

DONNE

THE COMPLETE
POEMS OF
JOHN DONNE



EDITED BY ROBIN ROBBINS

Longman Annotated English Poets

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THE COMPLETE POEMS OF
JOHN DONNE

Epigrams, Verse Letters to Friends, Love-Lyrics,
Love-Elegies, Satire, Religion Poems,
Wedding Celebrations, Verse Epistles to Patronesses,
Commemorations and Anniversaries

EDITED BY
ROBIN ROBBINS



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Note by the General Editors

Longman Annotated English Poets was launched in 1965 with the publication of Kenneth Allott's edition of *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*. F. W. Bateson wrote that the 'new series is the first designed to provide university students and teachers, and the general reader with complete and fully annotated editions of the major English poets'. That remains the aim of the series, and Bateson's original vision of its policy remains essentially the same. Its 'concern is primarily with the *meaning* of the extant texts in their various contexts'. The two other principles of the series were that the text should be modernised and the poems printed 'as far as possible in the order in which they were composed'.

These broad principles still govern the series. Its primary purpose is to provide an annotated text giving the reader any necessary contextual information. However, flexibility in the detailed application has proved necessary in the light of experience and the needs of a particular case (and each poet is, by definition, a particular case).

First, proper glossing of a poet's vocabulary has proved essential and not something which can be taken for granted. Second, modernisation has presented difficulties, which have been resolved pragmatically, trying to reach a balance between sensitivity to the text in question and attention to the needs of a modern reader. Thus, to modernise Browning's text has a double redundancy: Victorian conventions are very close to modern conventions, and Browning had firm ideas on punctuation. Equally, to impose modern pointing on the ambiguities of Marvell would create a misleading clarity. Third, in the very early days of the series Bateson hoped that editors would be able in many cases to annotate a *textus receptus*. That has not always been possible, and where no accepted text exists or where the text is controversial, editors have been obliged to go back to the originals and create their own text. The series has taken, and will continue to take, the opportunity not only of providing thorough annotations not available elsewhere, but also of making important scholarly textual contributions where necessary. A case in point is the edition of *The Poems of Tennyson* by Christopher Ricks, the second edition of which (1987) takes into account a full collation of the Trinity College Manuscripts, not previously available for an edition of this kind. Yet the series' primary purpose remains annotation.

The requirements of a particular author take precedence over principle. Where Ricks rightly decided that Tennyson's reader needs to be given the circumstances of composition, the attitude to Tennyson and his circle, allusions, and important variants, a necessary consequence was the exclusion of twentieth-century critical responses. Milton, however, is a very different case. John Carey and Alastair Fowler, looking to the needs of their readers, undertook synopses of the main lines of the critical debate

over Milton's poetry. Finally, chronological ordering by date of composition will almost always have a greater or lesser degree of speculation and arbitrariness. This edition of Donne arranges the poems chronologically within genre, with the exception of the lyrics. It is impossible to determine the precise date of most of these: they have therefore been arranged alphabetically.

John Barnard
Paul Hammond

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Robin Robbins 2007

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Introduction

Like many writers before and since, Donne was often prompted to exercise his rhetorical abilities by context and occasion: for his fellow young men about town, he wrote epigrams, songs, satires, love-elegies and letters in verse and prose; for patrons he wrote verse-epistles, too, and memorial elegies; for himself prose treatises treating of his own particular concerns; for the King, religious propaganda and—when no other way of earning a living was available—his public sermons. The present edition aims to present as nearly as possible the texts of all his poems.

To do so, the problem of recovering what Donne originally wrote has been approached differently from the editions of the past. With the exception of the *Variorum Donne* (of which, so far, only half has been published) important editors such as Sir Herbert Grierson, Dame Helen Gardner, Wesley Milgate, John T. Shawcross and Theodore Redpath reproduced the versions that first appeared in print (mostly those of the first, posthumous edition of the poems in 1633) adopting when it seemed necessary readings from surviving manuscripts. While recognising that the printed sources (mainly the first edition) relied entirely on manuscripts whose production was remote from Donne himself or his supervision, those editors were in constant danger of surrendering editorial judgement to the decisions (or inadvertencies) of the unknown scribes, editors and compositors responsible for what eventually appeared in print. Well aware of this, these editors all scrutinised the manuscripts thoroughly for emendations to the printed text they felt necessary. Nevertheless, the presumption prevailed that the readings of that printed text were to be preferred if possible. By contrast, the present edition starts for each individual poem from the manuscript version which presents, judging from what is known of Donne's preferences, the cultural influences of the time, and the nature of that manuscript, the most likely text of that poem.

The unprecedented labours of Grierson, with the dozens of the earliest surviving manuscripts containing poems by Donne, before the days of photocopiers and computers—even of many of the library and other catalogues so helpful to more recent scholars—developed further by Gardner, established the manuscripts' chief relationships. Firstly Grierson and Gardner distinguished three main groups: I (five MSS, one a copy of one of the others, with *H40* earlier but related), II (four MSS, two of them copies, with *L74* and the more recently discovered *Dal1* and its copy more or less related), and III. I and II clearly had respective common ancestors, Group III being more various and problematic. It was clear that the first edition was set from an unreliable, late member of the Group I tradition, supplemented from a Group II manuscript (both now unknown, presumably lost), whereas the second edition (1635) used for those poems not yet available in print an exemplar from Group III,

probably the extant O'Flaherty manuscript (*O'F*), now preserved in Harvard University Library.

In addition, the Westmoreland MS, known to Grierson but outside the three groups, has been raised to pre-eminence by the judgement of a distinguished palaeographer, P. J. Croft, that it was copied by a close friend of Donne's, Rowland Woodward, possibly direct from the poet's holographs (from which all other MSS seem to be at some remove); there are, too, eleven MSS associated with Group III, four MSS of 'Satyres', 'The Storm' and 'The Calm'; and some dozens of MSS with texts of a few poems by Donne. Unfortunately, *W* only contains one of the love-lyrics (or 'Sonnets and Songs' as a scribe entitled them when first grouping them together, leading to the second edition's 'Songs and Sonets'), but is here regarded as of prime authority for many of the other poems, epigrammatic, epistolary, satirical, amatory and religious. The impossibility of deciding that there is a distinct Group I or Group II text of as much of the corpus as they contained was realised when (after Grierson's time) the Dolau Cothi MS (now in the National Library of Wales) was discovered, reading now with one group, now with another. The present edition does not unvaryingly follow any one MS or printed text, but bases each poem on that MS which appears to need least correction, emending from others when necessary for sense and syntax.

In substituting the term 'heading' for 'title', the *Variorum Donne* has led the way, since few if any were provided by Donne himself. Accordingly, this editor has exercised the same freedom as his predecessors in labelling poems with headings primarily to help in identifying them. Another ambition of the *Variorum Donne*, the recording of every vagary and mistake of every scribe of every manuscript (a hopeless task, given the dearth of competent palaeographers—Drummond's looped *w*, for example, is recorded as *oo*, constituting nonsensical textual variants) has not been espoused here, it being assumed that the reader is primarily interested in what are most probably the words of Donne himself. The critical apparatus contains little more than the chief variants common to members of Groups I, II, or III, or the Westmoreland MS, or the first two editions, usually ignoring the multitude of unclassified MSS related to Group III. Collation of several of these MSS showed no probable survival from Donne's original drafts, so was then omitted. Exception has been made for the three poems wholly or partly transcribed by Donne's close friend Sir Henry Goodyer, though showing only that he, too, was dependent on a derivative Group III-type MS, not the author's holograph. Similarly fruitless has been collation of the MS made by William Drummond of Hawthornden, and of the MS once owned by Sir John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater.

The critical apparatus at the foot of each poem includes all group readings, but excludes most of the separative errors of individual MSS (though not of the printed editions). As in the text, the widely varying spelling of the scribes is usually reduced to standard modern forms unless it gives clues to the development of substantive corruption. Likewise, scribal

punctuation is preserved in the apparatus only when it affects syntax and sense. Tudor and Stuart punctuation in any case, though using the same symbols as today's writers, did so with different significations; today's question-mark, for instance, served as an exclamation-mark. Donne's own practice may be seen in the *Carey* holograph, but is irrecoverable elsewhere, and in any case inadequately helpful to the modern reader as a guide through his often long and complicated syntax. Although the editors of the *Variorum Donne* found it necessary, since they were dealing with over 200 MSS, to devise a brief, systematic form of reference based on location, the names and abbreviations familiar to users of twentieth-century editions from Grierson to the 1980s, and to readers and writers of books and articles, have been used here in the critical apparatus and commentary.

Another exception is made for the unclassified Burley MS, which contains the epigrams and the only known text of a verse-epistle to Sir Henry Wotton who owned it. It was reported by Grierson to have been consumed, after he had consulted it, in the fire which destroyed the house at Burley-on-the-Hill early in the twentieth century, but was found in a safe at Birmingham University's Shakespeare Institute, where it had lain forgotten after being transferred from the boot of a car. Such are the escapades of the fragile remains of the works of long-dead writers.

An aim of the series is to present the poems in chronological order, but in the present edition, it will be noticed, the principle has been observed only within generic sections, and largely but necessarily violated in respect of the love-lyrics, which, for ease of finding, have been ordered alphabetically. In their own period there seem to have circulated, with Donne's acquiescence if not active compilation, books of his elegies and satires: perhaps reproducing the manner in which Donne's readers first encountered the poems, and extending it to other types of poem, the scribes of some collections, culminating in the second printed edition, ordered the poems generically. Such a principle of organisation has been adopted here, though within the sections poems appear in their (often tentatively inferred) chronological order, and modern wording is substituted for the classical terms, 'Epicedes and Obsequies', 'Epithalamions', of the sections' headings in the precursor of *Lut* and *O'F*. The date of composition, however, particularly of the lyrics, is often problematic. For convenience of reference, and because only one or two are at all precisely datable, the lyrics have been arranged alphabetically. Since many are obviously written as songs, it is tempting to divide them, as Gardner did, into songs written earlier in the 1590s, happily promiscuous and sometimes overtly contemptuous of all women, for a young, male, would-be Court audience, and those more philosophical poems written later, on a particular relationship, in some cases probably with Ann More. However, too much subjective judgement is involved with regard to what could and what could not be set to music, and in many cases either internal or external evidence as to date of composition is lacking, making uncertain any such categorisation in respect of many of the poems. In addition, such a tidy pattern can only be applied to a person's life in retrospect.

A disadvantage of the absence of a definite chronological sequence is that it colludes with Donne's wish that his secular poems should be regarded as all merely youthful, the work of 'Jack Donne', supplanted entirely by the religious writing of 'Dr Donne'. In fact, until he took orders (in his forties) he seems to have been able to deploy his poetic powers to whatever effect was to the taste of his expected reader: in the year 1613, for example, two years before his ordination as a minister of the Church of England, he could celebrate the nuptials of the Princess Elizabeth for James I, send 'Good Friday' to Sir Henry Goodyer, and show 'The Primrose' to Sir Edward Herbert, writing in three different genres for three different audiences. Even when he was Dean of St Paul's, he could not resist the worldly demand for a funeral poem on the Marquis of Hamilton.

It is hoped that the commentary, while avoiding critical judgements, puts the twenty-first-century reader in possession of most that is necessary to appreciate what Donne was up to, glossing words that have fallen out of use or changed their primary sense, and rendering visible the contemporary culture within which he worked. Since, for better or worse, most of the education in Greek and Latin writers and experience of Anglican and Roman Catholic Christianity have been abandoned in the last half-century, there is fairly full citation of what was widely and instantly familiar to educated people, the classics and the Bible (and in the case of the illiterate even the latter, since they heard it read repeatedly at compulsory church-services, and expounded in sermons). Donne probably assumed readers knew all these more or less well, and wished them to understand even playful allusions, so explanation is given where it may help a reader remote in time and culture to understand the poems, and where it may relate methods, ideas and arguments to those of other writers before and after. To these ends, each poem is set in its historical and literary contexts, with a necessary minimum of textual information. Words and ideas no longer widely familiar are explained both to allow detailed comprehension and to give some idea of the literary, religious, historical and philosophical culture out of which the poems grew.

Donne's own text has been modernised in punctuation and spelling, except where to do so would change the sound to the extent of disrupting rhyme. Except in the one surviving verse-epistle, 'To the Honourable Lady the Lady Carey', they are those not necessarily of Donne himself but of the amanuenses and compositors who produced the MSS and printed editions. In any case, there is no evidence that he wished (like Spenser) that his work should be softened or obscured by a curtain of orthographic antiquity or quaintness. With one exception, it has seemed unjustifiable therefore to preserve the accidentals of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript and printed works quoted in the commentary, and they too are freely modernised, except for their titles, which might otherwise be difficult to find electronically. The quotations from Donne's own sermons have been treated differently: since, according to the postscript to a letter of 25 November 1625 to Sir Thomas Roe (Bald pp. 479–80, *CSPD* Charles I, 10. 489, no. 28), Donne made many sermons ready for

the press himself, matters such as punctuation, italics (apart from proper names and quotations, which were habitually italicised) and upper-case initials may give something of the manner of their delivery, which emotionally affected some of his auditors. Consequently, to aid appreciation of Donne the preacher, many of these accidentals have been preserved.

The violation of metricality in Donne's verse has been exaggerated, both in earlier times by Jonson and Pope, sticklers for the conventional, and since then by those unaware of the amount of elision in spoken English of the time, to a degree most familiar now in a foreign language such as Italian, where terminal vowels are almost omitted if followed by an initial vowel.¹ Consequently, such running together of words in Donne's English has been indicated by a slur mark, \frown , or by apostrophe and abbreviation, representing, e.g., 'you will' as 'you'll', 'it were' as 'twere', 'to admit' as 't'admit'. There is less possibility of thus making lines in the *Satyres* iambic or even decasyllabic, where confusion persisted over the derivation of the genre, assuming it came from *satyrus*, the bristly faun of the Greek satyr-play, rather than *satura*, a composition of mixed ingredients (hence the Elizabethan spelling, *Satyre*, preserved in this edition), justifying a certain roughness of style, as well as coarseness of subject and harshness of comment, reinforced by the savagery of Juvenal. Even decasyllabic lines, however, are not necessarily to be regarded as divisible into five feet each containing a stressed syllable: Donne often writes accentual verse in a syllabic framework, with, for example, four strongly stressed syllables in a line of ten (or nine or eleven, a licence sanctioned by tradition).

The dramatic satyres, love-lyrics and shorter religious poems are most popular among today's readers, but the verse-epistles and memorial poems written for Lady Bedford and Sir Robert Drury display the same fascination with paradox and resourcefulness of language, and are equally interesting and enjoyable. It is hoped that this edition will encourage and support enthusiasm for and understanding of all the poems of Donne, beyond school and university, as amusing or thought-provoking engagements for a wider world with those two universal concerns, love and death.

A note on Donne's rhymes

Donne's ingenuity in devising hitherto unused stanza-forms is well known: profiting from and augmenting Schipper's labours, Legouis, followed by Carey,² tabulates forty-six forms (excluding couplets but including the dubiously attributed 'Self-Love') in forty-nine stanzaic lyrics, forty-two of them apparently unused before, forty-four used once only. Casting the net more widely, among stanzaic poems in other genres, one finds thirteen more. A consequence for the poet was the need to find rhymes to fit his sometimes elaborate and lengthy patterns.

1 See Michael F. Moloney, in *Essential Articles*, ed. Roberts pp. 171–7.

2 J. Schipper, *A History of English Versification* (Oxford; 1910); P. Legouis, *Donne the Craftsman* (Paris; 1928; 1962) pp. 14–16, 22–3; J. Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (1986) p. 191.

Many dozens of the end-rhymes in these poems may seem to the modern reader partial rather than true, because of changes of pronunciation, mostly of vowels, since the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Despite such historical allowances, it must be allowed that although it is not Donne's customary practice, he is sometimes content if the consonants or vowels of terminal syllables match (not consonants *and* vowels as in true rhyme). Examples are: the rhyming of *tongue* with *sung* in 'Upon the Translation of the Psalms' (*Sidney*) ll. 9-10, 25-6 but with *song* in 'An Anatomy of the World' (*FirAn*) 445-6, and 'A Hymn to the Saints and Marquis of Hamilton' (*Ham*) ll. 15-16; short terminal *-y* is rhymed with the long forms in *me* ('Spit in my face' ll. 6-7), *thee* ('A Litany' ll. 163, 165), and *cry/misapply/die* ('A Litany' ll. 190, 192; 209, 211, 240, 242, 243) *high* ('I am a little world' 1, 4, 5, 8), *I* ('Why are we' ll. 2-3, 6-7). Its plural, *-ies*, serves as rhyme with *arise/eyes* ('At the round world's' ll. 2, 3, 6, 7). Unvoiced *s* is paired with voiced (= *z*) in *sacrifice/despise* (*Cross* ll. 3-4), and *else/parallels* (*Cross* ll. 23-4). Related vowel-sounds and identical consonants suffice in *faith/hath* (*Lit* 29, 31). In 'Good Friday', *is* is rhymed with both *this* and *Antipodes* (ll. 1-2, 23-4). Recollection that Donne was born within earshot of Bow Bells is prompted by the Cockney rhyming of *other* with *lover* ('The Paradox' ll. 1-2).

The following groups of words were considered near enough in the pronunciation of the time to serve as true rhymes:

Asia, Belgia, Golgotha, India, play, Siphatecia, stay	prays, Alleluias	take, Zodiac	maid, said	all, gall, shall	swan, than	scant, transplant, want
air, are, care, chair, fair, far, spare, singular, war	bait, deceit	harm, warm	art, heart, overthwart	serve, starve	alas, as, grass, mass, pass, was	cast, fast, haste, last, past, taste, waste
catched, watched	father, gather	brave, crave, grave, have	dead read red	dearly, early	adhere, appear, are, bare, bear, brother, care, career, clear, compare, dare, declare, ear, everywhere, fear, forbear, for swear, hear, here, outswear, severe, sphere, stomacher, swear, tear (= 'rip'), tear (lachrymose), there, wear, were, year	ears, fears, hears, outswears, outwears, Spheres, wears, tears, years

beast, breast, detest, digest, disgest, east, est, invest, rest, west	ate, beat, defeat, eat, get, great, heat, jet, meat, outstreet, set, sweat, yet	meats, sweats	break, speak, weak, wreak	clean, Magdalene	fierce, verse	Devil, evil
admit, benefit, forget, merit, spirit, yet	believe, live, retrieve	been, sin	do, show	abroad, load	come, doom, home, martyrdom, Rome, room, some, tomb whom, womb	
comes, enwombs, tombs	alone, anon, down, gone, groan, grown, grown-on, none, on, one, Son, stone, unknown, upon, Sun, wonne (dwell)	blood, flood, food, good, stood, understood, underwood	almost, lost, most, post	doth, growth, loath	found, wound	grounds, wounds
pour, shower	yours, tow'rs	above, approve, drove, improve, Jove, love, move, prove, remove, self-love	approved, loved, moved, proved			

Many of these words are discussed by Cercignani, some by Wyld.³ The acceptability to Elizabethans of rhyming stressed and unstressed syllables is pointed out by Simpson.⁴

3 Fausto Cercignani, *Shakespeare's Works and Elizabethan Pronunciation* (Oxford; 1981); H. C. Wyld, *Studies in English Rhymes from Surrey to Pope* (1923).

4 P. Simpson, *MLR* 38 (1943) 127-9.

Abbreviations

Works by Donne or printed as Donne's

Individual Poems

<i>Air</i>	Air and Angels
<i>All</i>	Love's All (Love's Infiniteness)
<i>Anagram</i>	The Anagram
<i>Andrews</i>	<i>Doctissimo amicissimoque v. D. D. Andrews</i>
<i>Anniversary</i>	The Anniversary
<i>Annunciation</i>	Upon the Annunciation and Passion
<i>Antiquary</i>	The Antiquary
<i>Apparition</i>	The Apparition
<i>Autumnal</i>	The Autumnal
<i>Bait</i>	The Bait
<i>Bed</i>	To his Mistress Going to Bed
<i>BedfordDead</i>	To the Countess of Bedford, 'Though I be dead and buried'
<i>BedfordHonour</i>	To the Countess of Bedford, 'Honour is so sublime perfection'
<i>BedfordNew</i>	To the Countess of Bedford at New-Year's Tide
<i>BedfordReason</i>	To the Countess of Bedford, 'Reason is our soul's left hand'
<i>BedfordRefined</i>	To the Countess of Bedford, 'You have refined me'
<i>BedfordShe</i>	Elegy to the Lady Bedford, 'You that are she'
<i>BedfordTomb</i>	To the Countess of Bedford, 'That I might make your cabinet my tomb'
<i>BedfordWritten</i>	To the Countess of Bedford, 'To've written then'
<i>Bell1</i>	To Mr Beaupré Bell, 'Is not thy sacred hunger'
<i>Bell2</i>	To Mr Beaupré Bell, 'If thou unto thy Muse'
<i>Blossom</i>	The Blossom
<i>Book</i>	A Valediction: Of the Book
<i>Bracelet</i>	The Bracelet
<i>Break</i>	Break of Day
<i>Broken</i>	The Broken Heart
<i>BrookeC</i>	To Mr Christopher Brooke
<i>BrookeS</i>	To Mr Samuel Brooke
<i>BulstrodeBedford</i>	Elegy on Mistress Bulstrode, 'Death, be not proud' [by Lady Bedford]
<i>BulstrodeLanguage</i>	Elegy upon the Death of Mistress Bulstrode, 'Language, thou art too narrow'
<i>BulstrodeRecant</i>	An Elegy upon the Death of Mistress Bulstrode, 'Death, I recant'

<i>Burnt</i>	A Burnt Ship
<i>Calez</i>	Calez and Guyana
<i>Calm</i>	The Calm
<i>Canon</i>	The Canonization
<i>Carey</i>	To the Honourable the Lady Carey
<i>Change</i>	Change
<i>Christ</i>	To Christ
<i>Citizen</i>	A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife
<i>Community</i>	Community
<i>Comparison</i>	The Comparison
<i>Computation</i>	The Computation
<i>Confined</i>	Confined Love
<i>Constancy</i>	Woman's Constancy
<i>Corona¹Deign</i>	<i>La Corona</i>
<i>Corona²Annun</i>	Annunciation
<i>Corona³Nativ</i>	Nativity
<i>Corona⁴Temple</i>	Temple
<i>Corona⁵Crucif</i>	Crucifying
<i>Corona⁶Resur</i>	Resurrection
<i>Corona⁷Ascen</i>	Ascension
<i>Coryat</i>	Upon Mr Thomas Coryat's <i>Crudities</i>
<i>Covell</i>	Ad Autorem, ' <i>Non eget Hookerus</i> '
<i>Cross</i>	Of the Cross
<i>Curse</i>	The Curse
<i>Damp</i>	The Damp
<i>Deity</i>	Love's Deity
<i>Derby</i>	To my Lord of Derby
<i>Diet</i>	Love's Diet
<i>Disinherited</i>	Disinherited
<i>Dissolution</i>	The Dissolution
<i>DivM¹Made</i>	'Thou hast made me'
<i>DivM²Due</i>	'As due by many titles'
<i>DivM³Sighs</i>	'Oh might those sighs and tears'
<i>DivM⁴Part</i>	'Father, part of his double interest'
<i>DivM⁵Black</i>	'O my black soul'
<i>DivM⁶Play</i>	'This is my play's last scene'
<i>DivM⁷Little</i>	'I am a little world'
<i>DivM⁸Round</i>	'At the round earth's imagined corners'
<i>DivM⁹Pois'nous</i>	'If pois'nous minerals'
<i>DivM¹⁰Faith</i>	'If faithful souls'
<i>DivM¹¹Death</i>	'Death! Be not proud'
<i>DivM¹²Wilt</i>	'Wilt thou love God?'
<i>Dream</i>	The Dream
<i>Ecstasy</i>	The Ecstasy
<i>Elizabeth</i>	An Epithalamion . . . on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine
<i>Exchange</i>	Love's Exchange
<i>Expiration</i>	The Expiration

<i>Fall</i>	Fall of a Wall
<i>Farewell</i>	Farewell to Love
<i>Fatal</i>	On his Mistress
<i>Fever</i>	The Fever
<i>Fir</i> <i>An</i>	The First Anniversary: An Anatomy of the World
<i>Flea</i>	The Flea
<i>Fool</i>	The Triple Fool
<i>Friday</i>	Good Friday 1613, Riding Westward
<i>Funeral</i>	The Funeral
<i>Funeral</i> <i>El</i>	A Funeral Elegy
<i>Gazaeus</i>	Translated out of Gazaeus
<i>Germany</i>	At the Seaside, going over with the Lord Doncaster into Germany, 1619
<i>Go</i>	'Go and catch a falling star'
<i>Goodyer</i>	To Sir Henry Goodyer
<i>Gulpin</i>	To Mr Edward Gulpin
<i>Hamilton</i>	An Hymn to the Saints and to Marquess Hamilton
<i>Harbinger</i>	The Harbinger to <i>The Progress</i> (J. Hall)
<i>Harington</i>	Obsequies to the Lord Harington
<i>Henry</i>	Elegy on Prince Henry
<i>Herbert</i> <i>E</i>	To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers
<i>Herbert</i> <i>G</i>	To Mr George Herbert with my Seal
<i>Herbert</i> <i>MMary</i>	To Mrs Magdalen Herbert: Of St Mary Magdalen
<i>Herbert</i> <i>MPaper</i>	To Mrs M. H., 'Mad paper, stay'
<i>Hero</i>	Hero and Leander
<i>HGJD</i>	A Letter Written by Sir Henry Goodyer and John Donne
<i>Holy</i> <i>S1</i> <i>Due</i>	'As due by many titles'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S2</i> <i>Black</i>	'O my black soul'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S3</i> <i>Play</i>	'This is my play's last scene'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S4</i> <i>Round</i>	'At the round earth's imagined corners'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S5</i> <i>Pois</i>	'If pois'nous minerals'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S6</i> <i>Death</i>	'Death! Be not proud'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S7</i> <i>Spit</i>	'Spit in my face'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S8</i> <i>Why</i>	'Why are we by all creatures'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S9</i> <i>Present</i>	'What if this present'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S10</i> <i>Batter</i>	'Batter my heart'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S11</i> <i>Wilt</i>	'Wilt thou love God?'
<i>Holy</i> <i>S12</i> <i>Part</i>	'Father, part of his double interest'
<i>HSW1</i> <i>Since</i>	'Since she whom I loved'
<i>HSW2</i> <i>Show</i>	'Show me, dear Christ'
<i>HSW3</i> <i>Vex</i>	'Oh, to vex me'
<i>Huntingdon</i>	To the Countess of Huntingdon
<i>Hunt</i> <i>Unripe</i>	To the Countess of Huntingdon, 'That unripe side of earth'

<i>IgnSoul</i>	‘My little, wandering, sportful soul’
<i>Image</i>	‘Image of her whom I love’
<i>Indifferent</i>	The Indifferent
<i>Inglor</i>	The Inglor
<i>Jealousy</i>	Jealousy
<i>Jeremy</i>	The Lamentations of Jeremy
<i>Klockius</i>	Klockius
<i>Legacy</i>	The Legacy
<i>Liar</i>	The Liar
<i>Licentious</i>	A Licentious Person
<i>Lincoln</i>	Epithalamion made at Lincoln’s Inn
<i>ListerBlest</i>	To Mr Ingram Lister, ‘Blest’
<i>ListerRoll</i>	To Mr Ingram Lister, ‘Of that short roll’
<i>Litany</i>	A Litany
<i>Lucy</i>	A Nocturnal upon St Lucy’s Day
<i>Markham</i>	An Elegy upon the Death of the Lady Markham
<i>Mercurius</i>	Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus
<i>Message</i>	The Message
<i>Metem</i>	Metempsychosis: The Progress of the Soul
<i>Morrow</i>	The Good Morrow
<i>Mourning</i>	A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning
<i>Mummy</i>	Mummy (Love’s Alchemy)
<i>Name</i>	A Valediction: Of my Name in the Window
<i>Negative</i>	Negative Love
<i>Niobe</i>	Niobe
<i>Paradox</i>	The Paradox
<i>Perfume</i>	The Perfume
<i>Philo</i>	An Obscure Writer (Philo)
<i>Phryne</i>	Phryne
<i>Picture</i>	His Picture
<i>Platonic</i>	Platonic Love (The Undertaking)
<i>Praise</i>	To the Praise of the Dead and <i>The Anatomy</i> [by J. Hall]
<i>Primrose</i>	The Primrose
<i>Progress</i>	On Love’s Progress
<i>Prohibition</i>	The Prohibition
<i>Pupil</i>	‘Nature’s lay idiot’
<i>Pyramus</i>	Pyramus and Thisbe
<i>Raderus</i>	<i>Martialis Castratus</i> (Raderus)
<i>Ralphius</i>	Ralphius
<i>Recusant</i>	‘Oh let me not serve so’
<i>Relic</i>	The Relic
<i>Resurrection</i>	Resurrection
<i>Ring</i>	To a Jet Ring Sent to Me
<i>Salisbury</i>	To the Countess of Salisbury
<i>Sappho</i>	Sappho to Philaenis
<i>Satyre 1</i>	‘Away, you fondling’

<i>Satyre 2</i>	'Sir, though (I thank God for it)'
<i>Satyre 3</i>	'Kind pity chokes my spleen'
<i>Satyre 4</i>	'Well, I may now receive'
<i>Satyre 5</i>	'Thou shalt not laugh'
<i>Scaliger</i>	Ad Autorem, ' <i>Emendare cupis, Ioseph</i> '
<i>SecAn</i>	The Second Anniversary: Of the Progress of the Soul
<i>SelfAccuser</i>	A Self-Accuser
<i>Shadow</i>	A Lecture upon the Shadow
<i>Sickness</i>	A Hymn to God my God in my Sickness
<i>Sidney</i>	Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke
<i>Somerset</i>	Epithalamion at the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset
<i>Sorrow</i>	'Sorrow, who to this house'
<i>Spring</i>	Spring (Love's Growth)
<i>Storm</i>	The Storm
<i>Sun</i>	The Sun Rising
<i>Sweetest</i>	'Sweetest love, I do not go'
<i>Tilman</i>	To Mr Tilman after he had Taken Orders
<i>Twickenham</i>	Twickenham Garden
<i>Usury</i>	Love's Usury
<i>Volpone</i>	<i>Amicissimo et meritissimo Ben. Jonson in 'Vulponem'</i>
<i>War</i>	Love's War
<i>Weeping</i>	A Valediction: Of Weeping
<i>Will</i>	The Will
<i>Wing</i>	Sir John Wingfield
<i>Witchcraft</i>	Witchcraft by a Picture
<i>WoodwardRKindly</i>	To Mr Rowland Woodward, 'Kindly I envy'
<i>WoodwardRMuse</i>	To Mr Rowland Woodward, 'Muse not'
<i>WoodwardRSlumber</i>	To Mr Rowland Woodward, 'If, as mine is'
<i>WoodwardRWidowhead</i>	To Mr Rowland Woodward, 'Like one who'
<i>WoodwardRZealously</i>	To Mr Rowland Woodward, 'Zealously my muse'
<i>WoodwardTHail</i>	To Mr Thomas Woodward, 'All hail'
<i>WoodwardTHaste</i>	To Mr Thomas Woodward, 'Haste thee'
<i>WoodwardTOnce</i>	To Mr Thomas Woodward, 'At once from hence'
<i>WoodwardTPregnant</i>	To Mr Thomas Woodward, 'Pregnant again'
<i>WottonKisses</i>	To Sir Henry Wotton, 'Sir, more than kisses'
<i>WottonNews</i>	To Sir Henry Wotton, 'Here's no more news'
<i>WottonHiber</i>	<i>Henrico Wotton in Hibernia Belligeranti</i>
<i>WottonVenice</i>	To Sir Henry Wotton at his Going Ambassador to Venice
<i>Zoppo</i>	Zoppo (A Lame Beggar)

Manuscript collections and miscellanies

With equivalents in Peter Beal, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (1980), and the *Variorum Donne (VD)*.

<i>LAEP</i>	Beal	<i>VD</i>	Name	Location and press-mark
<i>A18</i>	Δ7	B7	Denbigh	British Library Add. MS. 18649
<i>A23</i>	Δ40	B11	Conway	British Library Add. MS. 23229
<i>A25</i>	Δ21	B13	Skipwith	British Library Add. MS. 25707
<i>B</i>	Δ24	HH1	Bridgewater	Huntington Library EL 6893
<i>Bur</i>	Δ53	LR1	Burley	Leicestershire Record Office D. G. 7/Lit. 2
<i>C57</i>	Δ4	C2	Balam	Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 5778
<i>D</i>	Δ1	O20	Dowden	Bodleian Library, Oxford MS. Eng. poet. e. 99
<i>D16</i>	Δ33	VA1	Neve	Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 17 (Pressmark 25. F. 16)
<i>Dal1</i>	Δ11	TT1	Dalhousie I	Texas Tech PR 1171 D14
<i>DC</i>	Δ10	WN1	Dolau Cothi	National Library of Wales Dolau Cothi MS. 6748
<i>Dob</i>	Δ16	H5	Dobell	Harvard University Library fMS. Eng 966.4
<i>G</i>	—	F10	Gosse	Folger MS. V. a. 241
<i>H39</i>	Δ64	B18	Harley Rawlinson	British Library Harley MS. 3991
<i>H40</i>	Δ2	B30	Harley Noel	British Library Harley MS. 4064
<i>H49</i>	Δ3	B32	Newcastle	British Library Harley MS. 4955
<i>H51</i>	Δ3	B33	Harley Satires	British Library Harley MS. 5110
<i>Hen</i>	Δ34	P3	Heneage	Private Collection
<i>Herb</i>	Δ56	WN3	Herbert	National Library of Wales MS. 5308E
<i>HK1</i>	Δ25	HH4	Haslewood- Kingsborough	Huntington Library HM 198, Part I (Shakespeare Institute Microfilm SI. 15)
<i>HN</i>	Δ54	SN3	Hawthornden	National Library of Scotland MS. 2067
<i>L74</i>	Δ8	B40	Lansdowne	British Library Lansdowne MS. 740
<i>Lec</i>	Δ5	C8	Leconfield	Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 8467
<i>Lut</i>	Δ18	C9	Luttrell	Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 8468

<i>M16</i>	—	O24	—	Bodleian Library, Oxford MS. Malone 16
<i>N</i>	Δ9	H4	Norton	Harvard University Library fMS. Eng 966.3
<i>O</i>	Δ30	Y3	Osborn	Yale University Library MS. b. 148
<i>O'F</i>	Δ17	H6	O'Flaherty	Harvard University Library fMS. Eng 966.5
<i>P</i>	Δ20	O21	Phillipps	Bodleian Library, Oxford MS. Eng. poet. f. 9
<i>Q</i>	Δ32	OQ1	Queen's College	The Queen's College, Oxford, MS. 216
<i>RP31</i>	Δ38	O30	Rawlinson	Bodleian Library, Oxford MS. Rawl. poet. 31
<i>S96</i>	Δ15	B46	Stowe I	British Library Stowe MS. 961
<i>TCC</i>	Δ13	CT1	Puckering	Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R. 3. 12
<i>TCD</i>	Δ14	DT1	Dublin	Trinity College, Dublin MS. 877, ff. 13–161v
<i>TCD2</i>	Δ61	DT2	Dublin II	Trinity College, Dublin MS. 877, ff. 162–278v
<i>W</i>	Δ19	NY3	Westmoreland	New York Public Library, Berg Collection
<i>Wed</i>	Δ55	SN4	Wedderburn	National Library of Scotland MS. 6504

ae after a siglum means 'after emendation', *be* 'before emendation'
 Σ = 'most of the sources collated'

Printed editions of the poems

- 1633 *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death.* 1633
 1635 *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death.* 1635
 1639 *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death.* 1639
 1649 *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death.* 1649
 1650 *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death. To which Is added divers Copies under his own hand never before in print.* 1650
 1654 *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death. To which Is added divers Copies under his own hand never before in Print.* 1654
HM *The Harmony of the Muses: Or, The Gentlemans and Ladies Choisest Recreation, compiled by R[obert] C[hamberlain].* 1654
WI *Wits Interpreter, compiled by John Cotgrave.* 1655
 1669 *Poems, &c. By John Donne, late Dean of St. Pauls. With Elegies on the Authors Death. To which is added Divers Copies under his own hand, Never before Printed.* 1669

Bennett *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, edited by Roger E. Bennett (Chicago, 1942)

- Gardner *DP* *John Donne: The Divine Poems*, edited with introduction and commentary by Helen [L.] Gardner (Oxford, 1952, 2nd edn 1978)
- Gardner *ESS* *John Donne: The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets*, edited with introduction and commentary by Helen [L.] Gardner (Oxford, 1965)
- Gr./Grierson *The Poems of John Donne*, edited from the old editions and numerous manuscripts with introductions and commentary by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols (Oxford, 1912)
- Milgate *EAE* *John Donne: The Epithalamions, Anniversaries and Epicedes*, edited with introduction and commentary by W. Milgate (Oxford, 1978)
- Milgate *SEVL* *John Donne: The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, edited with introduction and commentary by W. Milgate (Oxford, 1967)
- Redpath *The Songs and Sonets of John Donne*, edited by Theodore Redpath, 2nd edn (1983)
- Shawcross *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, edited with an introduction, notes and variants by John T. Shawcross (Garden City, NY, 1967)
- Smith *John Donne, The Complete English Poems*, edited by A. J. Smith (1971)
- VD* *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, general editor Gary A. Stringer. Vol. 6: *The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies* (Bloomington, IN, 1995) Vol. 8: *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions and Miscellaneous Poems* (Bloomington, IN, 1995)
- Prose works*
- Biathanatos* *BIAΘANATOS. A Declaration of that Paradoxe, or Thesis, that Selfe-homicide is not so Naturally Sinne, that it may never be otherwise*, [1647], ed. by E. W. Sullivan (Newark DE, London and Toronto, 1984)
- CatLib* *Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum incomparabilium et non vendibilium*, in *Poems 1650*, ed. with transl. by E. M. Simpson as *The Courtier's Library* (1930)
- Devotions* *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, and severall steps in my Sicknes: Digested into 1. Meditations upon our Humane Condition. 2. Expostulations, and Debatelements with God. 3. Prayers, upon the severall Occasions, to him* (1624), ed. with commentary by A. Raspa (Quebec, 1975; repr. Oxford, 1987)
- Essays* *Essayes in Divinity . . . being Several Disquisitions Interwoven with Meditations and Prayers: Before he entred into Holy Orders* (1651), ed. by E. M. Simpson (Oxford, 1952)
- Ignatius* *Ignatius his Conclave: or His Inthronisation in a late Election in Hell: Wherein many things are mingled by way of Satyr; Concerning The Disposition of Jesuits, The Creation of a new*

- Hell, The establishing of a Church in the Moone. There is also added an Apology for Jesuites. All dedicated to the two Adversary Angels, which are Protectors of the Papall Consistory, and of the Colledge of Sorbon* (1611), Latin and English texts ed. with intro. and commentary by T. S. Healy, SJ (Oxford, 1969)
- Letters* *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (1651). Facsimile (Hildesheim and New York, 1974; ed. by M. T. Hester, New York, 1977)
- Matthew Paradoxes* *A Collection of Letters made by S^r Tobie Mathews K^t* (1660) *Iuvenilia: or Certaine Paradoxes, and Problemes* (1633), ed. from MSS by Helen Peters (Oxford, 1980)
- Pseudo-Martyr* *Pseudo-Martyr wherein . . . This Conclusion is evicted. That those which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegiance* (1610). Facsimile, intro. F. J. Sypher (New York, 1974); ed. with introduction and commentary by Anthony Raspa (Montreal and Kingston Ontario, 1993)
- Serm.* *Sermons* [first publ. 1622–61], ed. by G. R. Potter and E. M. Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953–62)
- Simpson* E. M. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1948)

Works by other authors

Bible versions and Liturgies

- AV* Authorized Version: *The Holy Bible . . . Translated out of the Original Tongues and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised by His Majesty's Special Command* (1611 etc.)
- BCP* *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David*
- BV* Bishops' Version (official Church of England): *The Holie Bible*. (1568 etc.)
- DV* Douai Version (O. T. only, Roman Catholic): *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated . . . out of the Authentical Latin Douai* (1609 etc.)
- GV* Geneva Version (Calvinist): *The Bible and Holy Scriptures . . . Translated According to the Ebrue and Greke. With Moste Profitable Annotations* 1560 etc. (N. T. rev. L. Tomson, 1576 etc., *Revelation* rev. F. Junius, 1603 etc.)
- RhV* Rheims Version (Roman Catholic): *The New Testament of Jesus Christ, Translated out of the Authentical Latin Rheims* (1582 etc.)
- T* *Testamenti veteris biblia sacra . . . ab I. Tremellio & F. Junio* (1593 edn)

Books and series

- APC *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. by J. R. Dasent (1901 etc.)
 Bald R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford, 1970)
 Bald (1959) R. C. Bald, *Donne and the Drury's* (1959)
 CH *John Donne: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by A. J. Smith (1975)
 CSPD *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*
 CSPF *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign)*, later *List and Analysis . . .*
 CSPV *Calendar of State Papers (Venetian)*
 DNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2005)
 HMC *Historical Manuscripts Commission Calendar of the Manuscripts*
 IELM *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, ed. by Peter Beal, Vol. 1, Part 1 (1980)
- Influence* E. W. Sullivan, *The Influence of John Donne* (1993)
 Keynes G. L. Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 1973)
- ODCC *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F. L. Cross, 3rd edn. rev. E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997)
 ODEP *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1970)
 OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1989)
 NSTC Pollard, A. W., & G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, 2nd edn. rev. & enl. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson & K. F. Pantzer, 3 vols (1986)
- PG *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. by J. P. Migne
 PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by J. P. Migne
 Tilley M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950)

Scholarly and critical journals

- AN&Q *American Notes and Queries*
 BJRL *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
 BRMLLA *Bulletin of the Rocky Mountain Language Association*
 CritQ *Critical Quarterly*
 DUJ *Durham University Journal*
 EA *Études anglaises*
 EIC *Essays in Criticism*
 ELH *[Journal of English Literary History]*
 ELR *English Literary Renaissance*
 Expl *Explicator*
 HLQ *Huntington Library Quarterly*
 JAAC *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*
 JDJ *John Donne Journal*
 JEGP *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
 JHI *Journal of the History of Ideas*
 Library *The Library: A Quarterly Journal of Bibliography*
 MLN *[Modern Language Notes]*

<i>MLQ</i>	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>Neophil</i>	<i>Neophilologus</i>
<i>NQ</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>PLL</i>	<i>Papers on Language and Literature</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>[Publications of the Modern Language Association of America]</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>Ren&R</i>	<i>Renaissance and Reformation</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>SCN</i>	<i>Seventeenth-Century News</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900</i>
<i>SELit</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature (Tokyo)</i>
<i>SoAR</i>	<i>South Atlantic Review</i>
<i>SoQ</i>	<i>Southern Quarterly</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>TSL</i>	<i>Tennessee Studies in Literature</i>
<i>TSSL</i>	<i>Texas Studies in Literature and Language</i>
<i>UTQ</i>	<i>University of Toronto Quarterly</i>

EPIGRAMS

Epigrams

Analogues. The classical epigram was most prominently exemplified in two collections, the fourteen books of the late-first-century Spaniard Martial and, drawing on fifteen centuries of Greek poetry, the *Planudean Anthology*, a bowdlerised medieval Christian selection from sources of the *Palatine Anthology*, not published in full until the nineteenth century (citations henceforth are from the Loeb *Greek Anthology*, transl. W. R. Paton, 5 vols, 1917, repr. 1998). Since the full text was published only in Greek in the sixteenth century, many readers such as D. preferred or depended on selections in Latin and the vernaculars. All the Planudean poems cited in the commentary as *Gk Anth.* (except four of the relatively tangential analogies for *Wall*) occur in Fausto Sabeo (Sabaeus)'s Latin *Epigrammatum libri quinque* (1556), and some occur sporadically in other selections by J. Cornarius (1529), F. Beaucaire (1543), H. Estienne (1570), P. Tamisier (French, 1589), and P. Estienne (1593, with a complimentary epigram by D.'s friend Henry Wotton). See James Hutton's tabulations in *Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800* (1935) and *Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800* (1946).

In *Gk Anth.* 9. 369, Cyrillus limits the genre to two or three lines, but Martial (6. 65, 10. 9) claims the freedom to make epigrams as long as he likes, and to write lines of five or six feet or eleven syllables. Another difference is the smaller part played by satirical epigrams (Book 11) in *Gk Anth.*, where, however, Martial's models, Lucilius and Nicephorus, exemplify the amusing surprise conclusion, e.g., 11. 76, 186, 190, 215, 242, 395, as do Ammianus 226 and Hedylus 414. Martial's form and style were the basis for J. C. Scaliger's definition of the epigram in his supremely influential *Poetices libri septem* (1561) as brief, sharp and clever, comprising a statement and deduction. According to Puttenham, 1. 27 (1589; 1936) pp. 53–4, 'Men would and needs must utter their spleens in all ordinary matters also, or else it seemed their bowels would burst; therefore, the poet devised a pretty-fashioned poem, short and sweet (as we are wont to say), and called it *Epigramma*, in which every merry-conceited man might, without any long study or tedious ambage, make his friend sport and anger his foe, and give a pretty nip or show a sharp conceit in few verses'. Schools across Europe (notably Winchester, which produced Owen, Davies, Bastard, Hoskyns, and Heath) continually exercised their pupils in Latin verse composition using Martial as a model, and the habit thus ingrained lasted through university and into later life.

D.'s grandfather, John Heywood, had set a family precedent, expanding his *Hundred Epigrammes* of 1550 through editions of 1555 and 1560 to 1,100 in his *Woorkes* of 1562. Sir John Harington, *Anatomic of the Metamorphosed Ajax* (1596; ed. P. Warlock and J. Lindsay 1927) p. 40, considered Heywood 'not yet put down by any of our country'. T. Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577), selected out of thirty Renaissance writers as well as the ancients, exemplifies the form's popularity. Among D.'s acquaintances, epigrams in Latin and English were as common as the limerick in modern times: comparisons between particular D. epigrams and others by Campion, John Davies of Hereford, Sir John Davies, Guilpin, Harington, Owen, and Weever are made below. A. R. Rieke, *JEGP* 83 (1984) 1–20, brings out D.'s continuing interest in compressed wit by pointing out that he owned N. Reusner, *Aenigmatographia* (1599; Keynes p. 274). Some of D.'s were copied into numerous manuscript miscellanies. G. R. Weckherlin translated or adapted *Hero*, *Niobe*, *Licentious*, *Zoppo* and *Phryne* in *Gaistliche und Weltliche Gedichte* (Amsterdam 1641; reprinted in *VD* 8. 271–4).

D.'s epigrams may be categorised as three on classical legends, four with military associations, two on publications, the rest on individual figures, though the

first five and *Wingfield* share a concern with wittily appropriate deaths, comparable to Harington's *Epigrams* 3. 37, 'The Hermaphrodite' (1615; 1930 no. 238, p. 246), which reconciles conflicting prophecies of birth and death: 'That I thus born a male, a female, neither, Died drowned and hanged and wounded all together.' This motif's popularity is attested by a MS note given by McClure in his edition of Harington (1930) p. 420: 'out of Latin done formerly by one Kendall [the first in his *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577; 1874 pp. 17-18)]: & after in [W. Warner's] *Albions England* "lib. 2: cap: 10:" (1586 etc.), thirty-two lines allegedly translating "Pulix, an ancient poet", concluding "So man, maid, neither, both, was I Hanged, drowned, and killed with sword"'.

Text. *VD* perceives three different groupings of different sizes, and assumes that the order of their compilation ran from smallest to largest. The smallest grouping comprised *Antiquary*, *Disinherited*, *Liar*, *Mercurius*, *Phryne*, *Philo*, *Klockius*, *Ralphius*, and is exemplified in the present edition's collations (with later corruptions) in *Dob* (which adds *Wall*, *Self-Acuser*, *Licentious* and a later version of *Beggar*) and in the first part of *O'F's* collection. A larger collection resulted in *Bur*, which in addition to these twelve, contains *Hero*, *Pyramus*, *Niobe*, *Burnt Ship*, and, if the last-named were based on a real event (but see commentary) would have been assembled after the Cadiz expedition in 1596. *Calez* and *Wingfield*, which definitely derive from the Cadiz expedition, appear in the related but largest collection which resulted in *W*, which adds these two along with *Inglor* and *Martial*, and so derives from a collection still being updated at least until 1602, when Raderus's expurgated *Martial* was first published. The tradition exemplified here in *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*, 1633, 1635, which add English titles to most of the epigrams hitherto lacking them, might well be the latest, but the probable dates of composition of *Bur's* additions do not corroborate any simple sequence of successively expanded collections.

VD argues that changes in text from sequence to sequence show *D.* was extensively involved in their revision, as well as compilation and circulation, but this is not plausible in view of the nature of most of the changes, which could have been made by transcribers. That the hand of the best text, *W*, has been identified as that of a friend and known recipient of *D.'s* poems, Rowland Woodward, accords with the expectation that the further texts are from the author, the more changes they exhibit. *W* has probably the shortest line of descent from authorial originals, though the Burley MS, made by Sir Henry Wotton's secretary, runs a near second. None of the variants from *W* in other MSS is unattributable to the frailties of scribes or to memorial recollection, which approximates and fills in when memory fails, and was obviously a notable factor in the transmission of epigrams, conspicuously in *HN* (along with Drummond's possibly deliberate alterations). However, in *VD's* 'early sequence' the variant readings exemplified in *Dob* could indicate earlier versions of *Beggar*, *Licentious*, *Antiquary* and *Liar* where they do not add unaccommodable syllables (though the omission in *Klockius* reduces the satire). In the 'late sequence', exemplified in *DC*, the omission of 'made' from *Niobe* and additions in *Self-Acuser* (not in *TCC*, *TCD*) violate the metre. 'Bones' for 'corpse' in *Wall* could be a simple transcriptional error, unconsciously lapsing into common phraseology. The proper name removed from *Antiquary* might well have seemed redundant to anyone transcribing the epigram for either general or particular application as much as thirty years after its composition. 'Sworn' for 'vowed' in *Klockius* is a synonymous substitution, such as is common enough in transcription, with no perceptible point for the poet. The numerous titles translated or supplied in the 'later sequence' were unnecessary for coterie circulation, and *D.'s* expressed distaste for a wider public makes it unlikely that he

was responsible. Altogether, there is no really firm evidence that he was involved in the changes for the 'later sequence'. The present edition, therefore, is based on *W*, with even the least likely variants that might make sense recorded in the textual apparatus, but for convenience adopts titles added in other MSS.

Some MSS attribute to D. epigrams not found in *W*: the most enthusiastically claimed is *Faustinus* ('Faustinus keeps his sister and a whore: / Faustinus keeps his sister and no more'). It appears in the Scottish miscellanies *Dal1* (crammed in at the bottom of a page of poems definitely not by D., without ascription), *HN*, *Wed* (in both along with a very corrupt version of *Beggar*, in *HN* separated from D.'s undoubted epigrams, in *Wed*, which does not contain any other D. epigrams, at the end of the D. section). That the three principal manuscript sources are Scottish suggests *Faustinus* was a Scotsman's work. Moreover, it is a closer imitation of Martial (12. 20) than any of D.'s undoubted epigrams ('Faustinus' is a name Martial frequently uses), and could be a reworking of the same reproach in Marston's *Scourge of Villainy*, 1. (1). 39–40.

The classical name-titles of the first three are functional parts of their respective poems, necessary to identify the subjects, and so probably authorial, as may be the Italian titles of *Burnt Ship*, *Wall*, *Wingfield*, *Beggar*. They would have posed no puzzle for members of D.'s educated circle. *Beggar* may occur within the military sequence because after every engagement with the Spanish a host of disabled, unpaid veterans were reduced to beggary and crime. The titles of *Mercurius* and *Martial* are also necessary and probably original, and, perhaps, *Antiquary*, but all the others, and the translations, are later, scribal additions, helpful for identifying the epigrams, but not essential. As with other D. poems, they have become traditional and convenient, and so have been added (four from Drummond's *HN*, six from Group II MSS) where *W* provides none. M. T. Hester, *AN&Q* 3 (1990) 3–11 endorses the usefulness of keeping MS titles of the epigrams, even though they cannot be proved to be D.'s.

Hero and Leander

Date and Context. Late 1580s–early 1590s? For most of his career D. avoided the classical subjects familiar from school and such standard reference works as Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (4 edns, 1565–84), so this epigram and the two following seem to be apprentice work. An allusion in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 3. 1. 117–20, implies a story well known in the late 1580s–early 1590s. Marlowe's version of the love-story was not printed till 1598, but might have been in circulation in manuscript before or soon after his death on 1 June 1593.

Analogues. The couple's story told by Musaeus in the fifth century CE inspired the two-book poem by Marlowe depicting their love (as Ovid does in the letters to each other imagined as *Heroides* 18, 19) and its consummation. Only Musaeus and the 1598 continuation by George Chapman set out the well-known tragic outcome. Milgate quotes lines 67–8 of the debate on marriage in the Third Eclogues of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, first published in 1590 (Ringler, *Poems*, no. 67, p. 105): 'Man oft is plagued with air, is burnt with fire, / In water drowned, in earth his burial is.' The wit of D.'s poem lies in mingling the two topics of the four elements and the paradox of burning and drowning (cp. *Naue Arsa*) to transform Sidney's commonplace observation, so that the idealised lovers are quadruply dead. To do this, D. has to contrive a double drowning.

Text. The variant readings in *TCC*, *HN* are clearly wrong.

BOth robbed of air, we both lie in one ground;
 Both whom one fire had burnt, one water drowned.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, O'F, HN, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

1 in one] on the *TCC* 2 one water] on ~ *HN*

Pyramus and Thisbe

Date and Context. Late 1580s–early 1590s? Shakespeare alludes seriously to the story of Pyramus in *Titus Andronicus* 2. 3. 231–2 (early 1590s), but in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* presents it as ludicrously vulgarised, suggesting it was by then (1595–6) a ‘mouldy tale’.

Analogues. D. summarises the tale well known from Ovid, *Met.* 4. 55–166. *The History of Pyramus and Thisbe Truly Translated* appears in Thomas Proctor/Procter's *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), ed. H. E. Rollins (1926) pp. 103–16. Rollins, p. 198, lists many earlier English versions from Chaucer onwards. Almost contemporary with D., John Owen (1560?–1622), published two: in *Epigrammata*, 2, ‘Ad Dominam Mariam Neville’ 151 (1606, enl. 1607); and in *Epigrammatum Ad Tres Mæcenates Libri Tres*, 1, ‘Ad Edoardum Noel’ 66 (1612). A later epigram by Davison appears in *Poetical Rhapsody 1602–21*, no. 182 (1931) 1. 262, Rollins 2. 225 noting its source in Luigi Groto, *Rime* (1587) p. 144.

Text. *HN* is clearly wrong.

Two, by themselves, each other, love and fear
 Slain, cruel friends, by parting, have joined here.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, O'F, HN, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

1 other] others *HN*

1 in one ground] as they do in *Gk Anth.* 7. 666.

1–2 one ground . . . one fire] Like the victims of a house fire, *Gk Anth.* 7. 444.

2 fire] passion. one water drowned] Dying of grief, Hero ‘drowned in tears’. Musæus has her throw herself from her tower to land by the washed-up corpse of Leander, later taken by, e.g., Cooper (1578 edn) sig. 7I4r, to mean that she ‘cast herself down from an high tower into the same water, and so died the same death.’

2 cruel friends] As elsewhere, the compressed syntax, lacking the case endings of a Greek or Latin epigram, seems to leave open whether the couple are the subjects, friends cruel to each other, of the whole sentence, or the objects finally, of their families’ actions. The latter reading is supported by the *Gorgeous Gallery*’s wording, ‘Pyramus’ friends likewise’ restraining him. In ‘Neville’ 2. 151, Owen plays on death as *amica hostis*, ‘friendly foe’. **have]** Misread by *VD* in *HN* as ‘pain’.

Niobe

Date. Late 1580s–early 1590s?

Analogue. A favourite subject since ancient times, e.g., *Gk Anth.* 7. 549, 16. 129–33, often translated and imitated in the Renaissance. As H. P. Dodd commented in his anthology, *The Epigrammatists* (1876) p. 153, regarding an epigram on the statue of Niobe by Maffei Barberini, ‘On no work of ancient art, with the exception of Myron’s cow, have more epigrams been written than on this celebrated statue of Niobe by Praxiteles.’ Cp. Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (1992) p. 31.

Text. The editor of 1633 apparently tried to make good the metrical deficiency of his Group II copy by inserting ‘sad’. His lapse in ‘births’, prompted by Niobe’s twelve or more children, would be more plausible if matched by deaths.

BY children’s birth and death I am become
So dry that I am now made mine own tomb.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, O’F, HN, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

1 birth] ~s 1633, 1635 2 made] *om.* TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635 mine] my
Bur, HN tomb] sad tomb 1633, 1635

Naue Arsa (A Burnt Ship)

Date and Context. 1590s. Bald p. 83 suggests the poem alludes to the destruction of the Spanish flagship *San Felipe* at the siege of Cadiz, at which D. was present

1–2 Ovid, *Met.* 6. 148–312, gives a full account of the proud queen who tries to divert people from worshipping Latona on the grounds of her own superior ancestry, and boasts of having seven times [six in Homer, *Iliad* 24. 602–17] as many children as Latona’s mere couple, Apollo and Diana. For her persistent blasphemy the latter shoot all her sons and daughters one by one, her husband King Amphion stabs himself, and weeping Niobe, whirled away to a mountain peak, is transformed to trickling marble.

2 dry] D. goes against tradition in asserting that all Niobe’s mourning has desiccated her: in the original myth, although she was petrified, her tears were never exhausted. **mine own tomb]** Cp. also F. Sabaeus, *Niobe*, 4, in *Epigrammatum libri quinque* (1556) p. 206: *Sum mihi met lacrimæ, sum mihi met tumulus*, ‘I am my own tears, I am my own tomb’. Angelo Poliziano, *Epigrammata Latina*, in *Opera* (1553) p. 598, terms her (in the third person) a tomb without a body, a body without a tomb, being both body and tomb.

Heading Italian in *W, Bur.* *O’F*’s ‘*De*’ makes it Latin. A slightly more accurate

on 21 June 1596. Raleigh's account (Bald pp. 82–3) differs from the particulars here: 'The *Philip* and the *St. Thomas* [not sunk as in line 2] burnt themselves: many drowned themselves; many, half burnt, leapt into the water; . . . many swimming with grievous wounds, stricken under water, and put out of their pain; and withal so huge a fire, and such tearing of the ordnance in the great *Philip*, and the rest, when the fire came to them, as, if any man had a desire to see Hell itself, it was there most lively figured.' Many other Spanish ships were burned in this attack, and the account in Hakluyt (1598; 1904) 4. 248, 250, and Purchas (1625–6; 1905–7) 20. 10, 12, mentions a Flemish boat that blew up with the loss of about a hundred lives. D. might have witnessed the burning of another grounded ship in the Azores in the following year (Bald p. 91). Whatever the literal historical occasion, if any, the point of the poem is not commemoration but the joking play on lost and found, burnt and drowned.

Analogues. The paradox of a ship burned on land, *Gk Anth.* 9. 398 (Planudes 1. 56), was translated by D.'s ancestor, Sir Thomas More, *Epigrammata (Latin Poems)* 36, in *Complete Works* (1984) 3. 2. 120). R. J. Dingley, *N&Q* ns 27 (1980) 318, notes a similar episode in *New Arcadia* 1. 1 (itself derived from Heliodorus' *Aethiopia*). These literary precedents cast doubt on any allusion to a real event.

Text. There is no substantive variation between *W*, *Bur*, and the Group II MSS or 1633. In *O'F* 1. 6's alexandrine has been reduced to a pentameter by the omission of one word and elision of two more, attributable to editorial ignorance of Martial's endorsement of hexameters (at least, his own).

OUT of a fired ship which by no way
 But drowning could be rescued from the flame,
 Some men leaped forth, and ever as they came
 Near the foe's ships, did by their shot decay:
 5 So all were lost which in the ship were found,
 They in the sea being burnt, they in the burnt ship drowned.

Sources collated: *W*, *Bur*, *O'F*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*, 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: *W*, *Bur*: De ~ ~ *O'F*: A Burnt Ship *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*, 1633, 1635 6 being] *om.* *O'F* in the burnt] i'th ~ *O'F*

editorial/scribal translation of the original title than 'A Burnt Ship' would have been 'A ship set ablaze'. Grierson quotes a letter of 1607 from King James to Salisbury, 'a man will leap out of a burning ship and drown himself in the sea' (*HMC Hatfield* 19. 352). D. and the King play a variation on the Aesopic fable of fish, frying-pan and fire.

4 **decay**] die.

Caso d'un Muro (Fall of a Wall)

Date and context. 1589–1590s. The English expedition against Lisbon besieged the citadel at Corunna in 1589.

Analogues. An appropriate though accidental tomb is a traditional motif, e.g., a slave making a burial chamber, citizens after an earthquake, a hero attacking a tyrant's castle, adulterers, in *Gk Anth.*, 7. 180, 388, 572; 9. 426–7. J. T. Shawcross, *ELN* (1983) 23–4, showed there is no need to hypothesise D.'s presence at the siege: the incident, in which a Capt. Sydenham was trapped 'by three or four great stones upon his lower parts', was described in *True Coppie of a Discourse written by a Gentleman, employed in the late Voyage of Spaine and Portugal* (1589) pp. 20–1; ?by Col. Anthony Wingfield, also printed later in Hakluyt (1599 vol. 2; 1903–5 2. 134–55). D. is interested in the amusement to be drawn from paradox, not the prolonged agony of the man, who lived for at least a day, nor that 'there was ten or twelve lost in attempting to relieve him'.

Text. The unreliability of witnesses other than *W* makes their variants implausible as well as unnecessary.

UNDER an undermined, and shot-bruised wall
A too-bold captain perished by the fall,
 Whose brave misfortune happiest men envied,
 That had a town for tomb, his corpse to hide.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, HN, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: *Caso d'un Moro*] *Cæso* ~ ~ *O'F*: ~ di ~ *HN*: Fall of a Wall *TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*: *untitled Dob, Bur* 1 an] as *DC* 2 A] The *Dob, O'F* 4 town] tower *1635* (*towre from 1633's towne*) corpse] bones *TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

3 **envied**] The stress then fell on the second syllable.

Zoppo (A Lame Beggar)

Date and Context. Late 1580s–early 1590s? Although Grierson thought the poem might have derived from seeing such sufferers in Cadiz in 1596, veterans of the Armada and other campaigns, discharged without pay, swelled the numbers of disabled poor on the streets of London. Manningham attributed a version to ‘Dun’ in his *Diary*, March 1603 (1976) p. 219.

Analogues. Perhaps the best known celebration of a beggarly dilemma is that on the lame and the blind helping each other in *Gk Anth.* 9. 11–13b (Planudes 1. 4), translated, like that on the burnt ship, by More (27–33 (1984) 3. 2. 119–20).

Text. Seven versions in some fifty-three manuscripts are distinguished by *VD* 8. 33–8, which considers only that represented by, e.g., *W, Bur* (with the original title), *TCC, TCD, O’F, DC, 1633, 1635*, to be authorial, and attributes later versions, such as a second represented in e.g., *Dob*, and a fourth in *HN, Wed*, to memorial reconstruction.

I AM unable’, yonder beggar cries,
‘To stand or move!’ If he say true, he lies.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, O’F, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635, Dob, HN, Wed*
Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: *W, Bur, O’F*: A Lame Beggar *TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*: A beggar
HN: no title *Dob, Wed* 1 1. . . yonder] I cannot go nor sit nor stand, the *Dob*:
I cannot stand nor sit, this *HN*: I can nor stand nor sit this *Wed*
2 To . . . true] If that be true the beggar says *Dob*: How can this be? If he say
true *HN, Wed*

Heading *Zoppo* is Italian for ‘lame man, cripple’ (Spanish *zopo*).

1–2 I . . . move] Such a claim would be made to avoid prosecution under the edicts issued against ‘vagrant soldiers and others’ 13 Nov. 1589, 5 Nov. 1591, 28 Feb. 1592; ‘deserters’ 2 Mar. 1592; ‘beggars’ 17 April 1593; ‘idle vagabonds’ 21 Feb. 1594; ‘vagabonds’ 14 Dec. 1596; ‘rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars’ 1597–8; ‘vagabonds’ 9 Sept. 1598 (*NSTC*, Proclamations, Chronological series).

2 he lies] This homophonic pun was common: cp. D.’s grandfather, John Heywood, Epigram 5. 98, ‘Of a Liar’ (reprinted from *Woorkes* (1562) in *Proverbs and Epigrams*, Spenser Society (1867) p. 195); Nashe, *Strange Newes* (1592; *Works* 1. 326); *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1. 2. 76–8; Harington, 3.20 ‘Of one Master Careless’ (1930 no. 218) pp. 237–8; Deloney’s posthumous *Strange Histories, or Songs and Sonnets* (1607) sig. E6r (l. 2 adapting D.’s), and Davies of Hereford, Epigram 172, ‘Against Mustolpbus his lying’, *Scourge of Folly* [1611].

Calez and Guyana

Date and context. Late July–early Aug. 1597. After their storm-battered fleet's return in July 1597 from its first setting out to attack a new armada gathered in Ferrol, Essex and Raleigh went to London on 1 Aug. to apply to the Queen to change the plan to a raid on the West Indies, but were kept to the original objectives of attacking the Spanish fleet in Ferrol, or capturing Spanish treasure-ships on the high seas and seizing the island of Tercera in the Azores. D.'s interest in Guyana, probably stimulated by Raleigh's *Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (publ. early 1596) had already been expressed in *Satyre4Well* 22. After the return from Cadiz there appeared in late 1596 Lawrence Keymis's *True Relation of the Second Voyage to Guyana*, organised by Raleigh, and the latter's third expedition in the *Wat* brought back more enticing stories of wealth and plenty, as did, perhaps, Sir Anthony Sherley or Shirley's account of his voyage to Africa and the Americas (printed in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 1598–1600, along with accounts of the Cadiz and Islands expeditions). Immediately on his return in July 1597, Sherley enlisted (both to get away from his wife and in hopes to redress his poverty) with Essex's expedition. D.'s disappointment at the failure of this new Guyana project, known at latest when Essex and Raleigh returned to Plymouth on 8 or 9 Aug., is expressed in *WoodwardRSlumber* 18–26.

Text. Found only in *W* and *O'F* (a less reliable witness), first printed by Gosse 1899.

IF you from spoil of th'Old World's farthest end
 To the New World your kindled valours bend,
 What brave examples, then, do prove it true
 That one thing's end doth still begin a new!

Sources collated: *O'F*, *W*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: Calez *W*: Cales *O'F*

Heading Calez] Cadiz.

1–2 The addressees might be the commanders Essex and Raleigh, but 'kindled valours' suggests newly aroused enthusiasm in a group of D.'s fellows or friends among the 500 or more 'Knights and Gentlemen voluntaries' (Stow, *Annals* (1631) p. 783, quoted by Bald p. 86) such as D.'s Lincoln's Inn contemporary Thomas Egerton the younger, later knighted by Essex in the Azores (Bald pp. 53, 91).

1 th'Old . . . end] Cadiz, west of the Pillars of Hercules, traditionally the westernmost limit of the Old World of classical geography, Europe, Africa and Asia.

2 the New World] The West Indies, and more specifically, perhaps, Guyana.

4 Traditional scholastic doctrine, exemplified in Aristotle's *On Generation and Corruption*.

Il Cavaliere Giovanni Wingfield

Date and Context. 1596—. The account of the 1596 sack of Cadiz in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (2nd edn 1598–1600; 1904) 4. 252, 258; also in S. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* (1625–6; 1907) 20. 22, records that in the fight in the market-place ‘that worthy famous knight Sir John Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entry of the town, and yet for all that no whit respecting himself, being carried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the shot of a musket in the head most unfortunately slain.’ Bald p. 84 quotes the detailed account of his military funeral by Sir George Buc added to J. Stow, *Annals* (1631) p. 775.

Text. Modern editors have usually anglicised the heading; there seems to be no need, in the absence of any reason why Woodward would have invented the original.

BEYOND th’old Pillars many’ve travellèd
T’wards the sun’s cradle and his throne and bed.
 A fitter pillar our Earl did bestow

Sources collated: *O’F, W*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: ~ ~ Gio: Wingf: *W*: On Cauallero Wingfeild *O’F* 2 throne] grave *O’F*

1 th’old Pillars] the Pillars of Hercules, i.e., the Straits of Gibraltar. Strabo 3. 5. 5–6 (169–72) discusses various locations such as the capes, columns of a temple near Cadiz, and a site further west.

2 T’wards . . . bed] east, south and west.

3–5 ‘Wingfield’s remains mark the utmost limit of Herculean heroism.’ Essex, independently of orders, wished to establish a base from which he could harry the Spanish mainland, and Cadiz was a soft target since, according to the detailed notes in *Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, ed. M. Oppenheim, 6 vols (1902–14) 1. 361, 378, 381, once the navy had defeated the Spanish ships, it ‘was practically defenceless’ against some 6,000 English and Dutch soldiers. But D.’s remark may be innocent of satire, accepting the soldier-Earl’s projected image. For a brief modern account, see Hammer pp. 192–8.

3 A fitter pillar] Presumably figurative, i.e., Wingfield himself, given the circumstances. From c. 1580, a pillar in pictures of Queen Elizabeth symbolised imperial aspirations: at the Accession Day Tilt of 1590 there was ‘a crowned pillar . . . on which hung a Latin prayer which included the line: “You have moved the farther column of the Pillars of Hercules”’, i.e., exceeded the empire of Spain boasted in the emblematic devices of Charles V and Philip II of Spain proclaiming an empire which only began at the Pillars of Hercules, ‘and we say [of the Spanish King], the sun cannot hide himself from his eye, nor shine out of his dominions’ —*Essays* 1. 4 (1952) p. 35. In 1596 appeared an engraving of the Queen standing between two pillars, so D. might be commenting that it is the soldier who deserves the honour. See Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (1963) pp. 113, 115, and *Gloriana* (1987) p. 105. M. T. Hester, *ELN* 16 (1979) 202–6, points out a possible pun on the then current ‘pillar’, meaning ‘pillager’, de-idealising Wingfield, while also seeing the parodic comment on Spanish boasts. The pun

In that late island, for he well did know,
 5 Farther than Wingfield no man dares to go.

4 late] Lady O'F

A Self-Accuser

Date and context. 1590s? There is no need to suppose a real-life target, the subject and sentiment being in the vein of Martial.

YOUR mistress, that you follow whores still taxeth you:
 'Tis strange she should confess it, though't be true.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, HN, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *DC, 1633, 1635*: A mistress *HN*: untitled *W, Bur, O'F, Dob* 1 still taxeth] oft taxes *Dob*: doth tax *O'F* 2 she should] that ~ ~ thus *DC, 1633, 1635* it, though't] though it *Dob, O'F, HN*

A Licentious Person

Date and context. 1590s? Also a joke awaiting a (Christian) Martial.

Analogues. After *Licentious Person* in Henry Fitzgeffrey's *Certain Elegies, Done by Sundrie Excellent Wits. With Satyres and Epigrames* (1617) fol. D7v, there appeared *An Answer to the Same*: 'Yes, if thy hairs fall as thy sins increase, Both will ere

is indicated as such by Harington's *Epigrams* 4. 27, 36, 'Of the Pillars of the Church', 'A Salisbury Tale' (1930 nos. 281, 290, pp. 263, 265), and J. Weever, *Epigrammes in the Oldest Cut and Newest Fashion*, 4. 14 (1599) sig. E3v, of a man holding three church livings at once.

4 that late island] The recently sacked city (as distinct from the harbour) of Cadiz, then attached to the mainland only by a Roman bridge (restored in the fifteenth century), and referred to as 'the island of Calez' in Captain Pryce's letter to Cecil (Stype, *Annals* (1731) 4. 286). It is fully described by Strabo 3. 5. 3 (169).

5 Farther] The motto of Philip II was *Plus ultra*, 'There is more beyond', placed between the Pillars of Hercules. D. reinscribes the traditional Latin on the Pillars, *Ne plus ultra*, expressing Pindar's image of them and Cadiz as the limit of Hercules' fame and human endeavour (*Olympian Odes* 3. 42–5, *Nemean Odes* 3. 19–22, 4. 69, *Isthmian Odes* 4. 12–13). Wingfield died (like Sidney) having left off his armour despite advice. **Wingfield]** Hester suggests a 'pun on "Wing-field" as heaven', and, less plausibly, that the expedition was in a 'spiritual cause' for D.: he never favoured killing Roman Catholics *per se*, so was probably spurred by nationalism and the motives set out in *Calm* 39–42.

long prove equal: numberless.' In *Argalus and Parthenia: The Argument of the History* (1629) p. 162, Francis Quarles imitated *Licentious* in *The Author's Dream*:

My sins are like the hairs upon my head,
 And raise their audit to as high a score.
 In this they differ: these do daily shed,
 But ah! my sins grow daily more and more.
 If by my sighs thou number out my sins,
 Heaven make me bald before the day begins!
 (Retitled 'On Sins' in his *Divine Fancies*, 1632 etc.)

THY sins and hairs may no man equal call,
 For, as thy sins increase, thy hairs do fall.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635, HN*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635: untitled W, Bur, Dob, O'F: a Whorer HN*
 1 hairs] hair *TCC, TCD*

Antiquary

Date and context. c. 1592–4? Were a nominal pun on Lord Strange admitted, it would necessarily precede his death in 1594. If John Hammond was the target, his death in 1589 would make it even earlier. *VD* 8. 16 argues that as represented in MSS such as *Dob* (c. 1623–33) and *O'F* (1632–5), *Antiquary* was in the earliest group of epigrams circulated, and therefore one of the earliest to be written. The analogues cited next suggest D.'s Lincoln's Inn period.

Analogues. As Milgate points out, the credulous, pretentious antiquary was the butt of satire both classical (Martial 8. 6) and contemporary: the particular jibe in this epigram had been recounted by Henri Estienne in 1566 in a book translated as *World of Wonders* (1607) p. 22:

2 *Ps.* 40. 15 (*BCP*), 'my sins . . . are more in number than the hairs of mine head', is unexpectedly corroborated not just by ageing but also by the accelerated baldness of syphilis, mocked by D.'s imitator, Davies of Hereford [1611], Epigram 22:

Of Kate's Baldness

By's beard the goat, by his bush-tail the fox,
 By's paws the lion, by his horns the ox,
 By these all these are known; and by her locks
 That now are fall'n, Kate's known to have the pox.

hairs do fall] In BL MS Egerton 2230, f. 35, this couplet is prefixed to *Licentious*: 'Here lies one whose scalp is bare, Who in catching conies, lost many a hair.' 'Cony-catching' meant swindling, but the sexual pun on cony (rabbit)/French *con* was current in the period (*OED* 'cony' 5b), though not used by D.

About which toys some have been exceeding curious. For *Horace* reporteth [*Sat.* 2. 3. 20–3, 64] that one *Damasippus* was so carried away with curiosity in this kind, that it bereft him of his wits. And I leave it to thy consideration (gentle Reader) what the poet (if he were now living) would say of these buyers, engrossers, and enhancers of antiques with whom the world is so pestered at this day, and at whose cost so many cheaters make such good cheer; who (poor souls) are so far from discerning between *antique* and modern, that they scarce understand the meaning of the words (which, such as it is, was lately brought hither into France by some fiddling Italian), and this it is which makes them put their hand so often to their purses, and pay for the pins. And verily the Savoyard did featly and finely who, going about to catch a sottish antiquary foolishly fond of such toys, after that the fantastical had courted him a long time, in the end for a goodly ancient monument showed him his wife, who was fourscore years of age.

Though not published until 1607, this translation of Estienne was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1599, and so could have been accessible to D. in MS. Its translator, 'R. C.', was presumably Richard Carew (1555–1620), also a (highly respected) member of the Society of Antiquaries, and elder brother of Sir George Carew of Antony, Cornwall, secretary, like D. but his senior, to Sir Thomas Egerton (Bald p. 97). Another antiquary with an unlovable wife appears in Sir John Davies, *Epigrams*, 20, 'In Gerontem' (c. 1594–5), another credulous one in D.'s friend Everard Guilpin's *Skaetheia*, *Satyre* I, 136–42 (1598; 1974), p. 67. These suggest dating *Antiquary* to D.'s years at Lincoln's Inn, 1592–4, if he, Davies, Guilpin and Campion (quoted below) were playing variations on a joke current at the Inns of Court, or one poet had been read by the others. Such dating is slightly reinforced by Nashe's substantial 'Commendation of Antiquaries' for their prejudice, credulity and deceitfulness in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592), which, in the preface to the second edition, having provoked influential people, he asserts was not a general attack on 'that excellent profession' (*Works*, 1. 182–3, 154–5). Carroll on Guilpin (p. 164) cites also Lodge, *Wits Miserie* (1596; *Works* 4. 41), copied almost verbatim by S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humors Blood in the Head-Vaine*, *Sat.* 1 (1600; *Works* (1880) 1. 48), and the discussions by Leishman, *Three Parnassus Plays* (1949) pp. 48–9, and A. Kernan, *Cankered Muse* (1959) pp. 85–6. Owen, 'Neville' 3. 76, criticises 'Antiquarios et Novatores' alike.

Text. Group II MSS, followed by 1633, anonymized the poem, perhaps in response to the June 1599 ban on publishing epigrams and satires (which, however, had long been disregarded when they were compiled in the 1620s), or the rise to influence as royal physician by 1612 of John Hammond's son (who was sent by the King to attend D. in 1623), or D.'s waning sympathy with Roman Catholics (Hester (1986) pp. 80–91), or simply its lack of personal topicality. Though the classical practice of using pseudonyms or type-names for individuals satirised gave rise to a genre of epigram without specific reference, the topicality of Elizabethan epigrams was assumed at least by Weever (1599) sig. A7r: 'Epigrams are much like unto Almanacs serving especially for the year for the which they are made'. As in *Bumt* above, the less authoritative MSS' variants in l. 2 may be scribal attempts to smooth out the scansion without eliding 'To^hang', though *VD* 8. 30 attributes the omission of 'strange' from Group III to an earlier version: if D. was in the late 1580s to early 1590s a retainer of the Roman Catholic Earl of Derby as argued by Flynn (1989), and under the literary patronage of his eldest son, Ferdinando, styled Lord Strange until 1593 (Spenser's 'Amyntas'), the initial omission of the word would have been prudent. Though Lord Strange

was a considerable patron of writers, he is not known to have collected antiquities (and since he died in 1594, the reference to his selling of them would not be topical by the date of *Satyre 5*), but his wife, Alice Spencer (born c. 1560), would have been Lady Strange, and the foul temper lamented by her second husband, D.'s employer, Sir Thomas Egerton (Bald p. 110), would have made her a target for satire.

IF in his study Hammon hath such care
To hang all old, strange things, let his wife beware.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, S96, O'F, HN, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: Hammon *HN: untitled Dob, S96, O'F, Bur* 1 Hammon hath] ~ have *HN: ~ take Bur: he have TCC, TCD, DC: he hath 1633, 1635* such] so much *TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635* 2 all] *om. S96, Bur* strange] *om. Dob, S96, O'F, HN* let his] let's *TCD: then let his S96*

1–2 in his study . . . strange things] Cp. *Satyre 4* 216: 'Stranger than seven antiquaries' studies'.

1 Hammon] *W* and *O'F* spell the name 'Hañon', and *HN* 'Hammon'. *Bur* omits the tilde over *W*'s and *O'F*'s *m*, suggesting that the scribes of some miscellaneous MSS modified the name to one familiar from the Bible, Haman, the unjust officer of the Persian King Ahasuerus (Xerxes), but there is no evidence to support this as D.'s allusion to any corresponding high Elizabethan functionary. Grierson favoured as subject the lawyer Sir John Hammond, active in 1581–2 with Topcliffe (see note on *Satyre 4* 216) in the interrogation under torture of Roman Catholic martyrs such as Edmund Campion; however, Hammond died in 1589, making identification with antiquary Hammon mocked in *Satyre 5* 87 unlikely, except insofar as Egerton, the addressee of *Satyre 5*, had presumably known him. Among humbler candidates, members of the Society of Antiquaries (founded in 1586), Sir Walter Cope (d. 1614) is satirised by D. in *Catalogus Librorum* (1930) pp. 32, 45–6: '11. *Believe in thy havings and thou hast them.* A test for antiquities, being a great book on very small things, dictated by Walter Cope, copied out by his wife, . . .' The implication here that Cope's collection is inauthentic chimes with Hammon's loss when he sells his antiquities in *Satyre 5* 87, dated by Milgate to 'probably the early part of 1598'. However, Cope still had his collection in 1599, when it was described by Thomas Platter, *Travels in England, 1599*, ed. C. Williams (1937) pp. 171–3, nor is there any record that it was sold in his lifetime (though Cope's pretensions always outran his means, and he died £27,000 in debt), or of Lady Dorothy's being considered 'old' or 'strange'. Cope was knighted in 1603, and, to judge from its contents, the *Catalogus* was completed in that year or soon after. Finally, the possible names are united in members of the L'Estrange family who bore its traditional name, Hamon. These were numerous (confusingly, at least five were recorded as alive between 1637 and 1654), but the only known holder in the 1590s (knighted 1603, Sheriff of Norfolk 1609, MP 1614, 1620, 1625, author of *Americans no Jews*, '1652' [1651], correspondent and patient of Sir Thomas Browne in 1653), was born in 1583 and so was too young for D. to satirise, though he later showed a wide range of interests ancient and modern. The name 'Honiger Hammon' is fancifully applied by Nashe in *Pierce*

The Ingler

Date and context. 1590s. Pederasty seems to have been particularly topical in this decade. Fear of being made 'thy ingler' is expressed in Nashe's *Strange Newes* (1592; *Works* 1. 326); in Guilpin's *Epigram* 38 (1974) 49, the sodomite 'sups every night with his ingles'; Middleton's keeps a 'page which fills up the place of an ingler', in his *Blacke Booke* (1604); Ganymede is 'Jove's own ingler' in his *Blurt, Master Constable* (1602), and he again refers to 'ingling' in *Micro-Cynicon* (1606); Florio in *A Worlde of Wordes, or most Copious Dictionarie in Italian and English* (1598), defines *Catamito* as 'a ganymede, an ingle, a boy hired to sin against nature', and *Zanzerare* as 'to ingle boys, to play wantonly with boys against nature', though he defines *Sodomita* as 'a buggerer'; the elder Ovid in Jonson's *Poetaster* 1. 2 (1602), fears his son's becoming 'a stager, an ingle for the players'.

Text. Drummond's heading in *HN* (the title in MS) is unambiguously 'The Inghler', but has been consistently misread by editors as 'The Iughler' (the same misreading as that in *DC*'s version of *Perfume* 29). A critic would have to strain plausibility to reconcile this with the content of the poem: an 'ingle' was to Drummond and his contemporaries a man's boy-friend, and Drummond would therefore term such a man an 'ingler', just as he entitles the debauchee of *Licentious* a 'whorer'. His heading is adopted here for convenience, though the author presumably thought the epigram spoke for itself.

Penillesse (*Works* 1. 199) to the Harveys, but antiquarianism does not figure among his charges.

D.'s focus seems, therefore, to be on a type, not an individual: Nashe, *Pierce Penillesse*, claims that 'I know many wise gentlemen of this musty vocation . . . out of love with the times wherein they live' (*Works* 1. 182). Hammon may have been a communal fiction of indeterminable origin among the Inns of Court wits: Thomas Campion's Latin epigram in his *Poemata* (1595) sig. G7v, 'In Afram', jeers that she is so old that the antiquary Hammon will buy her teeth:

*Tam vetus, et grandis cum sit tibi cunus, vt illi
Surgere Spartanus debeat Afra senex:
Cumque tuos dentes emat antiquarius Hammon,
Prosint et tussi pharmaca nulla tuae;
Nubere vis puero, primo moritura Decembri:
Si facere haeredem, non potes Afra virum.*

Campion entered Gray's Inn in 1586, continuing his involvement till at least 1595 (P. Vivian, ed., *Campion's Works* (1909) p. xxxi). D.'s copy of Campion's 1595 poems is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Cp. John Stradling's epigrams entitled 'In Hamanno morituro', 'De Hamanno nugatore' in *Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor*, 2, 4 (1607) pp. 76–7, 142. Since he dedicated epigrams to Harington, Daniel, Drayton, Owen, the Earl of Bedford, and Egerton, he may have been at some time part of D.'s circle. Among these occurrences, there is no obvious evidence as to who originated Hammon.

2 Cp. Nashe, *Pierce Penillesse*: 'It argueth a very rusty wit, so to dote on worm-eaten eld' (*Works* 1. 183); and J. Earle, 'An Antiquary' in *Micro-cosmographie* (1628): 'He is one that hath that unnatural disease to be enamoured of old age and wrinkles'.

THOU call'st me¹ effem¹'nate for¹ I love women's joys:
I call not thee manly, though thou follow boys.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, HN*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *HN*: *untitled W, Bur* 1 for] that *HN* joys] toys *HN* 2 not thee] thee not *Bur*

Disinherited

Date. 1592–? The legalistic quibble suggests a Lincoln's Inn context.

Analogues. Milgate compares Martial 3. 10 (on a father in effect disinheriting his son by allowing him to squander his patrimony in advance), and 5. 32 (simply on one who left his wife penniless, having spent everything on himself). Harington embodied the same joke in

Of one that vowed to disinherit his son and give his goods to the poor
A citizen that dwelt near Temple Bar
By hap one day fell with his son at jar,
Whom, for his evil life and lewd demerit,
He oft affirmed that he would disinherit,
Vowing his goods and lands all to the poor.
His son, what with his play, what with his whore,
Was so consumed at last, as he did lack
Meat for his mouth, clothing for his back.
Oh crafty poverty! His father now
May give him all he hath, yet keep his vow.

Epigrams 1. 65 (1930 no. 66) pp. 172–3.

THY father all from thee, by his last will,
Gave to the poor: thou hast good title still.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, HN, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *DC, 1633, 1635*: one disherited *HN*: *untitled Σ* 1 thee] thee hath *O'Fbe*

1 effem¹'nate] not conforming to the male gender stereotype because of too much association with women. Sir Richard Baker remembered D. as 'very neat; a great visitor of ladies' (Bald p. 72).

1–2 all from thee . . . Gave] 'diverted everything he would leave from you'.
2 The disinherited son will be penniless, and so have a valid claim on the estate.

The Liar

Date. c. 1592?

Analogue. Martial's Philo, 5. 47, swears he has never dined at home because the only dinners he gets are those he is invited to. D.'s grandfather, John Heywood, included one 'Of a Liar' among his epigrams (see citation above on *Zoppo* 2). *W*'s spelling, 'sallets', makes even closer the analogy with Nashe, below.

Text. First printed in *Unpublished Poems of Donne*, ed. Sir John Simeon, *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society*, vol. III, 1856–7.

THOU in the fields walk'st out thy supping-hours,
 And yet thou swear'st thou *hast* supped 'like a king!'—
 Like Nebuchadnezzar, perchance, with grass and flowers,
 A salad worse than Spanish dieting.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, HN*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *HN*: untitled Σ 1 fields] field *HN* walk'st] walks *Bur* 2 swear'st] sayest
Dob: sayst *O'F* like] and like *HN* 3 perchance] *om.* *O'F* grass] herbs *Bur*

Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus

Date and Context. 1594–. M Jansonius' popular register of news from 1588 onward appeared in a collected volume in 1594 and then irregularly until 1654. It was of perennial interest in England because of recurrent involvement in the Low Country Wars, but its news often proved to be inaccurate hearsay, and its Latin was debased: in Jonson's *Poetaster*, 5. 3, Virgil, prescribing the re-education of Crispinus, forbids him to use any 'Gallo-Belgic phrase' in his verse. In *Coryat* D. exhorts the travel-writer ironically to 'Mount now to *Gallo-Belgicus*'.

Analogue. Owen also published a critical epigram on *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* in *Epigrammatum . . . Libri Tres*, 1 'Ad Henricum Principem Walliae' (1612) no. 5.

2 like a king] Cp. the phrase 'dine with Duke Humphrey' for going without a meal, used by Nashe, Hall etc. (*OED*, *dine* *v.* 1b). The duke's tomb in St Paul's was a sanctuary from creditors (Dekker, *Gull's Horn-book* 4, in selection ed. E. D. Pendry (1967) pp. 89–90).

3 Nebuchadnezzar] The king of Babylon who 'was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen'—*Daniel* 5. 33.

4 salad . . . Spanish dieting] Perhaps cold vegetables first became familiar to D. on the Cadiz expedition, but the Spaniards were proverbially more moderate eaters than the hot-meat-loving English. Cp. Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (1592; *Works* 1. 200) on Spaniards as 'Good thrifty men, they draw out a dinner with sallets' (Milgate).

LIKE Aesop's fellow slaves, O Mercury,
 Which could do all things, thy faith is; and I
 Like Aesop's self, which nothing. I confess
 I should have had more faith if thou hadst less:
 5 Thy credit lost thy credit: 'tis sin to do,
 In this case, as thou wouldst be done unto,
 To believe all. Change thy name: thou art like
 Mercury in stealing, and liest like a Greek.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: *untitled Bur (added later in margin)* 1 slaves] slave *Bur* 2 Which] That *O'F*
 3 which] wth *TCC, TCD, DC* 4 thou hadst] y^o had *Bur (later attempt at corr.)*
 8 and] but *Dob (marg. and), TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

Phryne

Date and Context. Early 1590s? The discrepancy between portrait and real appearance was exemplified in the case of Queen Elizabeth (like Phryne, extravagantly courted for her favours). From 1563 onward, repeated attempts were made to prescribe the royal image. Paintings of the highest quality usually presented a stylised face amid elaborate emblem and realistic clothes and jewels, but cheaper paintings, and the engravings by, e.g., William Rogers and Crispin van de Passe published c. 1592–6, originating from a likeness from life by Isaac Oliver, called forth in July 1596

1–3 According to the medieval collection of anecdotes prefixed to the much-reprinted sixteenth-century editions of fables in Latin and in English familiar to most schoolboys (e.g., *Fables of Esop in English. With all his life and fortune* (1634) pp. 8–10; *Aesop without Morals*, transl. L. W. Daly (1961) pp. 41–2), when Aesop was put up for sale as a slave with two others who claimed they could do everything, he replied, when asked what he could do, 'Nothing at all', because they had pre-empted all options (a situation proleptic of Cordelia and her sisters in *King Lear*). **1, 8 Mercury]** As recounted in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes and Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* 3. 2, the divinely authoritative messenger (and thus a favourite image with newspaper proprietors) started his career by ingeniously stealing Apollo's herd of cows at Pieria. He continued as a professional at the highest level (*Iliad* 5. 88–91, 24. 22–4), fathered Autolykus, the cleverest human thief (*Odyssey* 19. 395–6), and continues to deceive humans with dreams.

5 'Your credulity forfeited your credibility.'

5–6 do . . . unto] *Matt.* 7. 12.

7 An exceptionally unmetrical line even for D., perhaps expressing vituperation: the stresses fall presumably on the third, fourth, fifth, seventh and tenth syllables, i.e., only two on the usual even-numbered ones.

8 stealing] i.e., plagiarising. **liest like a Greek]** Tilley F31 cites Erasmus, *Adagia* (1629) p. 577, and Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe* (1592; *Works* 3. 221), and quotes, e.g., Lyly, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (*Works* 1. 232): 'Is it not commonly said of Grecians that craft cometh to them by kind, that they learn to deceive in their cradle?'

A warrant for her Majesty's Serjeant Painter and to all public officers to yield him their assistance touching the abuse committed by divers unskilful artisans in unseemly and improperly painting, graving, and printing of her Majesty's person and visage, to her Majesty's great offence and disgrace of that beautiful and magnanimous Majesty wherewith God hath blessed her, requiring them to cause all such to be defaced and none to be allowed but such as her Majesty's Serjeant Painter shall first have sight of. (*APC* 26. 69.)

(According to Evelyn, *Sculptura* (1906) p. 25, the confiscated prints furnished the Essex House cooks with baking-linings for years.) Because of anxiety about the Queen's mortality while the succession was unsettled, a youthful face without hollows or wrinkles, originated by the miniaturist Nicholas Hilliard, was reproduced from c. 1594 for the rest of her reign both in miniatures and large format, e.g., his Hardwick portrait (1599?), Gheeraerts's Rainbow portrait (c. 1600–3) and Robert Peake's Procession Picture (c. 1601). The discrepancy between the hyperbolic praises by suitors such as Raleigh in *Ocean to Cynthia* and the yellowing, wrinkled, bald, and gap-toothed Queen was a preposterous pretence scorned by young men such as D. trusting to their own merits (and to the Earl of Essex, one such flatterer). See, e.g., Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth* pp. 17–19, 43–52, 147–9, 153–5, 163; *Gloriana*, pp. 9–45, 78–162; Catherine Bates, *Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (1992) pp. 45–7.

Analogues. The original Phryne, a favourite with epigrammatists, as in *Gk Anth.* 16. 203–5, was a courtesan famed for her beauty and earnings in the age of Philip and Alexander. Allegedly the model for two of the greatest works of art, Apelles' painting of Venus rising from the sea, and the sculpture of Venus of Cnidos by Praxiteles (who was one of her lovers, and inscribed an epigram on her on the base of a statue of Cupid), her gilded statue was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi. Her name here is presumably used simply as a type, as by Davies of Hereford [1611] Epigr. 33, whose Phryne 'hath two bums / Like a full pair (at least) of mountanets . . . which she, through lightness, sets . . . to hire to all that play'.

Harington's *Epigrams* 4. 58 'Of a Painted Lady' (1930 no. 312) p. 272, adapts Martial 1. 169 on a lap-dog with the possibly ironic conclusion 'I, that had been long with her acquainted, Did think that both were quick, or both were painted.' In Epigram 57, *Of Nigrina*, ll. 10–12, Guilpin answers the question 'Why is she masked?': 'Oh sir, she's painted, and you know the guise, / Pictures are curtained from the vulgar eyes'; cp. Ep. 62 *Of the same*: 'Painted Nigrina with the picture face' (1598; 1974) pp. 54–5. According to Carroll on Guilpin p. 131, 'Henry Parrot uses these lines, with slight variation' in *Laquei Ridiculosi* 1. 61 (1613) sig. C8. The whole of Guilpin's Satire II (1598; 1930, pp. 69–72) attacks the 'painted face'. Numerous other epigrammatists might be cited: e.g., Owen, *Epigrammatum . . . Libri Tres*, 1, 'Ad Henricum Principem Walliae' 82, *In Gelliam fucata* (1612), transl. T. Harvey (1677) p. 122: 'Thy picture is not like thee, but 'tis plain / Thou like thy picture art: as vile, as vain'; H[enry?] P[arrot], *Epigrams* 5, *Sic ars diluditur arte* (1608) sig. A3v:

Mark but the semblance of *Fucata's* face,
How to the life her picture doth excel:
For lovely feature, sweet and comely grace,
(Surely the Painter hath done wondrous well):
But here's the doubt, (both faces made by Art)
Which you would choose to be of best desert;

and H. Peacham, *More the Merrier*, 6, 'Ad Gelliam' (1608): 'Gellia, 'tis well thou wear'st a mask i'th' sun, / For should thy painting thaw thou wert undone.' For

ardent Christians, Queen Jezebel, the type of wicked women, painted her face just before she was defenestrated and eaten by dogs (2 *Kings* 9. 30–2), and so served to discredit make-up. Ovid's treatise *De medicamini faciei* lists some of the substances he finds convenient deterrents to passion in *Remedia amoris* 351–6. Elizabethan diatribes against cosmetics are too numerous to list: an example is Nashe in *Pierce Penilesse* on 'painted faces' which would provide all the pigments a portraitist needed (*Works* 1. 180–1). Carroll on Guilpin (pp. 167–8) cites numerous predecessors: *Isaiah* 3; Juvenal 16; Tertullian *De cultu feminarum*; Philip Stubbes, who in his *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583 etc.; ed. Furnivall 1877) 1. 65–6, quotes Ambrose, Cyprian, and cites Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Gregory, Calvin, Peter Martyr, etc.; and more from Nashe (*Works* 2. 136–44). McKerrow thereon directs to C. Camden, *Elizabethan Woman* (1952) pp. 173–215, for a comprehensive collection and discussion of Elizabethan examples. D. himself offers as one of his *Paradoxes* 'That women ought to paint themselves'. Jonson knew *Phryne* by heart, according to Drummond (Jonson 1. 150).

