She'll gladly go and play my sweet
If you but only let her see
Your purse stays tightly shut.

vi.

A' th' Spuy, to Mother Oliver,
There comes a soldier brave.
O then she says, "I've wine nor beer,"
She hates us merry men.
But if a wealthy farmer comes,
For him they'll fetch a spicy whore
And quickly give the loutish knave
All that his heart desires.

vii.

The Bell, O that's an honest house.
They serve there wine and beer.
But come there stealthy as a mouse,
Ask for a Venus lass.
[Ariaenken] knows good counsel straight,
A married lady delicate.
She'll drop her daughter but a word,
And never make a fuss.

viii.

I' th' Orange Tree on the *Achterom*,
You'll find the lodging good.
Sweet Maykens keeps there many a dove
But for this man alone.
Though late at night, just come on in,
They'll take good care of you indeed
If you've but money that they want,
No thief will rob you there.

ix.

The Verdant Pelican's a house,
Where lodging good is yours.
Be there at ease, without a doubt,
Pick out an elegant lass.
But if you play the swaggerer,
Mine host knows much of that line too.
He's sure to do what'eer he can,
You'll find him more than show.

x.

The Patmos' name is too well known,
There's too much riffraff there,
And so from here we'll turn around
And find the Red Cross Inn.
Bring there a whore, or seven, or ten,
The keeper will not raise an eye.
Aye! Madam shall herself perhaps
Put her own sluice in play.

Ending is good for a down-and-out-er
who's up to his neck in shit.

*In re* line 72: The Dutch manuscript text reads "dansier," but the form lacks corroboration elsewhere. Inasmuch as the form "dangier" definitely existed and was pronounced in such fashion as to square with the rhyme scheme here, it is possible that an error crept into the text somewhere in the chain of transmission. In this case, the passage may play upon homophilic connotations of "beyerman" ("carilloneur"). That is, "klokkenspel" ("carillon") can refer to male genitalia, and if this is the meaning, then the relevant passage can better be translated as:

If you prefer to play the bells,
Mine host knows much of that line too.
He's sure to do whate'er he can,
You run no risk at all.

[11] H. E. van Gelder, *'s-Gravenhage in Zeven Eeuwen* (Amsterdam, 1937), p. 117.

[12] P. L. Muller, *Onze Gouden Eeuw: De Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden in haar bloeitijd geschetst* (Leiden, [1896]), III, 275-81.

[13] J. J. Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje: Een biografisch drieluik* (Zutphen, 1978), pp. 72-74.

[14] B. H. D. Hermesdorf, *De herberg in de Nederlanden: Een blik in de beschavingsgeschiedenis* (Assen, 1957), pp. 251 ff.

[15] J. H. Böse, *"Had de mensch met een vrou niet connen leven":... Prostitutie in de literatuur van de zeventiende eeuw* (Zutphen, 1985).

[16] Böse, p. 32. Cf. Arie van Deursen, *Het kopergeld van de Gouden Eeuw*, II: Volkskultuur (Assen/Amsterdam, 1978), 32-57.

[17] *Brehms Neue Tierenzyklopaedie* (Guetersloh, 1981-83), VIII, 272-76. Naming Bordellos after exotic birds seems to have been very popular. According to H. W. J. Volmuller, *Het oudste beroep: Geschiedenis van de prostitutie in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1966), p. 9, a hidden house was sometimes indicated by a parrot in a cage over the door, and of course the motif serves as a giveaway in many paintings.

[18] J. K. van der Haage, "Het Plein, Huygens en Frederik Hendrik," *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (1928/29), pp. 6-38.

[19] J. de Riemer, *Beschryving van 's-Gravenhage* (Delft, 1730-1739), I, 182.

[20] Gemeente Archief, The Hague (G.A.H.), Transportregisters 1610-1619, no. 1376. Dr. Veenendaal is most indebted to the staff of the Gemeente Archief, The Hague, for generous cooperation.

[21] G. A. H., Transportregisters 1620-1629, nos. 978, 1000, 1143.

[22] H. E. van Gelder, "Haagsche Cohieren, I, 1627," *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (1913), p.53.

[23] G. A. H., Transportregisters 1630-1639, nr. 1007.

[24] G. A. H., Notarieel Archief, 6, fol. 341.

[25] Böse, p. 35.

