

**Thomas Campion,**  
***Ad Daphnin* (c. 1590) and *Ad Thamesin* (published 1595), lines 1-27**  
**(edited by Victoria Moul)**

Thomas Campion (1567-1620), was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge and Gray's Inn. His first major work was the Latin collection *Poemata* (1595). He is now known primarily for his English songs, especially those of *A Booke of Ayres* (1601) and *Two Bookes of Ayres* (undated, but probably around 1613). He also composed a work of poetic theory, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602), and wrote several masques for the Stuart court. He returned to Latin poetry at the end of his life, publishing *Tho. Campiani epigrammatum libri II* in 1619, as well as a long and ambitious Latin poem on the Gunpowder Plot, which survives only in a single manuscript. His Latin verse has attracted almost no recent commentary, although it is printed in Percival Vivian's edition of *Campion's Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909). The text here is printed by permission of Oxford University Press (see Vivian, ed., *Campion's Works*, pp.229-33). Both text and translation, accompanied by some brief notes, can be found on Dana Sutton's website:  
<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/campion/contents.html>.

Campion's Latin epigrams are an important element of the vogue for epigrams in the style of Martial in the period (compare similar collections in English during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by Harington, Jonson and Donne). The poem *Ad Daphnin* included here, and the extract from *Ad Thamesin* are however taken from the 1595 *Poemata*. Campion's English verse is renowned for its beauty and fluency, and his Latin poetry shares many of the same qualities. These poems are also of particular interest for their political content, their sophisticated manipulation of classical tropes and themes to create allegories of contemporary relevance, and for their influence upon Milton's Latin verse, most notably Milton's early poem *In Quintum Novembris*.

***Ad Daphnin***

This short poem, accompanied by a parallel piece *Ad Dianam* (that is, Queen Elizabeth), acts as a dedication to *Poemata* (1595), and is given here in full. *Daphnis*, as is made explicit, stands for the Earl of Essex, and the poem seems to date from the

time of the expedition to Portugal of 1589 – an expedition which Essex joined without permission from the Queen, and in which it is possible that Campion himself was involved. A rich discussion of the poem and its historical context by Hugh Gizzard can be found in *The Review of English Studies*, 57 (“Many a *herdsman* more dispoſe to morne’: Peele, Campion, and the Portugal Expedition of 1589’, Hugh Gizzard, *RES NS* 57, no. 228 (2006), 16-42). Gizzard is excellent on the Ovidian material in the poem and its contemporary relevance; I have accordingly focused more on Virgilian echoes. The moſt ſtriking ſingle feature of the poem is its blend of epic and elegiac language to denote a ſenſe of Eſſex’s doomed heroism.

AD DAPHNIN

Ecquis atat ſuperum? nec enim terreſtris in illo  
 Effulſit ſplendor, certe aut Latous Apollo  
 Per virides ſaltus teneros ſectatur amores,  
 Aut Daphnis formuſus adeſt, quem ſordida terra,  
 Quem nemuſ abductum, quem ſi faſ Cynthia fleuit. 5  
 Illi nequicquam Fauni, Chariteſque quotamniſ  
 Ornarunt, feſtoſque dieſ ſuaueſque Hymenæoſ.  
 Montibuſ et ſiluiſ immania luſtra ferarum  
 Eruiſ, innuptæ veneratuſ ſacra Diana.  
 Ah nimium intrepiduſ toruo occuſſare leoni 10  
 Geſtit, et ingenteſ ad pugnam incendere tauroſ.  
 Quam modo qua Taguſ auriferiſ incumbit areniſ,  
 Per vaga dorſa freti iuuenum longo agmine cinctuſ,  
 Vaſtatoruſ apri fugientia terga cedit!  
 Non Atlante ſatæ (foelicia ſydera munuſ 15  
 Hoc pietatiſ habent) magiſ infoelicuſ Hyantiſ  
 Confuſae ex abitu ſteterunt, trepidæque volarunt  
 Per ſiluaſ, reſonantibuſ vndique Hyantida ſiluiſ;  
 Quam te, Daphni, ſuper duplicanteſ vota Britanni,  
 Quam te, Daphni, ſuper pendentibuſ anxia fatiſ 20  
 Diua, notoſ metueneſ, longumque quod æſtuat æquor.  
 Sed poſtquam ſoſpeſ tandem patria arua reuiſaſ,  
 Terra nemuſque viret, vetereſque ex ordine cultuſ