Text. *Bur*'s 'Latrine' for, presumably, 'Phrine' in its copy shows, as in *Klockius*, the hazards run by proper names in secretary hand, even with a scribe who must have been used to it.

THY flattering picture, Phryne, is like thee
Only in this: that you both painted be.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, TCC, TCD, DC, HN, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *TCC, TCD, DC, HN, 1633, 1635: no heading Dob, W, Bur, O'F* 1 Phryne]

Latrine *Bur* (from Σ 's Phrine) 2 you both] both you *Bur: we both TCD*

An Obscure Writer

Date and context. 1590s? Although Milgate is probably right in dismissing the necessity of a personal reference (the name Philo is used by Martial in the analogue of *Liar*, and by Marston, 3 (10). 104 (1599) sig. H5v), D. may refer to a contemporary who resembled or aspired to resemble a classical writer such as the Hellenistic Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, well known for his voluminous writings on the nature of God and allegorical interpretations of scripture, attempting eclectically to reconcile Greek philosophy with Judaism (though an older D. quotes him approvingly in, e.g., *Serm.* 6. 236–7). Somewhere in the prefatory matter of a historical or theological work published around the 1590s may be lurking a profession of twelve years' work.

1 Phryne] Curiously, the name means 'Toad' in Greek, so might in D.'s poem imply ugliness under the cosmetics, as well as venality.

2 painted] Orthodox, traditional disapproval is voiced by D. the churchman in *Serm.* 3. 104 (n. d.).

PHILO with twelve years' study hath been grieved
To be understood: when will he be believed?

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635: no heading W, Bur, Dob, O'F*

Klockius

Date and context. 1590s?

Analogue. Cp. the story recalled by Montaigne, *Essayes*, 3. 5, Engl. J. Florio (1603; 1928 3. 114), from Diogenes Laertius 2. 69: 'Aristippus, speaking to some young men who blushed to see him go into a bawdy-house, said: "The fault was not in entering, but in not coming out again."'

Text. *Bur's* reading 'Rawlings' could easily have derived from a mistranscription such as the Utterson MS's 'Rockius', or even directly (cp. *Bur's* 'Latrine' for the form 'Phrine' above). It might of course be a reappropriation of the sonnet: one Roger Rawlins was admitted to Gray's Inn 8 Nov. 1583 (*Admission Register 1521–1889* (1890 p. 64)), and another to Lincoln's Inn 16 July 1584 (*Admission Register 1420–1799* (1896 p. 100)); Thomas Rawlins (Sheriff of Essex in 1603) to the Inner Temple Nov. 1595 (*Members Admitted . . . 1547–1660* (1877 p. 143)). *Bur's* proneness to error weakens any claim to presenting an alternative authorial version.

I–2 Ironically, we may read this in either of two senses: 'After twelve years' study, Philo is grieved to be understood'; or: 'Philo has been grieved with twelve years of studying in order to be understood'. D. may be echoing Erasmus's verdict in *Ciceronianus* (1528) that to have spent ten years studying nothing but Cicero was asinine. Quoting the latter, Bacon in 1605 deprecates 'speech that is uttered with labour and difficulty, or speech that savoureth of art and precepts, or speech that is framed after the imitation of some pattern of eloquence', 'novelty and strangeness of terms', and those who 'hunt more after words than matter, more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgement' (*Advancement of Learning* (1605), 'To the King' and I. 4. 2, 5). On this reading, Philo's labour over his medium (in contrast to *Mercurius*) is rendered useless by his implausible message.

KLOCKIUS so deeply'th vowed ne'er more to come
In bawdy-house, that he dares not go home.

Sources collated: *W, Bur, Dob, O'F, TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635, HN*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *HN: no heading* Σ 1 Klockius] Rawlings *Bur* (see note) so . . . vowed] hath sworn so deep *HN* vowed] sworn *TCC, TCD, DC, 1633, 1635* ne'er] never *HN* more] *om. Dob, O'F, HN* 2 bawdy-house] a ~ *HN* dares] dare *HN*

Martialis Castratus (Raderus)

Date and context. 1602 on, perhaps around the time when D. was writing *Ignatius*, 1610. The German Jesuit Matthew Rader (1561–1634) published his expurgated edition of Martial for use in schools in 1602 (scrupulously leaving clues to his omissions, etc., by double-numbering the sequence and asterisking). He prefaced his second edition in 1611 with warm endorsements of his policy by eminent fellow-Jesuits. D. might well have inscribed these lines in a copy as he did *Covell* and *Scaliger*.

Analogue. Owen, *Epigrammatum . . . Libri Tres*, 2, 'Ad Henricum Principem Walliæ' 79, *Ad librorum Castratores* (1612), also directly echoes Martial.

1 Klockius] D.'s choice of name is mysterious and all suggestions remain hypothetical. He might be playing on the name of an acquaintance such as his fellow-student Bell (see *Bell*), or the Gray's Inn writer of similarly scurrilous epigrams, Campion (cp. Suckling's *Upon T[om] C[arew] having the P[ox]*), as rendered in one of the Germanic languages (for forms see *OED*, *clock*, *sb.*). J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* s.v. GLOCKE D 10, quote fifteenth and sixteenth-century uses for 'testicles', so D.'s 'Klockius' might stand for some such vernacular sobriquet as 'Ballock' or 'Cod' (i.e., scrotum; cp. Jonson, *Epigrams* 19, 20, 50, also 117, 'On Groin'). In support of possible alternatives such as 'Filth' or 'Blister', see Cotgrave (1611) sig. S2v: '*Cloaque*. A common sink, or sewer in a town', and '*Cloches de S. Laurens*. Great blisters rising in the face, through heat', attributed to long stays in a hot-house either to treat venereal disease or in the associated sense 'brothel', or perhaps loosely applied to skin eruptions caused by syphilis. Were textual corruption involved (which seems unlikely, given the wide agreement of MSS), the original might have been 'Clodius': Publius Clodius Pulcher was a type of the adulterer for Juvenal (2. 27), and D.'s friend Guilpin says in Epigram 22, *To Clodius*, 'in a whorehouse thou canst swagger' (1599; 1974 p. 45); or even 'Pockius'. (Nothing but the author's name suggests a hit at the otherwise obscure J. Klockus (Kloch or Klock) whose *Christiados priscae et novae* was printed by C. Sutor at Oberursell near Frankfurt in 1601.

1–2 The implications are ambiguous: is he afraid of never being able to visit a brothel again once he has left it, or (less probably) has he or his wife made his home in effect a brothel?

1 deeply'th] deeply hath. **come]** *OED*'s first citation of the orgasmic sense is 1650. Nor does it make coherent sense in context.

WHY this man gelded Martial I muse,
 Except himself alone his tricks would use,
 As Katherine for the Court's sake put down stews.

Sources collated: *W*, *O'F*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*, 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: Raderus Σ: Randerus *TCC*

Heading For once, the alternative, presumably later heading, *Raderus*, unlike the original, specifies necessary information, the particular editor, not in the epigram itself, and a possible joke: *radere* in Latin means, by appropriate coincidence, 'to prune, to rub clean (a writing-tablet), to erase (writing)'. However, the retitling obliterates the aptness of *W*'s heading, with its specific echo of Martial, 1. 35. 14, *nec castrare velis meos libellos: gallo turpius est nihil Priapo*, 'Don't castrate my little books: there's nothing more degraded than a Priapus turned into a priest of Cybele.' 1-3 D. has *Ignatius* say ([1611]; 1969 p. 67), that

though Raderus and others of his order did use to geld poets and other authors (and here I could not choose but wonder why they have not gelded their Vulgar Edition [the Vulgate Bible], which in some places hath such obscene words as the Hebrew tongue, which is therefore called 'Holy', doth so much abhor that no obscene things can be uttered in it. . . . yet (said he) our men do not geld them to that purpose, that the memory thereof should be obliterated, but that when themselves had first tried whether Tiberius his *spintria* and *Martialis symplegma* . . . might be reduced to an art and methods in licentiousness (for Jesuits never content themselves with the theory in anything, but straight proceed to practice) they might after communicate them to their own disciples and novitiates: . . . they reserve to themselves the divers forms, and the secrets and mysteries in this matter, which they find in the authors whom they geld.

Grierson concludes from this that the epigram is therefore a hit at the Jesuits in general, not just a particular editor.

1 gelded] M. T. Hester, *PLL* 21 (1985) 324-30, notes the strengthening of D.'s protest by Martial's own declaration, 1. 35, that 'these little books are like husbands with their wives—they can't please without a cock' (Loeb transl. by D. R. S. Bailey), asking that Cornelius should not 'geld' (*castrare*) his little books. If pleasure is persuasive, the doctrine of Horace, *Ars poetica* 343-4, Rader may have defeated his express purpose of imparting knowledge to youth.

2 The sexual freedom often celebrated or criticised by Martial was frequently imputed to the Jesuits, e.g., by Rochester, 'A Ramble in St James's Park' 145-6. Cp. *Othello*, 3. 3. 203-5: 'In Venice, they do let God see the pranks / They dare not show their husbands. Their best conscience / Is not to leave't undone, but keep't unknown.' In *Pseudo-Martyr*, Preface, 18 (1993) p. 21, D. characterises the Roman Church as 'deformed with the leprosy and ulcers of admitting Jews and stews'. **tricks]** A sexual application depended on context (as here) or on qualification such as 'wanton tricks'.

3 'Katherine' may be a deliberately misleading name for the Queen who 'put down stews'. Some of D.'s contemporaries had presumably been affected by the order from Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council on 23 Feb. 1596 to the Middlesex magistrates to investigate and suppress all disorderly houses in the suburbs (*APC*

Ralphius

Date and context. 1590s? ‘Ralphius’ has not been identified with any real person. Line 2 may refer to one and the same man or to two, Ralphius the broker, or Ralphius and the broker.

Analogues. In Rowlands’ Epigram 5 (1600), ‘Delfridus keeps his bed’ because ‘his hose are out at pawn, . . . to Broker’s Jail committed’. In Parrot’s *Epigrams* 98 (1608) sig. E3r, ‘*Brisco* that gallant youngster keeps his bed’ to avoid arrest for debt. Cp. the following in *Bur*, f. 346 (long after the leaves containing D.’s epigrams):

Upon an Unthrif

Brabus of late hath often boldly said
That no disease should make him keep his bed.
His reason is, if you will have me tell it,
He wanteth money, and he needs must sell it.

COMPASSION in the world again is bred:
Ralphius is sick, the broker keeps his bed.

Sources collated: *Dob*, *O’F*, *W*, *HN*, *DC*, 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *HN*: no heading Σ

25. 230–1). Elizabeth’s courtiers were no more renowned than James’s for restraint in sexual behaviour. **stews]** brothels.

Heading Ralphius] Ralph, often in phonetic form, Rafe, was used, not necessarily in hostile fashion, for lower-class figures such as a miller’s son in Lyly’s *Gallathea* (1592), a stable-lad in Marlowe’s *Dr Faustus* (1588–9/1592), a potboy in Shakespeare’s *1 Henry IV*. It was rare among the gentry (Sir Ralph Winwood’s father was recorded in the Oxford register as a plebeian). There was also a long tradition of thus naming figures of scorn: see, e.g., A. C.’s *Mery talys* (1526; *NSTC* 23663 or 23664): “‘Mary,” quod the priest, “And I call thee Master Rafe because every proud cuckold most commonly is called ‘Master Rafe’ ””; W. Wager’s allusion to ‘Rafe Ruffian’ in *The Longer thou Livest* (1569); and the reveller of Udall’s *Ralph Roister Doister* (c. 1567), who reappears in Ulpian Fulwell’s *Like will to Like* (1586) as a kindred spirit to Tom Tossplot, devoted to knavery, leading young men astray, and pawning his clothes for drink. Later epigrammatists continued the tradition: in Henry Parrot’s *Epigrams* 9 (1608) sig. A3v, Ralph is a foolish young hopeful, and in *Laquei ridiculosi* 117 (1613) sig. E6r, a cuckolded shopkeeper. D.’s admirer T. Freeman, *Rubbe and a Great Cast* 1. 27, 2. 16, 58 (1614) mocks a pox-ridden, impoverished spendthrift and cowardly Rafe; Herrick portrays a Ralph so miserly or hard-up that he makes soup of his nails, warts, and corns.

1 Compassion] literally, ‘suffering together’, ‘fellow-feeling’.

2 The two halves may be read as parallel: both are ill. Two invalids would imply the interruption of everyday life by one of the familiar epidemic diseases (including influenza) or (for the borrower) just happy coincidence. **broker]** Presumably

Ad Autorem
(Joseph Scaliger)

Date. 1583–1631. The relative light-heartedness suggests it is earlier than the poem on Covell, though *Ignatius* in 1610 and even the *Anniversaries* of 1610–11 show a certain grim humour.

Analogue. The same joke is made by Owen, *Epigrammata*, 1, ‘*Ad Dominam Mariam Neville*’ (1606, enl. 1607), no. 16, ‘O Tempora! O. Mores’, transl. R. Hayman, *Quodlibets*, . . . *Certaine Epigrams out of Master Iohn Owen* (1628) 1:

O Times, O Manners!
Scaliger did time’s computation mend:
Who to correct ill manners doth intend?

Text. Written by D. opposite the title-page in a copy of Joseph Justus Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum* (Paris, 1583), discovered by Keynes (1958, 108, with reproduction), now in Cambridge University Library. D.’s own punctuation and capitalisation are reproduced for interest.

Translation. ‘You, Joseph, who want to mend times, will attempt in vain what laws, rewards, punishment and the religious lot have already tried in vain; it is enough if they are not worse because of you.’

E MENDARE cupis Ioseph qui tempora; Leges
præmia, Supplicium, Religiosa cohors
Quod iam conantur frustra, conabere frustra;
Si per te non sunt deteriora sat est.

Base text: D.’s holograph inscription on leaf opp. titlepage of Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* (Paris, 1583; C.U.L.)
3 conantur] conātur *holograph*

a money-lender, one of Dekker’s ‘brokers that shave poor men by most Jewish interest’—*Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, 6, ‘Shaving’ (1606). **keeps his bed**] (1) is confined to bed, like the wounded fool in *Satyre 1* 112, or the ‘grievous sick’ Northumberland in *1 Henry IV*, 4. 1. 16–24. (2) watches over his [Ralphius] sickbed; (3) detains Ralphius’ bed in pawn when he has most acute need of it. It turns out that D. is just playing on words: no broker in the epigrammatist’s world shows mercy.

1–4 Scaliger’s work was a substantial attempt to reconcile and regulate ancient chronology. D. puns on the meanings of ‘times’ to make a joke about human incorrigibility.

Ad Autorem
(William Covell)

Date and context. 1603–31. The first four books of Hooker’s eight-book justification of the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement of the order of the Church of England had been published in 1593 and a fifth in 1597. They were attacked in the Puritan *Christiane Letter of Certaine English Protestants* (Middelburg, 1599, misattributed to Thomas Cartwright and to Andrew Willet), which was answered in turn by Covell. As one who had been the subject of complaint to Lord Burghley in 1596 by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University for preaching against noblemen and bishops (*DNB*), Covell was probably suspect to the establishment-minded D.

Text. Written by D. opposite the title-page in a copy of William Covell’s *Just and Temperate Defence of the five bookes of Ecclesiastical Policie: written by Mr Richard Hooker, against an Uncharitable Letter* (1603), now in Harvard University Library. The present text follows D.’s punctuation and capitalisation.

Translation. ‘Hooker has no need of so much protection, but, safe with so much help, whoever attacks may strike home’, i.e., ‘With such friends, who needs enemies?’

NON eget Hookerus tanto tutamine; Tanto
Tutus qui impugnat sed foret Auxilio.

Base text: D.’s holograph.

VERSE LETTERS
TO FRIENDS

To Mr Rowland Woodward (‘Zealously my Muse’)

Date and Context. Early 1590s? D. asks why he has not seen R. W., so they must be in the same place, possibly Lincoln’s Inn. Rowland Woodward was christened in St Mary le Bow, London, on 23 Aug. 1573, and had died by 1636. D. could have first met him at Lincoln’s Inn, where R. W. had already been for a year, having been admitted on 21 Jan. 1591, but he may have been, as was normal, to university first: D. may have met him preceding his younger brother Thomas at Trinity College, Cambridge, for which records are incomplete, or even earlier in their native city. (This is, of course, doubly hypothetical.) After serving with Wotton in the Venice embassy in 1605–7, with the bishop of London from 1608, and from 1630 as Deputy Master of Ceremonies, R. W. ended his days as secretary to the Earl of Westmoreland, in whose library was preserved his presentation copy of *Pseudo-Martyr* (Keynes p. 7), and his transcription of seventy-nine poems and ten paradoxes by D., *W*. His monument in the church at Apethorpe, Northants, with its undated inscription (‘. . . Pius – probus – doctus . . .’), and epitaph by R. W. himself, is illustrated in *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* compiled by Peter Whalley, from the MSS of J. Bridges (1790) 2. 428 (Deas).

Analogues. D. is one of the earliest poets to use this genre in English, though Continental writers such as Ariosto and Marot adapted it from classical writers, principally Horace, in the former case using it, like Alamanni, Wyatt’s model, for satire. D. himself praises the epistles of Seneca for containing ‘treasures of moral knowledge’ (*Letters* p. 105). Lodge (a predecessor of D. at Lincoln’s Inn), *A Fig for Momus*, ‘To the Gentlemen Readers whatsoever’ (1595) sigg. A3v–4r, claims ‘For my Epistles, they are in that kind wherein no Englishman of our time hath publicly written’. For a useful survey of use of the genre by Lodge, D., Daniel, Jonson and Drayton, see Palmer pp. 72–99.

Text. A23 shows no variants from *W*, which, however, is of the higher authority, since the handwriting was identified as R. W.’s by A. McColl, R. E. Alton and P. J. Croft (Gardner *DP* p. lxxviii).

ZEALOUSLY my Muse doth salute all thee,
Enquiring of that mystic trinity
Whereof thou and all to whom heav’ns do infuse
Like fire are made: thy body, mind and Muse.

Sources collated: *W*, A23

Base text: *W*

Select variant:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr R. W. *W*: M R. W. A23

1–2 D. the Roman Catholic perhaps mocks the favourite religious terminology of Puritans.

2 of] after, about. **mystic trinity**] Cp. the parodic ‘mystic tribadry’ of Woodward’s brother Thomas in his sonnet to D. **mystic**] understood only by initiates.

4 Like fire] The same wit or inspiration. Cp. R. W.’s brother Thomas’s admiration of ‘The nimble fire which in thy brain doth dwell’.

- 5 Dost thou recover sickness, or prevent?
 Or is thy mind travailed with discontent?
 Or art thou parted from the world and me
 In a good scorn of the world's vanity?
 Or is thy devout Muse retired to sing
 10 Upon her tender elegiac string?
 Our minds part not: join then thy Muse with mine,
 For mine is barren thus divorced from thine.

To Mr Rowland Woodward ('Muse not')

Date and Context. Early 1590s? The similarity of the subject matter to *WoodwardRZealously* suggests closeness in date.

Text. As in the case of *WoodwardRZealously*, *A23* shows no variants in the body of the poem from *W*, which, however, is of higher authority.

MUSE not that by thy mind thy body's led,
 For by thy mind my mind's distemperèd.
 So thy care lives long, for, I bearing part,

Sources collated: *W*, *A23*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr R. W. *W*: R W *A23*

5–10 R. W. has evidently become a recluse for a time. Unlike some of D.'s other friends, he has no military record in the expeditions against Spain or in Ireland. Cp. the 'retirings' engendered by 'wise melancholy' of *WoodwardRSlumber* 9–10.
5 prevent] It was customary to 'take physic', i.e., emetics and laxatives, regularly, to 'purge the body's humours', whose excess, it was thought, could cause disease. Milgate thinks he may have been avoiding the plague especially, also known as 'the sickness', of 1592–4. F. P. Wilson (1963) p.6 quotes T. Phayre, *Treatise of the Pestilence* (1607) sig. B1: 'Those bodies wherein there is *Cacochymia*, corrupt and superfluous humours abounding, are apt and lightly [easily] infected'. Cp. D.'s *Serm.* 6. 237 (4 March 1625): 'Affliction is my Physic; that purges, that cleanses me.'
6 travailed] burdened.

8 good scorn] i.e., not a facile contempt. Much later D. was to preach in *Serm.* 4. 226 (13 Oct. 1622): 'We bid you not to raise yourselves in this world, to such a *spiritual height*, as to have no regard to this world, to your *bodies*, to your *fortunes*, to your *families*. Man is not all soul, but a body too.' Here it is perhaps a Stoic, Senecan disregard of the merely physical that is approved of (as in *Serm.* 8. 71, 1 July 1627), rather than a Christian asceticism.

9 devout] devoted to poetry.

12 The interbreeding of his Muse with another's is played with also in *Derby*.

2 distemperèd] unbalanced.

3 bearing part] sharing it.

It eats not only thine but my swoll'n heart,
 5 And when it gives us intermissiön,
 We take new hearts for it to feed upon.
 But as a layman's genius doth control
 Body and mind, the Muse, being the soul's soul
 Of poets, that, methinks, should ease our anguish
 10 Although our bodies wither and minds languish.
 Write then, that my griefs, which thine got, may be
 Cured by thy charming, sovereign melody.

11 my . . . thine] thy . . . mine *A23be*

To Mr Christopher Brooke

Date and Context. Early 1590s. In 1596 D. was on the Cadiz expedition: the style suggests that *BrookeC* precedes both that and *Storn* (Aug.–Sept. 1597), also addressed to Brooke. Since l. 11 implies that it is not winter in London, the trip to the north may have taken place in a summer between 1592 and 1595, though it is hard to believe that D. would have written so slavishly conventional a poem after *Satyre 1* of 1593. Nevertheless the ‘amorous pain’ and ‘Earth’s thrice-fairer Sun’ of lines 8, 10–11 are mirrored in *ListerBlest’s* ‘beauteous Sun’ and ‘my pain’, plausibly dated c. Aug. 1594, so this sonnet was perhaps written on departing for a visit to I. L.’s home by the Trent (*ListerRoll* 6). Brooke’s father, a wealthy merchant and twice Lord Mayor of York (for which C. B. himself was six times M. P. between 1604 and 1624), owned property in Essex, where the family could have stayed, accounting for D.’s journey northward being away from him. Christopher Brooke (c. 1570–1628) entered Lincoln’s Inn in 1587 (probably from Trinity College, Cambridge—*DNB*), and stood surety for D. at his admission on 6 May 1592, so D. probably first got to know him before entering Lincoln’s Inn in May 1592, where he became Brooke’s chamber-fellow. Brooke gave Ann More away at the secret marriage, consequently suffering imprisonment. Poems by him were published in 1613, 1614 (also in W. Browne’s *Shepherds Pipe*) and 1622. D. stood witness to indentures, and was perhaps the original intermediary in Brooke’s leasing (like himself) a house in Drury Lane from Lady Drury on 20 March 1617. D. was at that time Reader of Divinity at Lincoln’s Inn, where Brooke was a Bencher, and they remained friends till the latter’s death, before which C. B. had given D. three pictures (*Bald passim*).

Analogues. D. here first uses one of the two rhyme-schemes, *abbaabbacddcee*, of the religious sonnets. The images and diction of the poem are conventionally Petrarchan.

7 layman’s] non-poet’s. **genius]** guiding spirit. The non-Christian idea goes back to ancient Greece.

12 charming] bewitching, conjuring (stronger than the twenty-first-century usage). **sovereign melody]** A variation on the common phrase ‘sovereign remedy’ for a supreme cure.

Text. Apart from one reading, perhaps an authorial improvement, in line 9, *W* presents the most coherent and authoritative text. The indentation appears in all sources collated, so has been preserved here.

- T**HY friend, whom thy deserts to thee enchain,
 Urged by this inexcusable occasion,
 Thee and the saint of his affection
 Leaving behind, doth of both wants complain;
 5 And let the love I bear to both sustain
 No blot nor maim by this division:
 Strong is this love which ties our hearts in one,
 And strong that love pursued with amorous pain.
 But though besides thyself I leave behind
 10 Heav'n's liberal and Earth's thrice-fairer Sun,
 Going to where stern winter aye doth wonne,
 Yet love's hot fires, which martyr my sad mind,
 Do send forth scalding sighs, which have the art
 To melt all ice but that which walks her heart.

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O'F, W; A23; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr C. B. *III, W*: ~ M. C. B. *II, 1633, 1635*: I. B. *A23*

6 nor] or *III* by this *II, III, 1633, 1635*: by ~~their~~ *A23*: by *W*

8 pursued] procured *III* 9 But *II, III, 1633, 1635*: And *W, A23*

10 Earth's] the Earth's *III*: the *1635* fairer] fair *II, III, 1633, 1635*

11 stern] starved *III, 1635*

3 saint] Conventional religion of love: cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 61. 6; Spenser, *Amoretti* 22. 4, 61. 2; Drayton, *Ideas Mirrour* 13. 2 (1594).

8 amorous pain] Even more conventional: out of innumerable examples cp. Drayton 28. 7.

10 Earth's . . . Sun] An even commoner image for the beloved, as in Sidney 91. 3, Drayton 3. 5, 41. 10 etc.

11 Southerners then regarded the North of England as almost uninhabitably savage and cold. **aye doth wonne]** A conscious Northern usage, archaic in the South, for 'dwells permanently', perhaps via Spenser.

12 love's hot fires] Commonplace in the sonneteers: contrast Sidney 80. 3: 'Cupid's cold fire'. **martyr]** Cp. Drayton 15. 2. See note on *Bracelet* 82.

14 ice] Another common Petrarchanism.

To Mr Ingram Lister (‘Of that short roll of friends’)

Date and Context. Early 1590s. The epistle is possibly addressed to a Cambridge acquaintance (Bald pp. 46–7; see note on heading), where D. may have been for a year or two after his sixteenth birthday in 1588 debarred him from continuing at Oxford. However, the reference to other friends drinking from ‘Po, Sequane, or Danubie’ in l. 4 makes a later date probable.

Text. *W*, with its solitary readings in ll. 13 and 14 may derive from an earlier version. Making them consistent with the ‘your’ and ‘you’ of ll. 6–12 should have included l. 2: it has been thought best to print this imperfectly corrected version, since it satisfied all transcribers.

O^F that short roll of friends writ in my heart
Which with thy name begins, since their depart,
Whether in th’English provinces they be,
Or drink of Po, Sequane, or Danubie,

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O’F; W; 1633, 1635*
Base text: *DC*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr I. L. *DC, W: ~ M. ~ ~ TCC, TCD, 1633, 1635: ~ ~ T. ~ III*
2 with] which *TCC*

Heading Search of the Oxford, Cambridge and Inn of Court records reveals the initials I. or J. L., someone of northern, rural origin, with no known subsequent profession and of a possible date, to be borne only by Ingram Lister (c. 1578–?1628), matriculated sizar from Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1584, second son of Christopher of Nesfield, N. Yorks, a hamlet in Wharfedale (where Ingrams and Listers still live) 3m. NW of Ilkley. An Ingram Lister was presented by the Crown to the living of Stonegrave (‘Staingrave’), N. Yorks, on 23 Sept. 1604; the Parish Registers record burial of Ingram Lister’s daughter, Helen, on 14 July 1620, the burial of a wife, Susan, on 18 May 1625, his marriage to Grace Coates on 14 Dec. 1625, and his own burial, 16 April 1628. The Registers of Ilkley, which might have recorded Lister’s birth, if not his first marriage, do not begin till 1597, and contain no relevant references. ‘Nesfield’ has been taken to derive from the medieval form of ‘nesh field’, i.e., soft field of lush grass (*Papers of Thoresby Soc.* 18 (1910) 137), at least compatible with l. 9. On unsuccessful attempts to identify the addressee as a Legard or a Lowther, see Bald p. 74, n. 3.

4 D.’s friends may have gone officially in the train of embassies, or simply to acquire knowledge of other countries, necessary to the state. Between Sept. 1591 and Dec. 1595, Henry Wotton, for example, stayed at Ingolstadt, Linz and Vienna on the Danube, crossed the Po between Florence and Geneva, and visited Paris on the Seine (*Life and Letters* 1. 13–26, 30, 241–71, 297). Richard Baker (1568–1645), exact contemporary of D. at Hart Hall and for a time Wotton’s chamber-fellow at Oxford, reached Cracow, Poland, where he saw the impoverished Albert Laski (1536–1605), palatine of Siradz, who had been one of the

- 5 There's none that sometimes greets us not, and yet
 Your Trent is Lethe: that passed, us you forget.
 You do not duties of societies,
 If from th'embrace of a loved wife you rise,
 View your fat beasts, stretched barns, and laboured fields,
 10 Eat, play, ride, take all joys which all day yields,
 And then again to your embracements go:
 Some hours on us your friends, and some bestow
 Upon your Muse, else both we shall repent,
 I that my love, she that her gifts on you are spent.

9 stretched] wretch'd III 13 your] thy W 14 that her] her III you] thee W

To Mr Thomas Woodward ('At once from hence')

Date and Context. c. 1588–90? Line 3 suggests the writer is at university. However, he had left Oxford in about 1588 before he became 16, when Thomas Woodward would have become 12, still too young to be hailed as a superior poet. According to the (unreliable) Walton, D. transferred to Cambridge, perhaps avoiding the colleges' strict Anglican observance by living in a hostel (see Bald pp. 46–7). He certainly knew Beaupré Bell, at Cambridge between 1587 and early 1594, writing *Bell* to him from Thavies or Lincoln's Inn, where he studied 1591–4. D. may therefore have spent some time at Cambridge before enrolling at Thavies Inn in 1591 (a year of the preliminary studies offered by a minor Inn of Chancery was required for admission to a major Inn of Court). A tentative order for the verse-epistles might be as follows:

dupes of the alchemists Edward Kelley and John Dee (see Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1643) 4. 57, under 1583, and for his allusion to D., 3. 156 (Bald p. 72). He shared young D.'s taste for plays: see his vindication, *Theatrum Redivivum*, 1662). **Sequane]** Seine, from the Latin *Sequana*.

6 Trent] The river that was the southern boundary of the jurisdiction of the Lord President of the North. **Lethe]** The classical waters of forgetfulness. Treated here as one syllable.

8–11 I. L. is living, it seems, the life of the happy man, as defined in Martial 10. 47, translated innumerable times, e.g., by Surrey, Jonson, Fanshawe, Cowley, and Peter Porter (see *Martial in English*, ed. J. P. Sullivan and A. J. Boyle (1996) *passim*); whereas the urban D. would probably have agreed with Samuel Johnson that 'When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life, for there is in London all that life can afford' (Boswell, *Life*, 23 Sept. 1777, 3. 178).

9 stretched] full-filled. **laboured]** well-worked, as in Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* 'October' l. 58.

14 The poem concludes like *WoodwardR* Kindly with an alexandrine.

- (1) *WoodwardTOnce*, its 'still walks' and 'nurse . . . of art' indicating that D. is about to return to Cambridge;
- (2) *WoodwardTHail*, a response to the poem elicited from T. W. by *TWoodwardOnce*;
- (3) *WoodwardTPregnant*, written when D. has returned to London's streets, of which the most striking feature is the beggars;
- (4) *WoodwardTHaste*, in which the beggars are replaced as the most vivid public phenomenon by the plague of 1592–4.

The early verse-epistles are given by Grierson and Milgate merely in *W*'s order, which is not chronological (beginning with *Storm*, 1597, *WottonNews*, 1598, and *WottonKisses*, 1598). The T. W. of the heading in *W* has been identified tentatively (Deas 1931) as Thomas Woodward, a younger brother of Rowland, the transcriber into *W*. He was christened at St Mary le Bow on 16 July 1576, and was thus four years younger than D., whose verse voices strong attraction. A Thomas Woodward matriculated as pensioner from Clare College, Cambridge c. 1593 (Venn) and Thomas Woodward 'of Bucks' (whither the family could have moved) was admitted to Lincoln's Inn 8 Oct. 1597.

Text. Only *W* specifically identifies a male addressee, so provoking the scrawling over of the second half of l. 2 and ll. 9 and 14, reminding the modern reader of the enmity towards any passionate affection between males often felt, though references to men killing each other suffered no such vandalism. Although *W* and *A23* give this poem as one solid block of verse, D.'s marks separating the triplets in *Carey* suggest that their separation in the other sources accords with his preference. All sources collated indent the final couplet.

AT once from hence my lines and I depart:
AI to my soft, still walks, they to my heart;
I to the nurse, they to the child of art.

Yet as a firm house, though the carpenter
5 Doth perish, doth stand; as an ambassador
Lies safe, howe'er his king be in danger,

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D; Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; W; A23; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr T. W. *W*: M T W *A23*: An Old Letter *I: following TWPreg with no heading II, 1633*: A Letter incog. *Dob*: A Letter *S96*: Letter Incerto *Lut*: Letter *O'F*: Incerto *1635*

2 they . . . heart Σ : *obliterated W 6 his*] the *III*

2 soft, still walks] Obviously places hard to find in London but characteristic of the groves of academe.

3 nurse . . . of art] Cp. the reference in *Bell* 6 to 'Cambridge, thy old nurse'. *child of art*] One naturally endowed with, not trained in artistic skill.

4–6 carpenter . . . ambassador . . . danger] On the acceptability to Elizabethan poets of rhyming stressed syllables with unstressed, see Simpson 1943.

So, though I languish, pressed with melancholy,
 My verse, the strict map of my misery,
 Shall live to see that for whose want I die.

- 10 Therefore I envy them, and do repent
 That from unhappy me things happy are sent;
 Yet, as a picture or bare sacrament,
 Accept these lines, and if in them there be
 Merit of love, bestow that love on me.

9 Shall . . . die Σ: *obliterated W* 14 Merit . . . me. Σ: *obliterated W*

To Mr Thomas Woodward ('All hail, sweet poet')

Date and Context. 1590–1? Since it seems Thomas would not have started writing poetry respectable even to one who was infatuated before he was 15 or 16, and T. W.'s own poem suggests riper years, D. cannot have written to him much before 1591. D.'s poem was perhaps occasioned by that which accompanies it in *W* (also in *S96*, *O'F* and other MSS) presumably by T. W.: the 'mystic tribadry' of its l. 14 suggests influence on or by WoodwardR*Zealously's* 'mystic trinity':

To Mr J. D.

Thou send'st me prose and rhymes; I send for those
 Rhymes which, being [bring *Lut*] neither, seem or verse or prose.
 [neither sense nor rhyme nor *Lut*, *O'F*]
 They're [Are *Lut*, *O'F*] lame and harsh, and have no heat at all
 But what thy liberal beams on them let fall.
 The nimble fire which in thy brain doth dwell:
 Is it the fire of Heav'n, or that of Hell?
 It doth beget and comfort like Heaven's eye,
 And like Hell's fire, it burns eternally;
 And those whom in thy fury and judgement
 Thy verse shall scourge, like Hell it will torment.
 Have mercy on me and my sinful Muse,
 Which, rubbed and tickled with [by *Lut*] thine, could not choose
 But spend some of her pith, and yield to be
 One in that [the *Lut*, *O'F*] chaste and mystic tribadry.
 Bassa's adultery no fruit did leave;
 Nor theirs which their swoll'n thighs did nimbly weave,
 And with new arms and mouths [mouth *Lut*, *O'F*] embrace and kiss,

7 pressed] oppressed.

12 sacrament] solemn engagement, pledge, as in Spenser, *FQ* 5. 1. 25. The religious meaning is defined in the *BCP* Catechism as 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace'.

Though they had issue, was not like to this.
 Thy Muse (oh strange and holy lechery!),
 Being a maid still, got [begot *Lut*, *O'F*] this song on [of *O'F*] me.

Analogues. Cp., e.g., *WoodwardRZealously*, *Derby*, other verse-epistles claiming their addressees inspired D.

Text. *W* is of the highest authority and, except for the portions later deleted, for which the consensus of all groups suffices, without defect, so it serves as base text. 1633 was evidently set from a MS akin to Group II and followed by 1635 except in ll. 2, 3 and 15 where it adheres to Group readings. The substantive differences from *W* in Group III are numerous and mostly make sense, so may represent a revised version, with *W* taken from the original letter. Some sort of indentation appears in all sources collated, so that of Group II, the most coherent and consistent, has been followed here.

ALL hail, sweet poet, more full of more strong fire
 Than hath or shall enkindle any spirit!
 I loved what Nature gave thee, but this merit
 Of wit and art I love not but admire.
 5 Who have before or shall write after thee,
 Their works, though toughly labourèd, will be
 Like infancy or age to man's firm stay,
 Or early and late twilights to midday.
 Men say, and truly, that they better be
 10 Which be envied than pitied: therefore I,
 Because I wish thee best, do thee envÿ.
 Oh would'st thou, by like reason, pity me!
 But care not for me: I, that ever was

Sources collated: *W*; *Group II*: *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr T. W. *W*: To M. I. W. II, 1633, 1635: A letter incog. *Dob*:

Ad amicum *S96*: A Letter. Incerto *Lut*: A Letter. To Mr J. N. *O'F*

2 any] my dull *III*, 1635 3 loved] love *III* this] thy *III*, 1635

5 have] hath *III* 8 and] or *III* twilights] twilight *III*

12–13 Oh . . . me Σ : obliterated *W*, though 12 still legible

13 ever] never *Dob*, *S96*, *O'Fbe*

4 Art, cultivated skill, has been added meritoriously to the wit, mental ability, T. W. was born with.

9–10 A proverb: Tilley (T177) cites, e.g., Erasmus (who quotes, e.g., Pindar, *Pythian Odes* I. 5. 85 (163), and Herodotus 3. 52), D.'s grandfather, J. Heywood, *Dialogue of Proverbs* I. 11. 48 (1546; 1963 p. 120, l. 792) and Marlowe, *Jew of Malta* Prol. 27.

10–11 **envied . . . envÿ]** The stress was normally on the second syllable.

- In Nature's, and in Fortune's gifts, alas,
 15 Before thy grace got in the Muses' school,
 A monster and a beggar am now a fool.
 Oh how I grieve that late born modesty
 Hath got such root in easy, waxen hearts,
 That men may not themselves their own good parts
 20 Extol without suspèct of surquidry!
 For but thyself no subject can be found
 Worthy thy quill, nor any quill resound
 Thy worth but thine: how good it were to see
 A poem in thy praise, and writ by thee!
 25 Now if this song be too harsh for rhyme, yet, as
 The painter's bad god made a good devil,

14 Nature's, and in Fortune's] Fortune's or in Nature's III

15 Before thy grace] *obliterated W, though still legible* Before] But by III: But for O'Faë, 1635

16 am now] *am II, 1633, 1635*

18 easy] all soft III 21 For but] But for III

22 nor] or *Dob, Lut, O'F* 23 worth] work *II, 1633, 1635*

14–16 The earliest categorisation of the gifts of nature (health, beauty, strength, prowess, nobility, good tongue, good discourse, clear understanding, subtle wit, retentive memory), of fortune (status, honour, riches, pleasures, prosperity), and of grace (virtue, good works), is that in the *Somme le Roi* or *Somme des Vertues et Vices*, compiled by the Dominican contemporary of Thomas Aquinas, Lorens or Laurent of Orléans. A fourteenth-century transl. is ed. as *Book of Virtues and Vices*, by W. N. Francis, *EETS* 217 (1942) 19–21, and incorporated by Dan Michel in the 1340 *Ayenbite of Inwit*, ed. R. Morris, *EETS* 23 (1866) 24–5. Caxton printed his translation as *The Book Ryal* (1587, no t-p) sigg. d1r–v; repr. by W. de Worde, 1507. Milgate cites Chaucer, *Parson's Tale* 10. 450 (most accessible to D. in the 1561 *Workes*), where these endowments are set out again. Visibly falling short in the first two categories, D. has now been shown by T. W.'s verse to lack the third.

14 In . . . gifts] Dependent on.

15 Before] In the presence of.

18 easy, waxen] impressionable.

20 suspèct] suspicion. **surquidry]** arrogance, presumption.

22–4 nor any . . . thee] The same compliment is paid more neatly to Jonson in the final line of the contribution of Ralph Brideoak (1613–76) to *Jonsonus Virbius* (*Jonson* II. 468): 'None but thyself could write a verse for thee' (Milgate).

25 too harsh for rhyme] D. may be echoing T. W.'s poem as a compliment, as also in the last poem in the series, *WoodwardTHaste*. Cp. Daniel's 'harsh my style' in *Delia* 52. 9 (1594).

26 This anecdote has not been traced: there was little or no figurative painting in the reformed churches of England (though private houses were still decorated with religious murals). It is in any case hard to conceive a Christian scene in which a devil could take the place of God, so this must refer to a classical subject: the Christian term 'devil' might be used loosely for a satyr or faun (supposed to be

'Twill be good prose, although the verse be evil,
 If thou forget the rhyme as thou dost pass.
 Then write, that I may follow, and so be
 30 Thy debtor, thy[^]echo, thy foil, thy zany.
 I shall be thought, if mine like thine I shape,
 All the world's lion, though I be thy ape.

29 that] then *II*, 1633, 1635

30 thy[^]echo] th'echo *TCC*, *TCD*: thy foil *Dob*, *S96*: foil *Lut*, *O'F* thy foil] the foil *II*: thy echo *III*

31 shall] will *III*

To Mr Thomas Woodward ('Pregnant again')

Date and Context. 1591–2? The reference to 'streets' in l. 4 implies that D. is writing from town, and that beggars are their most remarkable feature suggests the plague of 1592–4 has not yet taken hold: see note on *Jeremy* 285–6.

Text. MSS other than *W* and *A23* contain one interesting variant at the beginning of l. 5, which is, however, plausibly attributable to misreading of an early copyist's hand (D.'s, as seen in the MS of *Carey*, was quite clear and unambiguous). As in *WoodwardTOnce*, the triplets are separated in most sources, and the final couplet indented in all.

PREGNANT again with th'old twins Hope and Fear,
 Oft have I asked for thee, both how and where
 Thou wert, and what my hopes of letters were,

Sources collated: *Group II*: *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; *Group III*: *Lut*, *O'F*; *W*; *A23*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr T. W. *III*, *W*: To M. T. W. *TCC*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635: M T W *A23*: To M. F. W. *DC* 3 hopes] hope *II*

immortal) as Augustine, *Citie of God* 2. 10, uses it of pagan gods. The substitution would be made easily in a depiction of Bacchus amid his rout (Ovid, *Met.* 4. 25), or Pan and fauns (Ovid 14. 638). D.'s awareness of painting is later shown in likening his skill to Hilliard's in *Storm* 4.

30 zany] laughably awkward mimic.

32 lion] King of animals, so D. may be judged the best of poets. Possibly meaning 'celebrity', though *OED*'s first quotation in the singular figurative sense is from 1715. **ape]** imitator.

I Pregnant] D. again employs a sexual analogy with a flirtatiousness which is, however, exceeded by T. W. in the poem printed in the headnote to *WoodwardTHail*.

- As in the streets sly beggars narrowly
 5 Mark motions of the giver's hand and eye,
 And evermore conceive some hope thereby.
- And now, thine alms is giv'n: thy letter's read,
 The body ris'n again the which was dead,
 And thy poor starveling bountifully fed.
- 10 After this banquet my soul doth say grace,
 And praise thee for't, and zealously embrace
 Thy love; though I think thy love in this case
 To be as gluttons', which say, 'midst their meat,
 They love that best of which they most do eat.

4 the] our *II, III, 1633, 1635*

5 Mark] Watch *II, III, 1633, 1635* and] or *DC, 1633, 1635*

7 thine] thy *1633, 1635* letter's *III, A23*: letters *TCC, TCD, W*: letter's *1633, 1635*: letter is *DC*

8 body] body's *III*

To my Lord of Derby

Date and Context. 1592–5? In discussing the verse-letter printed in 1633 (from manuscripts that were clearly not the author's) as 'To E. of D. with six holy Sonnets', critics from Grierson 1912 2. 227 to D. Flynn, *JDJ* 7 (1988) 35–46, have noted that presenting himself as a beginner in poetry seeking improvement, and his sexual metaphors for writing are less in keeping with D.'s mature and serious Holy Sonnets, than with the secular verse of D. and fellow youthful wits in the early 1590s. D.'s friend Rowland Woodward copied the poem into *W* with the title 'To L. of D.', which could refer to Ferdinando Stanley (1559–1594), 5th Earl of Derby. *Richard II* shows that peers with place-name titles such as Lancaster, Berkeley, Hereford, or Salisbury were often (although, according to the College of Heraldry, incorrectly) referred to as 'My Lord of X'. Both poet and patron, Ferdinando was celebrated as 'Amyntas' by Spenser in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, and

5 Mark/Watch] Easily mistaken in secretary hand (though not in D.'s), this is probably not an alternative authorial version.

8 As well as a religious parody, this may also have a sexual connotation, as in *Canonization* 26: reading T. W.'s letter has given D. an erection.

10 banquet] Literally, a dessert of fruit, wine and nuts, which might be eaten in a different place.

11 thee] Instead of God.

13–14 Cp. Adonis' reproach of 'sweating Lust' which 'hath fed Upon fresh beauty' in *Venus and Adonis* 794–6, 803: 'Love surfeits not, lust like a glutton dies.'

13 meat] food.

14 most] Most in quantity. T. W. has more of others' presence than of D.'s.

his taste for erotic verse is presumed from Nashe's dedicating his 'wanton elegy' 'Choice of Valentines' to 'Lord S.' (see headnote on date of *Bed*): Ferdinando was summoned to Parliament as Lord Strange in his own right in 1589 and thus styled until he succeeded to the earldom on 25 September 1593. Furthermore, D.'s practice of punning on names, e.g., that of Ann(e) More in *Name, Christ* would make it appropriate to liken the offspring of Ferdinando's 'fatherly yet lusty rhyme' to 'strange creatures'. (The Earl himself punned on his name with the words 'my lines strange things may well suffice' in the poem 'Of my Unhappy State of Life', attributed to him in MSS but printed anonymously in *Brittons Bouvre of Delights* (1591).)

Nevertheless, much of Ferdinando's time was spent away from London, and it was his brother William (d. 1642) who was known as 'my Lord of Derby' even before he succeeded his brother Ferdinando as 6th earl on 16 April 1594, four months later joining D. and Woodward at Lincoln's Inn. Although the barony of Strange properly became extinct on Ferdinando's death, it may have been assumed to be the entitlement of the heir to the earldom for the seven months between Ferdinando's succession and William's, or, proleptically, the title of his future child. It was mistakenly recreated in 1628 by the erroneous summoning of his son and successor James (1607–1651) to the House of Lords.

Woodward placed Derby between two erotically phrased verse-letters to his brother Thomas, *WoodwardTHaste* (whose ll. 2, 5–6 and 8–10 so outraged some later Christian fanatic and homophobe that he or she heavily inked them over), and *WoodwardTPregnant*. The next poem but one, on the next page, is *WoodwardRZealously*, to Rowland Woodward himself; it concludes 'join then thy Muse with mine, / For mine is barren thus divorced from thine.' These verse-epistles on the mutual production of verse are immediately preceded by T. W.'s own 'To J. D.', which develops a lesbian image of his 'sinful Muse . . . rubbed and tickled with thine' in 'mystic tribadry . . . oh strange and holy lechery'. D.'s sexual metaphor of Derby's 'fatherly yet lusty rhyme', like 'the sun's hot masculine flame' begetting 'these songs' is thus appropriate to the libertine register favoured by the Lincoln's Inn coterie to which D., Rowland Woodward, his brother and Derby belonged. One may also compare the admiration of 'wit and art' in *WoodwardTHail* l. 4 to that of Derby's 'judgement' and 'invention' or 'wit' here. MS authority for the reference to 'holy sonnets' is confined to two MS texts out of four, and one of those is the systematically edited and eclectic O'Flaherty MS prepared for publication after D.'s death. A date before 1599 is hinted by the possible imitation of l. 11 by Davies, a poet more likely to imitate D. than the other way round.

Flynn notices that 'strange creatures' fathered by 'lusty rhyme' seems not to characterise the Holy Sonnets we have. Rather than hypothesise some lost (Roman Catholic) sonnets, we might more economically assume that by 'these songs' D. might well refer to lyrics such as are found in the collection entitled by editors of *Lut* and *O'F* 'Sonnets and Songs' and then assimilated to the title of Tottel and Grimald's 1557 miscellany of Wyatt's and Surrey's poems, *Songs and Sonnets*, in 1635. DC pp. 100–5 groups as 'Songs that were made to certain airs that were made before' six lyrics, *Message, Bait, Community, Confined, Sweetest* and *Go*. It was, perhaps, this group of poems that was given to Lord Derby. Contemporary but subsequent musical settings exist for the first two and the last two, as well as for *Expiration* and *Break*, either of which (among numerous others) might have been 'the seventh' D. alludes to. The re-use of the opening analogy in *Satyre* 4 18–19 suggests that *Derby* may have been written as late as that poem, 1597.

Analogues. Pestell, 'To the Spiritual Thief, or, My Brother Sermon-snapper' (1624) 11–18 (1940 p. 34) calls the customary resynthesis of other's writings

lawful lust, laid in compare
 With lewd, mad rapes of bawdy brains that dare
 Adulterate with others' sheets, and bring
 Before grave judges a stale printed thing,
 As he at Hertford (brother-like) uptook
 (For I was dead) my old, dry, barren book,
 And, most incestuous man, had by the same
 Strange issue, differing twins: applause and shame.

If indebted to D.'s poem, Pestell must have seen it in MS. His patroness, Lady Huntingdon, was also D.'s, and, more to the point, a daughter of Ferdinando Stanley, D.'s possible addressee referred to above.

Text. The earliest text, probably, is found in MSS associated with D.'s friends, *W* with Rowland Woodward (in his own hand), and *A23* with Edward Conway and Henry Goodyer (in which some poems, though not this one, are in Goodyer's hand, though they evidently do not derive from D.'s holograph). The indentation is found in all sources.

SEE, sir, how as the Sun's hot, masculine flame
 Begets strange creatures on Nile's dirty slime,
 In me your fatherly yet lusty rhyme
 (For these songs are the fruit) have wrought the same.
 5 But though th'engend'ring force from whence they came
 Be strong enough, and nature do admit
 Sev'n to be born at once, I send as yet

Sources collated: *A23*, *DC*, *O'F*, *W*, 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants: Heading *ed.*: To L. of D. *W*: L. of D. *A23*: To the [the *om.* *O'F*, 1633, 1635]. E. of D. with Six [6 *O'F*] Holy Sonnets *DC*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

4 the fruit] their fruits *DC*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635 6 do] doth 1635

7 once] one *W*

Heading The heading in the *DC* tradition may have originated simply from the existence of the Holy Sonnets. *DC* begins with the seven sonnets of *Corona*, followed by eight Holy Sonnets, all found in the *HolyS* sequence, but not all in *DivM*. However, *Derby* is separated from them by over a hundred leaves, occurring, as in *W*, among the earlier verse-epistles of the 1590s to friends.

1–2 See Ovid, *Met.* 1. 422–37. Cp. *Guilpin* 2, *Satyre* 4 18–19, *BedfordRefined* 21–2.

3–8 Cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 1. 12; 'great with child to speak', and Montaigne 2. 8 (Engl. Florio, 1603; 1928 2. 87): 'I wot not well whether myself should not rather desire to beget and produce a perfectly well-shaped and excellently qualified infant by the acquaintance of the Muses than by copulation of my wife.'

6–7 nature . . . once] Pliny, 7. 3 (33), from Egyptian cases in Troglus Pompeius. Cp. *Satyre* 4 18–19.

But six: they say the sev'nth hath still some maim.
 I chose your judgement, which the same degree
 10 Doth with her sister, your invention, hold,
 As fire these drossy rhymes to purify,
 Or, as elixir, to change them to gold:
 You are that alchemist which always had
 Wit, whose one spark could make good things of bad.

9 chose] choose *DC*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

To Mr Beaupré Bell

Date and context. 1591–4. The probable addressee was identified by Bald (1952) p. 284, as one Beaupré Bell, a son of Sir Robert Bell, Speaker of the House of Commons and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1577 in the notorious outbreak of jail-fever at Oxford where he was sitting as assize judge. Beaupré Bell entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1587, and, after taking his BA there in 1591, stayed on, taking his MA from Queens' College in 1594, going immediately in May to Lincoln's Inn, whither D. had moved in 1592 after a year at Thavies Inn. That B. B. troubled to take his degrees, rather than just pursue a less formal programme for a couple of years like many a young gentleman, suggests that he was in need of a remunerative job, since his father had not left great wealth. Beaupré appears to have resided relatively humbly on the manor of that name (his mother Dorothy Beaupré's dowry) in the Norfolk parishes of Upwell and Outwell; he was buried at Outwell in 1638. There is no indication other than their order in the MSS of the two poems' order of composition. The usual progress from poetry to earning a living suggests the reverse order, but they could have been sent together as witty treatments of the theme of the active versus the contemplative life from either point of view, like Milton's 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso': D.'s first sonnet encourages abandonment of the addressee's devotion to the arts in favour of immersion in the law, the second, marriage to his Muse,

9–10 Judgement and invention, though acknowledged to be necessary in a poet, were not personified as Muses or Graces. Athena/Minerva was the classical goddess of wisdom; wit was presided over not by a sister, but by her step-brother Hermes/Mercury. Perhaps there is a recollection of *Prov.* 7. 4: 'Say unto wisdom "Thou art my sister", and call understanding thy kinswoman.'

10 invention] creative power and skill.

11 The metallurgical analogy occurred readily to the son of an ironmonger.

drossy] Mixed with waste matter. Cp. Davies, 'Nosce Teipsum' 160 (1599; 1975 p. 11): 'So doth the fire the drossy gold refine'.

12 elixir] the substance sought by alchemists to transform base metals.

14 Wit] Although this could denote any of the five traditionally mental faculties, fantasy, judgement, memory, imagination, and common sense (see e.g., S. Hawes, *Pastime of Pleasure* 24, 1517 sigg. 17v–8v), D. has already singled out for praise apt judgement and inventive imagination (Derby 9–10).

flattering B. B. as an authority in poetry. According to Marotti (1995) pp. 70–1, *HK1* ‘has pieces associated with particular Donne poems, such as . . . (Beaupre Bell’s?) “When I doe love I would not nigh [?] to speed” (p. 173). [note:] “BB” appears in the margin, along with “LC”, the latter probably the person from whom this and other texts were obtained, possibly Lionel Cranfield.’ *Bell* itself occurs on the preceding page of the MS.

Text. *W* is consistently more accurate than other MSS or 1633, though their substantive variant in *Bell* 2 could be authorial (see note). The two groups of fourteen lines are presented continuously in the MSS, and though Grierson followed 1633, 1635 in separating them he still numbered the twenty-eight lines continuously. Milgate saw that these were two separate sonnets with practically contradictory themes.

To Mr Beaupré Bell (I)

Is not thy sacred hunger of science
 Yet satisfied? Is not thy brain’s rich hive
 Fulfilled with honey which thou dost derive
 From the Arts’ spirits, and their quintessence?

Sources collated: *Group II:* TCC, TCD, DC; *Group III:* Lut, O’F; *W;* 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: *ed.:* To Mr B. B. *W,* III: To M. B. B. II, 1633, 1635

Numbering of sonnets: *Milgate*

1 sacred hunger] The echoes of Virgil, *Aen.* 3. 57, ‘*auri sacra fames*’, ‘execrable hunger for gold’, and *Matt.* 5. 6 (*AV*): ‘Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness’, are closer but less appropriate than that of Pliny 23. 19 (32): ‘*artium . . . liberalium adpetentia*’.

2–3 For an earlier figuring of the industrious student as a honey-bee, cp. the title-page of Cambridge Latin tutor J. Baret’s *Alvearie* [i.e., beehive] or *Triple Dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin, and French* (1573) with its detailed picture of a beehive in an orchard, and his prefatory explanation of ‘the apt similitude between the good scholars and the diligent bees in gathering their wax and honey into the hive’. Cp. *Gulpin* 15–16.

3 Fulfilled] Filled full.

4 the Arts’] The Cambridge BA course comprised rhetoric, logic and philosophy. For the MA, Bell would have gone on to subjects less useful for one destined to follow his father into the law: natural, moral, and metaphysical philosophy, astronomy, drawing, and Greek. **spirits, and their quintessence]** The production of an ultimate essence of all things was one objective of alchemists. The ‘spirits’ or first distillation of the arts were repeatedly distilled (if not necessarily exactly five times) in the formal disputations and declamations required by university and college statutes. *OED* quotes for the abstract application of the term R. Hitchcock’s translation of Francesco Sansovino, *Quintessence of Wit, being a Corant Comfort of Conceites* (1590) sig. A2: ‘a naturall quintessence of knowledge’.

- 5 Then wean thyself at last, and thee withdraw
 From Cambridge thy old nurse, and, as the rest,
 Here toughly chaw and sturdily digest
 Th'immense, vast volumes of our common law;
 And begin soon, lest my grief grieve thee too,
 10 Which is, that that which I should've begun
 In my youth's morning, now late must be done,
 And I as giddy travellers must do,
 Which stay or sleep all day, and, having lost
 Light and strength, dark and tired must then ride post.

7 chaw] chew *III*, 1633, 1635 8 our] the *III* 13 stay] stray *II*, *III*, 1633, 1635

5–6 It has long been conventional to term a university an *alma mater* or 'nourishing mother'. Cp. *WoodwardTOnce* 3.

6 **the rest**] Implying that the whole group of Cambridge friends except B. B. is now at the Inns of Court.

7 **Here**] In London. **chaw**] chew. The archaic form of *W* and *I* is preserved here for the possibly intended internal rhyme with 'law'. D. prefers it at *Satyre* 2 25 and *HerbertE* 38.

7–8 **digest . . . law**] 'Digest' was the name for a systematic condensation of a body of law such as that published for the Emperor Justinian in 533. Students of English common law presumably had to make their own digests, since Bacon drew up for King James a proposal for an official one.

9–11 With this exhortation to put career studies above aesthetic we may compare the speaker's account in *Satyre* 1 2–10 of his Inn of Court bookshelves filled with a 'few books' of theology, philosophy, political theory, history, and 'giddy, fantastic' poetry, rather than law, and D.'s confession in a letter to his friend Goodyer of Sept. 1608 (*Letters* 51): 'I begun early, when I understood [*misprint for* 'undertook?'] the study of our laws: but was diverted by the worst voluptuousness, which is an hydroptic, immoderate desire of humane learning and languages: beautiful ornaments to great fortunes; but mine needed an occupation'.

11 **my youth's morning**] Cf. *Corona4Temple* 13: 'his age's morning', and *Ps.* 110. 3 (Geneva): 'The youth of thy womb shall be as the morning dew'.

12–14 The figure of life as a journey was also already a commonplace from, e.g., *Gen.* 47. 9, *Heb.* 13. 14, Seneca, *Moral Essays* 10. 9. 5. Cp. the eloquent passage in *Serm.* 3. 287–8 (1621).

12 **giddy**] inconstant of purpose, thoughtless, imprudent.

13 **stay/stray**] The 'stray' of Groups II and III and 1633 is plausible in the context of travel, but would be appropriate only if the preceding lines had admitted more than procrastination. This is not the sin-confessing D. of the religious poems.

14 **ride post**] gallop non-stop, like a professional messenger.

To Mr Beaupré Bell (2)

IF thou unto thy Muse be married,
 Embrace her still: increase and multiply.
 Be far from me that strange adultery,
 To tempt thee and procure her widowhead.
 5 My Muse (for I had one) because I'm cold
 Divorced herself, the cause being in me:
 That I can take no new in bigamy,
 Not my will only, but power doth withhold.
 Hence comes it that these rhymes, which never had
 10 Mother, want matter, and they only have
 A little form, the which their father gave.

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O'F; W; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: *ed. (no second heading in sources) Numbering of sonnets: Milgate*

2 still: increase and] ever, ever *II, III, 1633, 1635*

4 widowhead] widdowhood *II, 1633, 1635* 5 Muse] nurse *1633, 1635*

1–8 Line 4, meaning ‘To seduce you away from writing and thus make your Muse a widow’, implies that the writer’s adultery would be with B. B. himself. However, the second quatrain suggests, though awkwardly, that it would be a ‘new [Muse]’, B. B.’s, that D. would take, making her bigamous, were he not impotent as well as scrupulous. *Derby*, on the other hand, pictures the poet being impregnated by another man’s verse, ‘your fatherly yet lusty rhyme’. T. W.’s lines to D. (quoted in the headnote to *WoodwardTHail*) also revel in this figure of mutual poetic insemination.

2 still: increase and/ ever, ever] The change could not have resulted from confusion of handwriting. It might derive from inattention by a scribe or ingenious filling of a lacuna, but, on the other hand, D. might have changed his original words to enhance emphasis and/or exclude inappropriate recall of the Christian context of the phrase in the Collect for the fourth Sunday after Trinity in *BCP*: ‘Increase and multiply upon us thy mercy’, and in *Gen.* 1. 22 etc. (as rendered not by *BV* or *GV* but by Spenser, *FQ* (1590) 3. 6. 34, and by D. himself in *Serm.* 2. 291).

4 widowhead/widowhood] The MS spelling is needed for the rhyme. It occurs also at *Litany* 108.

6 the cause . . . me] i.e., not her lack of attraction but his impotence and non-consummation, accepted grounds then for dissolution of a marriage, since its recognised purpose, both religious and civil, was to ‘increase and multiply’.

8 A double guarantee: the writer could not even if he wanted to.

9–11 Following the Aristotelian doctrine, *Generation of Animals* 1. 17–21, 2. 4 (721a30–730a34, 739a20), that the female merely supplied material to be shaped by the male seed, and asserting in 2. 1 (732a3–11) that the active male principle was more divine than the passive female.

They are profane, imperfect—oh, too bad
 To be counted children of Poetry,
 Except confirmed and bishopèd by thee.

14 bishopèd] bishop'd *TCC*, *TCD*

To Mr Thomas Woodward ('Haste thee, harsh verse')

Date and Context. 1592? Milgate points out that the 'Infections' of l. 12 may allude to the plague which was severe from autumn 1592, was worst in 1593, and declined in 1594.

Analogues. Though fourteen lines in length, this is not a true sonnet since (like *ListerRoll*) it is simply a series of seven couplets.

Text. The obliterations in *W* by a religious fanatic and the similarly motivated omission of ll. 5–6 from all other sources make this text partly dependent on previous editors' inference from *W* insofar as it is still legible.

HASTE thee, harsh verse, as fast as thy lame measure
 Will give thee leave, to him, my pain and pleasure.
 I've given thee, and yet thou art too weak,
 Feet and a reas'ning soul and tongue to speak.
 5 Plead for me, and so by my and thy labour
 I'm thy Creator, thou my Saviour.

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O'F; W; 1633, 1635*
 Base text: *W* supplemented by *Group II*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr T. W. III, *W*: To M. T. W. II, 1633, 1635

2 to . . . pleasure Σ : obliterated *W* 5–6 Σ : obliterated *W*

12 profane] i.e., do not partake of the sacred nature of poetry inspired by a muse.
12 imperfect] sc. 'births', monsters produced by defective gestation. Cp. *Derby* 8.
14 confirmed and bishopèd] Made authentic members of the sacred family of poetry by the laying on of hands by B. B., the consecrated authority, like a bishop at the service of 'Confirmation or Laying on of Hands upon those that are . . . Come to Years of Discretion'. This may be asking for his verbal approval, or saying as a compliment that merely to be held and read by him will confer poetic status.

1 Haste] D. again echoes T. W.'s poem to him, printed in the headnote to *WoodwardTHail*.

2 pain and pleasure] A conventional Petrarchanism. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* l. 2, is 'fain in verse my love to show, / That the dear she might take some pleasure of my pain'. Cp. 48. 3: 'Pain doth learn delight', and Spenser, *Amoretti* 42. 1–2: 'The love which me so cruelly tormenteth / So pleasing is in my extremest pain', and 47. 9–14.

Tell him, all questions which men have defended
 Both of the place and pains of Hell are ended.
 And 'tis decreed our hell is but privation
 10 Of him, at least in this Earth's habitation.
 And 'tis where I am, where, in every street,
 Infections follow, overtake, and meet.
 Live I or die by you, my love is sent,
 And you're my pawns or else my testament.

8–10 *obliterated W: om. Σ 9 decreed] agreed TCD*

14 *And W, II, 1633 pawns] blank space W*

To Mr Samuel Brooke

Date and Context. 1592. S. B. is thought to have been Samuel Brooke (c. 1575–1631), younger brother of Christopher, at Westminster School till he matriculated in 1592, taking his BA from Trinity College, Cambridge in early 1595, and appointed its Master by the Crown in 1629, in the interim holding appointments such as chaplain to Henry, Prince of Wales, James I and Charles I, and Gresham Professor of Divinity. He officiated at D.'s clandestine wedding in Dec. 1601, going to prison for doing so, and in D.'s will was termed 'my ancient friend' (Bald p. 563).

Text. *W* demands correction only in the heading. The Latinate absolute construction in l. 12 is changed to a more English idiom for the first printed edition, but all Groups of MSS testify to 'seen' as in their copy, so that is presumably what D. wrote.

7–8 Such Scholastic disputes are also alluded to in *Satyre 2* 36, and *FirAn* 295–8, on which see note.

9 T. W. is implicitly made the speaker's god, since the 'utter darkness' of *Matt.* 8. 12 (*GV*), 'Privation of the presence of God, is Hell' (*Serm.* 1. 186; cp. 7. 186); this, together with extreme and unending sensory pain, was the traditional Scholastic version, but continued to be routinely debated in the universities.

10 Earth's habitation] this life.

11–12 D. is evidently writing to T. W. elsewhere: perhaps the Woodwards had moved to Buckinghamshire.

11 'tis where I am] Perhaps echoing Marlowe, *Dr Faustus* [?1592–3] 2. 1. 125: 'Where we are is hell'.

13 die by you] In contrast to the plague, for which he feels no love. The comma occurs after 'die' in MSS other than *W*, and thence the printed editions, but this makes no sense since D. is obviously sending his love to T. W., not using him as a messenger to some unnamed person or persons. Placing the comma (absent from both places in *W*) after 'you' only makes the line a Petrarchan intensification of the 'pain and pleasure' of l. 2, in accord with the *post mortem* experience implied in 'our hell is but privation / Of him' of ll. 9–10. Dying for love is common in D.'s lyrics, though sometimes, e.g., *Canonization* 26, a pun on orgasm and detumescence.

14 pawns] pledges. **testament]** bequest or posthumous testimony. (D. makes the legal distinction: he possesses no real estate, which would necessitate a will, but only moveable property (such as this verse-letter), which requires a testament.)

- O**THOU which, to search out the secret parts
 Of th'India or rather Paradise
 Of knowledge, hast with courage and advice
 Lately launched into the vast sea of Arts,
 5 Disdain not in thy constant travelling
 To do as other voyagers, and make
 Some turns into less creeks, and wisely take
 Fresh water at the Heliconian spring;
 I sing not Siren-like, to tempt, for I
 10 Am harsh; nor as those schismatics with you,
 Which draw all wits of good hope to their crew.
 But, seen in you bright sparks of poetry,
 I, though I brought no fuel, had desire
 With these artic'late blasts to blow the fire.

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O'F; W; 1633, 1635*
 Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr S. B. *III: ~ M. ~ ~ II, W, 1633, 1635*

10 nor] not *TCD*

12 seen *TCD, III, W; seem DC, TCC: seeing 1633, 1635 you] your III*

2 th'India] D.'s usual figure for the source of great riches.

3 advice] wisdom.

4 Arts] Because this refers presumably to the course for the Baccalaureate of Arts, the MSS' capital has been preserved.

5 travelling] Spelt 'travailing' in some MSS: the poem develops exploration as an image of S. B.'s work.

8 Heliconian spring] Hippocrene, made by a hoof of Bellerophon's horse, Pegasus, striking the ground, above the Grove of the Muses beneath their sacred mountain (Ovid, *Met.* 5. 254–63): hence, source of poetry.

9 Siren-like] with destructive intent, like the mythical mermaids with their song.

10 those schismatics with you] In Cambridge famous Puritans such as William Perkins (1558–1602) had a devoted following. S. B. himself later became a supporter of the opposing Laudian party, but showed too much Cantabrigian acerbity even for Laud. *OED* does not record the stress on the second syllable before the nineteenth century. Though at this time still a Roman Catholic, and so understandably hostile, D.'s attitude remained for the rest of his life that of S. Butler, *Hudibras* 3. 2. 9–10 towards 'petulant, capricious sects, / The maggots of corrupted texts'. Cp. *Will* 20, *Book* 16.

12 seen . . . poetry] S. B. was to write two Latin plays for the visit of the Elector Palatine and Prince Charles in 1612—his *Adelphé* so witty, by one account, that it would have forced a laugh from Cato (proverbially severe)—and another (*Melanthe*, ed., J. S. G. Bolton, Yale 1928) for that of James I in March 1615, with D. in the royal party.

13 fuel] weighty examples of good poetry.

14 artic'late] meaningful.

To Mr Everard Guilpin

Date and Context. June–Aug. 1592? June–Aug. 1595? Summer is suggested by E. G.’s retiring to Suffolk, and D.’s proposal also to flee to the country, along with the image of the bee and garden sweets, and the anticipation of winter. The Rose Theatre (where were performed Shakespeare, Marlowe, Greene and Kyd, among others) was shut down because of a riot on 23 June 1592 (Chambers 4. 310–11), but the plague did not surge until Aug., when bear-baiting too would have been banned. Playing resumed on 29 Dec. 1592. Plague closed the Rose (and bear-baiting) again 2 Feb.–26 Dec. 1593, 7 Feb.–31 March, and 9 April–13 May 1594; it then played continuously through the summer of 1594. There was another break 27 June–24 Aug. 1595 at the Rose, but perhaps not other theatres (Henslowe, *Diary* 19–23, 30).

Analogue. Marston dedicates *Scourge of Villainy*, ‘Satyra Nova’, i.e., 10 (2nd ed., 1599) ‘To his Very Friend, Master E. G.’

Text. No correction is needed of the sole text in *W*.

EVEN as lame things thirst their perfection, so
 The slimy rhymes bred in our vale below,
 Bearing with them much of my love and heart,
 Fly unto that Parnassus where thou art.
 5 There, thou o’ers’seest London: here, I’ve been,
 By stay’ng in London, too much overseen.
 Now pleasure’s dearth our city doth possess:

Source: *W*

Heading *ed.*: To Mr E. G. *W*

Heading E. G. is assumed to be Everard Guilpin (c. 1572–3?–16??), matriculated as pensioner of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1 June 1588, Gray’s Inn 29 April 1591–? He modelled *Skialetheia*, Satire V, esp. lines 1–36 (1598 D4–7v; 1974 82–7) on D.’s *Satyre* 1. Copies of the collection were burnt by the public hangman under the terms of the Bishops’ Ban in June 1599. See R. E. Bennett, *RES* 15 (1939) 66–72, R. E. Brettell, *RES* ns 16 (1965) 396–9, and Carroll’s introduction to *Skialetheia*.

1–2 Paraphrased by Sir Henry Goodyer in a defence of Prince Charles’s adventure to gain the hand of the Spanish Infanta in 1623 (*CSPD* 1619–1623 585, *CH* 43).

1 lame . . . perfection] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles* 3. 19–20 argues that ‘All things desire . . . to be like God. . . . The divine being contains the whole fullness of perfection’. **lame]** defective, incomplete.

2 slimy] imperfect. See Ovid, *Met.* 1. 422–9. Cp. *Derby* 1–2, *Satyre* 4 18–19.

4 Parnassus] The mountain range overlooking Delphi with the temple and Castalian spring dedicated to the Muses (Plutarch, *Oracles at Delphi* 17, 402D; Virgil, *Georgics* 3. 291–3): a compliment to E. G. as a poet.

5 There] Presumably in Highgate, where E. G.’s father left property to his widow in 1591, disposed of by E. G. in 1608.

6 overseen] forgetful of, blind to what I should do (*OED* 7).

- Our théatres are fill'd with emptiness;
 As lank and thin is ev'ry street and way
 10 As a woman delivered yesterday.
 Nothing whereat to laugh my spleen espies
 But bear-baitings or law-exercise.
 Therefore I'll leave't, and in the country strive
 Pleasure, now fled from London, to retrieve.
 15 Do thou so too, and fill not like a bee
 Thy thighs with honey, but as plenteously
 As Russian merchants thyselves whole vessel load,
 And then at winter[^]retail it here abroad.
 Bless us with Suffolk's sweets, and, as it is
 20 Thy garden, make thy hive and warehouse this.

8 The Rose and Curtain Theatres are not closed because of the plague since bear-baiting continues: when plague-deaths increased, the Privy Council commanded the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, e.g., on 28 Jan. 1593, 'to inhibit within your jurisdiction all plays, baiting of bears, bulls, bowling and any other like occasions to assemble any numbers of people together (preaching and divine service at churches excepted), whereby no occasions be offered to increase the infection within the city' (Chambers 4. 323 from *APC* 24. 31). Baker (1643) 2. 156 characterises D. as 'a great frequenter of plays', and the speaker claims the same taste in Guilpin's *Satire* 5, 28-30: 'If my dispose / Persuade me to a play, I'll to the *Rose* / Or *Curtain*, one of Plautus' comedies, / Or the pathetic Spaniard's tragedies.'

11 spleen] (scornful) humour. (D. speaks as a fashionable satirist, implying that E. G. knew at least *Satyre* 1, generally assumed to be written in 1593.)

12 bear-baitings] Bear-baiting was officially encouraged since the Queen enjoyed it, displacing plays on Thursdays by a decree of 25 July 1591 (Chambers 4. 307 from *APC* 21. 324). **law-exercise]** Moots took place in the Inn of Court vacations (Bald p. 56); since London is empty, this is presumably after the last fortnight in June (1592) or first week in July (1595) when the courts rose for harvest-time at the end of their Trinity Term (Cheney and Jones p. 133). In term-time London was normally full of people up for business, which included law-suits.

15-16 bee . . . honey] Cp. *Bell* 1 2-3.

17-18 Russian merchants . . . abroad] The Muscovy Company, founded in 1553, devoted May to September to voyages to Russia, and winter, when their route through the White Sea to St Nicholas (opposite what is now Archangel), for the Moscow market, was blocked by ice, to the sale in England of their imports of wax, train oil (from seals), tallow, furs, felts, yarn, hides, tar, hemp cordage and cables for the Royal Navy, caviar etc. See T. S. Willan, *Early History of the Russia Company 1553-1603* (1956) pp. 49-50, 56-7, 245 onwards.

17 Though this eleven-syllable line accords with D.'s occasional practice, and is clearly written thus in the only source, *W*, it would be comprehensible without the metrically awkward 'self'.

18 abroad] by public sale.

19 Suffolk's] The home county of the Guilpins, Everards and Guarsis, E. G.'s father's, mother's, and stepfather's families. His mother Thomasin had returned there with her second husband, William Guarsi (Guercy etc.), uncle of John Marston the satirist, a cousin of whom E. G. married in 1607 in Bungay. **sweets]** fruits, i.e., the poems written there.

To Mr Rowland Woodward
(‘Kindly I envy thy song’s perfection’)

Date and Context. 1593–4? *WoodwardTHaste* (1592?) and *Gulpin* (summer 1592? 1595?) characterise D.’s ‘measure’ and ‘rhymes’ as ‘lame’, like l. 12’s ‘lame echo’ here. The garden ‘sweets’ of l. 4 also figure in *Gulpin*. The reference to a satiric disposition in l. 7 suggests the period when the *Satyres* began to be written, c. 1593 onwards. The grief of l. 6 may refer to the death in Newgate Prison from plague of D.’s brother Henry in 1593–4.

Text. *W* is the only source, perhaps copied from D.’s original, and requires no correction.

KINDLY I envy thy song’s perfection,
 Built of all th’el’ments, as our bodies are:
 That little of earth that’s in it is a fair,
 Delicious garden where all sweets are sown;
 5 In it is cher’shing fire, which dries in me
 Grief which did drown me; and, half-quenched by it,
 Are sàt’ric fires which urged me to have writ
 In scorn of all: for now I admire thee;
 And, as air doth fulfil the hollowness
 10 Of rotten walls, so it mine emptiness,
 Where, tossed and moved, it did beget this sound
 Which, as a lame echo of thine, doth rebound.
 Oh, I was dead, but, since thy song new life did give,
 I, recreated even by thy creature, live.

Source: *W*

Heading *ed.*: To Mr R. W. *W*

1 envÿ] Stressed on the second syllable as in *WoodwardTHail* 10–11.

2 th’el’ments] Earth, fire, water, and air, expanded on in ll. 3–4, 5–6, 6–8, 9–12.

6 Grief . . . drown me] Possibly for D.’s brother Henry: see headnote. **it]** R. W.’s ‘song’.

7 sàt’ric fires] Cp. *Gulpin* 11–12 and the *Satyres* themselves.

8 At least R. W. is an exception, disproving ‘scorn of all’.

12 ‘The line is intentionally lame’—Milgate.

13–14 The amount of contraction and elision unavoidable in this very rough-rhythmed sonnet culminate in a hexameter couplet, alexandrines, as if D. is experimenting with form as well as rhythm.

14 recreated] revived. **creature]** living creation.

To Mr Ingram Lister
(‘Blest are your North parts’)

Date and Context. Aug. 1594. Bald *HLQ* 15 (1952) 286 quotes Stow, *Annals* (1631) p. 769:

This year [1594] in the month of May fell many great showers of rain, but in the months of June and July much more, for it commonly rained every day or night till St James’s Day [25 July o. s.], and two days after together most extremely, all which notwithstanding, in the month of August there followed a fair harvest; but in the month of September fell great rains, which raised high waters.

Text. The only MS to give lines 11–12, *W* is of the highest authority. All other sources agree against *W* in ll. 6 and 16: their readings may represent another version: in the first case, *W* seems to make better sense.

BLEST are your North parts, for all this long time
My sun is with you: cold and dark’s our clime.
Heav’n’s Sun, which stayed so long from us this year,
Stayed in your North, I think, for she was there,
5 And hither by kind Nature drawn from thence.
Here rages, burns and threatens pestilence;
Yet I, as long as she from hence doth stay,
Think this no South, no summer, nor no day.
With thee my kind and unkind heart is run:
10 There sacrifice it to that beauteous sun:
And since thou art in paradise, and need’st crave
No joy’s addition, help your friend to save.

Sources collated: *Group II:* *TCC, TCD, DC*; *Group III:* *Lut, O’F; W; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: ~ ~ T. L. *III:* ~ M. I. L. *TCC, TCD, W:* ~ M. I. P. *DC:* ~ M. I. P. *1633, 1635*

2 our] your *II* 6 burns] chafes Σ 8 no summer] nor ~ *III*

11–12 *om. II, III, 1633, 1635*

3 See headnote *Date and Context* for this wet spring and summer.

4 **she]** i.e., the woman he wants.

5 **kind Nature]** Rather ‘Nature behaving naturally’ than ‘beneficent Nature’.

6 **threatens pestilence]** It was feared that the serious plague epidemic of 1593 could be revived by the hot August of 1594.

11–12 The motive for omitting these lines from the original of all MSS except *W* was probably religious (Milgate). **need’st . . . addition]** See note on *SecAn* 487–96 for the ‘kind of joy [that] doth every day admit / Degrees of growth’ in Heaven.

11 **paradise]** Eliding the second *a*.

- So may thy pastures with their flowery feasts,
 As suddenly as lard, fat thy lean beasts;
 15 So may thy woods oft polled, yet ever wear
 A green and, when thou wilt, a golden hair;
 So may all thy sheep bring forth twins; and so
 In chase and race may thy horse all outgo;
 So may thy love and courage ne'er be cold;
 20 Thy son ne'er ward, thy young wife ne'er seem old.
 But may'st thou wish great things, and them attain,
 As thou tell'st her (and none but her) my pain.

16 thou] thee *TCC, TCD, 1633*: they *DC*: she *III, 1635* wilt] list *II, III, 1633, 1635*
 20 young *III*: loved *II, 1633, 1635*: fair *W*

To Mr Rowland Woodward ('Like one who[^]in her third widowhead')

Date and context. 1597? Since D. is as yet 'Betrothed to no one art', this is presumably written before he took up his job as a secretary to the Lord Keeper, but the moralising is that rather of the epistles to Wotton from 1599 onwards or even Lady Bedford from 1607 onwards (the reservation to her of 'all the verses which I should make' (*Letters* p. 104) presumably meant complimentary verses to female patrons but not epistles to male friends such as *HerbertE*), than of the other verse-epistles to R. W. and Inns of Court friends. D. was still friendly with Woodward in 1610: witness the presentation-copy of *Pseudo-Martyr* (owned by the late John Sparrow; Keynes, *Bibliography* p. 7). Milgate sees ll. 1–10 as in the style of the early verse-letters, the rest more like the letters to Wotton, so probably written between them chronologically.

Text. *W* needs only the correction in l. 18, and is obviously the source of choice.

13–16 The urban ignorance shown by D. in referring to the irrelevant 'flowery feasts', inappropriate 'lard' and optional autumn change of colour is unusual in his time.

14 lard] fat made from the lining of pigs' stomachs.

16 when thou wilt] As if autumn could be brought on and dismissed at will.

17 sheep . . . twins] As one might expect with D., there is a literary source for this: in Virgil, *Ed.* 1. 15, twin kids are termed *spem gregis*, 'the hope of the flock'.

19 courage] vigour.

20 ward] i.e., orphan, with the income of the estate left by I. L. enjoyed by the Master of the Court of Wards, at the time Lord Burghley. **young/loved/fair]** The archetype of all sources presumably gave difficulty in l. 20: *II* and *III* agree against *W* that the second and third letters of the epithet for 'wife' were *ou*. The scribe of the Group II archetype presumably took *loved* from *ListerRoll* 8, whereas D. usually does not repeat himself so exactly, so *III*'s apt reading has been adopted.

22 As] Inasmuch as, to the degree that.

LIKE one who in her third widowhead doth profess
 Herself a nun, tired to a retiredness,
 So affects my Muse now a chaste fallowness,

- Since she to few, yet to too many, hath shown
 5 How love-song weeds and sàt'ric thorns are grown
 Where seeds of better arts were early sown.

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II*: *L74*, *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; *W*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *I*, *L74*, 1633, 1635: ~ ~ *R. W.* *W*: ~ *M. R. W.* *DC*: ~ Rowland Woodward
Dob: no heading *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCD*: A Letter to Rowland Woodward *S96*, *Lut*,
O'F: A Letter *H40*

1 widowhead] ~hood *II*, *III*, 1633, 1635 2 tired to a] tied to *I*, *III*, 1633, 1635
 3 fallowness] holiness *III* 4 hath shown] shown *H40*: ~ flown *Lut*, *O'Fbe*, 1635
 5 love-song] long love's *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

1 widowhead] *D*.’s preferred form, not only indicated in *W*, but as the rhyme-word in *Bell2* 4. The central syllable is elided.

2 tired to] attired, i.e., hooded for. A nun’s wimple is designed to stop her seeing left or right.

3 The heading in *B* is ‘A Letter of Doctor Dunne to one that desired some of his papers’, which is obviously written after 1615 when *D*. received a doctorate from Cambridge, and may have been inferred from this line, or may be a composite heading that records in its second part the occasion that sparked the poem. *W* shows that *R. W.* indeed had access to other poems by *D*. than merely those addressed to him. In effect, *R. W.* is told here: ‘Don’t expect any more poems of advice from me: look in yourself for guidance. “Sparks of virtue” are already there, to be found by introspection, and multiplied.’ Nevertheless, *D*.’s Muse’s ‘chaste fallowness’ has produced a poem, which does advise. There are literary precedents for the declaration here which warn us not to assume that the speaker is identical with a real *D*., if we recall Horace, *Epist.* 1. 1. 10–11, laying aside his verses, i.e., the odes, and Sidney’s ‘Leave me O love, which reachest but to dust, / And thou my mind, aspire to higher things’ (*Certain Sonnets* no. 32).

5 love-song weeds and sàt'ric thorns] *D*. apologises for his satires in *BedfordWritten* 16–18, but in the knowledge that Jonson has introduced him by sending them to her. In *Letters* p. 103, perhaps c. 31 Jan. 1609, he also recalls that the knowledge Lady Huntingdon had of him ‘was in the beginning of a graver course than that of poet’. Cp. *WoodwardRKindly* 7’s ‘sàt'ric fires’.

6 *D*. studied for the first Arts degree from twelve to fifteen (*Bald* pp. 42–6).

Though to use and love poetry, to me,
 Betrothed to no one art, be no adultery;
 Omissions of good ill as ill deeds be.

- 10 For though to us it seem[^]and be light and thin,
 Yet, in those faithful scales where God throws in
 Men's works, vanity weighs as much as sin.

If our souls have stained their first white, yet we
 May clothe them with faith and dear honesty,
 15 Which God imputes as native purity,

10 and be] but *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 14 honesty] integrity *III*

7 use] Playing on the sexual sense.

8 The sexual imagery is applied to the writing of poetry elsewhere in the early verse-epistles such as *Derby*. The line contains an extra foot which it would be hard to elide.

9 Sins of omission are castigated by Jesus in *Matt.* 23. 23, and leaving 'undone those things which we ought to have done' is confessed along with doing 'those things which we ought not to have done' in the General Confession at Morning Prayer (*BCP*). Milgate quotes *Letters* pp. 49–50 [Sept.–Oct. 1608]:

As God doth thus occasion and positively concur to evil: that, when a man is purposed to do a great sin, God infuses some good thoughts which make him choose a less sin, or leave out some circumstance which aggravated that; so the Devil doth not only suffer but provoke us to some things naturally good, upon condition that we shall omit some other more necessary and more obligatory. And this is his greatest subtlety, because herein we have the deceitful comfort of having done well, and can very hardly spy our error because it is but an insensible omission and no accusing act.

10–12 Paradoxically, vanity is more usually regarded as lightness.

11 faithful] Both 'accurate' and 'measuring the amount of faith'. **scales]** Referring to the figure of Michael weighing souls, common in church murals, e.g., at Ruislip, Middx; Lenham, Kent; and South Leigh, Oxon.

12 vanity] unprofitability.

13 their first white] Here D. espouses the doctrine that infants are born sinless, but the infant could only be born free as yet of its own sin, not of Adam's or its parents' (cp. *Christ* 1–2). According to C. of E. doctrine, enunciated in the opening exhortation of Public Baptism in the *BCP*, Christ's atonement for Adam's Original Sin (*Rom.* 5. 8, 18–19) is only imputed through baptism: 'All men be conceived and born in sin, . . . our Saviour Christ saith [*John* 3. 5]: "None can enter into the kingdom of God except he be regenerate and born anew of water and the Holy Ghost"'. Paul argues that subsequent imputation of Christ's righteousness and forgiveness of sins depend on faith, *Rom.* 3. 21–5, 4. 7–8, 24–5, 5. 1.

14 dear honesty] precious virtue.

15 i.e., 'We were born faithful and good.' **imputes]** endows [us with].

There is no virtue but religiön:
 Wise, valiant, sober, just, are names which none
 Wants which wants not vice-covering discretiön.

Seek we then ourselves in ourselves; for, as
 20 Men force the Sun with much more force to pass
 By gath'ring his beams with a crystal glass,

18 wants *ed.*: want *I, II, III, W, 1633, 1635*

16–18 Grierson explains with reference to the distinction by Thomas Aquinas, *ST I*. 2. 61. 1–2, between the Aristotelean, pre-Christian, intellectual Cardinal Virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude and the Pauline, Christian, moral, Theological Virtues of faith, hope and love, and to Augustine, *Citie of God*, 19. 25 (1610) p. 785, ‘That there can be no true virtue where true religion wanteth’:

Those things which [the soul] seems to account virtues, and thereby to sway her affects, if they be not all referred unto God are indeed rather vices than virtues; for, although some [the Stoics] hold them to be real virtues when they are affected only for their own respect and nothing else, yet even so they incur vainglory, and so lose their true goodness. . . . it is not of man, but above man, which defies the mind of man—yea, and of all the powers of the heavens.

Cp. *FirAn* 190 and note.

17 valiant] Two syllables.

18 A hexameter. Though it is possible to omit a syllable from ‘vice-covering’ (as does *W*), this disrupts the rhythm so as to make the line hardly pronounceable. **wants/want]** ‘None’ is usually treated as singular by *D.*, so *W* has been changed here rather than in the first word of the line.

19 Proverbial (Tilley *K175*): the Greek for ‘Know thyself’ was inscribed upon the temple at Delphi (Plato, *Charmides* 162d). Cp. the *SecAn* 279 (despairing of such self-knowledge), and Diogenes Laertius, 1. 36, on Thales, one of the Seven Sages of ancient Greece: ‘Being asked what is difficult, he replied, “To know oneself.” “What is easy?” “To give advice to another.”’ Cp. *Serm.* 6. 285 (26 April 1625): ‘Still that which we are to look upon, is especially *ourselves*, but it is *ourselves*, enlarged and extended into the *next world*; for till we see, what we shall be then, we are but *short-sighted*’; and 8. 141 (Christmas 1627): ‘That man who dwells upon himself, who is always conversant in himself, rests in his true centre.’ Cp. also Montaigne 3. 13 (1928) 3. 332: ‘I had rather understand myself well in myself than in Cicero: out of the experience I have of myself, I find sufficient ground to make myself wise, were I but a good, proficient scholar’ (Milgate); and *Serm.* 9. 257 (n. d.): ‘No study is so necessary as to know ourselves; . . . and the end of knowing ourselves, is to know how we are disposed for that which is our end, that is, this Blessedness; . . . first, *The forgiving of our transgressions*, and then, *The covering of our sins*, and thirdly, *The not imputing of our iniquities.*’

20–I Men . . . glass] Alluding to the burning-glass attributed to Archimedes and well known in *D.*’s time: see, e.g., T. Lodge, ‘To Master Michael Drayton’ in *A Fig for Momus* (1595) sig. H3r: ‘The sunbeam in a burning-glass / Doth kindle fire wherever it doth pass’; *Merry Wives of Windsor* 1. 3. 59–60.

So we, if we into ourselves will turn,
Blowing our sparks of virtue, may outburn
The straw which doth about our hearts sojourn.

- 25 You know, physicians, when they would infuse
Into any oil the soul of simples, use
Places where they may lie still warm to choose:

So works retirèdness in us; to roam
Giddily and be ev'rywhere but at home,
30 Such freedom doth a banishment become.

We are but farmers of ourselves, yet may,
If we can stock ourselves and thrive, uplay
Much, much the dear treasure for the great rent-day.

23 our] the *II* 26 any] an *TCC*, *Lut*, *O'F* soul] ~s 1633, 1635

31 farmers] termers 1633

32 and thrive] *mag.* *L74*, *om.* *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCD*: even here *mag.* *Dob*: and there *H40*, *I*

33 dear] good *III*, 1635

22 Cp. Augustine, *De vera religione* 39. 72 (*PL* 34. 154): 'Do not go out: return into yourself. Truth lives within a person. And if you should find your nature changeable, then transcend yourself' (Milgate).

23 **outburn**] burn away.

24 **straw**] Alluding perhaps to John the Baptist's description of the fate of the wicked, *Matt.* 3. 11–12: 'He that cometh after me . . . will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.'

25 **physicians**] More usually apothecaries.

26 **simples**] medicinal herbs.

27 Constant, gentle warmth was afforded to the still by, e.g., a bed of fermenting horse-dung.

29 The extreme metrical irregularity of this line expresses the sense: it is all over the place.

31 **farmers**] leaseholders, tenants.

32–3 **uplay . . . treasure**] Cp. *Matt.* 6. 20: 'Lay up for yourselves treasures in Heaven' (*AV*; Milgate).

33 **the great rent-day**] The Last Judgement, in the figure of the Parable of the Talents, *Matt.* 19. 19 (Milgate). The lesser rent-day was the day of one's death: see *Serm.* 8. 61 (1 July 1627): 'We know, O Lord, that our rent due to thee is our soul, and the day of our death is the day, and our deathbed the place, where this rent is to be paid.'

- Manure thyself then, to thyself be[^]approved,
 35 And with vain outward things be no more moved,
 But t'know that I love thee, and would be loved.

36 be loved] be beloved *Dal, L74, TCC, TCD*

To Mr Rowland Woodward ('If, as mine is, thy life a slumber be')

Date and Context. Early Aug. 1597. See headnote to the epigram *Calez and Guyana* for historical context and Bald (1952) 287–9.

Text. *W* is of the highest authority but needs an uncontroversial correction in the last line.

I F, as mine is, thy life a slumber be,
 I Seem, when thou read'st these lines, to dream of me:

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O'F; W; 1633, 1635*
 Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: To Mr R. W. II, III, W: M. ~ ~ 1633, 1635 2 of] on III

34 Cp. Seneca, *Moral Essays*, 'On Tranquillity of Mind' I. 11. Milgate compares Philo Judaeus, *On Husbandry* 5 (20–5), and quotes (on l. 28's 'retiredness') a similar image in *Letters* p. 48 (Sept.–Oct. 1608):

The primitive monks were excusable in their retirings and enclosures of themselves, for even of them everyone cultivated his own garden and orchard, that is, his soul and body, by meditation and manufactures; and they ought [owed] the world no more, since they consumed none of her sweetness nor begot others to burden her.

Manure] Cultivate (from Old French equivalent of *manœuvrer*, 'work by hand, handle, manage'). Cp. Florio's Montaigne, *Essayes* 2. 17, 3. 9 (1928) 2. 386, 3. 211: 'Those with whom the quality of my condition doth ordinarily make me conversant are, for the most part, such as have little care for the manuring of the soul'; 'I manure myself, both in courage (which is the stronger) and also in fortune, that if all things else should forsake me, I might find something where-with to please and satisfy myself.' *OED* quotes Milton, *Animadversions upon 'The Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymmuus'* 13 (1641): 'It is . . . his own painful study . . . that manures and improves his ministerial gifts.' Use of the noun as a euphemism for dung from the sixteenth century onwards seems to have eliminated use of the verb in its root sense after the eighteenth. **to thyself be[^]approved]** The theme of Seneca, *Epist.* 10. Cp. Epictetus, *Discourses* 2. 18 (19): 'Make it your wish finally to satisfy your own self' (Gr.).

I Written while D. was delayed with the inactive fleet at Plymouth, awaiting the return of Essex and Raleigh from London. The post, which rode non-stop,

- Never did Morpheus nor his brethren wear
 Shapes so like those shapes whom they would appear
 5 As this my letter is like me, for it
 Hath my name, words, hand, feet, heart, mind and wit;
 It is my deed of gift of me to thee;
 It is my will, myself the legacy.
 So thy retir'ngs I love, yea envy,
 10 Bred in thee by a wise mel'ancholy,
 That I rejoice that unto where thou art,
 Though I stay here, I can thus send my heart,
 As kindly[^]as any[^]enamoured patient
 His picture to his absent love hath sent.
 15 All news I think sooner reach thee than me;
 Havens are Heav'ns, and ships winged angels be,

3 brethren] brother *II, III, 1633, 1635* 6 hand] ~s *TCC, TCD, III*
 8 myself] thyself *III*

could have preceded them with the news that the Queen had refused their proposal to attack and plunder the Spanish colony in Guyana, keeping them to the original plan to sail against the invasion-fleet in Ferrol, or the treasure-fleet or the Azores.

3-4 Morpheus . . . shapes] For the shapes assumed by three of the thousand children of Somnus, Sleep, see Ovid, *Met.* 11. 592-645. **brethren/brother]** The plurals in l. 4 show that *W* alone is correct.

6 hand, feet] Punning on handwriting and metrical feet.

9 retir'ngs] withdrawals from public life. The plural suggests this is habitual.