[26] G. A. H., Transportregisters 1610-1619, no. 629; Van Gelder, p. 34.

[27] G. A. H., Transportregisters 1640-1649, no. 2358.

[28] J. Berk, "Eene wandeling door 's-Gravenhage in het jaar 1679," *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (1901), p. 174. See also D. Hoek, *Haags leven bij de inzet van de Gouden Eeuw. Rondom Mr. Jacob van Dijck (1564-1631)* (Assen, 1966), p. 241, and W. P. van Stockum, *'s-Gravenhage in den loop der tijden* (The Hague, 1916), I, 36.

[29] See n. 8 above.

[30] Professor Sellin is indebted to Professor Leendert Strengholt, Department of Netherlands Language and Literature, Free University, Amsterdam, for bringing the rhyme scheme to his attention and generously sharing unpublished research.

[31] Cf. L. Strengholt, "De strofevorm van Bloems 'Koning Cophetua en het bedelmeisje'," *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 76 (1983), 251. Note, however, that stanzas two and three of the Conway poem deviate in the first quatrain from the pattern, stanza eight in the second.

[32] Strengholt, p. 255; Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht, 1972), pp. 60-70 *et passim*. Reference owing to Professor Ray Wakefield, Department of Germanic Languages, University of Minnesota.

[33] E. T. Kuiper, *Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken*, ed. P. Leendertz, Jr. (Zutphen, 1924), I, 11-12.

[34] Kuiper, p. 12, note 35; psalm setting conveniently accessible in J. Clemens non Papa, *Souterliedekens* [1556] (Corpus of Early Music; Brussels, 1972), Vol. III, Psalm 93. Although it employs the rhyme scheme of the Conway poem, the *Souterliedekens* verse differs radically in other respects, utilizing feminine "b" rhymes and a very odd meter (two trimeters, one dimeter, one trimeter, one tetrameter, two dimeters, one trimeter).

[35] See Strengholt, pp. 252-53.

[36] As quoted by Strengholt, p. 252.

[37] Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1765), I, 166-71. In Shakespeare, Mercutio (*Romeo and Juliet*, II.i.14), Falstaff (*2 Henry IV*, V.iii), Don Armado (*Loves Labours Lost*, I.ii.108-18; IV.i.67) and Bolingbroke (*Richard II*, V.iii.80) all allude to it; in Ben Jonson, Oliver Cob the water bearer (*Every Man in His Humor*, III.iv.75). Marston seems to refer to it in *The Scourge of Villany* (1598), ed. A. H. Bullen, John Marston, *Works* (London, 1887), III.302: "Go buy some ballad of The Fairy King, / And of the Beggar-wench, some roguy thing. / Which thou mays't chant unto the chamber-maid / To some vile Tune."

[38] Tune in Fl. van Duyse, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied: wereldlijke en geestelijke liederen uit vroegeren tijd*, II (Hilversum, 1965), columns 1715-16. According to *Loves Labours Lost*, I.ii.110-13, an older version of "King Cophetua" used music of this sort too. Moth says of it, "The world was very guilty of such a ballet [of the King and the Beggar] some three ages since. But I think now 'tis not to be found, or if it would, it would neither serve for the writing nor the tune." In Richard Johnson, *The Crowne Garland of Golden Roses* (2nd ed.; London, 1631), which specifies many tunes to which poems in the collection were to be sung, there is no tune given for "A Song of a King and a Beggar," gathering $D^{r}$-$D4^{r}$.

[39] Percy, II, 166-71.

[40] Strengholt, p. 2. Moth's *eight* line poem in Common Meter (*Loves Labours Lost*, I.ii.93-100) seems to remind Armado of the King Cophetua ballad, thereby suggesting that the stanzaic pattern consisted indeed of eight rather than twelve lines.

[41] E.g., notes to *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. Richard David, IV.i.67 (The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare; London, 1956).

[42] See Christopher Brown, *Images of a Golden Past: Dutch Genre Painting of the 17th Century* (New York, 1984), pp. 9-51, 109, 115, 197 *et passim*; Bob Haak, *The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, trans. and ed. Elizabeth Willems-Treemen (New York, 1984), pp. 85-98; Peter C. Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia Museum of Art; Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, 1974), pp. lxxx-lxxxi, figs. 28-30, *et passim*. Professor Sellin is indebted for references and suggestions to Professor Carol Janson, Department of Art, University of Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri, and to Professor Eugene Cunnar, Department of English, University of New Mexico.