Solenni instituunt siluestria numina pompa,  
Nec tibi tantum ausit decus inuidisse Menalcas. 25

But which one of the gods? For in him shines  
No earthly splendour; without doubt, either Leto's son Apollo  
Is chasing tender loves amid the green meadows,  
Or else beautiful Daphnis is here – he whom the grimy earth,  
Whom the grove, whom even Cynthia, if possible, wept for when he was taken  
away. 5  
In vain the Fauns and the Graces every year prepare  
For him days of celebration and sweet wedding rites.  
In the mountains and the woods he charged upon  
The immense lairs of the wild beasts, and honoured the sacred rites of chaste Diana.  
Oh his behaviour was too bold, when he set forth to attack 10  
The ferocious lion, and to fire the mighty bulls to battle.  
Only just now, where the Tagus lies heavy with its gold-laden sand,  
He, through the shifting ridges of the ocean, and surrounded by great ranks of young  
men,  
Has cut down upon the fleeing back of the marauding boar.  
Not even the daughters of Atlas (fortunate stars that they are, 15  
To have this reward for their piety) stood in greater confusion after the departure  
Of unfortunate Hyas, and trembling rushed  
Through the forests, as the forests echoed the name of Hyas in every direction;  
They were no more distraught than were the British people, redoubling their prayers  
for you, Daphnis;  
Or than the goddess was, anxious for you, Daphnis as you fate hung in the  
balance, 20  
And fearful on your behalf of the south winds, as the wide ocean seethed in storm.  
But at last you returned safe to your native land:  
Then the land and the woodland grew green again, and the gods of the forest  
Established once again ancient rites with due and solemn ceremony,  
And not even Menalcas has dared to envy you such glory. 25

## Commentary

**Title:** *Daphnin*: in the original printing, this is marked with a marginal note:

‘Clarissimus Essexiae comes sub Daphnidis persona adumbratur’; ‘The highly distinguished Earl of Essex is implied under the persona of Daphnis’. The use of allegory itself partakes in a literary tradition: as early as Servius, commentators on Virgil’s fifth eclogue had suggested that Daphnis ‘stood for’ Julius Caesar.

**Line 2-11:** *Apollo . . . tauros*: I believe that this description of Daphnis/Essex is modelled at several points upon the passage of Virgil, *Aeneid* IV. 143-149, comparing Aeneas to Apollo, followed by the description of the young Ascanius in the valley (156-9). Virgil’s Aeneas is likened to Apollo, who like Daphnis here also attracts rural devotions (145-6); and Aeneas ranges in the ‘invia lustra’ (151), disturbing mountain goats (152) and stags (154). Meanwhile his son Ascanius waits in the valley, hoping for the chance to hunt a ‘foaming boar’ or ‘mountain lion’ (158-9) disturbed by his fathers’ activities. The parallels to this passage are intriguing, and contribute to the ambiguity of Campion’s tone. In Virgil, Aeneas’s appearance *like Apollo* in the presence of Dido parallels his first sighting of her, in which, in a very similar passage, she is described as resembling Diana (Apollo’s brother), in her guise as hunting goddess and ‘flanked by young followers’ (‘magna iuvenum stipante caterva’ (*Aeneid* I. 497), compare line 13 here). Ascanius’ hopeful anticipation of a hunt in Virgil’s scene is disturbing – it is his shooting of the deer in Book 6 that destroys the truce and starts the war between Trojans and Latins, and Dido herself is connected with images of the wounded and hunted deer. The Virgilian scene is thus dense with both the god-like grandeur and glory, and the human cost of settling and empire. Its resonance in Campion’s poem suggests the combined power and danger of Essex and the Queen (addressed as Diana in a parallel poem), and the attractions and costs of the epic project itself.

**Line 4:** *Daphnis formusus*: Daphnis is ‘formusus’ (beautiful) in Virgil’s *Eclogues*, and indeed commemorated as such, according to Mopsus’ song, upon his tomb: ‘pastores . . . / et tumulum facite, et tumulo superaddite carmen: / ‘Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus, / formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse’ (*E.* 5. 42-4).