10 wise mel'ancholy] D. is careful to distinguish R. W.'s melancholy, a preference for contented solitude, as later in Milton's 'Il Penseroso', from the merely physical, 'an abundance of a distempered humour, but a natural thing, to which some in their constitutions are born'; and the psychological and religious, against both of which he later warns: 'If I sink in this sorrow, in this dejection of spirit, . . . inordinate sorrow grows into a sinful melancholy, and that melancholy, into an irrecoverable desperation'; 'inordinate melancholies, and irreligious dejections of spirit' (*Serm.* 9. 293-4, n. d.; 5. 283-4, St Paul's, n. d.; 3. 270, ?Trinity Term 1621).

11-14 Palmer (1970) 83 compares Seneca, *Epistles* 40. 1: 'I never receive a letter from you without being in your company forthwith. If the pictures of our absent friends are pleasing to us, though they only refresh the memory and lighten our longing by a solace that is unreal and insubstantial, how much more pleasant is a letter, which brings us real traces, real evidences of an absent friend!'

11 That] So that.

13 patient] sufferer.

14 picture] Presumably in miniature, as was the custom: cp. *Picture*.

15 R. W. was presumably nearer the Queen than was D. in Plymouth, several days away. news] Items of news.

- The which both gospel and stern threat'nings bring,
 Guyana's harvest is nipped in the spring,
 I fear, and with us (methinks) Fate deals so
 20 As with the Jews' guide God did: he did show
 Him the rich land, but barred his entry in.
 Ah, slowness is our punishment and sin.
 Perchance, these Spanish businesses being done,
 Which, as the Earth between the Moon and Sun
 25 Eclipse the light which Guyana would give,
 Our discontinued hopes we shall retrieve:
 But if (as all th'All must) hopes smoke away,
 Is not almighty virtue'an India?
 If men be worlds, there is in everyone
 30 Some thing to answer in some proportion
 All the world's riches, and in good men this
 Virtue our form's form and our soul's soul is.

22 Ah] Oh *II, III*: Our 1633, 1635

23 these] this *TCC, TCD, Lut* businesses] business *II, Lut*, 1633

24 between] betwixt *III* 32 soul's *II, III*, 1633, 1635: soul *W*

17 gospel] good news.

18 Guyana's harvest] D. and his fellow soldiers had hoped for rich pickings.

20–1 Moses saw the promised land of Canaan from Mt Pisgah, but died before the Israelites enslaved or slaughtered its inhabitants, and colonised it, *Deut.* 34. 1–5.

22 punishment and sin] Reused in *DivM3Sighs* 14.

23 these Spanish businesses] The English envisaged plundering Raleigh's hard-sought El Dorado in the interior. Spanish colonisation was concentrated in the West Indies and the north and west of South America, from present-day Venezuela to Chile. **being]** One syllable.

24 No 'new philosophy': this explanation of lunar eclipses was given by classical astronomers such as the fifth-century BCE Anaxagoras (Kirk and Raven p. 392), and widely known from, e.g., Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 2. 14 (297b27).

27 th'All] the world.

28 India] The type of riches. A variation on the proverb (Tilley V81) 'Virtue is its own reward'.

29 If men be worlds] A reference to the idea of the microcosm, that the human corresponded to the universe, played on in *Satyre* 5 (1597–8) 13–19.

31–2 in good . . . soul is] 'Good men are formed, informed entirely, by essential virtue, which is their whole being.' The all-sufficiency of conscious virtue, to the exclusion of passions and their satisfaction, was a Stoic dictum.

The Storm

To Mr Christopher Brooke from the Island voyage
with the Earl of Essex

Date and Context. Aug.–Sept. 1597. After the sack of Cadiz in June 1596 which occasioned the epigram *Wingfield*, Essex, Howard and Raleigh set out from Plymouth with about 120 ships, on ‘the third of June’ 1597 (Essex) or ‘about the ninth of July’ (Sir Arthur Gorges, captain of Raleigh’s ship, the *Warspite*), to attack the Spaniards’ war-fleet in Ferrol (100–300 ships, acc. to *CSPD* for 2 May, 2, 21, 28 June 1597), capture their treasure-ships returning from the West Indies, and seize their main stronghold in the Azores, Terceira. They did not get far: Raleigh wrote to Cecil from Plymouth on 18 July:

On Wednesday the storm grew worse, and the seas very high, . . . that night, and Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the storm so increased that . . . we could carry no sail, thinking it would be rent off the yards. The ships rolled so that we were driven to force it again with our courses or to sink. The beams, knees, and stanching of my ship were shaken well nigh asunder, and on Saturday night, we thought to yield ourselves up to God, having no way to work that offered any hope, our men being wasted with labour and watching, and our ship so open, her bulkhead rent, and her brick cook-room shaken to powder (*CSPD* 1595–1597 p. 463; cp. Lord Thomas Howard’s report, p. 480).

Two other contemporary accounts were later published: by Essex himself, laconic but self-exculpatory, and ‘A larger Relation’ by Gorges (*Purchas* (1625–6; 1907) 20. 24–33, 34–129). About 180 miles out of Plymouth (Gorges p. 42) ‘there suddenly arose a fierce and tempestuous storm full in our teeths, continuing for four days with so great violence . . . that we were all one after another forced back again, some into Plymouth, and divers into other harbours’. For this storm cp. Essex’s letter to Edward Reynolds, 13 Aug. 1597: ‘I beat it up in all the storms after most of the officers of the army . . . were returned . . . till my ship was falling asunder, having a leak that we pumped 80 gallons of water a day out of her, her main and fore masts cracked, and most of her beams broken and rent, besides the opening of all her seams.’ It has been assumed that this must be the storm described by D., but the delay he mentions in ll. 17–18 is not remarked on by either Essex or Gorges before the first setting out, while both emphasise the depletion of resources while waiting for the wind to change (Essex p. 25, Gorges p. 46; see commentary on l. 17) before the second departure on 17 Aug. (Gorges p. 50). Moreover *Calm* 1 implies that it immediately followed the storm, so D. may here be concerned with the ‘foul storm’ on the night of St Bartholomew’s Day a week after the second departure. In this second storm, which split the fleet and drove it away from the coast of Spain, Essex’s ship ‘had such a desperate leak sprang, as . . . when we sought by ramming down pieces of beef, and holding linen cloth wrung together, to stop the coming in of the water, it came in notwithstanding, so strongly as it . . . beat away every man that stood to stop it’. To the Queen on 28 Aug. he wrote: ‘Sir W^r Raleigh shot off a piece, and gave us warning of his being in distress. I presently [‘immediately’] bore with him, and found he had broken his mainyard. . . . myself having a[s] desperate a leak as ever ship swam withal. I was fain to lie by the lee, and seek to stop it,’ referring to the ex-Spanish *St Matthew*, ‘who, upon the breaking of her foremast, went home’. The captain of the latter, Sir George Carew (created Earl of Totnes, 1626), wrote at length to Cecil on 31 Aug. detailing the damage that forced his ship to abandon the expedition. Raleigh repaired his ship at sea, and wrote to Cecil with the details

on 8 Sept. (*HMC Hatfield* 7. 351, 369, 371–2, 379–80). However, Gorges says of the second storm that, though ‘most extremely violent for the time, [it] lasted not above five or six hours’, whereas it continues after dawn here in l. 40 (*Essex* pp. 26–7, Gorges p. 50). D.’s poem is thus probably an exercise on a theme, blending his experience of both storms, rather than a history of one or other of them. For a brief modern account, see Hammer pp. 199–203.

Analogues. B. F. Nellist, *MLR* 59 (1964) 111–15, noted the treatment of storm and calm in Lucan, *Pharsalia* 5. 430–55, 540–653. C. D. Lein, *ELR* 4 (1974) 137–63, emphasised D.’s reliance on more exemplars of the popular classical topos: Virgil, *Aeneid* 1. 81–123; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11. 474–572; and Seneca, *Agamemnon* 465–578. Cp. Harrington’s Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 41. 9–23 (1591) p. 343. For the context of Thomas Freeman’s line, “‘The Storm’” described hath set thy name afloat’ (1614; *CH* p. 72, Keynes p. 282), see headnote to *Satyres*. By 1710, Richard Steele’s Mr Bickerstaff, quoting from Juvenal 12. 17–61 but giving the palm to Virgil, could aver that ‘Storms at Sea are so frequently described by the Ancient Poets, and copied by the Moderns, that whenever I find the Winds begin to rise in a new Heroick Poem, I generally skip a Leaf or Two till I come into Fair Weather’ (*Tatler* no. 238).

Text. The early popularity of this poem is witnessed by the large number of MSS in which it appears. *L74*, *TCD* and *W* display the fewest errors by a wide margin. They have been emended from Group III in ll. 4 (in *Somerset* 75 all MSS agree on ‘a history’), 59 (where Group III preserves a characteristic colloquialism), and 64 to preserve the historic present of the narration, while *W* (though probably nearest to D.’s own holograph) obviously misreads in l. 54. *L74* is damaged in ll. 1, 2, 33, and 34 (though not so as to put its agreement with *TCD* in doubt), which leaves *TCD* as the text requiring least emendation. The reliability of *W*, *L74* and *TCD* in the rest of the poem suggests ambiguity, obscurity or error in D.’s holograph. Other MSS such as *HN* and *Wed* have been collated, but since they contain no significant additional variants are not mentioned here. *Q* and *D16* are of interest because they derived (in the early seventeenth century, acc. to *IELM*) from a collection of *Satyres* 1–5, *Storm*, *Calm* which circulated separately, presumably in the 1590s. The readings they share with Group III in ll. 12, 21 and 49 may therefore be of early if not authorial origin.

THOU which art I—’tis nothing to be so:
Thou which art still thyself, by these shalt know

Sources collated: *Group I:* *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II:* *L74*, *Dal1*, *TCD*, *DC*; *Group III:* *Dob*, *Lut*, *O’F*; *W*; *Q*, *D16*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading 1635: The Storm *H49:* A ~ *L74*, *Dal1*, *Q*: To Mr C. B. *W:* The Storm. To Mr C. B. *TCD:* The Storm sent from [blank] In the Island voyage. To M: C: B: *DC:* The Storm. To Mr Christopher [Chr: *D*] Brooke *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, 1633: To Mr Christopher Brooke [Mr. Brooke *Dob*] from the Island voyage with the Earl [E. *O’F*] of Essex. The Storm *III*

1 so *torn away* *L74* 2 these] this *Lut*, *O’F*, 1635 know *torn away* *L74*

1 His personal nothingness is a commonplace in D.’s writing, e.g., *Lucy*, *BedfordWritten*.

2 **these]** sc. lines.

- Part of our passage; and a hand or eye
 By Hilliard drawn is worth a history
 5 By a worse painter made; and, without pride,
 When by thy judgement they are dignified,
 My lines are such. 'Tis the præminence
 Of friendship only to'impute excellence.
 England, to whom we owe what we be and have,
 10 Sad that her sons did seek a foreign grave
 (For Fate's or Fortune's drifts none can soothsay:
 Honour and misery have one face and way)
 From out her pregnant entrails sighed a wind

3 passage] passages I 4 a III, 1635: an I, II, W, 1633

12 and way] one ~ III, Q, 1635

3–5 a hand . . . made] Quoted in 1633's 'The Printer to the Understanders' (presumably by the publisher John Marriott rather than the actual printer, Miles Fletcher) 'to express him best by himself', after claiming that 'a scattered limb of this author hath more amiableness in it, in the eye of a discerner, than a whole body of some other'. The words are quoted again in Humphrey Moseley's preface to Suckling's tragedy *Mortimer (Last Remains)* (1659) sig. A3v; *CH* p. 57, *Influence* p. 130).

4 Hilliard] Nicholas Hilliard (1537–1619), royal limner, though chiefly known now as the foremost miniaturist in 1590s England, nevertheless included hand as well as eye in miniatures or full-size portraits of, e.g., the Queen, the earls of Essex, Northumberland, Cumberland, Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Anthony Mildmay, and possibly the original of the engraving of D. prefixed to 1635. Actually, Hilliard's hands seem relatively stylised, with exaggeratedly long, slim fingers to show his subjects do not do manual work and are well bred, though Northumberland's are lifelike, and some detail may have faded. In his notes on Ariosto 23 (1591) p. 278, Harington opines that 'For taking the true lines of the face, I think our countryman (I mean Mr Hilliard) is inferior to none that lives at this day'. Henry Constable (unprinted at the time) eulogises him in *Poems* 2. 3. 7, 'To Mr Hilliard, upon Occasion of a Picture he Made of my Lady Rich' (c. 1589), echoing Hilliard's own *Treatise of the Art of Limning* (printed c. 1600).

6 dignified] honoured. D. pays a similar compliment to Beaupré Bell in *Bell* 13–14.

11 Fate was settled, Fortune the hand of chance. *soothsay]* foretell.

12 i.e., both success and failure may involve life or death. **and way/one ~]** See headnote on *Text*.

13–16 From . . . again] Traditional theory: Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 2. 4, 8 (360a6–17, 365b21–369a9) attributes winds to 'exhalations' of the earth, and further associates them with subterranean activity. He is broadly followed by Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones* 5. 4, and Du Bartas 1. 2. 579–80, 583, quoted by Heninger, p. 109:

But scarce so soon their [the exhalations'] fuming crest hath wrought,
 Or touched the coldness of the middle vault,

...

When down again towards their dam they bear.

- Which at th'air's middle, marble room did find
 15 Such strong resistance, that itself it threw
 Downward again; and so, when it did view
 How in the port our fleet dear time did leese,
 With'ring like prisoners which lie but for fees,
 Mildly it kissed our sails, and, fresh and sweet
 20 As, to a stomach starved whose insides meet,
 Meat comes, it came and swoll our sails, when we

21 swoll] swelled III, Q

14 th'air's middle, marble room] The atmosphere's unmoving, calm region between the biosphere and the moon, but then also 'hard', imitating Virgil's Latin epithet for the sea, *Aeneid* 6. 729 (cp. Milton, *Paradise Lost* 3. 564), here because it was icy. The doctrine derived from Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1. 3 (340b24-7, 341a17-24), is summarised by Blundeville, *Exercises*, 'The Second Book of the Spheare' 3 (1594) f. 179v: 'The middle region is extreme cold by contra-
 opposition, by reason that it is placed in the midst betwixt two hot regions, and therefore in this region are bred all cold, watery impressions, as frost, snow, ice, hail, and suchlike.'

17 dear . . . leese] 'precious . . . lose'. Essex writes of the interval before his fleet's second departure:

And when we were all of us gathered together again at Plymouth, and had repaired all the ships . . . then were we kept in by continual storm and contrary winds, till our victuals (which were at first but for three months) were in a manner all spent, and the sickness in the fly-boats, that carried the land army, grown so great that I had order from her Majesty to discharge the land forces, all but the thousand old soldiers which were drawn out of the Low Countries (Purchas 20. 25).

Cp. Gorges:

It seemed the heavens were utter enemies to our designs. For during the space of an whole month together (after we were again ready) the weather stood flat opposite to our course, insomuch that we were not able to work ourselves out of the harbour. And in this consumption of time we lost the best season of the year for our purpose, and also greatly decayed our victuals and provisions; besides the numbers of our soldiers and mariners that daily diminished (Purchas 20. 46).

See *HMC Hatfield* 7. 342, 350, for Essex's frustrated letters of 10 and 13 Aug.

18 prisoners . . . fees] Although discharged, they might remain in custody because they could not pay the law officers in their case, including the jailer and perhaps their own lawyer. Grierson notes that the figure is used in D.'s last sermon, *Deaths Duell*, 1631 (*Serm.* 10. 233). Milgate quotes Walton's report (*Lives* p. 70) that in later life D. 'redeemed many from thence that lay for their fees or small debts'.

19 Mildly . . . sails] Gorges p. 41 says that on the first setting-out they 'for about two days space were accompanied with a fair, leading north-easterly wind.'

21 Meat] Food. **swoll/swelled]** The latter is agreed on by all sources in *Ecstasy* 2.

- So joyed, as Sarah[^]her swelling joyed to see.
 But 'twas but so kind as our countrymen,
 Which bring friends one day's way and leave them then.
 25 Then, like two mighty kings which, dwelling far
 Asunder, meet against a third to war,
 The south and west winds joined, and, as they blew,
 Waves like a rolling trench before them threw.
 Sooner than you read this line did the gale,
 30 Like shot not feared till felt, our sails assail;
 And what at first was called a gust, the same
 Hath now a storm's, anon a tempest's name.
 Jonas, I pity thee, and curse those men
 Who, when the storm raged most, did wake thee then:
 35 Sleep is pain's easiest salve, and doth fulfil
 All offices of death except to kill.
 But when I waked, I saw that I saw not.
 I and the Sun which should teach me[^]had forgot
 East, west, day, night, and I could but say,
 40 If th'world had lasted, now it had been day.
 Thousands our noises were, yet we 'mongst all
 Could none by his right name but thunder call;
 Lightning was all our light, and it rained more

33 Jonas *first two letters torn away* L74 34 Who] *first letter tom away* L74
 39 could but] could H49, C57, Lec: should D: could then but Lut, O'F: could
 only 1633, 1635
 40 now] yet Lut, O'F, 1635

- 22 Sarah had assumed she was past child-bearing: *Gen.* 18. 10–15, 21. 6.
 24 **bring . . . way**] On this ancient custom, Milgate cites *Gen.* 18. 16, its recom-
 mendation in 3 *John* 6, and *Richard II* 1. 3. 303 (Folio), 1. 4. 1–4.
 25–7 Cp. the joining of east, south, and south-west winds in Virgil, 1. 84–6.
 33–4 *Jonah* 1. 5–6.
 35–6 Quoted inaccurately in Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle's *Second
 Part of the Lady Contemplation* 1. 9 (*Playes* (1662) p. 219, CH 58).
 35 **salve**] remedy.
 38 I] Grierson cites Q's 'Yea' as evidence for modernising as 'Ay', but that MS
 is conspicuously unreliable, so its scribe could well have interpreted his copy wrongly.
 39 The line obviously does not scan conventionally, but MS testimony for 'but'
 against 1633's 'only' is strong: the Group III MSS *Dob* and *O'F*, which give patently
 wrong readings here and there throughout, attempt to regularise by inserting 'then'
 before 'but'. D. may have considered the four successive stresses and pauses of
 the first four words to have given sufficient weight to the line, apart from enacting
 the disruption of the normal order of experience.
 43–4 Cp. the rain on the sea and the obscured lightning of Lucan 5. 629–31.
 43 **Lightning . . . light**] Cp. Ovid 11. 522–3.

- Than if the Sun had drunk the sea before.
 45 Some confined in their cabins lie, equally
 Grieved that they are not dead and yet must die;
 And, as sin-burdened souls from graves will creep
 At the last day, some forth their cabins peep,
 And tremblingly ask 'What news?' and do hear so,
 50 Like jealous husbands, what they would not know.
 Some sitting on the hatches would seem there
 With hideous gazing to fear away fear;
 There note they the ship's sicknesses: the mast
 Shaked with this ague, and the hold and waist

47 graves] grave 1633, 1635 49 tremblingly] trembling, III, Q, 1635
 50 Like] As *Lut*, O'F, Q, 1635
 53 There] Then I, DC, O'Fae, 1633, 1635 they the] the I
 54 Shaked Σ: Shagged *W* this] an III, 1635

45–53 Cp. the various responses in Ovid II. 539–43.

45 **confined**] Cp. *Satyre* 1 2–4, *Satyre* 3 18, *War* 26–7.

47 Here D. still holds the belief that at death souls sleep in the grave, according with *John* 5. 28–9: 'all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, And shall come forth', rather than going immediately to their eternal place: cp. *DivM6Play* 6–7 and notes.

49 **tremblingly/trembling**] The latter is probably an early variant (see head-note on *Text*), but the elided extra syllable is characteristic of D., and expressive in its potential interruption of the metre.

49–50 **do hear . . . know**] Milgate compares D.'s Paradox 'That Old Men are more Fantastic than Young' (*Paradoxes* (1980) p. 5): 'that riddling humour of jealousy, which seeks and would not find, which inquires and repents his knowledge'. Self-fulfilling, tormenting suspicion is the subject of *Orlando Furioso* 42. 66–82, 43. 1–138. For the commonness of this perception about a common malady, see *Othello* 3. 3. 350–2: 'I had been happy had the general camp, / Pioneers and all, had tasted her sweet body, / So I had nothing known!' 'Sir Rob. Bell used to say that he that is jealous, and pries after his wife, yet with no desire to find her false, is like one that, coming into a dark privy, gropes with his hand to examine the cleanness of the seat, but would be sorry to find it otherwise' (L'Estrange 526 (1974) p. 141).

52 **fear away**] frighten away.

53–4 **the mast . . . ague**] Cp. the state of the *St Matthew* after the second storm, which was disabled and had to return to England: 'her mainmast, with the ship's rolling, had loosened itself in the partners, and in danger to break in the step (which if it had done, it would presently have sunk her)' (Gorges p. 50).

54 **ague**] malarial fever which makes sufferers shiver violently.

54–5 **the hold . . . clogged**] i.e., the hold and the deck amidships between poop and forecabin are full of seawater.

- 55 With a salt dropsy clogged, and all our tacklings
 Snapping like to high-stretched treble strings,
 And from our tattered sails rags drop down so
 As from one hanged in chains a year ago.
 Yea, e'en our ordnance, placed for our defence,
 60 Strive to break loose and scape away from thence.
 Pumping hath tired our men, and what's the gain?
 Seas into seas thrown we suck in again.
 Hearing hath deafed our sailors, and if they
 Knew how to hear, there's none knows what to say.
 65 Compared to these storms, death is but a qualm,
 Hell somewhat lightsome, and th' Bermuda calm.
 Darkness, Light's elder brother, his birthright
 Claims o'er this world, and to Heaven hath chasèd Light.
 All things are one, and that one none can be,

56 like to] ~ to too *Lut*, *O'F*: ~ too- 1633: ~ too-too- 1635: asunder like *DC*:
 in two like *Dob*

57 tattered] tottered *I*, *DC*, *Dob*, 1633, 1635

59 Even *I*, *II*, 1633, 1635: E euen *W*: Yea, even *III* 60 Strive] ~s *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

64 knew *II*, *W*: knows *I*, *III*, 1633, 1635 65 to] with *III*: in *Q*

66 and th' Bermuda] ~ ~ Barmoodas *Dob*, *Q*: the Bermudas *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

67 elder] eldest *C57*, *Lex*, 1633, 1635

68 Claims] Claimed 1633 this] the *III*, 1635

55–8 Lucan 5. 594–6 unsurprisingly records the same fate of rigging and sails: D. adds the modern analogies of lute or viol-strings and a hanged pirate. Cp. Gorges (p. 42) on the first storm: 'And here some began to taste the inconvenience and peril of high-cargued ships drawing little water, and overcharged with mighty ordnance in a furious high wrought sea; and now also others found and felt the mischief of weak-built vessels and of rotten tackle.'

55–6 tacklings . . . strings] On this rhyming of an unstressed extra syllable with a normally stressed final syllable, see *Satyre* 1 7–8. Cp. also *DivM4Part* 4–5.

56 Though 1633's 'too-high-stretched' may seem at first a plausible reading, the point is that, while all strings on an instrument will snap if over-stretched during tuning, treble strings, which are normally relatively 'high-stretched', more dramatically cause surprise and disruption by breaking during playing.

57 tattered] The spelling 'totter'd' in MSS of all Groups and the editions was current.

58 The exemplary punishment of (among others, but relevantly here) pirates, who were thus displayed at the docks. Cp. *Bracelet* 95.

59 ordnance] guns (in the plural, so 'Strive' in l. 60).

62 Seas . . . thrown] Cp. Ovid 11. 488.

66 lightsome] cheerful **th' Bermuda calm]** Contrast Raleigh (1596) p. 96: 'the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms' (Milgate).

67–8 Cp. the apparent return of night and death of light in Lucan 5. 630, 635–6.

67 Darkness . . . brother] *Gen.* 1. 2–3. **elder]** In support of the MSS' reading against 1633, Grierson quotes *Essays* I. 1 (p. 19): 'darkness, which is elder than light'.

69–71 The world seems to have returned to the chaos before Creation.

- 70 Since all forms uniform deformity
 Doth cover; so that we, except God say
 Another *Fiat*, shall have no more day.
 So violent yet long these furies be
 That though thine absence starve me I wish not thee.

71 so that we] ~ that *I*: such as we *DC* 72 shall] we shall *I*

The Calm

Date and context. Sept. 1597. Lines 9–10’s ‘those isles which we Seek’ indicates that the poem describes an experience during the expedition to the Azores against the Spanish (Bald p. 90). Essex reached the islands before Raleigh, finding no treasure-fleet, and does not mention any notable calm in his account (printed in Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (1625–6; 1907) 20. 28), which is rather a tale of continually contrary winds. Raleigh’s captain in the *Warspite*, Sir Arthur Gorges, in his *Voyage to the Isles of Azores* (Purchas 20. 65–6), records, however, that between 8 and 10 Sept., after he too had reached the islands: ‘While we were before Saint George’s, we were very much becalmed for a day or two, and the weather extremely hot, insomuch that the wind could not bear the sails from the masts, but were fain to hull in the sea, to our great discontentment’. Since D.’s ships were still short of ‘those isles’, Milgate suggests that they must have been straggling behind even Raleigh’s squadron: apart from separation by bad weather, Gorges on more than one occasion complains eloquently of lack of co-ordination among the English ships. Though it has usually been assumed that as a companion poem to *Storm* it would likewise have been sent to Christopher Brooke, there is no MS or other witness to this. For a brief modern account, see Hammer pp. 199–203.

Analogues. As noted on *Storm*, B. F. Nellist, *MLR* 59 (1964) 111–15, drew attention to Lucan, *Pharsalia* 5. 430–55, in place of whose Stoicism the Christian D. here asserts, not wholly seriously, the nothingness of man apart from a capacity for suffering. For the context of Thomas Freeman’s line, ‘Thy “Calm” a gale of famous wind has got’ (1614; *CH* p. 72, Keynes p. 282), see headnote on *Satire*. Keynes p. 291 and *CH* p. 53 note echoes of *Calm* in W. Cartwright’s ‘On the Great Frost, 1634’ (*Comedies etc.* (1651) 204–6), and thence in H. C.’s ‘On the Hott Summer following the Great Frost, in imitation of the Verses made upon it by W. C.’ (BL MS Harleian 6931, ff. 80–1).

Text. The version in *TCD* has been followed as demanding least emendation. Throughout, *TCD* has the support of either Group I MSS or Group III MSS or

71–2 Cp. Caesar’s faith in Lucan 5. 581–3 that the gods and his destiny will see him through, succeeded in 653–71 by his boast that such an exceptional storm would be a fitting end for one who has risen as far as a Roman could. D.’s lines are paraphrased by Manningham, *Diary* for 31 March 1603 (1976 p. 219), and quoted by Dekker, *Knight’s Conjuring* (1607) sig. B2r—F. P. Wilson (1945) 55. **Fiat** ‘Let there be [light]’, *Gen.* 1. 3.

74 The feeling of Ceyx about Alcyon in Ovid 11. 545–6.

both except in ll. 4, 34, 47 and 49, where Group I and *Lut* agree in preferable alternative readings (of the other members of Group III, *Dob* is very variable, and *O'F* as usual agrees with *Lut*, and is emended to follow 1633). On other MSS see headnote to *Storm*. Again, 1633 was obviously set principally from a (now lost) Group I MS, specifically, as l. 9 shows, one related most closely to *C57, Lec*.

- OUR storm is past, and that storm's tyrannous rage
 A stupid calm, but nothing it, doth swage.
 The fable is inverted, and far more
 A block afflicts, now, than a stork before.
 5 Storms chafe and soon wear out themselves or us;
 In calms, Heav'n laughs to see us languish thus.
 As steady as I can wish my thoughts were,
 Smooth as thy mistress' glass, or what shines there,
 The sea is now; and as those isles which we
 10 Seek when we can move, our ships rooted be.
 As water did in storms, now pitch runs out
 As lead when a fired church becomes one spout,

Sources collated: *Group I: D, H49, C57, Lec; Group II: L74, Dal1, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, Lut, O'F*

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading: Σ , 1633, 1635: A ~ *L74, Dal1*: The ~ in the same voyage *DC*

4 afflicts Σ , 1633, 1635: ~ us *TCD, Dob*

7 can] could *III, Q, 1635* wish] ~ that *I, L74, Dal1, DC, 1633*

9 those] these *D, H49, Dob*: the *C57, Lec, 1633, 1635*

2 stupid] motionless, stagnant. The Latin root-verb *stueo* was applied to natural forces, inanimate objects and liquids. **swage]** assuage.

3-4 The fable . . . before] In the fable attributed to Aesop (on the syllabus of Elizabethan schools), the frogs in a pond became contemptuous of the idle but harmless log which Zeus had granted them as a ruler, so he replaced it at their request, but with a stork (water-snake in pre-medieval versions) that tyrannically devoured them.

6 Heav'n laughs/heavens laugh] The reading in *Lut/O'F* may be attributed to scribes/editors who did not wish to suggest the direct involvement of God. The smile of the sun has turned into the contemptuous laughter of the gods, Homer, *Odyssey* 8. 266-327 (with perhaps a nervous reminiscence too of the suffering Job's vision, 9. 23, of God laughing at the trial of the innocent, and of divine derision of his enemies in *Ps.* 2. 4).

9 those isles] The Azores, whither the English fleet had hurried on a false rumour that the Spaniards were to be caught up with there.

12 Lead was used in large quantities for roofing, and so, when the timbers caught fire, ran off all round instead of just through the projecting rainwater-spouts (themselves dissolving). Milgate cites accounts of the melting of the lead on the steeple of St Paul's when struck by lightning in 1561 (before D. was born). When the cathedral was burning in 1666, Evelyn recorded in his diary, 4 Sept., 'the lead

- And all our beauty and our trim decays
 Like courts removing or like ended plays.
 15 The fighting-place now seamen's rags supply,
 And all the tackling is a frippery.
 No use of lanterns; and in one place lay
 Feathers and dust today and yesterday.
 Earth's hollownesses, which the world's lungs are,
 20 Have no more wind than th'upper vault of air.
 We can nor left friends nor sought foes recover,

21 left] lost III, Q, 1633, 1635

melting down the streets in a stream', 'the very roof,' he noted on 7 Sept., '... a sheet of lead covering no less than 6 acres by measure, being totally melted'.

13 Elizabethan warships left port colourfully painted and flying flags and pennants, which the sunlight has now faded, blistered and perished.

14 Echoed by Jonson, *New Inn* 4. 4. 248 (1629). **courts removing]** The Queen frequently made progresses around the realm, saving the royal purse and displaying her power at the expense of her hosts (see Nichols, *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth I*), while the nobility alternated between their town and country houses.

15 fighting-place] Not defined in *OED2*, so this may refer to what came to be called fighting-tops, platforms on the masts from which musketeers fired down into enemy ships, or to the railed upper deck(s) used in the same way. The point, in any case, is the contrast between humble washing hung out to dry and the proper occupation of the place by fighting-men and their weapons. **supply]** fill.

16 frippery] second-hand clothes shop.

17 lanterns] Most conspicuously the navigation-light hung out at the admiral's stern for the rest to follow (Purchas pp. 27, 29, 57, 64, 67), for which there is no call when there is no movement; but, more extraordinarily, the candles lighting shipboard life at night need no shielding in lanterns in these windless conditions.

18 According to Drummond, Jonson told him in conversation that 'he hath by heart . . . that passage of *The Calm*: that dust and feathers do not stir, all was so quiet' (Jonson, *Works* I. 135). The Hawthornden MS (*HN*) contains this and twenty-six other poems by D. copied out by Drummond. **Feathers]** Perhaps just stuffing from the pillows and mattresses on which they presumably slept on deck, but Sir Anthony Standen wrote to Anthony Bacon from the fleet preparing against Cadiz the year before: 'We have 300 green-headed youths covered with feathers, gold and silver lace'—T. Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1754) 2. 14–15. In 'Advice to Gallants', Gorges (p. 44) deplors this foppery of inexperienced volunteers: 'For be he poor or rich when he first prepares to go to serve, he will take more care, and be at more cost to provide himself of a roisting ['swaggering'] feather and a clinquant ['glittering'] coat than to be furnished either of fit arms or of necessary clothing to keep out wet and cold'.

19–20 Traditional theory: see note on *Stom* 13–14. The 'upper vault of air' between the clouds and the moon was assumed to be free of winds (Pliny the Elder 2. 38 (102–3), Heninger pp. 108–9). From D.'s own time, Milgate quotes the English translation of Bacon's *History of Winds* (1653) p. 88.

21 left friends] the rest of the English fleet. **left/lost]** Were it not for the strong testimony of Group I and II MSS against 1633 and Group III, the reading 'lost'

- But meteor-like, save that we move not, hover.
 Only the calenture together draws
 Dear friends, which meet dead in great fishes' jaws;
 25 And on the hatches as on altars lies
 Each one, his own priest and own sacrifice.
 Who live, that miracle do multiply
 Where walkers in hot ovens do not die.
 If in despite of this we swim, that hath
 30 No more refreshing than our brimstone Bath,

24 jaws] maws *Lutae*, *O'F*, 1635

29 this] these *I*, 1633, 1635 30 our] the *Dal1*: a *III*, *Q*, 1635

might be accepted as more appropriate after a storm. However, Essex and Raleigh's fleets had been deliberately separated and subdivided in the hurry to reach the Azores. D.'s ships themselves were in the rear and still 'seeking' the Azores which Essex's fleet and a good part of Raleigh's squadron had already reached, though this might not have been known to D. at the time. He was evidently with the slower ships, perhaps the troop transports. **sought foes]** the Spanish.

22 meteor-like] like atmospheric phenomena between heaven and earth.

23 calenture] A shipboard tropical fever in which sufferers leapt into the sea. According to J. de Vigo, *Whole Worke of that famous Chirurgeon . . . newly corrected* 9. 3 (enl. edn 1586) p. '367', i.e., 359: 'The patient feeleth no great heat in the outward parts of his body at the beginning, but within, and chiefly about the heart, the patient thinketh that he burneth.' (quoted from 1543 edn by Allen, *Essential Articles* p. 103).

24 great fishes'] Especially the white shark, *Carcharodon carcharias*, though, as a good Christian, D. probably believed that whales were fish and could swallow people, as in the legend of Jonah. **jaws/maws]** the latter makes better sense—even the largest fish would be unlikely to eat two at once—but lacks MS support, the scribe of copy for *Lut* and *O'F* apparently deciding his or her copy-text could not be right here.

25–6 As if parodying Noah's 'burnt offerings on the altar' after the Flood, *Gen.* 8. 20, or commands such as that of *Exod.* 20. 24, 'An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings', rather than fulfilling the serious figurative injunction of *Rom.* 12. 1. Either those suffering from the fever or all the company lie above deck as cooler than below, the hatches projecting above the deck suggesting altars. The ravings of the sick are the only verbal prelude to their consigning themselves to the deep without waiting for the usual service of commitment.

26 Like Jesus: see *Heb.* 7. 26–7, 9. 11–12, 24–6. D. elaborates the paradox in a religious application in *Litany* 27.

27–8 Perhaps referring to workers in brick and tile-kilns, potteries or glassworks, as well as glancing at the miracle of the three men in the furnace in *Dan.* 3. 19–27.

29 in despite of this] 'scorning to reproduce the miracle'. **this/these]** Cp. the similar variation of determiners among MS groups in l. 9.

30 our/a brimstone Bath] MS support for 'our' is overwhelming: the original copyist who wrote 'a' presumably missed the specific national reference of 'our

But from the sea into the ship we turn
 Like parboiled wretches on the coals to burn.
 Like Bajazet engaged, the shepherd's scoff,
 Or like slack-sinewed Samson, his hair off,
 35 Languish our ships. Now, as a myriad
 Of ants, durst th'emp'ror's loved snake invade,

33 engaged] enraged III

34 Or I, *Dal*, DC, *Lut*, O'F, 1633, 1635: And TCD, L74, *Dob*, Q

brimstone Bath': 'our' suggests one place of common access, 'a' an individual's medical treatment. Capitalisation of 'Bath' in MSS does not determine that the reference is to the city since they capitalise many common nouns, but the springs there, feeding baths first built by the Romans, and in use through the Middle Ages, were commonly characterised as sulphurous, e.g., by W. Turner, *Booke of the natures and properties . . . of the bathes in England* (Cologne, 1562) f. 1r: 'The chief matter whereof these baths in this city have their chief virtue and strength, after my judgement, is brimstone', claiming for them the cure of constipation, skin diseases, hardened liver, gout, etc., etc., as does John Jones in *Bathes of Bathes Ayde*, I (1572) f. 6r-v, listing some fifty-one diseases, and repeating (2, f. 19v) that 'those our baths of Bath receive their chief virtues from brimstone.' However, he backs this with the observation (f. 17v) 'The smell of the baths of Bath and S. Vincents is of brimstone, as the artificial baths that be made thereof', explaining this latter remark (1, f. 1v), 'Artificial baths be those which be made by knowledge in physic'. Nevertheless, artificial baths would not be of a size to swim in, and therefore a less fitting comparison here; cp. T. Venner, *Baths of Bathe* (1628) 1-2: 'The King's Bath is the hottest, and it is for beauty, largeness, and efficacy of heat, a kingly bath indeed, being so hot as can well be suffered . . . only convenient for cold and moist bodies, and for cold and moist diseases'. James I's Queen, Anne, after whom another, cooler pool that she preferred was named, made visiting Bath fashionable as well as therapeutic: it was presumably in the train of her favourite companion, Lady Bedford, that D. later went there (*Letters* pp. 39, 203).

32 The culinary comparison is clarified by G. Markham, *English Hus-wife* (1615) p. 63: 'Charbonados or carbonados, which is meat broiled upon the coals . . . are of divers kinds . . . the general dishes for the most part which are used to be carbonadoed are a breast of mutton half boiled, . . .' and so on. Cp. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour* 4. 1.

33 As a 'great frequenter of plays' according to Sir Richard Baker in his *Chronicles of England* (1643, etc.; see Bald p. 72) D. is probably referring to the stage portrayal of the humiliation of the Emperor of the Turks in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* Part I, 4. 2 (1590) rather than its source, P. Mexia in *Foreste* (1571). Timur's family ruled a pastoral kingdom, so his rise was later exaggerated as being from mere shepherd to emperor.

34 *Judges* 14. 4-21. Or/And] The former is D.'s usual conjunction between alternative figures: cp. I. 14.

35-6 a myriad . . . invade] According to Suetonius, *Tiberius* 72, he had a pet snake which he fed himself: his finding it devoured by ants was taken as an omen that he should beware of the power of the masses. The galleys carried swarms of soldiers but their cannon were limited to forward fire.

The crawling galleys, sea-gaols, finny chips,
 Might brave our Venices, now bedrid ships.
 Whether a rotten state and hope of gain,
 40 Or to disuse me from the queasy pain
 Of being beloved and loving, or the thirst
 Of honour or fair death out-pushed me first,
 I lose my end: for here as well as I
 A desperate may live and a coward die.

37 sea-gaols] sea-gulls *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

38 Venices] *Veneres Dobbe*: Pinaces *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

44 may live, and a] man [possibly deleted] may live, a *Dob*: may live, and *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

37–8 Cp. Lucan, *Pharsalia* 5. 447–9.

37 Lower and smaller than men-of-war, the single-deck galleys might seem to move like ants as they crept along with their leg-like oars. D. would have seen them at Cadiz (Stow, *Annals* (1631) 776). **sea-gaols**] On 26 Aug. 1593, e.g., two forgers of Privy Councillors' signatures to payment-warrants were 'committed . . . to be placed in the new galleys, and fast tied with chains', and four more, for life, on 11 Feb. 1596—*APC* 1592–3, 24. 486–7; W. Hawarde, *Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata*, 1593–1609, ed. W. P. Baildon (1894) pp. 37–8. D. would also have known of the thirty-nine English prisoners released from the Spanish galleys after the sack of Cadiz (Hakluyt (1598; 1904) 4. 263–6; Purchas (1625–6; 1907) 20. 22). Galleys were not much used by the English, being less suited to the stormy waters round Britain and in the open ocean than the rounded, higher-gunwaled galleon form of ship, though faster and not dependent on wind to move them. **finny**] the banks of oars as a whole resemble the fins of fish. Grierson notes the reverse comparison in *Metem* 228. **chips**] referring to their relatively light wooden construction and smaller size.

38 **brave]** defy. **Venices**] The immobility of the tall ships is like that of the famous city rising out of its calm lagoon as a fleet of its galleys passes by. The metaphor was apparently not understood by the scribe/editor of the source of *Lut/O'F* (and thence 1635, Grierson and Shawcross), who changed it to the literal, nautical but less ingenious and vivid 'pinnaces', small craft which, though fast, were too lightly armed to be a threat to galleys. **bedrid**] immobilised like sick people.

39 **rotten state]** lack of money. **gain]** The English hoped to intercept the Spanish treasure-fleet from the West Indies.

40 **disuse me from]** get me out of the habit or situation of.

40–1 **the queasy . . . beloved]** Experienced by Agathias Scholasticus in *Greek Anthology*, 5. 269. War is a cure for love in Ovid, *Remedia amoris* 153–4, and he raises the possibility of a surfeit of love in *Amores* 2. 19. 25–6. The question which is worse had been debated (with the religious conclusion that love of the Lord is best) in D.'s grandfather John Heywood's *Play of Love*, which might have been performed at Lincoln's Inn Christmas Revels for 1528–9, when, like D. in 1594, his maternal grandmother's great-uncle Sir Thomas More was a Master of the Revels (R. J. Schoeck, *PQ* 29 (1950) 426–30). Cp. *Indifferent* 14–18, *Diet*, and the implicit disdain of reciprocated love at the end of *Usury*.

43–6 Cp. *War* 17–28 (Milgate).

43 **lose my end]** fail in my purpose.

44 **desperate]** (Two syllables, possibly.) In a military context, one who was prepared to fight against hopeless odds, but now has no opportunity to, in contrast to

- 45 Stag, dog, and all which from or towards flies,
 Is paid with life or prey, or doing dies:
 Fate grudges us all, and doth subtly lay
 A scourge 'gainst which we all forgot to pray:
 He that at sea prays for more wind, as well
 50 Under the Poles may beg cold, heat in hell.
 What are we then? How little more, alas,
 Is man now than before he was! He was
 Nothing: for us, we are for no thing fit:
 Chance or ourselves still disproportion it.
 55 We have no will, no power, no sense—I lie:
 I should not then thus feel this misery.

45 all] each III, Q

47 subtly Σ , 1633, 1635: subtler *Dal1*: so *TCD*: up *Dob*

48 forgot] forget *I*, *Dal1*, *DC*, 1633, 1635

49 wind, Σ , 1633, 1635: ~s, *TCD*, *L74be*, *Dob*

55 will . . . power . . . sense] power . . . will . . . sense *I*, 1633, 1635: power . . . sense
 . . . will *DC*

the coward who would save his own life at any cost, but cannot. Cp. Seneca, *Agamemnon* 517–18 (of a storm). The metrically attractive emendation in *Dob* has no support in the other MSS.

45 all/each] The Group III reading agrees with the singular verb 'flies' (which as a rhyme-word is unchangeable) but is within the ability of a scribe to have adopted.

47–50 Cp. the newly invented prayers for huge waves and strong winds in Lucan, *Pharsalia* 5. 450–2.

48 forgot/forget] The past tense in *TCD* and Group III is patently correct: they would hardly forget to pray for deliverance from the calm that has them in its grip. The *BCP* provided three prayers for relief from storms 'to be used at sea', but none against calms.

52–3 He was Nothing] Creation out of nothing was a favourite scholastic dogma with D. Cp. *FirAn* 156, *Salisbury* 21, and *Serm.* 1. 249 (14 Dec. 1617): 'When thou wast nowhere, nothing, he brought thee then, the greatest step of all, from being nothing, to be a creature'; and *Serm.* 2. 236, 247; 3. 97 (quoted by Milgate); 4. 92, 100–1; 6. 124; 7. 136; 8. 282–3; 10. 134.

53 no thing] 'nothing' in the original text, printed here as 'no thing' to clarify the reference back of 'it' below.

54 'Circumstances or our characters prevent our matching up to any opportunity of making good.'

55 will . . . power . . . sense] As Milgate observes, comparing *Bell2* 8, the order in *TCD* and Group III expresses an intensifying degree of inability. *DC* is obviously wrong since the ensuing words specify the capacity to feel physically. The sentence perhaps echoes Cicero, *De inventione* 2. 7 (24), noting that a prosecutor must show, if others than the defendant had a motive, that they lacked '*aut potestas . . . aut facultas aut voluntas*' ('either power . . . or convenient opportunity or desire'). *Facultas* could also mean 'mental ability'. Wiggins 52 sees logicians' three types of power here: intellectual, vegetative and sensitive. Cp. *Lucy* 30–4.

55–6 D. characteristically undermines his own rhetoric at the end of a poem by withdrawing an obviously untenable assertion: cp. *Constancy*, *DivMgPois'nous*.

To Mr Henry Wotton
 ('Here's no more news than virtue')

20 July 1598. At Court.

Date and Context. 20 July 1598. D. would have attended Court, probably then at Greenwich, as a secretary to the Lord Keeper. On 1 July the Earl of Essex, Wotton's employer, pointedly defied and threatened Elizabeth:

The Queen was of opinion that Sir William Knollys, the Earl's uncle, was the fittest person to be sent to Ireland, while his lordship declared obstinately for Sir George Carew, in order to remove him from the Court, and finding that his advice on this point made no impression upon Her Majesty, he turned his back upon her in such a contemptuous manner as exasperated her to so high a degree that she gave him a box on the ear, and bid him go and be hanged. Upon this he put his hand to his sword, and when the Admiral interposed, swore that he neither could nor would bear such an indignity, nor would have taken it even from Henry VIII, and so left the Court. (Birch 2. 384).

In a long letter Egerton laboured in vain to get Essex to see the disloyalty and imprudence of his ways, possibly ruining his followers (such as Wotton) as well as himself, which the Earl countered with a longer letter consisting mostly of rhetorical questions. Others too wrote, but Essex did not return to Court and submit to the Queen until Sept. The government also had to contend with Burghley's dying on 4 Aug., and the Hispano-Hibernian threat (Birch 2. 384–92). There was therefore much going on for Wotton to want to hear about. Like D., Wotton went on the Cadiz and Azores expeditions with Essex in 1596 and 1597. The historical context is outlined by T.-L. Pebworth and C. Summers, *MP* 81 (1984) 365–73. See also the headnote to *WottonKisses*.

Analogues. Cameron (1976) p. 381 notes that *WottonNews* resembles *Satyre 4* more than the other verse-epistles in its indulgence in the courtiers' custom of vilifying the Court.

Text. Though Woodward initially wrote the wrong year, he corrected it (imperfectly) before writing the rest of the line, so evidently had in front of him the date also given in *HN*, *Wed*. The rest of their text is spattered with errors, whereas *W* needs no correction, unlike all the other sources consulted except *H49*, *D*.

HERE'S no more news than virtue:~I may as well
 Tell you Cales' or~St Michael's tale for news, as tell

Sources collated: *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II*: *L74*, *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; *W*; *HN*, *Wed*, *1633*, *1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *HN*, *Wed*: ~ ~ ~ ~. ~ ~ 1609. ~ ~ imperfectly emended to 1598 *W*: To Mr H. W. *DC*, *TCD*: Jo. D. to Mr H. W. *TCC*: To Sir Henry Wotton I, *L74*, *III*, *1633*, *1635*: no heading *Dal* 2 tale] ~s *III*, *1635* for news *om.* *Lut*, *O'F*, *1635*

2 Cales' . . . tale] Wotton and D. had actually been on both expeditions, partially and poetically treated by D. in *Epigrams* and *Calm*.

That vice doth here habitually dwell.

Yet, as t'get stomachs we walk up and down,
 5 And toil to sweeten rest, so, may God frown
 If but to loathe both I haunt Court or Town.

For here no-one is from th'extremity
 Of vice by any other reason free
 But that the next to^him still is worse than he.

10 In this world's warfare they whom rugged Fate,
 (God's commissary) doth so throughly hate
 As in'th' Court's squadron to marshal their state

If they stand armed with seely honesty,
 With wishing prayers, and neat integrity,
 15 Like Indians 'gainst Spanish hosts they be.

9 him still is] ~ is still *L74, Dal, TCC, TCD*: him's still *III*
 13 seely] silly *C57, DC, TCC, TCD, III, HN*
 14 wishing] wishes, *Lut, O'F, 1635*
 15 'gainst] against *L74be, Dal, TCC, TCD*

3 vice] Milgate quotes from Walton's *Life D.*'s use of the common joke in a letter to Mrs Herbert: 'Plaguy London, a place full of danger and vanity and vice—though the Court be gone'.

4 stomachs] i.e., hunger.

5 toil . . . rest] Cp. *Eccles.* 5.12 (*GV*): 'The sleep of him that travaileth is sweet.' **frown]** show disapproval.

6 Town] Capitalised because often specifically denoting London, as in *Satyre* 2.

9 still is] (a) continues to be; (b) is even.

10–12 The military image of this and the next stanza (typically Stoic as well as Christian: Milgate cites Seneca, *Epist.* 51. 6, Epictetus, *Discourses* 3. 24. 31–6; cp. *Ephes.* 6. 13–17) paradoxically pictures courtiers as a detachment doomed to moral destruction.

10 rugged] rough, harsh.

11 commissary] delegate, agent. D. carefully avoids being accused of non-Christian belief. Cp. *Metem* 31, *FuneralEl* 95–6.

13 seely] simple. *W*'s spelling, also found in about half the sources consulted, is reproduced to avoid the connotations of the modern 'silly'.

14 wishing] (merely) desirous. **neat]** pure.

15 Alluding to Spanish firepower which made possible the atrocities in Mexico, Peru and the West Indies described by, e.g., B. de las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts of the Spantiardes in the West Indies*, Eng. M. M. S. (1583).

Suspicious boldness to this place belongs,
 And to have as many ears as all have tongues;
 Tender to know, tough to acknowledge wrongs.

Believe me, sir, in my youth's giddiest days,
 20 When to be like the Court was a play's praise,
 Plays were not so like Courts as Courts're like plays.

Then let us at these mimic antics jest,
 Whose deepest projects and egregious gests
 Are but dull morals of a game at chests.

18 tough] loath *II*

19 youth's] young'st *III* 20 play's] player's *S96, Lut, O'F, HN, Wed*

21 Courts're like] Court's're now like *S96: Courts like Lut, O'F, 1635*

22 antics] antic *L74, Dal, TCC, TCD*

16 Suspicious boldness] Promptness to see hostility.

17 Cp. the Rainbow Portrait of the Queen (Hatfield House) with representations of ears (and eyes) embroidered all over her dress. The government was concerned to give the impression of inescapable vigilance, and to that end men of power maintained continent-wide networks of informers such as Wotton himself.

18 For typical examples, see the quarrel over precedence in a tennis-court between Sidney and the Earl of Oxford in Fulke Greville, *Prose Works*, ed. J. Gouws (Oxford 1986 pp. 86–8), and in the following reign between the earls of Pembroke and Argyll at a meal-table, and Pembroke and Sir George Wharton at a game of cards.

19–20 Locating D.'s 'giddiest days' in the era of, e.g., Shakespeare's earlier history plays and comedies, up to, perhaps, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard II* and *King John*, and Marlowe's *Edward II*—not very complimentary portrayals of courtly machinations.

21 Now courts try to live down to the level of earlier dramatic portrayals. Cp. *Perfume* 63–4: 'in the prince's hall, . . . things that seem exceed substantial' (Milgate).

22 mimic antics] buffoon grotesques.

23 projects] schemes. **egregious gests]** outstanding deeds.

24 morals] tedious principles, obvious maxims, well-known gambits. **chests]** chess. The archaic form has been kept for the rhyme. Invented in the East, it was even in medieval England (see, e.g., Jacobus de Cessolis, *The Game of Chess*, 1474 etc.) an amusing as well as educative resource, especially for under-employed courtiers. Milgate quotes from Damiano da Odemira, *Ludus Scacchiae: Chesse-play*, the translator G. B.'s preface 'To the Reader greeting' (1597) sig. A2r:

This game or kingly pastime is not only void of craft, fraud, and guile, swearing, staring, impatience fretting, and falling out, but also breedeth in the players a certain study, wit, policy, forecast and memory, not only in the play thereof, but also in actions of public government, both in peace and war; wherein both counsellors at home and captains abroad may pick out of these wooden pieces some pretty policy, both how to govern their subjects in peace, and how to lead or conduct lively men in the field in war.

- 25 But now 'tis incongruity to smile,
Therefore I end, and bid farewell awhile:
At Court, though 'From Court' were the better style.

To Mr Henry Wotton ('Sir, more than kisses')

Date and Context. c. Aug. 1598. Lines 65–8 probably allude to H. W.'s return from the travels mentioned in *IListerRoll* 3–4: his first known visit to Paris was in Dec. 1595, giving an earliest possible date. He was knighted in 1603, so *W*'s heading implies a latest date. He went to Ireland in 1599: the lack of mention of this suggests this verse-epistle precedes *WottonHibernia*. Marotti (1986) p. 122 sees *WottonKisses* as the protest of a disgruntled aspirant to a career, and so written before D. became Egerton's secretary in 1597 or 1598, but T.-L. Peabworth and C. Summers, *MP* 81 (1984) 365–73, argue that the debate is more specific to the positions of Wotton and D., and is started by D.'s relatively callow *WottonNews* of 20 July 1598, when assumed to be in Egerton's service, to which Wotton, seemingly anxious for news from court of the breach between his patron, Essex, and the Queen, responded in a poem of his own whose more mature philosophy was then endorsed by *WottonKisses*. They consider that the occasion for D.'s advice, to be independent of prosperity or adversity, would have passed by early Sept. 1598, when Essex was reconciled with the Queen, and so they exclude the analogues mentioned below from the immediate exchange between D. and Wotton.

Analogues. Grierson, *MLR* 6 (1911) 145–56, argued for a poetic debate among followers of Essex, sparked by the two epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* 9. 359, 360 in which Posidippus (or Crates or Plato the Comedian) and Metrodorus condemn and praise respectively twelve conditions of life. Grierson prints these the paraphrases by Nicholas Grimald in Tottel's Miscellany, *Songs and Sonets* (1557) ff. 114r–v, and cites G. Putterham, *Arte of English Poesie* 3. 19 (1589; 1936) pp. 205–6, Sir John Beaumont (*Shorter Poems* ed. R. D. Sell (Åbo 1974) pp. 86–7), Ronsard and Grotius. Bacon's thirty-two-line version of Posidippus, 'The world's a bubble', was printed first along with a Latin translation of the Greek by Thomas Farnaby in *Florilegium Epigrammatum* (1629), and then, presumably from Wotton's papers, in *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651). Grierson found Bacon's poem in what seems to be a collection of Wotton's papers (drawn on by L. P. Smith for *Life and Letters*) in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, together with a reply imitating Metrodorus, perhaps also by Bacon, and Latin versions of both. ('The world's a bubble' is easily accessible in *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth-Century Verse* ed. Emrys Jones, no. 497). Thomas Bastard, who dedicated many epigrams to Essex, subordinates outer to inner state in his country v. city poem in *Chrestoleros* 2. 4 (1598, p. 29, printed by Grierson, *MLR* 6 (1911) 152), entered in the Stationers' Register April 1598. Wotton's contribution (Jones no. 315), 'Tis not a coat of grey or shepherd's life' (a grey cloak was worn by aldermen, so perhaps stands here for city experience), is in the tradition of that other response by a disappointed Elizabethan courtier, perhaps the Earl of Oxford, 'My mind to me a kingdom is' (Jones no. 187, attrib. to Dyer). It is more thoughtful than *WottonNews* and slightly longer, though at thirty lines less than half the length of *WottonKisses*. Grierson

- 27 **From]** Away from. **style]** subscription, i.e., place whence he sends the letter.

and, more precisely, Pebworth and Summers 368–9, give Wotton's poem from the Bridgewater MS (related to Group III, mainly of D.'s poems and once owned by his friend, John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater):

To J. D. from Mr H. W.

Worthy Sir,

'Tis not a coat of grey or shepherd's life,
'Tis not in fields or woods remote to live,
That adds or takes from one that peace or strife
Which to our days such good or ill doth give:
It is the mind that makes the man's estate
For ever happy or unfortunate.

Then first the mind of passions must be free
Of him that would to happiness aspire,
Whether in princes' palaces he be
Or whether to his cottage he retire:
For our desires, that on extremes are bent
Are friends to care, and traitors to content.

Nor should we blame our friends, though false they be,
Since there are thousands false for one that's true,
But our own blindness, that we cannot see
To choose the best, although they be but few;
For he that ev'ry feignèd friend will trust
Proves true to friend but to himself unjust.

The faults we have are they that make our woe;
Our virtues are the motives of our joy;
Then is it vain if we to deserts go
To seek our bliss, or shroud us from annoy:
Our place need not be changèd but our will,
For everywhere we may do good or ill.

But this I do not dedicate to thee
As one that holds himself fit to advise,
Or that my lines to him should precepts be
That is less ill than I, and much more wise;
Yet 'tis no harm morality to preach,
For men do often learn when they do teach.

(Though Grierson and Pebworth's source apparently reads 'mortality' in the penultimate line, the poem preaches *morality*, so the text has been emended.) Francis Thynne's 112-line 'Courte and Cuntrey', *Emblemes and Epigrames* 71 [1600], dedicated to his old friend Sir Thomas Egerton (in the Ellesmere MS, ff. 66–8, ed. F. J. Furnivall, *EETS* 64 (1876) 88–91), might be regarded as the sort of simple comparison that lies behind this debate: it praises rural retirement in the tradition of Horace, Tibullus, and Wyatt, ending 'Thus, careful Court, farewell! / And welcome country state, / Where thou shalt live at quiet rest / From all envying hate.' Thynne (1545?–1608) was of an older generation, one-time member of Lincoln's Inn, antiquary, later Lancaster Herald, and co-reviser of Speght's Chaucer for the 1602 edn. The order of the poems is disputable, but Pebworth and Summers are persuasive in their argument that *WottonKisses*, though it shares phraseology with Bacon in l. 19, is a response to Wotton's verse-epistle, which itself was a rejoinder to D.'s *WottonNews*. Wotton and D. share the disclaimer that either is

fit to teach the other, a conventional courtesy that does not help determine chronology. Subsequently, it is reported of the melancholy Jaques in *As You Like It* (1599) 2. 1. 58–9 that ‘most invectively he pierceth through. / The body of the country, city, court’, and in 3. 2. 11–68 country and court are humorously contrasted by Corin and Touchstone. Cp. *Usury* 14–15, and *Canonization* 43–4. Stoicism’s insistence that the consciousness of virtue was the only means of content was popular in the late 1590s, though Wotton, also an ardent careerist, may not be thought to have espoused the ideas seriously. D. recognises in ll. 10, 35–40 that involvement is unavoidable—‘we must touch’—and that contamination is inevitable.

Text. *W* gives the only text which requires no correction, and is unique in its heading, which marks it as derived from a text that precedes Wotton’s knighthood in 1604. The Scottish MSS *HN*, *Wed* also give the title thus, but subsequently share errors with *C57*, *Lec*, *TCC*, *TCD*, and contribute some of their own. The editor’s paragraphing marks the classical divisions of exordium, narration, three proofs of the refutation, petition or advice, and conclusion or peroration, perceived by A. B. Cameron (1976) 375.

SIR, more than kisses, letters mingle souls,
 For, thus friends absent speak. This ease controls
 The tediousness of my life: but for these
 I could ideate nothing which could please,
 5 But I should wither in one day, and pass

Sources collated: *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II*: *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O’F*; *W*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *W*: Sir Henry Wotton Σ: ~ ~ Hen. ~ *H49*, *D*: ~ ~ H. *W*. many years since *DC*

5 I should] should *III* wither in one day] in one day wither away *Lut*, *O’F*: in one day *Dob* with *space* after day

Heading As noted above, *W*’s ‘Mr’ suggests it is derived from an early text.

1 letters mingle souls] For the belief about kisses, Milgate cites *Greek Anthology* 5. 78, *Expiration* 1–2, and Castiglione’s *Courtier* 4 (p. 315), where souls ‘be so mingled together that each of them hath two souls’; and for this valuation of letters, Ambrose, *Epistolae* (*PL* 16. 1151). The phrase ‘mingle souls’ is re-used by Drummond in a draft of a letter to Drayton, and by T. Forde, *Faenestra in Pectore* ‘To the Reader’ (1660, in *A Theatre of Wits*, 1661; *CH* pp. 73–4, 58).

2 thus . . . speak] Cp. D.’s letter to Garrard, 2 Nov. 1630 (1635 p. 286): ‘Our letters are ourselves, and in them absent friends meet’. **ease controls]** relief checks.

4 ideate] conceive of.

5–6 Recalling *Ps.* 102. 11: ‘I am withered like grass’: D. feels his existence is merely physical.

To'a bottle' of hay, that am a lock of grass.
 Life is a voyage, and in our life's ways
 Countries, courts, towns are rocks or remoras:
 They break or stop all ships; yet our state's such,
 10 That though than pitch they stain worse, we must touch.
 If in the furnace of the even Line,
 Or under th'adverse icy Poles thou pine,
 Thou know'st two temp'rate regions girded in,
 Dwell there, but oh, what refuge canst thou win
 15 Parched in the Court, and in the country frozen?
 Shall cities, built of both extremes, be chosen?
 Can dung and garlic be'a perfume? Or can
 A scorpion and torpedo cure a man?

6 that] which III 7 life's] lives' S96, Lut, O'F, 1635

10 than . . . worse] they stain worse than pitch Lut, O'F

11 even] raging DC, 1633, 1635 12 Poles] Pole TCC, TCD, 1633, 1635

17 and] or III, 1635 be'a] be S96, Lut, O'F, 1635

18 and] or C57, Lec, III, 1633, 1635

6 bottle] bundle. **lock]** tuft.

7 Life is a voyage] The analogy is common, but particularly evocative for Wotton and D. after their recent experiences.

8 remoras] See note on *Progress* 58. *Echeneis remora*, sucking-fish, traditionally said, Pliny 32.1 (2–6), to have this ability. In Latin *remora* simply means 'delay'. *Woodward* *RS* *Slumber* 28 and *Annunciation* 12 confirm the rhyme with *ways*.

10 Defying the proverb of *Eclus.* 13. 1 adopted into English (Tilley P358): 'He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled.'

11 even Line] Equator.

12 adverse] opposite. **Poles]** The celestial poles, 'invariable terms of that axis whereon the heavens do move'—Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 6. 7 (1646; 1981) p. 485. Cp. *Calm* 49–50 (Gr.).

13 Between the Tropic of Capricorn and the Antarctic Circle, and between the Tropic of Cancer and the Arctic Circle, were the Temperate Zones.

15 Court's 'hot ambitions' versus the country's 'dullness', ll. 60–1. Milgate cites a letter to Goodyer of ?late 1609 (1633 p. 365), offered by D. as 'the salads and onions of Mitcham': 'You, living at Court without ambition, which would burn you, . . . live in the sun, not in the fire; and I, which live in the country without stupefying, am not in darkness, . . . [but] subject to the barbarousness and insipid dullness of the country'.

17 dung and garlic] From opposite ends of the alimentary canal, so representing disagreeable extremes. **garlic]** Which as Nashe says, *Unfortunate Traveller* (*Works* 2. 249), 'hath three properties: to make a man wink, drink and stink.'

18 scorpion and torpedo] Combined stimulus and sedative. **scorpion]** The belief that it could be used to cure its own sting is recorded by Pliny, 11. 30 (90): 'The ashes of the creatures themselves drunk in wine are thought to be a cure', and reiterated by D. in *Serm.* 5. 375 (n. d.; Gr.). **torpedo]** electric ray, with its capacity to give a numbing shock, well known from Pliny 32. 2 (7). Cp. *Henry* 30.

- Cities are worst of all three; of all three
 20 (Oh knotty riddle!) each is worst equally.
 Cities are sepulchres: they who dwell there
 Are carcases as if no such there were.
 And courts are theatres where some men play
 Princes, some slaves, all to one end, and of one clay.
 25 The country is a desert, where no good
 Gained as habits, not born, is understood.
 There men become beasts, and prone to more evils;
 In cities, blocks; and in a lewd court, devils.
 As in the first Chaos, confusedly,
 30 Each element's qualities were in th'other three;
 So pride, lust, covetise, being several
 To these three places, yet all are in all,

19 three; of all three] these *TCC*: these three; of all three *TCD*: ~ ~ ~ three?
Lut, *O'F*, 1635

21 who] which *III* 22 no] none *III*, 1635 there] they *Lec*, 1633: then *TCC*,
TCD

24 and of] of *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

25 no] the *III*, 1635

26 as habits, not born] inhabits not, born *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 understood] not under-
 stood *III*, 1635

27 more] mere *H49*, *D*, *Lec*, *DC*, *S96*: men *TCC*, *TCD*: all *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

28 a lewd court] lewd court *C57*, *Lec*: lewd courts *TCC*, *TCD*: the lewd Court,
 they're *S96*

32 these] those *III* all are] are all *III*

19 Cities are worst of all three] Cp. the poem by Bacon cited in the head-
 note, ll. 15–16: 'And where's a city from all vice so free / But may be termed
 the worst of all the three?'

19–20 three (Oh knotty riddle!)] The epithet is reapplied to the Christian
 Trinity in *DivM4Part* 3.

22 i.e., dead to non-commercial values.

24 'Of the same clay he maketh both the vessels that serve for clean uses and
 likewise all such as serve to the contrary'—*Wisd.* 15. 7; 'All go to one place, and
 all was of the dust, and all shall return to the dust'—*Eccles.* 3. 20 (*GV*). This line
 and 59 are of twelve syllables, alexandrines. In his note on *Satyre* 5 56 Milgate
 lists a dozen or so examples in *D*.

25–6 good / Gained as habits, not born] Thomas Aquinas, 2. 1. 55. 1: 'Human
 virtues are habits'; and 2. 1. 82. 2: 'Original sin . . . is an *inborn* habit' (Milgate).

29–30 According to Ovid, *Met.* 1. 5–9, Du Bartas, *Divine Weeks and Works* 1.
 1. 247–60 (1979) 1.118. Milgate cites Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1. 3 (339a36–b2):
 'Fire, air, water, earth, we assert, come-to-be from one another, and each of them
 exists potentially in each'.

31 pride, lust, covetise] Belonging to pompous Court, animal Country, and
 mercantile City, respectively. **covetise]** covetousness. **several]** peculiar.

- And mingled thus, their issue incestuous.
 Falsehood's denizened. Virtue's barbarous.
 35 Let no man say there, 'Virtue's flinty wall
 Shall lock vice in me: I'll do none, but know all.'
 Men are sponges which to pour out receive:
 Who know false play, rather than lose, deceive.
 For in best understandings sin began:
 40 Angels sinned first, then devils, and then man.
 Only, perchance, beasts sin not; wretched we
 Are beasts in all but white integrity.
 I think if men which in these places live
 Durst look for themselves, and themselves retrieve,
 45 They would like strangers greet themselves, seeing then
 Utopian youth, grown old Italian.

33 issue] issue is *Dob*, *S96*, 1635: issue's *Lut*, *O'F*

34 denizened] denizen *TCC*, *TCD*: denized *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*: devised *S96*:
 denizous *I* 44 for] into *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*: in 1633, 1635

34 denizened] naturalised [in all three places].

36 lock] i.e., confine.

37 to] only in order to.

39–42 For in best . . . beasts] Milgate compares *Serm.* 9. 372, 374 (n. d.):

When the purest Understandings of all, the Angels, fell . . . when *Lucifer* was tumbled down, . . . then he tried upon them, who were next him in Dignity, upon Man, . . . So he overthrew man, . . . Ever since this fall, man is so far from affecting higher places, than his nature is capable of, that he is still grovelling upon the ground, and participates, and imitates, and expresses more of the nature of the Beast than of his own. There is no creature but man that degenerates willingly from his natural Dignity; those degrees of goodness, which God imprinted in them at first, they preserve still . . . We are not only inferior to the Beasts, and under their annoyance, but we are ourselves become Beasts.

Cp. *FirAn* 194–5, *SecAn* 446 and notes. When the rebel angels became devils, they were reduced in understanding: see Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 64. 1.

41 Only . . . not] God is reproached for exempting the non-human world from moral responsibility in *DivMgPoisonous* 1–6.

42 white integrity] The phrase is re-used in *Funeral Elegy* 75.

43–4 Cp. *WoodwardRWidowhead* 19 for this 'Stoic belief that only through self-knowledge could the irrational parts of man's nature, the passions, etc., be subdued and virtue attained'—Milgate.

45 strangers] foreigners.

46 Utopian youth] More's ideal in *Utopia* 2 *passim*: helpful, obedient, respectful, decorous, studious, religious and virtuous. **old]** practised. **Italian]** That his image as treacherous was not undeserved was found by Wotton himself despite his personal fondness for Italians: see *Life and Letters* 1. 19–22, and his letter of advice to Milton, 2. 382. Cp. below l. 66.

- Be then thine own home, and in thyself dwell;
 Inn anywhere: continuance maketh hell.
 And, seeing the snail, which everywhere doth roam,
 50 Carrying his own house still, still is at home.
 Follow (for he is easy-paced) this snail:
 Be thine own palace, or the world's thy jail.
 And in the world's sea, do not, like cork, sleep
 Upon the waters' face; nor in the deep
 55 Sink like a lead without a line: but as
 Fishes glide, leaving no print where they pass,
 Nor making sound, so, closely thy course go;
 Let men dispute whether thou breathe or no.
 Only' in this one thing, be no Galenist. To make
 60 Court's hot ambitions wholesome, do not take
 A dram of country's dullness: do not add
 Correctives, but, as chymics, purge the bad.
 But, sir, I advise not you, I rather do
 Say o'er those lessons which I learnt of you,

47 then] thou *C57, Lec, 1633* 50 his] her *III*

51 easy] easily *D, C57, TCC, TCD, III* this] thy *TCC, TCD, III*

59 this one thing] this *III, 1635*

47 in thyself dwell] Cp. Persius, 4. 52: *Tecum habita*.

48 Inn] Stay temporarily. Cp. letter of ?spring 1608 (1633 p. 369). **continuance . . . Hell]** It is the essence of dwelling in Hell that it is everlasting.

49–50 Proverbial: Tilley S580, *As You Like It* 4. 1. 51–2. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 571, and Cicero, *On Divination* 2. 133, call the snail 'house-carrier'. The Fool draws attention to it as being superior in one respect to Lear: 'A snail has a house' (*King Lear* 1. 5. 28).

50 at home] Cp. *Somerset* 71–2: 'So is he still at home / That doth abroad to honest actions come' (Milgate).

53 world's sea] A phrase re-used in *FirAn* 225.

57 Nor making sound] Their dumbness was a classical proverb: cp. *Metem* 348, *BulstrodeRecant* 14, and notes.

57–8 so . . . no] Cp. *Mourning* 1–4.

59 Galenist] Who aimed to restore an ideal balance of bodily humours by correcting an excess of heat, cold, moisture or dryness with its opposite.

60–1 Cp. note above on l. 15.

60 Court's hot ambitions] Cp. *Harington* 124–5.

62 chymics] Those who believed in mineral remedies, as opposed to the Galenists' compounded herbs, brought about their desired diarrhoea and vomiting with poisons such as antimony.

- 65 Whom, free from German schisms, and lightness
 Of France, and fair Italy's faithlessness,
 Having from these sucked all they had of worth,
 And brought home that faith which you carried forth,
 I throughly love. But if myself I've won
 70 To know my rules, I have, and you have

Donne.

65 German] Germany's *Lut*, *O'Fbe*, 1635

Henrico Wotton in Hibernia Belligeranti

Date and Context. April–Sept. 1599. Essex and Wotton reached Dublin in mid April and returned to England 24–8 Sept. (L. P. Smith in *Life and Letters* 1. 33–4.)

Analogues. It may have been D. to whom Wotton had presumably sent the following letter before crossing the Irish Sea:

I must wonder that since my coming to London I have not many times heard from you, from whom I expected a truer representation of those parts where you live than from any other vessel of less receipt. And indeed, besides your love you should yield somewhat in this to our present humours which, if they have not matter of truth to work upon, are likely to breed in themselves some monstrous imaginations. We are put into Beaumaris by the scanting of the wind upon us, which to me is a preparative for Ir[ish] st[or]m[s]. May I after these kiss that fair and learned hand of your mistress, than whom the world doth possess nothing more virtuous. Farewell suddenly, for if I should give way to myself, I should begin again.

Sir, it were not only a wrong but a kind of violence to put you in mind of my business, and therefore the end of this is only to salute you. Farewell. You must not forget *septies in hebdomada* to visit my best and dearest at Thr. [thought by Smith to mean the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst's London house, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street—Stow, *Survey of London* p. 353]. (*Life and Letters* 1. 306–7.)

Text. The poem survives in only one MS, *Bur*, now in the Leicestershire Record Office. It languished unknown for many years in a safe at Birmingham University's Shakespeare Institute, after being found in the boot of a scholar's car, so that Grierson's assumption that it was burnt along with the house of Burley-on-the-Hill was believed for most of the twentieth century.

65 German schisms] The princely states of Germany were in frequent conflict over questions that were religious as well as political.

65–6 lightness / Of France] On the proverbial changeability of Frenchmen, see note on *Fatal* 33–4 and note.

66 Italy's faithlessness] A byword among Protestants. Coincidentally, D.'s brother-in-law William Lyly, accounted 'a witty and bold atheist' by Joseph Hall, had spent time in Italy (Bald (1959) pp. 70, 72).

70 Donne] For punning on his name elsewhere, see *Christ* 6, 11.

- W**ENT you to conquer? And have so much lost
 Yourself, that what in you was best and most
 Respective friendship should so quickly die?
 In public gain my share's not such that I
 5 Would lose that love for Ireland: better cheap
 I pardon Death (who though he do not reap
 Yet gleans he many of our friends away)
 Than that your waking mind should be a prey
 To lethargies. Let shots and bogs and skenes
 10 With bodies deal as Fate bids or restrains:
 Ere sicknesses attach, young death is best:
 Who pays before his death doth scape arrest.
 Let not the soul, at first with graces filled,
 And since, and thorough crooked limbecks stilled
 15 In many schools and courts, which quicken it,
 Itself unto the Irish negligence submit.

Source: *Bur*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: H. W. *Bur*

9 shots] shot *Grierson, Milgate* 10 or] and *Grierson*

11 attach] attack *Grierson, Milgate*

Heading This seems more likely to have been supplied by Wotton or the copyist rather than D. in the original letter. **in Hibernia Belligeranti]** 'fighting in Ireland'.

3 Respective] regardful.

5 better cheap] more easily.

6–7 Many died of wounds.

7 One of the friends who died in Ireland, on 23 Aug. 1599, was D.'s contemporary at Lincoln's Inn and eldest son of his employer, the younger Sir Thomas Egerton, at whose funeral in Chester Cathedral on 26 Sept. 1599 (while Essex and Wotton were hurrying back from Ireland through England) D. was sword-bearer.

9 lethargies] fits of laziness. **skenes]** Irish daggers.

11 Traditional, e.g., in Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1224–7; Seneca, *To Marcia on Consolation* 22. 2–3, concluding that if it is best not to be born, next best is a short life. **attach]** lay hold.

12 'He who repays his debt to Nature before he has to, avoids punishment for the sins of age', characterised in *BulstrodeRecant* 56 (on which see note) as ambition and greed, to which *Harrington* 125–6 add 'irreligion's Ice, Zeal's agues'. Continuing the image of l. 11: people were often attached, i.e., arrested, for debt. Life itself was regarded as a loan to be repaid at and by death: cp. e.g., Seneca, *To Polybius on Consolation* 4–5, and *HSW1* Since 1–2.

14 thorough crooked limbecks] through stills with their hook-shaped exit tubes.

15 quicken] increase its strength, as repeated distillation concentrates the distillate.

16 the Irish negligence] A characteristic remarked on in most English books about Ireland at the time. Wotton himself, *Life and Letters* 1. 308, describes the people thus:

I ask not laboured letters which should wear
 Long papers out, nor letters which should fear
 Dishonest carriage, or a seer's art,
 20 Nor such as from the brain come, but the heart.

This town of Dublin is rather ill-inhabited than seated: the people of good natural abilities but corrupted, some with a wild, some with a loose life—and indeed there is almost nothing in this country but it is either savage or wanton. . . . They are inclined, more than any nation I have seen, to superstitions, which surely have crept in between ignorance and liberty. In their hospitalities there is fully as much unhandsoneness as plenty. For their general parts, their bodies are active, and their minds are rather secret than nimble.

17–20 Possibly Wotton's response to D.'s poem is the following undated letter:

Sir,

It is worth my wondering that you can complain of my seldom writing, when your own letters come so fearfully as if they travel all the way upon a bog. I have received from you a few, and almost every one hath a commission to speak of divers of their fellows, like you know whom in the old comedy that asks for the rest of his servants. But you make no mention of any of mine, yet it is not long since I ventured much of my experience unto you in a piece of paper, and perhaps not of my credit: it is that which I sent you by A. R., whereof, till you advertise me, I shall live in fits or agues. I do promise you not only much, but all which hath hitherto passed, in my next; of the future I would fain speak now if my judgement were not dim in the present. Whatsoever we have done or mean to do, we know what will become of it when it comes amongst our worst enemies, which are interpreters. I would there were more O'Neiles and Maguires and O'Donnells and McMahons, and fewer of them. It is true that this kingdom hath ill affections and ill corruptions, but where you are have a stronger disease: you diminish all that is here done, and yet you doubt (if you were nearly examined) the greatness of it, so as you believe that which is contrary to as much as you fear. These be the wise rules of policy and of courts, which are upon earth the vainest places. I will say no more, and yet, peradventure, I have said a great deal unto you. God keep you and us in those ways and rules and kinds of wisdom that bring mortal men unto himself. (*Life and Letters* 1. 308; *Bur* f. 253v.)

The appearance of D.'s poem in *Bur* (only) is evidence that this verse-letter of D.'s, with its complaint of neglect by Wotton, did arrive. Wotton is well aware of the danger of interception, and obviously testing the bearer's reliability for more serious missions.

17 laboured] laboriously long.

19 Letters might not reach their intended destination, or be carefully opened, read, and resealed without either sender's or recipient's knowledge. **seer's]** of a decipherer of intercepted mail.

To Sir Henry Wotton at his Going Ambassador to Venice

Date and Context. 8–31 July 1604. Wotton was knighted on 8 July, was to leave on the 13th, and wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood at the Hague ‘From Dover this 19th of July, after which day I hope within thirty-five days to be in Venice’ (L. P. Smith, *Life and Letters* 1. 45, 319).

Analogue. Marotti (1986) pp. 155–7 sees *Wotton Venice* as belonging to the Greek and Latin genre *propemptikon*, a work expressing friendly wishes to a departing traveller, such as Theocritus 7. 52–70; Horace, *Odes* 1. 3; Statius, *Silvae* 3. 2. It is further defined by K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations* (1963) pp. 239–73. J. Owen, *Epigrammatum Libri Tres* (1612) 3, ‘Ad Carolum Eboracensem’, 36, looks forward to Wotton’s return to England after embassies to Venice and the Savoy, presumably in 1611.

Text. There is little to choose between *TCC* and *TCD*, both requiring significantly less correction than other sources. These include *Bur*, Wotton’s own papers. Though often plainly wrong, *Bur* must derive from the original letter, is the only source to contain the postscript, and may contain earlier versions of ll. 11, 14, 31, 35, and, less probably, 40. It thus earns full collation.

AFTER those reverend papers, whose soul is
Our good and great king’s loved hand and feared name,
By which to you he derives much of his,
And (how he may) makes you almost the same,

- 5 A taper of his torch, a copy writ
From his original, and a fair beam
Of the same warm and dazzling sun, though it
Must in another sphere his virtue stream:

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O’F; Bur; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Bur does not separate stanzas or indent alternate lines as all other sources do.

Heading *TCC, TCD, III: To Sir H. W. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ DC, 1633, 1635: To Sir H.W. going into Venice Bur*

1 reverend] ~t *Bur* 3 of his] *om. Bur*

1–8 The royal letters patent as the King’s envoy.

3 **derives]** channels, imparts.

4 **how he may]** so far as he is able.

5 **A taper . . . torch]** Milgate quotes *Serm.* 5. 85 (Whitsunday ?1623), where ‘The Kings of the earth are fair and glorious resemblances of the King of Heaven: they are beams of that Sun, Tapers of that Torch’; and Middleton, *Witch* 4. 2. 18–20: ‘As an ambassador sent from a king / Has honour by th’employment, yet there’s greater / Dwells in the king that sent him.’

After those learned papers which your hand
 10 Hath stored with notes of use and pleasure too,
 From which rich treasury you may command
 Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving papers where friends send
 With glad grief, to your seaward steps, farewell,
 15 Which thicken on you now, as prayers ascend
 To Heav'n in troops 't a good man's passing-bell:

Admit this honest paper, and allow
 It such an audience as yourself would ask;
 What you must say at Venice this means now,
 20 And hath for nature, what you have for task.

To swear much love, not to be changed before
 Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
 Nor shall I then honour your fortune more
 Than I have done your noble wanting it.

25 But 'tis an easier load (though both oppress)
 To want than govern greatness, for we are
 In that our own and only business,
 In this, we must for others' vices care;

10 pleasure *TCC, III, Bur, 1635: ~s DC, TCD, 1633*

11 rich] safe *Bur* 12 whether] whither *1635* 13 where] which *III, 1635*

14 glad] ~some *Bur* 15 now *om. Bur* 19 must] would *III*

21 changed] change *Bur* 22 alone] and love *Bur*

24 noble] honour *1633* noble wanting it] noble-wanting-wit *III, 1635*

25 load] boat *III* 28 others' *DC, III, Bur, 1633, 1635: other TCC, TCD*

16 passing-bell] The church bell rung while someone was dying.

21-2 To vow friendship until Wotton's increasing status makes only honour appropriate.

23-4 D. will not welcome Wotton's good luck more than he admired his endurance of adversity during and after the fall of Essex. In fact, Wotton dissociated himself from his employer well before Essex's rash rebellion in Feb. 1601, and prudently went abroad from c. Nov. 1600 to c. April 1604 (L. P. Smith, *Life and Letters* I. 310, 34), unlike his fellow-secretary Henry Cuffe, who was executed for encouraging the Earl.

24 wanting] lacking.

25-6 But . . . greatness] A 'load' that D. nevertheless did his best (like Wotton) to take on.

26 want than govern greatness] lack than direct power rightly.

27 that] lacking power, being merely a private individual.

28 this] bearing responsibility in public life.

'Tis therefore well your spirits now are placed
 30 In their last furnace, in activity;
 Which fits them (schools and courts and wars o'erpass'd)
 To touch and test in any best degree.

For me (if there be such a thing as I)
 Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)
 35 Spies that I bear so well her tyranny
 That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

But, though she part us, to hear my oft prayers
 For your increase, God is as near me here;
 And to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
 40 In length and ease are alike everywhere.

Postscript: Sir, though perchance it were never tried except in Rabelais his Land of Tapestry, it may be true that a pygmy upon a giant may see further than the giant: so, after a long letter this

31 wars] tents *Bur* 32 in] of *Bur* 35 I . . . well] so well I bear *Bur*
 36 That . . . else] As nothing else she thinks *Bur* 37 part] ~s *DC* to *om.* *Bur*
 38 near] ne'er 1635 me here *Lut, Bur, 1633, 1635*: ~ hear *DC*: my hear *TCC, TCD*: my heart *O'F*
 40 alike] all ~ *Bur* Postscript *Bur only*

30 last furnace] An alchemical image of the final refinement of Wotton into a stone wherewith to test others' genuineness. D. confuses the mythical philosopher's stone with the touchstone of fine-grained quartz or jasper actually used by goldsmiths.

31 schools . . . wars] Accurately summing up Wotton's experiences at Oxford, on the Continent, and in Ireland, making him the Renaissance ideal of the complete man with 'The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword'—*Hamlet* 3. 1. 154.

32 touch] try gold's genuineness by rubbing it on a touchstone.

33 D.'s typical self-negation, particularly during the long unemployment caused by his elopement.

34 It was, of course, unchristian to believe literally in a personification of chance, but more tactful than accusing the King of neglecting his talents.

37 oft] frequent.

38 as near me here] sc. 'as he is to you, since he is omnipresent'. Epictetus, *Discourses* 4. 4. 48, inverts the idea: 'Are not men everywhere equally distant from God?' (Milgate).

39 stairs] By which prayers ascend and angels descend to deliver God's gifts (or curses): cp. *Gen.* 28. 12, and *Markham* 52.

41–2 Rabelais . . . Tapestry] Rabelais 5. 30–1, where, however, pygmies are only listed as figments of hearsay. The dwarf on a giant's shoulders seeing further than either alone (Tilley D659), figuring the addition of new perceptions to old, was a widespread proverb in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: see *ODQ, ODEP*.

postscript may see further into you than that, if you will answer to two questions: whether you have your last despatches at Court, or whether you make many days' stay there or at London, such a one as I may yet kiss your hands.

*Amicissimo et meritissimo Ben. Jonson
in 'Vulponem'*

Date and Context. 1606–7. Jonson dates his own Epistle '11. of February, 1607': it is assumed that he is using the historical year, and that the body of the text had been printed in the previous month.

Analogues. Commendatory poems by E[dmund] Bolton (also in Latin), T[homas] R[oe] (2), Francis Beaumont, D[udley] D[igges], I. C., G[eorge] C[hapman], E[smé] S[tuart, Lord Aubigny], J[ohn] F[letcher], and N[athan] F[ield] were also prefixed to *Volpone*. See the Revels edn by Brian Parker (2nd edn, Manchester (1999) pp. 71–9).

Text. All three sources cited require the two emendations suggested by P. Maas.

Translation.

To the dearest and most deserving Ben. Jonson on 'Volpone'

If those learned in men's and God's law, O poet, would dare to follow and emulate what you have dared here in your art, oh, we might all be wise enough to be saved. But to these the ancients are covered in cobwebs; for no-one is a follower of the ancients like you, daring to apply anew those whom you follow. Do then what you have to do, and from their first hour may your books be grey-headed: for childishness is denied to writings, and it is right for their vigour to give everlastingness to those books born old. Skill and hard work make you comparable to the ancients: outdo them, that so you may derive future people out of our viciousness, in which we outdo the ancients and those to come.

QUOD arte ausus es hic tua, POETA,
Si auderent hominum Deique iuris
Consulti, sequi aemularierque,

Sources consulted: *Volpone*, 1607; Jonson, *Workes*, 1616; Donne, *Poems*, 1650

Base text: *Volpone*, 1607

Select variants:

Heading in 'Vulponem' added as sidenote in revised 1616, added to title 1650

3 sequi Maas (see note): *ueteres sequi* 1607, 1616, 1650

Heading The explanatory addition in 1616 and 1650 is probably Jonson's, provided because in 1616 the poem is prefixed to the volume as a whole.

3, 7 sequi/ueteres ~, quos/quod These emendations by Paul Maas were accepted by the editors of *Jonson* II. 318.

- O omnes saperemus ad salutem.*
 5 *His sed sunt ueteres araneosi;*
Tam nemo ueterum est sequutor, ut tu
Illos quos sequeris nouatur audis.
Fac tamen quod agis; tuique prima
Libri canitie induantur hora:
 10 *Nam cartis pueritia est neganda,*
Nascanturque senes, oportet, illi
Libri, queis dare uis perennitatem.
Priscis, ingenium facit, laborque
Te parem; hos superes, ut et futuros,
 15 *Ex nostra uitiositate sumas,*
Qua priscos superamus, et futuros.

7 quod Maas (see note): quod 1607, 1616, 1650

To Sir Henry Goodyer

Date and Context. Dec. 1607–Jan. 1609. This may have been sent with the New Year poem *BedfordNew* (?31 Dec. 1607): D. used Goodyer as an intermediary (*Letters* p. 204). The advice in ll. 21–8 suggests that the poem was written before Goodyer went abroad in 1609, so that it pertains to 1 Jan. 1608 or 1609.

Analogue. The stanza-form, the elegiac, of four cross-rhymed five-foot verses, had been used by Wyatt in, e.g., ‘Heaven and earth and all that hear me plain’. On the tradition of New Year poems, see note on *BedfordNew*.

Text. Patent errors are scattered among individual MSS of Group I, D showing only one (33) but increasing in number through *H49*, *C57*, *Lec*. Group II as a whole is unusually erroneous, sharing errors in ll. 2, 16, 30 (*TCC*, *TCD* only), 40, 44, 45, 48. Those in ll. 16, 44, it shares with Group III, which as a group contributes more at 2, 23 (shared with the unreliable Group I *C57*, *Lec*), 27, 28, 44. *1633*, largely followed by *1635*, follows a degenerate Group I MS in agreeing with *C57*, *Lec* (joined with Group III) in l. 23, and at l. 37 spells out the contraction demanded by the metre. In these two instances it is followed by *1635*, which, however, shows contamination by Group III at ll. 27, 28. As the least erroneous source, therefore, D has been adopted as base text, emended from the rest in l. 33.

5 ueteres araneosi] The epithet is applied to an old man’s penis by Catullus 25. 3, whence, perhaps, it lodged in D.’s mind.

7 Illos quos sequeris] Jonson’s legacy-hunters, miseries of riches and old age, and loquacious Lady Pol have been traced back to Horace, Petronius, Lucian, Diogenes Laertius, Juvenal and Libanius of Antioch (see Parker in his *Revels* edn pp. 299–311).

Heading Sir Henry Goodyer (1571–1627), who matriculated from St John’s College, Cambridge in 1587 was, from then on, possibly, one of D.’s most constant friends. He was knighted, like Wotton, by Essex in Ireland in 1599, in 1603 became a

WHO makes the past a pattern for next year
 Turns no new leaf, but still the same things reads:
 Seen things he sees again, heard things doth hear,
 And makes his life but like a pair of beads.

5 A palace, when 'tis that which it should be,
 Leaves growing, and stands such, or else decays,
 But he which dwells there is not so, for he
 Strives to urge upward, and his fortune raise;

10 So had your body her morning, hath her noon,
 And shall not better: her next change is night;
 But her fair, larger guest, t'whom sun and moon
 Are sparks and short-lived, claims another right.

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading To Sir Henry Goodyer] To Sir H. G. moving him to travel *II, Lut, O'F*

2 leaf] leaves *II* things] thing *Lec, III, Herb*: still *TCD*

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber (like Drury), took part in the New Year's masque at Court in 1604 and *Hymenaei* in 1606, and accompanied an embassy to Brussels in 1605. In *Epigrams* nos. 85–6 Jonson recognises Goodyer's fondness for hawking and 'thy well-made choice of friends and books'. He was D.'s usual go-between with Lady Bedford. Most of the extant letters by D. are addressed to him; D. stayed with him at Polesworth (see note on *HGJD* 28). Goodyer entertained there a number of writers, such as Drayton (*Bald* pp. 163–70), and was himself a minor poet, contributing like D. a mock commendation to Coryat's *Crudities* (1611), an elegy on Prince Henry to the 2nd edn of *Lachrymae Lachrymarum* (1613), and leaving other poems in MS. Grierson 2. 145 gives the verses by a kinsman on Goodyer's own funeral hearse, and the epitaph (in fact of Goodyer's uncle) transcribed by Camden, *Remains* (1605) p. 350.

4 pair of beads] string of beads—*OED* II. 6 (Milgate), even 'rosary', which for Protestants embodied vain repetition.

9–10 In fact Goodyer, born in 1571, is more than halfway unless the poem is written as early as 1606.

9 So] i.e., like a palace.

11–12 her fair . . . short-lived] Since the 'soul' was alleged to be eternal.

The noble soul by age grows lustier,
 Her appetite, and her digestion mend:
 15 We must not starve, nor hope to pamper her
 With women's milk and pap unto the end.

Provide you manlier diet; you have seen
 All libraries, which are schools, camps, and courts;
 But ask your garners if you have not been
 20 In harvests too indulgent to your sports.

Would you redeem it? Then yourself transplant
 Awhile from hence. Perchance outlandish ground

16 the] her II, III

13–14 Milgate quotes Sir John Davies, *Nosce Teipsum* ll. 1601–8 (1599):

But to the soul Time doth perfections give,
 And adds fresh lustre to her beauty still,
 And makes her in eternal youth to live,
 Like her which nectar to the gods doth fill.

The more she lives, the more she feeds on truth;
 The more she feeds, her strength doth more increase;
 And what is strength but an effect of youth,
 Which, if Time nurse, how can it ever cease?

13 **lustier**] stronger.

16 Cp. *Heb.* 5. 13–14: 'For every man that is fed with milk is inexpert in the word of righteousness, for he is but a babe; but strong meat belongeth to them that are grown in age, which through custom have their wits exercised to judge both good and evil' (*GV*). **pap**] an infant's soft food. **the/her**] The reading of Groups II and III might have originated from eyeslip to the 'her' in the line above (directly above in *DC, Dob, O'F*).

18 **libraries**] providers of knowledge. **schools, camps, and courts**] At Cambridge, in Ireland, and as Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. See *Wotton Venice* 31 and note.

19–20 The vehicle is spoiling of harvests by riding over them for sport, the tenor that Goodyer has neglected his finances while spending time and money on his leisure activities.

20 **too indulgent . . . sports**] Goodyer's financial difficulties (the debts inherited with his estate and the expense of defending his right against a lawsuit by another uncle's heir) were made worse by his addiction to hawking: as well as employing a falconer, one has to buy expensive birds. D. wishes him nevertheless 'hawks and fortunes of a high pitch' (*Letters* p. 204).

21–8 Goodyer may have gone abroad in Aug.–Sept. 1609: see I. A. Shapiro, *MLR* 45 (1950) 7 n. 3.

22 **outlandish**] foreign.

Bears not more wit than ours, but yet more scant
Are those diversions there which here abound.

- 25 To be a stranger hath that benefit:
We can beginnings, but not habits choke.
Go. 'Whither?' Hence: you get, if you forget;
New faults, till they prescribe in us, are smoke.

- Our soul, whose country's Heaven, and God her father,
30 Into this world, corruption's sink, is sent,
Yet so much in her travel she doth gather,
That she returns home wiser than she went.

- It pays you well if it teach you to spare
And make you[^]ashamed; to make your hawk's praise yours,
35 Which, when herself she lessens in the air,
You then first say that high enough she towers.

Hows'ever, keep the lively taste you hold
Of God: love him as now but fear him more,

23 not] no *C57, Lec, III, 1633, 1635*

27 Hence: you] Hence you *III, 1635* 28 in] to *III, 1635*

33 well Σ : all *D*

37 Hows'ever *ed.*: Howsoever *Dob*: Howsoever *I, II*: Howsoe'er *Lut, O'F*:
However *1633, 1635*

25 stranger] foreigner.

27 get] gain.

28 prescribe] possess by right of long occupation (a legal term).

29–32 Cp. *Letters* p. 46 (1612?): 'Our soul is not sent hither only to go back again: we have some errand to do here. Nor is it sent into prison, because it comes innocent, and he which sent it is just.'

29 Our soul . . . Heaven] *Hebrews* 11. 16. Cp. P. de Mornay, *A Discourse of Life and Death* (1592) sig. D3v: 'Man is from Heaven: Heaven is his country and his air.'

33 spare] economise.

34 ashamed] cautious, modest, careful of credit.

34–6 to make . . . towers] Tactful advice to Goodyer to emulate his hawk in what he praises it for: restricting its flight to what is necessary, not being tempted merely to exceed in display.

36 towers] hovers at height.

37–8 taste . . . of God] Cp. *Ps.* 34.8: 'Oh taste and see how gracious God is!' (*BV*); *1 Pet.* 2. 3: 'if so be that ye have tasted how good the Lord is'.

And in your afternoons think what you told
 40 And promised him at morning prayer before.

Let falsehood like a discord anger you,
 Else be not froward. But why do I touch
 Things of which none is in your practice new,
 And fables or fruit-trenchers teach as much?