[43] Jacob Duck, *Kroegscene met soldaten* ca. 1630. Present location unknown. Photo Rijksdienst Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.

[44] Jacob Duck, *Interior with Girl and Soldiers*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, No. 70. PB. 19. Dr. Sellin is most indebted to Ms. Christiane Ramirez, Curatorial Secretary, Painting Department, for providing slides, prints, and information about this painting.

[45] Adriaen Brouwer, *Tabakskroeg met soldaten en vrouwen*, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.

[46] Pieter Quast, *A Girl and Soldier Playing Cards*, Los Angeles County Art Museum, Gift of Arnold S. Kirkeby, Los Angeles, California, No. 54. 137. 3. Dr. Sellin is indebted to Ms. Pamela Tippman, Photographic Services, for providing reproductions and information about this and the following painting.

[47] Jacob Duck, *A Street Scene*, Los Angeles County Art Museum, Gift of John Wayne, Los Angeles, California, No. 58. 50. 1. As Duck stems from Utrecht, of course, the scene is not likely to derive from The Hague.

[48] Johannes Vermeer, *Officer and Laughing Girl*, The Frick Collection, New York, No. A 936. Quotation from Peter Sutton, *A Guide to Dutch Art in America* (Grand Rapids/Kampen, 1986), p.

174. Cf. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago, 1983), p. 30, quoting Claudel.

[49] Cf. E. de Jongh, "Réalisme et réalisme apparent dans la peinture hollandaise du 17e siècle," *Rembrandt et son temps* (Europalia 71; Brussels, 1971), pp. 143-84.

[50] References to Donne's poetry are based on *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, ed. John T. Shawcross (Garden City, NY, 1967). Regarding the present authors' skepticism about the "erotic" context "vaguely sensed by modern readers," see Sellin's review of David Novarr, *The Disinterred Muse*, *JEGP* 82 (1983), 240-41.

[51] As the Shawcross apparatus indicates, the printed editions from 1635-1654 omitted lines 53-54 of "The Anagram." Constantine Huygens' translation of this elegy (which antedates these editions) does the same, and Huygens' manuscript shows that he dropped the couplet from "De Verstelling" deliberately as an obscenity. See *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, ed. J. A. Worp, II (Groningen, 1898), 216, n. *in re* l. 49. Evidently, thus, the subject matter even in Donne's time ran the risk of giving offense to contemporaries. Though hardly a scion of Victorian prudery, Huygens certainly shared the intensity of Donne's religiosity. Perhaps material like this in Donne's poetry is one of the reasons why even after Donne's ordination, John Chamberlain's correspondence (*The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman McClure [Philadelphia, 1939], Vol. II, *passim*) sometimes seems unduly negative about Donne's character. Dr. Sellin is indebted to Professor Mary Arshagouni, Department of English, Oakland University, for drawing attention to Chamberlain's remarks in this context.

[52] Unknown painter, Lothian portrait of John Donne, ca. 1595, Newbattle Abbey.

[53] See Bald, pp. 80-92. Dennis Flynn's "Jasper Mayne's Translation of Donne's Latin Epigrams," *John Donne Journal* 3 (1984), 123-26, 128, provides indirect support for the suggestion by Bald (pp. 50-52) and others that Donne could have been involved in the Low Countries' War as early as 1589.

[54] But cf. the epigraph to this essay. Because John Cary, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (London/Boston, 1981), stresses Donne's Catholic origins and reads the poems biographically, he tends to put a more benign construction on these passages from *Metempsychosis* (see pp. 131-66 *et passim*) than these pages do.

[55] *Metempsychosis*, lines 101-10. *In re* original sin and *Metempsychosis*, cf. George Williamson, "Donne's Satirical *Progresse of the Soule*," *ELH* 36 (1969), 251-54; Janel M. Mueller, "Donne's Epic Venture in the *Metempsychosis*," *MP* 70 (1972), 112-13, 134-137.

[56] *Metempsychosis*, lines 518-20. Cf. Alpers on this problem, pp. 17-23.

[57] *Metempsychosis*, lines 111-17, 511-17.