**Line 5:** *Cynthia fleuit*: Cynthia suggests Queen Elizabeth; both passages of the *Aeneid* described above (Dido as Diana; Aeneas as Apollo) locate the divinities upon

the ‘ridges of [Mount] Cynthus’ (A. I. 498; IV. 147), the mountain in Delos where they were born to Leto. Calling Elizabeth ‘Cynthia’ – that is, ‘from Cynthus’ – identifies her, as in Campion’s parallel poem, with Diana. The same association is made in Sir Walter Raleigh’s *Cynthia*; Elizabethan iconography has been the focus of excellent recent work (cf. Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth* (Chicago, 2006) and Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford, 1993).

**Line 7:** *ornarunt*: contracted form of the perfect tense *ornaverunt* (regular in poetry)

**Line 10:** *Ah nimium intrepidus*: Campion hints subtly at Essex’s impetuosity (he joined the Portugal expedition without the Queen’s permission).

**Line 12:** *Tagus*: The Tagus is a river in Portugal; it is ‘gold-bearing’ in Catullus (29.19) and Ovid (*Amores* I. 15. 34) as well as in Wyatt (‘Tagus, fare well . . .’).

**Line 15:** *Atlantides*: the daughters of Atlas are the Hyades, the five sisters of Hyas who were transformed into a cluster of stars after his death – the constellation heralds rain, as the sisters continue to weep for their brother.

**Line 16 and 18:** *Hyantis* and *Hyantida*: Campion’s declension of the name Hyas is unusual – of Latin formation in the genitive in line 16 and using the ending of a Greek accusative in line 18. Gazzard discusses this anomaly, and the likely metrical motivation, on p. 33. The repetition of a form of the name is reminiscent of the emotive effect at *Eclogues* 6. 43-4, where the whole shore resounds with the echo of the similarly-named Hylas’s name, as Hercules and his companions searched for him: ‘ut litus Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret’ (6. 44). The similarity between the names and the grief-centred plot suggests a connection – compare also Milton, *Epitaphium Damonis*, 1, which pairs Daphnis and Hylas as emblems of grief.

**Line 21:** As Gazzard points out, *Notos* must here refer to the south wind, *Notus*, in the plural, rather than the accusative plural of *notus* (‘acquaintance’), the first syllable of which would scan long.

**Line 25:** *Menalcas* – one of the singers (along with Mopsus) of the lament for Daphnis in Eclogue 5. Both Menalcas and Mopsus describe rural rites established for Daphnis, and Mopsus’ song makes the divinisation of Daphnis explicit. Menalcas in the fifth eclogue concedes that Mopsus’ skill places him second only to Daphnis himself (45-52). The mention of Menalcas here perhaps casts Campion as Mopsus.

### *Ad Thamesin*

This hexameter poem, of 283 lines, takes the form of a mini-epic in commemoration of the defeat of the Armada in 1588. The allusions are accordingly epic in source and register: they are derived in particular from Virgil's *Aeneid*, and the text is marked by elaborate descriptions of deities, epithets in the style of classical epic verse, and even an extended epic simile (though not in this section). In addition to these classical elements, Campion incorporates high-flown Biblical expressions to contribute to the impression of a religious crusade. The structure of the piece is strange – taken up almost entirely with the speeches of the gods of the underworld, led by Dis, as he seduces his favourite people, the Spanish, into a desire to conquer Britain and so launch the Armada. The actual campaign and its defeat are described in a scant twenty lines at the close of the poem (240-266). Interestingly, the Armada campaign is associated in the opening lines given below with the future struggle between the Spanish and British for control of America. The abbreviated structure of the poem – a kind of epic fragment or ‘taster’, which suggests that the Armada itself is a kind of ‘prelude’ to a greater conflict – is most strongly reminiscent of Milton's early poem *In Quintum Novembris* (1626), in which Spain is also, as in this poem, described as ‘Hesperia’ (102). There is in my opinion no doubt that Milton knew this poem well, and much work remains to be done on the influence of earlier British neo-Latin poets upon Milton's Latin and English works alike.

Despite the obvious political and historical interest of the piece, I have been unable to find any substantial commentary upon it, though Dana Sutton's hypertext edition includes a few useful annotations

(<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/campion/notes.html#t2>).

A text and translation of this poem (though not the *Ad Daphnin*) is to be found in Walter R. Davis, *The Works of Thomas Campion* (New York, 1967).

AD THAMESIN

ARGUMENTUM

Totum hoc poema gratulationem in se habet ad Thamesin de Hispanorum fuga, in qua adumbrantur causae quibus adducti Hispani expeditionem in Angliam fecerint. Eæ autem sunt, auaritia, crudelitas, superbia, atque inuidia. Deinde facta Apostrophe ad Reginam pastoraliter desinit.