45 But thus I make you keep your promise, sir:
 Riding, I had you though you still stayed there,
 And in these thoughts, although you never stir,
 You came with me to Mitcham and are here.

40 morning] mornings *II*

44 fables] tables *C57, Lec, 1633, 1635 or*] and *III*

45 make] made *II* 48 with me to] to me at *II*

42 froward] hard to please.

44 fables] Elizabethan children read a version of Aesop and others which explained the moral of each fable at the end: in 'The Ant and the Fly' the latter takes no thought for the winter, but boasts that he dwells 'in the King's palace' (as Goodyer often did as a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber), and the well-known story of 'The Ant and the Cricket' concludes that 'He that will not work when he should, shall want when he would not.' Near the end of the volume was Poggio's 'Fable of Hunting and Hawking' (Goodyer's addiction), of which the moral is that 'None ought to do it without he were very rich, and a man of livelihood; and yet it ought not to be done often' ((1634) nos 2, 4, pp. 77, 108, 206). Cp. *Satyre* 5 88-9: 'O wretch, that thy fortunes should moralize / Aesop's fables, and make tales prophesies!' and *Calm* 3-4 (Gr.). **fruit-trenchers]** The round wooden boards to eat off were commonly inscribed with mottoes. See the c. 1610 set in the Victoria and Albert Museum, bearing verses for a 1600-1 set of twelve sent to Lord Treasurer Buckhurst by Sir John Davies as a New Year gift (ed. Krueger pp. 225-8, 414-16), illus. by J. Y. Akerman, *Archaeologia* 34 (1852) opp. 225. Cp. also Puttenham, I. 30 (1589; 1936 p. 58) on short epigrams: 'We call them posies, and do paint them nowadays upon the back sides of our fruit-trenchers of wood' (Milgate).

45 your promise] Goodyer had presumably not kept a promise to meet D. in London.

46 Riding, I had you] D. may have sketched out the poem on his way home: horseback was ordinarily one of the places where he composed letters to Goodyer, according to one of perhaps autumn 1608, which is exceptionally not from there or 'my poor library' but 'from the fireside in my parlour, and in the noise of three gamesome children' (*Letters* p. 137).

48 Milgate quotes *Serm.* 1. 285 (19 April 1618): 'An Epistle is *collocutio scripta*, says Saint Ambrose, 'Though it be written far off, and sent, yet it is a Conference, and *separatos copulat*,' says he [*Epist.* 1. 47, *PL* 16. 1151]; by this means we overcome distances, we deceive absences, and we are together even then when we are asunder.' **Mitcham]** The Surrey village, c. 9 miles from D.'s lodgings in the Strand, where he lived from April 1606 to November 1611.

To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers

Date and Context. July–Aug. 1610. The Emperor's claim to inherit the principality of Cleves-Juliers was contested by the Dutch, French and British on behalf of the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg and Palatine of Neuburg. Herbert was presumably present for the beginning of the siege on 17 July, and left Juliers when the town was surrendered on 22 Aug. Herbert (1583–1648) was particularly in need of the restraint and control of the passions, especially anger, advocated by D. in this digest of the doctrines of Christian Stoicism: for Herbert's exploits at Juliers and examples of his deadly quarrelsomeness with members of his own side see the *Life . . . written by himself* (a work unhampered by modesty), ed. J. M. Shuttleworth (1976) pp. 53–9, 144. He obliquely acknowledges his short temper when he says of his brother George, the poet, that though 'little less than sainted, he was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject' (*Life* p. 9). Eldest son of Magdalen, in his minority a ward of D.'s father-in-law, Sir George More (Bald p. 119), a fellow-poet, and D.'s host in 1613 (see *HerbertMMary, HerbertG, Henry, Good Friday* headnotes), he wrote an elegy on D. published in *Occasional Verses* (1665; *Poems* pp. 57–9).

Analogue. According to D. A. Keister, *MLQ* 8 (1947) 430–4, *HerbertE* answers portions of Herbert's 1608 satire 'The State Progress of Ill' (*Poems* pp. 9–13); see notes on ll. 2, 7–8.

Text. The least erroneous MS is *D*, which has been chosen as base text, though the editor of 1633 produced the most complete text. However, Group II with its heading of unexpanded initials, may derive most immediately either from D.'s copy or the letter itself.

MAN is a lump where all beasts kneaded be:
Wisdom makes him an Ark where all agree.
The fool, in whom these beasts do live at jar,

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading] To Sir E. H. *II*: To Sir Edward Herbert *Dob, Lut*: A Letter to Sir Edward Herbert *S96*: To Sir Edward Herbert, now Lord Herbert of Cherbury, being at the Siege of ~ 1635

3 at Σ : a *D*

I–14 The analogy is partly Plato's, *Republic* 9 (588–90) and partly that of Augustine, *In Genesis* 1. 28. Seneca, *Epist.* 113. 6–28, also regards virtues and vices as like the various animal heads of a hydra-headed soul. Cp. *BedfordWritten* 61–3, *Somerset* 50–2, and *Serm.* 7. 135 (18 April 1626): 'If I find a licentious goat, a supplanting fox, an usurious wolf, an ambitious lion, yet to that creature, to every creature, I should preach the gospel of peace and consolation, and offer these creatures a metamorphosis, a transformation, a new creation in Jesus Christ'. Cp. also Sidney, *Old Arcadia*, Third Eclogues, no. 66, ll. 80–101 (*Poems*

- Is sport to others, and a theatre;
 5 Nor scapes he so, but is himself their prey:
 All which was man in him is eat away,
 And now his beasts on one another feed,
 Yet coupleⁱⁿ anger, and new monsters breed.
 How happy's he which hath due place assigned
 10 To^{his} beasts, and disafforested his mind:
 Empaled himself to keep them out, not in;
 Can sow and dares trust corn where they have been;
 Can use his horse, goat, wolf, and every beast,
 And is not ass himself to all the rest.
 15 Else, man not only is the herd of swine,
 But he's those devils too, which did incline
 Them to a headlong rage, and made them worse:

14 is *om.* II 17 a] an 1635

(1962) p. 101), Nashe, *Christs Teares over Jerusalem* (1593), and McKerrow's list of analogues (*Works* 2. 112–13, 4. 234–5); and the character of a serving-man in *King Lear* 3. 4. 86–8.

1 Cp. *Rom.* 9. 21: 'Hath not the potter power over the clay to make of the same lump one vessel to honour and another to dishonour?'—and the classical tradition of, e.g., Horace, *Odes* 1. 16. 13–22: 'Prometheus . . . when forced to add to our primeval clay a portion drawn from every creature, put also in our breasts the fury of the ravening lion. . . . Restrain thy spirit!' (Milgate).

2 Ark] Where two of each kind of carnivore miraculously did not take their natural prey—*Gen.* 7. 2–9. It is argued by Keister that D. may have taken as his starting-point the last two lines of Herbert's poem 'The State Progress of Ill': 'The world as in the Ark of Noah rests, / Composed, as then, few men and many beasts.' Cp. *FirAn* 318–21 (Milgate).

3 at jar] quarrelsomely.

4 a theatre] The public theatres gave 'sport to others' with fights to the death between dogs and bulls and bears. See, e.g., E. K. Chambers 2. 449–72.

6 eat] eaten.

7–8 his beasts . . . monsters breed] Keister compares Herbert ll. 49–52 on sins which never come alone, 'But, sudden fruitful, multiply ere done; / While, in this monstrous birth, they only die / Whom we confess: those live which we deny.'

10 disafforested] reduced in status from an area in which animals were confined and preserved for hunting. *Silva*, 'forest', was also used figuratively by Latin writers for unorganised materials.

11 Empaled] fenced. The form beginning with *e* is found in all sources, and is preserved here to distinguish its different sense from the now-current *i*.

12 trust corn] i.e., to grow to ripeness: hunting would destroy the harvest.

13 wolf] Popularly believed to be untameably aggressive, so reminding the reader that control of the passions is not an everyday affair.

15–17 i.e., the Gadarene swine of *Matt.* 8. 28–32, etc., to which Jesus transferred an evil spirit which made them drown themselves.

For man can add weight to Heav'n's heaviest curse.
 As souls (they say) by our first touch, take in
 20 The pois'nous tincture of Orig'nal Sin,
 So, to the punishments which God doth fling
 Our apprehension còntributes the sting.
 To us, as to his chickens, he doth cast
 Hemlock, and we as men his hemlock taste;
 25 We do infuse to what he meant for meat
 Corrosiveness, or intense cold or heat.
 For God no such specific poison hath
 As kills we know not how; his fiercest wrath
 Hath no antipathy, but may be good
 30 At least for physic, if not for our food.
 Thus man: that might be his pleasure is his rod,
 And is his devil that might be his god.
 Since then our business is to rectify

26 intense] *left blank in II, filled in later in TCD*: *intest S96* 28 we] *men III, 1635*
 30 for our] *for I, TCC*

19–20 The doctrine recurs in D.'s writings of 1610: cp. *Pseudo-Martyr* 3. 1. 25: 'The purest soul becomes stained and corrupt with sin as soon as it touches the body', and see *Bedford Written* 59–60 and note.

20 tincture] In alchemy the substance capable of curing the body of any disease, or of transforming a base metal into pure gold at a touch; here by contrast sin can kill or debase the entire soul.

21 fling] inflict (nonce-use assuming a false etymology from Latin).

22 còntributes] Cp. note on *Curse* 28, *Name* 2.

23–4 It was commonly believed that starlings could feed without harm on hemlock, disproved experimentally by Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* 3. 28 (added in 1650; 1981 p. 290 and note, p. 900). D. here transfers the idea to chickens to figure humans as God's domesticated and potentially profitable creatures.

25 meat] food.

26–7 Corrosiveness . . . specific poison] Cp. *Pseudo-Martyr* Preface 15 (1610) sig. C3r; (1993 p. 19; Milgate): 'But this doctrine of temporal jurisdiction is . . . of the nature of those poisons which destroy not by heat nor cold, not corrosion nor any other discernible quality, but (as physicians say) out of the specific form and secret malignity and out of the whole substance.' D. uses the vocabulary of P. Forestus, *Observationes et curationes medicinales* 30: *De Venenis* 2 (1609) p. 6, acknowledged in *Pseudo-Martyr*, 'Preface' (p. 16).

29 antipathy] antidote.

30 Cp. *Serm.* 6. 260 (3 April 1625): 'Call not his Physic, poison, nor his Fish, Scorpions, nor his Bread, Stone: Accuse not God' (Milgate). **physic]** purgative.

31 that] that which, what.

33–4 Since . . . was] Sir John Davies, *Nosce Teipsum* ll. 1133–6 agrees with this positive evaluation of natural instincts: 'Yet were these natural affections good / (For they which want them blocks or devils be) / If Reason in her first perfection stood, / That she might Nature's passions rectify.'

- Nature to what she was, we're led awry
 35 By them who man to us in little show:
 Greater than due, no form we can bestow
 On him; for man into himself can draw
 All—all his faith can swallow or reason chaw.
 All that is filled, and all that which doth fill
 40 All the round world, to man is but a pill:
 In all it works not, but it is in all
 Pois'nous or purgative or cordial;
 For knowledge kindles calentures in some,
 And is to others icy opium.
 45 As brave as true is that profession than
 Which you do use to make: that you know man.
 This makes it credible: you've dwelt upon
 All worthy books, and now are such a one.
 Actions are authors, and of those in you
 50 Your friends find ev'ry day a mart of new.

41–end *om.* C57, *Lec*

48 a] an *S96*, 1633, 1635 49 those] these *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

34 what she was] *sc.* before the Fall. Augustine argued, *Citie of God* 14. 24, 'That our first parents, had they lived without sin, should have had their members of generation as subject unto their wills as any of the rest', giving as an example of control of a lower bodily faculty that 'There are that can break wind backward so artificially [skilfully] that you would think they sung' (1610) pp. 526–7. (*Pétomanes* entertained medieval and Renaissance courts, and nineteenth-century music-hall audiences too.)

34–8 we're led . . . draw All] *Cp. Sermon*. 4. 104 (Easter Monday 1622):

The properties, the qualities of every Creature, are in man; the Essence, the Existence of every Creature is for man; so man is every Creature. And therefore the Philosopher draws man into too narrow a table, when he says he is *Microcosmos*, an Abridgement of the world in little: *Nazianzen* gives him but his due, when he calls him *Mundum Magnum*, a world to which all the rest of the world is but subordinate: for all the world besides, is but God's Foot-stool; Man sits down upon his right hand.

and *Devotions*, 4. Meditation (1624) p. 64: 'It is too little to call Man a little world: except God, Man is a diminutive to nothing. Man consists of more pieces, more parts, than the world, than the world doth—nay, than the world is' (Gr., Milgate).

34 awry] astray.

43 calentures] fevers, burning zeal, causing sufferers to bring about their own (eternal) death. *Cp. Calm* 23 and note.

44 icy opium] *Cp.*, e.g., *Dodoens*, 3. 81 (1578) p. 432; Gerard 2. 68 (1597) p. 298: 'All the poppies are cold, as Galen testifieth', *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 7. 12. 12 (Kühn 12. 73). Opium and its derivatives lower body temperature, sometimes fatally.

47–8 For people as books *cp. Bed* 41–2, *BedfordShe* 44.

49 Actions are authors] *Cp. Sermon*. 9. 156 (25 Jan. 1630): 'Our actions, if they be good, speak louder than our Sermons; Our preaching is our speech, our good life is our eloquence' (Milgate).

Upon Mr Thomas Coryat's *Crudities*

Date and Context. 1610–11. The book was entered in the Stationers' Register on 26 Nov. 1610: as with *Volpone* the entire body of the book may have been printed before the preliminaries, which could have allowed time for composition in early 1611. In 1610, after *Pseudo-Martyr*, entered on 2 Dec. 1609, D. wrote *Ignatius*, of which the Latin version was entered on 24 Jan. 1611, and D.'s English version on 18 May 1611. Thomas Coryat (1577?–1617), was son of George, Fellow of New College, prebendary of York, and Rector of Odcombe, Somerset, where Thomas was born, and the shoes he wore on his way back from Venice (mostly on foot) through 'the Grisons, . . . Switzerland, . . . Germany, and the Netherlands', hung in the church for a century. After Gloucester Hall, Oxford (1596–9), he eventually joined Prince Henry's court, where his odd appearance made him the butt of those who regarded themselves as wits. His *Crudities, Hastily Gobbled up . . . Newly digested in the hungry air of Odcombe* (1611) is a mixture of substantial quotations and lively autobiography, portraying himself as an accident-prone buffoon, but incidentally showing him as both educated and sensible. After its publication he set off again through Istanbul, Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Persia to India. From the court of the Great Mogul, the Emperor Jehangir at Ajmer, where their common acquaintance Sir Thomas Roe was ambassador, he wrote the four letters printed as *T. Coriate Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting* (1616), naming D. (without reading the first work, obviously), 'the author of two most elegant Latin Books, *Pseudo-Martyr* and *Ignatii Conclave*', among numerous addressees. In the next year, Coryat died at Surat.

Analogues. Prefixed to Coryat's book were 108 pages of verses by courtiers, poets, and friends: see Bald pp. 191–2. D.'s poem was rewritten by John Taylor the Water-Poet in *Laugh and be Fat* (1612) 17–19; *All the Workes* (1630) 2. 73.

Text. The first printing in *Crudities* was followed for the first appearance in D.'s *Poems* in the 4th edn in 1649, and has been adopted here as base text.

OH, to what height will love of greatness drive
 Thy leavened spirit, sesqui-superlative?
 Venice' vast lake thou'dst seen, and would seek than

Sources collated: Thomas Coryat, *Crudities* 1611; *The Odcombian Banquet* 1611; Donne, *Poems* 1649, 1669

Base text: 1611

Select variants:

Heading 1649: *Incipit Ioannes Donne. 1611*

2 leavened] learner 1649

2 leavened] puffed up (Gr.). **sesqui-superlative]** ultra-supereminent, half as inflated again as the most conceivable.

3–7 Venice . . . Heidelberg] Three of the episodes lengthily described, and given full-page illustrations. Coryat's flight from the slighted courtesan is also illustrated on the title-page.

3 Venice' vast lake] The Lagoon. D.'s friend Wotton was ambassador there: see *Wotton Venice*. **than]** then.

- Some vaster thing, and found'st a courtesan.
 5 That Inland Sea having discovered well,
 A cellar-gulf, where one might sail to Hell
 From Heidelberg, thou longed'st to see; and thou
 This book, greater than all, producest now:
 Infinite work, which does so far extend
 10 That none can study it to any end.
 'Tis no one thing: it is not fruit nor root,
 Nor poorly limited with head or foot.

7 longed'st] long'st 1649

4 thing] With a secondary sexual sense.

5 D. implies that he does not believe Coryat's orthodox protestation of respectability ('No sex, please: I'm British'), a scepticism foreseen by Coryat:

Because I have related so many particulars of them . . . thou wilt cast an aspersion of wantonness upon me, and say that I could not know all these matters without mine own experience. I answer thee, that although I might have known them without my experience, yet for my better satisfaction I went to one of their noble houses (I will confess) to see the manner of their life and observe their behaviour, but . . . I both wished the conversion of the courtesan that I saw, and did my endeavour by persuasive terms to convert her . . . Withal, I went thither partly to the end to see whether those things were true that I often heard before . . . concerning these famous women, . . . I think that a virtuous man will be the more confirmed and settled in virtue by the observation of some vices, than if he did not at all know what they were. (1905, 1. 407–9.)

Inland] Punning on the term for the Mediterranean, as in Pliny, 3. 1 (3), thus rendered by Holland 1601, 1. 50, to allude to the courtesan's pudendum, enlarged by frequent use.

6 Implying that, having damned himself with the courtesan, Coryat will now essay the other popular means. He estimated that the Great Tun of Heidelberg held over 530 hogsheads (i.e., c. 123,200 litres). His experience of it he recounts thus:

A gentleman of the court accompanied me to the top together with one of the cellarers, and exhilarated me with two sound draughts of Rhenish wine. . . . But I advise thee, gentle reader, . . . if thou dost happen to ascend to the top thereof to taste of the wine, that in any case thou dost drink moderately, and not so much as the sociable Germans will persuade thee unto. For if thou shouldst chance to over-swill thyself with wine, peradventure such a giddiness will benumb thy brain that thou wilt scarce find the direct way down from the steep ladder without a very dangerous precipitation. (1905, 2. 220–1.)

8 Coryat's own account takes up nearly 700 folio pages.

10 end] Punning on a second sense of 'purpose'.

11–12 i.e., D. can make neither head nor tail of it: cp. the proverb, Tilley B155: 'It is a strange beast that has neither head nor tail.'

- If man be therefore man because he can
 Reason and laugh, thy book doth half make man.
 15 One half being made, thy modesty was such
 That thou on t'other half would never touch.
 When wilt thou be at full, great lunatic?
 Not till thou exceed the world? Canst thou be like
 A prosp'rous nose-borne wen, which sometime grows
 20 To be far greater than the mother-nose?
 Go, then; and as to thee when thou didst go
 Münster did towns, and Gesner authors show,
 Mount now to *Gallo-Belgicus*: appear
 As deep a statesman as a gazetteer;
 25 Homely and fam'liarly when thou com'st back
 Talk of 'Will Conqueror' and 'Prester Jack'.
 Go, bashful man, lest here thou blush to look
 Upon the progress of thy glorious book,
 To which both Indies sacrifices send:
 30 The West sent gold, which thou didst freely spend
 (Meaning to see't no more) upon the press;

19 sometime] ~s 1640 24 gazetteer] garretteeer 1640

13–14 man be . . . laugh] The classical definition: Aristotle, *On the Soul* 3. 10 (433a11), *Parts of Animals* 3. 10 (673a5). Cp. *Serm.* 1. 226 (2 Nov. 1617), where D. expatiates on the danger of applying these faculties to one's sin (Milgate).

16 t'other half] reason.

17 lunatic] changer like the moon *or* whimsical fool.

19 nose-borne wen] external growth on the nose. Line 20's 'mother-nose' makes 'borne' into a pun on 'born'.

22 Münster] Sebastian Münster (1489–1552), Hebrew scholar and cosmographer. Coryat (1905, 1. 4) acknowledges some indebtedness to his *Cosmographia universalis* 1541 etc., an account of the whole world often reprinted, and translated into French and German. An English abstract was published in 1572. **Gesner]** Conrad Gesner, (1516–65), zoologist, encyclopedist, physician, professor of Greek, linguist, mountaineer, and author of the bibliography of c. 1,800 writers, *Bibliotheca universalis, sive catalogus omnium scriptorum in linguis Latina, Graeca, et Hebraica* 1545.

23 Gallo-Belgicus] For the inaccuracy and debased Latin of M. Jansonius' popular register of news (1588 onward, collected 1594 and then sporadic), see note on *Mercurius*.

24 deep a statesman] profound a politician. **gazetteer]** reporter of events.

26 Will Conqueror] King William the Conqueror. **Prester Jack]** Prester John, the legendary Emperor of Ethiopia. 'His name is used to suggest that the "news" in Coryat's next work would be imaginary, as William the Conqueror's name suggests that it would be stale'—Milgate.

29 both Indies] Cp. Spenser, *Amoretti* 15 (1595), and *Sun* 17.

30–1 Coryat had to solicit from patrons the funds for printing the book, since no stationer would undertake it: D. accuses him of 'vanity-publishing'.

- The East sends hither her deliciousness,
 And thy leaves must embrace what comes from thence:
 The myrrh, the pepper and the frankincense.
- 35 This magnifies thy leaves; but if they stoop
 To neighbour wares, when merchants do unhoop
 Volum'nous barrels; if thy leaves do then
 Convey their wares in parcels unto men;
 If for vast tuns of currants and of figs,
- 40 Of med'cinal and aromatic twigs,
 Thy leaves a better method do provide,
 Divide to pounds, and ounces subdivide;
 If they stoop lower yet, and vent our wares,
 Home-manufactures to thick-popular fairs;
- 45 If omnipregnant there upon warm stalls
 They hatch all wares for which the buyer calls—
 Then thus thy leaves we justly may commend
 That they all kind of matter comprehend.
 Thus thou, by means which th'ancients never took,
- 50 A pandect mak'st, and universal book.

39 tuns 1660: tons 1640: tomes 1611

32–48 A traditional jibe: see note on *Satyre* 5 line 85, and cp. Nashe, *Strange Newes* (1592; *Works* I. 300): 'For chandlers' merchandise to be so massacred, for sheets that serve for nothing but to wrap the excrements of housewifery in, *Proh Deum*, what a spite is it.'

35 magnifies] raises the status of.

36 neighbour wares] the products of neighbouring countries.

39 tuns] barrels, then the usual containers for international trade in such items.

40 med'cinal] e.g., Spanish Broom against sciatica and quinsy, azedarac or bead-tree, *Melia azedarach*, against 'ulcerations of the bladder and privy parts' (though many came from further afield than Europe, e.g., lignum vitae, guaiacum or pockwood, from Brazil, used against syphilis). **aromatic]** Such as rosemary, *Rosmarinus officinalis* (also thought to be medicinal), grown in England since the fourteenth century (M. Campbell-Culver, *Origin of Plants* (2001) p. 78) but more easily, and in the greater quantity needed for strewing etc., round its native Mediterranean. **twigs]** For infusions.

41 method] Referring to the writer or speaker's procedure for producing an abstract or structure.

43 vent our] sell English.

44 Home-manufactures] Domestic products. **thick-popular]** crowded with the common people.

45 omnipregnant] bearing all sorts of goods, such as haberdashery and ironmongery. **warm]** Referring to artificial incubation.

48 all . . . comprehend] 1. Physically contain all sorts of material objects, as other books; 2. cover a wide range of subjects.

50 pandect] encyclopedia. Gesner (see note on l. 22) published in 1548–9 *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium . . . libri XXI*.

- The bravest heröes, for public good,
 Scattered in divers lands their limbs and blood;
 Worst malefactors, to whom men are prize,
 Do public good, cut in anatomies;
 55 So will thy book in pieces, for a lord
 Which casts at portegues, and all the board,
 Provide whole books; each leaf enough will be
 For friends to pass time and keep company.
 Can all carouse up thee? No. Thou must fit
 60 Measures, and fill out for the half-pint wit.
 Some shall wrap pills, and save a friend's life so;
 Some shall stop muskets, and so kill a foe.
 Thou shalt not ease the critics of next age
 So much, at once their hunger to assuage,
 65 Nor shall wit-pirates hope to find thee lie
 All in one bottom, in one library.

51 heröes] Trisyllabic, as in Latin, Greek, and, e.g., Spenser, *FQ* 1. 11. 6. 4 etc.

53–4 See note on *Exchange* 42, and cp. *FirAn* 435–7.

53 men are prize] People's bodies are booty, as in *King Lear* 4. 5. 225 (though on that occasion there is a separate reward attached).

56 casts at] throws dice for. **portegues]** Grosart thinks this a reference to IOUs, written on paper torn out of Coryat's book, for Portuguese crusadoes, large gold coins worth £3–4 (cp. *Alchemist* 1. 3. 87), and partly quotes Sir John Harington, *Treatise on Playe* (in *Nugae Antiquae* 2. 179):

Where lords and great men have been disposed to play deep play, and not having money about them, have cut cards instead of counters, with asseverance on their honours to pay for every piece of card so lost a portegue . . . I have observed that the beholders have taken small pleasure in beholding this play, though hundreds were really and indeed lost thereat.

The 1611 form of the word, 'Portescues' (already corrupted), may have been affected by misassociation with the French *escus/écus* (Gr.). **the board]** those at the gaming-table.

57 whole books] A glance at the excess of gamblers for large sums.

58 For those who play merely for amusement and to be sociable.

59–60 Milgate sees this as addressing the 'friends', adjuring them to drink only half-healths to a 'half-pint wit'. It can, however, be read as ironic justification of suiting the capacities of less clever readers: some of Coryat's wit is too obvious for D.'s taste.

59 carouse] drink.

61 wrap pills] The confections of the apothecary, including some unpleasant compounds.

62 The muzzle-loader required wadding to hold the powder and shot in place before firing.

64 So much] sc. 'as'.

65 wit-pirates] plagiarists.

66 bottom] vessel.

- Some leaves may paste strings there in other books;
 And so one may which on another looks
 Pilfer, alas, a little wit from you,
 70 But hardly much*. And yet, I think this true:
 As Sibyl's was, your book is mystical:
 For ev'ry piece is as much worth as all.
 Therefore mine impotency I confess:
 The healths which my brain bears must be far less;
 75 Thy giant wit o'erthrows me; I am gone;
 And rather than read all, I would read none.

* I mean from one page which shall paste strings in a book.

In eundem Macaronicum

Analogues. True macaronic, mingling various languages but following the grammar of the vernacular, was apparently invented by the Italian L. Tisi degli Odassi, *Carmen macaronicum*, 1488. An early practitioner, Teofilo Filengo, used it in *Maccaroniae* 1517–21 for mock-epic, defining it as a 'gross, rude and rustic' mixture like that of flour, cheese and butter to make macaroni. The genre was very popular in Germany and France too in the sixteenth c. In Britain, Drummond of Hawthornden composed a short epic, *Polemo-Middinia*, putting Latin inflexions on Lowland Scots. Mere mixing of languages, as here by D., had been practised in Old English; other examples are by Skelton and Richard Braithwaite (U. K. Goldsmith in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* 1975 edn). D. heads his poem with a Greek form of 'Macaronic', and interweaves Latin, Spanish, English, Italian and French. Though it was omitted for 1649 etc., it is subscribed in 1611

67 Both boards and endpapers might be made up from printers' wastepaper, bookbinders pasting the latter over the slips of the cords or bands to which gatherings had been sown, reinforcing their joining of boards to spine: cp. the use of leaves of discarded MSS for this, described by N. R. Ker, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings*, Oxford 1954.

69 **alas, a little wit]** Because only one leaf at a time is used, and some of what exists is hidden in the binding.

70 **much*]** For D. to provide his own note is a unique occurrence in his verse. It here ironically qualifies his criticism: he does not wish to say that the whole book contains little matter for amusement.

71–2 According to the legend in Aulus Gellius 1. 19, Tarquin the Proud refused at first to buy the nine sibylline books, finding the price demanded laughable, but, after the aged vendor had burnt three before his eyes, and then another three when he persisted in his refusal, paid as much for the remaining three as she had initially asked of him for all nine. In Coryat's case, the value of all parts, D. opines, is the same as that of the whole—nothing.

74 **The healths . . . far less]** D.'s good wishes are far less in quantity.

75 **gone]** finished.

76 D. at last reveals that he has not actually read the book he mocks.

Explicit Ioannes Donne, clearly including it as the work of D. announced by the heading *Incipit Ioannes Donne*.

Translation. By R. S. Q., *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series 7 (1865) 145, reproduced by Grierson: 'As many perfect linguists as these two distichs make, / So many prudent statesmen will this book of yours produce. / To me the honour is sufficient of being understood: for I leave / To you the honour of being believed by no one.' Coryat claims that foreign travel might make 'many noble and generous young gallants that follow your Highness' [Prince Henry's] court . . . fit to do your Highness and their country the better service' (1905, I. 1–2).

Q*VOT* dos haec **Linguists** perfetti *Disticha* feront,
Tot cuerdos **Statesmen**, hic livre fara tunc.
 80 Es sat a mí l'honneur d'être hic inteso; Car **I** leave
 L'honra de personne n'être creduto tibi.

77–81 *In eundem . . . tibi. om. 1649, 1669*

A Letter Written by Sir Henry Goodyer and John Donne *alternis vicibus*

Date and Context. March–April 1613? See headnote on *Friday*. D. Kay, *RES* ns 37 (1986) 209, argues for this date as that of D.'s only recorded visit to Polesworth. He points out that ll. 1–3 specify Spring; the nightingales of l. 22 could have sung by 2 April, when D. was on his way to Montgomery, given the ten-day difference in the calendars then and now, and in any case might not be meant literally, despite Bald p. 270, who posits an earlier, unrecorded visit to Polesworth by D. The poem is not addressed to the wives of the two, since Lady Goodyer is known from an epigram on Goodyer's bereavement to have died in 1606 (Bald p. 154).

Analogues. 'This poem received the tribute of some verses by Thomas Pestell [1586–1667], who seems to have thought it was written in alternate lines, not alternate stanzas, by the two poets'—Bald p. 168 n.: 'On the Interlineary Poem Begot 'twixt Sir H. Goo.: and Dr Donne': 'Here two rich ravished spirits kiss and twine, / Advanced and wedlocked in each others line. / Goodyer's rare match with only him was blessed, / Who has outdonne and quite undonne the rest' (*Poems* (1940) p. 28, and *CH* p. 107).

Text. The poem survives in only two MSS: the Skipwith, BL Add. MS. 25707 (*A25*), made by various members of a family related to Goodyer by marriage, and Leicestershire Record Office DG. 9/2976 (*Herrick*), a verse-miscellany once owned by Elizabeth Herrick (1684–1745) and William Herrick (1689–1773), dated by *IELM* c. 1650 and c. 1630 respectively. It was first printed from *A25* in E. K. Chambers's edition of D.'s *Poems*, 1896. Goodyer's stanzas are here italicised. Though *Herrick* seems to make better sense in l. 6, *A25* is superior in ll. 27 and 31.

Heading *alternis vicibus* by turns.

*S*INCE ev'ry tree begins to blossom now,
 Perfuming and enamelling each bough,
 Hearts should, as well as they, some fruits allow.

For since one old, poor Sun serves all the rest,
 5 You sev'ral suns that warm and light each breast
 Do by that influence all our thoughts digest.

*And that you two may so your virtues move
 On better matter than beams from above,
 Thus our twined souls send forth these buds of love.*

10 As in devotions men join both their hands,
 We make ours do one act: to seal the bands
 By which we enthral ourselves to your commands.

*And each for other's faith and zeal stand bound;
 As safe as spirits are from any wound,*
 15 *So free from impure thoughts they shall be found.*

Admit our magic, then, by which we do
 Make you appear to us, and us to you,
 Supplying all the Muses in you two.

Sources collated: *A25, LRO DG. 9/2976 (cited as Herrick)*

Base text: *A25, Herrick*

Heading *Herrick*: . . . H. G. and J. D. . . . *A25*

6 our *Herrick*: your *A25* 10 their *A25*: the *Herrick*

2 enamelling] adorning magnificently with various colours.

5 sev'ral] other.

6 digest] mature, bring to ripeness (*OED* 8). Another interpretation, 'distribute, dispense' (*OED* 1), would accord with *A25*'s reading of 'your' instead of *Herrick*'s 'our', but is inconsistent with the image in the first two stanzas.

7 virtues move] exercise powers.

9 twined] MSS' 'twin'd' allows both the meanings 'intertwined' and 'twinned' (Smith).

11 seal the bands] ratify the bonds.

12 enthral] subject.

14 Since the bodies assumed by angels are of condensed air: Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 51. 2.

16–17 Cp. the magic glasses in e.g., Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* 5. 102, 6. 5–173, 13. 26–83; *Macbeth* 4. 1. 135–6.

- We do consider no flow'r that is sweet*
 20 *But we your breath in that exhaling meet,*
And, as true types of you, them humbly greet.

Here in our nightingales we hear you sing,
 Who so do make the whole year through a spring,
 And save us from the fear of autumn's sting.

- 25 *In Anker's calm face we your smoothness see,*
Your minds unmingled, and as clear as she
That keeps untouched her first virginity.

- Did all St Edith's nuns descend again
 To honour Polesworth with their cloistered train,
 30 Compared with you, each would confess some stain.

Or should we more bleed out our thoughts in ink,
No paper (though it would be glad to drink
Those drops) could comprehend what we do think.

27 first *A25*: fair'st *Herrick* 28 *Edith's ed.*: *Edith A25, Herrick*
 31 in *A25*: with *Herrick*

21 types] representations.

25 Anker's] A tributary of the Tame, which itself flows into the Trent.

26–30 she . . . stain] Goodyer could not provide dowries for three of his four daughters, so they remained unmarried (Bald p. 495): here he makes virtue of necessity.

28 St Edith's] Tenth-century abbess and patron saint of the Benedictine nunnery, dissolved in 1538, out of which Goodyer's house was made by his grandfather, Francis, in 1544. Milgate cites W. Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) pp. 797–9, who recounts sceptically the legend that Sir Robert Marmion—'virtually unrivalled in his day in ferocity, adroitness and daring' (William of Newburgh, *History of English Affairs, Book I*, 12, ed. and Engl. P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy (1988) p. 70)—had expelled the nuns, then suffered a nightmare after a lavish feast at Tamworth Castle, in which Edith appeared to him, threatening that 'he should have an evil death, and go to Hell, and to the end that he should be the more sensible of this admonition, she smote him on the side with the point of her said crosier'. He was supposed to have restored the nuns because 'grievously tormented with the pain of his wound', which promptly healed. Later, in 1143, he fell from his horse into a ditch dug by himself, breaking a thigh, and was dispatched by a cobbler's knife. He had done a deal with the nuns that Marmions should be buried in their chapter-house, but his corpse was relegated to unconsecrated ground. The suggestion of a reappearance of Edith's nuns is thus jocular on D.'s part.

- For 'twere in us ambition to write
 35 So that, because we two you two unite,
 Our letter should, as you, be infinite.

To Mr Tilman after he had Taken Orders

Date and Context. Dec. 1618 onwards. Edward Tilman, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was ordained deacon on 20 Dec. 1618, two years after his MA, and priest on 12 March 1620. A Mr Tilman, perhaps a relative, was a member of D.'s parish St Clement Danes at least until 1618 (Bald p. 303). Edward was, according to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *Autobiography* (1845), I. 274, 'not only a learned and able divine, but a religious and humble man' (J. Butt, *TLS* (15 Dec. 1932) 963). He was at most twenty-three, matriculating in 1609, BA and Fellow 1613, MA 1616, and so not comparable in delay to D., who was forty-two at the time of his own ordination on 23 Jan. 1615. As Gardner *DP* p. 129 observes, D.'s poem does not reply to Tilman's own feeling that he is unfit because inconstant, lustful, hot-tempered, and ambitious: instead D. concentrates on reasons for accepting the lack of worldly standing and rewards of the clergyman, perhaps his own concerns. That D. hoped for a foot on the ladder of wealth and power is evident from letters to friends and patrons, until in 1615 he accepted the desire of the King as the voice of God.

Analogues. Tilman's own poem, written before his ordination, is in H. Wood, *E&S* 16 (1931) 184–6. There is no evidence that D. knew it.

Text. *O'F* is freest of obvious errors of the four MSS and one early printed edition in which this poem exists. According to the collations in Gardner and Shawcross, the Welbeck MS, though elegantly written and bound (Gardner, *DP* p. 100), and the fourteen opening lines in a Folger miscellany, contribute only patent mistakes, so have not been included in the collation.

- THOU whose diviner soul hath caused thee now
 To put thy hand unto the holy plough,
 Making lay scornings of the Ministry
 Not an impediment but victory,
 5 What bring'st thou home with thee? How is thy mind

Sources collated: *Dob*, *O'F*, 1635

Base text: *O'F*

Select variants:

4 but] but a *Dob*

2 *Luke* 9. 62.

5 **What . . . thee?**] Arousing thoughts of the harvest-home (evoked by Herrick's 'Hock-Cart'), the fruits of the agricultural labours begun in l. 2.

- Affected in the vintage? Dost thou find
 New thoughts and stirrings in thee? And, as steel
 Touched with a lodestone, dost new motions feel?
 Or as a ship, after much pain and care
 10 For iron and cloth, brings home rich Indian ware?
 Hast thou thus trafficked, but with far more gain
 Of noble goods, and with less time and pain?
 Art thou the same materials as before,
 Only the stamp is changèd, but no more,
 15 And, as new-crownèd kings alter the face
 But not the money's substance, so hath grace
 Changed only God's old image by creation
 To Christ's new stamp at this thy coronation?
 Or as we paint angels with wings, because
 20 They bear God's message and proclaim his laws,
 Since thou must do the like, and so must move,
 Art thou new-feathered with celestial love?

6 in] since 1635 vintage] voyage *Dob* 10 brings] bring'st *Dob*
 13 Art thou] Thou art 1635 18 stamp] birth *Dob*

6 vintage/voyage] The former word extends the allusion to Jesus' words in l. 2 into the parable of the vineyard (*Matt.* 20. 1–16 etc.), 'He sent them into the vineyard'—taken sometimes as a figure of Jesus' own command (cp. *Matt.* 9. 37–8 etc., *John* 4. 35) since the owner of the vineyard in another parable, *Matt.* 21. 33–41, is a figure of God—whereas *Dob*'s 'voyage' is, as Gardner puts it, 'a clumsy anticipation of the later metaphor of the trading-ship'.

7 New . . . stirrings] As the vintage ferments: D. may be implying that Tilman has become a new man, one of the new bottles in which secondary fermentation takes place, *Matt.* 9. 17 etc.

8 new motions] turning to align with magnetic north and south.

10 iron and cloth] Whereas iron in fact had to be imported to supplement home production, cloth accounted for about 80 per cent of the value of all exports, according to D. C. Coleman, *Economy of England 1450–1750* (1977) pp. 64–5.

Indian ware] The East India Company brought back mainly spices, drugs and textiles (Coleman p. 65).

11 trafficked] traded, i.e., sermons for souls.

14 stamp] impress. D.'s fascination with this persisted: cp., e.g., *Image* 4, *Weeping* 3, *SecAn* 521.

15–16 new-crownèd . . . substance] Cp. headnote to *Canonization*.

18 stamp/birth] *Dob*'s reading avoids duplication, but it is not Christ who is reborn at an ordination: if anyone, it is the ordinand. **thy coronation]** Cp. *Serm.* 7. 134 (April 18 [?16] 1626): 'What a Coronation is our taking of Orders, by which God makes us a Royal Priesthood!'

20 message] Etymologically 'angel' meant merely 'messenger', not necessarily a supernatural being.

22 Cp. *Ps.* 91. 4: 'He shall defend thee under his wings, and thou shalt be safe under his feathers'.

- Dear, tell me where thy purchase lies, and show
 What thy advantage is, above, below.
- 25 But if thy gaining do surmount expression,
 Why doth the foolish world scorn that profession
 Whose joys pass speech? Why do they think unfit
 That gentry should join families with it?
 Would they think it well if the day were spent
- 30 In dressing, mistressing, and compliment?
 Alas! Poor joys! But poorer men whose trust
 Seems richly placèd in refinèd dust!
 For such are clothes and beauties, which, though gay
 Are, at the best, but as sublimèd clay.
- 35 Let, then, the world thy calling disrespect,
 But go thou on, and pity their neglect.
 What function is so noble, as to be
 Ambassador to God and Destiny;
 To open life, and give kingdoms to more
- 40 Than kings give dignities: to keep Heaven's door?
 Mary's prerog'ive was to bear Christ, so,
 'Tis preachers' to convey him, for they do

25 thy *Dob*, 1635: they *O'F* gaining] ~s 1635 27 think] think't *Dob*
 29 Would they think it well if the day were] As if their day were only to be
 1635
 30 mistressing 1635: mis-dressing *O'F*: undressing *Dob*
 32 refinèd] sublimèd 1635
 33 beauties] beauty 1635 34 as] of 1635 39 and] to 1635

23 **purchase]** acquisition.

24 **advantage]** gain, benefit, improvement.

29 Gardner rejects the MS line as 'hopelessly unmetrical', though it is at least decasyllabic.

30 George Herbert adapts this line slightly for *Church Porch* l. 80, and echoes it more distantly in *Priest to the Temple* 32 (*Works* p. 277), suggesting he knew a MS no longer extant (Gardner). **mistressing]** flirting, chasing women. The echo of 'dressing' suggests that dressing for reasons of vanity is 'misdressing'.

33 **beauties/beauty]** As Gardner observes, the 'sublimèd clay' of l. 34 would be applicable to beautiful bodies, less so to the abstract quality.

34 **sublimèd]** transmuted, improved.

36 **neglect]** i.e., of religious values.

38 **Ambassador to God]** Cp. 2 *Cor.* 4, 20: 'We are ambassadors for Christ' (*AV*).

39 **more]** more people.

40 **dignities]** titles. **keep Heaven's door]** Jesus' promise to Peter to give him the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, *Matt.* 16. 19, was taken by Romanists to apply to popes alone, by Anglicans to all clergy.

- As angels out of clouds from pulpits speak,
 And bless the poor beneath, the lame, the weak.
 45 If then th'astronomers, whenas they spy
 A new-found star, their optics magnify,
 How brave are those who with their engines can
 Bring man to Heav'n, and Heav'n again to man!
 These are thy titles and pre-em'nences,
 50 In whom must meet God's graces, men's offences,
 And so the heavens, which beget all things here,
 And th'earth our mother, which doth those things bear,
 Both these in thee are in thy calling knit,
 And make thee now a bless'd hermaphrodite.

45 whenas *Dob*: whereas *O'F*, 1635 47 engines] engine 1635

48 again to 1635: to *Dob*, *O'F* 52 doth those things] these things doth 1635

43 angels out of clouds] Cp. *Rev.* 10.1, and *Serm.* 7. 134, following the exclamation already quoted above on l. 18: 'And what an enthronization is the coming up into a Pulpit, where God invests his servants with his Ordinance, as with a Cloud' etc.; and 10 .60 (All Saints [?1623]), quoting Augustine: '“I think that the Holy Ghost means . . . by his *clouds* . . . the Preachers of his Word, the Ministers of the Gospel; . . . Clouds because their bodies are seen, . . . as clouds they embrace the whole visible Church, and are visible to it”'.

44 Cp. *Luke* 12–14: ' . . . for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.'

45–6 The allusion is to Galileo, of whose work D. shows no more detailed knowledge than was probably supplied by Henry Wotton: see note on *FirAn* 205–11, and cp. *Harington* 37–40.

45 whenas/whereas] *n* was easily misread as *re* in MSS.

46 optics] telescopes. **magnify**] praise (punning on the function of the instruments).

47 brave] excellent. **engines**] devices.

49 titles and pre-em'nences] entitlements to notice and excellences.

54 bless'd hermaphrodite] Because traditionally Heaven is male, Earth female. Cp. *Lincoln* 30's allusive 'strange hermaphrodites' (see note), and Spenser's literal 'fair hermaphrodite' in *FQ*'s 1590 ending, 3. 12. 46. 2. A. Breeze, *JDJ* 22 (2003) 250–1, notes the rabbinical belief, based on *Gen.* 1. 27, 5. 2. as well as Plato, *Symposium* 189d–190a, that the first human contained both sexes (see Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* 3. 17), implying, i.e., that Tilman will be a second (pre-Fall) Adam in the perfection of his knowledge and sinlessness. R. P. McGerr, *N&Q* ns 33 (1986) 349, offers as medieval precedent Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, addressing Innocent III as 'neuter' because intermediate between god and man, while F. M. Malpezzi, *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989) 250–60, goes further back to biblical (*Gen.* 1. 27), patristic and Neoplatonic sources, and the tradition of an androgynous deity/Christ; Tilman is like Adam and Christ (and Pope Innocent III) in becoming a go-between. It is notable that when D. wants a metaphor for a dual nature, he has recourse to the sexual field, whereas Thomas Browne resorts to natural history, calling a human 'that great and true amphibium, whose nature is disposed to live . . . in divided and distinguished worlds, . . . the one visible, the other invisible' (*Religio Medici* 1. 34).

Prayer for a Friend
Translated out of Gazaeus,
Vota amico facta

Date and Context. 1619–31. It might be thought that D.'s 'best friend' was Goodyer, but he did not possess a purse 'ever plump' that was unlikely to 'know pleats or folds', and, whereas D. acknowledged Goodyer's chief hobby, wishing him 'hawks and fortunes of a high pitch' (*Letters* p. 204) though deploring the expense (see *Goodyer* 20 and note), there is no mention of field-sports here: D.'s subject is unknown, perhaps imaginary. *VD* 8. 233 points out that the original occurs on p. 160 only of the second, 1619 edition of the Jesuit Angelin Gazet's *Pia Hilaria Variaque Cammina*, to be translated as *Pious, Cheerful, and Various Poems*. (Shawcross's translation 'to Saint Hilary' would require the dative *Hilariae*.)

Text. *Poems*, 1650, is the only authority. In l. 8, the possibly accidental plural, 'words', of eighteenth and nineteenth-century editions has been adopted for three reasons: the Latin original, *verba*, is plural; it parallels 'works' in l. 9; and D. habitually uses the singular only for a single word, for his oath, and Scripture. However, D. alters Gazet's *dent Divi*, 'may the gods grant' to the Christian singular.

GOD grant thee thine own wish, and grant thee mine,
 Thou who dost, best friend, in best things outshine:
 May thy soul, ever cheerful, know no cares,
 Nor thy life, ever lively, know grey hairs,
 5 Nor thy hand, ever open, know base holds,
 Nor thy purse, ever plump, know pleats or folds,
 Nor thy tongue, ever true, know a false thing,
 Nor thy words, ever mild, know quarrelling,
 Nor thy works, ever equal, know disguise,
 10 Nor thy fame, ever pure, know contumelies,
 Nor thy prayers know low objects, still divine.
 God grant thee thine own wish, and grant thee mine.

Source: 1650

Title: *ed.*: *Translated out of Gazaeus, Vota Amico facta. fol. 160. 1650*

8 words *ed.*: word 1650

*De libro cum mutuaretur impresso, domi a pueris
frustatim lacerato, et post reddito manuscripto.
Doctissimo amicissimoque u. D. D. Andrews*

Date and context. 1622–31. In his thorough study of the miscellany *H49*, W. H. Kelliher, ‘Donne, Jonson, Richard Andrews and The Newcastle Manuscript’, *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 4 (1993) 134–73, accepts the identification of the addressee by Bald (p. 250) with Richard Andrews (1575–1634) of St John’s College, Oxford, MD 1608, FRCP 1610. However, Kelliher refutes the hypothesis by H. W. Garrod, ‘Donne’s Latin Poem Addressed by Donne to Dr. Andrews’, *RES* 21 (1945) 38–42, that Andrews, living with his wife and children, treated D. in Paris in March 1612, since he got married in St Mary, Islington, on 3 March 1612. Kelliher posits a date for the poem between 1614 and 1631, narrowing that to 1624–31 on the grounds that D. refers to himself in l. 15 as *me . . . senem*, ‘old me’, and says in *Autumn* 33–4 ‘age is a thing / Which we are fifty years in compassing’. Actually he turned fifty in 1622 (and *Autumn* was written from the perspective of a much younger man, though even forty was deemed ‘old’: cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 2). Firmer grounds for assuming a date in the last decade of D.’s life are that Andrews practised in the City of London and lived in a house in the churchyard of St Mary Aldermanbury, within half a mile of the Deanery to which D. moved from Drury Lane in late 1621. Kelliher gives a full account of Andrews’s career in his Appendix I, and in Appendix II lists ninety-seven poems by him in *H49*, including several in Latin. Other, published Latin verses by him are cited by Kelliher 161, 165–6. The mutilated book could have been in Latin, and Andrews may have inscribed its MS replacement appropriately with Latin verses of his own. D.’s only other Latin verses relate also to books and authors: William Covell, Joseph Scaliger, Ben Jonson, George Herbert, and himself—the epigraph to his portrait in *Death’s Duel*. Andrews may well have been one of the physicians referred to in *Sickness* and *Devotions* in 1623.

Text. First printed in 1635. The first largely convincing exposition and authoritative translation were given by Garrod.

Translation.

*On a book that was a printed one when borrowed,
torn to pieces by the children of the family,
and afterwards returned written out by hand.
To the most learned and most friendly man,
Master Doctor Andrews.*

- Those the presses give birth to in damp labour are accepted,
But those handwritten are more to be revered.
The Maine is tributary to the Seine; into St Victor’s Abbey
Frankfurt passes, brought back by you.
- 5 The book which goes on shelves abandoned to book-worms and ashes
If coloured only with the blood of the press,

Heading Garrod suggested that 1635’s ‘*v. D. D.*’ stood, as was the convention, for ‘*viro Domino Doctore*’.

- Let it come written with a pen, is reverently received,
 And flies to the principal bookcase of ancient fathers.
 Let Apollo tell how children bestowed on a book
 10 That was new, indeed, old age and decrepitude.
 No wonder, that children born of medical seed
 Could have inflicted this novel fate on a new book.
 If the children make old what is new, surely
 Father himself will make old me young by his art?
 15 Alas, the luckless old! Unfeeling age turns us
 All into children, but no-one into a youth.
 To thyself hast thou reserved bestowing this, Ancient of Days,
 At sight of whom Adam both lives and grows young.
 Meanwhile, the wearinesses of sickly life let us beguile
 20 With books, and with friendship rivalling the gods'.
 Among the former, that little book returned by you to me
 Was not to me so prized nor so much mine before.

*Parturiunt madido quae nixu praela, recepta,
 sed quae scripta manu, sunt ueneranda magis.
 Transiit in Sequanam Moenus; Victoris in Aedes,
 et Francofurtum, te reuemente, meat.*

Source: 1635

Heading *frustatim* Gr.: *frustratim* 1635 3 *Victoris in Aedes* ed.: *v~ ~ a~* 1635

1–8 The inferior press-production's feminine metaphors of moisture, labour, birth and blood make the superior pen, and its product's ranking with the classical and church fathers, by contrast, masculine.

1 *madido*] Paper was moistened before printing.

2 For instance, authors sometimes prepared for presentation to a patron a manuscript copy of a work that was being printed, as in the case of Bacon's *Essays*, of which a manuscript now in the British Library was probably made in 1610–12 to be given to Henry, Prince of Wales (Bacon (1985) pp. xxiii–xxiv, lxxi–lxxiv).

3–4 An elaborate figure for the superseding of print by manuscript: after the founding of movable-type printing by Gutenberg at Mainz on the River Main, Frankfurt-am-Main was both a centre of printing and home of the great international book-fair. The pre-eminence of printing in producing books has been ceded to the manuscript-production typified by the Abbey of St Victor on the Seine, holder of the greatest collection of manuscripts in France. The metonymic use of river-names, though a classical practice, may have been put freshly into D.'s mind by Andrews himself: Kelliher (169) lists his poem 'Though Ister have put down the Rhine', presumably figuring Prague by the Danube and Heidelberg by the Rhine, and through them the Holy Roman Emperor's defeat of the Elector Palatine at the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620. However, Kelliher quotes the use of *Mæmus* for Frankfurt in a poem on printing by Thomas Reid (Latin Secretary to James I until his death in 1624; see *DNB*), published along with verses by Andrews in Thomas Farnaby's *Florilegium epigrammatum* (1629). The union of rivers, a conventional figure in Continental epithalamia, appears in England in a Latin poem on the marriage of Thame and Isis to produce the Thames

- 5 *Qui liber in pluteos blattis cinerique relictos,
si modo sit praeli sanguine tinctus, abit,
accedat calamo scriptus, reuerenter habetur,
inuolat et ueterum scrinia summa patrum.
Dicat Apollo modum: pueros infundere libro*
10 *nempe uetustatem canitiemque nouo.*
*Nil mirum, medico pueros de semine natos
haec noua fata libro posse dedisse nouo.*
*Si ueterem faciunt pueri qui nuperos, annon
ipse pater iuuenem me dabit arte senem?*
15 *Hei miseris senibus! nos uertit dura senectus
omnes in pueros, neminem at in iuuenem.*
*Hoc tibi seruasti praestandum, antique dierum,
quo uiso, et uiuit, et iuuenescit Adam.*
Interea, infirmae fallamus taedia uitae
20 *libris et coelorum aemula amicitia.*
*Hos inter, qui a te mihi redditus iste libellus,
non mihi tam carus, tam meus, ante fuit.*

I. D.

17 *Hoc. Hos Milgate SEVL*

in W. Camden, *Britannia* 'Oxfordshire' (1586) pp. 384–8; in Spenser's marriage of Thames and Medway, *FQ* 4. 11; and in Drayton's marriage of Thame and Isis in *Poly-Olbion* 15 (1612) pp. 233–44 (ed. J. W. Hebel (1933, corr. 1961) 4. 303–11). The union of Rhine and Thames figures the Palatine marriage in, e.g., Wither's *Epithalamia* ('1612'), and F. Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (Tuftes, *High Wedlock* pp. 178–90, 320).

8 *veterum . . . patrum*] Ancient manuscripts of the Bible and of works by classical writers and the fathers of the Church were highly venerated, collected by individuals such as Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury in the sixteenth century, and, pre-eminently, Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631). They were important parts of the collections not just of religious houses such as St Victor, but also of great humanist libraries such as the Vatican, the Mediceo-Laurenziana, and that founded by Sir Thomas Bodley at Oxford in 1598.

9 *Apollo*] here, god of the art of healing.

17 *antique dierum*] God (*Dan.* 7. 9, 13, 22).

18 'Adam' stands for all humans, whose bodies, according to Augustine, *Citie of God* 22. 15, would be resurrected as they had been in their prime. According to Hakewill 3. 1. 2 (1635) 1. 173, some divines added sixty years to the recorded age of Adam at his death (930; *Gen.* 5. 5) 'upon a supposition that he was created in the flower of man's age agreeable to those times'.

22 Not only as a manuscript, but as a copy uniquely possessed by D.

LOVE-LYRICS
(‘SONGS AND SONNETS’)

Air and Angels

Date and context. c. 1607–8? The possible echo in ll. 23–4 of Victorellus’ book on angels of 1605, perhaps alluded to in *Litany* 47 (1608) and *SecAn* (1611), and explicitly used in *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), together with the parallel in ll. 1–2 with *BedfordReason* (c. 1607–8), suggest a relatively late date, as does the rhetorical sophistication of the poem. With its employment of a shifting pseudo-logic of excuse, traditional flattery and religious dogma to subordinate the woman, asserting her inferior, merely physical purity while claiming in the rejection of a blazon (ll. 10–22) that the speaker has risen above his own bodily attraction towards her, this is literally a metaphysical poem—perplexing ‘the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy’ (Dryden, *Discourse of the Original and Progress of Satire*, 1692), if it is thought of as actually addressed to a woman. That seems unlikely, given the focus on a specifically male anxiety and the disparaging conclusion. This recalls *Mummy*, which addresses a male reader, but rejects spiritualisation of love of women and talk of angels in favour of the physical. Thematically, if not necessarily chronologically, *Air* thus falls between *Mummy* and *Ecstasy*.

Analogues. Richmond (pp. 234–7) sees D. as here ‘Synthesizing motifs’ from several poems.

Text. Though Shawcross, *JDJ* 9 (1990) 33–41, argues that Group I (followed as in most of the love-lyrics by 1633, correcting from Group II) appears to give the most error-free text, the possibly slightly earlier text of *H40* (see Gardner *ESS* lxx–lxxvii) does not require correction, so is followed here. Group I is probably erroneous once in line 13, Group II in ll. 17 (twice) and 22, Group III in ll. 14 and 28. Within Group I, *H49* and *D* do not contain the further errors of *C57* and *Lec*. None of the differences between groups of MSS suggests authorial revision.

Form. That the stanzas comprise fourteen lines does not suffice to indicate an intended comment on the sonnet-tradition, since neither line-length nor rhyme-scheme are those of the sonnet. The seventh line of the first stanza and ninth of the second do provide a ‘turn’, but D.’s dialectic mode makes their occurrence probable independently of formal aims.

TWICE or thrice had I loved thee
Before I knew thy face or name;

Sources collated: *H40*; Group I: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; Group II: *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; Group III: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O’F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *H40*

Select variants:

Heading I, II, III, 1633, 1635

Heading Probably not D.’s, though it occurs in all MSS collated here except *H40*. The obvious inapplicability throughout of the pun on the coin ‘angel’, as in *Bracelet*, may serve as a general warning against simplistically and unselectively reading every possible word-play into a poem of this period.

1 To be read as the usual catalectic iambic tetrameter, with stresses on ‘I’ and ‘thee’.

1–2 Twice or thrice . . . name] Cp. *Letters* p. 260: ‘I would I could be believed when I say that all that is written of them is but prophecy of her’, *BedfordReason* 3–4, and the unrestricted previous affairs implied in *Morrow* 6–7.

2 or name] That this is an anagram of ‘An More’ is presumably irrelevant.

- So in a voice, so in a shapeless flame,
 Angels affect us oft, and worshipped be.
 5 Still, when to where thou wert I came,
 Some lovely glorious nothing I did see;
 But since my soul, whose child Love is,
 Takes limbs of flesh, and else could nothing do,
 More subtle than the parent is
 10 Love must not be, but take a body too;
 And therefore, what thou wert and who
 I bid Love ask, and now
 That it assume thy body I allow,
 And fix itself in thy lip, eye, and brow.
 15 Whilst thus to ballast Love I thought,
 And so more steadily to have gone,

13 assume] ~s I 14 lip] ~s III

3-4 Cf. *Exod.* 3. 2 (cited in *Acts* 7. 30), *Job* 4. 16, and *Ps.* 104. 4 (cited in *Hebr.* 1. 7), whence the proverb (e.g., in 1 *Henry IV* 3. 3. 33-4), 'By this fire, that's God's angel'. *Col.* 2. 18 warns: 'Let no man in his pleasure bear rule over you by a humbleness of mind and worshipping of angels, advancing himself in those things which he never saw, rashly puffed up with his fleshly mind', and D. himself deprecated the angelolatry of the Roman Church in *Serm.* 4. 308 (2 Feb. 1623). Here the angelic is analogous to the speaker's idea of the addressee, imperfectly glimpsed in others' lower manifestations, whereas in 22-5 it is his own love that is angelic, imperfectly manifested in hers.

6 Contrast the egalitarian platonic attitude of *Ecstasy* 32: 'we saw not'.

7-10 Cp. *Ecstasy* 49-68.

8 else] otherwise.

9 subtle] tenuous.

10-14 Cp. *Book* 35-6.

13-14 Suggesting that a blazon is imminent, in the tradition not only of Petrarchism, but the biblical *S. of S.* 4. 1-5, 5. 10-16, 6. 4-7, 7. 1-9.

13 assume] The subjunctive in *H40*, *II*, *III* and *1633* is presumably correct, since Love is the speaker's child, and therefore under his authority, so that he permits it to settle on the woman's physical features rather than granting that it does or has done so independently, which latter is what the indicative 'assumes' would denote. The poem's aim is to assert superiority and control by dictating what Love and the woman can and should do.

14 Cp. the prefiguring of the young man's beauty 'in the blazon of sweet beauty's best, / Of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow' in Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 106.

15-18 Cp. letter to Goodyer, probably of 1608 (*1633* p. 368): 'I have not only cast out all my ballast which nature and time gives, reason and discretion, . . . but I have over-fraught myself with vice, . . .'; and *SecAn* 316-17: 'For so much knowledge as would over-freight / Another, did but ballast her'.

16 steadily] stably both in direction and continuance. In *H40* it is spelt 'stedelye', facilitating pronunciation as two syllables, and suggestive of modern 'staidly' (etymologically independent, however, and then spelt 'stayedly').

With wares which would sink admiration,
 I saw, I had Love's pinnace overfraught:
 Ev'ry thy hair for Love to work upon
 20 Is much too much: some fitter must be sought,
 For nor in nothing nor in things
 Extreme and scatt'ring bright can Love inhere.
 Then, as an angel face and wings

17 wares] warrs *II*, *DC*: waues *III* 22 inhere] inherit *II*, *DC*

17 wares which would sink admiration] Mere admiration would be rendered speechless and powerless through excess of objects and their excellence.

18 pinnace] a light vessel used as tender, scout, and landing-craft. Also used of a woman (vulnerable to sexual 'boarding' as it is termed by Shakespeare, e.g., *Twelfth Night* 1. 3. 53-4, *All's Well* 5. 3. 211), and so possibly hinting that he is in danger of attributing more to the woman than will justify metaphysical love. **overfraught]** overloaded.

19-20 Ev'ry . . . too much] To attempt the traditional gloating enumeration of the woman's physical parts is impracticable—another way of saying her beauty is indescribable.

19 Ev'ry thy hair] *D.* inverts the conventional use of, e.g., *Love's Labour's Lost* 4. 1. 84: 'thy every part' (concluding Armado's doting missive to Jaquenetta). Cp. 'Every of which', *FQ* 2. 5. 32. 7 (referring to the wanton 'flock of damsels' in the Bower of Bliss), 4. 10. 38. 8 (the baths of the amorous priestesses of Venus).

19, 22 hair, bright] Cp. *Relic* 6.

20 fitter] sc. 'object'.

22 Extreme] either 'intense' or 'extremely'. **scatt'ring]** inconstantly scintillating, sparkling.

23-8 Though the implied addressee is female, the conventionally patronising disparagement of women (cp. *Mummy* 24) would presumably have proved more acceptable to a male reader. Contrast Viola's spirited rebuttal of Orsino's self-interested parroting of the doctrine in *Twelfth Night* 2. 4. 92-118. Andreasen pp. 212-15 contends that since the man's love needs a body (ll. 7-10) yet must not be merely physical (ll. 18-20), the woman's love provides a medium in which it is visible, and which, though 'not pure as it', is still pure, so that the conclusion of the poem is 'complimentary rather than bitter'. The roles assigned the sexes in, e.g., *Ephes.* 5. 23, the male guiding the female, are analogous to that of the angelic intelligences and the spheres. It is in angels' other mission, to humanity, that they become visible to it.

23-5 Aquinas, *ST* 1. 51. 2, concludes that angels become visible by assuming bodies made of air sufficiently condensed by divine power. He is quoted by Victorelli, f. 9r, cited in detail in *Pseudo-Martyr* 9. 3 (1610), and probably alluded to again in *SecAn* 235-8. From herself being analogous to an angel in 3-4, the woman has declined: firstly, to being granted a love that merely matches and manifests the man's, like the clothing of inferior material that makes visible an angelic essence; and secondly, to her love being the passive object of man's will, as the concentric spheres bearing the planets and stars of medieval Christian cosmic theory were supposed to be driven round the earth by angelic intelligences. With this representation of purer male rational soul and less pure female physicality cp. *Ecstasy* 51-2, where man and woman partake equally of both. In *Friday*

Of air, not pure as it, yet pure, doth wear,
 25 So thy love may be my love's sphere.
 Just such disparity
 As is 'twixt air and angels' purity
 'Twixt women's love and men's will ever be.

24 it] yt *H49, D*: yet *C57, Lec* 28 love] loves *III*

The Anniversary

Date and context. 1598? If read as gender-specific, l. 1's 'kings and all their favourites' would have been particularly topical in the reign of James I, but was a commonplace under Queen Elizabeth, as in *Satyre 2 70* (c. 1594), 'a king's favourite'. Verbal connections with *Corona* in l. 10, a letter to Goodyer in l. 20, and with *Pseudo-Martyr* in ll. 19–20 suggest 1607–9, and Gardner argues (*DP* xliii–xlvi and Appendix A, pp. 114–18) that D. first expressed l. 19's definite view on the destination of the soul at the moment of death in *Pseudo-Martyr*, finished by Dec. 1609. She suggests that *Anniversary* was written during his reading of theological controversy on that point for *Pseudo-Martyr*, probably after *DivM6Play, -8Round, -10Faith*, dated by her to Feb.–Aug. 1609. Four thousand deaths from plague in London that year would have been a sharp reminder of decay, but the awareness in ll. 6–7 might have been enhanced by any year's autumn or winter, and *Fatal*, which Gardner *ESS* xxxii–xxxiii suggests was written in the mid 1590s (and whose first line refers like *Anniversary 5* to its lovers' first meeting), implies in 17–18 that if the addressee dies the soul will go to heaven before the speaker dies and they are reunited. In any case, precisely considered theological conclusions are not a prime goal of love-poems (even D.'s). Those critics such as Marotti (1986) p. 321 who read *Anniversary* as addressed to Ann More, whom D. probably first met when he joined the staff of her uncle by marriage, Sir Thomas Egerton, in

D. reapplies the analogy to man's soul and his devotion. In *Sun* the speaker claims to rule the sun's sphere, the bedchamber, and its centre, the bed, in which he occupies the woman's 'centric part' (*Progress* 36).

24 not pure as it, yet pure] though not pure spiritual essence like the angel, yet unmixed with other elements.

25 sphere] domain. Instead of loving 'face or name', voice, body, 'lip, eye, and brow', or hair, the speaker will concentrate on her love for him.

26, 28 such disparity . . . 'Twixt women's love and men's] Cp. the account of the parentage of love in Leone Ebreo pp. 148–9: 'Jupiter occupying the place of father for his superiority and masculine excellence, and Venus that of mother, as being smaller, lower and feminine. Again Jupiter's love is virtuous, perfect and virile; that of Venus—pleasurable, carnal, imperfect, and feminine', and the further distinctions drawn there by Philo (pp. 180–1): 'The spiritual loves the corporeal world as a man loves a woman, and the corporeal loves the spiritual world as woman loves man. Suffer me to say, O Sophia, that the love of man, who gives, is more perfect than that of woman, who receives.'

late 1597 (when she was 'about fourteen'—Bald p. 96) to early 1598 must place it in 1598 or 1599, but there is no evidence that she was the addressee. The phrase 'sweet salt tears' in l. 16 occurs also in *Witchcraft*, also of disputable date (Marotti dissociating it from More). Arguments for biographical reference or dating based on the recurrence of words and ideas are thus, as often, insecure and inconclusive. There is, nevertheless, another reason for dating *Anniversary* to 1598. The parity of the partners in *Anniversary*, contrasting with the inequality affirmed in the same analogy in *Sun*, where 'kings . . . all here in one bed' lie but it is the man alone who is 'all princes', suggests an exclusively male relationship. E. E. Duncan-Jones, *LRB* 7 (Oct. 1993) 4, argues persuasively that, since the gender of the addressee is not specified, D. may in the thrice-repeated 'kings' be punning on the surname (as he does in a letter of 1613 (Bald p. 292), and on his own and Ann More's surnames in *Name*, *HSW*₁*Since*, *Germany* and *Christ*) of John King (1559?–1621), a lifelong friend, with whom his relationship was termed by Walton 'a marriage of souls'. King was later Dean of Christ Church, Oxford (1605), then Bishop of London (1611–21). As in the case of Ann More, D. probably first met him on joining Egerton's household, where King was chaplain from the mid-1590s to 1600. He was the father of Henry King (1592–1669), the metaphysical poet and Bishop of Chichester, to whom D., according again to Walton, on his deathbed in March 1631 entrusted the MSS of his sermons.

Analogues. As in *Metem*, in the love-poem *Morrow*, and in the epithalamia *Lincoln*, *Elizabeth*, an alexandrine rounds off each stanza.

Text. The substantive readings of *II* (for this poem *DC* gives a Group II text) and 1633 against other groups in the heading, ll. 10, 23–4, and of *II*, *III* and 1633 against *I* in l. 24, might be authorial revisions. Reference to 'the first, last, everlasting day' borders on blasphemy. In ll. 23–4 the meaning is universalised and the metre filled out, in l. 24 a possible ambiguity removed. The editor of 1633, while keeping *Anniversary*'s position in the sequence of the lyrics in *C*₅₇, evidently used a MS closer to *II* than to any others.

ALL kings and all their favourites,
 All glory of honours, beauties, wits,
 The sun itself, which makes times, as they pass,

Sources collated: *H*₄₀; *Group I*: *H*₄₉, *D*, *C*₅₇, *Lec*; *Group II*: *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S*₉₆, *Lut*, *O*'*F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *Group II*

Select variants:

Heading *II*, *Dob*, 1633, 1635: Ad Liuiam *S*₉₆: none *Lut*, *O*'*F*

3 they] these *Lut*, *O*'*F*, 1635

1 Possibly alluding to James I and VI's well-known singling out of young men such as his page Robert Carr, whom he knighted in 1607 and eventually made Earl of Somerset, and whom D. himself courted for patronage, writing *Somerset* for his scandalous marriage to the Countess of Essex in 1613, and planning to dedicate a limited edition of poems to him in 1614.

3–4 The sun . . . elder] Cp. the 'old fool' of *Sun* line 1, and the 'old Sun' of *Resurrection* l. 1.

3 Gen. 1. 14–18. Cp. *SecAn* 24.

- Is elder by a year now than it was
 5 When thou and I first one another saw.
 All other things to their destruction draw:
 Only our love hath no decay.
 This, no tomorrow hath, nor yesterday;
 Running, it never runs from us away,
 10 But truly keeps his first, last, everlasting day.
- Two graves must hide thine and my corse:
 If one might, death were no divorce.
 Alas, as well as other princes, we
 (Who prince enough in one another be)
 15 Must leave at last in death these eyes and ears
 Oft fed with true oaths and with sweet-salt tears;
 But souls where nothing dwells but love
 (All other thoughts being inmates) then shall prove

10 his] the *I*, *H40*, *III*

5, 14 one another] A sonic link between stanzas 1 and 2 by repetition of a central phrase.

6–7 Alluding not only to the perishability of earthly creatures and the works of man, but to the Christian belief (justified from *Ps.* 102. 25–6 and the apocryphal *2 Esdras* 4. 26, 14. 10), expressed in *FirAn* 201–12, 237–308, 339–58, 377–98, that the whole universe was decaying in its old age. The general truth may have loomed larger as the end of the century and, inevitably, of Elizabeth's reign, approached. She had been on the throne for forty years by 1598, longer than most then living could remember; moreover, the unsettled succession threatened invasion and/or civil war.

6, 18 All other th . . .] Another sonic link between stanzas 1 and 2.

7 A confident riposte to *Shadow*, though both poems express hopes of love quite different from those of the youthful *Broken* 1–4 and *Farewell* 16.

8 Cp. the pitying dismissal of such delusion in *SecAn* 391–400.

9–10 Cp. *Sun* 9–10.

10, 20, 30 Each stanza ends conclusively with an alexandrine (hexameter), as in *Morrow*, *Metem*, *Lincoln*, *Elizabeth*. Ten is a circular number (all its powers, 10^2 , 10^3 , etc., ending with itself), thus symbolising eternity.

10 his] its (common usage well into the seventeenth century). **first . . . day]**

Cp. *Corona1Deign* 11, *Corona6Resur* 14/*Corona7Ascen* 1.

11 Since they are not married. Contrast *Relic*.

12 As acknowledged in the wedding-vow's 'till death us depart' (now modernised to ' . . . do part').

14/15, 23/24, we/be] A sonic link between stanzas 2 and 3 by repeated rhyme-words.

16 sweet-salt tears] presumably of enforced parting, as in *Witchcraft* 8–9.

17 dwells] has its fixed abode.

18 inmates] temporary lodgers, as at an inn. Cp. *FirAn* 6 and note. **prove]** experience.

This, or a love increased, there above,
 20 When bodies to their graves, souls from their graves remove.

And then we shall be thoroughly blessed,
 But we no more than all the rest.
 Here upon earth we're kings, and none but we
 Can be such kings, nor of such subjects be:
 25 Who is so safe as we? where none can do
 Treason to us, except one of us two.
 True and false fears let us refrain:
 Let us love nobly and live, and add again
 Years and years unto years, till we attain
 30 To write threescore. This is the second of our reign.

20 to their graves] ~ ~ grave 1635 22 we] now 1633, 1635

23-4 none but we / Can be] but we / None are I, *H40*, III 24 nor] and I, *H40*

19 This] referring back to 7-10. **there above]** He assumes **This** at death their souls will go straight to heaven.

20 souls from their graves] i.e., souls from bodies. Cp. a letter to Goodyer of Sept.-Oct. 1608 (*Letters* p. 138): 'I have much quenched my senses, and disused my body from pleasure, and so tried how I can indure to be mine own grave'; *Bedford Tomb* 15-16; and *SecAn* 252. The Pythagorean and Orphic idea of the body as tomb is relayed by Plato, *Gorgias* 493, and *Phaedrus* 250, and of the body as a living death by St Paul, *Rom.* 7. 24.

21 thoroughly] thoroughly.

22 Equality of joy in heaven was orthodox scholastic doctrine, cited by Grierson from Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae*, 4. 49. 4, and Aquinas, *ST Suppl.* 93. 5. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 64 (April 1629): 'all that rise to the right hand, shall be equally Kings'; and *Serm.* 9. 402 (n. d.): 'It is a part of our joy in Heaven, that every man's joy shall be my joy'.

23-4 This state where each is both king and subject contrasts with the subjection of woman to man in *Bed* 28 and *Sun* 19-23. Seldom in the lyrics are 'the he and she' excluded so completely as in this poem, whose addressee could be of either sex. Cp. Marvell's 'Young Love' 30-2: 'Now I crown thee with my love: / Crown me with thy love again, / And we both shall monarchs prove.'

24 nor . . . be] 'nor can any others be subjects of such kings'.

25-6 Cp. *Morrow* 8-9, 20-1.

27 Cp. *Shadow* 14-26. The implication that true fears of treason are possible qualifies the triumphant tone of the poem, and highlights the wishfulness of the following lines.

30 Contradicting, perhaps, the timelessness claimed in l. 8. **threescore]** If he is aspiring to a monarchy of love that will achieve a diamond jubilee (a phrase not found necessary before the sixtieth year of the reign of Queen Victoria in 1897), in accord with the second half of the line, the optimistic hyperbole may again undercut confidence by the (for those times) unlikely lifespan required: D. would have to live well into his eighties (and King, some twelve years older, into his nineties). If, alternatively, it refers to the traditional expectation (*Ps.* 90. 10) of 'threescore years and ten' of their own lives, the omission of those ten contrasts with the intense optimism hitherto (but was shown to be realistic: King lived just into his sixties, but D. died a year before he attained threescore).

The Apparition

Date and context. 1590s? The Petrarchist scenario, bravado and free love ethic suggest a relatively youthful D.

Analogues. The threat to haunt a faithless lover goes back to Dido's cursing of Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid* 4. 384–6. The attribution of murderous scorn to a woman signals a poem in the Petrarchan tradition, but rather than submissive hope, the speaker here expresses, like later Petrarchists, scorn and disengagement on his own part: see Guss (1966) pp. 53–60, who compares particularly Serafino Ciminelli d'Aquila, esp. *Strambotti* 103, 104 (texts Guss p. 184). The actual occasion and effects of the haunting appear to be D.'s own invention. Grierson 1. 446 prints an anonymous sequel found in *O'F* (f. 79v, with the note in another hand usually appended to poems not by D.: 'Not Printed') and *Bridgewater* which latter adds the note 'This hath relation to when by thy scorn O Murdresse &c.':

Upon his Scornful Mistress: Elegy

Cruel, since that thou dost not fear the curse
Which thy disdain and my despair procure,
My prayer for thee shall torment thee worse
Than all the pain thou couldst thereby endure.
May then that beauty which I did conceive
In thee above the height of heaven's course
When first my liberty thou didst bereave
Be doubled on thee, and with doubled force
Slay [Chain B] thousand vassals in like thrall with me,
Which, in thy glory, mayst thou still despise
As the poor trophies of that victory
Which thou hast only purchased with thine eyes;
And when thy triumphs so extended are
That there is nought left to be conquerèd,
Mayst thou with the great monarch's mournful care
Weep that thine honours are so limited:
So, thy disdain may melt itself to love
By an unlooked for and a wondrous change,
Which to thyself above the rest must prove
In all th'effects of love painfully strange,
While we thy scorned subjects live to see
Thee love the whole world, none of it love thee.

Text. The substantive variants presented by *Lut* and *O'F* in ll. 3, 5, 10, 11 and 17 could represent another authorial version, not obviously earlier or later. However, although *Lut*'s reading in ll. 3 (removing repetition) and 11 (also found in 1633, providing the rhyme-word) are improvements, other variants are demonstrably inferior: in l. 2 it removes the rhyme-word, in l. 8 it obviously misses the sense. *DC*, *Dob*, requiring emendation from *Lut*, *O'F* in l. 11, are the least erroneous. In this poem, 1633 appears to achieve a text more coherent than even these MSS, either by correcting the *C57*-related copy (used for other poems, and whose sequence of lyrics is kept to with *Apparition*) from a *Lut*-related text in ll. 11 and 12, or by possessing more authoritative copy, perhaps authorial. Parts of a musical setting by William Lawes (1602–1645) survive in Edinburgh Univ. Lib. ms D. C. 1; they are reproduced in Shawcross (1967) p. 84.

WHEN by thy scorn, O murd'ress, I am dead,
 And that thou think'st thee free
 From all solicitation from me,
 Then shall my ghost come to thy bed,
 5 And thee, feigned vestal, in worse arms shall see.
 Then thy sick taper will begin to wink,
 And he whose thou art then, being tired before,
 Will, if thou stir, or pinch to wake him, think

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; H40; Group II: TCC, TCD; DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *DC/Dob*

Select variants:

Heading I, *DC, 1633, 1635*: An ~ *H40, II, III*

2 free] far *Lut, O'F* 3 solicitation from] ~s by *Lut, O'F*

5 feigned vestal] fond virgin *Lut, O'F*

8 or . . . to] or . . . or *II*: to . . . or *Lut, O'F*

1 H. M. Richmond, *School of Love* (1964) p. 87, points out that if the lover's passion were 'spent' (l. 15) he would not be mortally vulnerable to the woman's scorn. Redpath (1983) p. 107 thinks there is a self-contradictory hint in the hope of repentance that the woman may turn back to the speaker before she has killed him, but the poem's malicious pleasure is sharpened by her supposed repentance being unavailing to her. The line is reworded by T. Stanley, 'The Tomb' 1–2 *Poems and Translations*, ed. G. M. Crump (Oxford 1962) p. 21.

3 solicitation] Cp. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 5. 4. 40 (late 1580s). D.'s poem, too, probably predates *OED*'s earliest record of a sexual application in *Othello* 4. 2. 203 (1604). In a wider sense, as in suits to the Queen, the word had been current since the fifteenth century.

5 feigned vestal/fond virgin] The latter reading in *Lut/O'F* might represent either a scribal emendation taking the final word to imply virginity rather than fidelity, or corrupt copy in which only the phrase's initial letters were clear, or a change of view by the author as to the genuineness of the addressee's chastity. 'Fond virgin' recalls the imprudent, time-wasting foolish virgins of the parable, *Matt.* 25. 1–13, who will miss the return of their judge and saviour. **vestal]** Originally one of six Roman women dedicated to the service of Vesta, goddess of the hearth, and for the thirty-year term bound to remain virgin under penalty of being buried alive. There was a derivative cult of Queen Elizabeth herself as a Vestal, glorifying her unmarried state, exemplified in a painting of c. 1580, now in the Pinacoteca, Siena, depicting her as Tuccia, a Vestal reported to have vindicated her character by carrying water in a sieve from the Tiber to her shrine; in a eulogy by Lyly in *Euphues*; and at the 1590 Accession Day tilt, with a supposed replica of Vesta's shrine. The speaker here is sceptical of the woman's claim to virginity as a reason for refusing to have sex with him. (It is presumably mere coincidence that Lady Bedford was literally a 'feigned vestal' in the Queen's Christmas masque of 1603: see comment on *BedfordReason*.)

6 Wax lights were supposed to burn blue or flicker at the approach of a ghost: cp. *Julius Caesar* 4. 2. 326. **wink]** blink.

7 being] One syllable.

Thou call'st for more,
 10 And in false sleep will from thee shrink,
 And then, poor aspen wretch, neglected, thou
 Bathed in a cold, quicksilver sweat wilt lie,
 A verier ghost than I.
 What I will say I will not tell thee now
 15 Lest that preserve thee, and since my love is spent,
 I'd rather thou should'st painfully repent
 Than by my threat'nings rest still innocent.

10 false] a false *II, Lut, O'F* will *om. Lut, O'F, 1635*

11 And then . . . thou *Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635: ~ there . . . thou Dob, S96: ~ thou . . . then DC: Thou . . . then H40, I, II*

12 Bathed] Both *H40, H49, D, C57* (altered to Bath'd in another hand): Both *Lec*

17 rest still] keep thee *Lut, O'F*

The Bait

Date and context. Early 1590s? Four stanzas of the model for 'The Bait', 'The Passionate Shepherd to his Love' by Christopher Marlowe (d. 1593), were published in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599 (*PP*), 6 in *Englands Helicon*, 1600 (*EH*), but the poem is presumed to have circulated in manuscript before then. MS texts survive with minor variations that are plausibly due to memorial error (none of which are echoed by D.), taken by S. Woods, *HLQ* 34 (1970-1) 25-33, as evidence of the poem's popularity as a song. See note below on a musical setting.

Analogues. Most obviously, Marlowe's 'The Passionate Shepherd to his Love' (a title attached in *EH*).

COME live with me, and be my love,
 And we will all the pleasures prove
 That valleys, groves, hills and fields,
 Woods or steepy mountain yields.

11 aspen] trembling like the leaves of the aspen poplar tree, *Populus tremula*, which do so in the slightest breeze.

12 quicksilver sweat] The large glistening drops of the cold sweat of panic may also hint that the woman will be undergoing the then usual Paracelsan treatment with sublimate of mercury, along with the inducement of sweat (see the Quarto ending of *Troilus and Cressida*), for syphilis, one of the 'lust-bred diseases' (*Bracelet* 103) risked by a 'feigned vestal'.

13 verier] truer. (Two syllables.)

17 rest still/keep thee] Scribe or author may have thought the first phrase inappropriate after the preceding threats. **innocent]** The speaker here concedes that the woman has not yet been untrue to him, even if the man 'whose thou art then' at some time in the future will not be her first. The writing of the poem implies a desire to frighten the woman into his own bed, while positing compensatory enjoyment of the imagined consequences if she prefers another, a sort of psychological insurance against the pains of frustration, jealousy, and wounded vanity.

And we will sit upon the rocks,
 Seeing the shepherds feed their flocks,
 By shallow rivers, to whose falls
 Melodious birds sing madrigals.

And I will make thee beds of roses
 And a thousand fragrant posies;
 A cap of flowers and a kirtle
 Embroidered all with leaves of myrtle;

A gown made of the finest wool
 Which from our pretty lambs we pull;
 Fair lined slippers for the cold,
 With buckles of the purest gold;

A belt of straw and ivy-buds
 With coral clasps and amber studs—
 And if these pleasures may thee move,
 Come live with me, and be my love.

The shepherds' swains shall dance and sing
 For thy delight each May Morning;
 If these delights thy mind may move,
 Then live with me, and be my love.

This is the six-stanza version printed in *EH*; that in *PP* lacked the fourth and sixth of *EH* (whose fifth and sixth are obviously alternatives). *PP* omits the first word of the first stanza, but like D.'s imitation opens the second with 'There will'. The promise of an unflawed pastoral idyll inspired parodies by Shakespeare, *Merry Wives* (1597?) 3. 1. 16–19, and by Marlowe himself in *Jew of Malta* 4. 2. 97–8. In *EH* it was followed by 'The Nymph's Reply' (anon., but generally ascribed to Raleigh), a detailed rejoinder pointing out the evanescence of all the promised pleasures, and by an anonymous parody in which, as Gardner pointed out, these two stanzas may have sparked off D.'s piscatorial (and in the event exclusively amatory) version:

The seat for your disport shall be
 Over some river, in a tree,
 Where silver sands and pebbles sing
 Eternal ditties with the spring.

There shall you see the nymphs at play,
 And how the satyrs spend the day,
 The fishes gliding on the sands,
 Offering their bellies to your hands.

Spenser's *Amoretti* no. 47 provides a remoter analogue with its woman catching fish with 'golden hooks' and 'baits', and slaying them with 'bloody hands'. D. provides a novel turn by imputing the man's straightforward angling for a woman to the woman herself as both angler and bait, making her one of the 'fishers of men' (*Matt.* 4. 19, *Mark* 1.17) in a sense that Jesus had not intended.

D. took part here in a popular literary activity: to Herrick's 'To Phyllis, to Love and Live with him' Marotti (1995) pp. 167, 186, adds examples closer to D.'s time of writing: the anonymous 'Come live with me, and be my dear'; 'Dear, leave thy home, and come with me', perhaps by William Herbert, 3rd earl of Pembroke; and John Lilliat's poems 115 'Upon a Kiss Given' and 119 'The Shepherdess her Reply' (favourable) in his MS (ed. Edward Doughtie as *Liber Lilliatii: Elizabethan*

Verse and Song / Bodleian Manuscript Rawlinson Poetry 148, 1985). D.'s inventive re-use of the traditional pastoral invitation is discussed by Manley in *That Subtile Wreath* p. 8. Marlowe's opening line is adapted and readdressed by Mary to Jesus in 'Our Blessed Lady's Lullaby' by the Roman Catholic R. Verstegan (*alias* Rowlands), *Odes. In Imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalmes, with Sundry Other Poemes* (Antwerp 1601, sig. D4r): 'Live still with me and be my love, / And death will me refrain'. Woods 30 notes imitations of Marlowe by A. Craig, *Amorose Songes, Sonets, and Elegies* (1606) sigg. K4–K5v; Herrick, C. Cotton, 'An Invitation to Phyllis', and the Restoration parody in *Westminster Drollery* (1671), 'Come live with me and be my whore'; she cites R. S. Forsyth, *PMLA* 40 (1925) 692–742, for more.

'The Bait' is described in *TCC*, *TCD*, with *Message, Sweetest*, and in *DC* with *Community, Confined, Go*, as 'Songs which were made to certain airs which [that *DC*] were made before'. Such a pre-existing melody to which *Bait* could be sung might be that later published as a lesson 'for the Lyra Violl', with the words of a totally different song, but listed in the Table of Contents with Marlowe's/D.'s first line, in Corkine (1612) sigg. C1v, I2v. Gardner p. 239 observes that while this tune may have been running in D.'s head as he wrote 'The Bait', his literary models are much more substantial formative factors.

Walton gave wider lasting currency to versions of Marlowe's, Raleigh's and D.'s poems in his *Compleat Angler* (1653) in the mouths, appropriately, of a milkmaid, her mother, and Venator. Walton's judgement was (chap. 12) that D.'s poem was 'made to show the world that he could make soft and smooth verses when he thought smoothness worth his labour.' In fact D. simply reproduced the couplets paired in quatrains of his target.

Text. Groups I and III usually read together with *H40* against Group II (including *DC*). The differences in ll. 2, 5, 15, 25 and 27 could be the result of authorial revision. Group II's readings in 5, 15, and 25 have more force and point, so a Group II MS has been preferred as base text, specifically *TCD* because of its more likely reading in 6.

COME live with me, and be my love,
And we shall some new pleasures prove

Sources collated: *H40*; Group I: *H49, D, C57, Lec*; Group II: *TCC, TCD, DC*; Group III: *S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading 1635: *third of three poems in II (after Message, Sweetest), under group title Songs which were made to certain airs which were made before (second after Message in DC, which then interpolates the non-lyrical Community and Confined): Song H49, III: no heading H40, D, C57, Lec*

2 shall] will *H40, I, III, 1633, 1635*

Heading This may be read in three ways: 1. On the lowest, literal level as referring to the poem's metaphorical vehicle, angling; 2. Line 26 makes explicit that the woman herself is both angler and bait in catching lovers; 3. The flattering poem full of proposals may ironically be the real bait with which the speaker seeks to catch the woman. Since the heading was first supplied in 1635, any such irony cannot be taken as authorially intended.

2 shall/will] The latter occurs at this point in Marlowe, so may have been D.'s first thought, revised to avoid the simple assonance with 'we'.

Of golden sands and crystal brooks,
With silken lines and silver hooks.

- 5 Then will the river whispering run,
Warmed by thine eyes more than the Sun,
And there th'enamoured fish will stay,
Begging themselves they may betray.

- When thou wilt swim in that live bath,
10 Each fish which every channel hath
Will amorously to thee swim,
Gladder to catch thee than thou him.

If thou to be so seen be'st loth
By Sun or Moon, thou dark'nest both,

5 Then] There *H40, I, III, 1633, 1635*
6 thine] thy *D, C57, Lec, TCC, DC, S96, 1633, 1635*: the *H49*

4 In a dying man's delirious vision recounted by Nashe in *Terrors of the Night* (1594; *Works* 1. 378) the Devil prepares to angle for his soul 'with silken nets and silver hooks' (Redpath). G. Klawitter, *Enigmatic Narrator* (1994) pp. 70–1 also records the invitation to his beloved boy to fish in Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd* 137–8 (1594): 'Thy rods shall be of cane, thy lines of silk, / Thy hooks of silver, and thy baits of milk.' Given the difficulty of determining how soon *Bait* was written after Marlowe wrote his poem, also datable only before his death in 1593, the direction of influence between Barnfield and D. is indeterminable. Guss p. 84 points out that for Italian poets there was a pun on *amo*, meaning both 'love' and 'hook'.

6 **thine/thy eyes]** The form *thine* before *eyes* appears to be unanimously supported at, e.g., *Dream* 12, *Somerset* 146, *SecAn* 109, 397, and elsewhere with the singular *eye*, and in the first-person *mine*.

6 Against the 'false compare' in this much-used figure Shakespeare protests in *Sonnets* no. 130: 'My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun', and Sonnet no. 21, quoted below.

7 **th'enamoured fish]** As another example of this common conceit, Smith p. 358 quotes R. Tofte, *Laura* (1597) 2. 37.

10 **channel hath]** branch or tributary contains.

12 This irony in the parody quoted above was perhaps prompted by Juvenal 4. 69, where a fisherman obliged to present a prodigious turbot to Domitian proclaims that it wished to be caught to fill the imperial belly. Cf. Jonson, 'To Peshurst' (written 1612) 33–8.

13–14 Cp. Venus' praise of Adonis in which the Moon 'for shame, obscures her silver shine' because Nature has framed him 'To shame the Sun by day and her by night' in *Venus and Adonis* 727–32, and the criticism of such hyperbole in Shakespeare's *Sonnets* 21. 1–6:

15 And, if my heart have leave to see,
I need not their light, having thee.

Let others freeze with angling-reeds,
And cut their legs with shells and weeds,
Or treach'rously poor fish beset
20 With strangling snare or windowy net:

Let coarse, bold hands from slimy nest
The bedded fish in banks out-wrest,
Or, curious traitors, sleeve-silk flies
Bewitch poor fishes' wand'ring eyes:

25 For thee, thou need'st no such deceit,
For thou thyself art thine own bait;

15 my heart] myself *I*, *H40*, *III*, 1633, 1635 18 with] which 1633

23 sleeve-silk] sleevesicke 1633

25 thee, thou need'st] thee, there needs *H40*, *Lec*, *S96*: thee then needs *C57*: these thou [changed to there] needs *D*: these there needs *H49*

So is it not with me as with that muse
Stirred by a painted beauty to his verse,
Who heav'n itself for ornament doth use,
And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,
Making a couplement of proud compare
With Sun and Moon, . . .

15 my heart/myself] Redpath prefers the Group II reading as 'bold', and bearing 'the stamp of revision by Donne'. Elsewhere, *D*. has the heart perform mental and emotional operations such as 'show', 'like, wish and adore' (*Broken* 22, 31), 'study' (*Primrose* 17), 'mis-say' (*BedfordNew* 34), though nothing so actively physical as 'see'.

17–24 Marotti (1986) p. 85 observes that while Raleigh's poem used the 'language of classical and Christian verse', *D*. 'deromanticizes the pastoral fantasy,' as his 'mixed diction disturbs the smooth flow of the verse.'

17 The speaker abandons the proposal of l. 4 in favour of the conceit suggested by the anonymous parody. **angling-reeds**] fishing-rods.

20 windowy] resembling windows, i.e., latticed. *OED*'s first citation, and only one in this sense.

22 out-wrest] wrench out.

23 curious] carefully, artfully made. **sleeve-silk**] The original coarse thread from the cocoon before its filaments are unravelled out and twisted.

25 deceit] The spelling 'decayte' in *D*, *H49*, *H40* suggests the word was pronounced to rhyme fully with 'bait'.

26 The image was proverbial: the procuress Cleareta in Plautus' *Asinaria*, to whom lovers are like fish (178), alternatively figures herself as a fowler, a courtesan the bait, the bed the decoy, and lovers the birds (220–1). Lyly, *Euphues: The Anatomy*

That fish that is not caught thereby,
Alas, is wiser far than I.

27 caught] caught *I*, *H40*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

The Blossom

Date and context. April–May 1594? *Blossom*, *Primrose*, *Relic*, *Damp* occur together in that order in Group I MSS and the related 1633, which may indicate grouping early in the process of transmission. However, Gardner *ESS* pp. 254–8 argues that these poems' possible physical proximity in D.'s own (loose) papers does not necessarily mean they were written for the same person or at the same time: *Blossom* and *Primrose*, *Relic* and *Damp* could have been paired because of related content. She shows to be insupportable the suggestion by Grierson 2. xxiv, f. 47, that they were associated with Magdalen Herbert, who probably did not live at Montgomery (where, according to 1635, *Primrose* was written, presumably in April 1613) after D. perhaps first met her at Oxford in 1599–1600 (Bald p. 119). He was then already involved with Ann More (see comment on *Name*), though as Gardner p. 250 observes, 'A poem may be written "for" someone without necessarily being "about" that person.' Despite parallels of phrasing, imagery, and content with what

of *Wit* (1580; *Works* 1. 222) alleges as general wisdom that beauty is 'a delicate bait with a deadly hook', the commonplace reappearing in Dekker, *Old Fortunatus* (1600) 1. 2. 50: 'Her most beauteous looks / Are poisoned baits hung upon golden hooks'. In *Measure for Measure* 2. 2. 185–6, Angelo sees Satan (traditionally) as angler, 'that, to catch a saint, / With saints [i.e., Isabella] dost bait thy hook', and the analogy with seduction occurs again in *Antony and Cleopatra* 2. 5. 10–15. For the paradoxical congruity of agent and instrument cp. *FirAn* 10: 'She's now a part both of the choir and song'; of object and means, *SecAn* 441–2 where 'The sight of God . . . is both the object and the wit'; and of 'Th'effect and cause', *DivM3Sighs* 13–14, where 'long yet vehement grief hath been . . . the punishment and sin.'

27–8 Despite the sombre wisdom of 'The Nymph's Reply' with its concluding stanza:

But could youth last and love still breed
Had joys no date nor age no need,
Then these delights my mind might move
To live with thee and be thy love.

the speaker cannot resist the bait: like Medea infatuated with Jason in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 7. 20–1, he knows what makes sense but is helplessly driven by desire, or as Shakespeare puts it in the comment on moralising which concludes Sonnet 129: 'All this the world well knows, yet none knows well / To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell.'

27 caught / caught] Among the poems indubitably accepted as D.'s, *caught* appears in *Change* 7, and *caught* in *Satyre* 4 9 and *Metem* 235, suggesting no unvarying preference.

seem to be the later love-poems, such as *Exchange*, *Lucy*, *Canonization*, *Book*, *Estasy*, *Mourning*, the cheerfully cynical attitude in *Blossom* to parting and fidelity is in tune with the earlier poems (though also with *Primrose*). The hostile generalisation about women in ll. 27–8 (cp. *Primrose* 18–19, and *Mummy* 23–4) implies a male addressee, one or more of D.'s witty men-friends such as Sir Edward Herbert. Montgomery in mid-Wales, about a week's journey from London, would provide a fitting imaginary *locus* for the poem: a guest there might well need 'twenty days' to reach the capital and become 'fresher and more fat' (though the poem may imply merely that the woman is expected to go to London too and meet him there after that interval). But in *ListerBlest*, written probably in 1594 (Bald, *HLQ* 15 (1952) 286), D. refers to 'My sun' as distinct from 'Heaven's Sun' (cp. ll. 15–16 in *Blossom* being in the equally remote 'north parts' (north of the Trent, *ListerRoll* 6) whither 'my kind and unkind heart is run'. The common (and commonplace) vocabulary suggests *Blossom* might well have been written around the same time, during a week's (l. 2) stay with a friend, even between *ListerRoll* and *ListerBlest*. The threat of frost to the blossom indicates springtime.

Analogues. By parodying traditional addresses by the lover to his heart, such as Petrarch's '*Mira quel colle, o stanco mio cor vago*' (*Rime sparse* no. 242), D. dismisses the Petrarchan game. In this dialogue between mind and heart, the latter becomes in stanza 2 a bird rather than a flower, hoping to make its nest in the now unwelcoming tree that is the woman, who then becomes a fortress or town withstanding siege, and, thirdly, a late-rising sun. The thrice-repeated rhyming of *heart/part* enacts the speaker's emotional movement away from unrequited love to physical satisfaction, as *part's* meaning moves from 'place, share' through a general bodily sense to the specifically sexual.

Text. Variants are minor, and the preferable readings supported by a wide consensus among groups, though of individual MSS only *TCD* is consistently correct.

LITTLE think'st thou, poor flower,
 Whom I've watched six or seven days,
 And seen thy birth, and seen what every hour
 Gave to thy growth, thee to this height to raise,
 5 And now dost laugh and triumph on this bough,
 Little think'st thou
 That it will freeze anon, and that I shall
 Tomorrow find thee fall'n, or not at all.

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: TCC, TCD; DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *Group II*

2 six . . . days] Implying a week's stay.

5 laugh and triumph] suggesting the blossom's wide-throated opening and its bobbing up and down in the breeze like one on horseback in a triumphal procession.

7 anon] soon.

- Little think'st thou, poor heart,
 10 That labour'st yet to nestle thee,
 And think'st, by hovering here, to get a part
 In a forbidden or forbidding tree,
 And hop'st her stiffness by long siege to bow,
 Little think'st thou
 15 That thou tomorrow, ere that sun doth wake,
 Must with this Sun and me a journey take.

- But thou, which lov'st to be
 Subtle to plague thyself, wilt say,
 'Alas! If you must go, what's that to me?
 20 Here lies my business, and here I'll stay.
 You go to friends, whose loves and means present
 Various content
 To your eyes, ears, and tongue and ev'ry part:
 If, then, your body go, what need you^a heart?'

Select variants:

- 10 labour'st] labours *C57, Lec, 1633* 15 that] the *III, 1635*
 21 loves] love *I; Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635* 23 tongue] taste *1633, 1635*
 24 you^a] you ♣ *TCCe by another pen: your 1633, 1635*

9/11, 23/4, 31/2 heart/part] This hackneyed rhyme might be thought to indicate the work of a beginner, but D. uses it a couple of dozen times from *WoodwardTHail* in 1594 to *Somerset* in 1613.

10 nestle thee] establish yourself (the literal sense of a bird making a nest is retrospectively evoked by the succeeding lines' 'hover' and 'tree').

12 forbidden or forbidding] This leaves open whether the woman is to be imagined as married (and therefore divinely proscribed by the Commandment against adultery as was the Tree of Knowledge), or denied by her father, or simply unwilling. Such indecisiveness about the situation suggests fiction rather than autobiography.

13 stiffness . . . siege] Cp. *Exchange 24–5, HolyS10Batter*.

15 that sun] For woman as sun cp. *ListerBlest 2, Lucy 37, Elizabeth 85*.

20 The rhythm is here regularised by treating 'business' as three syllables and contracting 'I will', though comparison with its other occurrences in D.'s poems, e.g., *Break 13*, shows that except at the end of the line in *WottonVenice 27* and *Corona4Temple 12* 'business' is usually disyllabic.

21 loves/love] Rather than the 'love' found in some MSS of Groups I (followed by *1633*) and III, the plural is more in accord with the attitude of this poem, hinting at the carefree promiscuity of others such as *Indifferent, Usury, Community, Diet*. It is common in D., e.g., *Shadow 9, 14, 19; BedfordReason 3, 34*.

23 ev'ry part] Though the phrase is neutrally anatomical in *Funeral 10*, ll. 31, 39–40 below emphasise that it includes the sexual, as in *Comparison 38, Progress 36, 74–5, Somerset 213*.

25 Well, then, stay here; but know,
 When thou hast stayed and done thy most,
 A naked-thinking heart that makes no show
 Is to a woman but a kind of ghost:
 How shall she know my heart? Or, having none,
 30 Know thee for one?
 Practice may make her know some other part,
 But, take my word, she doth not know a heart.

Meet me at London, then,
 Twenty days hence, and thou shalt see
 35 Me fresher and more fat by being with men
 Than if I had stayed still with her and thee.
 For God's sake, if you can, be you so too:
 I would give you
 There to another friend, whom we shall find
 40 As glad to have my body as my mind.

29 my] thy 1635 38 would] will *Lec*, C57, 1633, 1635

27–8 ‘Genuine feelings alone have no physical value for a woman.’ However, the speaker’s heart has already shown (23–4) that he himself is going off contentedly to purely physical pleasures which need no ‘heart’.

27 **naked-thinking**] Literally not clothed with a body, but also ‘not concealing its feelings’ and, perhaps, ‘merely thinking’. The hyphen is supplied here to give qualification to ‘thinking’ (which in itself might not bother the woman), on the analogy of other compounds metaphorically denoting sincerity, such as ‘through-shine’ (*Name* 8, *Bedford Honour* 27), ‘through-light’ (*Metem* Epistle 2, *Funeral Elegy* 61). Knowing and being known are recurrent pre-occupations: cp. *Dream* 15–16, *Good* 16, *Twickenham* 23. **show**] physical demonstration.

31 The line’s first half may lead one to expect completion of the proverb with the word ‘perfect’, i.e., in the knowledge of hearts, but the anticipation is humorously deflated. **know**] sexually, as in biblical usage. **some other part**] the penis.

33–40 D. later inverts this image for the Court to which he was preaching in *Serm.* 1. 180 (21 April 1616) in that of the search for ‘the various and vagabond heart of such an indifferent sinner’: ‘If he enquire for his heart at that Chamber where he remembers it was yesterday, in lascivious and lustful purposes, he shall hear that it went from thence to some riotous Feasting, from thence to some blasphemous Gaming; after, to some Malicious Consultation of entangling one and supplanting another’.

35 **men**] This could be understood as people of both sexes.

37 **For God’s sake**] Cp. *Canonization* 1.

38–40 For this insistence on love’s involving both body and mind or soul, cp. *Book* 35–6, *Ecstasy* 71–2, *Mourning* 13–20, and contrast *Mummy* 18–24.

Break of Day

Group I version

Date and context. Early 1590s? The conventional theme and simple lyric rhythm suggest the young would-be courtier of the portrait of 1591–2 prefixed to 1635. Putting the poem in the mouth of a sexually voracious woman is the device also of *Confined*, another song of the earlier 1590s. Line 14's 'worst disease of love' implicitly depreciates by comparison the 'Lust-bred diseases' of *Bracelet* 103, plausibly dated by Gardner to c. 1593–4. Absence enforced by business occurs in *Anagram* 44, obviously a youthful work. The phrase 'in despite of' (l. 6) occurs elsewhere only in l. 29 of *Calm*, 1597.

Analogues. 'This song is clearly descended from the popular [medieval Provençal] *aube*, or lyric dialogue of lovers parting at daybreak'—Gr. He also cites E. K. Chambers in *Early English Lyrics* (1907) on the folk-tradition of love-songs voiced by a woman, appropriated by Sidney in 'My true love hath my heart and I have his' (*Arcadia* III). Both conventions are exemplified by Chaucer in *Troilus and Criseyde* 3. 1422–70. The sex is indeterminate in the otherwise close analogue, 'Sweet, stay awhile', dedicated 'To my worthy friend, Mr. William Jewel' by Dowland, *Pilgrimes Solace* (1612; Fellowes p. 490).

Text. The two different traditions exemplified in MSS of Group I (including *H40*, *DC* (except in l. 2)) and Group II (including *L74* and *Dal1*), especially the carefully consistent alteration of tenses in ll. 9, 11, 12, suggest minor reworking by D. himself. Group III follows now one, now the other, and divides in ll. 2, 6, 11, 17, 18. 1633 reads usually with Group I except in l. 2 (where it imports Group II's metrically requisite 'therefore'), in l. 5's 'spite' (regularising the rhythm), and l. 12's 'that' (indifferent though repetitious), where it agrees with Group III. 1635 follows 1633 except in its awkward hybrid reading in line 18. Both main versions are given here, except in l. 11: if Group II's 'lover' were a revision, it would require an ingenious or thorough revision of l. 12; more probably, it derives from a simple scribal misreading, so both versions of the text given here read 'honour' with Group I (supported by all of Group III). There are further numerous substantive (and substantial) variants in the first printed publication in Corkine (1612) sig. B1v, realised by Souris and reprinted by Gardner (*ESS* p. 242), which, given the free treatment of other authors' words generally apparent in this and other songbooks, cannot be accorded any authority, though interesting as an example of the sort of text many people must have heard and learnt.

Heading If the Group II text derives from a revision by D., so might also the added title. Group III's 'Sonnet' exemplifies the generic rather than formal sense of short love-poem (current since the mid-sixteenth century) found in *Lut/O'F*'s collective heading 'Sonnets and Songs', and thence adapted by 1635 as 'Songs and Sonnets'.

'Tis true 'tis day: what though it be?
 Oh, wilt thou rise from me?
 Why should we rise because 'tis light?
 Did we lie down because 'twas night?
 5 Love which in despite of darkness brought us hither
 Should in despite of light keep us together.

Light hath no tongue, but is all eye;
 If it could speak, as well as spy,
 This were the worst that it could say:
 10 That, being well, I fain would stay,
 And that I loved my heart and honour so
 That I would not from him which had them go.

Must business thee from hence remove?
 Oh, that's the worst disease of love:

Sources collated: *Group I*: C57, D, H49, Lec; H40; *Group II*: TCC, TCD, L74, Dal1; DC; *Group III*: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Stanza divisions: *om.* H40

S96 and other MSS not cited here prefix a variant of Dowland's song (see Headnote), beginning Stay, o sweet, whose fifth and sixth lines are tetrameters, not D.'s pentameters

Base text: *Group I* (D, H49)

Select variants:

Heading II, DC, L74, Dal1, 1633, 1635: Sonnet III

2 Oh, wilt thou] Wilt thou II, S96: And will you Lut, O'F rise] therefore ~ II, DC, L74, Dal1, III, 1633, 1635

5 which] that II despite] spite III, 1633, 1635 6 keep] hold II, S96

9 were] is II, III 11 loved] love II, Lut, O'F honour] lover II

12 which] that III, 1633, 1635 had] hath II, III

2 The metrical irregularity of the line in Group I would be easily absorbed in a musical setting, suggesting that the Group II version is rewritten for appreciation without music.

7 **all eye]** A traditional figure (cp. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 228; Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 18. 5, 33. 2, etc.), energised here as a threatening 'spy'. It was also an emblem of the deity, appearing, e.g., on the title-page of Raleigh's *History of the World* 1614, though there as friendly Providence.

9, 11, 12, 18 Redpath claims 'greater vividness' for the Group II readings.

11 **honour]** For the male attempt to devalue this precious possession see *Damp* 12, *Dream* 21–6, *Flea* 26–7, *Book* 44–5.

13–18 Cp. Ovid, *Remedies of Love* 139–44. Cp. *Serm.* 4. 121 (Easter Monday 1622): 'It is a good definition of ill love, that St. *Chrysostom* gives, that it is . . . a passion of an empty soul, of an idle mind. For fill a man with business, and he hath no room for such love. It will fit the love of God too' (Gr.). The dilemma is dramatised on a large scale in *Antony and Cleopatra*, with Antony, when turning back temporarily to the military art that did gain his power, in 4. 4. 20 remarking: 'To business that we love we rise betime'.

13 Echoed by T. Killigrew, *The Parson's Wedding* 2.1 (*Comedies and Tragedies* (1664) p. 88), written 1637–42 (*CH* p. 49).

- 15 The poor, the foul, the false, love can
 Admit, but not the busied man.
 He which hath business and makes love doth do
 Such wrong as when a married man doth woo.

15 foul] fool *C57, Lec, H40* 17 which] that *II, Lut, O'F*
 18 when . . . doth] if . . . should *II, Lut, O'F*: when . . . should 1635

Break of Day

Group II version

- 'Tis true 'tis day: what though it be?
 Wilt thou therefore rise from me?
 Why should we rise because 'tis light?
 Did we lie down because 'twas night?
 5 Love that in despite of darkness brought us hither
 Should in despite of light hold us together.

- Light hath no tongue, but is all eye;
 If it could speak, as well as spy,
 This is the worst that it could say:
 10 That, being well, I fain would stay,
 And that I love my heart and honour so
 That I would not from him which hath them go.

Sources collated: Group I: *C57, D, H49, Lec; H40*; Group II: *TCC, TCD, L74, Dal1; DC*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *Group II*

Select variants:

Heading *II, DC, 1633, 1635*: Sonnet *III*

S96 and other MSS not cited here prefix a variant of Dowland's song (see Headnote), beginning *Stay, o sweet, whose ffifth and sixth lines are tetrameters, not D.'s pentameters*

2 Wilt thou] Oh, ~ ~ *I, H40, DC, Dob, 1633, 1635*: And will you *Lut, O'F* therefore rise] rise *I, H40*

5 that] which *I, H40, DC, III, 1633, 1635* despite] spite *III, 1633, 1635*

6 hold] keep *I, H40, DC, Dob, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*

9 is] were *I, H40, DC, 1633, 1635*

11 love] loved *I, H40, DC, Dob, S96, 1633, 1635* honour *I, H40, DC, III, 1633, 1635*: lover *II*

12 which] that *III, 1633, 1635* hath] had *I, H40, DC, 1633, 1635*

15 foul/fool] (Physically loathsome.) Apart from the occasional joint corruption of *C57* and *Lec* and frequent errors of *H40* in other poems, the reading of most MSS more emphatically disparages the man of business, since to be worse than foul is even lower in a lover's eyes than to be worse than a fool (which a lover may confess to being in a poem such as *Triple*).

- Must business thee from hence remove?
 Oh, that's the worst disease of love:
 15 The poor, the foul, the false, love can
 Admit, but not the busied man.
 He that hath business and makes love doth do
 Such wrong as if a married man should woo.

17 that] which *I, H40, DC, Dob, S96, 1633, 1635*

18 if . . . should] when . . . doth *I, H40, DC, Dob, S96, 1633*: when . . . should
 1635

The Broken Heart

Date and Context. c. 1594? 1598–1602? The reference to plague in ll. 5–6 might have been prompted by the severe epidemic of 1593 (the next being in 1603), its light-heartedness suggesting, however, that it was over, perhaps by the year specified. The traditional theme of love at first sight is rare with D., but occurs notably at the beginning of *Fatal*, datable to 1594–5, and the military vocabulary of l. 15 in *War*, which Gardner xxxii–xxxiii persuasively dates to 1593–4. Critics such as Marotti (1986) pp. 138, 321 take the poem to refer to a year's love (l. 6) for Ann More, reading puns on her maiden name in ll. 23, 32 (where it would not fit the sense), and comparing *Anniversary*. He notes (p. 141) that the first half, and therefore implicitly the whole, is nevertheless addressed to men.

Text. Group II MSS (including here *L74, Dal1*) combine against *I, H40, DC, 1633* in obvious error in ll. 17 and 20, and so their authority for the different readings in ll. 21 and 30 is weakened. There is no clear division here between groups of MSS suggesting earlier and later versions as a whole: the readings of Group II in ll. 21 and 30 might be authorial, but not necessarily. Least necessary correction is needed by *DC* (possibly right but against all others, in l. 16), and *H49* and *C57* (more obviously wrong, along with their group, in l. 23) and *1633* (followed by *1635*). The substantive variants suggest that there must have been at least one intermediary between authorial copy and the archetype of Group I, two for *III*, and four for *II*, whereas *DC, H40*, and the archetype of Group I inferable from its (substantively agreeing) members, could have derived, with their different errors, directly from authorial copy. Any two Groups correcting each other give the probable original text.

Heading *DC*'s heading has become current since its adoption in *1633*. However, the heading 'Song' in *H40*, Group I, *Dob* is obviously apposite, in view of the metrical fluency and the ending 'love no more', which invites a musical cadence (cp. Wyatt's 'Madam, withouten many words' and 'My pen, take pain a little space' (attrib.), Orlando Gibbons's 'Silver Swan', and D.'s own *Christ*).

- H**E is stark mad who ever says
 That he hath been in love an hour;
 Yet not that love so soon decays,
 But that it can ten in less space devour;
 5 Who will believe me if I swear
 That I have had the plague a year?
 Who would not laugh at me if I should say
 I saw a flash of powder burn a day?

 Ah, what a trifle is a heart
 10 If once into Love's hands it come!
 All other griefs allow a part
 To other griefs, and ask themselves but some;
 They come to us, but us Love draws;
 He swallows us, and never chaws;
 15 By him, as by chain-shot, whole ranks do die;
 He is the tyran pike, our hearts the fry.

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group I*: *C57, D, H49, Lec, DC*; *Group IIa*: *TCC, TCD*; *Group IIb*: *L74, Dal*; *Group III*: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *DC*

Select variants:

Heading *DC, 1633, 1635*: Song *H40, I, Dob*: Elegy *IIb, S96*: none *IIa, Lut, O'F*
 8 flash/flask *H40, D, Lec, O'Fae, 1633*

13 Love] ~s *IIb* 15 chain-shot] a ~ *TCD*: chained shot *I, IIb, S96, 1633, 1635*

16 tyran] tyrant *IIa, III* our Σ , *1633, 1635*: and *DC*

6 Those who died of the plague usually did so within days, even hours, of the appearance of buboes.

8 flash/flask] Container of horn, leather or metal for carrying gunpowder. Those returned from the Low Country wars might be used to hearing in Dutch or German the form with the soft terminal consonant. Cp. modern German *Flasche*. M. Roberts (in Quehen (1981) pp. 19–21) surmises ingeniously that some scribes misread D.'s italic *k* with its downward stroke as secretary-hand *h*, but the poem contains, even in this stanza, examples of both, normally transcribed, against which they could have checked. There is no disagreement about *flasks* in *Lucy* 3, but it was presumably written nearly two decades later.

14 In *Serm.* 4. 351 (Easter Day 1623) D. reapplies the analogy to Satan's dealing with unthinking, ignorant believers. **chaws]** chews.

15 In *Serm.* 2. 355 (3 March 1620) D. uses the figure for the effect of a denunciation of hypocrites. **chain-/chained shot]** *OED* records 'chain-shot' as the current form in the 1590s, specifically in the nautical use with which D. became familiar in 1596 if not before: it quotes a 1591 reference to every ship in a fleet being thus equipped, and the explanation by Captain John Smith, *The Seaman's Grammar* 14 (1627) p. 67, of how two linked cannon-balls or half-balls: 'will spread in flying their full length in breadth' to destroy sails, masts, and rigging. The less usual form occurs also in Chapman's *Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (*OED*2).

16 tyran/tyrant] The first form is etymologically correct, the Greek root *tyranos* having been modified on false analogy with French verbal adjectives in *-nt* such

- If 'twere not so, what did become
 Of my heart, when I first saw thee?
 I brought a heart into the room,
 20 But from the room I carried none with me;
 If it had gone to thee, I know
 Mine would have taught thy heart to show
 More pity unto me: but Love, alas,
 At one first blow did shiver it as glass.
- 25 Yet nothing can to nothing fall,
 Nor any place be empty quite:
 Therefore I think my breast hath all
 Those pieces still, though they be not unite;
 And now, as broken glasses show

17 did] could *II, III*

20 But] And *II* 21 thee] thine *II, Lut, O'F* 22 thy] thine *1633, 1635*

23 unto] to *I* 24 one first] the first *Dob: first S96: one fierce IIa*

as *regent, dominant*. Though now obsolete, *tyran* is kept here as the form and sound in D.'s mind: cp. *Curse* 26, *Perfume* 43, *Metem* 349, 359, *BedfordWritten* 54 (*DC*'s version only; all MSS consulted add the *t* in *BulstrodeLanguage* 10). **pike**] obviously the voracious fish, but perhaps prompted through punning association with the weapon by the previous line's military image. **our/and**] *DC*'s reading makes sense, but all other sources keep the personal possessive, suggesting it was in their common ancestor. **fry**] young fish.

22 thy/thine] For D.'s preference against the solitary witness of *1633* here, cp. *Bracelet* 114; *All* 14, 21, 27, 29; *Name* 46.

23-4 Love . . . glass] J. D'Amico, *Petrarch in England: An Anthology of Parallel Texts from Wyatt to Milton* (Ravenna, 1979) pp. 81-6, compares the image of hope in *Rime sparse* no. 124.

24 first/fierce] 'First' is a favourite word of D. in his concern with beginnings and causes (e.g., *Anniversary* 5, 10, *Fatal* 1). Although it is repetitious here, and, as Redpath observes, 'fierce' reinforces the line in tune with the violence of Love in stanzas 1 and 2, the testimony of Group II appears unreliable in this poem.

25-30 'Since matter is indestructible, and no place can be empty, my heart will survive and harbour affections, but be incapable of any whole-hearted love.'

25 It was a medieval philosophical commonplace that since no thing could be made out of nothing (Lucretius 1. 155-6), no thing could be reduced to it.

26 Another scholastic dictum, dating back at least to Plutarch: 'Nature abhors a vacuum', meaning that the universe was a material continuum, with none of the empty spaces apparently required by the theory of atoms. Cp. Aristotle, *Of Youth, Old Age, Life and Death, and Respiration* 8 (471a2).

29-30 Cp. the breaking of the mirror in *Richard II*, 4. 1. 278-9: '... the face ... cracked in an hundred shivers'.

29 glasses] mirrors.

30 A hundred lesser faces, so
 My rags of heart can like, wish, and adore,
 But after one such love, can love no more.

30 hundred] thousand II

The Canonization

Date and context. Spring 1604? The Matthew letter, with the sort of exhortation to which *Canonization* is a rejoinder (see note on ll. 1–8), was addressed to someone at Pyrford, presumed to be D. since he lived there from 1602 to 1605; it was published in 1660 by his eldest son. It was written in the week before 12 March 1604, when the royal visit to the Tower of London which it forecasts took place. Line 3's 'five grey hairs' suggest the speaker is in his thirties, as D. was from 1602, and though (given *Calm* 39's 'rotten state') 'ruined fortune' does not necessarily refer to D.'s disastrous elopement and dismissal in 1601–2, critics such as Leishman (1962) p. 214 and Marotti (1986) p. 321 associate it with the Ann More relationship, Marotti seeing a possible pun on her maiden name in l. 15. The reference to 'the King' (l. 7) may, as in *Sun* 7 and *Relic* 15, refer literally to James I, who came to the throne in 1603, arriving in London in May, the ambitious already having rushed to see him on his way south. 'His stamped face' was probably in circulation already: a proclamation of 8 April set the value in England of the Scottish six-pound coin (10 shillings) and mark (13½d.)—*Stuart Royal Proclamations* (1973) 1.7. In May 1603 the Privy Council issued an 'Order to devote . . . sums paid into the Mint, for coining monies' (*CSPD* 1603–10), and (according to C. E. Challis, *New History of the Royal Mint* (1992) pp. 688, 737), the Mint resumed output on 21 May 1603 with gold angels, sovereigns and half-sovereigns (these last two with the King's head) and seven silver denominations from crowns to halfpennies. The notable recoinage proclaimed in London 19 Nov. 1604 required 'One piece of gold of the value of twenty shillings sterling, to be called the unite, stamped on the one side with our picture formerly used', likewise double crowns, crowns, half-crowns, silver shillings and sixpences, whereas silver crowns and half-crowns were to have 'on one side our picture on horseback' (*Proclamations* I. 101). A Spring could not be considered 'forward' (l. 13) much after March: if that of 1604 was forward, 'colds' did certainly 'remove' it: on 30 June 1604, the Venetian Secretary in England wrote to the Doge and Senate: 'The weather is bitterly cold, and everyone is in furs, although

30 hundred/thousand] Either reading is possible with D. in extravagant mood. Redpath quotes the Renaissance Italian Serafino's fourth *Specchio strambotto*, in which, addressing a mirror, he says his heart has been shattered into a thousand pieces by love at first sight of his lady. Redpath opines that D. might have moderated the figure from a first straight borrowing.

31 rags] A favourite disparaging image: cp. *Sun* 10, *Funeral Elegy* 11.

Heading Its absence from *H40*, early in the line of transmission, suggests it was not D.'s.

we are almost in July' (March 1607 was also 'unseasonably hot' according to F. P. Wilson (1963) pp. 117, 119, citing *CSPV 1603-7* p. 164, and *Remembrancia* (Guildhall Records) 2. 90.) The 'plaguy bill' (l. 15) would have been particularly topical during the outbreak of 1603-4: the plague was in the City by 3 March 1603 (*CSPD*), and increased steadily from the last week in April 1603; the earliest surviving printed weekly bill of all burials, christenings, and plague burials in London, for 14-21 July 1603, is possibly the first for this outbreak, though weekly bills in time of plague had been printed at least since 1593, and hand-written records kept since the early sixteenth century. Plague began to decline in mid-September 1603, then increased, as the bills recorded, in spring 1604, falling away in June until August (though deaths from the plague occurred throughout the years 1603-11, with another lesser peak in 1609). See Wilson ch. vi, pp. 85-122, 189-90, 196-7; Slack (1985) p. 146. Since D.'s letters to Goodyer in the Mitcham years (1606-11) are increasingly miserable, with a wife regularly laid low by childbirth and his search for employment continuing fruitless, a date before the move to Mitcham seems more compatible with this poem's celebratory mood. The forty-five lines (a triangular number) of the poem (itself, 'a tissue of unsubstantiated and insubstantial assertions, false trails, deductions drawn from a play on words, abuse instead of demonstration—in short, a species of *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*') may indicate, according to A. P. Riemer, *Sydney Studies in English* 3 (1977-8) 19-31, St Valentine's Day, the forty-fifth day of the year; the poem perhaps being written for this occasion (cp. *Elizabeth*).

Analogues. Everett cites the preference for the writing of love-poetry over political success and material gain by Ovid, *Amores* 1. 15, while Gardner points out his classic treatment of the theme of the world well lost for love in 2. 10. 31-8; cp. H. Richmond, *N&Q* 203 (1958) 535-6, on parallels in Ronsard (see note below on ll. 28-36), to which may be added, nearer to D., Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* nos 21, 23, 27, and, especially, no. 51. Marotti (1986) pp. 157-65 observes that 'In the gesture of maintaining a holy retreat from the world of social and political competition, D. was using a common courtly literary signal for frustrated ambition'. Some of the charge of the poem comes from an interplay of Ovidian, Neoplatonic, Petrarchan and Christian modes and ideas. *Canonization* may have a numerological basis according to A. P. Riemer: the first two stanzas of scorn, reverse-mirrored by the last two's reverence, around the central lines of stanza 3 with the Phoenix; the poem's five stanzas also alluding to the number of marriage and chaste love, with the word 'love' occurring as rhyme-word ten times, in the first and last lines of each stanza, ten indicating perfection (though 'love' occurs in l. 39 an eleventh time, the number of transgression); the nine lines of each stanza indicating heavenly perfection. D.'s use of the love-debate or *tenso* is alluded to by Manley in *That Subtile Wreath* p. 8.

Text. Group I is in obvious substantive error in ll. 29, 40 and 45, Group II in ll. 38 and (differently) 40, and Group III in ll. 3 and 24, other individual MSS (not all recorded) and printed texts variously in these and other lines. *Lut* has fewer obvious errors than any other MS collated.

FOR God's sake hold your tongue, and let me love!
 Or chide my palsy, or my gout;
 My five grey hairs or ruined fortune flout;
 With wealth your state, your mind with arts improve,

Sources collated: *H40*; Group I: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *DC*; Group II: *TCC*, *TCD* (lines 1–33), *N* (lines 34–45); Group III: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *Lut*

Select variants:

Heading Σ : Canonizatio *Dob*, *S96*: untitled *H40*

3 five *H40*, *I*, *DC*, *II*, 1633: fine III: true 1635

1–8 Early in his marriage, D. was apparently chided for his absence from Court by a correspondent (Tobie Matthew?): ‘Your friends are sorry that you make yourself so great a stranger, but you best know your own occasions. Howbeit, if you have any designs towards the Court, it were good you did prevent the loss of any more time. . . . the places of attendance . . . grow daily dearer’ (*Matthew* p. 288; *Bald* p. 144). Matthew had experience as an intermediary: Chamberlain reported to Carleton that he had been sent to intercept the new King on his way from Scotland ‘with a letter from Master Bacon, but I doubt neither the message nor messenger were greatly welcome’ (Chamberlain, *Letters* 1. 192). The poem may be read as implicit mockery and reproach of Matthew’s Roman Catholicism, as much a bar to advancement as D.’s amorous seclusion, itself partly involuntary, of course, as Matthew’s exile was to be (see *Bald* pp. 187–9). The rush to secure preferment from March 1603 onwards was soon curtailed because of the plague: ‘The first of August were forbidden by proclamation, all suitors repairing in the Court, till winter following’ (Stow, *Annales* [1605] p. 1416^a), and James I’s prodigality—he showered huge bounties and conferred over 900 knighthoods—had emptied the coffers already by 11 Sept. 1603 (*Jacobean Journal* (1946) p. 60), though the circulation of Court offices continued. Philip Gawdy wrote to his elder brother Bassingbourne on 2 May 1603: ‘The King hath made very many knights, though of late he hath held his hand, for he repents him of very many he hath made, and is very angry with some Scots, for he hath heard that they took money for making of them’ (Gawdy (1906) p. 128). See further note on *Citizen* 2.

2 chide] Cp. *Sun* 5. **palsy]** senile tremor. **gout]** painful stiffness in the joints, probably including what we now call arthritis as well as gout specifically.
3 grey hairs] In *Usury* D. promised to submit to Love, even such reciprocal love as here in *Canonization*, only ‘When with my brown my grey hairs equal be’.
ruined fortune] D.’s clandestine marriage in late 1601 resulted in his dismissal from his promising employment as a secretary to the Lord Keeper, and debarred him for a decade from any job at all. However, as noted above, the reference in *Calm* 39 to his ‘rotten state’ suggests that even in the mid-1590s he had probably got through his inheritance with the expenses of his education at Oxford and Lincoln’s Inn, possible travel, and the life about town described by Baker (*Bald* p. 72) involving expense on clothes, women and plays.

4–17 Ironically, most of these are occupations with which D. had had some association, and relinquished, not all voluntarily, and indeed busied himself with later. He here as in *Break*, *Sun*, etc., demonstratively takes one side in the traditional poetic contest between love and business. From 1607 to 1611 D. had lodgings in the Strand, frequently absenting himself from Mitcham to be with friends and press his claims to jobs. Cp. the letter to Goodyer quoted on *BedfordReason* 35–8.

- 5 Take you a course, get you a place,
 Observe his Honour or his Grace,
 And the King's real or his stampèd face
 Contèmptrate: what you will, approve,
 So you will let me love.
- 10 Alas, alas! Who's injured by my love?
 What merchants' ships have my sighs drowned?
 Who says my tears have overflowed his ground?
 When did my colds a forward spring remove?
 When did the heats which my veins fill
- 15 Add one man to the plaguy bill?

7 And] Or 1633, 1635 13 colds] cold II 14 the] those II
 15 man] more *Lec*, C57, 1633, 1635

4 Either simply 'get money' (but that would duplicate the second suggestion in l. 8), or, perhaps, 'spend money on improvements to your estate', or even 'buy yourself a title/patent/monopoly/official position'.

5 **Take you a course]** 'Undertake some project'. **place]** position, job.

6 'Court a person of secular rank or title, or an archbishop'.

7-8 'Go into the royal presence, or turn your attention to getting money: do whatever you like.' Gr. compares the different use of the comparison of a ruler and his coinage in *Serm.* 7. 346 (Candlemas 1627).

7 B. Everett, *EIC* 51 (2001) 51-67 points out the respective allusions to the Court at Whitehall in Westminster and the mercantile City of London **stampèd face]** coins.

9 **So]** So long as.

11-12] Guss p. 66 n. 9 compares Serafino's further literalising exaggeration of Petrarch's own hyperboles in *Strambotti* 99-104, 167.

11 A common peril, though conspicuously brought to mind in the spring of 1604 when four ships set out on the East India Company's second venture (Purchas, *Pilgrimes* 1625-6; 1907, 2. 496).

13-14 Neither country nor town is harmed by him. Cp. *HSW*₃*Vex* 7.

13 **colds]** spells of love-melancholy. **forward]** early.

14-15 Disorderly conduct likely to spread the plague, such as attending feasts, theatres (closed May 1603-April 1604), taverns or brothels, is subject to control, but D.'s self-isolation is precisely what the authorities desire (Wilson pp. 49-55, 89, 91-3, 110-11; Slack pp. 304-5).

14 **the heats . . . fill]** Cp. Aston in *HuntingdonUnripe* 31: 'all love is fever'.

15 **more]** This (rejected) reading is just possibly a pun on Ann More (see Morris 1973) whom D. is not killing by his love (yet—she was to die after bearing a dead child in 1617). *Lec*, C57, 1633, 1635 are unreliable witnesses (and all closely related—see Gardner, *DP* p. lxxxiv). **the plaguy bill]** The record kept (from August 1603, by filling in a printed form, a 'brief'—Wilson pp. 197-8) of the number of London burials, christenings and plague-burials in a particular year or week. D. may refer to the printed bills (issued at least to those in authority), of which the earliest surviving examples are dated from July 1603 to June 1604 (*NSTC*

Soldiers find wars, and lawyers find out still
 Litigious men which quarrels move,
 Though she and I do love.

Call us what you will, we're made such by love;
 20 Call her one, me another fly,
 We're tapers too, and at our own cost die,
 And we in us find th'eagle and the dove;

20 me] and me II

16743.9–11), although statistics had been intermittently collected from 1519 onwards (Wilson pp. 189–90, 201–2, 204; Slack p. 148).

16 Soldiers . . . wars] Englishmen fought in Ireland perennially (see, e.g., *War* 13–14, *WottonHiber*) and—on both sides—in the Low Country wars (see, e.g., *War* 5–6, *HerbertE*), which lasted from 1567 to 1648. Ireland was peaceful from June 1603 to April 1608, but there was fierce fighting in the defence of Ostend through 1603 and 1604 until its surrender on 11 Sept. (*Jacobean Journal* pp. 10, 34, 71, 131, 142, 153, 159–60).

16–17 lawyers . . . move] Ironically, the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge complained to their Chancellor (the Principal Secretary of State, Robert Cecil) on 9 March 1604 that those 'dedicated to the study of the civil law' could not find fit employment when they graduated, seeing that 'the common law is too potent for them' (*HMC Hatfield* 16. 38–9).

18–19 As between stanzas of *Flea*, the unheard party interjects.

20–4 Guss pp. 160–1 cites Equicola's assertion that pre-Petrarchan Provençal poets commonly conjoined the lover's death like a moth in a candle-flame with his revival like the Phoenix, as well as Petrarch, *Rime sparse*, 'Come tal ora al caldo tempo sole', and (p. 163) P. Sasso, Sonnets 68 & 69. A 'Fly' (any flying insect) is juxtaposed to the Phoenix also by Guarini, Madrigal 37, '*Una farfalla cupida, e vagante*' (Guss p. 72). The butterfly and candle, eagle and dove, and Phoenix all appeared in emblem books, signifying 'Brief and fatal pleasure', 'Strength and gentleness', and 'The bird forever unique' (Gardner). See note on *Recusant* 17–19.

20–I D. here puts the traditional image to work by removing its usual one-way application to unrequited love (cp. *Recusant* 17–19): since each is attracted to the other, instead of one perishing, both lovers 'die' in orgasm. Like candles, they consume themselves, 'since each such act, they say, / Diminisheth the length of life a day' (*Farewell* 24–5). For this belief see also, e.g., *Metem* 204–10, *FirAn* 110. 'Expense' and 'die' were also (conveniently for the poet) current euphemisms for ejaculation, orgasm and detumescence.

22 th'eagle and the dove] Presumably standing for predatory appetite and power versus submissive gentleness, but much debated: Legouis p. 59 compares Crashaw addressing St Teresa in 'The Flaming Heart' 95: 'By all the eagle in thee, all the dove', using the birds to symbolise strength and tender purity; E. H. Duncan, *ELH* 9 (1942) 269–71, noted eagle, dove, and phoenix in Paracelsus; J. Lederer (1946), *Essential Articles* p. 117, found in the *Emblemata* of H. Junius (1565 no. 39) 'a picture of a caged dove upon which an eagle swoops down. The motto . . . from Petrarch [*Rime sparse* 244] . . . reads "[Evil oppresses me, a worse terrifies me]"' (the fifteen-year-old Ann More had been virtually confined by her father,

The phoenix riddle hath more wit
By us: we two, being one, are it.

24 we two *H40, I, II, DC, 1633, 1635*: we *III*

but was to be killed by pregnancy); a use of the birds by Equicola to symbolise the marriage of pleasure and sorrow is recorded by Guss p. 158, who later points out that 'the eagle is a stock symbol of the high-minded lover whose eyes are eternally fixed on his beloved lady', in a note quoting Serafino, *Epistula* 5. 38–9 (text Guss p. 185) to the effect that his constant love would surely have joined the eagle and the dove as friends; Ronsard conceives the beloved as 'Ma petite columbelle', writing that his love holds his lady as an eagle clasps a trembling dove. R. F. Kennedy, *Expl* 42 (1983) 13–14, says it was a popular belief that feathers of the dead birds would self-consume if juxtaposed (the two lovers 'died' in orgasms); J. L. LePage, *N&Q* 228 (1983) 427–8, points out the antithesis' origin in Horace, *Odes* 4. 4 (fierce eagles/unwarlike doves), but more pertinent use in a list of impossibilities by Du Bartas 1. 2. 173–4; B. Vickers, *N&Q* 230 (1985) 59–60, adduces the birds' use to emblematised the active and contemplative lives, fitting the assertion in *Spring* that 'Love sometimes would contemperate, sometimes do' (pictured in *Ecstasy*). Marotti (1986) p. 325 compares Lodge, 'Praise of Rosalind' 9–10: 'Of all proud birds, the eagle pleaseth Jove; / Of pretty fowls, Venus likes the dove.' J. Manning, *N&Q* 231 (1986) 347–8, notes the line exemplifying incongruity in Chapman, *Ovids Banquet of Sense* (1595) l. 107; J. F. Plummer III, *Leeds Studies in English* 31 (2000) 283, points out their use by Criseyde in Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* 3. 1496, available to D. in, e.g., the Speght editions of 1598 and 1602. Given D.'s dominant attitude in *Sun*, there may well be connotations of active and passive, greedy predator and helpless prey, as well as of aspiration and tenderness. Cp. Marvell's lover, who wishes both himself and his coy mistress to behave 'like am'rous birds of prey, / . . . And tear our pleasures with rough strife / Thorough the iron gates of life.' ('To His Coy Mistress' 38–44) 23–36 H. S. Meller, *TLS* (22 April 1965) 320, notes the appearance of the phoenix in a woodcut and poem prefixed to Giolito editions of Petrarch, with Laura and Petrarch portrayed on an urn containing their ashes, so joined after death and canonised for love. In reply, A. J. Smith, *TLS* (13 May 1965) 376, points out that *Canonization* is written in a different spirit (expressed in the mixing of genres referred to above).

23–4 Refuting the implied permanent death of l. 20. Commonly used as a symbol of the resurrection of Christ, the unique Phoenix was supposed by classical writers to live in solitude for centuries and then reproduce itself asexually after burning to its ashes from which it rose again. Here D. takes first its unity and lack of 'difference of sex' (*Relic* 25) as exemplified in his relationship. Cp. *Ecstasy* 35–6, *Morrow* 14. A. R. Rieke, *JEGP* 83 (1984) 2–3, finds at least six versions of 'the Phoenix riddle' in N. Reusner's *Aenigmatographia* (1599) of which D owned a copy (Keynes p. 274). Even at the time of writing, D. may have conceived of this poem as a paradox: after a further five years of marriage, he writes in a 1608 letter to Goodyer: 'To be no part of any body is to be nothing. At most, the greatest persons are but great wens and excrescences, men of wit and delightful conversation but as moles for ornament, except they be so incorporated into the body of the world that they contribute something to the sustentation of the whole' (*Letters* p. 51). Cp. the disapproving repetition of the image in *FirAn* 216–18: 'every

25 So to one neutral thing both sexes fit,
 We die and rise the same, and prove
 Mysterious by this love.

 We can die by it, if not live by love,
 And if unfit for tomb or hearse
 30 Our legend be, it will be fit for verse;
 And if no piece of chronicle we prove,

29 tomb] tombs *H40, I, DC, Dob, S96, 1633, 1635* or] and *I, DC, 1633, 1635*

30 legend] legends *H40, I, DC, 1633* 31 chronicle] ~s *II*

man alone thinks he hath got / To be a Phoenix, and that there can be / None of that kind of which he is but he', and the stress on God's order 'that every man should embrace a calling, and walk therein'—*Serm.* 7. 149 (30 April 1626).

23 more wit] further ingenious applicability.

25–7 The absence of sexual differentiation (cp. *Ecstasy* 31 and notes thereon, *Platonic* 20, *Primrose* 15–16, *Relic* 24–5, *Mourning* 17–18) means that both experience orgasm and renewal of desire equally and simultaneously. The phoenix was popular with the Christian fathers such as Tertullian as an emblem of the Resurrection of Christ, and thus suits this poem's religious parody, further emphasised by the word 'Mysterious', i.e., 'mystically significant, miracle-working objects of religious faith and ritual'. Cp. *Relic* 12–33. D. echoes the doctrine of the priest's opening words in the *BCP* marriage service, matrimony 'signifying unto us the mystical union that is between Christ and his Church', the closing homily quoting *Ephes.* 5. 25–32 on Christ's loving his Church as an example to husbands: 'a great mystery'.

26 In this parallel with the Resurrection of Christ, D. 'parodies practical theologians who look to Scripture for analogies that may illuminate their cases', according to Brown (1995) p. 125.

28–36 As noted by Richmond, the idea of long-lasting posthumous renown as lovers originated with Theocritus 12. 17–21, and is elaborated into an annual religious commemoration by Ronsard in 'Marie, à celle fin' in *Élégies à Marie* (1560).

28 D.'s love for Ann More deprived him of a living, but, he jokes, they can compensate for this with sexual fulfilment.

29–45 With this self-publication as lovers cp. *Book, Ecstasy* 69–72, *Lucy* 10–11.

29–30 tomb or . . . legend/tombs and . . . legends] The latter reading in Group I was evidently taken thence by 1633. Its implication would chime with *Anniversary* 11's 'Two graves', though not with *Relic*, where 'my grave' turns out to hold 'a loving couple'. The plurals are out of concord with the singular 'hearse' (which cannot be changed for reasons of rhyme and rhythm).

29 hearse] The temple-shaped structure in which the dead lay in state, customarily adorned with eulogies and epitaphs, as well as candles and heraldic devices.

30 legend] *Legenda aurea* (translated into English first by William Caxton as *The Golden Legend*) by Jacobus de Voragine, rejected by the religious reformers, was the standard medieval compilation of stories of the saints.

31 The lovers exist outside temporal, historical records of public affairs (again, D. may be making the best of his involuntary exclusion from them). Cp. the reversal in *FirAn* 457–60, and *Book* 12's 'annals', their letters.

We'll build in sonnets pretty rooms—
 As well a well-wrought urn becomes
 The greatest ashes as half-acre tombs—
 35 And by those hymns, all shall approve
 Us canonized for love.

And thus invoke us: 'You whom reverend love

34–45 *om.* TCD (*missing leaf*) 35 *those*] these *H40, I, II, 1633*: this *Dobbe*

32 Notably, D. completely avoids the fashion for sequences of fourteen-line love-sonnets set by Surrey, Sidney and Spenser, and followed by numerous lesser poets such as Daniel and Drayton, though the term 'sonnets' may be taken to mean any form of lyric. E. F. Daniels & R. H. Wolfe, *Expl* 39 (1980) 46–7 argue that 'build' here means 'take up abode, dwell' (*OED* sense II), and that 'sonnets' is in the possessive case, and should therefore have an apostrophe. The implication is that the poems would be written by others, the lovers' admirers, though the 'half-acre tombs' referred to below were constructed by their dedicatees, as was the custom. **pretty rooms**] Possibly a pun on the Italian 'stanze', meaning rooms as well as divisions of a poem. Cp. Daniel, *Defence of Ryme* (1603; ed. G. B. Harrison, repr. 1966, p. 15) on the sonnet: 'Is it not most delightful to see much excellently ordered in a small room?'

33–4 Urn and ashes are classical: cremation was not practised in Christendom. **becomes . . . ashes**] graces the relics of the most important.

34 half-acre tombs] Such as those of Mausolus at Halicarnassus and the Emperors Augustus and Hadrian (on whose tomb the papal Castel di Sant'Angelo was superimposed) in Rome, the Escurial of Philip II, and the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey. D.'s was an age of extravagant monuments in England, though not on this scale: that of the Lord Chancellor Sir Christopher Hatton in St Paul's, about thirty feet high and sometimes criticised for its extravagance, was one of the sights of London: see, e.g., Sir John Davies, *Epigrammes* 6. 'In Titum' [1594]; Richard Corbet(t), 'Elegy on the Death of Dr. Ravis' [c. 1609]. Cp. *BedfordNew* 13–15. **half-acre**] 2,025 sq. m., 180 m. round.

35–45 Cp. the religious register of *Book* 15–36, *Mourning* 7–8.

36 canonized for love] See note on *Relic* 17–22.

37–45 Love has both provided refuge from the world and enabled them to distil its quintessence, the transparent vessels of their eyes becoming in successive metaphors chemist or alchemist's beakers receiving the distillate, and reducing-mirrors or lenses which capture the three traditionally competing arenas of life, city, court, and country (cp. *Usury* 14–15, *Sun* 6–8, and *WottonKisses* 7–28). Invocation of saints to beg favours from God was one of the doctrines rejected in the Reformation, so that the poet could avoid criticism by claiming he is only mocking 'misdevotion' as he calls it in *Relic* 13. But the parody remains close to blasphemy since, for the Christian, 'the pattern of this love' (in the sense of an example to be learnt from) '. . . is Christ Jesus' (*Serm.* 5. 120, Easter Monday 1622, on *Ephes.* 5. 25–7; cp. *John* 13. 34, 15. 12–14; *1 John* 3. 16, 4. 7–21). As a preacher, D. there denigrates the physical love celebrated in this poem, as he does his love for his wife in *HSW1Since*, where he begs more love from above, eschewing the cult of saints. Glass, eye and pattern occur also in *Name* 7–18.

Made one another's hermitage;
 You to whom love was peace that now is rage;
 40 Who did the whole world's soul extract, and drove
 Into the glasses of your eyes
 (So made such mirrors and such spies
 That they did all to you epitomize)
 Countries, towns, courts—beg from above
 45 A pattern of your love!

38 hermitage] pilgrimage II

40 world's soul] world II extract] contract O'Faë, 1633, 1635 drove] drawe I, DC: have H40

45 your] our I, DC, 1633, 1635

Community

Date and Context. Early 1590s?

Analogues. The attitude is similar to that of *Change*. Wiggins (1945) 58 discusses the poem's construction as two complex disjunctive syllogisms, and M. McCandles, *Essential Artides* pp. 231–2, the poem's mockery of formal logic in taking the particular as general.

Text. Unproblematic, with no separative errors in six of the principal MSS of Groups II and III. DC (unlike *TCC*, *TCD*) includes this poem in its section 'Songs which were made to certain airs that were made before'.

38 hermitage/pilgrimage] The former is more consonant with the idea of retreating from and putting in proportion 'Countries, towns, courts'.

39 Gardner quotes *Serm.* 1. 237 (14 Dec. 1617): 'To desire without fruition, is a rage'. D. may glance at the proverb 'Hot love soon cold' (Tilley L483 quoting Heywood (1546) sig. A3). The putative supplicants will envy the safety, peace and sufficiency of totally mutual and consummated love. **rage]** mere lust or passion, like Corydon's infatuation with Alexis, Virgil, *Ed.* 2. 69. Cp. the comparison of the bad and good effects of the dementia of love in Plato, *Phaedrus* 240e–245b. All passions were seen to defeat reason: anger, e.g., is termed a brief madness by Horace, *Epist.* 1. 2. 62. Cp. *Deity* 17; *Fatal* 13, 40; *HuntingdonUnripe* 126.

40–4 Wealth, culture and power, the preoccupations of country, city and court rejected in ll. 4–17, are here wishfully subsumed into the only occupation the speaker has left.

40 drove] forced.

42–3 Re-applied to God in *Harington* 31–6.

42 spies] For court spies cp. *Satyre* 4 119, 237, and the 'spies, to good ends' of *BedfordNew* 53.

45 pattern] likeness. Cp. the 'Rule and example' of their 'annals' offered in *Book*. The dead girl of *SecAn* 524 is 'for life and death a pattern'.

GOOD we must love, and must hate ill,
 For ill is ill, and good good still;
 But there are things indifferent,
 Which we may neither hate nor love,
 5 But one and then another prove,
 As we shall find our fancy bent.

If then at first wise Nature had,
 Made women either good or bad,
 Then some we might hate, and some choose,
 10 But since she did them so create
 That we may neither love nor hate,
 Only this rests: all all may use.

If they were good it would be seen:
 Good is as visible as green,
 15 And to all eyes itself betrays;
 If they were bad, they could not last:
 Bad doth itself and others waste,
 So they deserve nor blame nor praise.

Sources collated: *H40*; Group I: *H49, D, C57, Lec*; Group II: *L74, Dal, TCC, TCD, DC*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: Group II, *Dob, Lut*

Select variants:

Heading 1635: none Σ 3 there] these I, 1633

3–6 D. may be glancing at R. Hooker, who famously used the phrase ‘things indifferent’ in *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1594) with respect to vestments, ceremonies etc., not necessary for salvation, though the *OED* cites its earlier use in a Christian context by Archbishop Sandys in a sermon of 1576. In *BedfordNew* 43–5 D. asserts that different, broader principles obtain at Court, implying that such adiaphorism is not only a matter of ‘fancy’. The implication in *Community* would be that fidelity and exclusivity in love are unnecessary.

3/6 **indifferent/bent]** On the acceptability to Elizabethans of rhyming an unstressed with a stressed syllable see P. Simpson (1943).

5 **prove]** try.

7 **wise nature]** Cp. *Metem* 191, *Progress* 91–2, *FirAn* 223.

12 **rests]** remains.

15 **betrays]** shows.

16 Because ‘The wages of sin is death’ (*Rom.* 6. 23), and in Jesus’ parable (*Matt.* 13. 48; cp. *Matt.* 7. 19) the bad shall thus be cast away for ever. Some Christians asserted that evil was merely the privation of good, lacking life and substance of its own.

17 Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 2. 1. 85. 4 concludes that sin diminishes the ‘mode, species and order’ of the good of the natural inclination, and entirely takes away those of virtue and grace and the ‘ordered act’. Cp. *Richard II* 2. 1. 38–9: ‘Light vanity, insatiate cormorant, / Consuming means, soon preys upon itself’, and Jonson’s belief enunciated in the closing words of *Volpone*, ‘Mischiefs feed / Like beasts, till they be fat, and then they bleed.’ **waste]** Then, rhyming with ‘last’.

- But they are ours as fruits are ours:
 20 He that but tastes, he that devours,
 And he that leaves all, doth as well;
 Changed loves are but changed sorts of meat,
 And when he hath the kernel eat,
 Who doth not fling away the shell?

The Computation

Date and Context. 1590s?

Text. Only the first printed edition seems to present Group II's version of the entire poem correctly. Gardner sees Group III, with its relatively numerous variants, as a 'distinct text', though at least some of its variants seem inferior. She argued that 'in the songs and epigrams [D.] habitually uses "thou"': however, the texts we have are not entirely consistent, and he, moreover, did not mind switching for the sake of rhyme: see l. 7 here, *Damp* throughout, *Flea's* mixture in stanza 2, *Funeral's* last word, *Indifferent's* first two stanzas, *Name's* mixture, *Constancy's* switch in l. 11, *Calez*, *Self-Acuser*. Hence, it has seemed worth reproducing both the Group II and Group III versions, with the exception of the latter's 'deemed' in l. 7, which seems to be a clear case of misreading in a common ancestor.

- FOR the first twenty years, since yesterday,
 I scarce believed thou couldst be gone away;
 For forty more, I fed on favours past,
 And forty[^]on hopes that thou wouldst they might last.
 5 Tears drowned one hundred, and sighs blew out two;
 A thousand, I did neither think, nor do,

Sources collated: *Group II*: TCC, TCD, DC; *Group III*: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: II

Select variants:

Heading II, Dob (*in different hand*), 1633, 1635: no heading Lut, O'F

1 the] my III, 1635 2 thou couldst] thou wouldst TCC: you could III

3 For] And III 4 thou wouldst] you wish III

5 drowned one hundred] have one hundred drowned III and sighs blew] sighs blown III

6 A] One III neither] nothing III

22-4 The female is reproached for such casualness in *Jet* 7-8.

22 **meat**] food.

22/23 **meat/ate**] A perfect rhyme in the English of D.'s period: see the note on D.'s rhymes appended to the introduction.

1 Cp. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* 2. 1. 212-14.

2 **scarce**] hardly.

4 **thou . . . last**] you intended them to continue.

Or not divide, all being one thought of you;
 Or in a thousand more, forgot that too.
 Yet call not this long life, but think that I
 10 Am by being dead immortal—can ghosts die?

7 Or not . . . you III, 1633: *om. II* divide] deemed III, 1635

8 a] one III 9 call] think III

Earlier version in Group III:

FOR my first twenty years, since yesterday,
 I scarce believed you could be gone away;
 And forty more, I fed on favours past,
 And forty on hopes that you wish they might last.
 5 Tears have one hundred drowned, sighs blown out two;
 One thousand, I did nothing think, nor do,
 Or not divide, all being one thought of you;
 Or in one thousand more, forgot that too.
 Yet think not this long life, but think that I
 10 Am by being dead immortal—can ghosts die?

Confined Love

Date and Context. Early 1590s?

Analogues. Close in attitude to *Change* and *Constancy*, this poem is, however, put in the mouth of a woman, like another song, *Break*.

Text. L74 needs only one change (and that reading is itself plausible). DC (unlike TCC, TCD) includes this poem in its section 'Songs which were made to certain airs that were made before'.

SOME man, unworthy to be possessor
 SOF old or new love, himself being false or weak,

Sources collated: *Group I:* H49, D, C57, Lec; *Group II:* L74, TCC, TCD, DC; *Group III:* Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: L74

Select variants:

Heading 1635: Song: Confined Love Dob: *om. I, II, Lut, O'F, 1633*

7 **divide]** distinguish.

8 By now the 'years since yesterday' total 2,400, implying that every hour has seemed like a hundred years. Cp. Spenser, *FQ* 5. 6. 5, where to Britomart worrying about Artegall 'Each hour did seem a month, and ev'ry month a year.'
 10 **immortal]** Ten is a circular number (all its powers, 10², 10³, etc., beginning with itself), thus symbolising eternity; 'And', as *Legacy* 4 puts it, 'lovers' hours be full eternity'. **can ghosts die?]** Cp. the ending of *Perfume*, and *Expiration* 3 for this separation of bodies which might therefore as well not exist. At least D. could believe in immortal souls.

Thought his pain and shame would be lesser
 If on womankind he might his anger wreak,
 5 And thence a law did grow,
 One should but one man know:
 But are other creatures so?

Are sun, moon, or stars by law forbidden
 To smile where they list, or lend away their light?
 10 Are birds divorced, or are they chidden,
 If they leave their mate, or lie abroad a-night?
 Beasts do no jointures lose,
 Though they new lovers choose;
 But we are made worse than those.

15 Whoe'er rigged fair ship to lie in harbours,
 And not to seek new lands, or not to deal withal?
 Or built fair houses, set trees and arbours,
 Only to lock up or else to let them fall?
 Good is not good unless
 20 A thousand it possess,
 But doth waste with greediness.

3 and I, III, 1633, 1635: or II 6 should] might 1633, 1635

9 smile Σ : shine L74 12 Beasts] Beast 1635 do] did I, DC, TCC, TCD, Dob
 17 built] build I, DC, TCC, TCD

8–14 The Christian riposte to this naturalistic argument is given in *DivM9Pois'nous* 9–10.

9 **list]** want, fancy. **lend away]** bestow outside an exclusive relationship.

10–13 The woman's libertinism echoes Myrrha's justification of incest in Ovid, *Met.* 10. 324–8 (Gardner).

10 **chidden]** reproached.

11 **abroad a-night]** elsewhere at night.

12 **jointures]** marriage-settlements.

15–18 Ovid, *Amores* 1. 8. 50–4, similarly uses analogies, including the unlivid-in house, in advising women to take several lovers.

15 Woman is compared to a different kind of ship in *Change* 15–16. Cp. the religious applications in *Sorrow* 14 and *Serm.* 2. 246 (18 April 1619): 'We see ships in the river, but all their use is gone if they go not to sea: we see men freighted with honour and riches, but all their use is gone if their respect be not upon the honour and glory of the Creator'. **rigged]** Perhaps suggesting 'riggish', i.e., lustful, randy, as in *Antony and Cleopatra* 2. 2. 246.

16 **deal withal]** use it for trade.

19–20 According to Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 7. 13, 10. 2 (1153b25, 1172b9, quoting the opinion of Eudoxus), that must be the highest good which is sought by all.

21 **doth waste with greediness]** is diminished by miserly possessiveness.

The Curse

Date and Context. 1592–5? The tone of bravado, akin to *Anagram*, *Comparison*, *Jealousy*, *Perfume* and (particularly) *Bracelet*, the law jargon of l. 30, and the misogyny of ll. 31–2, suggest an early work. I. Bell in *John Donne's 'desire of more'*, ed. M. T. Hester (1996) pp. 110–20, adduces historical examples of the misfortunes wished in stanzas 1–3 in the affair of the Roman Catholic conspirators/double agents William Parry (who married and impoverished the widow of D.'s great-uncle Richard Heywood) and Edmund Neville, described in *A True and Plaine Declaration of the Horrible Treasons, Practised by Parry the Traitor* (1585), and Neville's dubious marriage in 1588. The Parry affair was the subject of P. Stubbes, *The Intended Treason, of Doctor Parrie* [1585], and of poems by Laurence Humphrey, William Gager [?], and George Peele [?], published in 1585 in Oxford, where D. had become a student in Oct. 1584. However, Bell's attempt to relate the poem to D.'s affair with Ann More, with the target as Neville himself, is precariously grounded on an anonymous letter in the Burley MS. D. did not meet his future wife till several years after the probable date of the poem. As Marotti (1986) p. 80 notes, *pace* Gardner, the poem is less about the medieval courtly protection of the mistress from gossip than D.'s worldly situation of foes, purse, missing, getting, treason, gamesters, and schedules. In favour of a date in the Lincoln's Inn period, Gardner cites *Curse's* inclusion, alone of the lyrics, with the *Satyres* in *Q*, and with *Bracelet* in a miscellany, and the firmly misogynist ending.

Analogues. Originating in the seventh century BCE with the Greek poet Archilochus, according to the *Greek Anthology* 7. 71, the curse was a perennially popular literary genre, exemplified in the third century BCE *Ibis* by Callimachus, alluded to in the 644-line *Ibis* questionably ascribed to Ovid. Puttenham l. 29 describes it as 'a manner of imprecation, or as we call it by cursing and banning of the parties, and wishing all evil to alight upon them, and, though it never the sooner happened, yet was it great easement to the boiling stomach.' His numerous instances are augmented by Lindsay Watson, *Arae: The Curse Poetry of Antiquity* (1991). In the love-elegy, cp. Propertius 4. 5. 1–4, 75–8, and Ovid, *Amores*, 1. 12, cursing the tablets which carried an unsuccessful proposition. D. would also have known of the court-room *exsecratio* described by Quintilian *Inst.* 9. 2. 3. After the primal curses of *Gen.* 3. 14–19, Hebrew literature furnished, e.g., the comprehensive threats of *Deut.* 28. 15–68 and *Isa.* 34. In addition to classical and biblical precedents, formal cursing of thieves was a long-established folk-custom: Scot, 12. 17 (pp. 263–5), gives an elaborate example of its ritualisation in the Roman Church in 'Saint Adelbert's curse', which, like D.'s, includes illness, hanging, and dying with sins unforgiven. Other examples of this ecclesiastical anathema are given by R. A. Bryan, *JEGP* 61 (1962) 305–12. An 'Answer to Dr Donne's Curse' is ascribed to William Browne of Tavistock (*CH* 40–1). D.'s use of the classical *dirae* is discussed by Manley in *That Subtile Wreath* p. 8.

Text. The appearance in *Q* of *II*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635's version of ll. 14–16, more specifically mocking Petrarchan 'reverence', is taken by Gardner (p. 164) as evidence that it is a younger D.'s own.

WHOWER guesses, thinks, or dreams he knows
 Who is my mistress, wither by this curse;
 His only^and only^his, purse,
 May some dull heart to love dispose,
 5 And she yield then to all that are his foes;
 May he be scorned by one whom all else scorn,
 Forswear to others, what to her he'th sworn,
 With fear of missing, shame of getting, torn.

Madness his sorrow, gout his cramps, may he
 10 Make, by but thinking who hath made him such;
 And may he feel no touch
 Of conscience, but of fame, and be
 Anguished, not that 'twas sin, but that 'twas she;
 In early and long scarceness may he rot,
 15 For land which had been his, if he had not
 Himself incestuously an heir begot.

Sources collated: *Group I*: H40, H49, D, C57, Lec, DC; *Group II*: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; *Group III*: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: L74

Select variants:

Heading *All sources* (Dal: A ~)

9 cramps *I, II, Dob*: cramp *Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*

14–16 *I, Dob, 1633*: Or may he for her virtue reverence / One that hates him only for impotence, / And equal traitors be she and his sense. *II, Lut, O'F, 1635; Lut, O'F* with other version in margin, introduced by note: Those 3 lines in some copies thus

3 'Only his money, and only him among all men for his money', i.e., may some woman, otherwise devoid of affection, exploit him financially while being available for nothing to all other men.

7 Forswear] Deny on oath (his love).

8 'Torn between fear of losing her and shame at getting her'.

12 fame] reputation.

14–16 What may be D.'s second version is thought by Gardner to be the original of Marston's joke in *The Scourge of Villainy*, 2nd ed., 'Satyra Nova . . . To his Very Friend, Master E. G.', i.e., 10. 27–32:

And tell me, Ned, what might that gallant be
 Who, to obtain intemp'rate luxury,
 Cuckolds his elder brother, gets an heir,
 By which his hope is turnèd to despair?
 In faith, good Ned, he damned himself with cost,
 For well thou know'st, full goodly land was lost.

The addressee, Edward or Everard Guilpin, was also a friend and imitator of D. (see note on heading to *Guilpin*).

14 scarceness] poverty.

- May he dream treason, and believe that he
 Went to perform it, and confess, and die,
 And no recòrd tell why;
- 20 His sons, which none of his may be,
 Inherit nothing but his infamy;
 Or may he so long parasites have fed,
 That he would fain be theirs whom he hath bred,
 And at the last be circumcised for bread.
- 25 The venom of all stepdames, gamesters' gall;
 What tyrans and their subjects interwish;
 What plants, mines, beasts, fowl, fish
 Can còntribute; all ill which all
 Prophets or poets spoke; and all which shall
- 30 Be annexed in schedules unto this by me,
 Fall on that man (for if it be a she,
 Nature beforehand hath out-cursèd me).

18 Went] Meant *I, Dal, III, 1633, 1635*

27 mines] mine *I, 1633, 1635*

29 spoke] spake *H49, D, C57, Lec, DC, Dal, Lut: speak H40, O'F: spade H49*

17–18 In 1352, even imagining the death of king, queen or heir had been made capital treason (though words or even actions might be required as evidence): the treason law was repeatedly widened in scope under the Tudors. See Williams, *Tudor Regime*, pp. 375–85.

18 Went/Meant] The subject only dreams he has tried, but believes and confesses nevertheless. This reading makes his misbelief more extreme.

19 There was, of course, a record of Parry's motives. **recòrd]** According to *OED* this was the original stressing.

22 parasites] Jewish moneylenders, who will ultimately possess body and soul.

23 whom . . . bred] It was believed that lice were generated spontaneously by the body.

24 i.e., convert to Judaism so that he can borrow money.

25 The venom . . . stepdames] It was generally believed that women tended to hate the offspring of earlier wives. *OED* quotes Terence, *Hecyra* 2. 1 (201), Engl. R. Bernard (1598): 'With one consent, all stepmothers hate their daughters-in-law.'

26 interwish] wish each other. A typical D. coinage: cp. *Metem* 225: 'intertouched'.

27 mines] minerals, such as arsenic.

28 còntribute] *OED* confirms the stress on the first syllable as early practice. Cp. *ValName* 2, *HerbertE* 22.

29 Prophets] e.g., *Isa.* 65. 13–15, *Jer.* 29.18, *Zech.* 5. 3–4, *Mal.* 2. 2–3. **spoke/spake]** It is evident from D.'s use of 'spoke' as a rhyme-word with 'broke' at *Ring* 3 and *Henry* 93, and 'spake' with 'take' at *Ecstasy* 25, and with 'make' at *FirAn* 462, that he might have written either here.

30 annexed in schedules] legal language: 'appended in tables of the details', as to an Act of Parliament or other legal instrument.

The Damp

Date and Context. 1590s? The echoes of Spenser suggest 1596–, but are not compelling.

Analogues. Guss pp. 76–8 cites Serafino (1502 edn) nos 89, 126, for the ideas of the autopsy and the woman's harmful likeness in the lover's heart, pointing out (p. 79) that D. develops Petrarchist wit by displaying an 'emphatically casual air and flagrant good sense'. *Greek Anthology* 16. 171 is the ultimate origin of the naked woman's advantage (Koppenfels (1967) p. 84).

Text. Line 24 is slightly bowdlerised in the source of Group II, so the unanimous witness of Group I is preferred here, as by editors after Grierson.

WHEN I am dead, and doctors know not why,
 And my friends' curiosity
 Will have me cut up to survey each part,
 When they shall find your picture in my heart,
 5 You think a sudden damp of love
 Will thorough all their senses move,
 And work on them as me, and so prefer
 Your murder to the name of massacre.

Sources collated: *Group I:* H49, D, C57, Lec; *Group II:* DC, TCC, TCD; *Group III:* Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: *Group I*

Select variants:

Heading Σ

Heading Damp] (a) fatal exhalation, foggy chill, noxious vapour; (b) stupor, dejection.

1–4 Adapted from Guarini's *Strambotto* 89, as well as by Carew (perhaps directly) for the last four lines of 'Secrecy Protested'; also printed in *Wits Recreations* (1640).

1–3 As well as Serafino nos 89, 126, cp. Burton, 3. 2. 3. 1 (added in 1624): 'Abraham Hossmannus, lib. 1, *Amor. conjugal*, cap. 2, pag. 22, relates out of Plato [?] how that Empedocles the philosopher was present at the cutting-up of one that died for love' (Gardner).

4 P. J. Ayres, *ELN* 13 (1976) 173–5 (cp. Guss p. 76), notes that the image of a woman physically engraved in her lover's heart, as distinct from the mere metaphor common in Petrarchan verse, occurs in Serafino, *Strambotti* 126, alluding to the figuring of Christ's Passion allegedly found in the heart of Clare of Montefalco and shown as a relic, seen and described by A. Munday, *The English Roman Life* (ed. P. J. Ayres, Oxford 1980) pp. 72–3. Cp Shakespeare, *Sonnets* no. 24.

5–8 The Petrarchan hyperbole of dying for love is common in D.'s lyrics, reused ironically by Shakespeare's Enobarbus in *Antony and Cleopatra* 1. 2. 139–40, and disbelieved by Rosalind in *As You Like It* 4. 1. 88–101.

6 thorough] through.

7 prefer] promote, raise.

8 massacre] A conceit already used by Spenser, *Amoretti* 10. 6 (Koppenfels p. 105): 'the huge massacres which her eyes do make'.

- Poor victories; but if you dare be brave,
 10 And pleasure in your conquest have,
 First kill th'enormous Giant your Disdain,
 And let th'Enchantress Honour next be slain,
 And like a Goth and Vandal rise,
 Deface recòrds and histories
 15 Of your own arts and triumphs over men,
 And without such advantage kill me then.

For I could muster up as well as you
 My giants and my witches too,
 Which are vast Constancy and Secretness,
 20 But these I neither look for nor profess.
 Kill me as woman: let me die
 As a mere man; do you but try
 Your passive valour, and you shall find than,
 Naked, you've odds enough of any man.

19 Which are] Wth are TCD: With as DC: As a TCC

20 neither] never 1633be 24 Naked] In that II, 1633

9 brave] admirable. Cp. *Dream* 25.

10 pleasure] Including the sexual as the allusion to 'Honour' soon makes plain.

11-12 As with 'honour or conscience' in *Book* 44-5, D. mocks qualities Spenser approved of, with the sort of personification the latter reserved for vice (e.g., the 'huge giant' of homosexuality, Ollyphant, and the 'fair enchantress' of heterosexual pleasure, Acrasia, *FQ* 3. 11. 3-4, 2. 12), though Sidney preceded both with 'Tyrant Honour' in *Astrophil and Stella*, Song 8. 95. Ironically, Amoret's 'honor dearer than her life' is threatened 'with Enchanters knife' in *FQ* 4. 1. 6.

11 th'enormous . . . Disdain] Memorably portrayed in Spenser, *FQ* 6. 7. 41-3. The Knight Disdain saves Rinaldo from the monster Jealousy in Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 42. 51-9.

12 Honour] Cp. the 'fear, shame, honour' deplored in *Dream* 26.

13-14 With this allusion to the proverbial bringers of the Dark Ages when the Christianised Roman Empire collapsed before them, cp. *Book* 24-6.

21-2 Playing on the conventional use of 'die' as a euphemism to mean 'experience orgasm'.

22 as mere man] i.e., without any giant of constancy or enchantment by discretion to persuade her, but just for physical fun.

23 than] then.

24 Being 'apter t'endure than men' (*Change* 14). Cp. the ending of *Bed*. Guss p. 78 and Koppenfels p. 84 compare Leonidas of Alexandria's epigram on an Aphrodite bearing her lover's arms, *Greek Anthology* 16. 171, translated in part as 'Naked thyself, thou didst disarm Ares [god of war] himself', derived by D. presumably through Continental or English writers (Redpath), e.g., Sidney, *Certain Sonnets* (1598) 1. 6: 'Since naked sense can conquer reason armed'. Guss quotes related ideas in Italian poets also. **Naked/In that]** Group II and 1633's less vivid reading may be ascribed to the Christian fear of sexuality which prevented the printing of *Bed* and four other love-elegies.

The Dissolution

Date and Context. ? Critics such as Marotti (1986) p. 321 associate this poem with the Ann More relationship, and her death in 1617, reading puns on her maiden name in ll. 18 and 24. The latter makes sense in the sentence. However, D. was possessed of imagination and dramatic power, so he may have been anticipating the outcome of one of his wife's earlier serious illnesses, of which several are documented. J. T. Shawcross, *JDJ* 15 (1996) 50–1, following Gardner's dating, sees this poem's omission by Group I MSS as suggesting that it was written after 1614 (the year assigned to the latest datable poem they contain), so possibly associated with the death of D.'s wife. However, Shawcross also remarks on a link with *Fever*, which is included in Group I MSS. He also links *Dissolution* to *Lucy*.

Analogues. The idea that the beloved's death releases the speaker to accelerate towards Heaven accords with *HSW1* Since, presumably on D.'s wife, but also has a poetic ancestry reaching back to Dante's *Vita nova* and Petrarch (e.g., *Rime sparse* 72). Cp. *Lucy*.

Text. DC demands no emendation.

SHE'S dead; and all which die
 To their first elements resolve:
 And we were mutual elements to us,
 And made of one another.
 5 My body then doth hers involve,
 And those things whereof I consist, hereby
 In me abundant grow, and burdenous,
 And nourish not, but smother.
 My fire of passion, sighs of air,
 10 Water of tears, and earthly sad despair,

Sources collated: *Group II: DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: DC

Select variants:

Heading Σ

10 earthly] ~y *Lut, O'F, 1635*

Heading Dissolution] (a) Death; (b) Dissolving of the bond of body and soul; (c) Separation of elements.

2 first elements] Fire, air, water and earth, in the order of lines 9–10.

3–4 'Mixed souls', as in *Ecstasy* 33–6.

5 doth hers involve] is intertwined with hers.

6–7 Cp Petrarch 278. 12–13, for this lumpen feeling.

8 nourish] sustain. Gardner illustrates this application by John Jones, MD, *Galens Booke of Elements* (1574) f. 3v.

9–10 Cp. the use of his elements of body and mind by Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 44–5 (Redpath).

10 earthly/earthly] *OED* shows that the former was used for the latter from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. It allows D. to play on the elemental substance of the soul and its status in the Christian universe, as in *Bed* 38.

Which my materials be,
 But near worn out by love's security,
 She, to my loss, doth by her death repair,
 And I might live long wretched so
 15 But that my fire doth with my fuel grow.
 Now as those active kings
 Whose foreign conquest treasure brings,
 Receive more, and spend more, and soonest break,
 This (which I am amazed that I can speak)
 20 This death hath with my store
 My use increased.
 And so my soul, more earnestly released,
 Will outstrip hers, as bullets flown before
 A latter bullet may o'ertake, the powder being more.

12 near] ne'er 1633 13 by] with *Lut*, *O'F*

The Dream

Date and Context. ? The traditional nature of the poem is Ovidian, the dream and its proposed completion purely physical, so it may be seen as belonging to the earlier part of D.'s poetic career.

Analogues. The woman comes to a (waking) narrator in his bed in Ovid's *Amores* 1. 5. The dream setting for an erotic poem is also traditional: Smith cites M. Praz in T. Spencer, ed., *A Garland for John Donne* (1931) pp. 53–6, and P. Legouis, *Donne the Craftsman* (1928) pp. 75–7, for other Renaissance poems employing the convention. *The Phoenix Nest* (1593) pp. 39–51, contains an example by Robert Greene. Later versions include Herrick's voluptuous 'The Vine' and Suckling's burlesque 'His Dream'.

Text. TCC requires correction only in ll. 10 and 12.

12 security] Over-confident presumption of safety, carelessness. Cp. *Anniversary* 25: 'Who is so safe as we?'

13 repair] replace.

16–18 Notoriously, the Spanish Habsburgs, with Philip I's expensive aspirations to religious and military mastery in Europe, and acquisition of bullion from the New World which merely contributed to the rise in prices in the northern European markets during the later sixteenth century of the imports of foodstuffs and manufactured goods on which Spain had come to depend. In 1596 Spain's bankruptcy was proclaimed for the third time (W. C. Atkinson, *History of Spain and Portugal* (1960) pp. 166–7).

18 break] go bankrupt.

20 store] stock (of elements, especially 'fire of passion').

21 use] expenditure.

22 earnestly] purposefully.

23 flown] fired (passive participle of the transitive verb 'to fly').

24 powder] gunpowder.

DEAR love, for nothing less than thee
 Would I have broke this happy dream;
 It was a theme
 For reason, much too strong for fantasy:
 5 Therefore thou wak'd'st me wisely; yet
 My dream thou brok'st not, but continued'st it:
 Thou art so truth that thoughts of thee suffice
 To make dreams truths, and fables histories.
 Enter these arms, for since thou thought'st it best
 10 Not to dream all my dream, let's do the rest.

As lightning or a taper's light,
 Thine eyes, and not thy noise, waked me;
 Yet I thought thee
 (For thou lov'st truth) but an angel at first sight;
 15 But when I saw thou saw'st my heart
 And knew'st my thoughts, beyond an angel's art,

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: L74, DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCC*

Select variants:

Heading Σ : *Dream L74, Dob, S96*

7 truth] true *III, 1635* 8 truths] truth *I, TCD, S96, Lut*: true *Dob*

10 do *I, L74, III*: act *TCC, TCD* 11 lightning] ~s *H49, D, C57*: lightening *Lec*

12 thy] this *I, DC* waked *I, L74, DC, Dob, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*: awaked *TCC, TCD, S96*

14 but an] an *III, 1633, 1635*

4 reason] conscious thought. **much . . . fantasy]** The beloved's beauty is beyond the power of dreams, and the lower faculty of fantasy: it was either (a) bound to wake him, or (b) would have turned fantasy into delusion, madness. **strong]** weighty, grave, serious, intense, vivid.

7 so truth] So real, but also entirely composed of truth itself, like God. Cp. *HSW₃Show 6*, of the Christian Church: 'Is she self truth?'

8 histories] i.e., authentic accounts.

10 do/act] *D.* uses 'do' for the verb in *Spring 14*, 'act' for the noun in *Farewell 24, Comparison 47*.

11–12 Cp. *Serm.* 4. 211 (13 Oct. 1622): 'A sudden light brought into a room doth awaken some men, but yet a noise does it better'; *Serm.* 9. 366 (n. d.): 'A candle wakes some men, as well as a noise' (Gr.).

11 light'ning] The growing light of dawn. **taper's]** Weak light, from a thin candle.

14 but an angel] A member of the lowest (third) choir of the lowest (third) order, a mere intermediary between God and man, not the divinity she is but merely a messenger. Gardner's rejection of 'but' is based on aesthetic preference and hypothesis.

16 Angels were supposed not to be able to read minds, as God was: according to Thomas Aquinas, *ST I. 57. 4*, they knew hearts' thoughts only from the ensuing

When thou knew'st what I dreamt, when thou knew'st when
 Excess of joy would wake me, and cam'st then,
 I do confess it could not choose but be
 20 Profaneness to think thee anything but thee.

Coming and staying showed thee, thee,
 But rising makes me doubt that now
 Thou art not thou.
 That love is weak where fear's as strong as he;
 25 'Tis not all spirit, pure and brave,
 If mixture it of fear, shame, honour, have;
 Perchance, as torches which must ready be

19 do] must 1633, 1635

20 Profaneness] Profane *Lut*, 1633, *O'Fae*, 1635

22 doubt that] ~ it *I*, *L74*, *Dob in text*, *S96*: think that *Dob marg*.

24 where] when *I*

actions and body language (Gr.); see note on *DivM10Faith* 1–7. Grierson quotes *Serm.* 10. 82–3 (Candlemas Day) to show D.'s support for Aquinas against 'Scotus and his herd', concluding: 'Christ Jesus himself thought it arguement enough to convince the Scribes and Pharisees, and prove himself God, by knowing their thoughts.'

19–20 i.e., in view of the possession of divine power.

20 Profaneness/Profane] Gardner, in rejecting for aesthetic reasons the overwhelming MS evidence that D. wrote 'Profaneness', prefers 'the charge of inconsistency to that of being deaf to the music of Donne's verse', even though it seems the 'deafness' may have been that of D. himself. In an appendix (p. 316), Redpath wrote:

I find myself in good company in thinking that the reading of Groups I and II in l. 20 of *The Dream* is rhythmically quite acceptable. Mr J. C. Maxwell, in his review of Professor Gardner's edition [*MLR* 61 (1966) 276] found nothing objectionable in the reading 'Profaness', and Professor Mark Roberts not only thought that there were insufficient grounds for rejecting that reading, but also reported that Mr F. W. Bateson had told him in a letter that he actually preferred the reading 'on prosodic grounds' [*EC* 17 (1967) 277]. There is, however, a point against 'Profaneness' (in any of its spellings) which Professor Gardner does not mention, namely, that the ending could easily have been caught from 'confess(e)' in the preceding line. I do not think, nevertheless, that that objection has enough weight by itself to overcome the strong MS evidence for 'Profaneness'.

21 thee, thee] 'thee to be really thee'.

22 rising] The visitor's getting up to go (not an erection experienced by the dreamer, which would work against the sense of ll. 23–4). **doubt]** fear.

25 pure] (a) perfect; (b) (ironically) morally uncontaminated. **brave]** glorious, courageous in being conspicuous.

26 honour] reputation (for chastity). Cp. *Damp* 12.

27–8 The analogy is re-used by D. in *Serm.* 2. 131 [1618]: 'A torch that hath been lighted and used before, is easier lighted than a new torch' (Gardner); and

Men light and put out, so thou deal'st with me,
 Thou cam'st to kindle, go'st to come: thus I
 30 Will dream that hope again, but else would die.

28 deal'st] dost *III* 29 thus] then *III*, 1633, 1635

The Ecstasy

Date and context. 1605–13? D.'s other uses of the word 'ecstasy' are all in poems dated 1610–14: *Funeral Elegy*, *SecAn*, *Carey*, *Henry*, *Harington*. Lines 32 and 71–2 link in word and idea to *Negative*, *Book* and *Mourning*, especially the latter two in their greater seriousness and conviction of having the answer to the question merely raised wittily in *Negative*. These valedictions themselves show greater maturity than *Name*'s Ovidian overtones, so a biographical application would rather be to D.'s departure for the Continent with Sir Walter Chute in 1605 (Bald p. 148). A similar link with *Ecstasy* occurs in the opening of what is evidently one of D.'s Tuesday letters to Henry Goodyer (*Letters* pp. 11–19), dated merely 'From *Mitcham*, my close prison ever since I saw you, 9 *Octob.*' which fell on a Tuesday in 1610 (other echoes, of *HerbertE*, *Ignatius*, *SecAn*, suggesting 1610–11): 'I make account that this writing of letters, when it is with any seriousness, is a kind of ecstasy, and a departure and secession and suspension of the soul, which doth then communicate itself to two bodies.' For the later end of the period, Gardner *ESS* 256–7 fortifies Grierson's association of *Ecstasy* with Edward Herbert's 'Ode upon a Question Moved, Whether Love should Continue for ever' by noting D.'s rare use of flower symbolism here and in *Primrose*, possibly written in 1613.

Analogues. G. Williamson in *Seventeenth Century Contexts* (1962) argues that *Ecstasy* and E. Herbert's poem cited above both start from Sidney's Eighth Song in *Astrophil and Stella* (publ. 1591), 'In a grove most rich of shade', one of numerous examples in lyric measure or sonnet form (cp. Greville's *Caelica* 75) of the traditional spring landscape with lovers in silent communion and then in dialogue. D. turns the traditional dialogue into a 'dialogue of one', expressing the Neoplatonic philosophy of his principal source, the substantial prose *Dialoghi d'Amore* of Leone Ebreo (written c. 1502, publ. 1535). As Gardner shows (1959;

Serm. 3. 371 (Christmas 1621): 'If it have never been lighted, it does not easily take light, but it must be bruised and beaten first; if it have been lighted and put out, though it cannot take fire of itself, yet it does easily conceive fire, if it be presented within any convenient distance' (Gr.).

29, 30 come, die] The usual plays on orgasm.

29 goest to come] Teasingly, she defers consummation to make it more intense.
thus/then] The variant in *III*, 1633, 1635 removes the speaker's paradoxical wit: as the flirtatious visit has served only to kindle the urge to come, so he will dream again, but, if that has not been the intention, would be pleased to receive immediate gratification.

Heading Gardner suggests that since this is found in all MSS, it is D.'s.

see also *ESS* Appendix D), many of the ideas in *Ecstasy* that are scattered among Neoplatonic writers are to be found together in Ebreo. There is more indebtedness even than Gardner detected: the relevant passages are given below. A pictorial analogue, with lovers in a landscape progressing from reclining visual contemplation of each other's beauty through emotional love to physical enjoyment, is to be seen in Garofalo's *Allegory of Love* (National Gallery, London). Cp. E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, 9 (1958; 1980) pp. 141–51, and fig. 63. The triplicity of Beauty-Love-Enjoyment supports the triple structure seen by Gardner: the scene-setting by the man, stanzas 1–7; the metaphysics of love, stanzas 8–12; the turn to bodily expression, stanzas 13–19 (Gardner *ESS* pp. 260–1, however, while not excluding physical love-making, accepts the claim of ll. 69–70 that their purpose in returning to their bodies is not pleasure but to teach true love to 'Weak men'), and takes the main point of the poem to be that later emphasised by D. the preacher: see note on l. 29. Other readers have seen it as a casuistical defence of copulation. Despite the precariousness of the dialogue fiction in the third section, this could hardly be a real-life seduction poem: nor would the intended reader be the under-educated Ann More, but more probably, as links with Herbert made above suggest, a fellow-intellectual with a male point of view. In fact, Herbert's two poems titled 'Platonic Love' contain several echoes of this and other poems by D. The Neoplatonic cult fostered by Queen Henrietta Maria in the 1630s elicited masques such as Walter Montagu's *Shepherd's Paradise*, preaching the doctrine, derided by Suckling *et al.* Acting in it with the Queen on 8 Jan. 1633 was Sir Robert Ayton, who, putting the non-physical *after* the physical, addressed to another actress 'Upon Platonic Love: To Mistress Cicely Crofts, Maid of Honour', concluding

Here rests but this: that while we sojourn here
Our bodies may draw near,
And when our joys they can no more extend,
Then let our souls begin where they did end.

(Sir Robert Ayton (1569–1638), *English and Latin Poems*, Poem 52, ed. C. B. Gullans (1963) pp. 195–7.) Other sceptical courtiers included William Cartwright in 'No Platonic Love' and John Cleveland, 'The Antiplatonic' (*Poems*, ed. B. R. Morris and E. Withington (Oxford 1967) pp. 54–6).

Text. All four Group I MSS share three errors (ll. 10, 16, 59). Group II MSS are linked to each other by one common error (l. 44) and by not sharing the joint errors of the other groups, and the four MSS of Group III unite in eight errors (ll. 9, 16, 17, 19, 23, 44, 75, 76). Group II is therefore obviously the most reliable, and within it *TCD*, requiring correction only in the title (perhaps), l. 44 and possibly l. 16. Errors in ll. 10, 25, 42 and 59 shared with three or all Group I's members show that 1633's text of this poem was set from a closely related MS.

WHERE, like a pillow on a bed,
 A pregnant bank swelled up to rest
 The violet's reclining head,
 Sat we two, one another's best.

- 5 Our hands were firmly cèmented
 With a fast balm which thence did spring;

Sources collated: *Group I: D, H49, C57, Lec; H40; Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading *I, DC, III, 1633: Ecstasy H40, TCC, TCD*

2–3 Smith (1971) p. 368 quotes H. Goldingham, *Garden Plot* (1578) on the violet's symbolizing fidelity, and the poem 'A Nosegay Always Sweet', first published in Robinson (1584) sigg. A2–A3v, asserts the same. A bank of violets was therefore a traditional setting for a love scene, e.g., *Venus and Adonis* 125, *Midsummer Night's Dream* 2. 1. 249–50, and *Twelfth Night* 1. 1. 6. While ll. 1 and 2 thus imply emotional commitment, they also prefigure the poem's inclusion of physical love with 'bed' and 'pregnant'. Although the attribution to J. Gerard of mention of the violet's use 'amongst certain empirics and quack-salvers about love and lust matters which for modesty I omit' by A. Warren *SP* 55 (1958) 475, has not been verified (Gerard frequently disregards such modesty), the sweet violet, *Viola odorata*, might have been confused nominally (though not visually) with the unrelated dog's-tooth violet, *Erythronium dens-canis*, which, according to Gerard 1. 97 (1597) p. 155, is 'of no pleasant smell, but commendable for the beauty, . . . provoketh bodily lust if it be only handled, but much more if it be drunk with wine', and was thence termed *satyriion* by the Greeks. J. Parkinson, *Paradisus terrestris* 23 (1629) p. 194, records that the root of *Erythronium* 'is held to be of more efficacy for venereous effects than any of the orchids and satyriions'. Combining the female two and male three, the number of the violet's petals might be read symbolically, as explained by Browne, *Garden of Cyrus* 5 (1658; 1964) p. 170, referring to Plutarch, *The E at Delphi* 8:

Antiquity named this the conjugal or wedding number, . . . made out by two and three: the first parity and imparity, the active and passive digits, the material and formal principles in generative societies; . . . the most generative animals were created on this day [*Gen.* 1.20–3], . . . and under a quintuple consideration [seeing, talking, touching, kissing, coupling] wanton antiquity considered the circumstances of generation, while by this number of five they naturally divided the nectar of the fifth planet [Venus: see Horace, *Odes* 1. 13. 15–16].

Fowler (1970) pp. 73–4 sees the 7–5–7 stanza structure as highlighting the conjugal number and the quintessence of love, with the central stanza of the poem, the tenth, in which the five-petalled violet is doubled, linking the resultant decad 'to the unity of the monad' in stanza 1. See further note on ll. 37–40.

5–8 **Our hands . . . Our eyes]** D. immediately signals that both body and mind are involved despite the conventional ranking of mind above body. Cp. Leone

Our eye-beams twisted, and did thread
Our eyes upon one double string.

(1937) pp. 208, 212, and Sir John Davies, '*Nosce Teipsum*' (1599) ll. 1029–30, 1033–4 (*Poems* p. 39): 'Thus by the organs of the eye and ear / The soul with knowledge doth herself endure; . . . These conduit-pipes of knowledge feed the mind, / But th'other three attend the body still' (referring to touch, taste and smell). Cp. *Pupil* 4: 'Fool, thou didst not understand / The mystic language of the eye nor hand.'

5–6 cémented . . . balm] 'Glued together by a strong essence of life': sweat was a conventional (and realistic) token of passion. Gardner *ESS* quotes *Venus and Adonis* 25–8: 'With this, she seizeth on his sweating palm, / The precedent of pith and livelihood, / And, trembling in her passion, calls it balm— / Earth's sovereign salve to do a goddess good' (cp. the 'sweating lust' of l. 794, which has usurped the name of love), and *Othello* 3. 4. 36, 38: 'This hand is moist, . . . This argues fruitfulnes and liberal heart.'

5, 6, 21, 27, 34, 56 cémented, balm, refined, concoction, mixture, dross, alloy] Terms from alchemy, which is a figure of the compounding and transformation into the supremely precious which are the subject of the poem. They are noted by J. M. Walker, *ELN* 20 (1982) 1–8, but there seems little likelihood that D. intended a dominant, thorough analogy between the transformation of perception of physical beauty into physical expression, given the poem's broad base in Leone: alchemy is merely a supportive, corroborative parallel. That two of the three 'principles' supposed by Paracelsans to constitute all matter, 'philosophical sulphur' and 'philosophical mercury', were termed the 'lovers' does not suffice: so far as the conflicting and deliberately obscure accounts of the process can be understood, these had to be purged of base parts, reduced to nothingness, *nigredo*, before 'philosophical salt' was added in the right way and proportion to achieve gold, the elixir of long or eternal life, or the Stone itself. This does not happen to the lovers in the poem. See Shumaker pp. 160–200. Nevertheless, L. Abraham, *Emblematice* 5 (1991) 312–18, illustrates examples of sepulchral statues, souls gone forth, uniting of minds and the resurrection of bodies, from alchemical books.

6 balm] Cp. *Comparison* 3, *BedfordReason* 21–2: 'In every thing there naturally grows / A balsamum to keep it fresh and new,' and notes.

7–8 Our eye-beams . . . double string] Leone pp. 214, 215 attempts to reconcile the Platonic and Aristotelean theories of vision—extramission (emission and reflection of rays from the eyes) and reception (independently sourced light reflected by objects to the eyes)—by inventing a triple radiation. Cp. Nashe, 'Choice of Valentines' 155–8 (*Works* 3. 410):

On him her eyes continually were fixed;
With her eyebeams his melting looks were mixed,
Which, like the sun that 'twixt two glasses plays,
From one to th'other casts rebounding rays.

A. Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight* 4 (1599) p. 20, talks in terms of the eyebeams emitted according to Plato, *Timaeus* (45B–46C), but Davies ll. 986–7 adheres to the theory of vision by reception alone, put forward by Aristotle, *Sense and Sensibilia* 2 (437b10–23), and the Arabs: 'Yet they no beams unto their objects send, / But all the rays are from their objects sent'. This theory was thoroughly argued in a work owned by D. at some time, P. Ramus

So t'intergraft our hands, as yet,
 10 Was all our means to make us one,
 And pictures on our eyes to get
 Was all our propagation.

As 'twixt two equal armies Fate
 Suspends uncertain victory,
 15 Our souls (which to advance their state
 Were gone out) hung 'twixt her and me.

9 intergraft] engraft *III*, 1635 10 our] the *I*, 1633, 1635 11 on] in 1633, 1635
 15 their] our *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635
 16 hung *TCC*, *III*, 1633, 1635: hangs *I*: hang *H40*: hong *TCD*, *DC* her] thee
III (*O'Fbe*)

and F. Risnerus, *Optica* (1606) pp. 126–7 (see Keynes p. 274, L152) but D. did not grasp the evidence, remarking in *Serm.* 9. 247 (Whitsun 1631?) ‘No man knows so as strong arguments may not be brought on the other side how he sees, whether by reception of species from without or by emission of beams from within’ (Gardner). For the lovers’ fixity of gaze Smith compares *Morrow* 10: ‘For love all love of other sights controls’.

9–12 So t'intergraft . . . propagation] The lower sense of touch is a vehicle for the union of souls, while the higher sense of sight will subsequently, but not yet, lead to the reproduction of bodies. Cp. Sidney ll. 15–16: ‘While their eyes, by love directed, / Interchangeably reflected.’ **intergraft]** produce by intertwining a living and indissoluble union. A coinage typical of D., apparently unrecorded in *OED*.

11–12 pictures . . . propagation] Cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 11. 10. Gardner *ESS* 184 explains the commonplace earlier exemplified by Petrarch: ‘The small image of oneself reflected in the pupils of another person was called a “baby”, from a pun on [the Latin] *pupilla*’, and compares the (still-current) phrase, ‘to look babies’. For the common idea of children as pictures of their parents, see *Sorrow* 23–4 and Shakespeare, *Lucrece* 1753, *Sonnets* 3. 14, *Winter's Tale* 5. 1. 123–7. Cp. *Witchcraft* 1–2 and *Morrow* 15.

11 get] beget.

13–16 The tension of love’s war hinted at by ‘armies’ is provided against in *Morrow* 8–9: ‘And now, good morrow to our waking souls, / Which watch not one another out of fear’; here it is dissolved in union already achieved.

13–14 Fate . . . victory] Cp. Zeus’s scales in Homer, *Iliad* 8. 68–77, 22. 208–13, imitated by Virgil, *Aeneid* 12. 725–7, and *Tamburlaine II* 3. 5. 164–5: ‘Victory, / Hovering betwixt our armies’.

15–20 Praz (1925) p. 106 notes a (distant) parallel with Petrarch, *Rime sparse* no. 94, ‘*Quando giunge*’.

15 advance their state] (a) display in the vanguard the magnificence and heraldic insignia of their realms; (b) promote their cause; (c) improve their condition or position; (d) advance the interest of their realm.

16 her] ‘This word shows the poem is addressed to a third party, not the woman who shared the ecstasy’—Carey.