Nympha potens Thamesis soli cessura Dianae,  
 Caeruleum caput effer aquis, charchesia late  
 Quae modo constiterant signis horrenda cruentis,  
 Ecce tuos trepide liquere fugacia portus.  
 Non tulit Hispanos crudelia signa sequentes 5  
 Neptunus pater, et multum indignantia spumis  
 Aequora, non deus aetherea qui fulminat arce,  
 Nubila qui soluit, ventorumque assidet alis.  
 Ille suos cultus, sua templa, suosque Britannos  
 Proteget, ultricemque suam victricibus armis. 10  
 Nec Romana feret purgatis Orgia fanis  
 Reffluere, aut vetitas fieri libamen ad aras.  
 O pietas odiosa deo, scelerataque sacra,  
 Quae magis inficiunt (damnosa piacula) sontes.  
 Est locus Hesperii, Diti sacer, abditus undis, 15  
 Quem pius occuluit Nereus, hominumque misertus  
 Oceanus, quemque ipse deis metuendus Apollo  
 Luminis inditio quod detegit omnia, sensit  
 Ignotis sub aquis melius potuisse latere.  
 At pater umbrarum cui nox parit horrida natos 20  
 Terribiles, nigro vultus signante corymbo,  
 Ille per obscuras petit antra immania silvas  
 Aurea, silvarum Stygiae sub tegmine nymphae  
 Atra tenebrosis spectant in fontibus ora.  
 Eumenides regem comitantur, et ortus Echidna 25  
 Cerberus, et quae monstra tulit furialis origo,  
 Quos caput horrendum quatiens sic alloquitur Dis:

The whole of this poem consists of a statement of congratulation addressed to the Thames on the rout of the Spaniards; the poem includes an outline of the reasons by which the Spanish were led to their expedition against England. The said reasons comprise greed, cruelty, pride and envy. Then follows an Apostrophe to the Queen, and the poem ends in a pastoral fashion.

Mighty nymph of the Thames, second only to Diana herself,  
Lift from the waters your dark sea-green head, behold how far and wide the ships'  
masts

Which had but recently stood stiff with bloody standards,  
Have deserted your ports in panicked flight.

For father Neptune refused to bear the Spanish as they followed their cruel  
standards, 5

And the very waves were furious with foam,  
Nor did the god who thunders in the vault of heaven,  
Who sets the clouds loose, and is seated upon the wings of the wind.  
That god protects his worshippers, his shrines, and his own dear Britons,  
And shields his own avenging queen with the weapons of victory. 10

Nor will he allow the Roman Rites to flow back into the shrines we have purged  
Or a sacrifice to be made on forbidden altars.

O piety which is hateful to god, and corrupt sacraments;  
Rites – dread and dangerous rituals! – which the wicked pervert still further.  
There is a place in the Hesperides, sacred to Dis, hidden by the waves 15

A place holy Nereus concealed, as did Oceanus,  
Taking pity on men; and even Apollo – a god feared by gods  
Because the test of his light reveals all – decided  
That it was better hidden there beneath uncharted waters.

But the father of shades to whom dread night bore children 20  
Terrible children, their faces marked with black clusters of berries,

Through dark forests he sought immense caves  
Of gold; under the cover of the woods the nymphs of Styx  
Behold their black faces in shadowy streams.

The Furies accompany the king, and the one born of Echidna, 25  
Cerberus, as well as the monsters born from the race of Furies,  
Whom Dis, shaking his dread head, addressed thus:

[Dis goes on to summon Oceanus and to request that the men of Hesperia – the Spanish – should be allowed to discover America; Oceanus retorts with a description of the virtue of the British, and of their Queen, Elizabeth. He stresses that the British,

like the Romans, are descended from Trojan stock – this long-standing myth connecting the British people to Brutus is encapsulated in Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth century *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and was an Elizabethan commonplace. The confrontation between Dis and Oceanus, and the resulting storm, is reminiscent of the opening of the *Aeneid* (and also of the *Tempest*, as Prospero guards his secret island).]

### Commentary

**Line 1:** *Dianae* is glossed as *Elisabethae*, Queen Elizabeth, in the original printed text. Elizabethan iconography regularly associated the queen with Cynthia or Diana (for relevant recent work on the representation of Elizabeth, see Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth* (Chicago, 2006)).