And whilst our souls negotiate there,
 We like sepulchral statues lay;
 All day the same our postures were,
 20 And we said nothing all the day.

If any, so by love refined
 That he souls' language understood,
 And by good love were grown all mind,
 Within convenient distance stood,

17 whilst] while III 19 postures] pictures III (O'Fbe)

23 were] was III (O'Fbe)

17–20 And whilst . . . the day] Cp. Leone p. 200, where, however, the state is one of introspective contemplation of the mental image of the beloved.

18 like sepulchral statues] Cp. Sidney ll. 19–20: 'With arms crossed, yet testifying / Restless rest, and living dying'. The difficulty felt by previous critics over the disparity between lovers gazing into each others' eyes and the rigidly supine posture of couples on table-tombs may be avoided if D.'s conception is of the fashion for memorial figures reclining on their elbows, notably the monuments erected to Sir Philip and Sir Thomas Hoby (d. 1566) at Bisham Abbey, Berks., by Sir Thomas's widow, and to her second husband, Lord John Russell (d. 1584) in the St Edmund Chapel of Westminster Abbey. As translator (1561) of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, whose doctrine of love in Book IV is, in general terms, echoed in *Ecstasy*, Sir Thomas's memorial might have been significant for D.: he could have seen it if, as a young would-be courtier and 'great frequenter of plays' (R. Baker, *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, 'James I' (1643) 2. 156), he followed the Queen to Bisham in 1592 for the entertainment mounted by Lady Hoby/Russell (repr. in *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth* 3. 131–6; and Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (1980) pp. 43–7). The reclining figure derived from Italy via France (where Sir Thomas was ambassador at the time of his death), and originated on Etruscan tombs, where it depicted the deceased as a member of the leisured class at a banquet in the Elysian Fields—again concordant with the transcendent love presented in *Ecstasy*; cp. *Antony and Cleopatra* 4. 15. 51: 'Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand'. **lay]** Hardly inconsistent with l. 44's 'Sat' on a bank: both would be consistent with a reclining posture. **19–20 the same . . . nothing]** Cp. Spenser, *FQ* 3. 12. 45. 8–9 (1590 edn): 'No word they spake, no earthly thing they felt, / But like two senseless stocks in long embracement dwelt', and Sidney ll. 23–4: 'But their tongues restrained from walking / Till their hearts had ended talking'.

21–8 Two or even three types of watcher are hypothesised: this one 'by love refined', possibly the same as the last, l. 73, 'such as we', and the lesser class of 'weak men' of l. 70. Marotti (1986) p. 197 comments on the observer-figure as a device of Mannerist self-consciousness.

21–3 by love refined . . . mind] Cp. *Mourning* 17–20.

22 souls' language] Whose media are the eyes and hands: see note above on ll. 5, 8.

23 by good . . . mind] Cp. Leone pp. 206², 227.

25 He (though he knew not which soul spake:
 Because both meant, both spake the same)
 Might thence a new concoction take,
 And part far purer than he came.

‘This ecstasy doth unperplex,’
 30 We said, ‘and tell us what we love:
 We see by this, it was not sex;
 We see we saw not what did move.

‘But, as all several souls contain
 Mixture of things, they know not what,

25 knew] knows *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, 1633

27–8 Might . . . came] Cp. *FitAn* 455–7: ‘And you her creatures whom she works upon, / And have your last and best concoction / From her example and her virtue’.

27 concoction] perfection; refinement, purification, sublimation by warmth.
29 This ecstasy . . . unperplex] Apart from its passing pedagogical function here, *D* later expresses reservations about religious ecstasy, qualifying its credibility in *Serm.* 6. 101 (25 April 1624): ‘Some men draw some reasons, out of some stories of some credit, to imprint a belief of *ecstasy*, and *raptures*: that the body, remaining upon the floor, or in the bed, may be gone out to the contemplation of heavenly things.’ He asserts in 7. 104 (Easter 1626) ‘that man is not a soul alone, but a body too; that man is not placed in this world only for speculation; . . . God did not breathe a soul towards him, but into him; . . . not for ecstasies, but for an inherence; for when it was come to that, in *S. Paul*, we see it is called a rapture: he was not in his proper station, nor his proper motion’; in 8. 46 (Trinity 1627) ‘that therefore you are not to look for Revelations, nor Ecstasies, nor Visions, nor Transportations, but to rest in God’s ordinary means’; in 8. 113, 119–20 (Nov./Dec. 1627): ‘Speculations, and ecstasies are not sufficient services of God; . . . Consideration, Meditation, Speculation, Contemplation . . . Admiration . . . all these may determine in ecstasies, and in stupidities, and in useless and frivolous imaginations . . . never fixed, never applied to any use.’ As in the realm of love in *Ecstasy* 65–7, souls must ‘descend / T’affections and to faculties / Which sense may reach and apprehend’: the ecstasy is only a temporary means to this lastingly valuable end. **unperplex]** solve a mystery. *OED*’s first citation.

31 We see . . . sex] Expounded by Leone p. 56. Cp. *Platonic* 20, *Primrose* 14–18: ‘should she / Be more than woman, she would get above / All thought of sex, and think to move / My heart to study her, and not to love: / Both these were monsters’. **sex]** i.e., ‘distinctions of sex’ (*Canonization* 25–7, *Platonic* 20, *Primrose* 15–16, *Relic* 24–5), not ‘sexual intercourse’.

32 we saw . . . move] Cp. *Relic* 24–5, *Mourning* 17–18. **move]** (a) drive; (b) arouse our feeling.

33 several] individual.

33–4 souls contain Mixture of things] Cp. Aristotle, *On the Soul* 1.5 (411a2), and Leone p. 206.

34 they . . . what] Cp. *Negative* 15.

'When love with one another so
 Interinanimates two souls,
 That abler soul which thence doth flow
 Defects of loneliness controls.

45 'We, then, who are this new soul, know
 Of what we are composed and made,
 For th'atomies of which we grow
 Are souls, whom no change can invade.

'But oh, alas! So long, so far,
 50 Our bodies why do we forbear?
 They're ours, though they're not "we": we are
 Th'intelligences, they the sphere.

42 Interinanimates] Interanimates *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, 1633, 1635

44 loneliness *I*, *H40*: loveliness *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*, *III* (*O'Fbe*)

47 atomies] *atomi D*, *H49*, *H40*: *attoni DC* 48 souls] *soule 1635*

51 though they're] though 1633, 1635 52 sphere] ~s *Lec*, *Dob*, 1633, 1635

41–2 love . . . souls] Cp. Leone p. 62.

42 interinanimates] A typical *D*. compound, and *OED*'s earliest citation (as *interanimates*—1633's version printed from a MS reading with *D*, *C57*, *Lec*). Cp. the one-way process in *Pseudo-Martyr* 6 (entered in the Stationers' Register 2 Dec. 1609; 1610) p. 172: 'God inanimates . . . every man with one soul'.

43 That abler . . . flow] Leone pp. 48–9 compares love between people with love of God, of which he says that 'This great love and desire of ours ravishes us into such contemplation, as exalts our intellect.'

44 Defects of loneliness] The incompleteness of being a single soul, not united with another. Cp. *Gen.* 2. 18. **controls]** counteracts.

46 The existence and immutability of a soul, its immortality (despite the 'second death' promised in *Rev.* 20. 14) were articles of belief, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 75. 6, with classical backing, in e.g., Plato, *Phaedo* 105–7, and, possibly, Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 10. 7.

47–8 th'atomies . . . souls] Cp. Leone p. 204 on the soul's indivisibility. Du Laurens 1 asserts that the soul is not subject to division although it may seem to consist of divers parts.

47 atomies] indivisible particles.

49–50 But oh . . . forbear?] Cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, 71. 14: "'But ah!' Desire still cries, 'Give me some food!'" In contrast *D*.s lovers in *Mourning* 17–20 'Care less eyes, lips, and hands to miss'.

50 forbear] do without, shun, abstain from.

51 they're not "we"] Smith (1958) 372–3 distinguishes this 'apparent adoption of the Augustinian—and Ficinian—dichotomy in this section . . . much more like Ficino's "the soul is the man" than . . . Aquinas's assertion that the man is neither body nor soul alone, but a complex of both', endorsed by *D*. below, l. 64.

51–2 we are . . . sphere] Cp. Leone pp. 189–90, *Air* 25 and note on *Air* 23–5.

‘We owe them thanks, because they thus
 Did us to us at first convey,
 55 Yielded their forces, sense, to us,
 Nor are dross to us, but allay.

‘On man heaven’s influence works not so,
 But that it first imprints the air:
 So soul into the soul may flow,
 60 Though it to body first repair.

‘As our blood labours to beget
 Spirits, as like souls as it can,

55 forces, sense] ~ senses C57, *Lec*: ~ since S96: senses force 1633, 1635
 59 So] For I, 1633, *O’Fae*, 1635

53–5 **We owe . . . sense, to us]** Cp. Leone pp. 198–9.

54 **convey]** Possibly with a legal connotation of investment with ownership, as well as the denotation of physical locomotion: cp. *Diet* 20–4.

55 ‘Our bodies surrendered their inferior powers to us, “this new soul”, for our better uses.’ Cp. *Litany* 181–2: ‘When senses, which thy soldiers are, / We arm against thee, and they fight for sin’. **forces, sense]** ‘forces, namely, sense’ (Gr. via Redpath).

56 **Nor . . . allay]** Cp. Leone pp. 396–7. D. here reapplies Leone’s figure with the more positive valuation he gives it in *Problems* 8 ‘Why are the fairest falsest?’ (*Paradoxes*, ed. Peters, p. 31): ‘Gold, to make itself of use, admits allay’ so that it ‘may be tractable and malleable and current’. (In fact, gold is alloyed to make it harder, slower to wear away.) In the argument of *Ecstasy* the body is necessary, but valued less than the soul. The analogy is presumably not to be pushed to the literal extreme of implying the devaluation of the whole, as in Leone and *Serm.* 3. 271 (?1621). **dross]** scum of waste on molten metal, impurities, rubbish. **allay]** an improving addition.

57–8 **On man . . . air]** Cp. Leone pp. 209, 211, 212–13. Gardner *ESS* p. 186 cites Paracelsus, *Paramirum* 1. 8, on the air as medium of the stars’ influential exhalations. Du Bartas cites in his index Pliny’s *Natural History*, Plutarch *On the Opinions of Philosophers*, Plato’s *Timaeus* and Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption*, e.g., 1. 9 (327a4) (Gr).

59–60 **So . . . repair]** Cp. Castiglione above in note on ll. 35–6; Leone p. 57 on ‘a longing for physical union, that the union of bodies may correspond to the unity of the spirits wholly compenetrating each other’, and Davies ll. 923–4: ‘So from th’eternal light the soul doth spring, / Though in the body she her powers do show.’

60 **repair]** resorts, has recourse.

61–4 **As our blood . . . man]** ‘In the same way that our physical powers try hard to produce as near resemblances to souls as they can, because man is, by Christian definition, body (inferior though it is) as well as soul’. Cp. *Metem* 204–9: ‘So jolly that it can move, this soul is, / The body so free of his kindnesses, / That . . . it . . . slackeneth . . . the soul’s and body’s knot, / . . . freely on his she-friends /

He blood and spirit, pith and marrow spends'. Cp. also *Serm.* 2. 261–2 (16 June 1619): 'In the constitution and making of a natural man, the body is not the man, nor the soul is not the man, but the union of these two makes up the man; the spirits in a man, which are the thin and active part of the blood, and so are of a kind of middle nature between soul and body, those spirits are able to do—and they do—the office to unite and apply the faculties of the soul to the organs of the body, and so there is a man'; and 6. 128 (Whitsun ?1624): 'in our natural persons, the body and soul do not make a perfect man except they be united, except our spirits (which are the active part of the blood) do fit this body and soul for one another's working'. The threefold theological distinction of spirit, soul, and body was sanctioned by *1 Thess.* 5. 23, on which D., *Serm.* 5. 65 (undated) clarifies thus:

Amongst the manifold acceptations of the word *spirit*, as it hath relation particularly to man, it is either the soul itself, or the vital spirits (the thin and active parts of the blood), or the superior faculties of the soul in a regenerate man; . . . The soul is that which inanimates the body, and enables the organs of the senses to see and hear; . . . The soul, *anima*, is that *qua animales homines*, . . . by which men are men, natural men, carnal men, . . . the seat of Affections.

The spirit 'is that which enables the soul to see God, and to hear his Gospel. . . by which man is a new creature, a spiritual man, . . . rectified Reason.' This intellectual spirit should not be confused with the quasi-physical spirits to which D. is referring here in *Ecstasy*. Cp. *Antony and Cleopatra* 5. 2. 299–300: 'this knot intricate / Of life at once untie'; and G. Herbert's prayer, 'Home' 22–3: 'this knot of man untie! That my free soul may use her wing'.

61–2 our blood . . . Spirits] Cp. Davies lines 1121–4, 1137–40:

From the kind heat which in the heart doth reign
The spirits of life do their beginning take;
These spirits of life ascending to the brain,
When they come there the spirits of sense do make.
. . .
Besides, another motive power doth rise
Out of the heart, from whose pure blood do spring
The vital spirits, which, borne in arteries,
Continual motion to all parts do bring.

62 as . . . can] The awkward intrusion of this pedantic distinction suggests anxiety to avoid any suggestion of the Traducian belief that the child's soul was generated by its parents, rather than simultaneously created and infused by God. Traducianism was upheld, in a corporeal view of the soul, by Tertullian, *De anima* 23–41, and in a spiritual sense by Augustine, Lutherans and some Calvinists (for whom it accorded with their view of the innate depravity of human nature). The opposed hypothesis of Creationism, that the soul was purely spiritual in substance, and simultaneously created and infused by God, was advocated by Jerome, Peter Lombard, *Sentences* 2. 17. 2, and Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 118. 2, who denounced Traducianism as heresy. D. in *Paradoxes* 4, 'That Nature is our worst guide' (1980) p. 7, calls it 'utter blasphemy'. Davies ll. 621–876 devotes sixty-four stanzas to arguing 'That the soul is not traduced from the parents'. D. shows a less resolute mind on the question in the letter with other topical links to *Ecstasy* (*Letters* pp. 16–18) referred to in the headnote above on its date. He appears finally decided

Because such fingers need to knit
That subtle knot which makes us man,

65 'So must pure lovers' souls descend
T'affections and to faculties

64 makes] make 1635

in support of the Thomist doctrine in *Serm.* 3. 85 (30 April 1620): 'the perfect and immortal soul, that is immediately infused by God', but in 9. 213 f. (Lent ?1630) seems to want to dissociate himself from those who 'have troubled themselves more how the soul comes into man than how it goes out: they wrangle, whether it comes in by Infusion from God, or by Propagation from parents'.

63-4 knit . . . man] Cp. *Essays* p. 30: 'O man, which art said to be . . . the *Hymen* and Matrimonial knot of Eternal and Mortal things'. Cp. also T. Bright, *Treatise of Melancholy* 9 (1586) p. 35: 'That which philosophers call the spirit . . . so pre-
pareth that work to the receiving of the soul that with more agreement the soul and body have grown into acquaintance, and is ordained of God as it were a true-love-knot to couple heaven and earth together;' and Davies ll. 822-3: 'her form is to the body knit, / Which makes the man'. As Florio translates him, Montaigne, *Essays* 1. 20 (1603; 1928 1. 101), refers to 'the narrow suture of the spirit and the body'.

63 need] are needed.

64 subtle] Cp. Bright 10 (1586) p. 45: 'The subtle instrument is the spirit, which is the most universal instrument of the soul, and embraceth at full, so far as bodily uses require, all the universal faculty wherewith the soul is endued, and directeth it and guideth it unto more particular instruments, . . . as to the eye, to see with; to the ear to hear, to the nose to smell, . . . and to other parts to the end of propagation'. Cp. also Walkington's dedication (1607) sig. ¶2: 'A spirit is a most subtle, aery and lightsome substance generated of the purest part of the blood, whereby the soul can easily perform her functions in the natural body.'

65-8 So must . . . lies] Cp. *Litany* 143-4: 'From thinking us all soul, neglecting thus / Our mutual duties, Lord deliver us'; and *Serm.* 4. 226 (13 Oct. 1622): 'Man is not all soul, but a body too; and, as God hath married them together in thee, so hath he commanded them mutual duties towards one another'. In *Serm.* 4. 358 (Easter 1623), D. likewise thinks 'the School reasons reasonably' on *1 Cor.* 15. 13, 19: 'Naturally the soul and body are united, . . . the perfect natural state of the soul . . . is to be united to the body'; and quotes Tertullian: 'Never go about to separate the thoughts of the heart from the college, from the fellowship, of the body; . . . All that the soul does, it does in, and with, and by the body'. Cp. also *Serm.* 7. 104 (Easter 1626):

God hath made the body to be the Organ of the soul, and the soul to be the breath of that Organ, and bound them to a mutual relation to one another. Man sometimes withdraws the soul from the body by neglecting the duties of this life for imaginary speculations; . . . Consider that man is not a soul alone, but a body too; that man is not placed in this world only for speculation; he is not sent into this world to live out of it, but to live in it; . . . Our body also must testify and express our love, . . . in the discharge of our bodily duties, and the sociable offices of our callings, towards one another.

See also note above on l. 29.

Which sense may reach and apprehend,
Else a great prince in prison lies.

‘T’our bodies turn we, then, that so
70 Weak men on love revealed may look:
Love’s mysteries in souls do grow,
But yet the body is his book.

‘And if some lover such as we
Have heard this dialogue of one,
75 Let him still mark us: he shall see
Small change when we’re to bodies gone.’

75 mark] mock III 76 gone] grown III (*Dobbe*), 1635

65–7 So . . . apprehend] Cp. Leone p. 201.

68 a great prince] Davies ll. 331–400 elaborates the analogy of the soul with a monarch, employing the information provided by the senses but subjecting it to correction by ‘a power above the sense’, i.e., reason. Bright 12 (1586) p. 63, compares the soul’s animation of the body to ‘the royal estate of a prince’, which ‘moveth silence, reverence, and expectation although there be no charge or commandment thereof given’. Cp. *Somerset* 40–2. **in prison]** The classical source of the idea of the soul as being able to glimpse higher reality through prison bars is Plato, *Phaedo* 82d–e, cited by D. (via Gregory of Nazianzus) in *Serm.* 8. 71 (1 July 1627), and followed by Davies pp. 317–19: ‘Yet in the body’s prison so she lies / As through the body’s windows she must look, / Her divers powers of sense to exercise’. Cp. also Du Laurens 2 (1599) p. 9; H. Cuffe, *Differences of the Ages of Mans Life* 24 (1607) p. 96, and the quotation from Walkington in the note on *SecAn* 173: ‘this prison of the body’. R. J. Bauer, *TSL* 14 (1969) 99, quotes James I, *Βασιλικον δαρον* (1599; 1944 I. 105): ‘For it is not enough that ye have and retain (as prisoners) within yourself never so many good qualities and virtues, except ye employ them and set them on work for the weal of them that are committed to your charge.’ Cp. also *Ps.* 142. 7 (*BCP* 142. 9): ‘Bring my soul out of prison’, *Metem* 371, *BedfordWritten* 59–60, *SecAn* 221–3, 249, and *Serm.* 7. 298 (Christmas 1626). D. returns to the idea of his body as his prison in his last sermon, *Death’s Duell* (*Serm.* 10. 241).

69 turn] return.

70–2 Weak . . . book] Cp. *Book* 15–22, 28–36, the distinction of the lovers from an uninitiated laity also in *Mourning* 7–8, and the religious reapplication in *Serm.* 9. 79 ([April 1629]): ‘But yet the body is but the out-case, and God . . . requires the labour and cost therein to be bestowed upon . . . the soul.’

74 this dialogue of one] Ironically, most if not all of D.’s matter seems to derive solely from the male speaker of Leone Ebreo’s *Dialoghi d’Amore*.

76 Small change] The phrase recurs in the transformation predicted for the Countess of Bedford ‘at the last day’: her body itself is the ‘spiritual body’ alleged in *1 Cor.* 15. 44, because she unites this-worldly and other-worldly values, in *BedfordHonour* (1609–11) 22–4. Here in *Ecstasy* the change will be small even if and when the lovers copulate, because they will do so for non-physical reasons.

The Expiration

Date and Context. 1590s? The theme of the poem is not limited to the carefree pleasure of the Ovidian poems. However, the citations in the commentary show that the poem's ideas are far from new with D.

Analogues. Koppenfels (1967) cites several poems by Ronsard. See also commentary. The stanza-form is one of Sidney's favourites, *Old Arcadia* 'First Eclogues' (Ringler 8) etc., and is used by Shakespeare for *Venus and Adonis*.

Text. Group II contains D.'s presumed original version, though only the text in *TCC* requires no emendation. Musical settings of a version of the first stanza appear in A. Ferrabosco (1575–1628; active at the Courts of James I and Charles I, writing music for several of Jonson's masques), *Ayres* 7 (1609; Fellowes pp. 513–14), and in Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. F. 575, f. 8v, both realised by Souris and reprinted by Gardner (*ESS* p. 242).

So, so, break off this last lamenting kiss,
 Which sucks two souls, and vapours both away.
 Turn thou, ghost, that way, and let me turn this,
 And let ourselves benight our happiest day:
 5 We asked none leave to love, nor will we owe
 Any so cheap a death as saying, 'Go'.

Sources collated: *Group II:* DC, TCC, TCD; *Group III:* Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: TCC

Select variants:

Heading: Valedictio Dob, S96, O'F: Valediction Lut

1 break] leave III 4 ourselves] our souls III happiest] happy III

5 asked] ask 1633, 1635

Heading Expiration (a) Breathing-out; (b) Death.

1–2 'We find in Gellius [19.11. 2] a poem of Plato's where he [Gellius 19. 11. 33–4] says he knew one so extremely passionate [D.'s invention] *Ut parum affuit quin moreretur in osculo*'—*Serm.* 7. 320 (Trinity Sunday, ?1621), referring to *Greek Anthology* 5. 78, of which the first line translated runs 'My soul was on my lips as I was kissing Agathon.' Cp. *Gk. Anth.* 5. 14. Cp. *WottonKisses* 1, and see S. Gaselee, *Criterion* 2 (April 1924) 349–59, on the notion of the transmission of the soul in a kiss (Gardner).

1 break/leave] Group III's version is more liquid and alliterative, more appropriate, as Gardner remarks, to a singing-version, such as Ferrabosco's.

2 sucks two souls] Cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 81. 5; Marlowe, *Dr Faustus* (1588–9? 1604 text) 5. 1. 94; (1616) 5. 2. 97. Parallelling *FQ* 2. 12. 73 is not apt, since there Acrasia sucks forth her victim's spirit through his eyes by the voracious power of her own while kissing his lips. **vapours**] evaporates.

3 ghost] Cp. *Computation* 10.

4 ourselves/our souls] Group III's 'souls' does not make sense: for one thing, they have been vapoured away according to l. 2. **benight**] turn to night, darken.

happiest] Presumably because they have pledged mutual truth.

- Go; and, if that word have not quite killed thee,
 Ease me with death, by bidding me go too.
 Oh, if it have, may my word work on me,
 10 And a just office on a murd'rer do—
 Except it be too late to kill me so,
 Being double dead: going, and bidding go!

8 Ease] Eat DC

9 Oh] Or III, 1635 may] let III, 1633, 1635 word Σ: ~s TCD

Farewell to Love

Date and Context. 1592–5? As an anti-court, male-audience poem, Marotti (1986 110 f.) associates it with the Lincoln's Inn period. One MS, the Utterson (not collated) ascribes the poem to 'Mr. An: Saintleg', but it is generally accepted that attitude and technique are characteristic of D., and that the attributor may have mistaken collector or transcriber for author (an Anthony St Leger was an undergraduate at St John's College, Oxford, 1621–4, and proceeded to Gray's Inn).

Analogue. The palinode or retraction-poem goes back to ancient Greece. The renunciation of love specifically was most notably exemplified by Ovid's *Remedia amoris*. It appears in medieval romance, Chaucer, and courtly love-poetry. In respect of the latter, Marotti observes that 'poems like "Love's Alchemy" [here "Mummy"] and "A Farewell to Love" were also familiar political gestures. At least from the time of Wyatt, the renunciation lyric or palinode expressed disappointment and disillusionment with the game of courtly striving.' An anonymous palinode, 'A Counter-Love', appears in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593) compiled by an unidentified 'R. S.', ed. H. E. Rollins (1931) p. 80. As the antithesis of courtly lyric it is appropriately enforced from the foolish courtier-lovers at the end of Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*. For more details of the tradition see A. J. Smith, 'The Dismissal of Love' in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration* (1972).

Text. Of the two principal MS sources, S96 is obviously erroneous in l. 10. Because of this O'F has been adopted as base text, though three of the four other substantive variants are indifferent. In l. 34, S96 appears to preserve the more likely reading, echoing l. 16. In a detailed examination, G. A. Stringer, *JDJ* 18 (1999) 212, deduces that 'the stream of textual change here [in ll. 11, 25, 34] flows from [S96] to [O'F] and that the agent of that change is Donne.'

WHILST yet to prove,
 I thought there was some deity in love,

Sources collated: S96, O'F; 1635

Base text: O'F

7–8 Gr. compares *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (late 1580s?) 3. 1. 236–9.

I yet to prove] still inexperienced.

So did I reverence, and gave
 Worship. As atheists at their dying hour
 5 Call what they cannot name an unknown power,
 As ignorantly did I crave:
 Thus when
 Things not yet known are coveted by men,
 Our desires give them fashion, and so
 10 As they wax lesser fall, as they size grow.

But from late fair
 His highness sitting in a golden chair
 Is not less cared for after three days
 By children than the thing which lovers so
 15 Blindly admire, and with such worship woo:
 Being had, enjoying it decays,
 And thence
 What before pleased them so takes but one sense,
 And that so lamely as it leaves behind
 20 A kind of sorrowing dullness to the mind.

Oh! Cannot we
 As well as cocks and lions jocund be

Select variants:

10 size] rise S96 11 late] last S96 21 Oh] Ah S96

4 atheists] Two syllables.

5 Call] Call upon (Redpath).

10 fall] decline. **size]** grow in size, swell (possibly referring to tumescence).

11 late fair] a recent fair.

12 A model in gilt gingerbread. Cp. Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* 3. 4. 80–240 (Gr.).

His highness] According to Gardner, legendary figures might be represented, as in nursery-rhymes or on playing-cards, so not evidence that at the time of writing there was a male monarch on the real throne.

16 Proverbial: Tilley L513. Cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 129. 5–7. **Being]** Two syllables.

18 takes but] captivates only. When infatuation is gratified, only lust remains.

19–20 Cp. the medieval maxim, *Post coitum omne animal triste*, interpolated in pseudo-Aristotle, *Problemata* (1583) p. 129 (Gardner), Engl. (Edinburgh 1595):

Question. *Why is every living creature sad after carnal copulation?*

Answer. Because the act is filthy and unclean, and so every living creature doth abhor it, and when men do think upon it, they are ashamed and sad.

Cp. Jonson's translation of ps.–Petronius: 'Doing a filthy pleasure is, and short; / And done, we straight repent us of the sport'.

22 cocks and lions] Previous editors ascribe this notion to Galen, without locating it. Such a location has not been found, despite the poem by O. St J. Gogarty

- After such pleasures? Unless wise
 Nature decreed (since each such act, they say,
 25 Diminisheth the length of life a day)
 This, as she would man should despise
 The sport,
 Because that other curse, of being short
 And only for a minute made to be
 30 Eager, desires to raise posterity.
- Since so, my mind
 Shall not desire what no man else can find;
 I'll no more dote and run
 To pursue things which, had, endamage me;
 35 And when I come where moving beauties be,
 As men do when the summer's sun
 Grows great,
 Though I admire their greatness, shun their heat:
 Each place can afford shadows. If all fail,
 40 'Tis but applying worm-seed to the tail.

25 Diminisheth] Diminishes *S96*

34 had, endamage *S96*: had endamaged *O'F*, 1635

quoted by Redpath. Innumerable farmyards must have borne witness to what Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* 3. 9, calls roosters' 'immoderate salacity'. One might have to go to the royal menagerie in the Tower of London to watch lions disporting themselves.

23-30 See note on *Metem* 204-10.

23-4 wise Nature] The phrase occurs also in *Metem* 190.

24-5 each . . . day] In *Markham* 29 the phrase 'they say' indicates common knowledge (though outside D.'s experience), in *Book* 9 perhaps a degree of scepticism, so this may be a proverb with which D. disagreed at the time of writing.

30 Eager, desires] Gr. emended to 'Eagers desire', i.e., 'provokes, sharpens desire', finding an example of this usage in the Burley MS although *OED*'s last printed instance is of 1581. Other editors have preferred the reading found in all sources, meaning, presumably, 'urges us', according to *OED* v. sense 3.

31 Since so] 'Since this is so.'

34 endamage me] injure my well-being, i.e., reduce my longevity.

35 moving] stimulating.

38 greatness] intensity. R. Todd, *JDJ* 18 (1999) 235-6, debates the semantic preferability of the Utterson MS's editorially tempting but relatively unauthoritative 'brightness'.

40 'Tis but] It is only a matter of. **worm-seed]** A preparation made from the unexpanded flowerheads of a species of *Artemisia* applied externally (but to the opposite effect) as an aphrodisiac, taken internally against intestinal worms. If D. (whose first stepfather was a physician) and his presumed audience are aware of the futility of this remedy against lust, he may be implying that the preceding resolutions are as useless. **tail]** penis.

A Fever

Date and Context. 1605–8? Marotti (1986 p. 211) believes this was written for Lady Bedford, which seems unlikely, given the assertively sexual conclusion (though cp. *Twickenham, FirAn*). The stanza-form is the same as that of *Mourning, Ecstasy*, which may be thought to indicate a date of composition in the 1600s.

Analogues. Ovid, *Amores* 2. 13, laments the dangerous illness of his beloved Corinna, but in her case she has poisoned herself attempting to procure a miscarriage. It furnished a Petrarchan theme treated in baroque manner by Tasso [173] Sonnet 26, and preciously by Guarini, Madrigal 56, ‘*Langue al vostro languir l’anima mia*’, from which Guss, pp. 88–93 (texts pp. 180, 186) distinguishes *Fever* by D.’s argumentative logic. Stella’s illness in Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella* 101–2 seems to be merely a pretext for the self-obsessed lover’s cleverness.

Text. Only DC contains no obvious errors.

O H do not die, for I shall hate
 All women so when thou art gone
 That thee I shall not celebrate,
 When I remember, thou wast one.

5 But yet thou canst not die, I know:
 To leave this world behind is death;
 But when thou from this world wilt go,
 The whole world vapours with thy breath.

Or if, when thou, the world’s soul, goest,
 10 It stay, ’tis but thy carcass then;
 The fairest woman, but thy ghost;
 But corrupt worms, the worthiest men.

Sources collated: *Group I:* H49, D, C57, Lec; H40; *Group II:* L74, DC, TCC, TCD; *Group III:* Dob, S96, Lut, O’F; 1633, 1635

Base text: DC

Select variants:

Heading I, H40, Dob, S96, 1633, 1635: Of a fever L74: Fever DC, TCC, TCD:
 The Fever Lut, O’F

8–10 This extravagant idea is expanded in *FirAn*, where Elizabeth Drury leaves what is now, l. 75, only ‘the carcass of the old world’.

12 Cp. *FirAn* 56, 61–2: ‘Sick world, . . . thou art / Corrupt and mortal in thy purest part.’

O wrangling Schools, that search what fire
 Shall burn this world! Had none the wit
 15 Unto this knowledge to aspire:
 That this her fever might be it?

And yet she cannot waste by this,
 Nor long bear this torturing wrong,
 For much corruption needful is
 20 To fuel such a fever long.

These burning fits but meteors be,
 Whose matter in thee is soon spent.
 Thy beauty and all parts which are thee
 Are unchangeable firmament.

25 Yet 't'was of my mind, seizing thee,
 Though it in thee cannot persèver,
 For I had rather owner be
 Of thee one hour than all else ever.

19 much] more *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

23 which are] that are in *Dob*: which are in *S96*, *O'F*: in *Lut* 28 ever] for ever *I*

13–14 O wrangling . . . world] Cp., e.g., 2 *Peter* 3. 12: 'The heavens, being on fire, shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat.' The various opinions are summed up by Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 3 Supp. 74. 3, and reproduced at large by H. Magius (G. Maggi), *De mundi exustione* 3. 1 (Basle 1562), pp. 77–9.

13 Schools] scholastic philosophers, faculties of philosophy.

18 The line has the usual eight syllables, and is probably best read with the second foot reversed to stress 'bear'. Alternatively, it may be pronounced as a (perfectly usual) catalectic tetrameter, lacking a first, unstressed, syllable, with 'torturing' as only two syllables and stresses on 'Nor', 'bear', 'tort-' and 'wrong'. There is no evidence in other poets of the period that 'torturing' was ever stressed on the second syllable, though the French root might have encouraged this.

19–20 Standard Galenic doctrine: cp. the opening words of the first chapter of B. Gordonius, *Lilium medicinae* (Lyons, 1574) p. 8: 'A fever is an unnatural heat mutated into a fiery. . . The feverish, moreover, is corrupted, mutated into the fiery', citing Galen, *De differentiis febrium*. Cp. also Paré, *Workes* 7. 11 (1634) pp. 261–2 on 'putrid *Synochus*': 'In this kind of fever, there is not only a fault of the matter, by the putrefaction of the blood, but also of the temper, by excess of heat'.

21 meteors] Temporary atmospheric phenomena beneath the moon.

24 unchangeable firmament] The part of the universe above the changing moon, the eighth sphere of the Ptolemaic system, containing the fixed stars.

26 persèver] last long.

The Flea

Date. Early 1590s?

Analogues. The topic was popular with sixteenth-century European poets, including Ronsard in 1553 (A. L. Prescott, *French Poets and the English Renaissance* (1978) p. 115, compares Ronsard's 'Cousin, monstre à doubles ailes' in *Les Amours diverses*), who were emulating a poem, probably by the medieval Ofilius Sergianus, falsely ascribed to and printed with the works of Ovid. It resulted in a fashion for mock encomiums following one by Caelius Calcagninus in 1519: fifty-six were published in *La puce de Madame Des Roches* (1582) in five ancient and modern languages, and more in Latin in C. Dornavius, *Ampitheatrum sapientiae Socraticae joco-seriae* (1619). As D. B. Wilson says, *NM* 72 (1971) 297–301, there were 'strong erotic connotations in French': it made available the puns on *puce*, 'flea', *pucelle*, 'virgin, maiden', and *puelage*, virginity, or, as D. renders it, 'maidenhead'. (In English, *pucelle* meant 'tart' (see headnote of *BulstrodeRecant*)). Writers tended to envy either the flea's situation on the woman's breast, or its loving death at her hands, as in Drummond below. D. gives a novel twist to the convention by having his flea bite both people, slyly introducing the bilingual pun, a religious element, and a dramatic situation. M. T. Hester, *Christianity and Literature* 39 (1990) 365–85, sees in their attitudes to the condition and alleged significance of the flea full of blood an argument between a RC man and Reformed woman over the reality of the sacrament.

Its frequency in MS collections suggests this was one of D.'s most popular poems. It sparked imitations by, e.g., John Davies of Hereford, *The Scourge of Folly* [1611], 'To Worthy Persons' (*Complete Works*, p. 64):

The Flea

When last (dear mistress) I with you did feast,
 A flea that with your blood was overgrown,
 Walking abroad her dinner to digest,
 Did skip to me, to make you so mine own.
 Which when I had, away with her I went,
 And, sith you are in her, her well entreat;
 Yea, with my blood I give her nourishment:
 So, with our bloods thus mixed, I make you great.
 Since when, I do forbear to murder fleas
 Lest that, unkind, our young I might so spill,
 And for your sake I let them bite with ease,
 Sith so they join and multiply us still.
 And thus do fleas, that spot me everywhere,
 Suck my rank blood to make affection clear.

IELM p. 246 notes that William Drummond of Hawthornden recorded 'John Donne's Lyrics' among books he had read in 1613: in his 'The Happiness of a Flea' and 'Of that Same' the mistress kills the flea as in D.'s poem (*Madrigals and Epigrams*, xv, xvi, in *Poems and Prose*, ed. R. H. MacDonald (1976) pp. 78–9). These might be 'that Epigram which you desired, with another of the like Argument' enclosed with Drummond's letter to Jonson of 17 Jan. 1619 (*Jonson* 1. 204)). *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F* contain another imitation of D. (stanza-breaks from *S96*):

Sonnet

Madam, that flea which [that *S96*] crept between your breasts
 I envied [~y *S96*] that there he should make his rest.

The little creature's fortune was so good
That angels feed not on so precious food.
How it did suck! How eager tickle you!
Madam, shall fleas before me tickle you?

Oh, I cannot hold! Pardon if I kill it;
Sweet blood to you [give *O'F*] I ask this: that which filled it
Ran from my lady's breast. Come, happy flea,
That died for sucking of that milky sea.

Oh, now again I could e'en [w~ ~ *O'F*: well c~ *S96*] wish thee there
About her heart, about her anywhere:
I would vow, dear [~est *S96*] flea, that thou shouldst not die
If thou couldst suck from her her cruelty.

B. Lehane, *The Compleat Flea* (NY 1969) pp. 44–55, discusses the history of the insect's use as a motif in literature, mostly later and mostly erotic.

Text. There appear to be two versions: Group I (here including *DC*), followed by the early printed editions, and that in *H40* and Groups II and III, presumably a revision. *L74*, *Dal1* require correction only in l. 17. The erroneous note in *O'F* after the title, '(Not Printed)', in another hand, is also appended to other poems, some not by D., such as Jonson's 'The Hour-glass', on f. 139v.

MARK but this flea, and mark in this
How little that which thou deny'st me is:

Me it sucked first, and now sucks thee,
And in this flea our two bloods mingled be.

5 Confess it! This cannot be said

Sources collated: *H40*; Group I: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *DC*; Group II: *L74*, *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCd*; Group III: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *L74*, *Dal*

Select variants:

Heading *I*, *III*, 1633, 1635: no heading *H40*, *II*

3 Me it sucked] It sucked me *I*, *III*, 1633, 1635

5 Confess it] Thou know'st that *I*, 1633, 1635

1 but] however insignificant it may seem.

2 The false logic of pretending the two halves of his analogy are identical in value and significance implies either the speaker's contempt for the woman's clarity of perception, silently refuted by her killing the flea, or, less solemnly, the wit's cheerful impudence in trying out an argument he knows they can both see through. The poem's mockery of formal logic in taking the figurative as literal is brought out by M. McCanles, *Essential Articles* pp. 229–31.

3 sucked . . . sucks] The only poem to survive in authorial holograph, admittedly a composition a decade or two later than *Flea*, *Carey* (e.g., ll. 18, 44, 46), does not show D., either at the beginning or in the middle of words, using long *s*, so often confused by modern readers with *f*.

4–13 D. follows the usual Galenic account of gestation. Allen, *Essential Articles* p. 101, quotes T. Vicary, *The Englishmans Treasure* (1586) p. 79: 'This sperm that cometh both of man and woman is made and gathered of the most best and purest drops of blood in all the body.' Cp. *Metem* 493 (Gardner).

A sin, or shame, or loss of maidenhead;
 Yet this enjoys before it woo,
 And pampered swells with one blood made of two,
 And this, alas, is more than we would do.

- 10 Oh stay! Three lives in one flea spare
 Where we almost—nay, more than—married are:
 This flea is you and I, and this
 Our marriage-bed and marriage-temple is.
 Though parents grudge, and you, we're met,
 15 And cloistered in these living walls of jet.
 Though use make thee apt to kill me,
 Let not to this self-murder added be,
 And sacrilege—three sins in killing three.

Cruel and sudden! Hast thou since
 20 Purpled thy nail in blood of innocence?

6 or . . . or] nor . . . nor *H49, D, C57, DC, 1633, 1635*: or . . . nor *Lec*

11 Where] When *I, 1633, 1635* nay] yea *I, 1633, 1635* 14 we're] yet we are *III*

16 thee] you *I, 1633, 1635*

17 to this *Lut, O'F*: to that *I, 1633, 1635*: to thy *II*: this *H40, Dob*: (sweet) this *S96*

6 maidenhead] As Wilson points out, *pucelage* in French, whereas *puce* means 'flea'.
8 one blood made of two] Cp. the definition of the Son of God in the *BCP's*
 'Articles of Religion', 2: '. . . one substance . . . two whole and perfect natures'.

10 Three lives in one] Cp. *BCP* 'Articles' 1, 'In unity of this godhead there
 be three persons of one substance'.

12, 14 you] The speaker reverts to the more formal form of the second person.
 This may simply have been an oversight in the revision which changed 'you' to
 'thee' in l. 16.

13 marriage-temple] More parody of religion.

14 Though parents grudge] A stock situation, as well as, for *D*. (at some time,
 perhaps) a real one. Cp. *Perfume*.

15 cloistered] Perhaps alluding to the flagitious behaviour of monks and nuns
 alleged in Reformation polemics such as J. Bale, *The Actes of Englysh Votaryes*,
 . . . *their Unchast Practyses* (4 edns, 1546–60).

16 'Though from your habitual rejection of me, you are ready to make me die
 literally for love', and, perhaps, implying she is being hypocritical, 'Though fre-
 quent practice with others has made you expert in bringing me to orgasm'.

18 sacrilege] Confirming the speaker's device of making a religious duty of sat-
 isfaction of his desire. **three . . . three]** As the Jews were supposed to be guilty
 of in the Crucifixion.

19–20 Unpersuaded by the lover's sophistry so far, the woman has squashed the
 flea, and disproved the fallacy that 'This is our bodies which are given for each
 other'—a Protestant in love, rejecting l. 12's equation of signifier and signified
 and the cloister of l. 15. See Marotti pp. 93f, Hester, and, 'Of the Worthy Receiving
 of the Sacrament', *Certain Sermons or Homilies* (1623), ed. M. E. Rickey and
 T. B. Stromp (1968) pp. 198–201.

In what could this flea guilty be,
 Except in that drop which it sucked from thee?
 Yet thou triumph'st, and says't that thou
 Find'st not thyself nor me the weaker now:
 25 'Tis true: then learn how false fears be:
 Just so much honour, when thou yield'st to me,
 Will waste, as this flea's death took life from thee.

21 In what] Wherein *I*, 1633, 1635

The Funeral

Date and Context. 1607–10? Gr. argues for the poem's association with Magdalen Herbert, but later editors (except Redpath) contest this. Marotti (1986) p. 211, believes it was written for (not the same as 'about') Lady Bedford. Cp. *BedfordTomb* and *BedfordDead*.

Analogues. Most immediately *Relic*. D. likes to imagine himself dead, e.g., in *Will, Damp, Legacy*. As in *Somerset, Weeping, Will*, each stanza is rounded off with a fourteener.

Text. Within Group I, the common ancestor of *C57* and *Lec* seems to have contained the errors in ll. 3, 12, 22 and 24. Another descendant was followed by 1633. No member of Group II appears to make any substantive error, and within it *L74* demands no correction.

WHOEVER comes to shroud me, do not harm
 Nor question much
 That subtle wreath of hair which crowns mine arm;
 The mystery, the sign, you must not touch,

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *L74*

Select variants:

Heading Σ

3 mine] my *C57, Lec, 1633, 1635*

20 Purpled . . . nail . . . blood of innocence] The language of meditation on the Passion and its instruments. Cp. D.'s only other use of this colour-word, *Sickness* 26, and the 'nails' in *Metem* 73. Ironically, too, 'innocence' in D. often means 'freedom from sexual transgression', e.g., *Huntingdon* 9, *HerbertMMary* 10, *Litany* 40, *SecAn* 114.

1-4 On the echo in *Wit Restor'd* (1658) see *CH* p. 56.

- 5 For 'tis my outward soul,
 Viceroy to that which then, to Heav'n being gone,
 Will leave this to control,
 And keep these limbs, her provinces, from dissolution.
- For if the sin'wy thread my brain lets fall
 10 Through every part,
 Can tie those parts, and make me one of all,
 These hairs which upward grew, and strength and art
 Have from a better brain,
 Can better do't—except she meant that I
 15 By this should know my pain,
 As pris'ners then are manacled when they're condemned to die.

6 then, to] unto 1633, 1635 12 These] Those C57, Lec, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635

3–8 crowns . . . mystery . . . sign . . . Viceroy . . . keep . . . provinces, from dissolution] Cp. King James's speech to Parliament in 1604 expressing his desire for a union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, published as *The Kings Majesties Speech . . . in Parliament, 19 March 1603* (1604).

3 In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1594 or 1595) I. 1. 32–5, Egeus accuses Lysander of winning his daughter Hermia's affections by unfair means, that he has 'stol'n the impression of her fantasy / With bracelets of thy hair, rings, gauds, conceits, / Knacks, trifles, nose-gays, sweetmeats—messengers / Of strong prevailment in unhardened youth.' **subtle]** slender or fine-textured. **hair]** Cp. *Air* 19, *Relic* 6 (Gr).

4 Recalling the motto (well known now from Wyatt's 'Whoso list to hunt') *Noli me tangere: Caesaris enim sum*, 'Do not touch me, for I belong to Caesar', said to have been inscribed on the emperor's hands—another glance at James's imperial pretensions, but more directly at the role expressed in *Sun* 19–21 of the omnipotently possessive male lover. **The mystery, the sign]** A sacrament of the Church was defined in the *BCP* Catechism as 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace'. According to T. M. DiPasquale in *Renaissance Discourses of Desire* (1993) p. 78, 'Petrarchism is love's papistry' in D.'s verse.

7 control] combat, counteract, hold in check.

8 her provinces] the soul's.

9–11 'Sinew' was used indiscriminately for nerves and tendons, though the linguistic confusion was going out of fashion: *OED*'s last quotation is of Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* I. 1. 2. 3 (1621). D. may be recalling a picture in a medical or anatomical book of his first stepfather (d. 1588), e.g., those reproduced in *The Anatomical Drawings of Andreas Vesalius*, ed. J. B. deC. M. Saunders and C. D. O'Malley (1950; repr. Cleveland, Ohio, 1982) pll. 49–51, or in A. Paré, *Workes* 5. 9 (1634) p. 173, or even a public dissection at Surgeons' Hall. Cp. *Metem* 502–4, *SecAn* 211–12, and *Serm.* 1. 192 (14 March 1617).

12–13 Ancient philosophy, cited by Tertullian as ground of a belief that soul clung to body after death. The hair grew towards Heaven ('upwards'), so by its better 'strength and art' can better hold his corpse together than its rotting ligaments (Smith).

What ere she meant by't, bury it with me,
 For since I am
 Love's martyr, it might breed idolatry,
 20 If into others' hands these relics came;
 As 'twas humility
 T'afford to it all which a soul can do,
 So, 'tis some bravery,
 That since you would save none of me, I bury some of you.

17 with] by 1633 22 which] that C57, Lec, 1633, 1635
 24 save] have Dbe, C57, Lec, Dob, S96. Lut marg., O'F, 1633, 1635

'Go and catch a falling star'

Date and Context. Early 1590s? Popularity is attested by the number of MSS, forty-six, recorded by *IELM*.

Analogues. The list of impossibilities is a well-known classical device, e.g., Propertius 2. 15. 31–6, Ovid, *Tristia* 1. 8. 1–8 (Gardner), briefly used by Petrarch 195. 4–6, 239. 10–12 (Redpath), and English medieval poets (Koppenfels (1967) p. 52). Manley in *That Subtile Wreath* p. 8 discusses D.'s use of this tradition of *adunata*. More specifically, Camden, *Remaines* (posthumous 1637 5th edn, enl. J Philipot—*et al.*?) pp. 417–18, attributes to John Hoskyns another treatment of the theme in octosyllabics (and therefore close in form to D.'s), printed in *Life, Letters, and Writings* p. 299. Hoskyns was a contemporary of D.'s at Oxford in the 1580s at their mutual friend Wotton's initial college, New College, at the Middle Temple when D. was at Lincoln's Inn, and from then on like D. one of the young wits about town. In 1611 they were both members, along with Oxford contemporaries Richard Martin and Hugh Holland, of the club described in the poem '*Convivium philosophicum*' (Bald pp. 43, 190–2). D.'s poem may thus derive from a contest of wit among such a group in the early 1590s, perhaps prompted by Canto 28 of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, in which Giacondo and his friend, deceived by their wives, range through Europe in search of a faithful woman, but have to conclude that (in Harington's 1591 version):

19 Love's martyr] Cp. title of R. Chester's collection *Love's Martyr: or, Rosalins Complaint* (1601), well known for containing Shakespeare's *Phoenix and Turtle*.

19–24 martyr . . . idolatry . . . relics . . . save] The parody specifically of Roman Catholic practices is prominent.

21 humility] due deference.

22 it] the wreath of hair.

23 bravery] Display of defiance.

24 save] As a saint whose relic this is was supposed to do in the old religion, as well as a Petrarchan mistress rescuing a lover from the sufferings of unrequited passion. Gr. quotes the usage from a nineteenth-century poem.

We had a thousand women proved before
 And none of them denièd our request;
 Nor would an if we tried ten thousand more,
 But this one trial [*tricked in their own bed by their maid*]
 passeth all the rest.

Let us not then condemn our wives so sore,
 That are as chaste and honest as the best;
 Sith they be as all other women be,
 Let us 'turn home, and with them well agree.

This canto became well known at Court: Henry Harington's *Nugae Antiquae* (1779, 1. iii) tells of Sir John Harington that

Being well versed in the Italian language, he translated a tale out of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, which was highly pleasing to the ladies; but the Queen, who was not unacquainted with what passed among her own servants, soon got a sight of her godson's poetry, and finding it necessary to affect indignation at some indelicate passages, she forbad our author the Court, till he had translated the whole work, which he soon accomplished, and dedicated to herself.

That this tale was the search and conclusion of Giacondo is supported implicitly by the introductory stanzas to Book 28 in Harington's published translation (1591) p. 225.

The topos was of course traditional: Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (1992) pp. 27, 29, 39 n. 4, notes like Koppenfels the fifteenth-century example in *Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Rosell Hope Robbins (Oxford 1952) p. 101: 'When nettles in winter bear roses red . . . / Then put in a woman your trust and confidence', and quotes a poem first printed in Playford's *Treasury of Musick* (1659) p. 11 (reproduced in *Influence* p. 176) with music by William Lawes, which perhaps took off from D.'s, 'On Women's Inconstancy':

Catch me a star that's falling from the sky
 Cause an immortal creature for to die;
 Stop with thy hand the current of the seas,
 Pierce the earth's centre to th'Antipodes;
 Cause time return, and call back yesterday;
 Clothe January like the month of May;
 Weigh me an ounce of flame, blow back the wind:
 Then hast thou found faith in a woman's mind.

Hobbs also quotes from H. King's poem 'The Farewell' the lines 'Henceforth ere sue to thee for my redress, / I'll woo the wind or court the wilderness' (Crum, *Poems* p. 150, ll. 15–16). An adaptation, 'Womans Mutabilitie', had appeared in the first edition of F. Beaumont, *Poems* (1640); the first two stanzas entire were also printed in the second edition of Beaumont's *Poems* (1653). Using D.'s images, William Habington (1605–1654) turns the tables on him in 'Against those who Lay Unchastity to the Sex of Women' in *Castara* (1640). See E. F. Hart, *RES* ns 7 (1956) 19–29, esp. p. 20.

Text. Group I and L74, including the heading, require correction from other MSS only in l. 11. Lines 1–4, 10–18 were first printed in *A Helpe to Memory and Discourse* (1621) p. 143. DC includes this poem in its section 'Songs which were made to certain airs that were made before'. There is an anonymous musical setting of the words of the first stanza in BL MS Egerton 2013, f. 58v, realised by Souris (1961) and reprinted in Gardner's Appendix B (*ESS* p. 241).

- GO and catch a falling star;
 Get with child a mandrake root;
 Tell me where all past years are,
 Or who cleft the Devil's foot;
 5 Teach me to hear mermaids singing,
 Or to keep off envy's stinging;
 And find
 What wind
 Serves t'advance an honest mind.
- 10 If thou beest born to strange sights,
 Things invisible to see,
 Ride ten thousand days and nights
 Till age snow white hairs on thee:
 Thou, when thou return'st, wilt tell me
 15 All strange wonders that befell thee,

Sources collated: *H40*; Group I: *H49, D, C57, Lec*; Group II: *L74, Dal, DC, TCC, TCD*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *I, L74*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: Song Σ : A ~ *L74, Dal, Dob* in second hand: none *DC, Lut, O'F*

11 to see *TCDbe, DC, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*; see *H40, I, L74, Dal, TCC, TCDae*:
go see *Dob, S96*

14 when thou return'st] at thy return *III*

1 falling star] Not actually all that rare in the analogous sense employed by Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (1592; *Works* I. 216), who observes that in 'the Court . . . there . . . be many falling stars'.

1, 5 Cp. *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1594-5) 2. I. 149-54: 'I . . . / . . . heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back / Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath / That the rude sea grew civil at her song / And certain stars shot madly from their spheres / To hear the sea-maid's music'.

2 The mandrake was thought to have aphrodisiac properties and to promote fertility: see notes on *Metem* 141-50.

4 This line makes clear that the other commands of ll. 2 and 4 are not only impossible but absurd: educated men did not believe such things any more: see *Othello* 5. 2. 292. The cloven foot and other goatish attributes were transferred from the classical myth of the faun or satyr and their master Pan by Nature-hating Christians.

5 mermaids singing] Again a primitive belief derived from the alluring female Sirens of Homer, *Odyssey* 12. 37-54, etc.

10 D. may be alluding to the tradition that the seventh son of a seventh son had second sight.

13 The usual analogy: cp. Daniel, *Delia* (1592) nos 33-4.

And swear,
 'Nowhere
 Lives a woman true and fair.'

If thou find'st one, let me know:
 20 Such a pilgrimage were sweet;
 Yet do not: I would not go,
 Though at next door we might meet:
 Though she were true when you met her,
 And last till you write your letter,
 25 Yet she
 Will be
 False, ere I come, to two or three.

21 I] for I III 24 last] *om.* TCC: ~s so Dob: ~ so S96, Lut, O'F

The Good Morrow

Date and Context. 1602–? If, as Marotti (1986) p. 321 thinks, the poem relates to Ann More, waking together implies marriage.

Analogues. This is another aubade, but with a difference: it focuses exclusively on the lovers themselves.

Text. There appear to be three states: (1) A version only in Group I MSS (shown in ll. 3, 17, 21); (2) A version only in the MSS of Groups I and III (ll. 4, 10, 11, 16, 19, 20); (3) A version in Group II. Though better thoughts are not necessarily second thoughts, ll. 4, 11, 19 suggest that the variant readings peculiar to Group II MSS, though they are in a minority, may be authorial revisions, so the readings of the most error-free exemplars are incorporated here. Most previous editors have preferred (2), praising its readings as 'vivid' (Gardner) and 'stronger' (Redpath), but such vividness and strength may have been considered inappropriate in the context by D. L. M. Crowley, *JDJ* 22 (2003) 5–21, concludes, however, on grounds of 'conceptual complexity', after meticulous scrutiny of all forty

17–18 A commonplace of which an early instance is Ovid, *Amores* 3. 4. 41–2. Petrarch, *Rime sparse*, had asserted that attractiveness and constancy in love were 'Due gran nemiche', 'Two great opposites' (Guss p. 136). Nashe, *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1588; *Works* I. 13) recorded that 'Democritus accounted a fair, chaste woman a miracle of miracles, a degree of immortality, a crown of triumph, because she is so hard to be found' (Gardner).

23–4 Gardner and Redpath suggest these lines are trochaic, with stresses on 'were' and 'And'. In this they match the pattern of the other stanzas, necessarily, perhaps, if this song were written, as *DC* says, to a pre-existent tune.

24 till . . . letter] Implying that *Go* was itself originally sent in a letter to a friend such as those to whom D. addressed verse-epistles in the early 1590s.

extant MSS of the poem, that Group III derives immediately from D.'s first holograph, that DC and Group I are at two or three removes from a revised holograph, and Group II at two or three removes from an already corrupt version of the first holograph. Her stemma (21) makes (the here Group I MS) DC (and two others not collated here) the nearest to the revised holograph, thus preferring the readings rejected in favour of Group II at ll. 3, 4, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21 below.

I WONDER, by my troth, what thou and I
 I Did, till we loved: were we not weaned till then,
 But sucked on childish pleasures sillily?
 Or slumbered we in th'Seven Sleepers' den?
 5 'Twas so: but this, all pleasures fancies be.
 If ever any beauty I did see,
 Which I desired, and got, 'twas but a dream of thee.

And now, 'Good morrow' to our waking souls,
 Which watch not one another out of fear,
 10 But love all love of other sights controls,

Sources collated: *Group I*: H40, H49, D, C57, Lec, DC; *Group II*: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; *Group III*: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: TCC/TCD

Select variants:

Heading L74 in *diff. hand*, DC, TCC, TCD, Dob in *diff. hand*, 1633, 1635: none I, Dal, Lut, O'F: Elegy S96

3 childish . . . sillily] country . . . childishly I (C57be), 1633, 1635

4 slumbered] snorted I (C57be in *different hand*), III, 1633, 1635

10 But] For I, III, 1633, 1635

3 childish . . . sillily/country . . . childishly] D. may have come to think that rustic pastimes were not necessarily infantile, or that the implicit reference to wet-nursing derogated from the dignity of the woman. Most previous editors have thought they detected a sexual overtone in 'country', but an implication that the sluggish lovers have been occupied with cunnilingus is inappropriate. R. E. Pritchard, *EIC* 35 (1985) 213–22, thinks the lovers have discovered delayed orgasm. **sillily]** in our ignorance, lack of education.

4 slumbered/snorted] The Group I word imputed perhaps an indecorous noise to the woman, too harsh and horse-like. **snorted]** snored, slept sluggishly.

th'Seven Sleepers' den] The cave at Ephesus in which, according to tradition (e.g., *Golden Legend* no. 101), seven young Christians fell asleep and were walled up during the persecution of Decius c. 250 CE, waking nearly two centuries later when the Roman Empire had been Christianised.

5 but] except, but for.

6–7 Cp. *Air* 1–2, *BedfordReason* 3–4. M. Praz cites Tasso *Rime* 1. 43.

7, 14, 21 Each stanza ends conclusively with an alexandrine (hexameter), as in *Anniversary, Metem, Lincoln, Elizabeth*.

10 controls] checks, dominates.

And makes a little room an everywhere.
 Let sea-discov'ers to new worlds have gone;
 Let maps to others, worlds on worlds have shown;
 Let us possess our world: each hath one, and is one.

15 My face in thine eye, thine in mine appears,
 And plain, true hearts do in the faces rest.
 Where can we find two fitter hemispheres

11 a] one *I, III, 1633, 1635* 13 others] other *1633, 1635*

14 us] each *TCC* our] one *H49, D, C57, Lec, 1633, 1635*

16 plain, true] true, plain *I, III, 1633, 1635* 17 fitter] better *I, 1633*

11 A theological idea: cp. *Serm.* 9. 129 (22 Nov. 1629): 'But how glorious shall I conceive this light to be, . . . when I shall see it, in his own place. In that Sphere, which though a Sphere, is a Centre too; in that place, which, though a place, is all, and everywhere', referring to the Hermetic definition of God as a circle whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere. Guilpin perhaps had this line in his head when he wrote 'My study, is mine All, mine every place' in his *Satire V*, line 36 (*Skialetheia* (1598) D5, ed. D. A. Carroll (1974 pp. 82–3).

12–14 Cp. *Bed* 27–30, *Sun* 17, 21, 23. Spenser similarly dismisses traders who seek 'both the Indias' in *Amoretti* (Gardner).

12 sea-discov'ers] Explorers such as Columbus. *new worlds]* *OED* does not record New World as a term for America before the nineteenth century. J. M. Walker, *RES* 37 (1986) 61–5, discusses the possible relevance to *Morrow* of the cordiform map of W. Cunningham, *Cosmographical Glasse*.

13 others] Readers of maps of the universe. Cp. notes on *DivM7Little* 5–6, and the reference in *Ignatius* 81 (completed in 1610) to Galileo's having 'instructed himself of all the hills, woods, and Cities in the new world, the Moon' in *Sidereus nuncius* (1610). However, Heraclides of Pontus in the fourth century BCE asserted the existence of plural worlds, and, though resisted by Aristotelean Christianity, the idea was visible in medieval European culture at least as early as the late thirteenth century, and thereafter was famously argued by Nicolas Khryppffs of Cusa (see A. C. Crombie, *Augustine to Galileo* (1952; 1964) 2. 42–3, 46–7).

14 our/one] The Group II version concentrates the repetition where it is significant.

15 The reflection is enacted in the 'My/thine/thine/mine' chiasmus: cp. Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis* 161. Cp. *Ecstasy* 11–12.

16 rest] dwell.

17 fitter hemispheres] That would naturally fit together to make a world. Plato puts in the mouth of Aristophanes in *Symposium* 189–93 the notion that originally human beings were spheres, doubly equipped with all the bodily organs, but split into hemispheres by Zeus as a threat to the gods' supremacy, so that ever since we half beings are seeking our perfect match, our other half, to reconstitute the natural form. The halves of all-male and all-female spheres desire the same sex, but relics of the original androgynes, the opposite. D. characteristically assumes that he is a relic of the last, a heterosexual. For examples of double-hemispherical world maps in the cartography of the time see R. L. Sharp, *MLN* 69 (1954) 493–5.

fitter/better] The Group II word is more specifically appropriate.

- Without sharp North, without declining West?
 What ever dies, is not mixed equally:
 20 If both our loves be one, or thou and I
 Love just alike in all, none of these loves can die.

19 is] was *I, III, 1633, 1635*

20 both our] our two *I, III, 1633, 1635* or] as *H40*: both *Lut, O'F, 1635*

21 just . . . loves] so alike that none do slacken, none *I, 1633*

Image and Dream

Date and context. 1590s?

Analogues. Among several Petrarchan analogues cited by Gardner is Leone Ebreo, 3 (p. 198), where Philo confesses that the image of Sophia's beauty is more absorbing as an object of contemplation than Sophia herself, and the discussion goes on to include the contrast between a lover's ecstasy and sleep—a prime possible source for *Image*. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 38, 39, hints at the superiority of dream to reality which D. proclaims. In Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 24, the true image of the boy's beauty is set in the lover's heart, but directly, not via a picture, and it is still the person he loves, not just the image, as also in *Sonnet* 43. Among D.'s own poems, cp. the very different application in *Picture* of a situation arising out of the usual gift of a miniature. R. E. Pritchard, *JDJ* 13 (1994) 18, argues that 'the first eight lines and final quatrain and couplet could be seen as a sonnet, and the middle twelve and final couplet could compose another, constituting a "curious perspective"

18 Cp. the figuring of North and West similarly as cold and decline in *Somerset* 181 and differently in *Serm.* 9. 49–50 (April 1629).

19 M. Roberts (in Quehen (1981) pp. 37–8) compares Cicero, *De senectute* 21 (78): 'Since in its nature the soul is of one substance and has nothing whatever mingled with it unlike or dissimilar to itself, it cannot be divided, and if it cannot be divided it cannot perish.' Cp. the 'even flame' of *Diet* 10. See also Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 75. 6, and D.'s *Serm.* 6. 74 (Easter 1624): 'Every compounded thing may perish' (Gr.). There is perhaps a play on 'dies/dyes' here, alluding to a preponderance of one colouring agent in a substance, when a balanced mixture would produce a neutral brown; or a uniform mixture would produce a self-coloured, indivisible unity.

20 one] By definition indivisible, as God and the soul were supposed to be, and so everlasting.

21 R. E. Pritchard, *EIC* 35 (1985) 213–22, argues that, since Augustine, *City of God* 14. 23–4, had asserted that in Paradise Adam had complete control over his erections so that reproduction could occur as an act of obedient will, for the lovers here to be so evenly tempered as to refrain from orgasm exempts them also from consequent detumescence and abatement of love. They have recreated Paradise before the Fall. **die]** D. concludes by offering a pun that implies immortality, a verbal fallacy well known to students of traditional logic. Gardner remarks that 'Conditional clauses must always suggest an element of doubt.'

poem', thus enacting the interplay between austere Petrarchan idealism and subjective feeling.

Text. *H49, D, L74* give an error-free text. Like several other lyrics, this is titled 'Elegy' in some MSS, followed in 1633, and included in its group of elegies by 1635, but this poem is not rhymed in an elegy's couplets. Accordingly, it is printed among the lyrics, and Gardner's title (derived from the terms the poem uses for its subjects) has been adopted. This avoids confusion with the already extant lyric *Dream* (where the material reality of the beloved is considered more desirable than the dream). Σ indent alternate lines but do not divide into stanzas, except for *H40*, which indents only ll. 14, 16, 20, 22, 24, 26, and separates lines 23–6 off into a closing quatrain. A division into four-line stanzas with a final couplet has been adopted, corresponding to the rhyme-scheme.

IMAGE of her whom I love, more than she,
Whose fair impression in my faithful heart
Makes me her medal, and makes her love me
As kings do coins to which their stamps impart

5 The value: go, and take my heart from hence,
Which now is grown too great and good for me;
Honours oppress weak spirits, and our sense
Strong objects dull: the more, the less we see.

When you are gone, and Reason gone with you,
10 Then Fantasy is queen and soul and all;

Sources collated: *H40; Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: L74, Dal, DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *H49/D/L74*

Select variants:

Heading *Gardner*: The *Dream Dob*: *Elegy II, O'F, 1633*: *Eleg. X. The Dream 1635*: *Picture S96: none H40, I, Lut*

1 Image . . . love] Presumably a portrait given as a love-token, such as a miniature, as suggested by Prof. (then Dr) Paul Hammond, reported by Redpath. **more than she]** i.e., more than her.

2 Cp. *Picture 2*.

3 medal] love-token (Gardner). 'A notorious conceit of the Italian court poet Cariteo turned on the stamping of his mistress's image on the gold medallions to which Cupid's best arrows had been melted in the furnace of his heart' (Smith).

8 The most obvious example is the sun.

9–10 Traditional doctrine, e.g., Aristotle, *On the Soul* 3. 3 (429a5–9).

9 Reason] Assumed to be seated in the heart by classical physiologists, e.g., Aristotle, *On the Soul* 1. 4 (408b8).

10 Fantasy or the Fancy, the power which formed images of absent objects, was lower than Reason in the traditional scheme of faculties. Cp. Sidney 38, 'This night, while sleep begins with heavy wings / To hatch mine eyes . . . / The first

She can present joys meaner than you do,
Convenient and more propotional.

- So, if I dream I have you, I have you,
For all our joys are but fantastical;
15 And so I scape the pain, for pain is true;
And sleep, which locks up sense, doth lock out all.

- After a such fruition I shall wake,
And, but the waking, nothing shall repent;
And shall to love more thankful sonnets make
20 Than if more honour, tears and pains were spent.

- But dearest heart, and dearer image, stay:
Alas, true joys at best are dream enough!
Though you stay here you pass too fast away,
For e'en at first life's taper is a snuff.
25 Filled with her love, may I be rather grown
Mad with much heart than idiot with none.

The Indifferent

Date and Context. Earlier 1590s? The poem is Ovidian in its happy acceptance of change of loves, like *Change*. Marotti (1986) pp. 76–7 notes the shift of pronoun in l. 8 from presumed males to females, then from 14 or 15 to an implied particular possessive woman (cp. *Calm* 40–1, 'the queasy pain / Of being beloved').

Analogues. Comparable pleas for absence of restrictions on sex may be found in, e.g., Propertius 2. 23, 25. 41–2; and Ovid, *Amores* 2. 4. 9–48. The latter was

that straight my fancy's error brings / Unto my mind is Stella's image'. In Sonnet 39 he promises sleep as an enticement that 'thou shalt in me, / Livelier than elsewhere, Stella's image see.'

11 meaner] more moderate.

13–15 Gardner quotes Rochester's realistic rebuttal: 'Fantastic fancies fondly move, / And in frail joys believe, / Taking false pleasure for true love—/But pain can ne'er deceive.'

17 a such fruition] such an enjoyment.

23 you . . . you] (a) As a person; (b) Your attractiveness.

24 snuff] A faint thing. Cp. *FirAn* 448, describing the life left to him as 'his dark, short taper's end'.

26 Mad with much heart] Cp. the proverb, Tilley L558, 'It is impossible to love and be wise', and 'The lover, all as frantic' as the madman in *Midsummer Night's Dream* 5. 1. 10. **idiot]** senseless.

translated by Sir John Harington (Arundel-Harington MS ed. Hughey 1. 253–4; *Letters and Epigrams*, ed. N. E. McClure (1930) pp. 219–21, no. 181, *Epigrams* 2. 85), as *Ovid's confession . . . 1593*, part reading ' . . . Fair, nut-brown, sallow—none doth look amiss'.

Text. The textual history is as uncomplicated as the theme. *TCD*, *Lut*, *O'F* are freest of error. The latter two make as plausible an emendation in l. 21 as *TCD*, so, although the intelligent (and therefore suspect) inventiveness of their common source is attested elsewhere, they are here preferred as base text.

I CAN love both fair and brown,
 Her whom abundance melts, and her whom want betrays,
 Her who loves loneness best, and her who masques and plays,
 Her whom the country formed, and whom the town,
 5 Her who believes, and her who tries,
 Her who still weeps with spongy eyes,
 And her who is dry cork, and never cries:
 I can love her and her, and you and you;
 I can love any—so she be not true.

10 Will no other vice content you?
 Will it not serve your turn to do as did your mothers?
 Have you old vices spent, and now would find out others?
 Or doth a fear that men are true torment you?
 Oh we are not, be not you so:
 15 Let me, and do you, twenty know;
 Rob me, but bind me not—and let me go.

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II*: *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; *1633*, *1635*

Base text: *Lut*, *O'F*

Select variants:

Heading *II*, *1633*, *1635*, *Dob* in *diff. hand*: *A Song H40*: *Song H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *Dob*, *S96*: no heading *Lut*, *O'F*

12 Have you] Or have you all *II*, *1633*, *1635*

16 Rob] Reach *H40*: Rack *I*

1 Ovid, *Amores* 2. 4. 39–43, is likewise a man for all complexions.

2, 3, 11, 12, 20, 21 D.'s stanza-structure here is exceptional in placing alexandrines (hexameters) within rather than at the conclusion of stanzas.

2 abundance] the luxury of wealth. **want]** poverty.

3 loneness] solitude.

4 The simple and the sophisticated.

5 The credulous and the sceptical (of male promises).

11 serve your turn] suit your purpose. The phrase is converted to sexual innuendo in *Love's Labour's Lost* 1. 1. 286–7. **do]** Possibly supporting a sexual meaning.

15 know] Including the biblical sense.

Must I, which came to travail thorough you,
Grow your fixed subject because you are true?

- Venus heard me sigh this song,
20 And by love's sweetest part, variety, she swore,
She heard not this till now; and it should be no more.
She went, examined, and returned ere long,
And said, 'Alas, some two or three
Poor heretics in love there be
25 Which think t'establish dang'rous constancy,
But I have told them, "Since you will be true,
You shall be true to them who're false to you."

17 which] who *C57, Lec, 1633, 1635*

21 and it should be] and't should be so *DC, TCD*: and that it should be so *H40, D, C57, Lec, 1633*: and that should be so *H49*: it should be so *1635*

23 some] but *H40, I, II* 25 t'establish] to stablish *C57, Lec, 1633, 1635*

27 're] were *H40, I*

To a Jet Ring Sent to Me

Date and Context. Early 1590s?

Analogue. The twenty-eight lines of Ovid's *Amores* 2. 15 are addressed to a ring being sent to a mistress. Marotti (1986) p. 83 sees *Ring* as D.'s answer to Davies's *Sonnets to Philomel* 9, 'Upon Sending her a Gold Ring with this Posy: "Pure and Endless"', an uncritical protestation of love (*Poems* p. 191). Gardner compares Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour* 2. 4 (1598), where Stephen, after thinking he has lost his purse, then finding it after all, boasts that he would have cared only because it contained 'a jet ring Mistress Mary sent me', and on Edward Knowell's demanding 'The posy! The posy!' gives it with a misinterpretation and a ridiculous invention of his own. Cp. Manningham, *Diary* (1602; 1976) p. 124:

17 came to travail] (a) ended up exerting myself; (b) was doomed to labour because of Eve's disobedience (cp. *Progress* 104–5, *Metem* 91, *FirAn* 101–6). **thorough]** through.

18 fixed subject] As the Petrarchan lover professed to be: cp., e.g., the 'fixed hearts' of Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 14. 12.

19 song] D. evidently expected this poem to be set to music.

20 variety] Cp. *Change* 35–6: 'Change's the nursery / Of music, joy, life, and eternity.'

22 examined] interrogated, as suspected Roman Catholics were in the 1590s.

24 heretics] The English authorities included Roman Catholics in this term.

25 dang'rous constancy] As was loyalty to the old religion.

26–7 true/you] Reversing the rhyme-words of stanzas 1 and 2, enacting the contrariety of the unwilling 'fixed subject'.

Posies for a jet ring lined with silver:

'One two' written so you may begin with either word.

'This one ring is two': or, both silver and jet make but one ring; the body and soul one man; two friends, one mind.

'*Candida mens est*': the silver resembling the soul, being the inner part.

'*Belle âme, belle amie*': a fair soul is a fair friend etc.; yet fair within.

'The firmer the better': the silver the stronger and the better.

Cp. *Merchant of Venice* 5. 1. 147–50, *Two Noble Kinsmen* 4. 1. 88–91. Marotti notes that BL MS Harl. 6910, e.g., includes some 374 ring posies, a practice explored at length by Joan Evans, *English Posies and Posy Rings* (1931). However, the ring received by D.'s speaker seems neither to be reinforced with silver nor, consequently, adorned with a posy.

Text. The title in *W* has a ring of authorial copy about it. This, and the probability that *W* was copied by D.'s friend, Rowland Woodward, qualify that MS, despite the egregious omission in l. 11, as the base text. *Ring*, its last poem, is the only lyric it contains.

THOU art not so black as my heart,
 Nor half so brittle as her heart thou art.
 What wouldst thou say? Shall both our properties by thee
 be spoke:
 Nothing more endless, nothing sooner broke?

5 Marriage-rings are not of this stuff:
 Oh, why should aught less precious, or less tough,

Sources collated: *W*; Group II: *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; Group III: *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *W*: A Jet Ring Sent *TCC*, *TCD*, III, 1633, 1635: A Jet Ring *DC*

6 Oh] Or *TCC*, *TCD*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

Heading This form of lignite, though brittle, was cheap, being picked up in quantity on the shore at Whitby, N. Yorks, where it has for centuries been worked into toys, buttons and jewellery.

1, 12 Thou, thee] D. contrives to complete the poem circularly, though the case of the pronoun is altered.

1 so black] (a) so unchanging (made the primary meaning by l. 4); cp. the proverb (Tilley B436): 'Black will take no other hue'—Gardner; Redpath quotes ll. 1–4 of Serafino's Sonnet 49, using black to signify constancy; (b) so melancholy. **black]** The proverbial quality of jet (Tilley J49).

4 Nothing more endless] i.e., 'than my love'. Cp. Davison, *Poetical Rapsody* (1611) p. 93, 'Upon Sending his Mistress a Gold Ring': "'Hath it no end?" So endless is my love'; and Herrick, 'A Ring Presented to Julia', *Hesperides* (1648 p. 72): 'And as this round / Is nowhere found / To flaw or else to sever, / So let our love / As endless prove, / And pure as gold for ever.' **nothing sooner broke]** than her vows.

6 i.e., than gold.

Figure our loves? Except in thy name thou have bid it say:
 'I'm cheap and naught but fashion; fling me away.'

Yet stay with me since thou art come:
 10 Circle this finger's tip, which didst her thumb.
 Be justly proud, and gladly safe, that thou dost dwell with me:
 She that, oh, broke her faith, would soon break thee.

11 justly proud *II, III, 1633, 1635*: proud *W*

A Lecture upon the Shadow

Date and Context. 1598–. Critics such as Marotti (1986) p. 321 associate this poem with the Ann More relationship, which began in the late 1590s.

Analogues. Cp. the extended use of this conceit to a different end in *Serm.* 7. 360 [? 11 Feb. 1627]: 'So then we have brought our Sun to his *Meridional height*, to a full Noon, in which all shadows are removed: for even the *shadow of death*, death itself, is a blessing, and in the number of his Mercies. But the *Afternoon shadows* break out upon us, in the second part of our Text [*Isa.* 65. 20]. And as afternoon shadows do, these in our Text do also; they grow greater and greater upon us, till they end in night, in everlasting night.' The poem is constructed, says O. M. Nichols, *Expl* 32 (1974) item 52, according to Cicero's rules for a public oration: *exordium* (ll. 1–2), *narratio* (ll. 3–8), *expositio* (ll. 9–11), *propositio* (ll. 12–13), *confirmatio* and *refutatio* (ll. 14–24), *peroratio* (ll. 25–6).

Text. *Lec* requires no correction, the scribe presumably having already cleaned up the Group I tradition. First printed in 1635, the error 'loves' for 'love' in ll. 9, 14, 19 shows that it was set from a MS akin to Group II.

STAND still, and I will read to thee
 SA lecture, love, in love's philosophy.

Sources collated: *Group I*: *H40, H49, D, C57, Lec, DC*; *Group II*: *L74, Dal, TCC, TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F, 1635*

Base text: *Lec*

Select variants:

Heading 1650: Lecture upon the Shadow *TCC, TCD*: Love's Lecture upon the Shadow *L74 in another hand*: Lecture upon Shadow *DC*: Shadow *Dob, S96*: The Shadow *Lut, O'F*: Song 1635: *none I, Dal*

7–8 The practice of the woman here is approved of in men by the speaker of *Community* 22–4.

7 **Figure]** Represent.

8 **fling me away]** Playing on a sense of the verb 'to jet', to throw, toss.

10 A thumb-ring was often, acc. to *OED*, adorned with a posy or seal. For its wearing by men see *1 Henry IV* 2. 5. 334 (Chambers).

Those three hours which we've spent
 In walking here, two shadows went
 5 Along with us, which we ourselves produced;
 But, now the sun is just above our head,
 We do those shadows tread,
 And to brave clearness all things are reduced:
 So, while our infant love did grow,
 10 Disguises did, and shadows, flow
 From us and our care; but now 'tis not so.

That love hath not attained the least degree
 Which is still diligent lest others see.

Except our love at this noon stay,
 15 We shall new shadows make the other way.
 As th'first were made to blind
 Others, these which come behind

3 Those] These *II, Dob, Lut, O'F, 1635* which] that *II, 1635*
 4 In walking] Walking *II, Lut, O'F, 1635* 6 head] ~s *H40, H49, D, S96*
 9 while] whiles *H49, D, C57*: whilst *DC, II, S96, Lut, O'F, 1635* love] loves
II, 1635
 11 care] cares *II, Lut, O'F, 1635* 12 least] last *C57*: high'st *DC, II, 1635*
 14 love] loves *II, 1635*

8 brave clearness . . . reduced] vivid clarity . . . restored.

9, 14 love/loves] The singular is usually applied elsewhere, e.g., *Anniversary 7*, *Canonization 45*, *Name 62*, *Mourning 8*, *Fatal 16*, to fully reciprocal love.

10 shadows] concealments.

11 care] caution.

12–13 Contrast *Curse 1–2*, *Damp 17–20*.

12 least/high'st degree] greatest intensity, ultimate height. When the sun at its zenith crosses the celestial meridian, its celestial longitude is 0°, its degrees of decline westward increasing thereafter. This astronomical technicality may have been obscure to a scribe (or considered by D. himself to work against the general sense, hence 'high'st'). Redpath suspects that *C57*'s 'last' may have been the original reading of Group I, but *C57* (and *1633*), from which 'last' is familiar, are at the end of the line of transmission from the archetype of Group I, so have claims to neither priority nor authenticity.

14–15 Cp. *Metem 339*: 'There's no pause at perfection'.

14 this noon] The poem is already past its central line, like the unstoppable Sun.

17 behind] It is easier to envisage that the low rays of the rising Sun in the East or setting Sun in the West should 'blind' others or the lovers, but 'these' must refer to the 'shadows' of l. 15. Before noon, the supposed 'others' would have been unable to see because of shadows cast westward by the lovers walking towards the rising Sun; at its noon, their love must remain at its apogee, or they themselves will have their vision of each other obscured by the shadows they will cast

- Will work upon ourselves, and blind our eyes.
 If once love faint, and westwardly decline,
 20 To me thou falsely thine,
 And I to thee mine actions shall disguise:
 The morning shadows wear away,
 But these grow longer all the day.
 But oh, love's day is short if love decay!
- 25 Love is a growing or full constant light,
 And his first minute after noon is night.

19 once] one DC: our II, *Dobbe*, S96, *Lut*, O'F, 1635 love] loves II, 1635
 26 first] short 1635

The Legacy

Date and Context. Early 1590s? Of Marlowe's *Edward II*, of which there is possibly an echo in l. 14, C. R. Forker concludes, in his edition (1994) pp. 16–17, that 1591 is the 'putative date of composition', which would suggest an earliest possible date for this lyric.

Analogues. The poem plays with Petrarchan conventions—the parting of lovers as death, the slow passing of time, exchange of hearts (e.g., Sidney, *Old Arcadia* 3, 'My true love hath my heart, and I have his')—reducing them to absurdity by treating them literally as involving a legal document and surgery, as in *The Merchant of Venice*.

Text. The heading in Groups I and III suggests that this poem was known or intended (like those named in the headnote on *Bait*) to be set to music. Only the text in *TCC*, *TCD* requires no correction.

eastward and would see if they were to continue to walk in that direction. D. may be suggesting that a mature love has to change from a beginning love, but attempts to push his analogy to an end may produce incoherence. Gardner argues that ll. 3–4's 'three hours . . . walking here' must imply that the lovers have been walking to and fro, so that 'behind' must be an adverb of time, not position, meaning 'later'. Shawcross disagrees: 'As in the usual image of life as the race of the sun across the sky, they are walking westward.' Redpath adduces autobiographical evidence in agreeing with Shawcross but supposing that the lovers are to be imagined walking always eastwards, so that l. 15's 'the other way' is relative to them as well as the landscape. However, D.'s ideas were not always consistent with visualisation, e.g., the movements of the pair of compasses in *Mourning*: it is misleading to talk of 'conceits', in modern parlance 'concepts', as 'images'.
19 faint] grow faint. Cp. *Morrow* 18.

24 day] 24 is, of course, the number of hours in a full day.

25–6 Gardner compares the end of *Spring*: 'As love's year has no winter, so his day has no afternoon.' Cp. also *Anniversary* 7–10.

26 Echoed by T. Killigrew, *The Parson's Wedding* 2. 1 (*Comedies and Tragedies* (1664) p. 88, written 1637–42 (*CH* p. 49)).

WHEN I died last (and, dear, I die
 As often as from thee I go),
 Though it be an hour ago
 (And lovers' hours be full eternity),
 5 I can remember yet, that I
 Something did say, and something did bestow;
 Though I be dead which sent me, I should be
 Mine own executor and legacy.

I heard me say, 'Tell her anon
 10 That myself (that's you, not I),
 'Did kill me', and when I felt me die,
 I bid me send my heart when I was gone;
 But I, alas, could there find none
 When I had ripped and searched where hearts should lie.
 15 It killed me again, that I who still was true
 In life, in my last will should cozen you.

Sources collated: *Group I: H40, H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCC, TCD*

Select variants:

Heading *DC, 1633, 1635, Dobae in diff. hand: Legacy L74: Song I, III: Elegy Dal, TCC, TCD*

3 om. *Dal* be] be but *C57, Lec, Dob, 1633, 1635*

4 And] For *D, C57, Lec, S96, 1633, 1635* 7 sent] meant *III, 1635*

10 that's] that *I: not S96 with not in marg.*

14 ripped] ~ me *I, 1633* hearts should] heart did *I, Dob, S96: ~s did DC, 1633*

1 When . . . last] Probably the common pun, made more explicitly in J. Dowland, *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* 19 (1600) 'Shall I sue, shall I seek for grace' 31–2: 'Witness yet how fain I die / When I die for the fair.' D. implies that he only leaves after sex. Echoed by W. Davenant, 'To Endymion Porter', *Madagascar* (1638; *Shorter Poems*, ed. A. M. Gibbs (Oxford 1972) p. 26).

4 Cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 57: 'the world-without-end hour'; *Romeo and Juliet* 1. 1. 158, 'Sad hours seem long'; and *Computation*. D.'s line is quoted by Catherine Thimelby in a letter of c. 1638–9 (*CH* p. 48), the first known quotation of D. **7** **Though I be dead]** A favourite scenario with D.: cp. *Computation* 9–10, *Expiration* 12.

9–11 'Tell . . . kill me'] Carey comments that 'it is impossible to decide where the speech starting "Tell her" ends. It might end at "kill me" (l. 11) or at "gone" (l. 12) or at "lie" (l. 14), or even at the end of the poem', and so, like the MSS, early editions and most previous editors, does not provide any inverted commas. Chambers, Smith and Redpath infer that the speech ends after 'kill me', for which the last-named argues plausibly.

14 Cp. Marlowe, *Edward II*, 4. 7. 66–7: 'Rip up this panting breast of mine, / And take my heart'. **ripped]** laid open (*OED* *v*². 4).

16 cozen] trick, fool, deceive.

- Yet I found something like a heart,
 But colours it, and corners had;
 It was not good, it was not bad;
 20 It was entire to none, and few had part.
 As good as could be made by art
 It seemed, and therefore, for our losses sad,
 I thought to send that heart instead of mine;
 But oh, no man could hold it, for 'twas thine!

22 losses] loss be ye I (~ ~ yet H40)

23 thought] meant I, DC, S96, 1633, 1635 that] this I, DC, Dob, S96, 1633

Love's All (Love's Infiniteness)

Date and Context. 1590s? Critics such as Marotti (1986) p. 321 associate this poem with Ann More before marriage, reading a pun in ll. 7, 24, but Grierson points out that 'The whole poem is a piece of legal quibbling', which (and the form, a song) would make D.'s fellow law-students a fitter audience, and place it in the earlier 1590s.

Analogues. Grierson compares the legal terms of Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 87. Such vocabulary, when indulged in to an extreme, is mocked in *Satyre* 2 45–60. The song 'To ask for all thy love' in Dowland's *Pilgrimes Solace* 3 (1612; Fellowes p. 491, reprinted by Gardner (ESS p. 242)) is based on D.'s last stanza. A slightly different version appears in *O'F*.

Text. According to *IELM* 1. 247, *All* (ll. 1–22) is one of three poems copied by Goodyer into *A23*, a MS now among the Conway Papers in the British Library. It is included among the selected variants in MSS collated, though it will be seen that it was copied from a degenerate text akin to Group III, and so Goodyer cannot have had D.'s holograph in front of him.

18 colours] pretences (with a glance at cosmetics). **corners]** secrets. '[James I] is too *Great*, and too *Good* a *King* to seek corners, or disguises, for his actions'; 'God is a circle himself, and he will make thee one; go not thou about to square either circle, to bring that which is equal in itself, to Angles, and Corners, into dark and sad suspicions of God, or of thyself' (*Serm.* 4. 201 (15 Sept. 1622), 6. 175 (Christmas 1624)—Redpath).

20 entire] wholly devoted (*OED* 3c). **part]** a share.

21 art] by human skill, i.e., it was artificial, simulated, not naturally sincere or possessed of integrity.

22–3 for our losses sad, I] 'Sad' may apply to 'losses' or 'I' (or, perhaps, both).

23 thought/meant] Gardner notes: "'Meant' is rather too purposeful and 'this' implies he could 'hold' the slippery heart.'

Heading The editor's choice of *Love's All* was suggested by J. E. Grennen, *JDJ* 3 (1984) 121, 135, as a more accurate summation of the concerns of the poem.

IF yet I have not all thy love,
 Dear, I shall never have it all:
 I cannot breathe one other sigh to move,
 Nor can entreat one other tear to fall;
 5 All my treasure which should purchase thee—
 Sighs, tears and oaths and letters—I have spent;
 Yet no more can be due to me
 Than at the bargain made was meant:
 If, then, thy gift of love were partial—
 10 That some to me, some should to others fall—
 Dear, I shall never have thee all.

Or if then thou gav'st me all,
 All was but all which thou hadst then:
 But if in thy heart since, there be or shall
 15 New love created be by other men,
 Which have their stocks entire, and can in tears,
 In sighs, in oaths and letters outbid me,
 This new love may beget new fears,
 For this love was not vowed by thee;
 20 And yet it was: thy gift being general.
 The ground, thy heart, is mine: whatever shall
 Grow there, dear, I should have it all.

Sources collated: *Group I: H40, H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; A23; 1633, 1635*

Base text: DC

Select variants:

Heading Love's All *ed.*: ~ Infiniteness *Dob in another hand: A Lover's Infiniteness*

DC: Lovers' Infiniteness 1633, 1635; *Elegy S96: none I, Lut, O'F, A23*

1 thy] your *I, Dob* 5 All] And all 1633, 1635 11 thee] it *Lut, O'F, A23, 1635*

14 heart since] heart *A23* 16 Which] Who *III, A23*

17 and] in *Dob, 1635* outbid me] outbid *A23* 20 it] is 1633

21 is] was *Dob marg., S96, Lutae, O'F, A23, 1635*

3, 4 other] more.

5 purchase] cause you to be mine. D. allows the reader in this line to think the speaker is involved in a merely mercenary transaction, but the next shows 'treasure' to have been a metaphor. The commercial register is extended in ll. 8, 16, 17 with 'bargain', 'stocks', 'outbid'.

18 beget . . . fears] breed . . . anxiety.

20 general] D. may be hinting at the legal usage (*OED* 5d), denoting all his successors. It may also be interpreted as 'without specific exception'.

21–2 'Since the heart is origin of all love, by vowing your heart, which you still have, you owed all the love which should arise from it.' In the last five words of the poem, D. plays on an alternative meaning of 'ground' as 'land', to all of whose produce the speaker has a legal right.

21 ground] origin.

Yet I would not have all yet,
 He that hath all can have no more,
 25 And since my love doth every day admit
 New growth, thou shouldst have new rewards in store.
 Thou canst not every day give me thy heart:
 If thou canst give it, then thou never gav'st it:
 Love's riddles are that, though thy heart depart,
 30 It stays at home, and thou with losing sav'st it.
 But we will have a way more liberal
 Than changing hearts: to join them; so we shall
 Be one, and one another's All.

32 them] y^c H40: thee H49, D, C57, Lec, S96: om. Dob

33 another's Σ: another DC with space

Love's Deity

Date and Context. Earlier 1590s. The refrain suggests that this poem was expected to be sung. Despite apparent references to issues that arose in James I's reign in ll. 16, 18, the form, style, and use of what Carew calls 'the goodly exiled train / Of gods and goddesses, which in thy just reign / were banished nobler poems', are those of the Elizabethan courtly song-writer.

Analogues. Suckling riposted in the spirit of *Mummy* in 'Oh for some honest lover's ghost', five stanzas of seven lines, but shorter and differently rhymed.

23–6 Cp. *Bracelet* 93–4, *Primrose* 25–7 and notes.

24 Cp. *Metem* 339: 'There's no pause at perfection', and Dowland, l. 7: 'Who giveth all hath nothing to impart'.

25–6 Cp. Dowland, ll. 10–15: 'Then seeing / My love by length / Of every hour / Gathers new strength, / New growth, new flower, / You must have daily new rewards in store'.

27 Cp. Dowland, l. 17: 'You cannot every day give me your heart'.

29–30 Each 'a foot longer than the corresponding lines in stanzas 1 and 2'—Redpath.

30 Another example of D.'s religious parody: cp. the paradox by Jesus, *Luke* 9. 24: 'Whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it.'

31–3 Cp. Dowland, ll. 25–31: 'Yet, if you please, I'll find a better way / Than change them; / For so alone, / Dearest, we shall / Be one, and one / Another's all: / Let us so join our hearts that nothing may / Estrange them.'

31 i.e., sexual intercourse. **liberal**] unrestrained, unreserved, generous (possibly 'appropriate to our superior standing').

32 **changing**] exchanging.

33 **All**] (a) universe, everything; (b) completely, entirely; (c) 'God, the great All' (J. Bastard (1598) quoted by *OED* for sense B3; cp. D.'s *HolyS7Spit* 4, *Coronaz Annum* 2).

Heading Its widespread presence in MS suggests its early attachment to the poem, if not by the author himself.

Text. Group II preserves what seems to be the original text, and of its members *DC*, *L74*, *TCD* demand no substantive correction.

I LONG to talk with some old lover's ghost,
 Who died before the god of Love was born:
 I cannot think that he who then loved most
 Sunk so low as to love one which did scorn.
 5 But since this god produced a destiny,
 And that vice-nature, custom, lets it be,
 I must love her that loves not me.

Sure, they which made him god meant not so much,
 Nor he, in his young godhead, practised it.
 10 But when an even flame two hearts did touch,
 His office was indulgently to fit
 Actives to passives; correspondency
 Only his subject was: it cannot be
 Love, till I love her that loves me.

Sources collated: *Group I:* *H40*, *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II:* *L74*, *Dal*, *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III:* *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *DC/L74/TCD*

Select variants:

Heading *all MSS collated* 8 which] that *III*

1 lover's ghost] Repeated by Suckling at the end of the first line of his otherwise quite different Sonnet 3.

2 the god . . . born] Eros/Cupid (i.e., Desire) was of the second Olympian generation, variously recorded as the offspring of Mercury or Mars Zephyr and Diana or Venus or Iris—Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 3. 23; Plutarch, *Dialogue on Love* 20 (765E), quoting Alcaeus.

3 most] most devotedly.

5 produced a destiny] In Homer, *Iliad* 24. 527–8 the prerogative of the king of the gods: see note on *Comparison* 24.

6 that vice-nature, custom] Proverbial: Tilley C932, quoting, e.g., *Hamlet* 3. 4 after 151 (2nd quarto): 'For use almost can change the stamp of nature'. Cp. *Progress* 16.

9 in his young godhead] while his status as god was still new.

10 even flame] matching, reciprocal passion.

11–12 fit / Actives to passives] bring together, match agents to patients, subjects to objects, join the spontaneously originating to the unresistingly receiving, make all transitive activities function naturally, their contact leading to combination, action and reaction being equal and opposite. Scholastic doctrine derived from, e.g., Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption* 1. 2, 6–10 (315b5, 322b6–328b22), *Generation of Animals* 4. 3 (768b15).

11 indulgently] favourably, freely, without imposing obstacles.

- 15 But every modern god will now extend
 His vast prerogative as far as Jove.
 To rage, to lust, to write to, to commend—
 All is the purlieu of the God of Love.
 Oh were we wakened by this tyranny
- 20 T'ungod this child again, it could not be
 That I should love who loves not me.

- Rebel, and atheist too, why murmur I
 As though I felt the worst that love could do?
 Love might make me leave loving, or might try
- 25 A deeper plague, to make her love me too,
 Which, since she loves before, I'm loath to see:
 Falsehood is worse than hate, and that must be,
 If she whom I love should love me.

21 That I . . . who] That I . . . her who III (~~That~~ O'F): I . . . her who 1633, 1635
 24 might] may C57, Lec, 1633, 1635

Love's Diet

Date and Context. Early 1590s.

Text. The leaf probably bearing this poem is missing from *TCD*. Its copy, *N*, has been collated as supplying the best evidence of its presence and readings. *N* only diverges trivially from other members of Group II. *D* misreads only once, with the rest of its group, in l. 13.

15 modern] common, everyday. **will]** wants to (Redpath).

16 prerogative] right, pre-eminence. Gardner exemplifies lover's perjuries at which Jupiter laughs according to Ovid, *Art of Love* 1. 633, whence proverbial in English, Tilley J82, quoting, e.g., *Romeo and Juliet* 2. 1. 134–5: 'At lovers' perjuries, / They say, Jove laughs'. The word 'prerogative' was in frequent use in the case of the Queen's claimed right to over-ride common and statute law, culminating in the objection in the 1601 House of Commons (of which *D.* was a member) over monopolies. The intensity of protest rose under James. See also note on l. 5.

18 purlieu] range, disputed territory on fringe of royal hunting-domain (soon to be a hot topic as the hunting-mad James tried to recover lands disafforested under Henry III).

21 who] one who. The need for expansion was evidently felt in the source of Group III's text, and by the editor of 1633.

24–7 Cp. *Twickenham* 26–7.

26 before] already.

TO what a cumbersome unwieldiness
 And burd'nous corpulence my love had grown,
 But that I did, to make it less,
 And keep it in proportion,
 5 Give it a diet, made it feed upon
 That which love worst endures, discretion.

Above one sigh a day I 'lowed him not,
 Of which my fortune and my faults had part;
 And if sometimes by stealth he got
 10 A she-sigh from my mistress' heart,
 And thought to feast on that, I let him see
 'Twas neither very sound, nor meant to me.

If he wrung from me a tear, I brined it so
 With scorn or shame that him it nourished not;
 15 If he sucked hers, I let him know
 'Twas not a tear which he had got:
 His drink was counterfeit as was his meat,
 For eyes which roll t'wards all, weep not, but sweat.

Whatever he would dictate, I writ that,
 20 But burnt my letters; when she writ to me,

Sources collated: *Group I*: H40, H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; *Group II*: L74, Dal, TCC, N; *Group III*: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: D

Select variants:

Heading I, II, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635: the Diet DC: Amoris Dieta Dob, S96

6 endures] endues 1635 8 fortune] ~s III 11 feast] feed III

13 so L74ae, DC, III, 1633, 1635: too I, II (L74be) 16 which] that III

18 which] that TCC, III

19 Whatever] What even H40: Whatsoever II dictate] distaste II (L74be), O'Fae

writ] wrote L74, III: write Dal

20 But] And II my] by H40: her DC, 1635 writ] wrote III

8 part] share.

12 sound] reliable. **meant to]** intended for. *OED* quotes the usage from the Sidney *Psalms* 27. 5.

13 brined] salted.

17 counterfeit] fake. **meat]** food (i.e., the 'she-sigh' of l. 10).

18 sweat] A sign of mere lust, as in *Comparison* 7, and as there cp. *Venus and Adonis* 794, 'sweating lust'.

And that that favour made him fat,
 I said, 'If any title be
 Conveyed by this, ah, what doth it avail
 To be the fortieth name in an entail?'

- 25 Thus I reclaimed my buzzard love, to fly
 At what and when and how and where I choose.
 Now negligent of sport I lie,
 And now as other falc'ners use:
 I spring a mistress, swear, write, sigh and weep,
 30 And, the game killed or lost, go talk and sleep.

21 that that] if that *O'Fae*, 1635

25 reclaimed] redeemed *C57, Lec*, 1633 27 sport] ~s *DC*, 1633

29 swear, write, sigh] sigh, swear, write *III* 30 and] or *III*, 1635

Love's Exchange

Date and Context. 1592–5? Gardner observes of ll. 11–12's 'non obstante . . . prerogatives': 'The question was a burning one in the Parliament of 1597–8 and the struggle against patents and monopolies came to a climax in the Parliament of 1601 in which Donne sat.' Marotti (1986) p. 321 alleges a pun in l. 6 which does not make much sense on the maiden name of Ann More, whom D. first met in 1597–8. The images of 24–5, 40–2 run through D.'s work from early to late, but the style is early. The density of legal terms suggests the lyric was written for fellow law-students at Lincoln's Inn.

Text. Group I presents the most coherent text, and of the group *D* requires least correction.

21 And that] And as a consequence.

23–4 what . . . entail] Quoted by John Aubrey, referring to his reckoning that he stood eighteenth in an entail (*CH* p. 55). Cp. *Will* 8.

24 fortieth] Two syllables. **entail]** The noun is stressed on the second syllable. This clause in a will named those who might inherit the deceased's estate.

25 reclaimed] called back. **buzzard]** stupid, dim-sighted (*OED* 3). Cp. the proverb, Tilley B792, 'as blind as a buzzard', and Constable, 'To the K. of Scots Touching the Subject of his Poems Dedicated Wholly to Heavenly Matters' 1–2 (1592; 1960) p. 141: 'others hooded with blind love do fly / Low on the ground with buzzard Cupid's wings', and the flyting in *Taming of the Shrew* 2. 1. 206–8, where it is implied the bird is fast enough only to catch turtle-doves.

29 spring] flush out (possibly sexual: *OED* quotes such a usage in 1585). **swear . . . weep]** As a routine, insincerely, without emotional involvement.

LOVE, any devil else but you,
 Would for a given soul give something too:
 At Court your fellows every day
 Give th'art of rhyming, huntsmanship and play,
 5 For them who were their own before;
 Only I've nothing, which gave more,
 But am, alas, by being lowly, lower.

I ask not dispensation now
 To falsify a tear or sigh or vow;
 10 I do not sue from thee to draw
 A *non obstante* on Nature's law:
 These are prerogatives, they inhere

Sources collated: *Group I: H40, H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading *II, Dob (later), 1633, 1635: none I, Lut, O'F* 4 and] or *1633, 1635*

5 who] which *1633, 1635*

8 not] no *C57, Lec, 1633, 1635: but TCC*

9 a tear or sigh or *O'Fae, 1633, 1635* a sigh, a tear, a *Dob: a tear or I, II, Lut, O'Fbe*

1–2 As Mephistopheles promises in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* 2. 1. 100–1 ([1588–9?]
 A–Text 1604) to 'bring him whatsoever' he wants. Calling a god, Cupid, a devil
 seems paradoxical until one recollects that this was the rationalisation of pagan
 gods resorted to by Augustine, *City of God* 7. 33.

4 Each devil was presumed to have a particular province. **play]** gambling.

6 more] The courtly poets, hunters and gamblers will have given their souls,
 the speaker both body and soul.

7 *D.* implicitly reproaches and parodies Christianity's assurances that 'Though
 the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly' (*Ps.* 138. 6), 'Surely, he
 scorneth the scorners, but he giveth grace to the lowly' (*Prov.* 3. 34), 'Better it
 is to be of an humble spirit with the lowly than to divide the spoil with the
 proud' (*Prov.* 16. 19), and Jesus' promise that 'the last shall be first' in *Matt.* 19.
 30. In the *Magnificat* Mary thanks her god, 'For he hath regarded the lowliness
 of his handmaiden' (*BCP Evening Prayer*). The view that the woman in the poem
 scorns humility is that of *Blossom* 27–32.

8 dispensation] special exemption formally granted from an ecclesiastical
 requirement.

10 sue] petition.

11 non obstante] 'notwithstanding', 'no hindrance'. An exemption from the law
 granted by the Crown, beginning with these words. Cp. *Essays* p. 81: 'Nature is
 the *Common law* by which God governs us, and *Miracle* is his *Prerogative*. For Miracles
 are but so many *Non obstantes* upon Nature. And Miracle is not like prerogative
 in anything more than in this, that nobody can tell what it is' (Gardner). Cp.
 also *Serm.* 2. 184 ('privilege'), 317 ('modification'; 21 Feb. [1619], 30 Jan. [1620]).
Nature's law] Cp. *Metem* 480.

12 prerogatives] rights, usually royal, to override the law. Cp. *Deity* 16 and note.

In thee and thine; none should forswear
Except that he Love's minion were.

- 15 Give me thy weakness: make me blind
Both ways, as thou and thine, in eyes and mind:
Love, let me never know that this
Is love, or, that love childish is;
Let me not know that others know
20 That she knows my pain, lest that so
A tender shame make me mine own new woe.

- If thou give nothing, yet th'art just,
Because I would not thy first motions trust;
Small towns, which stand stiff till great shot
25 Enforce them by war's law, condition not.
Such in Love's warfare is my case:
I may not article for grace,
Having put Love at last to show this face:

- This face by which he could command
30 And change th'idolatry of any land;
This face which, wheresoe'er it comes,

13 thee and thine] thine and thee *II* 20 pain] ~s 1633, 1635

24 which stand *H40, C57, Lec, III, 1633, 1635*: withstand *H49, D, II*

13 forswear] violate his vow.

14 minion] favourite, darling.

15 Give . . . weakness] make me blind (and naked but armed so as to compel love?). Gardner sees this as parody of the Christian's presuming to ask for reward only to the extent of sharing his/her god's weakness.

15-16 blind . . . mind] Cp. the proverb, 'It is impossible to love and be wise' (Tilley L558).

16 thine] i.e., lovers.

19-21 Guss p. 119 compares Petrarch's '*Voi ch'ascoltate*', *Rime sparse* 1 ('shame' = *vergogna*, —o).

24-5 great shot . . . war's law] Gardner cites A. Gentili's three books on the law of war, *De iure belli*, 2. 16-17 (1588-9), observing that once artillery has been drawn up against a weak place, there can be no question of terms of surrender.

25 war's law] i.e., force. **condition]** make stipulations.

26 Love's warfare] A Petrarchan convention, as in *War*.

27 article for grace] stipulate a favourable concession.

28 put . . . to] made, compelled to.

29-30 Cp. the proverb, Tilley L527, 'Love conquereth all things', originating with Virgil, *Eclagues* 10. 69. The two lines are expanded to four by Dryden, 'Song to a Fair Young Lady Going out of the Town in the Spring' 13-16 (1693; Gr.).

Can call vowed men from cloisters, dead from tombs,
 And melt both Poles at once, and store
 Deserts with cities, and make more
 35 Mines in the earth than quarries were before.

For this Love is enraged with me,
 Yet kills not; if I must example be
 To future rebels; if th'unborn
 Must learn by my being cut up and torn,
 40 Kill and dissect me, Love, for this
 Torture against thine own end is:
 Racked carcasses make ill anatomies.

Love's Usury

Date and Context. First half of 1590s?

Analogues. A typical court song.

Text. *D*, *Lec* demand no correction.

32 vowed men] monks who have taken a vow of celibacy.

33–4 store . . . cities: e.g., Antinópolis, founded in Egypt by Hadrian in memory of his beloved Antinöus.

33 store] fill.

35 Mines] i.e., minerals. According to the hermetic hypothesis quoted by E. H. Duncan 267, the sun's influence (not visible rays) converted suitable material in the ground to gold. Cp. *Serm.* 3. 372 (Christmas Day 1621): 'Precious stones are the first "drops of the dew" [*Job* 38. 28] of heaven, and then refined by the sun of heaven. When by long lying they have exhaled, and evaporated, and breathed out all their gross matter, and received another concoction from the sun, then they become precious in the eye, and estimation of men.' Cp. *Bedford Tomb* 14, *Somerset* 61–4.

39 torn] Shawcross detects an allusion to Orpheus torn apart by furious Maenads for scorning them. See Ovid, *Met.* 11. 1–53.

42 Because the torture unrepresentatively elongated the body. Allen, *Essential Articles* p. 97, cites various anatomists for this, such as Sylvius, *Opera medica* (1635) p. 127, though it would have been self-evident. The bodies of those hanged for felony were assigned to the Colleges of Barber-Surgeons and of Physicians and the universities to be dissected. The annual public lecture and dissection at Surgeons' Hall, referred to by, e.g., Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse, Unfortunate Traveller, Have with you to Saffron Walden, 'To the Reader'* (1592, 1594, 1596; *Works* 1. 196, 2. 304, 3. 19), was very popular. Cp. *Coryat* 53–4. **anatomies]** specimens for dissection.

FOR ev'ry hour that thou wilt spare me now,
 I will allow,
 Usurious God of Love, twenty to thee,
 When with my brown my grey hairs equal be;
 5 Till then, Love, let my body reign, and let
 Me travel, sojourn, snatch, plot, have, forget,
 Resume my last year's relict; think that yet
 We'd never met.

Let me think any rival's letter mine,
 10 And at next nine
 Keep midnight's promise; mistake by the way
 The maid, and tell the lady of that delay;
 Only let me love none, no, not the sport;
 From country grass to comfitures of Court,

Sources collated: *H40*; Group I: *H49, D, C57, Lec*; Group II: *L74, Dal, DC*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D, Lec*

Select variants:

Heading *L74 in diff, hand, DC, Dob in diff, hand, 1633, 1635*: Elegy *S96: none H40, I, Dal, Lut*: Confined (?) *erased O'F*

5 reign] range *III, 1635* 6 snatch] match *Lut, O'F, 1635* 7 relict] relic *II*

3 Usurious] Insisting on interest on a loan, extortionate.

5 my body reign] physical desire predominate.

6 sojourn] Stay temporarily. **snatch]** exploit momentary opportunity.

7 relict] discarded, deserted partner (*OED* 4a).

9 rival's letter] letter to a rival. **mine]** i.e., to read.

10 next] nearest. It presumably means the lover will turn up for an assignation three hours early, to leave time to make love to the maid, to catch the mistress out, and, since others will not have gone to bed, to be wilfully indiscreet. The following nine o' clock, i.e., in the morning, seems less likely for an assignation.

11–12 mistake . . . maid] The wisdom of this is discussed by Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 1. 375–98, who writes a pair of elegies dramatising the situation, *Amores* 2. 7–8. Stressing the first syllable of the verb 'mistake' emphasises both halves of the word, and thus the sexual application of the second. Cp. *Satyre* 5 67.

12 tell . . . delay] Outdoing Ovid in impudence since his lover at least tries to cover up the infidelity in *Amores* 2. 7. 17–28, 8, using confession only to threaten the maid (Gardner).

13 The speaker wishes to be enthralled to neither love nor lust nor the fun of the chase itself.

14 grass] (a) typical product; (b) flesh, glancing at *Isa.* 40. 6, 'All flesh is grass'. **comfitures]** artificial confections. Literally the word was applied to drugs as well as nourishing preserves.

15 Or city's *quelques choses*; let report
My mind transport.

This bargain's good: if when I'm old, I be
Inflamed by thee;
If thine own honour or my shame or pain
20 Thou covet, most at that age thou shalt gain.
Do thy will then: then subject and degree
And fruits of love, Love, I submit to thee.
Spare me till then; I'll bear it, though she be
One that loves me.

15 let] ~ not *III*, 1635 19 shame or] ~ and *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

20 covet, most] covet most, 1633

21 then: then] then *DC*: then: the *III* (*O'Fbe* in *diff. hand*)

22 fruits] fruit *H40*, *II* 24 loves] love 1635

The Message

Date and Context. Early 1590s? From its place in Group II under a general title 'Songs which were made to certain airs which (that *DC*) were made before', as well as its simple form and content, it is obvious that this lyric was intended for performance to entertain young men, among whom D. found himself at Lincoln's Inn. A later musical setting by Coperario (d. 1626) is realised from MS Tenbury 1019, f. 1v, by Souris and reprinted by Gardner (*ESS* p. 241).

Analogue. Eyes, heart and resentment of amatory failure are of course all commonplace among love-lyricists. Cp. particularly D.'s *Legacy*.

Text. The Group II text requires no emendation.

15 *quelques choses*] over-dainty women. *choses*] Two syllables. **report**] mere rumour.

16 'Divert my attention.'

17 **good**] concluded, agreed, settled.

18 i.e., fall in love.

19–20 The disgrace, shame and pain will be greatest in an old man.

19 **If**] Even if (*OED* 4a).

21 **then**] at that time. **degree**] rank.

22 **fruits**] consequences.

23–4 Cp. *Calm* 40, where such may be a 'queasy pain'.

SEND home my long-strayed eyes to me,
 Which, oh, too long have dwelt on thee;
 Yet, since there they've learned such ill,
 Such forced fashions
 5 And false passions,
 That they be
 Made by thee
 Fit for no good sight, keep them still.

Send home my harmless heart again,
 10 Which no unworthy thought could stain;
 Which if it be taught by thine
 To make jestings
 Of protestings,
 And cross both
 15 Word and oath,
 Keep it, for then 'tis none of mine.

Yet send me back my heart and eyes,
 That I may know and see thy lies,
 And may laugh and joy when thou
 20 Art in anguish
 And dost languish
 For someone
 That will none,
 Or prove as false as thou art now.

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *II*

Select variants:

Heading 1635: *Song I, III: none; first under general title Songs which were made to certain airs which (that DC) were made before II: none 1633*

11 Which if] But if *Lut, O'F, 1635*; Yet since reported by Redpath from five MSS assoc. with *Group III* not collated here

14 cross] break 1633, 1635

19 laugh and joy when] laugh when that *I*: joy and laugh when *Lut, O'F*

4 forced] affected, artificial, strained, distorted, unnatural. There may also be a hint of 'forced' as a form of 'farced' = 'stuffed': it was a Tudor and Jacobean fashion to stuff breeches ('trunk-hose'), and even (whether necessary or not), the codpiece: see *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 2. 7. 53-6, *As You Like It* 2. 7. 160; for women, shoulders, sleeves and skirts might all be padded out.

13 protestings] sincere protestations of love.

14 cross] contradict, act contrary to.

23 will none] is wholly unwilling.

Mummy (Love's Alchemy)

Date and Context. 1590s? The anti-courtly-Petrarchan mode and presumed male audience make Marotti (1986) pp. 110–12 associate this poem with the Lincoln's Inn period 1592–5.

Analogues. The cynical carnality is comparable to that of *Progress*. On the reworking by William Cartwright in 'No Platonic Love' see *CH* p. 53.

Text. Groups I and II both on the whole preserve a good text. In Group III, *Dob*, *S96* share errors which together distinguish their antecedents from both Groups I and II and *Lut*, *O'F*. *D* and *C57* require no correction.

SOME that have deeper digged Love's mine than I,
 Say where his centric happiness doth lie:
 I've loved and got and told,
 But should I love, get, tell, till I were old,
 5 I should not find that hidden mystery.
 Oh 'tis imposture all;
 And as no chymic yet th'elixir got,
 But glorifies his pregnant pot
 If by the way to him befall
 10 Some odorif'rous thing, or med'cinal,

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *DC*; *Group II*: *L74*, *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *D/C57*

Select variants:

Heading *H40*, *I*, *II* (*L74* has or Alchemy added in another hand), *III* (*Dob* has printed editions' heading added in another hand): Love's Alchemy *DC*, 1633, 1635
 9 by] to *H49* 11 rich and long] long and rich *Lec*, *S96*

1 digged Love's mine] Cp. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* (1605) 2. 7. 1:

Democritus said that 'the truth of nature lieth hid in certain deep mines and caves'; and if it be true likewise that the alchemists do so much inculcate, that Vulcan is a second Nature . . . it were good to divide natural philosophy into the mine and the furnace, and to make two professions or occupations of natural philosophers, some to be pioneers and some smiths, some to dig, and some to refine and hammer (Gardner).

2 centric] central, chief.

7–10 no chymic . . . med'cinal] Cp. letter to Goodyer of 19 Aug. [1614] (*Letters* p. 172): 'My Lord Chancellor [Egerton] gave me so noble and so ready a despatch, accompanied with so fatherly advice and remorse for my fortunes, that I am now, like an alchemist, delighted with discoveries by the way though I attain not mine end' (Gr.). Cp. Bacon, *Advancement* 1. 4. 11, comparing Aesop's fable of the farmer and his three sons: 'The search and stir to make gold hath brought to light a great number of good and fruitful inventions and experiments' (Gardner).

7 chymic] alchemist. **elixir]** The quintessence or Philosopher's Stone, healing all ills, giving eternal life, and converting base metals to gold.

8 glorifies] extravagantly praises. **pregnant]** productive, bulging like a pregnant animal.

So lovers dream a rich and long delight,
But get a winter-seeming summer's night.

Our ease, our thrift, our honour and our day,
Shall we for this vain bubble's shadow pay?

- 15 Ends love in this: that my man
Can be as happy[^]as I can, if he can
Endure the short scorn of a bridegroom's play?
 That loving wretch that swears,
'Tis not the bodies marry, but the minds,
20 Which he in her angelic finds,
 Would swear as justly, that he hears,
In that day's rude, hoarse minstrelsy, the spheres.
Hope not for mind in women: at their best
Sweetness and wit, they're but mummy possessed.

13 our thrift] and thrift *II*: our thirst *DC*

23 women] woman *H49, Dae, II, Lut, O'F* at their] or at *TCC*

12 winter-seeming] lit. chilling, dreary. **summer's]** short.

13 thrift] prosperity. **day]** life.

14 bubble's] The type of something attractive but transient. Cp. the poem associated with *Wotton Kisses* and attributed to Bacon, 'The world's a bubble'.

15-17 Smith quotes Florio's Montaigne 2. 12 (1928) 2. 188-9 on Posidonius the Stoic philosopher: 'He feeleth the same passions that my lackey doth'. The opinion is echoed in the concluding stanza of Suckling's *Ballad upon a Wedding*.

15 my man] my man-servant.

17 scorn] mockery.

20 angelic] without sex or gender, androgynous.

21 justly] aptly, justifiably.

22 rude, hoarse minstrelsy] Gardner exemplifies from *Romeo and Juliet* 4. 4. 21-3, 128-71 the crude popular music with which weddings were celebrated. *spheres]* The doctrine that the spheres which bore the stars round the earth in the classical system produced a celestial harmony while they did so was well known from its espousal by Plato, *Republic* 10 (617b2-5), and, despite rejection by Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 2. 9 (290b12-291a27), popular through the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

23-4 Not quite as derogatory as it might seem to a modern reader, though clearly misogynistic in its depreciation of all women: 'The point of the final couplet . . . is almost wholly lost or perverted if we do not start from the meanings of "Mumia" in Paracelsus'—A. B. Chambers, *JEGP* 59 (1960) 212-17, who equates mummy with life-preserving balsam. Nonetheless, it is implied that any 'wit' that women possess in addition to this natural virtue comes from men. **best . . . wit]** most benign and amusing.

23 women/woman] 'Their' and 'they' in this and the next line tip the balance in favour of *H40, Dbe, C57, Lec, Dob, S96*.

24 but mummy] only (a) dead flesh; or (b) the medicine prepared from it. Gardner quotes Browne, *Hydriotaphia, or, Um-burial* 5: 'The Egyptian mummies which Cambyses or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth. Mummy is become merchandize: Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharaoh is sold for balsams.' **possessed]** (a) animated (in the ascetic view, by an evil spirit of fleshly delight); (b) once they are taken possession of sexually; or (c) married.

Negative Love

Date and Context. Though in form resembling a song of the 1590s, the analogues among D.'s poems all probably date from the 1600s.

Analogues. H. M. Richmond, *N&Q* 203 (1958) 535, finds 'some kind of precedent' by Ronsard in *Sonets et madrigals pour Astrée* in *Les Amours*, 'L'homme est bien sot qui aime sans cognoistre', confessing to a love of what he has neither seen, heard, nor touched. Besides this erotic meaning, the theme was also a Platonic commonplace (cp. *Ecstasy* 32, *Relic* 25–6, *Mourning* 17–18) used to parody the 'negative way' of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, and, later, Nicholas of Cusa, *De docta ignorantia* (1440), for whom the only true knowledge was knowledge of what God was not (see note below on ll. 10–12, and *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (1988) pp. 673–4). According to Marotti (1986) p. 200, the poem 'converts losing into winning by abusing language and logic.'

Text. TCD is the MS freest from obvious error in Group II, which itself contains fewer such errors than *Lut* and *O'F*, the only other important MSS.

I NEVER stooped so low as they
 Which on an eye, cheek, lip, can prey;
 Seldom to them which soar no higher
 Than virtue or the mind t'admire,
 5 For sense and understanding may
 Know what gives fuel to their fire:
 My love, though silly, is more brave,
 For may I miss whene'er I crave,
 If I know yet what I would have.

Sources collated: *Group II*: DC, TCC, TCD; *Group III*: *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: TCD

Select variants:

Heading *II*, 1633, 1635: Negative Love, or The Nothing *III*

3 which DC, TCC, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635: that TCD

8 I may] may I DC, *O'Fae* 1633, 1635

1–2 I never . . . lip] He will: cp. *Air* 14.

1–3 stooped, prey, soar] D. describes a man's pursuit of women in terms of falconry (Redpath).

3 to them] to their level.

7 silly] ignorant. **brave]** admirable.

8 miss] fail.

10–12 If that . . . negatives] e.g., the deity as imagined by some theologians, infinite, immutable, immortal, invisible, incomparable, ineffable, unknowable, impassible, indivisible, indeterminate, unoriginate. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 3, 13. 12, by 'knowledge' means 'certainty', stating as a preliminary assumption that 'we cannot know what God is, but rather what he is not,' then quoting as example Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, *De caeleste hierarchia* 2. 3 (*PG* 3. 140): 'Negations about God are true, but affirmations are vague.'

- 10 If that be simply perfectest
 Which can by no way be expressed
 But negatives, my love is so:
 To all which all love, I say no.
 If any who deciphers best
- 15 What we know not, ourselves, can know,
 Let him teach me that nothing: this
 As yet my ease and comfort is,
 Though I speed not, I cannot miss.

14 deciphers] decipher *DC, Lut*

15 know not, ourselves *DC, TCC, Lut, O'F 1633, 1635: ~ ~ of ourselves TCD*

A Nocturnal upon Saint Lucy's Day being the Shortest Day

Date and Context. Dec. 1612? Grierson (2. 10) wondered if D. was prompted by the serious illness of Lady Bedford during which on 23 Nov. 1612 she was described by another patron, Lord Dorset, as 'speechless, and . . . past all hopes'. The

10 perfectest] Thomas Aquinas 11. 4. 1.

13 all love] love every aspect, the whole sex. Cp. *Indifferent*.

15 'Know thyself' was the command inscribed at the Greek oracle of Delphi: see *SecAn* 279–80. Cp. Montaigne, *Essayes* 2. 17 (1928) 2. 358–9:

For in the study which I profess, the subject whereof is man, finding so extreme a variety of judgements, so inextricable a labyrinth of difficulties one upon the neck of another, so great diversity, and so great uncertainty—yea, even in the school of wisdom itself—you may imagine since those men could never be resolved of the knowledge of themselves and of their own condition, which is continually before their eyes, which is ever within them; since they know not how that moveth which themselves cause to move, nor how to set forth the springs and decipher the wards which themselves hold and handle, how should I think of the true cause of the flux and reflux of the River Nilus?

Cp. *Harington* 30, where the possibility is implicitly acknowledged. Gardner quotes Raleigh's preface to his *History of the World*.

16 that nothing] (a) the counterpart, in the speaker's view of the 'all' that is loved in l. 13; (b) perfection, symbolised by the circle, ○. To infer a sexual pun would not fit the context.

17 As yet] So far.

18 Contradicting l. 8. speed] succeed.

Heading] St Lucy's Day fell on 13 December, which, according to popular belief, was also the winter solstice, shortest day and longest night of the year. It approximated to those dates in the old Julian Calendar, then still followed in England. As mentioned above, D. had already used the custom of marking the feast-day of the saint after whom someone was named in *FirAn*. **Nocturnal]** 'A night-service, a nocturn'—*OED B sb.* 3.

intensity of the language, which Marotti (1986) p. 233 compares to ‘the vivid hyperboles of the *Anniversaries*’, might seem, as there, to be inappropriate, but D.’s sense of being ‘nothing’ usually related not to his wife but to his lack of position in the world. With the Countess (with regard to whom he poses as frustrated lover in the similarly seasonal *Twickenham*) all his worldly hopes might die. (Cp. Raleigh, ‘Fortune hath taken thee away, my love’—*NOB16* pp. 373–4). Moreover, if she was not expected to be able to read and reward the poem, it might well turn into an intensely self-centred meditation, though, on the other hand, *Lucy* with its commemoration of her name-day might have been conceived as atonement for *The Anniversaries*, the first of which claims to be written for Elizabeth Drury’s (l. 449). Although by mid-December Lucy Bedford might have been better, D. need not have waited till its precise date to seize on her approaching name-day as an appropriate occasion. Regarding his wife’s death as a possible occasion, the response in *Lucy* is quite different from the spiritual liberation he is set on in *HSW1Since*, nor are fellow-lovers addressed in any of his poems after *Primrose* in 1613. Absence from Group I MSS does not prescribe a date later than 1614, as Gardner supposed: most poems associated with Lady Bedford but accepted as written 1607–12, such as *BedfordWrit*, *BedfordNew*, *BedfordHonour*, *BedfordDead*, *BedfordShe*, *BulstrodeLanguage*, *Twickenham*, are likewise absent.

Analogues. The Renaissance fascination with the possible paradoxical existence of nothing is discussed by R. Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica* (1966) 219–32, who gives many examples of philosophical and literary exercises on the theme in French, Latin and English from Passerat to Fielding. A. Hurley, *JDJ* 16 (1997) 212–13, notes that there were three nocturnals of matins, and that the five stanzas and the terminal refrain parallel those of the Virgin Mary’s. Double festivals such as Lucy’s have nine psalms for Matins, and there were supposed to be nine choirs of angels—alluded to by the nine-line stanzas (which, however, are favoured by D. in numerous purely secular lyrics). *Lucy* is seen as an anti-epithalamion, its midwinter opposed to the midsummer of Spenser’s *Epithalamium*, by R. S. Edgecombe, *Expl* 52 (1994) 142–5.

Text. Group III’s two members show half a dozen errors between them. Of Group II, only *TCC* does not demand correction at least once, so is the base text here.

’TIS the year’s midnight, and it is the day’s:
Lucy’s, who scarce seven hours herself unmasks;

Sources collated: *Group II:* *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III:* *Lut*, *O’F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *TCC*

Select variants:

Heading *All sources collated*

1 the year’s midnight] i.e., the winter solstice. In *Harington* 15–17 D. sees ‘the day’s’ midnight as a fit time of day to meditate on the death of a virtuous Bedford: ‘Thou seest me here at midnight, now all rest; / Time’s dead-low water; when all minds divest / Tomorrow’s business’. Ironically, the name Lucy was associated with the Latin for ‘light’, and one of her attributes is a lamp (she is also shown carrying her eyes on a plate: legend says she sent them to a young admirer). **2 scarce seven]** In fact more like seven and three-quarters in the latitude of London. ‘To experience a day as short as this one would need to be further north than Donne is ever known to have travelled’—Gardner.

- The sun is spent, and now his flasks
 Send forth light squibs, no constant rays;
 5 The world's whole sap is sunk:
 The general balm th'hydroptic earth hath drunk,
 Whither, as to the bed's feet, life is shrunk,
 Dead and interred; yet all these seem to laugh
 Compared with me, who am their epitaph.
- 10 Study me then, you who shall lovers be
 At the next world, that is, at the next Spring,
 For I am every dead thing,
 In whom Love wrought new alchemy:
 For his art did express

3 his] her *Lut*, *O'Fbe* 4 no] not *III*

6 th'hydroptic] th'hydropic *Lut*: with hydroptic *DC*

12 every] a very *III*, 1635 14 art] heart *III*

3-9 Cp. *Twickenham* 10-13.

3-4 **his flasks . . . rays**] i.e., the stars flicker. They were thought by some (e.g., Milton, *PL* 7. 361-5) to contain reserves of light from the Sun (Gardner). Here they become analogous to containers of gunpowder, which flares briefly, as in *Broken* 7-8, not giving a long, steady light. This is perhaps the first item of the pervasive, but not systematic, vocabulary of alchemy—'flasks', 'balm', 'quintessence'—but it is a 'new alchemy', employing 'love's limbeck' as a convenient figure of substantial transformation, just as in *Twickenham* l. 6, and in *FirAn* ll. 417-18, and *Huntingdon* ll. 25-6, where alchemy is combined with religious transubstantiation.

4 **light squibs**] flashes like bangers.

6 Re-absorbing its life-giving nourishment (see note on *Comparison* 3), like the Promised Land in *Deut.* 11. 11, which needs no irrigation but 'drinketh water of the rain of heaven'. **hydroptic**] Too full of liquid already, but still thirsty. *D.* glosses the thirst as 'immoderate desire' (*Letters* p. 51). On his form of the word, see note on *Perfume* 6.

7-8 The world is personified as near death, dead, and buried.

7 **bed's feet**] 'The end of a bed . . . towards which the feet are placed' (*OED* 'foot' *sb.* 5a). *D.* reverses the usual direction of loss of feeling in death, described, e.g., in *Henry V* 2. 1. 21-5.

10-11 This dissociation of himself by the speaker from earthly lovers is repeated in ll. 38-41. For this setting up as a lesson to others, cp. *Canonization* 35-45, *Ecstasy* 70-6, *Book* 12-54.

12 **every**] Three syllables.

13 **wrought new alchemy**] transformed by a process hitherto unknown.

14-18 'Love's skill (comparable to alchemy) forced a last distillate from the nothingness to which he had reduced me, all properties removed and lacking any identity or sense of self, and reconstituted me out of negative characteristics, such as a lack of light, of life.'

14 **art**] technical skill, science. **express**] press out, squeeze.

15 A quintessence even from nothingness,
 From dull privations and lean emptiness.
 He ruined me, and I am re-begot
 Of absence, darkness, death—things which are not.

All others from all things draw all that's good—
 20 Life, soul, form, spirit—whence they being have;
 I, by Love's limbeck, am the grave
 Of all: that's nothing. Oft a flood
 Have we two wept, and so
 Drowned the whole world, us two; oft did we grow
 25 To be two Chaoses when we did show
 Care to aught else; and often absences
 Withdrew our souls, and made us carcasses.

But I am by her death (which word wrongs her)
 Of the first nothing the elixir grown.

15 quintessence] fifth and final distillation. See note on *Spring*.

16, 18, 20 privations . . . emptiness. . . absence, darkness, death . . . Life, soul, form, spirit, . . . being] D.'s use of the idea of non-entity is discussed by D. R. Klinck, *Renascence* 33 (1981) 244. C. H. Miller, *Essential Articles* pp. 305–12, sees these quintuplicities, and that of the stanza-structure, as deliberate reminiscences of the five traditional features of the Nocturns of Matins, psalm, doctrine, *Revelation*, Gospel and homily, and the nine lines of each stanza echoing the nine psalms and nine lessons.

17–18 re-begot Of . . . things that are not] Creation out of nothing, of which only God was thought capable, and so a parody of the Creation.

17 ruined] destroyed, reduced to formlessness.

19 others] other alchemists. **all that's good]** i.e., the quintessence, balm/balsam, elixir.

21–2 I . . . nothing] An index of his grief: in *Essays* p. 30 D. wrote: 'For to be nothing is so deep a curse and high degree of punishment that Hell and the prisoners there not only have it not, but cannot wish so great a loss to themselves' (Shawcross).

21 limbeck] distilling-flask. **grave]** Of the alchemical significances alleged by L. Abraham, *Emblematika* 5 (1991) 305–20, this is the most plausible and relevant: 'tomb' or 'grave' was sometimes used for the place of conception of the Philosophers' Stone.

22–3 Oft . . . wept] Presumably at parting: cp. *Weeping*. The reader may wonder whether this really indicates a relation of the poem to Lady Bedford.

24 Drowned . . . world] *Gen.* 7. 17–23. Cp. *Weeping* 17–18, *Markham* 12, *DivM7* Little 8.

24–6 oft . . . else] Cp. *Othello* 3. 3. 92–3: 'And when I love thee not, / Chaos is come again'.

26 often] frequent (this adjectival usage was common in the seventeenth century). **absences]** separations.

27 carcasses] Cp. *Fever* 9–10, *BedfordShe* 11–14, *FirAn passim*.

28 wrongs her] because her 'soul' survives.

- 30 Were I a man, that I were one
 I needs must know; I should prefer,
 If I were any beast,
 Some ends, some means; yea, plants—yea, stones—detest
 And love: all, all, some properties invest.
 35 If I an ordinary nothing were,
 As shadow,^a light and body must be here.

34 all, all] all *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

28–9 Contradicting *Broken* 25: 'Nothing can to nothing fall'.

29 **the first nothing]** 'That absolute non-being that preceded being' (Gardner). But D. argues in *Essays* (pp. 31, 33):

To speak truth freely, there was no such Nothing as this before the beginning: for he that hath refined all the old definitions [marginally citing Piccolomini, *De definitione materiae primae*, in Aeneas Sylvius (i.e., Piccolomini), *Opera* (Basle 1571), Keynes L176] hath put this ingredient, *Creabile* [able to be turned into something'] (which cannot be absolutely *nothing*) into his definition of 'creation'. . . . It is first and last; immortal and perishable; formed and formless; one, four and infinite; good, bad and neither; because it is susceptible of all forms, and changeable into all. . . . The substantial forms were presently in it distinctly but other accidental properties added successively.

See H. K. Miller, *MP* 53 (1956) 163–5, and cp. *WottonKisses* 4. **elixir]** quintessence.

30–4 He lacks the properties of rational, sensitive and vegetative souls, even of physical existence. Cp. *Calm* 55.

31–3 **I should . . . means]** The sensitive soul enabled animal locomotion, which implies seeking a purposed destination.

33–4 **plants . . . love]** Referring to the unwillingness of many plants to grow near certain others (which intercept light, water and other necessities), and, e.g., the protection of radish by the insect-detering aromatic hyssop, the support given by the elm to the vine, the attraction between lodestone and iron. The doctrine of sympathies and antipathies in nature was much written about, beginning with the third-century Greek, Bolus, and, among the Romans, e.g., Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 20. 1–2, 28; 16. 72, 37. 59. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 146–7 (Christmas 1629): 'We are not sure that stones have not life; stones may have life' (Gr.).

33 **plants]** The vegetative soul facilitated feeding and so appetite and revulsion. (Sexes in plants were not discerned till later).

34 **properties]** The subject of the following verb with 'all' as the object. **invest]** clothe.

35–6 Cp. 'A shadow is nothing; yet, if the rising or falling Sun shines out, and there be no shadow, I will pronounce there is no body in that place neither' (Gr. from sermon in 1840 *Selections*).

37 **none]** no ordinary nothing. **nor . . . renew]** nor will the one he worshipped rise and grow warm.

37, 42 **nor . . . renew . . . long night's festival]** Perhaps a knowing echo of Catullus 5. 4–6, rendered by D.'s acquaintance, Jonson (for whose *Volpone* (1607), D. supplied a complimentary verse-letter): 'Suns that set may rise again;

But I am none; nor will my Sun renew.
 You lovers, for whose sake the lesser Sun
 At this time to the Goat is run
 40 To fetch new lust, and give it you,
 Enjoy your summer all:
 Since she enjoys her long night's festival,
 Let me prepare t'wards her, and let me call
 This hour her Vigil and her Eve, since this
 45 Both the year's and the day's deep midnight is.

44 her Vigil] his ~ *TCD, Lut, O'Fbe*

The Paradox

Date and Context. Early 1590s?

Analogues. The poem depends on a favourite problem of medieval logicians, exemplified in *Titus* 1.12, 'One, being of themselves, . . . said "The Cretians are always liars"'. By it D. here reduces to absurdity the Petrarchan verbal coupling of consummating love and dying. See M. McCanles, *Essential Articles* pp. 233–4. In many MSS it appears with or near a poem, assumed not to be by D., as a rival or an answer:

but, if once we lose this light, / 'Tis with us perpetual night' (though as a Christian D. believed in a resurrection).

38–41 Cp. Spenser's address to 'more happy lovers' in his mourning elegy *Daphnaïda* 512–18.

38 the lesser Sun] the actual physical Sun.

39 Goat] The Tropic of Capricorn or the astrological sign. The animal was proverbially lustful (Tilley G167).

42 long night's festival] Literally both the Eve and the feast day. On D.'s uncertainty as to whether the soul was in the presence of God immediately on death see notes on *DivM7Little* 7, *SecAn* 185–206.

43 t'wards her] (a) to take part in her feast-day on the morrow; or (b) to follow her through death to Heaven.

44 hour] 'The "hour", as in the phrase "canonical hour", in this case specifically is that part of the night's office referred to as a nocturn'—A. B. Chambers p. 121. **her Vigil and her Eve]** Those of both St Lucy: and the subject of the poem, 'my Sun', 'she'. 'Vigil' and 'Eve' were practically interchangeable, the Church, especially in monasteries, celebrating the Eve of a feast-day with a service in the night in which it started.

45 The hardly varied repetition of the opening line emphasises that the speaker is immovably locked in this midnight of 'Absence, darkness, death,' despair and annihilation, while the cycle of seasons referred to in ll. 1, 11, 37, 41 goes on.

Whoso terms love a fire, may like a poet
 Feign what he will, for certain cannot show it.
 For fire ne'er burns but when the fuel's near,
 But love doth at most distance most appear.
 Yet out of fire, water did never go,
 But tears from love abundantly do flow.
 Fire still mounts upward, but love oft descendeth;
 Fire leaves the midst, love to the centre tendeth.
 Fire dries and hardens, love doth mollify;
 Fire doth consume, but love doth fructify.

The powerful queen of love, fair Venus, came
 Descended from the sea, not from the flame,
 Whence passions ebb and flow, and from the brain
 Run to the heart like streams, and back again.
 Yea, love oft fills men's breasts with melting snow,
 Drowning their love-sick minds in floods of woe.
 What, is love water then? It may be so,
 But he saith truth who saith he does not know.

In such contests D. shows he is able, like Davies with his 'Gulling Sonnets' and 'Sonnets to Philomel', either to assume the fashionable pose of a melancholy lover (as in many other poems and the Lothian portrait) or to mock it (Marotti (1986) pp. 83-7).

Text. *H40* requires no correction if one accepts its reading in l. 14.

No lover saith, 'I love', nor any other
 Can judge a perfect lover:
 He thinks that else none can, nor will agree,
 That any loves but he.
 5 I cannot say 'I loved', for who can say
 He was killed yesterday?
 Love, with excess of heat, more young than old
 Death kills with too much cold;
 We die but once, and who loved last did die;

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group II*: *L74*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III*: *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*;
1633, *1635*

Base text: *H40*

Select variants:

Heading *1635 only*

3 nor] or *1633*, *1635*

3 else none] no-one else. Cp. E. Herbert's lyric 'I am the first that ever loved'.
7-8 Love kills, with excess of heat (the sanguine and choleric humours of passion), more young people than Death kills old people with excessive cold (cold melancholy and bile).

9-10 Cp. *Legacy* 1.

9 loved last] performed the final act of love.

10 He that saith twice, doth lie:
 For though he seem to move and stir a while,
 It doth the sense beguile.
 Such life is like the light which bideth yet
 When the light's life is set,
 15 Or like the heat which fire in solid matter
 Leaves behind, two hours after.
 Once I loved and died; and am now become
 Mine epitaph and tomb.
 Here dead men speak their last, and so do I:
 20 Love-slain, lo, here I lie.

13 which] that *III*

14 light's life] life's light *TCC, TCD, III, 1633, 1635*: or the light's life. The sun
Lut marg.

17 loved] love *1633, 1635* 20 lie] die *II, 1633, 1635*

Platonic Love (The Undertaking)

Date and Context. 1599–1611? The reference to the lost art of cutting 'specular stone' in l. 6, noted by Panciroli, *Res memorabiliae deperditae* (1599), suggests an earliest likely date of 1599. This link with *BedfordRefined* 44–5 and with *BedfordHonour* 29, the latter's shared theme of discretion and reference to soul's 'stuff', and *Platonic's* concern with a non-physical love, indicate that this poem may be associated with that relationship, which points to a date possibly as late as 1611.

Analogues. Lovers' perennial need for discretion was given early literary form by Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 2. 601–40. Cp. *Fool, Curse*. Marotti (1986) p. 199 argues that

12 beguile] delude.

14 light's life/life's light] The internal argument for 'light's life', the Sun, is swayed by the word 'set'. Daylight persists for about half an hour after sunset. The alternative reading also makes sense: a dying person may be unconscious but still alive, the Sun then being a metaphor for the vital principle: cp. Browne, *Hydriotaphia* 5 (1972 p. 131): 'We live by an invisible sun within us'.

17–18 Cp. *Lucy* 9.

17 Once I loved] Contradicting l. 5 (Redpath).

20 here] In the words of their epitaphs and the physical reality of their tombs.

I lie] The speaker casts doubt on the physical truth of the word figuratively used in this terminal pun; cp. the epigram, *Zoppo* 2. The pun is lost in Group II's 'die', less appropriate in an epitaph than in a drama (e.g., *Othello* 5. 2. 132.).

Heading That conventionally accepted owes its popularity presumably to its use in 1635, but Group II most nearly and clearly specifies the topic of the poem.

because in Group I MSS this poem (untitled) follows *Ecstasy* and in Group II MSS is called *Platonic Love*, it may be connected with Sir Edward Herbert's own similarly titled lyrics.

Text. Though the texts in *H40*, *H49*, *D* contain no apparent errors, they have no heading. *TCC* has one obvious discrepancy, a simple inversion, in l. 25, and, like *TCD* and the more inaccurate MSS *Lec*, *Dob*, no stanza-breaks. On these slender grounds, *DC* is chosen here to serve as base text.

I HAVE done one braver thing
 Than all the Worthies did,
 Yet a braver thence doth spring,
 Which is, to keep that hid.

5 It were but madness now t'impart
 The skill of specular stone,
 When he which can have learned the art
 To cut it, can find none.

So, if I now should utter this,
 10 Others (because no more
 Such stuff to work upon there is)
 Would love but as before;

But he who loveliness within
 Hath found, all outward loathes,

Sources collated: *Group I: H40, H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *DC*

Select variants:

Heading *Platonic Love II: The Undertaking Dob (in another hand), 1635: none I, Lut, O'F, 1633*

3 Yet] And yet *1633, 1635*

1 braver] more admirable.

2 Worthies] These nine figures from Greek, biblical and Christian medieval history and legend were popular in painting and poetry. They were (usually) Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon. In their ignorance, Costard and his fellow-masquers substitute Hercules and Pompey while having to cut short the number in *Love's Labour's Lost* 5. 2. 485–717. Once again, D. writes of preferring love to military undertakings.

6 skill] art of cutting, knowledge. **specular stone]** D. is applying the phrase (inaccurately, like his source) to a translucent building-stone described as a material now unknown by G. Panciroli (1599) 1. 32. See note on *BedfordRefined* 44–5, and cp. *BedfordHonour* 29, *Serm.* 7. 397 (1 April 1627).

10–11 no more . . . there is] Similar to the compliment paid in *BedfordHonour* 22–3.

11 stuff] material.

15 For he who colour loves and skin,
Loves but their oldest clothes.

If, as I have, you also do
Virtue attired in woman see,
And dare love that, and say so too,
20 And forget the 'he' and 'she';

And if this love, though placèd so,
From profane men you hide,
Which will no faith on this bestow,
Or, if they do, deride:

25 Then you have done a braver thing
Than all the Worthies did,
And a braver thence will spring,
Which is: to keep that hid.

18 attired in] in *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 25 you have] have you *TCC*, *III*

The Primrose being at Montgomery Castle, upon the Hill on which it is Situate

Date and Context. 1613. Inveterate house-guest though D. was, this is the only time he is known to have visited Montgomery, nearly 200 miles WNW of London, about 70 as the crow flies W of his previous host, Sir Henry Goodyer, at Polesworth,

15–16 Cp. *HerbertMPaper* 31–2.

16 oldest clothes] What they were born with, their 'birthday suit'.

20 Cp. *Canonization* 27, *Ecstasy* 31, *Primrose* 15–16, *Relic* 24–5, *Mourning* 17–18.

21–4 Cp. *Mummy* 18–22.

22 profane] uninitiated, irreverent, unbelieving. The stress seems always, as now, to have been on the second syllable, so it seems safer to assume D. has simply reversed the metrical foot, as in ll. 10, 16, 18. Compare the assertion that the speaker and lover are priests or saints of a religion of love in, e.g., *Book* 22, *Mourning* 7–8, *Canonization* 35–6, and contrast the desire of physical display in other poems, e.g., *Ecstasy* 69–76, though still with the aim of instructing.

Heading] The expanded heading in 1635 'is too circumstantial not to be given credence' (Gardner); its detail, and similarity to that of the immediately preceding *Friday* in Group II, have led to its adoption here. In his brief life of E. Herbert, Aubrey wrote some half-century later 'Southwards, without ["outside"] the castle, is Primrose Hill', and against l. 1 of his quotation of D.'s poem, 'In the park' (Gardner).

Staffs (itself over 130 m. NW of London). A letter from D. to Sir Robert Harley begins '1613, April 7, Montgomery' (Hayward p. 464). The suggestion recorded in the note on l. 7 that D. alludes to Galileo's work of 1610 (around the time when he wrote *HerbertE*) supports this late date. The first person to whom D. showed this poem was probably his host at Montgomery, Sir Edward Herbert, whose taste for somewhat contrived verse is shown by his own.

Analogues. D.'s only other poem to focus on a flower for its argument is *Blossom*.

Text. Only *H49*, *D* present an error-free text. There is a musical setting by Martin Peerson (c. 1572–1651) in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, compiled by Francis Tregian (c. 1574–1619).

UPON this primrose hill
 Where, if heav'n would distil
 A shower of rain, each sev'ral drop might go
 To his own primrose, and grow manna so,
 5 And where their form and their infinity
 Make a terrestrial Galaxy,
 As the small stars do in the sky,
 I walk to find a true-love, and I see
 That 'tis not a mere woman that is she,
 10 But must or more or less than woman be.

Sources collated: *Group I:* *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II:* *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III:* *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; *1633*, *1635*

Base text: *Group I* (*H49*, *D*)

Select variants:

Heading *1635:* The Primrose *MSS*, *1633*

5 and their] their *C57* 10 or more] no ~ *C57*, *Lecbe*

4 manna] *Exod.* 16. 14: 'And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small, round thing, as small as the hoarfrost on the ground.'

5–7 Cp. Paracelsus, *De pestilitate* (*Opera* 1658) 1. 374, on flowers as stars on the ground: '*herba quaelibet stella terrena est, sursum ad coelum conversa*'.

6 Galaxy] Milky Way.

7 small stars] Though the particular nature of the Milky Way was familiar to classical writers such as Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1. 8 (345a25), Manilius (first century BCE), 1. 755–7, Geminus (first century CE), *Isagoge* 5. 68 as one hypothesis among several, D.'s clear certainty that it consisted of 'small stars' supported the argument by Coffin (1937) pp. 152–4 that this is an allusion to the experimental telescopic observations, resolving the Milky Way into many faint stars, recorded by Galileo, *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610). Cp. *Serm.* 9. 73 (April 1629): 'The Milky Way . . . is all of so little stars, as have no name'.

8 true-love] a primrose symbolising faithful love. Usually applied to the four-leaved (thus resembling a true-love knot) Herb Paris, *Paris trifoliata* (e.g., by Gerard, 2. 86. 6, p. 329), sometimes to hound's-tongue, *Cynoglossum officinale*, or to four-leaved clover.

10 or . . . or] either . . . or. **woman]** Symbolised, in D.'s rewritten numerology, by five, 'this mysterious number' (l. 24), the usual number of petals in the Primrose,

Yet know I not which flower
 I wish, a six or four:
 For should my true love less than woman be,
 She were scarce anything; and then, should she
 15 Be more than woman, she would get above
 All thought of sex, and think to move
 My heart to study^her, not to love;
 Both these were monsters. Since there must reside
 Falsehood in woman, I could more abide
 20 She were by art than nature falsified.

Live, primrose, then, and thrive
 With thy true number, five;
 And women, whom this flow'r doth represent,

17 not] and not *S96*, 1633 20 falsified] satisfied *Lec*

symbolic here of women (l. 23). As D. goes on to argue, five is half ten, which, as a widely acknowledged symbol of perfection, he considers applicable to men.

12 six] A primrose, *Primula vulgaris*, with one more or fewer petals than the normal five, thus a true-love. **six]** A 'perfect' number, because equal to the product of numbers that can be divided into it an integral number of times, $1 \times 2 \times 3$; a 'circular' number, because all its powers end in itself; a 'triangular' number because the sequence of natural numbers progressively increases from and by one, $1 + 2 + 3$, and also a nuptial number, $3 \times 2 = \text{male} \times \text{female}$, the number of Venus, the goddess of love. Cp. W. Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals* 2. 3 (1616) p. 61: 'The primrose, when with six leaves gotten grace, / Maids as a true-love in their bosoms place' (Chambers). **four]** Four petals resembled the common true-love knot with its four loops. Four was also, among other things, the number of the Cardinal Virtues: Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice, and symbolic of concord, friendship and stability.

16 thought of sex] i.e., the characteristic thought of women. Cp. *Canonization* 25–7, *Ecstasy* 31 and notes thereon, *Platonic* 20, *Relic* 24–5.

17 My heart] Thought by Aristoteleans to be the seat of reason, whereas love came from the liver.

18 monsters] abnormal, unnatural flowers.

20 art] i.e., cosmetic art.

23 women . . . represent] Perhaps in this poem only: D. may also be rewriting for his own purposes the lore of flowers.

- With this mysterious number be content.
 25 Ten is the farthest number: if half ten
 Belong unto each woman, then
 Each woman may take half us men;
 Or if this will not serve their turn, since all
 Numbers are odd or even, and they fall
 30 First into this, five, women may take us all.

26 Belong] ~s *C57, 1633, 1635* 29 and] since *1635*
 30 this, five] five *Lut, O'F, 1635*

The Prohibition

Date and Context. 1590s?

Analogues. See E. L. Wiggins, *SP* 42 (1945) 58–9, for discussion of the poem's construction as a dilemma or hypothetical disjunctive syllogism. Carew writes a

24 this mysterious number] Its 'mysteries', magical powers, included its being termed a 'circular' number (because its powers always end in the same digit, 5, as the number itself); and a nuptial number, 2 + 3, female plus male. Cp. the elaboration on this number by Browne, *Garden of Cyrus* (1658; 1972 pp. 183–80). Gardner quotes C. Agrippa, *Of Occult Philosophy*, Eng. J. F. (1651), p. 188:

The number five is of no small force, for it consists of the first even and the first odd, as of a female and male; for an odd number is the male, and the even the female. . . . Therefore the number five is of no small perfection or virtue, which proceeds from the mixture of these numbers. It is also the just middle of the universal number, *viz.* ten . . . and therefore it is called by the Pythagoreans the number of wedlock, as also of justice because it divides the number ten in an even scale.

Gardner also quotes *Essays* (written c. 1614–15) p. 46, explaining God's command in *Gen.* 17. 15: 'From Sarai's name he took a letter which expressed the number ten, and reposed one which made but five, so that she contributed that five which man wanted before, to show a mutual indigence [lack] and supplement [supply]' ('mutual' since Abraham's name has the *h* added in *Gen.* 17. 5). D. acknowledges as his immediate source F. Georgius, *De Harmonia Mundi*, but Simpson notes (p. 126) that 'The present passage is derived ultimately from [Pico della] Mirandola, *De Arte Cabbalistica*'.

25–7 For this use of the logical maxim that 'of things having like proportion, like judgement is to be made' cp. *Bracelet* 93–4, *All* 23–6.

25 Ten] A triangular number, 1 + 2 + 3 + 4, symbolic of holiness and perfection, so appropriated by D. for the male (cp. the refrain of *Lincoln*). **farthest number]** Cp. *Essays* p. 59: 'Ten cannot be exceeded, but that to express any further number you must take a part of it again' (Gardner).

27 So the woman may make up perfection (though presumably leaving the male thus emasculated in marriage). **take]** There may be a sexual connotation, in which case the argument justifies female promiscuity.

29–30 they fall . . . five] five contains both three and two, the first odd and even, male and female numbers (one, as the unit, not counting as a number).

contrasting poem, 'Mediocrity in Love Rejected', 'Give me more love or more disdain, . . . / Either extreme, of love or hate, / Is sweeter than a calm estate.' His taste agrees with the command to the angel, *Rev.* 3. 14–16, to write to the Laodiceans 'I would thou were cold or hot. So then, because thou art lukewarm, . . . I will spew thee out of my mouth.'

Text. *D* requires the supply of l. 5 from Group III, and an alternative from the elsewhere very erroneous *H40* and Group III in l. 24, but this is two errors less than *H49*, so *D* has been chosen as base text. The Bridgewater MS, associated with Group III, and once owned by John Egerton, first earl of Bridgewater, well known to *D.*, heads the first two stanzas 'J. D.', and the third, omitted by *II*, *Dob*, *S96*, 'T. R.' (Gr). The Utterson MS (*Hd* in Gardner), a miscellany at Harvard (MS. Eng. 966.7), also heads the first two stanzas 'J. D.', but the third 'Answere'. It is inferred by Gardner that 'T. R.' was Sir Thomas Roe (see head-notes to *Litany* and *BulstrodeRecant*). If ll. 17–24 are an answer to ll. 1–16 by another author, it is possible that the persona of *D.*'s poem wished for neither love nor hate, for no emotional involvement, rather than both. The relative frequency of errors in 1633 suggests that the compositor had trouble with copy.

TAKE heed of loving me,
 At least remember, I forbade it thee;
 Not that I shall repair my unthrifty waste
 Of breath and blood upon thy sighs and tears,
 5 By being to thee then what to me thou wast;
 But so great joy our life at once outwears:
 Then, lest thy love by my death frustrate be,
 If thou love me, take heed of loving me.

Take heed of hating me,
 10 Or too much triumph in the victory;
 Not that I shall be mine own officer,

Sources collated: *Group I:* *H40*, *H49*, *D*; *Group II:* *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III:* *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading *II*, *Dob*, 1633, 1635: none *I*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

2 forbade] forbid *III*

5 By . . . wast *III*, 1633, 1635: om. *I*, *II*, *O'Fbe* thee] me *Dob*, *O'Fbe*, 1633 what to me] that which 1633

1 Take heed] Beware.

3 repair] make up for, compensate for.

4 blood] Assumed to be the precursor substance to tears. **upon]** with.

5 being] One syllable. **what . . . wast]** i.e., desired in vain.

6 Perhaps alluding to premature ejaculation.

7 If the line is read as referring to sex, her desire ('love') would be disappointed by his premature ejaculation ('death'). If not, then 'frustrate' simply means 'made pointless'.

11 officer] agent of justice.

- And hate with hate again retaliate,
 But thou wilt lose the style of conqueror
 If I, thy conquest, perish by thy hate.
 15 Then, lest my being nothing lessen thee,
 If thou hate me, take heed of hating me.

- Yet, love and hate me too,
 So these extremes shall neither's office do;
 Love me, that I may die the gentler way;
 20 Hate me, because thy love's too great for me;
 Or let these two themselves, not me, decay;
 So shall I, live, thy stage, not triumph be.
 Then lest thy love, hate and me thou undo,
 Oh let me live, yet love and hate me too.

17–24 *om. II, Dob, S96*

18 these] those *H49* neither's] neither *Lut, O'F*: ne'er their *1633, 1635*

20 thy] my *Lut, O'F, 1633be* 22 stage] stay *H49, 1633*

23 Then lest] Lest thou *1633*: Then lest thou *1635* thou undo] undo *1633*

24 Oh] To *1633* yet] oh *H49, D, 1633ae*: of *1633be*

The Relic

Date and Context. 1608–13? The closeness of ll. 24–6 to the sentiment of *Ecstasy* 31–2 may indicate closeness in time of composition. That poem was associated by Grierson and Gardner with Edward Herbert, dating it c. 1613; his mother's Christian name was Magdalen (see *HerbertMMary, HerbertMPaper*), so this poem may be connected with her. D.'s association of the word 'miracle' (l. 33) with her is also suggestive (see note), though not conclusive. Group I and III's 'You' maintains the respectful distance appropriate between those who kissed only at

13–14 A false argument, since after Roman triumphs, eminent prisoners were normally killed but the victor kept the title of *imperator*, at least for a time.

13 style] title.

15 lessen thee] diminish your prestige.

18–21 Simultaneous love and hate would cancel each other out.

19 Making the usual pun on 'die', as in *War* 30. The self-centredness here contrasts with the mutuality of Luca Marenzio's poem, set by N. Yonge, 'Musica Transalpina' (1588), but resembles the light-heartedness in J. Dowland's 'Shall I sue, shall I seek for grace?', *Second Book of Songs or Ayres* (1600): 'Witness yet how fain I die / When I die for the fair' (Fellowes pp. 323, 426–7).

22 live] i.e., alive. **stage]** i.e., shown daily. **triumph]** A one-off occasion for a victor.

23 *1633*'s version is at least metrical; by combining *1633*'s 'improvement' with the MS rendering, *1635* creates an unmetrical and nonsensical line. **undo]** do away with.

meeting and parting: if written after D.'s marriage, these lines rule out his wife, as does the hint of forbidden love, such as incest or adultery in l. 30.

Analogues. Carew's 'Upon a Ribbon', terming it a 'holy relic' in l. 9, and himself 'Love's priest' in l. 18, is obviously strongly influenced by D.'s poem, but treats the subject differently, with no mention of death, bones, resurrection (or chastity).

Text. Although Group II often has the two other groups of MSS against it, there being ten differences from Group I, which usually agrees with Group III, it has been followed here because its often arguably better readings suggest authorial revision. The editors of the early printed editions do not follow any group consistently, but usually reproduce Group II. The earlier version is best suggested by *H49* and *Dob*, needing correction only once each.

WHEN my grave is broke up again
 Some second guest to entertain
 (For graves have learned that womanhead:
 To be to more then one a bed),
 5 And he that digs it spies
 A bracelet of bright hair about the bone,

Sources collated: *Group I:* *H49, D, C57, Lec*; *Group II:* *DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III:* *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *II*

Select variants:

Heading *All MSS. collated*

1 again *om.* DC 4 to] *C57, Lecae a word now illegible: two TCC, TCD*

Heading Its omnipresence in the MSS collated suggests it entered the tradition very early, and might even be D.'s own.

3-4 Especially during time of severe plague (over a hundred deaths per week), such as London suffered in Sept.–Nov. 1608 and Aug.–Oct. 1609: 'In 1582, for example, no less than twenty-three parishes were using St Paul's churchyard, and it had become so crowded that scarcely any graves could be made without corpses being exposed'—F. P. Wilson (1963) p. 43, quoting D.'s 'powerful sermon preached at the end of the plague of 1625' (*Serm.* 6. 362 (15 Jan. 1626)): 'As in our later times, we have seen two and two in almost every Place and Office, so almost every Grave is oppressed with twins; and as at Christ's resurrection some of the dead arose out of their graves, that were buried again; so in this lamentable calamity, the dead were buried and thrown up again before they were resolved to dust, and make room for more.'

3 womanhead] disposition of women.

6 bracelet of bright hair] A customary love-token, as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 1. 1. 33: cp. *Funeral* 3, written, however, to a woman who will not give the speaker what he wants. The re-use of the device in a different situation should be sufficient caution against reading the products of wit and imagination as autobiography. D. was after all praised by Carew in his *Elegy* 27 for his 'invention'.

bright hair] Cp. *Air* 19–22: 'Ev'ry thy hair . . . scattering bright'. Mary Magdalen was usually painted with golden hair. There are some twenty examples in the

Will he not let's alone,
 And think that there a loving couple lies,
 Which thought that this device might be some way
 10 To make their souls at the last, busy day,
 Meet at this grave, and make a little stay?

If this fall in a time or land
 When mis-devotion doth command,
 Then he that digs us up will bring
 15 Us to the bishop and the king,
 To make us relics: then
 Thou shalt be^e a Mary Magdalen, and I
 A something else thereby.
 All women shall adore us (and some men);

9 Which thought] Who hoped *I, III*: Who thought 1633, 1635 some] a *I, III*
 13 When] Where *I, III*, 1633, 1635
 14 Then he that digs us] He that doth dig it *I, III*
 17 Thou shalt] You shall *I, III*

National Gallery, London, e.g., paintings by Annibale Caracci, Correggio, Giulio Romano and G. Penni, two by Tiepolo, and Titian. Cp. also Giotto's frescoes in the Upper and Lower Churches at Assisi and in the Arena Chapel, Padua. A. B. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (3rd edn 1874) i. 353sq., mentions as well works ascribed to Raphael and Rubens.

9 device] contrivance.

10 last, busy day] resurrection and judgement of the whole human race.

11 Because there will be no such union in Heaven (*Matt.* 22.30). Since both their bodies will be there in one grave, their souls, seeking their bodies for the Resurrection, will come to the same place anyway: the emphasis is on their being reminded by the bracelet that they had been a loving couple, and delaying attendance at the Last Judgement so as to recollect their earthly (but chaste) love. Lines 8–15 show that what was announced in l. 1 as 'my grave' now holds both of them, unlike *Anniversary* 11–15.

12 fall] occur.

13 mis-devotion] Any other than the Reformed Church, e.g., Roman Catholicism, which asserted the miraculous powers of relics. D. gives another instance of a practice denounced by reformers, 'prayers to saints', in *SecAn* 511–12 (Smith).

17–22 Canonization is conditional on attested miracles; the prostitute saint Mary Magdalen was blessed by Jesus for having loved much: cp. *Canonization* 36. In literature the sainting of lovers was a convention: see e.g., Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen* (late 1580s) 2. 4. 143–5, *Romeo and Juliet* (1594–5) 1. 5. 92–109; Daniel, *Delia* (1592) 15. 7; Drayton, *Ideas Mirrour* (1594) 53. 2; Spenser, *Amoretti* (1595) 22, 61.

17 Mary Magdalen] See note on *HerbertMMary* 1–2. D. stresses here the identification with the 'sinner', i.e., loose woman or prostitute.

18 something else] one who consorted with 'sinners' (as did Jesus Christ), or a habitual customer of prostitutes, a 'whoremonger'.

20 And since at such times miracles are sought,
I would that age were by this paper taught
What miracles we harmless lovers wrought.

First, we loved well and faithfully,
Yet knew not what we loved, nor why:
25 Diff'rence of sex no more we knew,
Than our guardian angels do;
Coming and going, we
Perchance might kiss, but not between those meals;
Our hands ne'er touched those seals
30 Which Nature, injured by late law, sets free.

20 at] all DC times] time *I*, 1633, 1635

21 that age were] have that age *I*, III, 1633, 1635

24 nor] and *C57*, *Lec*: or *DC* 25 no more we] we never *I*, III, 1635

26 Than our] More than our *I*: No more than our *Dob*, *S96*: No more than *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

28 between] betwixt *I*, III 29 those] the *I*, III, 1633, 1635

20 at such times] When remains are to be authenticated: accounts of miracles performed by them will have to be produced.

22 Cp. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy* (written 1610–11, printed 1619, rev. edn 1622), 2. 2. 7–9: 'make a faith / Out of the miracles of ancient lovers'. **harmless]** i.e., non-physical. **wrought]** The past tense is used here and in later lines because their love is described from the point of view of some future time, not necessarily because either lover is imaged to be dead at the time of writing.

24–5 Cp. *Canonization* 25, *Ecstasy* 31 and notes thereon, *Platonic* 20, *Primrose* 15–16, *Mourning* 17–18.

25–6 Orthodox doctrine: *Matt.* 22.30, *Mark* 12. 25, but perhaps brought to mind by A. Victorelli, *De angelorum custodia* (Padua 1605): see notes on *Air*. Cp. *Mummy* 20.

26 Than our/More than our] Members of two groups of MSS testify to the latter words, implying that they must have been in their common source. The repetition of 'more' may have prompted revision.

27–8 Coming . . . kiss] Cp. *Serm.* 3. 321 (?Trinity Term, 1621): 'Come to this holy kiss, though defamed by treachery, though depraved by licentiousness, since God invites us to it, by so many good uses thereof in his Word. It is an imputation laid upon Nero, that . . . "Whether coming or going he never kissed any"' (Gr).

28 meals] Spenser, 'Hymn in Honour of Love' 25, *FQ* 3. 1. 36. 4, 4. Proem 5. 6, calls kisses 'ambrosial': thus they would be fit food for the angels of l. 26.

29 seals] i.e., of the bodies' books (as in *Rev.* 5–7): cp. *Ecstasy* 76, but cp. *Pupil* 29 and note, *Bed* 32.

30 Nature . . . free] Specifically, incest. The three eras distinguished by Christians are explained by the reference in *Serm.* 7. 138–9 (April 1626) to 'the two thousand years of Nature, before the Law given by *Moses*, and the two thousand years of Law, before the Gospel given by *Christ*'. The protagonists of the

These miracles we did; but now, alas,
 All measure and all language I should pass,
 Should I tell what a miracle she was.

32 measure] ~s TCD

Spring (Love's Growth)

Date and Context. 1598–9? Critics such as Marotti (1986) p. 321 associate this poem with the Ann More relationship, reading a pun in l. 8.

Analogues. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 115, treats the same theme differently. J. M. Walker, *SP* 84 (1987) 51, notes how ever-increasing time is formally embodied in the twenty-four ten-syllable lines and four more of six (equals twenty-four), seven rhymes per stanza, twenty-eight lines in the whole poem, signalling the hours of the day, the days in a week, the days in a lunar month, the initial mention of seasons, evidence of the revolving year with its four temporal cycles. The Sun also rises, the moon waxes, Spring returns. (The number twenty-eight is both triangular, $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7$, and a perfect number, the sum of its divisors, 1, 2, 4, 7, 14.)

Text. *H49* is preferred as the MS requiring least emendation.

poem act according to 'the two thousand of Grace, which are running now'. For the pagan tradition, see Myrrha's protest against the taboo on incest with her father, Ovid, *Met.* 10. 329–31, quoted by Redpath in Golding's translation: 'In happy case they are / That may do so without offence; but man's malicious care / Hath made a bridle for itself, and spiteful laws restrain / The things that Nature setteth free.' However, the 'bracelet of bright hair' at the centre of the poem was usually a token of erotic attachment, and thus unlikely to be given by or accepted from a female relative forbidden in *Lev.* 18. 6–18 or the 'Table of Kindred and Affinity' at the end of the *BCP*. The Law according to *Lev.* 18. 20–3 also forbade adultery, child-sacrifice, and buggery with man or beast. **injured**] wronged. It is of course a paradox that law could do an injustice, akin to that alleged by Jonson in *Timber* 661–6 in *Julius Caesar* 3. 1. 47 as he recalled it: 'Caesar did never wrong, but with just cause.'

32 measure] (a) poetry; (b) moderation (the usual sense in 'past measure'). **pass**] surpass, exceed, transcend (*OED* *pass* *v.* 19a, quotes Skelton, *Philip Sparrow* 151–2: 'Because that she did pass / In poesy to endite').

33 what a miracle she was] D. commemorated the Christ-like 'feeding the poor, ministering to the sick' of Magdalen Herbert (later Lady Danvers) on 1 July 1627, *Serm.* 8. 89–90, praising her combination of seemingly opposite 'married couples of moral virtues, *Conversation* married with a *Retiredness*, *Facility* married with a *Reservedness*, *Alacrity* married with a *Thoughtfulness*, and *Largeness* married with a *Providence*'; in *HerbertMPaper* 17 he speaks of 'her warm, redeeming hand, which is / A miracle'. Cp. Dante, *Vita nuova* 41, the penultimate chapter glossing the final sonnet as referring partly to Beatrice's incomprehensible, miraculous nature.

I SCARCE believe my love to be so pure
 As I had thought it was,
 Because it doth endure
 Vicissitude and season as the grass;
 5 Methinks I lied all Winter, when I swore
 My love was infinite, if Spring make't more.
 But if this med'cine, love, which cures all sorrow
 With more, not only be no quintessence,
 But mixed of all stuffs paining soul or sense,
 10 And of the Sun his working vigour borrow,
 Love's not so pure and abstract as they use
 To say, which have no mistress but their Muse;
 But, as all else being elemented too,
 Love sometimes would contèmpate, sometimes do.

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *H49*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: Spring *I, Dob, S96: The Spring Lut, O'F: Love's Growth II, Dob added in diff. hand, 1633, 1635*

6 make] ~s *II 6-7 stanza-break I, 1633, 1635 9 paining] vexing III, 1635*

10 *om. II working] active Lut, O'F, 1635 11 and] an III*

1-4 Cp. Plato, *Symposium* 211a: Love 'always is, and neither comes to be nor passes away, neither waxes nor wanes' (though D. would probably have rejected a consequence of Diotima's argument, 211b: 'When someone rises through these stages, through loving boys correctly, and begins to see this beauty, he has almost grasped his goal').

1 pure] unmixed, esp. with desire.

4 Recalling *Ps.* 90. 6: 'In the morning, it is green, and groweth up; but in the evening, it is cut down, dried up, and withered' (*BCP*). **Vicissitude]** Change.

7-8 Gardner quotes Puttenham l. 24, referring to 'the Paracelsians, who cure *similia similibus*, making one dolour to expel another, and, in this case, one short sorrowing the remedy of a long and grievous sorrow.'

8 quintessence] single substance that has been purified by fivefold distillation. Grierson quotes Paracelsus, *Archidoxis* I. 4. 35, for the belief that 'In everything there naturally grows / A balsamum to keep it fresh and new' (*BedfordReason* 21-2, on which see note for D.'s probable source).

10 i.e., increase and decrease with the sun's warmth.

11-14 Cp. *Mummy* 18-22. Guss pp. 144, 166 points out that this frank realism in love-poetry is not original with D., quoting a passage by S. Speroni, *Dialogi* (1543).

11 abstract] Cp. *Book* 30. Though *OED* records that at first the stress was on the second syllable, D wrote in a transitional period.

11-12 they . . . Muse] Perhaps referring to e.g., Drayton, *Ideas Mirrour* (1594) l. 7-8, 15. 6, 19. 9, 23. 5, 34. 5, 38. 1, 39. 13.

13 'But, like everything else which is composed of several simple substances'.

14 'In Mystical Theology the Mixed Life, part active and part contemplative, is the life proper to prelates and, was the life led by Christ on earth' (Gardner, citing Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 2. 2. 182. 1). **do]** perform physical acts.

- 15 And yet not greater, but more eminent,
 Love by the Spring is grown,
 As in the firmament
 Stars by the Sun are not enlarged but shown.
 Gentle love-deeds, as blossoms on a bough,
 20 From love's awakened root do bud out now.
 If as in water stirred more circles be
 Produced by one, love such additions take;
 Those, like to many spheres, but one heaven make,
 For they are all concentric unto thee;
 25 And though each Spring do add to love new heat—
 As princes do in times of action get
 New taxes, and remit them not in peace—
 No winter shall abate the spring's increase.

15 not] no *DC*, 1633, 1635 21 water] ~s *TCC*, III 23 to] so 1633, 1635
 26 times *II*, 1633, 1635: time *I*, III action *II*, III, 1633, 1635: actions *I*
 28 the] this *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

The Sun Rising

Date and Context. Summer–Autumn 1603–4? Reference to the King and his huntsmen in l. 7 plausibly alludes to James I's enthusiasm, already notorious by 22 June 1603 (see note on l. 7). The sun would make its earliest intrusion in midsummer, but daylight might be unwelcome to lovers at any time of year. The lack of other topical references such as those in *Canonization*, especially to the all-shadowing plague epidemic from March 1603 to May 1604, suggests summer 1604. Marotti (1986) pp. 156–7 argues that the strident rejection of courtly honour and wealth (uncharacteristic of the real D. as known by a likely recipient of the poem such as Goodyer) as in *Canonization* 1–18 and *Wotton Venice* 25–8 is a case of 'sour grapes', fantasising omnipotence out of necessity rather than choice during forced exclusion from a career. D. was abroad with Sir Walter Chute February 1605–

15 eminent] conspicuous, remarkable.

18 Either (a) As the Sun changes position relative to stars or planets previously obscured by its brightness ('combust'), they become visible; or (b) Stars become visible by reflecting the Sun's light (this was believed by some, e.g., Plato, *Timaeus* 39b, of the 'fixed stars' as well as the planets). Redpath compares *Serm.* 8. 243 (15 April 1628): 'The Sun does not enlighten the Stars of the Firmament merely for an Ornament to the Firmament, . . . but that, by the reflection of those Stars, his beams might be cast into some places to which, by a direct Emanation from himself, those beams would not have come.' **enlarged]** (a) made larger; or (b) freed.

20 awakened root] Love is like a plant in this respect.

24 The woman is centre of the lover's world, unifying it, as in the Ptolemaic system the Earth was of the Universe.

26 times of action/ time ~ ~s] The reversal of Group I's numbers is marginally preferable. **action]** war.

28 abate] reduce.

April 1606. As time went on, the miseries of domestic life at Mitcham (1606–11), revealed in D.'s letters to Goodyer, make it hard to imagine D. in those years summoning up the buoyancy to simulate the joyful defiance of this poem.

Analogues. The personification of the Sun as a spy goes back to Homer, *Odyssey* 8. 270–1, 302, where Helios sees Ares (Mars) in bed with Aphrodite (Venus), and tells her husband Hephaestus (Vulcan). Ovid, *Amores* 1. 13, is a lively reproach of Aurora, Dawn; in his *Art of Love* 2. 575–6, the speaker is willing to buy the Sun's silence with his lover's favours. Richmond (pp. 246–7), exemplifies from Ronsard '*Jaloux Soleil contre l'Amour envieux*' who is told '*Va te cacher*' (pp. 246–7), and asked in another sonnet whether in his orbiting of the world he has seen anything finer than the woman's body (p. 247), but warns that, while 'the aggressive subjectivity is shared', D.'s 'bravura cynicism, colloquial style, and dramatic style . . . [are] commonplace in European lyricism' (p. 223), and that 'Most of the attitudes which Donne adopts, and which English readers often find excitingly "eccentric," are prefigured by prototypes in Ronsard, or his readings elsewhere' (pp. 237–8). Cp the elaborate abuse of 'this saucy, upstart jack . . . / Usurping Sol, the hate of Heaven and Earth' in Nashe, *Summer's Last Will* ll. 448–579 (1600; *Works* 3. 247–51).

Text. H49, D, requiring only one emendation (and that only possibly necessary—see note), represent best the consensus of Group I. The readings of Groups I and III suggest that '*Ad Solem*' may have been an earlier heading, later glossed, but that given in Group II, augmented for 1633 with the definite article, is here accepted on grounds of familiarity, since no heading seems probably D.'s own.

BUSY old fool, unruly Sun,
Why dost thou thus
Through windows and through curtains call on us?

Sources collated: *Group I:* H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; *Group II:* L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; *Group III:* Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: H49, D

Select variants:

Heading The Sun Rising 1633, 1635: Sun Rising L74 (*added in another hand*), DC, TCC, TCD: To the Sun C57, Lec: Ad Solem H49, D, S96: Ad Solem. A Song. Dob: Ad Solem. To the Sun. Song. Lut, O'F: none Dal

1–5 The imperious abuse of what had been regarded with reverence resembles that of Ronsard, *Amours de Cassandre*, Sonnet 10 (H. M. Richmond).

I Busy] Officious, like the 'too busy' Polonius in *Hamlet* 3. 4. 32. Propertius 1. 3. 32 uses the word *Sedula*, 'officious' of the Moon, whose intrusive light has woken Cynthia just as the speaker is about to have his drunken, lustful way with her. In *Ignatius* (1969) p. 15, Copernicus advances as a claim to be admitted to the innermost counsels of Hell that he has demoted 'the Sun, which was an officious spy, and a betrayer of faults, and so thine enemy'. **old**] In Seneca, *Phaedra* (*Hippolytus*) 1 (152–5), the nurse warns Phaedra that her grandfather the Sun will see her incest. **fool**] J. F. Plummer III 282, notes the same word is used of the Sun by Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* 3.1465, available in, e.g., the Speght edition of 1602. **unruly**] On the sun's perplexing motion according to the Ptolemaic system, see *FirAn* 263–74.

- Must to thy motions lovers' seasons run?
 5 Saucy, pedantic wretch! Go chide
 Late schoolboys, and sour prentices;
 Go tell Court-huntsmen that the King will ride;
 Call country ants to harvest offices:
 Love, all alike, no season knows nor clime,
 10 Nor hours, days, months, which are the rags of time.

6 sour] four *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 7 will] doth *II*

5 Saucy] Both 'insubordinate' (as lower than humans in the scale of being) and 'prurient'. **pedantic]** schoolmaster-like (*OED*'s earliest citation). Hard to reconcile with 'unruly' in l. 1, until we remember the abusive yet bookish pamphlets of the Harvey–Nashe controversy. Marlowe translates *Amores* 1. 13. 17–18 as 'Thou cozen'st boys of sleep, and dost betray them / To pedants that with cruel lashes pay them' (Gardner).

6 prentices] apprentices.

7 Implicitly satirising James I's negligence: Thomas Wilson wrote to Thomas Parry from Greenwich on 22 June 1603: 'Sometimes he comes to Council, but most time he spends in fields and parks and chases, chasing away idleness by violent exercise and early rising, wherein the sun seldom prevents him' (*Progresses of James I*, 1. 188, citing BL MS Cotton E. x, p. 359); on 30 July 1603, the Venetian Secretary in England wrote to the Doge and Senate: 'The new king . . . seems to have almost forgotten that he is a king except in his kingly pursuit of stags, to which he is quite foolishly devoted, and leaves them with such absolute authority that beyond a doubt they [the Council] are far more powerful than ever they were before' (*CSPV 1603–1607* p. 70). Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* (39), includes obsessive hunters among fools such as compulsive builders and alchemists, in effect beasts though thinking they lead a kingly life. **ride]** i.e., go stag-hunting.

8 An audacious reversal of the solomonic bidding in *Prov.* 6. 6 to 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard: consider her ways, and be wise' (*AV*; *GV* and *BV* use the alternative names 'pismire' and 'emmet'). There was a superstition, originating in classical times (see, e.g., Plutarch, *Cleverness of Animals* 11 (968A), Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11. 36 (109)), mistaking ants' pupas for grain, that they collected and stored the latter, bringing it out to dry on sunny winter days. Ovid 1. 13. 15 hails Dawn as first to see the burdened tillers in the fields, so several editors take 'ants' to be D.'s figurative expression for agricultural labourers, altering Ovid's season from Spring to Autumn. **harvest offices]** duties at harvest-time.

9 Implicitly contradicted in l. 4. Gardner compares this sense of being independent of time in *Anniversary* 9–10. **all alike]** consistent, unchanging.

10 D. was aware of numerological significances: see, e.g., notes on *Name*. Ten is a circular number (all its powers, 10^2 , 10^3 , etc., beginning with itself, end with its own final digit, 0), thus symbolising eternity. **rags]** indistinguishable fragments, bits. D. transfers the idea and its expression from human relationships to Christianity in *Serm.* 6. 170 (Christmas 1624): 'The mercy of God . . . The names of first or last derogate from it, for first and last are but rags of time, and his mercy hath no relation to time, no limitation in time, it is not first, nor last, but eternal, everlasting' (Hayward).

Thy beams so reverend and strong
 Why shouldst thou think?
 I could eclipse and cloud them with a wink,
 But that I would not lose her sight so long.
 15 If her eyes have not blinded thine,
 Look, and tomorrow (late) tell me,
 Whether both Indias of spice and mine
 Be where thou left'st them or lie here with me.

12 Why shouldst thou] Dost thou not *Lut, O'F, 1635*

17 Indias *DC, TCC, TCD: Indies I, L74, Dal, S96, Lut: th'Indias 1633, 1635*

18 left'st] left 1635 19 whom] which *III*

13 Cp. Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis* 222.

16 **Look]** In Ovid, *Met.* 2. 32, Sol is endowed with eyes that see everything.
tell me] As Helios, the Sun-god does in *Odyssey* 8. 270–1, 302.

17 **both Indias]** A Spenserian phrase: *Amoretti* 15. 3 (1595). Spices were imported into Europe from India and the East Indies, silver, mainly, from Peru and Mexico, included in the term 'Indias'. The English, e.g., Sir Walter Raleigh, were fascinated by the lure of goldmines in the New World. The decasyllabic line requires a trisyllable, but D. shows elsewhere that he could occasionally be indifferent to one syllable more or less than metre required.

17, 21, 23 Cp. *Bed* 27–30, *Morrow* 12–14.

17 **mine]** mineral.

19–21 Christian orthodoxy might deem these lines little short of satanic. In subordinating all realms and rulers to himself, D.'s speaker implicitly usurps the supremacy of 'the blessed and only potentate, the king of kings and lord of lords' (1 *Tim.* 6. 15; cp. *Rev.* 17. 14 and the BCP Morning Service '*Te Deum*'), his god, succumbing to the temptation of all the kingdoms of the world presented to Jesus by the Devil in *Matt.* 4. 8–9 etc. D. correspondingly assumes a personal relationship with Satan in *DivM1Made* and *DivM2Due*. 'Kings . . . / All here in one bed lay' does not include woman, who is 'both th'Indias of spice and mine' (like Lady B. etc.): she is 'all states, all princes I'. *Sun* is not a poem of full, equal unified identity such as *Ecstasy*. It displays D.'s 'all-or-nothing' tendency: this situation is all, everything else nothing. M. Praz (1925) p. 110 notes parallels in a sonnet by Guarini:

Oro, nè gemme sì pregiate e rare
 Nè l'Indo ebbe già mai, nè lito Mauro.
 Nè fu sì ricca merce il vello d'auro,
 . . .
 Quant'ha beltà quella divina luce
 Ch'io miro e godo, o fortunato amante:
 Pur tutto stringo in queste braccia il mondo.

('Neither gold nor precious stones so valuable and rare even India yielded, indeed, nor ever the shore of Africa. Nor was the golden fleece such magnificent gain . . . as the beauty this divine radiance has, at which I wonder, in which I joy, O lucky lover: indeed, I clasp the whole world in these arms.')

Ask for those Kings whom thou saw'st yesterday,
 20 And thou shalt hear, 'All here in one bed lay.'

She's all states, and all princes I;
 Nothing else is.

Princes do but play us: compared to this,
 All honour's mimic, all wealth alchemy.
 25 Thou, Sun, art half as happy[^] as we
 In that the world's contracted thus:
 Thine age asks ease, and since thy duties be
 To warm the world, that's done in warming us.
 Shine here to us, and thou art everywhere:
 30 This bed thy centre is, these walls, thy sphere.

28 that's] that *II*

'Sweetest love, I do not go'

Date and Context. Early 1590s?

Analogues. A conventional aubade.

Text. *H49*, *D*, *Lec* require no correction, and obviously represent the consensus of Group I. All other MSS collated display either conjunctive or separative errors. Group II includes this poem in the section 'Songs which were made to certain airs which (that *DC*) were made before'. These tunes were probably not those in Tenbury MS 1018, f. 44v (plain; dated by *IELM* early seventeenth century) and BL MS Add. 10337, f. 55v (ornamented; dated by *IELM* c. 1656), both realised by Souris, the first reprinted by Gardner (*ESS* p. 240), who deems the variant text merely corrupt. In *H40* and Groups I and II the stanza's first four lines are written as two; the sixth and seventh are likewise condensed into one. As in Group III, the short lines are separately lineated here, clarifying the rhyme-scheme.

19 It is probably too literal to associate the poem with there being more than one king visible in England, during the visit of Christian IV of Denmark in 1606: l. 20's 'All' implies more than two. In any case, all the world's kings could be seen by the Sun in one of its revolutions.

20 '**All . . . lay**'] M. E. Rickey, *Expl* 48 (1990) 241–3, points out that this image may have been suggested by medieval sculptures and paintings of the Wise Men resting overnight at an inn on their journey, citing as examples images in the cathedrals of Canterbury, Amiens, Paris, also common elsewhere in France.

24 **mimic**] merely imitative. **alchemy**] i.e., an illusion.

25 **half as happy**] Because single.

27 **Thine . . . ease**] Cp. the weariness of Phoebus after the death of Icarus, Ovid, *Met.* 2. 385–7 (Gardner). **asks**] requires.

29–30 The paradox of the poem itself (as distinct from the attitude it expresses in which 'The private world is valued only as it apes the public'—Carey (1986) p. 109) is summed up by M. L. Brown p. 110: 'Opening with a valediction forbidding morning, his persona wants to banish the sun from his bedroom. But the poem ends with an invitation to "Shine here to us".'

30 Implying the Ptolemaic system, with the Sun centred on the Earth. **thy sphere**] Not only the Sun's cosmic place, but the extent of its duties.

SWEETEST love, I do not go
 For weariness of thee,
 Nor in hope the world can show
 A fitter love for me;
 5 But, since that I
 Must die at last, 'tis best
 To use myself in jest:
 Thus by feigned deaths to die.

Yesternight the Sun went hence,
 10 And yet is here today;
 He hath no desire nor sense,
 Nor half so short a way:
 Then fear not me,
 But believe that I shall make
 15 Speedier journeys, since I take
 More wings and spurs than he.

Oh, how feeble is man's power,
 That, if good fortune fall,
 Cannot add another hour,
 20 Nor a lost hour recall!
 But come bad chance,
 And we join to it our strength,
 And we teach it art and length,
 Itself o'er us t'advance.

25 When thou sigh'st, thou sigh'st not wind,
 But sigh'st my soul away;

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group I*: *H49, D, C57, Lec*; *Group II*: *DC, TCC, TCD*;
Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: Group I

Select variants:

Heading *I, III, 1633, 1635*: none *II*

6 Must die at last] At the last must part *Lut, O'F, 1635*

7 To] Thus to *Lut, O'F, 1635* 8 Thus by] By *Lut, O'F, 1635* 25 not] no *1635*

22 We add to it our power.

23 **art and length**] skill and persistence. Redpath points out that *D.* may be making a metaphor from archery or gunnery, in which case 'length' would mean 'exact distance, range as a target'.

24 **advance**] achieve supremacy.

25–6 Gardner points out that in both Greek and Latin the same word was used for 'breath' and 'soul'.

When thou weep'st, unkindly kind,
 My life's-blood doth decay.
 It cannot be
 30 That thou lov'st me, as thou say'st,
 If in thine my life thou waste:
 Thou art the best of me.

Let not thy divining heart
 Forethink me any ill:
 35 Destiny may take thy part,
 And may thy fears fulfil.
 But think that we
 Are but turned aside to sleep.
 They who one another keep
 40 Alive, ne'er parted be.

32 Thou] That *Dob, Lut, O'F, 1635*

The Triple Fool

Date and Context. Earlier 1590s?

Analogues. The picture 'We Three' of two fools, thus implying the viewer is the third, was a popular engraving and signboard. See *Twelfth Night* 2. 3. 15–16.

Text. *H40, H49, D, DC* need no substantive correction.

I AM two fools, I know,
 For loving and for saying so

Sources collated: *Group I:* *H40, H49, D, C57, Lec, DC*; *Group II:* *L74, Dal, TCC, TCD*; *Group III:* *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *H40/H49/D/DC*

Select variants:

Heading *L74 in another hand, DC, TCC, TCD, Dob in another hand, 1633, 1635*:
Song I, S96: A Song Lut, O'F: none Dal

27–8 It was long believed that a sigh literally consumed a drop of blood: cp. 2 *Henry VI* 3. 2. 61, 63 (written c. 1590–1); 3 *Henry VI* 4. 5. 22 (written by Sept. 1592; Gardner).

27 unkindly] (a) cruelly; (b) unnaturally.

33–6 Cp. *Fatal* 52–5, *Weeping* 19–25.

33 divining] prophetic, conjecturing.

34 Forethink me] Anticipate, Imagine in advance for me.

2 for saying so] Cp. *Prov.* 18. 7: 'A fool's mouth is his destruction'.

In whining poetry;
 But where's that wise man that would not be I
 5 If she would not deny?
 Then, as th'earth's inward narrow, crooked lanes
 Do purge sea-water's fretful salt away,
 I thought, if I could draw my pains
 Through rhyme's vexation, I should them allay:
 10 Grief brought to numbers cannot be so fierce,
 For he tames it that fetters it in verse.

But when I have done so,
 Some man, his art and voice to show,
 Doth set and sing my pain,
 15 And, by delighting many, frees again
 Grief, which verse did restrain.
 To love and grief tribute of verse belongs,
 But not of such as pleases when 'tis read:
 Both are increased by such songs,
 20 For both their triumphs so are publishèd;

6 inward narrow, crooked] narrow inward crooked *Lec*: inward crooked, narrow *III*

13 art and voice] act and voice *L74be*, *TCC*, *TCD*: voice and art *III*

14 set] sit *II*, *III* 20 triumphs] trials *III* (*Dobae*)

3 whining] Cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 16. 7.

4–5 Proverbial: see Tilley L558, from the Latin of Publilius Syrus 22 (first century BCE). Cp. *Troilus and Cressida* 3. 2. 152–3: 'to be wise and love / Exceeds man's might'.

6–7 Ancient doctrine: see Aristotle, *Meteorology* 2. 2 (354b16) and despite his rejection, the standard theory, at least from Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* 3. 5 (Gardner).

9 rhyme's vexation] the disturbance of meaning caused by the demands of metre and end-rhyme. **allay]** reduce, quell.

10 brought to numbers] reduced to the regularity of verse. Cp. the proverb (Tilley S664, quoting, e.g., Spenser, *FQ* 1. 7. 41. 1 (1590); 'Great grief will not be told'); Daniel, *Complaint of Rosamond* 630 (1592)); from Seneca, *Phaedra* (*Hippolytus*) 2 (607): *Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent*, quoted by, e.g., Nashe, *Strange Newes* (1592; *Works* 1. 314). Montaigne, though he quotes this in one place, in another writes, from the reader's point of view, that 'a sentence cunningly and closely couched in measure-keeping poesy darts itself forth more furiously, and wounds me even to the quick.' (*Essays* 1. 2, 25 (1928) 1. 23, 149.)

14 Here D. complains of unsolicited setting of his poems; *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*, putting in a special section 'Songs which were made to certain airs which were made before', suggest that he sometimes followed this usual courtly practice.

17 love and grief] Without the astrological connotations of *Name* 38.

And I, which was two fools, do so grow three:
 'Who are a little wise, the best fools be.'

Twickenham Garden

Date and Context. 1608–10. Twickenham Park was leased to trustees of Lady Bedford in succession to Francis Bacon from 1607 to 1618, and she laid out the garden (lauded by Sir William Temple) on the plan of the Ptolemaic universe, with concentric rows of trees and walks associated with the orbits of the planets (see R. Strong, *Renaissance Garden in England* (1979) pp. 120–2).

Analogues. Marotti p. 214 explains that 'in the complimentary love-lyrics . . . we find a lively tension between natural urges and the proper social decorum . . . which demanded a desexing of the man-woman relationship. . . . *Twickenham Garden* . . . comically imitates Petrarch's 'Zefiro torna' [*Rime sparse* 310], a poem about an unrequited lover in a Springtime garden.' For the tone of D. and Lady Bedford's poetic relationship, cp. Raleigh, 'Fortune hath taken thee away, my love', answered by Queen Elizabeth's 'Ah silly pug, wert thou so sore afraid?' (see L. G. Black, *TLS* (23 May 1968) 535, and May p. 319). 'Sir Walter Raleigh to the Queen' 23–6, 35–8, treats of a problem implicit in the love-cult of a patroness:

Thus those desires that aim too high
 For any mortal lover,
 When reason cannot make them die,
 Discretion will them cover.
 . . .
 Then misconceive not, dearest heart,
 My true though secret passion:
 He smarteth most that hides his smart,
 And sues for no compassion.

For a careful balancing of the courtier's aspiration to favour, honouring reverently without presuming to love, yet hinting at love thus dignified, see J. Lyly, *Endymion* 5. 4. 157–76 (1591). F. Bacon, 'In felicem memoriam Elizabethae' asserted that 'She allowed herself to be wooed and courted, and even to have love made to her; and liked it; and continued it beyond the natural age for such vanities; . . . much like the accounts we find in romances of the Queen in the blessed islands, and her court and institutions, who allows amorous admiration but prohibits desire.' (transl. J. Spedding in *Works* (1878) 6. 317). See further Bates. Other women lived at Twickenham with Lady Bedford, e.g., her friends Lady Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode, for whom D. supplied the funeral elegies *Markham*, *BulstrodeRecant*, and *BulstrodeLang*. These do not suggest a relationship of the intensity implied, however complementarily, in *Twickenham*. Bulstrode was probably courted rather by D.'s acquaintance Sir Thomas Roe (see headnote to

22 Cp. *Prov.* 17. 28] 'Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise', and Tilley M321 from, e.g., S. Guazzo, *Civile Conversation* 2, Eng. G. Pettie (1581; 1925) 1. 159: 'To play the fool well, it behoveth a man first to be wise.' Cp. *Twelfth Night* 3. 1. 59–60.

BulstrodeRecant). This poem has often been linked with *Lucy*: if written successively they may be seen as typically enacting a debate on either side of a question, one pleading for insensibility, the other lamenting it.

Text. *D.* requires least correction, though, apart from the attempt in the copy for *DC* and that for 1633 to make up a substitute for the words omitted from the archetype of Group I, the omission along with that Group of stanza-breaks, and the errors in ll. 18 and 24, all of which have to be corrected from other Groups, *DC* also presents a reasonably accurate text.