**Line 2:** *Caeruleum caput*: a similar phrase appears in Ovid, *Met* XIII. 838 – appropriately an invocation to the water nymph Galatea – but Campion's line may be indebted most directly to William Camden. (Similar material in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book IV, may also be indebted to that work.) Portions of Camden's long poem on the marriage of the Tama and the Isis to form the Thames (*Connubium Tamae et Isis*) were incorporated in *Britannia* (first edition 1586, though more fragments are included in later editions), though not attributed explicitly to Camden himself; further extracts appeared posthumously in a collection of Camden's writings in 1691. Among the latter was section five of the poem, in which Father Thames raises his head at Windsor, acknowledges Eton, and begins a speech describing the dignity and beauty of Elizabeth's court: 'caeruleum caput ille levans, ita farier inquit'. Although this extract of Camden's work was unpublished until after his death, it seems to date from early in his career, focusing upon Elizabeth's defeat of France and Ireland (in the 1560s) with no mention of the conflict with Spain beginning in 1585. For that reason I believe that Campion's poem alludes to Camden's and not the other way round. Dana Sutton has a very useful hypertext edition of the fragments of the *Connubium*, with translation and contextual notes, to which these remarks are indebted: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/campoems/intro.html>  
*charchesia*: neuter pl. of the Greek noun *charchesium* meaning a cup or beaker, this unusual word (also spelt 'carchesia' or 'carcesia') also refers to the upper portion of a mast. It is found in the plural as here in Catullus and Lucan. It must here refer by

synecdoche to the ships of the Spanish fleet, but the detail of upright masts works well with the bloody standards of the following line.

**Line 8:** *ventorumque assidet alis*: the image is Biblical, used twice of the God of the Old Testament at Psalms 18.10 and 104.3. Psalm 18 also has the Lord thundering in the heavens (18.13) as here in line 7. Thus a conventional pagan image of Jove the thunderer is converted by degrees into a Biblical motif.

**Line 10:** *ultricemque suam*: i.e. Elizabeth

**Line 11:** *Romana . . . Orgia*: the ‘Orgia’ are nocturnal rites in honour of Bacchus, notorious for their feasting and debauchery; by association, the word is applied to secret revels and orgies of various kinds. By ‘Romana Orgia’ Campion clearly means to denote the ‘Roman Rite’, that is, the Catholic Mass – and to imply that the Mass is a dark and secret ritual associated with moral collapse. The ‘purged shrines’ refer presumably to Protestant England since the break with Rome: Campion implies that repelling the Armada avoided the forced reconversion of England, and that this reason lay behind the divine protection offered the English.

**Line 12:** *libamen* is an offering, libation or sacrifice; here referring again to the host in a Roman Catholic Mass.

**Line 15:** *locus* is glossed *Americae poetica descriptio*, ‘a poetic description of America’, in the printed text. Cf. Virgil *Aeneid* I.530 = III. 163, ‘est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt’. This move casts the discovery and conquest of America – not in fact the Armada campaign itself – as the decisive struggle between the Spanish and British peoples, and suggests a further stage in the wanderings of the Trojans (that is, the British). The hellish inhabitants of the Americas are associated with the Spanish, also protected by Dis: Catholic and pagan are thus aligned as the forces of darkness in comparison to the light and grace of the Protestant British, beloved by Oceanus.

**Line 20:** The children of Night and Erebus include Old Age, Death, Murder, Sleep, Dream, Discord and the Fates as well as the Hesperides cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 211ff.

**Line 21:** *corymbo*: the noun ‘corymbus, -i’ (masculine) refers to a cluster of ivy berries. The word appears at Virgil, *E.* 3. 39 and Ovid *Met.* 3. 664. More significantly, these berries are associated with the garlands crowning gods, especially Bacchus; and with bacchic worship more generally. I think this is the relevant reference here: the suggestion that their faces are smeared with ivy-berries evokes the dark-skinned complexion of the native peoples of America, while the association with pagan rituals

of a particularly abandoned kind suggest both the unChristian paganism of native Americans, and, at the same time, the Protestant view of Catholic rites – since the gods of the underworld protect and encourage the Catholic Spanish in this poem.

Compare the use of the phrase ‘Romana . . . Orgia’ in line 11.

**Line 22:** the gold mines of South America are probably meant here.