B LASTED with sighs, and surrounded with tears,
 BHither I come to seek the Spring,
 And at mine eyes, and at mine ears,
 Receive such balms as else cure everything.
 5 But oh, self-traitor, I do bring
 The spider love, which transubstantiates all,

Sources collated: *H40*; Group I: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *DC*; Group II: *L74*, *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCD*; Group III: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading *DC*, II (*L74 in another hand in margin*), III, 1633, 1635: none I no stanza-breaks I, *DC*

2 come] came II 3 mine ears] my ~ *H40*

4 balms] balm *Lec*, *TCC*, III, 1635 cure] cures II, III, 1635 6 spider] ~'s *H40*

I As Gardner demonstrates, 'The amount of inversion of stress . . . is so great as to set up a trisyllabic rhythm. . . . There is a lack of metrical tact in thus opening a poem with a line that sets up the wrong expectation.' Smith alleges a stress on the first syllable of 'surrounded', but neither *OED* nor any of its verse-quotations supports this. The poem is adapted by Etherege, *The Comical Revenge; or, Love in a Tub* 4. 5 (1664) p. 48; *CH* p. 59. There is possibly a hint of an image of a ship at the mercy of wind and water. Cp. Drayton, *Ideas Mirrour* 1. 4 (1594): 'Smoked with my sighs, and blotted with tears'. **Blasted**] (a) Racked, wrecked, destroyed; (b) Blighted (fungal diseases, e.g., rusts, smut, ergot and bunt on cereal crops, were attributed to the wind). **surrounded with**] in floods of, dissolved in, swimming in. Cp. *Serm.* 8. 196 (5 April 1628; Redpath).

4 Paré, 28. 15, pp. 1107–8, recommends the recipes for 'Vesalius his balsam' and that of Fallopius, and recipes for artificial balsams made up from fragrant gums, oils and spices, as wound ointment; M. de L'Obel on G. Rondelet, *Pharmaceutics officina*, p. 125, goes further, claiming that '*Balsamum a Peto*' is a panacea for all wounds, fluxes, ulcers, bruises, fissures of hands, feet and breasts, scabies, tinea and '*equorum ulcera*'. On claims made for the simple balsams, see note on *Comparison* 3.

6 spider] Supposed to convert its food to a powerful poison. Cp. *D.*'s description of it in *Serm.* 1. 293 (19 April 1618) as 'a blister of poison' (Redpath). **transubstantiates**] Predominantly of religious application, the word encapsulates the central objection of reformers to the Roman doctrine that the bread in the Mass was changed into the actual flesh of Jesus. *D.*'s parody is in the spirit of the cult he imagines in other poems of lovers as saints and of their remains venerated as holy relics.

And can convert manna to gall;
 And that this place may thoroughly be thought
 True Paradise, I have the serpent brought.

- 10 'Twere wholesomer for me that Winter did
 Benight the glory of this place,
 And that a grave frost did forbid
 These trees to laugh and mock me to my face;
 But that I may not this disgrace
 15 Endure, nor leave this garden, Love, let me
 Some senseless piece of this place be:

12 grave] grey III did] would II 14 that] om, II

15 Endure] at end of previous line in I leave this [the Dal] garden II, III, 1635:
 om. I: yet leave loving DC, 1633

16 piece] part II

7 manna] Heaven-sent food for the starving Israelites, *Exod.* 16. 14–15. **gall]** a bitter feeling. Perhaps, literally, 'poison'. Cp. the transmutation of 'honey to gall' in *Serm.* 3. 226, 233.

9 the serpent] Alluding to both the deceiver of woman, 'more subtle than any beast of the field', *Gen.* 3. 1–5, 14, and, because the sexual aspect of the Fall was generally dwelt on, the speaker's penis, standing (in more than one sense, perhaps) for all desire. Pretended physical desire intruded into Leicester's 1575 entertainment for Elizabeth, *The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle* (1576, 1587), written by George Gascoigne, *The Glasse of Government and other Works*, ed. J. W. Cunliffe (1910) p. 126: Deep Desire is described to the Queen as a male holly bush 'furnished . . . with sharp pricking leaves, to prove the restless pricks of his privy thoughts'. *The Four Foster Children of Desire* (1581, perhaps partly by Sir Philip Sidney) discourages the suit of the Duke d'Alençon by alluding to the Queen indirectly as 'a woman, who like Eve cannot be beguiled, . . . a Saint, which by a Serpent will not be tempted' (Jean Wilson, ed., *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (1980) p. 76, q. v. also, pp. 14–15, on 'the love-game played out between Elizabeth and her courtiers'). Sidney undermines deference to beauty and virtue in *Astrophil and Stella* (written 1581–2, publ. 1591) with the line 'But ah! Desire still cries: "Give me some food!"'

10–13 Unsympathetic Winter also figures in *Lucy*, also associable with Lady Bedford: 'yet all these seem to laugh / Compared with me'. **wholesomer]** better.

12 grave] (a) heavy; (b) austere; Redpath suggests 'severe'.

13 Cp. the assumption that plants can detest in *Lucy* 33.

15–16 Love . . . senseless] Richmond ((1981) p. 250) compares the speaker's request with that in a poem by Ronsard on Mary Stuart's leaving for Scotland.

15 leave this garden/yet leave loving] The phrase 'leave loving' is also used in *Diety* 24.

Make me a mandrake, so I may groan here,
Or a stone fountain weeping out my year.

- Hither, with crystal vials, lovers, come
20 And take my tears, which are love's wine,
And try your mistress' tears at home;
For all are false that taste not just like mine.
Alas, hearts do not in eyes shine,
Nor can you more judge woman's thoughts by tears,
25 Than by her shadow, what she wears.

17 groan] grow *C57, Lec, L74, TCDBe, Dal, III, 1633, 1635*

18 my] the *II, III, 1635* 21 your] you *H49* 22 that] which *II, S96*

24 woman's] women *C57: women's Lec, DC, III, 1633, 1635*

17 groan/grow] The former has slightly stronger MS and contextual/semantic support. The fashion was for lovers to groan, as in Shakespeare's *Sonnets* 131. 6, 133. 1: mandrakes were usually supposed to shriek when pulled up, but cp. 2 *Henry VI* 3. 2. 314: 'the mandrake's groan' (Gr.).

18 a stone fountain: More acceptable than a mandrake because probably to be set at the centre of this cosmic garden on what Smythson's plan shows as a blank roundel of grass (Strong (1979) p. 121). Cp. the lyric in Jonson, 'The Fountaine of Self-love, Or Cynthia's Revels' 1. 2. 65–75 (1601) sig. B4r: 'Slow, slow, fresh fount, keep time with my salt tears' (Fellowes (1967) p. 333, reprints it from H. Youll's 1608 collection of songs). Guss pp. 85–8 quotes an analogue in Petrarch, *Rime sparse* 23. 80, 117, distinguishing D.'s from later Italian uses of such hyperbolic images by his sceptical irony.

19–20 'It was believed at this time that the small glass or alabaster vessels found in ancient tombs, probably to hold perfumes, were lachrymatories or tear-bottles in which mourners at funerals caught their tears in order to deposit them as tributes to the dead' (Gardner). Cp. Browne, *Hydriotaphia* 3 (1658; 1972 pp. 109–10), and *Ps.* 56. 8: 'Thou tellest my wanderings: put thou my tears into thy bottle.' D.'s lines are reworked by Crashaw in 'The Weeper' (rev. version), *Steps to the Temple* (1648), with angels and Mary Magdalene replacing the lovers.

19 crystal] Commonly believed to detect treachery: cp. *Markham* 42.

21 try] test.

22 Possibly parody of *Lam.* 1. 12, traditionally applied to the crucified Jesus, 'See if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow', but Smith quotes a love-poem, the Earl of Oxford's *Of the Birth and Bringing-up of Desire* (1591), 'What had you then to drink? Unfeignèd lovers' tears.' Cp. Drayton 2. 3–4: 'Preserve my tears, and thou thyself shalt prove / A second Flood down raining from mine eyes.'

23 Denying the universal applicability of *Richard II* 1. 3. 208 'Even in the glasses of thine eyes I see thy grieved heart', hopefully embraced by the lover of *Morrow* 16, and flatterer in *Bedford Honour* 27, but contradicted by Duncan's ironically prophetic 'There's no art / To find the mind's construction in the face' in *Macbeth* 1. 4. 11–12, and the realism of *Antony and Cleopatra* 2. 6. 101. Originally, the proverb was classical, deriving from Juvenal 2. 8, via, e.g., Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy* 3. 1. 18.

24–5 Paralleled by Marvell's ambivalent conclusion, in *Mourning* 35–6.

O perverse sex, where none is true but she,
Who's therefore true because her truth kills me.

A Valediction Forbidding Mourning

Date and Context. 1605? See note on *Book*.

Analogues. The lover's farewell was a popular genre in earlier times: see, e.g., *Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins (Oxford 1952) pp. 206–24. *Mourning* is possibly an imitation of Sidney, *A Farewell*. Edward Herbert's *I must depart* (1608) may be an imitation of both Sidney and D. Marotti (1995) pp. 152–3 notes that *Mourning* was extensively adapted by Simon Butteris or Butterix as 'Song the 21' in the mid-seventeenth-century Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 121 (Crum (1969) item A1486). A Greek version appeared in H. Stubbe, *Otium literatum* ([1656] 36–9).

Text. H49, D, Lec are largely free from error: the exception is in l. 11, where the plural, common to the Group I texts collated, is inconsistent with the next line's singular verb (though D. himself was not always strict in observing such consonance). The thirteen minor variants in Group III (two of which, in ll. 3 and 32 appeared in the printed editions) may indicate another version, perhaps earlier since that in l. 21 produces an extra-metric syllable, an obvious candidate for removal. M. Roberts (1981) pp. 28–31 plausibly supports this idea of Gardner's.

As virtuous men pass mildly away,
And whisper to their souls to go,

Sources collated: *Group I:* H40, H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; *Group II:* L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; *Group III:* Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: Group I (esp. H49, D, Lec)

Select variants:

Heading 1633, 1635: A Valediction I: Valediction Forbidding Mourning DC, TCC, TCD: Elegy L74 (*later*), Dal: Upon the Parting from his Mistress Dob, S96: Upon the Parting from his Mistress / Valediction Lut, O'F *no stanza-breaks in II, Lut, O'F*

26–7 The same paradox confronts the lover of *Deity* 24–8. Cp. the device '*Dat poenas laudata fides*' ('Much-praised faith suffers punishment') on Hilliard's elliptical cabinet-miniature of a forlorn lover, shown by Strong (1977;1987) pp. 68–83 to represent Essex; and Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, Fifth Song 41: her soul is so ungrateful 'As where thou soon mightst help, most faith doth most oppress'.

26 **perverse]** unreasonable, contrary.

27 Cp. Astrophil's thwarted desire for a woman married to another, in his case Stella making the similar excuse 'Tyran honour thus doth use thee: / Stella's self might not refuse thee' (*A&S* Eighth Song 95–6).

1–4 The image of dying men continues from the end of *Weeping*. As secretary to the Lord Keeper, D. was well placed to have heard of the death of Lord Burleigh

And some of their sad friends do say,
 'The breath goes now', and some say, 'No',

- 5 So let us melt and make no noise,
 No tear-floods nor sigh-tempests move:
 'T'were profanation of our joys
 To tell the laity our love.

Moving of th'earth brings harms and fears:

- 10 Men reckon what it did and meant;

3 And] Whilst III, 1633, 1635 7 of] to III (*Dobae*)

8 our] of our II, S96, Lut, O'F

9 Moving] ~s DC, III brings] bring DC: cause III

(though he may well not have thought of him as a 'virtuous' man) on 4 Aug. 1598: 'One thing was observed most strange, that though many watched to see when he should die, he lay looking so sweetly, and went away so mildly, as in a sleep, that it could scarce be perceived when the breath went out of his body'—*Life of that great Statesman William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, ed. A. Collins (1732) p. 63; *The 'Anonymous Life' of William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, ed. A. G. R. Smith (1990) p. 134.

1 virtuous] Two syllables. **mildly]** Three syllables.

6 i.e., not act in the conventional (Petrarchan) manner. **move]** emit (*OED* 4).

7–8 Cp. the religious register of *Canonization's* last stanza, *Book* 15–36.

7 profanation] desecration.

8 laity] Three syllables (two in the Group III version).

9 Moving of th'earth] An earthquake (D.'s translation of the Latin, *terrae motus*—Freccero, *Essential Articles* p. 295). C. Davison, *History of British Earthquakes* (1924) pp. 5–60, catalogues ten felt in Britain in D.'s lifetime, notably that at about six o'clock in the evening on 6 April 1580 (estimated to measure about 8 on the Richter scale), which threw down chimneys and stones from churches, damaging St Paul's Cathedral, killing two apprentices at sermon in Christ Church (Stow (1601) p. 1163; Camden, *Elizabeth* (1688) p. 244); and prompting T. Churchyard, *A Warning for the Wise*; A. Fleming, *A Bright Burning Beacon . . . Generall Doctrine of Sundrie Signes Specially Earthquakes*; A. Golding, *A Discourse upon the Earthquake*; T. Twyne, *A Shorte and Pithie Discourse*; and G. Harvey's description in *Three Proper Letters*; the Church issued *An Order of Prayer . . . to Avert Gods Wrath from us, Threatend by the Late Terrible Earthquake*. It was followed on May Day by a tremor at Canterbury, 'which made the people rise out of their beds and run to their churches, where they called upon God with earnest prayer to be merciful unto them'. Another felt in London on Christmas Eve 1601 did not do much damage. At about nine in the evening on 8 Nov. 1608 more than 11,000 square miles of Scotland were shaken: 'At Aberdeen, the people were so alarmed that the magistrates and clergy ordered the next day set apart for fasting and humiliation' (Davison p. 168, from D. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (1845) 6. 819). See Heninger (1960) pp. 22–6. Cp. *Henry* 21–2.

But trepidation of the spheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull, sublunary lovers' love
(Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
15 Absence, because it doth remove
Those things which elemented it.

But we, by a love so much refined
That ourselves know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
20 Care less eyes, lips and hands to miss.

Our two souls, therefore, which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to aery thinness beat.

11 trepidation] ~s *I, Dob, S96* 18 That] *As III*

20 Care less] Careless *DC, II* lips and hands] hands and lips *S96: lips, hands 1633, 1635*

21 therefore] then *III* one] but one *III* 22 go] part *III* 24 Like] *As DC, III*

11 trepidation of the spheres] Oscillation of a ninth sphere, added by the Arabs (making the *primum mobile* the tenth sphere) to Ptolemaic astronomy to account for supposed irregularity in the precession of the equinoxes. It was also accommodated in the Copernican system, but the notion of trepidation was rejected by Tycho Brahe. See F. R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* (1937) pp. 54–5, 110–11.

12 innocent] harmless.

13 sublunary lovers] In March 1617 D. preached concerning all love of women: 'The sphere of our loves is sublunary, upon things naturally inferior to ourselves' (*Serm.* 1. 200). **sublunary]** in the corruptible, changeable region below the moon.

14 Whose soul is sense] Who possess no rational, divine soul, only that in common with animals, driven by mere lust. Re-used by Habington, 'To Castara . . . the Reward of Innocent Love'. **admit]** allow of, accommodate, survive.

16 elemented it] constituted it in its basic parts.

17–18 a love . . . it is] Cp. *Negative* 1–9, *Canonization* 25–7, *Ecstasy* 31 and notes thereon, *Platonic* 20, *Relic* 24–5.

19 Inter-assured] A compound typical of D. in the poems where he insists on mutuality, presumably his own coinage since this is the only use cited in *OED*.

21 'Two souls made one' is commonplace, e.g., Plato, *Symposium* 192d–e; Aristotle in Diogenes Laertius 5. 20; Cicero, *De amicitia* 21 (81) 'almost'; Ovid, *Tristia* 4.4.72 (minds of Orestes and Pylades); Augustine, *Confessions* 4. 6. 11; Castiglione, *Courtier* 4 (Everyman edn. p. 315); *Ecstasy* 43; Browne, *Religio Medici* 2. 5 (of friend).

22 endure not yet] experience nevertheless.

24 Cp. Biathanatos (1647; 1984) p. 110, quoted in note on *Progress* 12, and *Serm.* 8. 240, (15 April 1628): 'no metal is so extensive as gold: no metal enlarges itself

25 If they be two, they are two so
 As stiff twin compasses are two:
 Thy soul, the fixed foot, makes no show
 To move, but doth if th'other do;

And though it in the centre sit,
 30 Yet when the other far doth roam,

28 but] yet *III* 30 when] whilst *III* roam] come *II* (*TCDbe*)

to such an expansion, such an attenuation as gold does, nor spreads so much with so little substance'. By modern specifications, 'one ounce of gold . . . would cover an area of 250 sq. ft' (Redpath).

25–36 Praz / 109 n., and J. Lederer, *Essential Articles* pp. 118–19, point out that D. merely expanded the image in Guarini's madrigal 'Risposta dell'Amante', no. 96 in *Rime* (1598) p. 106, part reading: 'Son simile al compasso, / Ch'un piede in voi quasi mio centro i' fermo' / L'altro patisce di . . . i giri, / Ma non può far, che'ntorno à voi non giri' ('I am like the pair of compasses/dividers, which establishes one foot in you as my centre, the other undertakes . . . the circles, but it cannot function, if it does not circle round you'), and applied it to Heaven in *Harington* 105–10, to God in *Devotions* 20, Expostulation: 'If I depart from thee, my centre, all is unperfect', and to the resurrection of the body in *Serm.* 8. 97 (19 Nov. 1627). Gr. quotes a parallel in Omar Khayyam. Gardner points out that as an emblem with the motto *Labore et Constantia*, 'By hard work and perseverance', the device was very familiar from title-pages of books printed on the Plantin presses in Antwerp and Leiden. M. L. Brown p. 129 comments that: 'With the . . . compass figure, he attempts to place the lovers in the unconditional realm of mathematical certainty.' This special esteem for geometry goes back at least to Plato, *Republic* 7 (527c). D. writes in a letter of 1613: 'Except demonstrations (and perchance there are very few of them) I find nothing without perplexities.' (Gosse 2. 16, from Anderdon MS).

26 stiff] unbending.

29–32 D.'s conceit cannot be visualised as a single operation, since the pair of compasses both describes a circle, in which the arms would remain at the same distance, and is expanded and contracted before and after the geometer uses them. J. Freccero, *Essential Articles* pp. 279–304, envisages a spiral as described in Chalcidius' well-known commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*: the arms would reverse their divergence so as to make a double spiral crossing the first, returning to the focus. It is not in fact literally practicable (despite Chalcidius) thus uniformly and steadily to expand and contract the instrument specified: the drawing of a two-dimensional spiral involved cylinder and string, not compasses, fixed foot and arms. D.'s conceit is thus a literary abstraction in which the radius expresses the physical separation of the couple, the circumference their constant relationship. The paradoxical nature of this circle is akin to the definition attributed to Hermes

It leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect as it comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who must
Like th'other foot, obliquely run:

32 it] that *DC*, III (*Dobae*), 1633, 1635

Trismegistus of God as a circle whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere, alluded to in *Serm.* 7. 247 (5 Nov. 1626): 'God is all Centre, as that he looks to all, and so, all circumference, as that he embraces all.' In this poem, at least, the 'conceit' is an *analogy* not an 'image'. Cp. also *Biathanatos* 1. 2. 2: quoting as 'the best description of [eternal] felicity that I have found', Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus* 7 Proem, to the effect that it is the return of anything to its first principle, in the Christian D.'s case to his god. G. Roebuck, *JDJ* 8 (1989) 37–56, explores analogues among the Renaissance maps D. might have consulted before crossing the Channel. E. Reeves, *Renaissance Studies* 67 (1993) 168–83, takes D. to be referring to the 'loxodromic line' in navigation, which crosses all meridians at a constant angle (not the shortest route, a 'great circle', the circumference of a plane passing through the centre of the sphere), and its precedents in medieval geometry. The two-dimensional spiral is not to be confused with the helical spiral by which D. imagined the soul rose towards God.

31 hearkens] Cp. *OED* 9, which quotes, as the only use to mean 'has regard to', Pope, *Essay on Man* 4. 40.

32 erect . . . home] Freccero argues that in traditional astronomy these terms refer to the exaltation of a planet, when its influence is supreme, and its domicile (or mansion), the sign of the Zodiac in which it was placed at the Creation: the only planet for which these two coincided, Virgo, significantly, was Mercury (Eade pp. 61, 64), 'the "Hermaphrodite" planet', also symbolising wit and learning. Erect stature was also supposed to be uniquely characteristic of man (a belief popularised by Ovid, *Met.* 1. 84–6—translated by Golding (1567) as 'And where all other beasts behold the ground with groveling eye, / He gave to Man a stately look replete with majesty, / And willed him to behold the Heaven, with countenance cast on high, / To mark and understand what things were in the starry sky'—but dismissed by Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 4.1), so the poem may imply here that the lover only achieves his full humanity in reunion. D. also repeats the Ovidian belief in *Devotions* 3, 'Meditation'. **comes home]** if the radius is lessened till it does not exist.

32, 35 grows erect, Thy firmness, my circle] These words, the first a physical attribute of the male, the third commonly symbolic of the female, support the argument of W. Mansour, *ELN* 42 (2005) 19–23 that the poem is intended to be understood as being spoken by a woman to a man.

34 obliquely] not straight, indirectly. *Oblique* was the Latin adverb applied to the motion of the human soul by translators of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. *Cursus obliquus*, 'oblique course', denoted the loxodrome, according to Reeves.

- 35 Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And makes me end where I begun.

A Valediction: Of my Name in the Window

Date and Context. Late Aug.–early Sept. 1599. T. Kline, *N&Q* 241 (1996) 80–1 suggested that the ‘Love and Grief’ which have their ‘exaltation’ in l. 38 are not just analogous but literal references to the planets Venus and Saturn and their actual situation in the sky at the time the name was engraved. Robbins 81–3 worked out the possibility more fully. Although D. does not evince much respect for or interest in astrology elsewhere, the addressee of the poem, if such a person literally existed, might have been a devotee and told him of the match between their situation and the stars. In *Mummy* he wrote ‘Hope not for mind in woman’, and though the idealizing Walton, who probably never knew her, asserted that she ‘had been curiously and plentifully educated’, and Wotton refers in a letter of 1599 to ‘the learned hand of your mistress’, D. remarked of Ann in a letter of 10 August 1614 to her brother, Sir Robert More (Folger MS L. b. 539): ‘When I began to apprehend that even to myself, who can relieve myself upon books, solitariness was a little burdensome, I believed it would be much more so to my wife if she were left alone’, suggesting a level of education more apt than his to accommodate a belief in astrology in spite of the condemnation of the Church. However, to the bookish such as D. the day-by-day planetary and zodiacal

35 firmness] Literally, in staying in one place; figuratively, fidelity. **makes]** Three very corrupt MSS, not included in the collation here but followed by Hayward in his 1929 edition, read ‘draws’. **just]** true, perfect.

36 Referring back to the deathbed in stanza 1, there may here be religious parody of the divine words in *Rev.* 22. 13: ‘I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end’: for D. the Christian, souls came from and returned to God. Less controversially, the line may be read as a rejoinder to Drayton 50. 1. 1 (1594): ‘When I first ended, then I first began’. Cp. the motto of Mary, Queen of Scots: *En ma fin est mon commencement* (‘In my end is my beginning’). D. may have been aware that in thirty-six lines the returning lover completes a circle of 360°. Additionally, six is a ‘circular number’, i.e., however many times it is multiplied by itself, the result always ends in six. Thirty-six completes six’s first circle and is in doing so a square number, the eighth. Eight, being the first cube, symbolises stability, and is also the number of the names and functions of the nuptial goddess, Juno (see headnote to *Lincoln*). It may, moreover, be relevant that Plato imagined in *Timaeus* 39d that the perfect year was completed when all eight heavenly bodies, Sun, Moon, five planets and the Earth, completed their orbits together, returning in a spiral to their original alignment, calculated by commentators to take thirty-six millennia. P. Bungus (1599) pp. 496–9, devotes over three pages to the supposed virtues of thirty-six. Finally, in the system of *gematria*, explained in the note on *Name* 17, $D + o + n + n + e = 36$.

Heading Since versions are found in all three groups, this is probably of derivation early in transmission: its commonness and use of the first-person possessive in *H40* and Groups I and II suggest it may even be D.’s own.

positions were available ready-computed in ephemerides such as J. Stadius, *Ephemerides . . . secundum Antverpiæ longitudinem ab Anno 1554, vsque ad Annum 1606. Iam recens ab Auctore auctæ* (Cologne 1581), superseded by D. Origanus, *Ephemerides nouæ annorum XXXVI, incipientes ab anno χριστογώνειας 1595, quo IOANNIS STADII maxime aberrare incipiunt, & desinentes in anno 1630* (Frankfurt-am-der-Oder 1599). While it is obviously necessary to base any inferences on the dates accepted in D.'s time rather than modern ones, Eade p. 64 provides a starting-point with his list of the Ptolemaic degrees of exaltation of planets in the zodiac: Venus has its exaltation in Pisces 27 and Saturn in Libra 21.

The conjunction of Saturn and Venus, which happens approximately annually, is used humorously as a figure for the joining of youth and age in *2 Henry IV* 2. 4. 265–6; D.'s reference is to something rarer: the planets' simultaneous positioning in their respective exaltations, which, we are told by C. Dariot, *Briefve and most easie Introduction to the Astrological Judgement of the Starres*, 2nd edn, rev. G. C. (1598) sig. E4r–v, 'is a certain place of the Zodiac in the which the virtue and force of any planet is by a certain natural excellency advanced . . . in the xxi degree of Libra . . . Saturn is exalted: . . . Venus hath her exaltation in the xxviii degree of Pisces'. The only times during D.'s poetic career (within a span of nearly thirty years either way, Saturn's period of revolution round the sun) when Saturn and Venus might have been thought to lie in their degrees of exaltation simultaneously are found in the tables of Stadius and Origanus. Although Venus achieved its precise degree of exaltation in Pisces 27 in Jan. 1598, March 1599 and April 1600, Saturn's one exaltation in Libra 21 in Oct. 1599 (and a second forecast by Stadius in May–July 1600) lay outside all Venus's. However, Dariot, sig. E4v, enunciates the commonly accepted approximation: 'Albeit the Arabians have placed the exaltation of the planets in certain particular degrees of the signs, yet nevertheless, following the mind of Ptolemy, we will take the whole signs for the exaltation.' The only periods when Venus was in Pisces while Saturn was in Libra between 1570 and 1629 (according to Origanus; Stadius' dates agree to within a day), were 30 Dec. 1597–25 Jan. 1598, 11 Feb.–7 March 1599, and 24 March–19 April 1600. Since Sir Thomas Egerton married her paternal aunt Elizabeth in October 1597, Ann More might already have been living in York House when D. joined the Lord Keeper's secretariat there late in 1597 or early in 1598, but in such forbidding surroundings the intimacy expressed in the poem seems unlikely to have developed by Jan. 1598. According to Walton (1670) p. 17, Sir George More hastily removed Ann from York House on having 'some intimation' of D.'s courtship; she would in any case presumably have left soon after 20 January 1600, when her aunt, the second Lady Egerton, died (Bald p. 109), which makes the planets' third coincidence in their signs of exaltation in March–April 1600 too late for the poem if it was written to Ann at York House. (There appears to be no evidence that D. visited her family home, Loseley, before his marriage; even had he done so, he would hardly have dared to engrave his name on a window in the house of a man of whom he was to be too nervous to inform him of the marriage himself, enlisting the Earl of Northumberland as messenger (Bald p. 133).) The planets' period of coincidence in exaltation in Feb.–Mar. 1599 therefore seems more in step with the likely progress of the love-affair.

D.'s one documented absence from London in 1599 was for the younger Sir Thomas Egerton's funeral in Chester Cathedral on 26 Sept. (Bald p. 105), though he may well have made shorter journeys to or with the Queen's court outside London (Bald p. 102). With its statement merely that 'this name was cut / When Love and Grief their exaltation had', the poem does not specify the interval between that and the departure lamented. A September journey might well allow enough

time for Origanus' *Ephemerides* to have reached London (the dedication is dated 1 Dec. 1598, so that, since the preliminaries were customarily the last part of a book to be printed, the volume may have been ready for publication quite early in 1599) and, simply as a new book, caught D.'s eye. Thus we might hypothesise that the name was cut in a window at York House in late February or early March 1599, and the poem written later that year, perhaps after the younger Sir Thomas Egerton had died of wounds in Dublin Castle on 23 August and before his funeral in Chester Cathedral on 26 September.

Analogues. More Ovidian in spirit than the other Valedictions, this appears to come between them and the Elegies and most of the love-lyrics. D.'s use of the classical valediction is discussed by Manley in *That Subtile Wreath* p. 8.

Text. None of the variations among MSS suggests authorial revision, so DC has been chosen as reference-text for the critical apparatus, being the most error-free exemplar of Group II, marginally better than Group I overall.

MY name engraved herein
 MDoth contribute my firmness to this glass,
 Which, ever since that charm, hath been
 As hard as that which graved it was.
 5 Thine eyes will give it price enough to mock
 The diamonds of either rock.

'Tis much, that glass should be
 As all-confessing and through-shine as I;

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II*: *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group IIIa*: *Dob*; *IIIb*: *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *DC*

Select variants:

Stanzas numbered 1633, 1635

Heading *H40*, *I*, *II* (*om. A*), *Dob* (of his name), 1633, 1635: Upon the Engraving of his Name with a Diamond in his Mistress' Window when he was to Travel *S96*: Valediction 4. Of [a *Lut*] Glass. Upon the Engraving . . . Travel *Lut*, *O'F* 5 eyes] eye *I*, 1633, 1635 6 diamonds] diamond *H40*, *IIIb*

1 My name] Gardner notes the common superstition, citing Agrippa, 'Of the Virtue of Proper Names', *Occult Philosophy* 1. 70 (1651) pp. 153-4.

2 contribute] Cp. note on *Curse* 28, *HerbertE* 22. **my firmness]** my constancy.

3 charm] word of magic power.

4 Presumably referring to a diamond ring. **graved]** engraved, cut.

5 give it price] make it valuable. **mock]** make ridiculous.

6 either rock] Whether found (in India) in the old or the new rock (*OED*3c but predating its first quotation). See the quotation from A. B. de Boodt, *Gemmarum et lapidum historia* 2. 2 (Hanover 1609) p. 59 by D. C. Allen, *MLN* 60 (1945) 54-5.

8 through-shine] transparent. Cp. *Metem* Epistle 2, where D. calls himself 'through-light', later using 'through-shine' as a compliment to Lady Bedford, *BedfordHonour* 27, 'through-light' for Elizabeth Drury's body, *FuneralEl* 61.

'Tis more, that it shows thee to thee,
 10 And clear reflects thee to thine eye.
 But all such rules love's magic can undo:
 Here you see me, and I am you.

As no one point nor dash,
 Which are but àccessary to this name,
 15 The showers and tempests can outwash,
 So shall all times find me the same.
 You this entireness better may fulfil,
 Who have the pattern with you still.

9 to thee] to me *IIIb* (*O'Fbe*)
 10 thee] me *IIIb* (*Lutbe, O'Fae then crossed out*) 13 nor] or *TCD, III*
 14 àccessary] ~ies *Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*: accessories *Dob*: accessory *S96*
 15 tempests] tempest *1635*

9–10 As a possible pun on Ann's surname, 'more' does not translate into the alternative sense so elegantly as in *Germany* and *Christ* (and, perhaps, *HSW1Since*) but would be a characteristically witty quibble to make the glass embody three natures: their joint one symbolically because of its own shine and transparency, her individual beauty by reflection, and his own constancy. The conceit of numerical equivalence involves his name reflecting her own back to her. Redpath's preferred reading from untrustworthy Group IIIb MSS, 'thee to me', produces a parallel with the reversed visible 'me' and essential 'you' in l. 12.

13 point] dot. **dash] D.** usually placed a slanting line beneath his signed name (reproduced, e.g., in Bald, Plate VIII opp. p. 566).

14 àccessary] OED states that this is the etymologically and historically justified stressing, and customary spelling when used in a legal sense.

17 'You can make this wholeness more complete.' **this entireness] J. M. Walker, JDJ 4** (1985) 29–33, *SP 84* (1987) 44–60, argues that 'this entireness' in l. 17 suggests D. engraved his full name, and demonstrates that according to the Latin and Hebrew procedure of *gematria*, the assigning of numbers to letters, explicitly used by Skelton in *Garland of Laurel*, 'my name', 'John Donne', and 'Anne More' each produce sixty-four. (In this version of *gematria* the vowels are numbered one to five, the rest of the alphabet numbered independently but as though the vowels were in place, thus:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Ij	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	UV	X	Y	Z
1	2	3	4	2	6	7	8	3	10	11	12	13	4	15	16	17	18	19	5	21	22	23

Walker judiciously observes that someone of D.'s literary interests would have first of all applied Skelton's system to his own name, then to one important to him and to 'my name', and been fascinated by the coincidences, rather than proceeding first from one or more of the significances attached by numerologists to sixty-four (the square of eight, number of regeneration, resurrection, marriage, and the first cube; overgoing the 'perfect' climacteric sixty-three (3 × 3 × 7, themselves significant: three of the Trinity, while 'seven is the Holy Ghost's Cipher of infinite'—*Serm.* 7. 411)).

18 pattern] original.

Or if too hard and deep
 20 This learning be for a scratched name to teach,
 It as a given death's-head keep,
 Lovers' mortality to preach,
 Or think this ragged, bony name to be
 My ruinous anatomy.

 25 Then, as all my souls be
 Imparadised in you, in whom alone
 I understand and grow and see,
 The rafters of my body, bone,
 Being still with you, the muscle, sinew and vein,
 30 Which tile this house, will come again.

 Till my return repair
 And recompact my scattered body so,
 As all the virtuous powers which are
 Fixed in the stars are said to flow

22 mortality *I, III, TCC, TCD, 1633, 1635*: moralities *H40*: morality *DC*

23 ragged] rugged *IIIb*

21 a given death's-head] A small memento of a skull, usually on a ring, such as D.'s father bequeathed to various friends (Bald pp. 561–2). Chambers quotes Fletcher, *The Chances* 1. 5. 39–40 (written c. 1617): 'As they keep death's-heads in rings / To cry *memento* to me' (Gardner).

23 ragged, bony name] Because of the limitations of scratching it on glass, effectively with his knuckle if inscribing it with a diamond ring he was wearing.

24 ruinous anatomy] skeleton, which 'muscle, sinew and vein' no longer 'tile' as in l. 30.

24, 32 ruinous anatomy, recompact] Cp. *Serm.* 9. 214, 217 (20 April 1630): 'In this Chapter [*Job* 16] . . . we have *Job's Anatomy, Job's Skeleton*, the ruins to which he was reduced. . . . even God's demolitions are super-edifications, his *Anatomies*, his dissections are so many recompactings, so many resurrections' (Gr.).

25 all my souls] Rational, vegetative, and sensitive or animal.

27 I . . . see] Corresponding to the abilities of the three souls.

28 Cp. *Serm.* 5. 352 (n. d.): 'Bones: we know in the natural and ordinary acceptation, what they are; they are these Beams, and Timbers, and Rafters of these Tabernacles, these Temples of the Holy Ghost, these bodies of ours' (Gr.).

30 tile] cover. **come again]** be evoked by association.

31–2 repair / And recompact] restore, heal and join, fit together again.

33–6 Paracelsus, *Chirurgia magna* 1. 2. 8 (1573) sigg. D5–6 (owned by D., and cited to this effect in *Biathanatos*, 'Conclusion') claims that gems, plants, roots and seeds may be infused with powers to heal wounds by the stars under which they are prepared. Cp. the rejection of the belief in *FirAn* 391–5, on which see notes.

33 virtuous] influential.

- 35 Into such characters as gravèd be
 When those stars have supremacy,
 So, since this name was cut
 When Love and Grief their exaltation had,
 No door 'gainst this name's influence shut:
 40 As much more loving as more sad
 'Twill make thee; and thou shouldst, till I return,
 Since I die daily, daily mourn.
- When thy inconsiderate hand
 Flings out this casement, with my trembling name,
 45 To look on one whose wit or land
 New batt'ry to thy heart may frame,
 Then think this name alive, and that thou thus
 In it offend'st my Genius.
- And when thy melted maid,
 50 Corrupted by thy lover's gold (and page),
 His letter at thy pillow'th laid,

36 those] these *C57, Lec, 1633* 37 this] thy *I: the TCDbe in another hand*
 44 out] ope *IIIb, 1633, 1635* this *H40, I, TCC, TCD, 1633, 1635: the DC, III*
 45 on one] one *D: in one TCC: at one IIIb* 50 and] or *IIIb*

36 have supremacy] have their exaltation.

38 i.e., in Feb.–Mar. 1599, when Venus ('the amorous evening star' of *Lincoln* 61) was in Pisces and melancholy Saturn in Libra, their exaltations, when they were supposed to be most powerful: see headnote. Cp. *Titus Andronicus* 2. 3. 30–3: 'though Venus govern your desires, / Saturn is dominator over mine, . . . cloudy melancholy'. For this way of referring to a planet cp. *Autumnal* 47.

39 influence] Two syllables.

40 That the two uses of 'more' in l. 40 pun on More (= 'a loving More', 'a sad More') as in l. 9 is also plausible, though *D.*'s puns usually make neater sense syntactically.

42 I die daily] The words of Paul in *1 Cor.* 15. 31, and Seneca, *Epist.* 24. 19. Cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 30.

43 inconsiderate] thoughtless.

44 out] open (ope in *IIIb, 1633, 1635*).

45 Sir George was actively searching among the gentry for a husband for Ann with wealth to match his own (*Bald* pp. 128–30), so the allusion to a hypothetical suitor's 'wit or land' in l. 45 might be coupling Ann's preference (*D.*'s wealth lay in his wit not land) with that of her father.

46 batt'ry] assault, siege, bombardment. **frame]** prepare, contrive.

48 Genius] Guardian Angel, Attendant Spirit.

49 melted] Bribed, presumably, though it had been suggested by Ovid, *Art of Love* 1. 375–98, that it might be advantageous to seduce the maid, still a possible tactic in Elizabethan times, though it seems here to be left to the page.

- Disputed it, and tamed thy rage,
 And thou beginn'st to thaw t'wards him for this,
 May my name step in, and hide his.
- 55 And if this treason go
 T'an overt act, and that thou write again,
 In superscribing, this name flow
 Into thy fancy from the pane.
 So, in forgetting thou rememb'rest right
 60 And unawares to me shalt write.

- But glass and lines must be
 No means our firm, substantial love to keep;
 Near death inflicts this lethargy,
 And this I murmur in my sleep:
 65 Impute this idle talk to that I go,
 For dying men talk often so.

53 t'wards] to *Illb*

55 go] grow *C57, Lec, Illb* 56 that thou *H40, I, III, 1633, 1635*: thou *II*
 58 pane *H40, I, TCC, TCD, Dob, S96, 1633*: pain *DC*: pen *Lut, O'F, 1635*
 60 unawares] unaware *H40, I, 1633, 1635* 64 this] thus *Illb, 1635*

A Valediction: Of the Book

Date and Context. 1605? Gardner (*ESS* pp. 193–5) did not find l. 9's idea that Homer's works were written by a woman plausibly available to D. before J. Lipsius' *De bibliothecis syntagma* of 1602, and regarding ll. 39, 42's 'prerogative', and 'subsidiaries' noted that 'Donne sat in the Parliament of 1601 in which discontent over monopolies, patents, and privileges reached its height', citing J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth and her Parliaments, 1584–1601* (1957) pp. 369–93, 411–22. Marotti (1986) p. 169 observes that *Book, Mourning and Weeping* would be more appropriate to the departure for the Continent with Sir Walter Chute in early 1605 than with Sir Robert Drury in late 1611 (*Bald* pp. 148, 241–5).

52 Disputed] Defended (*OED* 4).

57 superscribing] addressing. **this name flow]** i.e., 'may this name flow' (*Redpath*).

61–2 Glass and lines are only accidental, external expressions of the essential substance of their love (*Wiggins* 50).

63 lethargy] torpor.

65 Cp. this Petrarchanism in *Legacy* 1–2. Obviously, the common pun is not intended. **idle]** groundless, silly. Cp. the PS in *Letters* p. 57 (to Goodyer from Paris early in 1612): 'I may die yet, if talking idly be an ill sign' (*Gardner*).

66 talk often so] often imagine things, talk irrationally.

Analogues. For the assertion that other disciplines are comprehended in the philosophy of love, detailed in its subtitle, Guss pp. 144–5 exemplifies G. Casoni da Serravalle, *Della magia d'amore* (Venice 1592). The valedictory poem was common in classical and modern writing. See headnotes to *Wotton Venice, Mourning*.

Text. Dozens of scribal errors in other MSS make *D* the first choice, sharing with the rest of its Group only the omission from l. 8 and the plural in l. 33.

I'LL tell thee now, dear love, what thou shalt do
 I To anger Destiny, as she doth us;
 How I shall stay, though she eloin me thus,
 And how posterity shall know it too;
 5 How thine may out-endure
 Sibyl's glory, and obscure
 Her who from Pindar could allure,
 And her through whose help Lucan is not lame,
 And her whose book (they say) Homer did find, and name:

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group I*: *H49, D, C57, Lec*; *Group II*: *DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob, Lut, O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading *II, Dob*: Valediction of the Book *I*: Valediction 3. of the Book *Lut, O'F*: Valediction to his Book 1633, 1635: none *H40*

3 eloin] cloy *DC*: blank *TCC*, second half of word in another hand *TCD*

8 And her *II, III, 1633, 1635*: And *I*

3 eloin] send far away. Ironically, this is one of the French legal terms used by Sir John Davies, *Gulling Sonnets* 8. 12 (1594–6), his parody of the jargon-laden anonymous sonnet-sequence *Zepheria* (1594).

6–8 The Sibyls, Corinna and Polla Argentaria are predictably all mentioned by F. de Billon, *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe féminin* 2. 1, 2 (Paris 1555) ff. 27v, 30v (Gardner).

6 Sibyl's glory] The Sibyl of Cumaea, famous for originally owning the books which held the secrets of future fate, well known also for conducting Aeneas to the underworld in Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. Cp. *Coryat* 71–2 and note thereon for a less complimentary comparison.

7 The Greek poetess Corinna, teacher of and victor over Pindar (Loeb *Greek Lyric Poetry* 4. 18–23). Cp. Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 13. 25, Pausanias 9. 22. 3 (Gr.). **allure]** attract [the judges] away.

8 Apollinaris Sidonius, *Epistolae* 2. 10. 6 includes Polla Argentaria among women who have helped and inspired their husbands (Gr.). In a memorial poem dedicated to Lucan's widow, Statius, *Silvae* 2. 7. 83, has the Muse Calliope praise her as learned and suited to his genius.

9 Either the semi-mythical Musaeus' daughter Helena, or Phantasia of Memphis, daughter of Nicarchus, according to Photius, *Bibliotheca* 190 (Greek Augsburg 1601; Latin 1606; both, Geneva 1612; *PG* 103. 619–20, 625–6), from Ptolemy Chennos of Alexandria's *New History*; merely saying that she wrote on Troy and

- 10 Study our manuscripts, those myriads
 Of letters which have past twixt thee and me.
 Thence write our annals, and in them will be,
 To all whom love's subliming fire invades,
 Rules and example found;
- 15 There, the faith of any ground
 No schismatic will dare to wound,
 That sees how Love this grace to us affords:
 To make, to keep, to use, to be these his records.
- This book—as long-lived as the elements
 20 Or as the world's form, this all-gravèd tome
 In cipher writ, or new-made idiom—

18 keep] help II 20 tome] tomb C₅₇, Lec, DC, TCC

Odysseus. More accessible, to D., who probably did not read Greek, was the sceptical mention of Phantasia of Memphis by J. Lipsius, *De bibliothecis syntagma* 1 (1602) p. 10, citing Eustathius' preface to his commentary on the *Odyssey*.

10–11 those myriads / Of letters . . . 'twixt thee and me] More likely before marriage than after, once D. was let out of prison to resume cohabitation.

12 annals] Submerged pun on Ann?

13 subliming] transforming, elevating (*OED*'s first example of this form of the usage). In the chemical process, the heated substance, such as sulphur, appears to pass directly from solid to vapour to solid deposit, leaving any impurities behind.

15–36 Cp. the religious register of *Canonization*'s last stanza, and *Mourning* 7–8.

15 'In those writings, belief in any fundamental doctrine'.

16 schismatic] A name used by D. for Puritans, separatists from the established Church. Cp. *Brooke*S 10, *Will* 20, and notes on *Will* 20–1.

17 grace] privilege (*OED* 8b), in Christian doctrine, necessary for salvation, and earned by faith and/or works, the latter anathema to 'schismatics'. Gr. quotes from *Letters* and *Serm.* 1. 255 (20 Feb. 1618), the latter promoting the King's line that disputes about grace, originally between Dominicans and Jesuits, were better left alone, whereas "'Resistibility" and "Irresistibility" of Grace . . . is every Artificer's wearing now', although 'a language that pure antiquity spake not. . . . It should scarce be disputed of in Schools, much less served in every popular pulpit to curious and itching ears; least of all made table-talk, and household-discourse.'

19–20 elements, / Or as the world's form] The first mutable, the second eternal.

19 as long-lived] Though not eternal, as usually with Petrarchan pronouncements: for Christians, 'Heaven and Earth shall pass away', so that there would be 'a new Heaven and a new Earth' (*Matt.* 24. 35 etc., *Rev.* 21. 1), but for Aristotle, e.g., *On the Heavens* 1. 9 (277b27), only Earth was mutable.

20 all-gravèd] totally engraved, i.e., not expressible in ordinary print. An example is J. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquæ* (Heidelberg [1603]), an enormous compendium of facsimiles of classical inscriptions. Since the letters' cipher is not a standard fount, each character will have to be cast in a new matrix. That they are in cipher implies fear of discovery before marriage by hostile parents, as in *Perfume*.

We for Love's clergy only[^] are instruments.
 When this book is made thus,
 Should again the ravenous
 25 Vandals and Goths in^undate us,
 Learning were safe: in this our universe
 Schools might learn sciences, spheres music, angels verse.

Here Love's divines (since all divinity
 Is love or wonder) may find all they seek:
 30 Whether abstr^act, spiritual love they like,
 Their souls exhaled with what they do not see,
 Or, loath so to amuse
 Faith's infirmity, they choose
 Something which they may see and use;
 35 For, though mind be the Heaven where love doth sit,
 Beauty[^]a convenient type may be to figure it.

25 and] and the 1633, 1635 in^undate] invade III, 1633, 1635
 32 loath] doth II 33 infirmity] infirmities I

22 clergy] priests, like those of ancient Rome who alone interpreted the advice of the Sibylline Books to the Senate at times of crisis, or Protestant ministers interpreting Scripture through preaching. **only]** alone.

25 Vandals and Goths] Bywords for their destructive invasions of Europe, inaugurating the Dark Ages. Cp. *Damp* 13–14. **in^undate]** *OED* records that even in the nineteenth century, the stress was on the second syllable. Cp. its first quotation of a figurative use, Puttenham 1. 6 (1589): 'the notable inundations of the Huns and Vandals in Europe'; and *Serm.* 8. 3 (20 Feb. 1629): 'The Torrents, and Inundations, which invasive Armies pour upon Nations, we are fain to call by the name of Law, "Martial Law"': *Essays* 2.1 (p. 61): compares with 'that great Captivity of Babylon' 'the inundation of the Goths in Italy' (Gr.).

26 universe] world.

27 Schools] Philosophical institutions such as universities. **sciences]** bodies of knowledge, including theology and the philosophies. **spheres music]** See note on *Mummy* 22. **angels verse]** Even angels shall learn (a) Doctrine, though commonly presumed to know it all, (cp. *OED* verse *sb.* 3); (b) How to make lyrics, despite their experience in hymning their Maker.

28–36 The doctrine explained in *Ecstasy*.

28–9 all divinity . . . wonder] Cp. *Anagram* 25–6.

30 abstr^act] Immaterial, ideal. *OED* records that at first the stress was on the second syllable, but see note on *Growth* 11. **spiritual]** All MSS agree on this -u- spelling, but D. seems to elide it to the then current 'spirital'.

31 Cp. *Ecstasy* 32. **exhaled]** drawn out of their bodies.

32 amuse] bewilder, puzzle.

33 infirmity] instability.

36 type] befitting/suitable/appropriate emblem. **figure]** represent.

Here (more than in their books) may lawyers find
 Both by what titles mistresses are ours,
 And how prerogative those states devours,
 40 Transferred from Love himself to womankind,
 Who, though from heart and eyes
 They exact great subsidies,
 Forsake him who on them relies,
 And for the cause 'honour' or 'conscience' give—
 45 Chimeras vain as they or their prerogative.

Here statesmen (or of them they which can read)
 May of their occupation find the grounds:
 Love and their art alike it deadly wounds,
 If to consider what 'tis one proceed.
 50 In both they do excel,
 Who the present govern well,
 Whose weakness none doth (or dares) tell.
 In this thy book, such will their nothing see,
 As in the Bible some can find out alchemy.

39 those] these C57, *Lec*, 1633, 1635 states] rites II 41 Who] For *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe*
 43 Forsake] And forsake *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe* 45 vain] reign II
 53 their nothing] there ~ H40, H49: ~ ~s DC: there something 1633

37–8 As Marotti (1986) p. 327 notes, this 'might refer to Donne's legal battle with his father-in-law to keep his marriage from being annulled'. See Bald pp. 137–9.
 39–40 Cp. *Deity* 15–18.

39 prerogative] See note on *Deity* 16. states] rightful possessions (*OED* 34).
 devours] takes recklessly, consumes wantonly, swallows up, destroys, treats
 regardlessly as plunder, nullifies in law.

42 subsidies] contributions, taxes on specific occasions.

45 Chimeras] Fictitious creatures. Cp. 'th'enchantress Honour', *Damp* 12.

46 statesmen] politicians.

48 deadly wounds] is fatal to.

49 consider] look closely, scrutinise.

50 both] i.e., 'Love and art', self-restraint and discretion.

54 e.g., G. Dorn; M. J. Sedziwoj, *Novum lumen philosophiae*, in *Theatrum chymicum*, ed. L. Zetzner, vol. 4 (Strasbourg 1613); Eng. J. F[rench] as *A New Light of Alchymie* (1650). Cp. *Serm.* 7. 190 (21 June 1626): Gr. quotes the case of an eminent French ecclesiastic from Montaigne 2.12 (1928 2. 304). Cp. D.'s anti-Roman re-use of the analogy: 'As our Alchemists can find their whole art and work of Alchemy, not only in Virgil and Ovid, but in Moses or Solomon, so these men can find such a transmutation into gold, such a foundation of profit, in extorting a sense for Purgatory, or other profitable Doctrines, out of any Scripture' (Gr.) alchemy] Used as a stock example of trickery, surviving repeated exposures, such as Chaucer's 'Canon's Yeoman's Tale', and, later, Jonson's *Alchemist*.

- 55 Thus vent thy thoughts; abroad I'll study thee,
 As he removes far off that great heights takes:
 How great love is, presence best trial makes,
 But absence tries how long this love will be:
 To take a latitude
- 60 Sun or stars are fitliest viewed
 At their brightest, but to conclude
 Of longitudes, what other way have we
 But to mark when and where the dark eclipses be?

55 vent] went 1635 60 fitliest] fittest II: fitly *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

A Valediction: Of Weeping

Date. Early 1605? See note on *Book*. If the poem were to be linked to an actual parting before a voyage, the absence of the dangers of war and heat (cp. *War*, *Picture*) and l. 9's 'diverse shore' suggest not the Cadiz and Azores expeditions of 1596–7, but a trip to a peaceful part of the Continent (cp. *Fatal*). The attendance at the Egerton funeral thought to be the occasion of *Name* (see its head-note) might have involved the prospect of escorting the body back across the (notoriously dangerous) Irish Sea from Dublin to Chester, but actual evidence exists for D.'s crossing to France with Sir Walter Chute in early 1605 (Bald p. 148). Both the latter occasions would support the reading of 'more' in l. 7 as yet another play on Ann More's name. This poem's whole-heartedness contrasts

55 vent] express.

56 removes far off] takes up a distant position. **takes]** measures.

58 tries] long. long] long-lasting, enduring.

59–61 To take . . . brightest] i.e., at the highest point they reach on that date, e.g., the Sun at midday.

61–2 conclude / Of] determine, decide.

62–3 D. uses spatial distance from an agreed point (in those days located in the island of São Miguel in the Azores, now about 25°W of Greenwich) as an analogy of duration in time, though, as Redpath points out, 'longitude' was then used also literally of time (*OED* under sense 2 giving three examples 1607–26).

63 dark] total. **eclipses]** times of invisibility. Also in Shakespeare's mind at this period: cp. *History of King Lear* 1. 2. 103–4, 135–6 etc. (written c. 1605; cp. *Sonnets* 35. 3, 60. 7). The eclipses of the Moon (27 Sept.) and of the Sun on 2 Oct. 1605 actually occurred after D. and Chute's departure: D. may be harking back to his voyages in 1596–7. Experimental observations of lunar eclipses and occultations produced in fact imprecise results; longitude had usually to be guessed at by dead reckoning of distance travelled. Nevertheless, this use of eclipses is a fitting analogy for judging love in absence.

Heading 'A Valediction' is found in all MSS collated, so perhaps might be authorial, but 1633's conflation of Groups I and II distinguishes the poem from the other valedictions and indicates its theme better than Group III's title.

with the Ovidian cynicism of *Name*, though changes of mood in lovers need not take years.

Analogues. As in *Somerset, Funeral, Will*, each stanza is rounded off with a fourteener. Cp. the song 'Drown not with tears' in Ferrabosco's *Ayres* 9 (1609; Fellowes p. 515). The succession of images for tears—coins, mothers, fruits, emblems, worlds, inundations, raindrops, seas—echoes the tradition of poems on Mary Magdalene, later exemplified in Crashaw's 'The Weeper'.

Text. All the MSS of Groups II and III collated are substantially in error in one or more lines so Group I clearly gives the preferable text. Of its members, *D* alone contains not even minor errors.

LET me pour forth
 LMy tears before thy face whilst I stay here,
 For thy face coins them, and thy stamp they bear;
 And by this mintage they are something worth,
 5 For thus they be
 Pregnant of thee.
 Fruits of much grief they are, emblems of more:
 When a tear falls, that *thou* falls which it bore;
 So thou and I are nothing then, when on a diverse shore.

Sources collated: *H40; Group I: D, H49, C57, Lec; L74; Group II: DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D*

Heading 1633, 1635: Valediction of weeping II: A Valediction *H40, I, L74*

A Valediction of tears *Dob, S96*: Valediction 2: Of Tears *Lut, O'F*

2 whilst] while II 3 face] stamp II coins] joins II 8 falls] fall'st III, 1633, 1635

3–4 *D.* resorts to his usual standard of value, coins. Cp., e.g., *Canonization* 7.

6 **Pregnant of]** Swollen with bearing.

7 **emblems of more]** 'pictures of [Ann] More'. If this pun is understood here (see H. Morris 1973) it does not necessarily mean that the poem was written before *D.*'s marriage, since he continued to make it even after her death in *Germany* and *Christ*. The importance of the name to *D.*, especially in his childhood, as that of the Roman Catholic family whose most famous member had been his own distant relative, Sir Thomas (though *D.*'s father-in-law, Sir George, was not related), was shared even more self-consciously by whoever commissioned the memorial portrait of Sir Thomas and his descendants by Rowland Lockey in 1593 (National Portrait Gallery, London).

8 **that thou falls]** Possibly with a hint at the woman's potential fall from virtue, which would reduce their relationship to 'nothing'. Such failure in love is imputed in *Sweetest* 29–32.

9 Stanza 2 explains this line: how her reflection in his tears makes them represent the 'all' which the lovers are to each other, and the merging of her teardrops with his will reduce that 'all' itself to 'nothing', a formless flood. Contrast the tear alone drowning his image in *Witchcraft* 3. Yet again, *D.* argues in his 'two souls in one', 'all or nothing' modes. The line contradicts or is contradicted by the argument of *Mourning*.

- 10 On a round ball
 A workman that hath copies by can lay
 An Europe, Afric, and an Asia,
 And quickly make that which was nothing all:
 So doth each tear
 15 Which thee doth wear
 A globe, yea, world by that impression grow,
 Till thy tears mixed with mine do overflow
 This world, by waters sent from thee, my Heav'n, dissolvèd so.

14 doth] do 1635 15 thee] she II

10–14 See sermons quoted in note on *Sickness* 13–14. Gardner quotes a letter to Sir Robert Ker (1578–1654) of 1623 (*Matthew* p. 106): ‘The labour of any ordinary artificer in that trade will bring East and West together, for if a flat map be but pasted upon a round globe, the farthest east and the farthest west meet and are all one.’

11 lay] Apply, place, or paste copies, ready-printed sheets, shaped in, e.g., twelve 30° gores.

12 D. holds to classical geography, which only knew of these three continents.

Asia] Pronounced ‘Ayzeeay’ or ‘Ayzheeay’. Cp. Marlowe, *Tamburlaine II* 4. 3. 1: ‘Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia! / What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day?’

13 nothing] A globe being shaped like a nought. **all]** the whole world.

17–20 Favourite imagery of D.’s: cp. *WoodwardREnvoy* 6, *Markham* 7–12, *DivM7Little* 7–8, *DivM9Pois’nous* 10–12, *Lucy* 2.

18 my Heav’n,] *Dob*, *S96* (and Redpath) insert a comma after the phrase, while *Lut* and *O’F* put it in parentheses, the former suggesting and the latter ensuring that ‘dissolvèd’ should be read as applying to ‘This world’ (the Earth) only. The absence of punctuation in other MSS and 1633 (followed by Gardner) allows ‘world’ to mean ‘universe’, and the sense that the addressee has been dissolved by her tears, repeating l. 9’s assertion of loss of identity: his world is flooded, his Heaven (possibly) dissolved. In *Funeral*, the imagined Heaven/the soul are distinct from the material body/‘her provinces’, with only the latter subject to ‘dissolution’. It could be argued that a ‘Heav’n’ is not, and that it is his own which concerns D.

19 As his ‘Heav’n’ she is above the Moon, though like it moving tides, and sending sublunary rain as God did in *Gen.* 6. 17, 7. 10–12, 17–24. In addition, she cannot only move seas on Earth, but, with her super-lunary power, draw them up into her sphere far above (Gardner). If the poem was written before 1603, ‘more than Moon’ might mean that the addressee means more to the speaker than Queen Elizabeth, one of whose symbols, as the goddess Cynthia or Belphoebe, was the Moon who ruled the sea and its tides: cp. F. Davison’s *Masque of Proteus*, played to Elizabeth at the Gray’s Inn Revels (*Gesta Grayorum* (1968) p. 84): ‘This Cynthia high doth rule those heavenly tides, / Whose sovereign grace, as it doth wax or wane, / Affections so, and fortunes ebb and flow.’ See also, e.g., the May Day 1600 ode ‘Of Cynthia’ (ascribed to Sir John Davies in Davison’s *Poetical Rapsody* (1602; 1931–2) 1. 236, but not in Krueger’s authoritative modern edition); Ralegh’s poems to Cynthia, *Poems* (1999) pp. 46–66; and a miniature by Hilliard (see Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth* 48–9).

- O more than Moon,
 20 Draw not up seas to drown me in thy sphere!
 Weep me not dead in thine arms, but forbear
 To teach the sea what it may do too soon:
 Let not the wind
 Example find
 25 To do me more harm than it purposeth:
 Since thou and I sigh one another's breath,
 Whoe'er sighs most is cruellest, and hastes the other's death.

21 thine] thy *H40, II, Dob*

The Will

Date and Context. 1592–8? Line 8's 'her who'd twenty more' (no pun likely) suggests the speaker is not married yet.

Analogues. Mock testaments were known from early times, as detailed in L. Hutson, *Thomas Nashe in Context* (1988) pp. 128–30. As well as Nashe himself in *Summers Last Will and Testament* ll. 1825–44 (1600; *Works* 3. 290–1), cp. the third-century CE Testament of Grunnius Corocotta, the spoof will of a pig, encouraging schoolboys to work at their Latin, mentioned by Jerome, thence by Erasmus, preface to *Moriae Encomium*, and appended to the latter's much-used *Adagia*; 'Colyn Blowbol's Testament' in *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (1864) 1. 100; Anon. 'The Will of the Devil and Last Testament', ed. F. J. Furnivall, *Ballad Soc.*, 1871; Robert Copland, 'Jyl of Braintfords Testament' [c. 1563; c. 1567?], ed. F. J. Furnivall. An adaptation of D.'s poem, ascribed to Sir Charles Sedley (1639?–1701), appears in his *Works* (1722, 2. 1–2; Keynes p. 304). Villon's 'Testament' is quite different: not humorous, nor are any bequests specified. As in *Somerset, Funeral, Weeping*, each stanza is rounded off with a fourteener.

20 thy sphere] the circle of her arms.

21–5 The episode described in *Storm* seems to have imbued D. with an anxiety about sea-voyages, even across the Straits of Dover, repeatedly expressed here and in all three Hymns, especially *Germany*. Nevertheless, Marotti (1986) p. 174 notes that it is a danger usually alluded to in valedictory poetry. Being wept to death is also a traditional hyperbole: cp. 3 *Henry VI*, 4. 5. 21–4, and D.'s simpler version in *Sweetest* 25–8. He is contrarily literal when it suits his argument: cp. *Fatal* 19–21, *Canonization* 11–12.

21 Weep me not dead] (a) 'Do not make me die with your weeping', either with the pain it gives him or by giving example to the sea; (b) 'Do not weep as if I were dead'; (c) and, possibly (but insincerely, given the degree of self-pity in this and other D. poems), 'Do not mourn my probable death'.

25 purposeth] means to.

26–7 Cp. *Sweetest* 26, and *Expiration*.

27 hastes . . . death] According to the idea that a sigh consumed a drop of blood. Cp. 3 *Henry VI*, 4. 5. 21–4, and 2 *Henry VI*, 3. 2. 60–3.

Text. C57 contains no apparent errors apart from the omission, common to Groups I and II, of the third stanza. For this the text in S96, *Lut*, *O'F* is given, since it does not contain the numerous errors of other stanzas in these MSS. The Group III archetype appears to have tried to make the final lines of stanzas conform to the pattern of the third (which only Group III included) and to substitute 'making' for 'appointing' in l. 16 (cf. the reverse substitution in two MSS of Group III in l. 52). Since this is not the practice of the rest of the poem, it seems unlikely to have been the writer's intention.

- B**EFORE I sigh my last gasp, let me breathe,
 Great Love, some legacies: here I bequeath
 Mine eyes to Argus, if mine eyes can see;
 If they be blind, then, Love, I give them thee;
 5 My tongue to Fame, t'ambassadors mine ears,
 To women or the sea, my tears;
 Thou, Love, hast taught me heretofore
 By making me serve her who'd twenty more,
 That I should give to none but such as had too much before.
- 10 My constancy I to the planets give,
 My truth to them who at the Court do live;
 Mine ingenuity and openness
 To Jesuits, to buffoons my pensiveness;

Sources collated (stanzas 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; ll. 1–18, 28–end): *H40*; *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *DC*; *Group II*: *L74be*, *Dal*, *DC*, *TCC*, *N*; (all): *L74ae*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: ll. 1–18, 28–end *C57*; 19–27 *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

Select variants:

Heading *H40*, *I*, *DC*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635: *Love's Will L74ae*: *Love's Legacy*
Dal: *Love's Legacies TCC*, *N*: *Testamentum Dob*, *S96*

9 That . . . as] Only to give to those which (that *Dob*: who *Lut*) *III*

3 Argus] who already has a hundred—Ovid, *Met.* 1. 625 (proverbial: Tilley E254).

4 Love] Cupid was notoriously blind.

5 Fame] 'All-telling' in *Love's Labours Lost* 2. 1. 21, 'painted full of tongues' in 2 *Henry IV* Induction s.d. (Gardner). **ambassadors]** Whose roles included memorizing perfectly messages from and to the despatching power, and gathering information.

8 twenty] twenty lovers. Cp. *Diet* 24 and note thereon.

10 planets] Which in the Ptolemaic system appeared at times to be in backward orbits, retrogradation. The term 'planet' derived from the Greek for 'wandering'.

11 Courtiers then, as politicians now, often found it expedient to be economical with the truth, especially in promises to suitors.

12 ingenuity] ingenuousness, simple honesty.

13 Jesuits] Two syllables. Renowned in Protestant England for wiliness, covert scheming and deliberately incomplete answers.

My silence t'any who abroad hath been,
 15 My money to a Capuchin.
 Thou, Love, taught'st me, by appointing me
 To love there where no love receiv'd can be,
 Only to give to such as have an incapacity.

My faith I give to Roman Catholics,
 20 All my good works unto the schismatics
 Of Amsterdam; my best civility
 And Courtship to an university;

16 appointing] making *III* 17 can be] be *H40*: could be *II*, *Dobbe*
 18 to such as have] such *Dal*: to those which (who *S96*) have *III*
 19–27 *om.* *H40*, *I*, *II*, *L74be* (*stanza supplied in L74ae in another hand*; *Stanza*
missing N marg. in another hand)

14 Returned travellers were regarded in England as too full of their travels. See, e.g., *Satyre* 1 100–3, *Coryat*.

15 Capuchin] Franciscan Friar Minor, vowed to poverty. An order 'most beggarly' according to Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (1592; *Works* 1. 203).

16 appointing] Though all sources collated contain 'appointing', the shorter form 'pointing' existed independently, and would fit metrically, avoiding the need to indicate the (quite usual) elision formally.

18 have an incapacity] are incapable.

19–21 My faith . . . Amsterdam] In real life, D. asserted, in line with the Church of England, that both faith and good works were necessary to achieve salvation; Cp. *Serm.* 8. 337 (20 Feb. 1629), where he sets out the orthodox position, expounding *Titus* 3. 8: 'Our *Nullifidians*, Men that put all upon works, and no faith; and our *Solifidians*, Men that put all upon faith and no works, are both in the wrong'.

19 My faith] i.e., Protestantism, which deemed Roman Catholics' faith in some doctrines and ceremonies an excess of belief, credulity. Also, RCs relied more on works, in opposition to the 'solifidians' of D.'s next two lines.

20–1 schismatics / Of Amsterdam] These extreme separatists, preferring (or forced) to live in the Low Countries rather than England, with its established church enforced by the state, asserted that faith alone, not good works, earned salvation. Cp. *BrookeS* 10, *Book* 16.

21 civility] urbane manners.

22 Courtship] courtliness, social sophistication. **university]** Academics were seen as not only pedantic but also rustically clumsy and unversed in the ways of the world. Cp. Holofernes in *Love's Labours Lost*, Tim in Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, and J. Earle's Character of 'A Downright Scholar' in *Micro-Cosmographie* 15 (1628; Leeds 1976 facs. of MS) pp. 53–4:

Rough and unscoured without, and therefore hated by the courtier, . . . He humbles not his Meditations to the industry of Compliment, nor afflicts his brain in an elaborate leg. His body is not set upon nice pins, to be turning and flexible for every Motion, but his scrape is homely, and his nod, worse. He cannot kiss his hand, and cry 'Madam!', nor talk idly enough to bear her company. His smacking [kissing] of a Gentlewoman is somewhat too savoury, and he mistakes her nose for her lips. A very woodcock would

- My modesty I give to soldiers bare;
 My patience let gamesters share.
 25 Thou, Love, taught'st me, by making me
 Love her that holds my love disparity,
 Only to give to those that count my gifts indignity.
- I give my reputation to those
 Which were my friends, mine industry to foes;
 30 To Schoolmen I bequeath my doubtfulness,
 My sickness to physicians (or excess);
 To Nature, all that I in rhyme have writ,
 And to my company my wit.
 Thou, Love, by making me adore
 35 Her who begot this love in me before,
 Taught'st me to make as though I gave when I did but restore.

28 I . . . reputation] My reputation I give III

29 Which] That *Dob*, *S96* 35 who] that III 36 did] do *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

puzzle him in carving, and he wants the logic of a capon. He has not the glib faculty of sliding over a Tale, but his words come squeamishly out, and the laughter commonly before the jest. . . . The perplexity of mannerliness will not let him feed, and he is slicing an argument when he should cut his meat. . . . He ascends a horse somewhat sinisterly, though not on the left side, and they both go jogging in grief together. He . . . understands Greek better than the language of a falconer. . . . Thus is he silly and ridiculous, which continues with him for some quarter of a year out of the university. But . . . he shall out-balance those glisters.

23 Soldiers might be immodest both in the sense of being given to boasting, and by failing to conceal their genitals. Since at least Plautus' *Miles gloriosus*, soldiers were traditionally portrayed as bombastic braggarts, e.g., Spenser's Braggadochio in *FQ*, Jonson's Bobadill in *Every Man in his Humour*, his Tucca in *Poetaster*, Shakespeare's Pistol and Parolles. They were often seen in beggarly rags because discharged without pay.

24 patience] Cp. 'gamesters' gall', *Curse* 25. Gamblers have great need of patience under their losses. **gamesters]** gamblers.

26 disparity] unfitting, incongruity, overambition, presumption.

27 indignity] an insult, beneath them.

28-9 I give . . . friends] Rather bitterly implying that they are false, the last to be trusted with his reputation, which they enjoy shredding. It was proverbial that 'To dead men and absent, there are no friends left' (Tilley M591).

29 Since his enemies are so industrious.

30 doubtfulness] habitual questioning. Disputations played a large role in the universities, in addition to which the generation of controversy guaranteed more of the discourses by which academics hoped to win fame.

31 physicians (or excess)] Alternative causes of illness. The excess would be of one of the humours.

To him for whom the passing-bell next tolls
 I give my physic books; my written rolls
 Of moral counsels I to Bedlam give,
 40 My brazen medals unto them which live
 In want of bread, to them which pass among
 All foreigners, mine English tongue.
 Thou, Love, by making me love one
 Who thinks her friendship a fit portion
 45 For younger lovers, dost my gifts thus disproportion.

Therefore I'll give no more; but I'll undo
 The world by dying, because love dies too.
 Then all your beauties will be no more worth
 Than gold in mines where none doth draw it forth,
 50 And all your graces no more use shall have
 Than a sun-dial in a grave.
 Thou, Love, taught'st me, by making me
 Love her who doth neglect both me and thee,
 T'invent and practise this one way t'annihilate all three.

40 which] that *III* 41 which] that *Dob*

49 none doth draw] ~ do ~ *II*, *Dob*: no man ~s *S96* 52 making] appointing
Dob, *S96*

53 me and thee] thee and me *Dal*, *DCae*, *III*

38 physic] of medicine.

39 Bedlam] Bethlehem Hospital, where those out of their minds were confined (and displayed as entertainment).

40 medals] Commemorative pieces of interest to collectors (such as that of the Synod of Dort later presented to D.), but not negotiable currency.

42 English tongue] Cp. J. Florio, *First Fruits* [1578] f. 50r: 'What think you of this English tongue? . . . It is a language that will do you good in England but, pass Dover, it is worth nothing' (Gardner).

45 disproportion] Implying that she is too old for 'younger lovers'.

48-51 Cp. Marvell, 'To his Coy Mistress' 25-32.

48-9 Since, to be the object of widespread desire, she needs the publicity of his poems: cp. Ovid, *Amores* 1. 10. 59-62, 2. 27. 27-30, 3. 12. 7-44.

51 sun-dial] *OED*'s earliest mention is J. Minsheu's definition of *Relóx del sol* in his enlargement of R. Percyvall, *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599) p. 20.

54 annihilate all three] reduce to nothing her, me and love, by dying.

Witchcraft by a Picture

Date and Context. 1597? Marotti (1986) pp. 100–1 reads *Witchcraft* as another parting-poem—but unlike *Picture* the picture she keeps is in her heart. Associating (the nevertheless Petrarchan) ‘burning’ and ‘drowned’ with the known perils of a military expedition (cp. *Burnt, Calez*), we may put this poem, like *Picture*, between the Cadiz and Islands expeditions.

Analogues. The vocabulary is clearly that of *Weeping* (1605?), but may belong to the topic rather than a particular time in D.’s life.

Text. A faultless text is given by *DC*. *Lec* is also free from error, but its provenance may be from a printed edition, though its lack of any heading suggests otherwise. The scribe of *H40* made seven separate errors in ten lines.

FIX mine eye on thine, and there
 Pity my picture burning in thine eye;
 My picture drowned in a transparent tear,
 When I look lower, I espy:
 5 Hadst thou the wicked skill
 By pictures made and marred to kill,
 How many ways mightst thou perform thy will!

Sources collated: *H40*, *Lec* (inserted on blank leaves in another hand); *Group II*: *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O’F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *DC*

Select variants:

Heading *II*, 1633, 1635: Song *H40*: none *Lec*: *Picture III*

4 lower] i.e., at her cheek.

5–6 Hadst . . . kill] Because the addressee possesses his picture. Making a wax image of the one to be harmed, then melting it or sticking pins in it, was an ancient practice of malignant sorcery: a young man wonders in Ovid, *Amores* 3. 7. 29–30 (cp. *Heroides* 6. 91–2), whether it has caused his impotence, and Aubrey, having quoted Ovid in *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme* 15 [1688–95], records that ‘one Hammond of Westminster was hanged, or tried for his life about 1641, for killing . . . by a figure of wax’ (in *Three Prose Works*, ed. J. Buchanan–Browne, Fontwell Sx 1972 p. 229). Nearer in time is Constable, *Sonets* 1. 6. 5–8 (*Poems* (1960 p. 120) published as *Diana* (1592) 2. 2: ‘For witches which some murder do intend / Do make a picture, and do shoot at it, / And in that place where they the picture hit / The party’s self doth languish to his end.’ For full details of the rituals associated with this use of wax images, see Scot, 12. 16, pp. 208–10. Cp. *Serm.* 1. 160 (30 April 1615): ‘So we have used the image of God, as witches are said to do the images of men: by wounding or melting the image, they destroy the person’ (Gardner).

But now I've drunk thy sweet-salt tears,
 And, though thou pour more, I'll depart:
 10 My picture vanished, vanish fears
 That I can be endamaged by that art.
 Though thou retain of me
 One picture more, yet that will be,
 Being in thine own heart, from all malice free.

8 sweet-salt] sweetest III 10 fears] all fears *Lut, O'F, 1635*

11 that] thy III 14 all] thy *H40: om. III*

Woman's Constancy

Date and Context. 1592–8?

Analogues. The prose paradox dubiously printed as D.'s in 1633, 'In Defence of Women's Inconstancy', echoes this poem as well as *Change, Confined, Community, Flea, Friday*, and *Metem* (Peters, *Paradoxes* p. 129). *Constancy* of course parallels the first two, but with an ingeniously different ending.

Text. Group I contains an error-free text (though *C57* is four times changed, in a later hand, not to agree with any other MS collated).

Now thou hast loved me one whole day,
 Tomorrow when thou leav'st, what wilt thou say?
 Wilt thou then antedate some new-made vow?
 Or say that now

Sources collated: *H40, Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: L74, Dal, DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *I*

Select variants:

Heading *L74* in another hand, *DC, TCC, TCD, III (Dob in later hand), 1633, 1635: none H40, H49, D, C57, L74be, Dal: Song Lec*

8 sweet-salt tears] This oxymoronic phrase is also used in *Anniversary* 16.

14 Being] One syllable. **from all malice free]** Since she will not wish to stick pins through her own heart (this is the sense presumed by *H40*'s 'thy').

2 leav'st] 'leavest off', 'ceasest'; possibly, 'departest', after a single night of love-making.

3 A previously made promise would nullify any new undertaking if contradictory.

antedate] Falsely assert that a new fancy preceded any commitment to the speaker.

4–5 Cp. Plutarch's contempt in 'On God's Slowness to Punish' (559B), quoted towards the end of Montaigne's 'Apology for Raimond Sebond' in *Essais* 2. 12 (1580; Engl. J. Florio by 1595, publ. as *Essays*, 1603), for the implications of an

- 5 We are not just those persons which we were?
 Or that oaths made in reverential fear
 Of Love and his wrath any may forswear?
 Or, as true deaths true marriages untie,
 So lovers' contracts, images of those,
 10 Bind but till sleep, death's image, them unloose?
 Or, your own end to justify,
 For having purposed change and falsehood, you
 Can have no way but falsehood to be true?
 Vain lunatic! Against these scapes I could
 15 Dispute, and conquer, if I would,
 Which I abstain to do,
 For by tomorrow I may think so too.

8 Or] For *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 14 these] those *H40*, *II*, *Dob*

argument by Epicharmus (Plutarch, 'On Common Conceptions' 1083A-B) that being is in constant flux; we change identity with every movement of our growth: were that so, a man who borrowed money in the past does not owe it now, a man invited to breakfast yesterday turns up this morning uninvited, because he is not the same man.

5 Seriously asserted in *SecAn* 391-3.

6-7 Promises made under duress were deemed invalid (though this did not prevent courts' accepting evidence gained under torture).

8 **true deaths . . . untie**] As acknowledged in the wedding-vow's 'till death us depart' (now modernised to '. . . do part'). Jesus Christ was reported to have said that 'In the Resurrection, they neither marry nor are given in marriage' (*Matt.* 22. 30).

10 **sleep, death's image**] Plutarch, *Letter to Apollonius* 12 (107D-F) quotes an early exemplar of this commonplace (Tilley S527), Homer's *Odyssey* 13. 80. Cp. Ovid, *Amores* 2. 9. 41, Engl. C. Marlowe as *Certaine of Ovids Elegies*: 'Fool! What is sleep but image of cold death?' In English writing it was a popular commonplace, e.g., Shakespeare, *Macbeth* 2. 3. 76, *Cymbeline* 2. 2. 31.

11-13 Echoed in an elegy by Jonson, *Underwood* 38. 107-8: 'I will no more abuse my vows to you / Than I will study falsehood to be true', perhaps implying the practice is peculiar to women. The paradox is reversed at the end of *Twickenham*: 'O perverse sex, where none is true but she, / Who's therefore true because her truth kills me.'

12-13 **you . . . true**] Cp. Tilley F605, quoting, e.g., L. Pasqualigo, *Fedele and Fortunio: The Deceites in Love*, Engl. A. Munday, 2. 4 (1585 sig. D2r), '[Women] constant in naught but in inconstancy', and T. Lodge, *Rosalynde* (1590 etc.; 1878 54): 'Constant in nothing but inconstancy, [she] thought to make them mirrors of her mutability.'

14 **Vain**] Trivial, trifling. **lunatic**] one as changeable as the Moon. **scapes**] evasions, dodges, excuses, pretexts.

LOVE-ELEGIES

Elegy

The tendency to restrict the subject-matter of the elegy in English to death is seen in J. Sylvester, *Monodia. An Elegie in Commemoration of Dame Helen Branch* [1594], and the published title of D's *Funeral Elegy* in 1611, but previously it had denoted for the Greeks such as Theognis and Callimachus a poem on any topic in elegiac form, i.e., in couplets alternating hexameter and pentameter. Latin poets such as Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid likewise used the form not just for lovers' laments. So far as definition by form is concerned, Ovid extended the use of 'verses unequally joined' (Horace, *Art of Poetry* 75) to imagined love-letters, advice, the Roman calendar, laments and letters, and denunciation, and Martial to the epigram. Despite all this, Ovid (?) in *Heroides* 15, 'Sappho to Phaon' 7, defines elegy as the form for weeping. In Italy Tasso and Ariosto, and in France Ronsard, adopted the subjects of classical elegy into their 16th-cent. vernaculars; the latter's *Élégie à Philippe Desportes*, for example, is a consideration of death that does not produce consolation but a preference for life. Cp. J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices* 1. 50 (1561) 52.

In English verse before the 1590s, 'elegy' was used in the Horatian sense of *Art of Poetry* to denote any poetic lament, but especially the Petrarchan love-lament, as explained by Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* 1. 11. Daniel, *Defence of Rhyme* [1603] (ed. Smith 2. 377), is chiefly concerned with form, but elegy is rather a matter of contents for Drayton in his sonnet-sequence *Ideas Mirour* (1594) 1. 7: 'My life's complaint in doleful elegies.' This is not D's vein, so, leaving aside his possibly restricted circulation, he does not figure in the list of F Meres, *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury*, 1598 (Smith 2. 320-1): 'These are the most passionate among us to bewail and bemoan the perplexities of love: Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edward Dyer, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoigne, Samuel Page (sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford), Churchyard, Breton.'

D. was therefore in the forefront of fashion in writing original Ovidian elegies in English, perhaps stimulated by the circulation in MS of the versions by Marlowe (died 1593), ten of which were published in two (slightly different) editions between 1599 and 1599, but not completely till the early seventeenth century. See Marlowe's *Complete Works* (ed. R. Gill, 1987 1. 6-11), and Nashe's *Choice of Valentines* (?-1593), which asserts (323-4) 'Yet Ovid's wanton Muse did not offend: / He is the fountain whence my streams do flow.' A. Armstrong, *ELH* 44 (1977) 419-42 points out the affinities of D.'s elegies with 'the wit, sensuality, and urban ambience, . . . brilliant, irreverent wit and light-hearted cynicism' of Ovid, their recreation of 'Ovidian attitudes and techniques, and . . . self-conscious persona'.

The romantic assumption that poems are autobiographical is inappropriate for those written against accepted, orthodox opinions, as is made clear by C. Estienne in the dedication to the French king of his French version of Landi (1593) sig. A3r-v:

Let no man think then that I or any man would be so senseless as to hold directly any of these vain reasons; but what (for argument's sake) may be said, that set I down, and no otherwise. Your Highness knows that the simplest conceit can maintain 'It is . . . better for a woman to be fair than foul' . . . But to defend the contraries to these, so far as modesty and reason will allow, deserveth no hard conjecture among the learned, because they are only but exercise of wit, to make proof of a man's ability in such difficult occasions.

The educational value for law-students such as D. is singled out in the preface 'To the friendly reader':

In like manner, for him that would be a good lawyer, . . . he must adventure to defend such a cause as they that are most employed refuse to maintain, thereby to make himself more apt and ready . . . For this intent I have undertaken in this book to debate on certain matters which our elders were wont to call 'paradoxes', that is to say, things contrary to most men's present opinions, to the end that by such discourse as is held in them, opposed truth might appear more clear and apparent. . . . Notwithstanding, I would not have thee so much deceived as that either my sayings or conclusions should make thee credit otherwise than common and sensible judgement requireth.

Scribes and editors obscured the issue by giving titles to the elegies derived from no very subtle reading of the poems, which now predetermine a reader's assumptions and responses. Andreasen p. 19 says firmly that 'Donne's Ovidian and Petrarchan poems are dramatic monologues spoken by lovers who are in a sense meant to be seen as negative moral *exempla*.' Marotti (1986) p. 45 sees three sorts of D. elegy, e.g.:

1. verse paradoxes: *Anagram, Comparison, Progress, Autumnal, Change*;
2. more Ovidian: *Jealousy, Pupil, War, Bed*;
3. dramatically realized: *Bracelet, Perfume, Fatal, Picture*.

The order of the first twelve love-elegies presented here is that of the Westmoreland MS. *Progress* is added from the differently ordered Group I MSS (which lack *Comparison*) as is *Autumnal*, which occurs there among the lyrics. The sequences in both *W* and Group I included *Sorrow*, in the former following the elegies as in Campion's *Poemata* (1595), which contains a book of 13 elegies on classical topics, concluding with a funeral elegy. Gardner *ESS* xxxi–xxxiii concludes that either Group I or *W* may have constituted a 'Book of Elegies' on the Campion pattern, some time after they were written. D.'s opinion of the relative acceptability or merits of *Comparison* and *Progress* may have varied. G. A. Stringer, *Text* 13 (2002) 175–91, argues in detail that *W*, *Lut* and *O'F* preserve D.'s intended order for the separate generic group of Elegies, declaring (p. 181) 'That Donne at a fairly early point intended "The Bracelet" for position number 1 does not seem to me open to doubt.'

The Bracelet

Date and Context. 1593? Gardner argues that the starting-point of *Bracelet* is mockery of the tragedy *Soliman and Perseda*, attributed to Thomas Kyd, whose plot arises out of the gift and loss of a chain. The play was entered in the *Stationers' Register* 22 Nov. 1592 (though the first edition is undated). The curse refers in ll. 101–2 to such an incident as actually happened to Kyd in 1593; he died in 1594. Lines 39–41 refer to an anxiety about Spanish subsidies in France and Scotland that was particularly acute in Feb. 1593. Jonson told Drummond that 'his verses of the Lost Chain he hath by heart' (Jonson 1. 135).

Analogues. D. varies his invention by introducing a substantial curse, for whose antecedents see headnote to *Curse*. The basic pun of the poem on 'angels' was

common, e.g., in Nashe, *Christs Teares over Jerusalem* (1593; *Works* 2. 156): 'So have a number of lawyers learnt to spare their ears against golden advocates come to plead with them: they cannot hear except their ears be rubbed with the oil of angels', but D. is exceptionally inventive in his pursuit of the analogy.

Text. As noted by the VD editors, the substantive differences in ll. 11, 40, 67, 71, 92 and 96 between Groups I and II on the one hand and Group III and the Westmoreland MS on the other may result from authorial correction. This improved version has been reproduced here from the Dowden MS, which requires least correction from other MSS. The elegy was one of the five 'excepted' by the licenser from 1633, but its blasphemous basic analogy, theological parody and political comment seemed harmless enough for it to be printed in 1635 (from a MS relatively remote from the putative original—VD 46). Gardner's indentation of sections of the poem at ll. 9, 23, 55, 69, 79, 91 and 111 is adopted here.

NOT that in colour it was like thy hair,
 For armlets of that thou may'st let me wear;
 Nor that thy hand it oft embraced and kissed,
 For so it had that good which oft I missed;
 5 Nor for that seely old morality

Sources collated: *Group I:* H49, D, C57, Lec; *Group II:* L74, Dal, TCD, DC; *Group III:* Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; *IV:* W; 1635

Base text: D

Select variants:

Heading The Bracelet *ed.:* Elegy H49, D, DC; Elegy 1st. Lec, C57; Elegy 1. Dal, L74, TCD; Armilla To a Lady whose chain was lost. Dob: The Bracelet: To a Lady whose Chain was lost. S96: Elegy. To a Lady, whose chain was lost. The bracelet Armilla. Lut, O'F: The Bracelet. Upon the loss of his Mistress's Chain, for which he made satisfaction. 1635

1 One of many of D.'s expressions of a traditional preference for golden hair.

2 As in *Perfume* 18, becoming a triumph of love over death in *Funeral* 3, *Relic* 6.

3–4 Cp. Ovid, *Amores* 2. 15. 7–10 (pointed out by A. Armstrong, *ELH* 44 (1977) 428).

5 seely . . . morality] simple-minded . . . conventional belief. The now old-fashioned spelling emphasises the meaning.

That as those links are tied our love should be,
Mourn I; that I thy sevenfold chain have lost,
Nor for the luck's sake, but the bitter cost.

Oh shall twelve righteous angels which as yet
10 No leaven of vile solder did admit;
Nor yet by any fault have strayed or gone

6 those| these 1635 are| were ~ *L74, Dal, 1635* tied| knit *Dal, 1635*
11 fault| taint *W, III: way 1635*

6 Gardner quotes the passage possibly mocked in *Soliman and Perseda* 2. 1. 22–5: ‘Till when, receive this precious carcanet / In sign that as the links are interlaced / So both our hearts are still combined in one / Which never can be parted but by death.’

7 sevenfold] Appropriate for the line, but perhaps glancing at biblical contexts, e.g., *Ps.* 79. 12–13, *Prov.* 6. 30–1. Seven is a very common number in the Bible and resonant with Judaeo-Christian significances, but D. may be implying in particular that the woman should forgive the loss of seventy such bracelets if she heeds the words of Jesus in *Matt.* 18. 22. D.’s use in this poem of the procedures of alchemy, astrology and numbers significant in biblical numerology—seven-fold chain, twelve angels (the sacred numbers seven and twelve being related: $3 + 4 = 7$, $3 \times 4 = 12$)—is outlined by J. M. Walker, *SP* 84 (1987) 55–60.

8 the luck's sake] The bad luck of losing it, or that losing it may bring (apart from having to replace it).

9 twelve righteous angels] Such as those guarding New Jerusalem in *Rev.* 21. 12. These heavenly guards outnumber the seven angels of the earthly Churches of Asia, *Rev.* 1. 20 etc., whom we might have expected from l. 7. **angels]** Gold coins worth 10s that on one side depicted the archangel Michael slaying the dragon. It might have proved politically risky to play so freely with the names of more valuable gold coins, the sovereign (£1) and noble (15s), or the crown (5s). See W. Fleetwood, *Chronicon-preciosum* (c. 1707; 1745, repr. 1969) pp. 16–21 and plates VIII, IX, and C. E. Challis, *Tudor Coinage* (1978) figs. 30, 33, 46. Cp. *Lincoln* 13–16 and note.

10 leaven of vile solder] lightening by mending with solder, or debasing by recoining with an admixture of lead. Jesus uses the word ‘leaven’ figuratively of the doctrine of his rivals the Pharisees and Sadducees, *Matt.* 16. 6, and Paul of ‘maliciousness and wickedness’ (*1 Cor.* 5. 8).

11–12 D. introduces the contrast with the diabolical angels, repeatedly alluded to in, e.g., *Anagram* 29–31, *War* 11–12, *WottonKisses* 40, and the later poems *BulstrodeRecant* 51–2, *FirAn* 193–5, *SecAn* 446. With respect to coins, even in their minting silver or copper was added to make the gold more workable: they were twenty-three carats three-and-a-half grains, with half a grain of alloy (Fleetwood, p. 19).

11 fault/taint] A taint implies infection from outside, or imperfect creation by God, absolving the angels from responsibility, whereas ‘fault’ is orthodox in alluding simply to their act. *VD* 8 assumes authorial revision, as does T.–L. Pebworth, *Text* 13 (2002) 195, pointing out that God could nevertheless have made them faulty, so that even D.’s revision still caused the whole elegy to be ‘disallowed’ for 1633. Amended to ‘way’ in 1635, it was slipped in without known repercussion.

- From the first state of their creation—
 Angels which Heaven commanded to provide
 All things to me, and be my faithful guide
 15 To gain new friends, to appease great enemies,
 To comfort my soul when I lie or rise—
 Shall these twelve innocents, by thy severe
 Sentence, dread judge, my sins' great burden bear?
 Shall they be damned and in the furnace thrown
 20 And punished for offences not their own?
 They save not me, they do not ease my pains,
 When in that hell they're burned and tied in chains.
 Were they but crowns of France, I cared not,
 For most of them their natural country rot,
 25 I think, possesseth: they come here to us

14 to] for III

24 them] these 1635 natural country] ~ country's *Lut*, *O'F*: country's natural
 1635

13–14 'He shall give his angels charge over thee'—*Ps.* 91. 11, quoted in *Matt.* 4. 5. In the apocryphal book of *Tobit* 5–11, the Archangel Raphael guides Tobias to the recovery of a small fortune, saves his life, tells him how to cure his father's blindness and drive away a devil, and arranges his marriage. On D.'s belief in guardian angels, see notes on *SecAn* 235–9.

16 Both in prayers and perhaps with a sexual allusion.

17 innocents] Alluding perhaps to the Massacre of the Innocents, *Matt.* 2. 16–18, commemorated on 28 Dec.

18 D. points out the absurdity of their suffering for him like Christ, 'who himself bare our sins'—1 *Peter* 2. 24 (*RhV*), and died like a human: 'He in no sort took on him the angels' nature'—*Hebrews* 2. 16 (*GV*).

19 As Jesus threatened for 'all things that offend, and them which do iniquity,' *Matt.* 13. 41–2, 49–50.

21 For D.'s opinion of the inefficacy of most martyrdoms see *Pseudo-Martyr*.

22 Cp. *Matt.* 25.41: 'everlasting fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels'; 2 *Peter* 2. 4: 'God spared not the angels that had sinned, but cast them down into hell, and delivered them into chains'; and *Jude* 6 (*GV*).

23 crowns of France] (a) *écus*; (b) bald heads caused by syphilis, as in Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 1. 2. 90 (written 1594–5). His earliest of half a dozen uses of the joke was perhaps *Love's Labours Lost* 3. 1. 138 (1593–4).

24 natural country rot] native disease. Syphilis was termed by physicians '*lues Gallica*', in English 'the French disease'. 'Country' is spelt 'cuntry' in *W*, perhaps enjoying a pun, though Woodward spells it that way in unambiguously literal contexts.

- So lean, so pale, so lame, so ruinous;
 And howsoe'er French kings 'Most Christian' be,
 Their crowns are circumcised most Jewishly.
 Or were they Spanish stamps, still travelling,
 30 That are become as 'Catholic' as their king,
 Those unlicked bear-whelps, unfild pistolets,
 That more than cannon-shot avails or lets;
 Which, negligently left unrounded, look
 Like many-angled figures in the book

26 lean . . . pale . . . lame] ~ . . . lame . . . pale *TCD*: pale . . . lame . . . lean 1635

26 lean] thin, lightweight. **pale]** debased with silver. **lame]** lame, imperfect, because of clipping, in which gold was deceitfully shaved off the edge. It is possible to hear a pun on the naturalised French word *lame* for a thin sheet of metal, *OED sb.*¹.

27 They had been officially addressed by the Pope as *Rex Christianissimus* since 1464 (*ODCC*), in the reign of Louis XI.

28 This reference to Jewish custom (Paul managed to get it abolished in most of the Christian Church—*Acts* 15, *Gal.* 2) is a jibe at those tolerated but restricted to usury abroad, but in England (where no Jews were allowed), 'Jewish' had become a colloquial word for 'mean': see T. Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem (Works* 2. 159): 'Let us leave off the proverb which we use to a cruel dealer, saying, "Go thy ways, thou art a Jew!" and say "Go thy ways, thou art a Londoner!"'

29 Spanish . . . travelling] Spanish currency circulated widely in Europe, and was also, as noted below on 40–2, used politically; cp. Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596, ¶3; ed. N. L. Whitehead (1997) pp. 127–8): 'It is his Indian gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe; it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into councils, and setteth bound loyalty at liberty in the greatest monarchies of Europe' (Gr.). **stamps]** coins.

30 Catholic] universal. **as their king]** Traditionally said to have received the title 'His Catholic Majesty' from Pope Alexander VI in 1495 for expelling the Moors from Spain.

31–2 pistolets . . . avails] The same point is made in *Satyre* 2 20. Cp. Harington's Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 43. 49 (p. 362): 'Know you not marble walls cannot avail / Nor steel, if gold be to the batt'ry brought?', quoting Horace, *Odes* 3. 16. 9–11, in the margin.

31 unlicked bear-whelps] Repeating the ancient superstition that bears were born shapeless and licked into shape, disposed of by T. Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* 3. 6. (1646; 1981, pp. 178–80), citing e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 15. 379–81, and Pliny, *Natural History* 8. 54 (126). Cp. *Progress* 4. **unfiled]** The Spanish coins, produced in huge numbers from American bullion, were notoriously unfinished. **pistolets]** Italian, Venetian, or, here, Spanish gold coins worth about three to a sovereign.

32 avails or lets] helps or hinders. Spanish money's political influence is alluded to below ll. 35–42.

34 many-angled figures] Such as the pentagram (a five-pointed star produced from the sides of a pentagon), and the hexagram (two intersecting equilateral triangles, their points evenly spaced), commonly used in conjuring. H. C. Agrippa,

- 35 Of some great conjuror, which would enforce
 Nature, as these do justice, from her course;
 Which, as the soul quickens head, feet and heart,
 As streams like veins, runs through th'Earth's ev'ry part,
 Visit all countries, and have slyly made
- 40 Gorgeous France ruined, ragged and decayed,
 Scotland, which knew no state, proud in one day,
 And mangled sev'nteen-headed Belgia;
 Or were it such gold as that wherewithal
 Almighty chymics from each mineral,

35 which] that 1635 38 run *L74, TCD, III, W, 1635: ~s, I, Dal, DC*
 40 ruined, ragged] ragged, ruined *W, III*

De oculata philosophia 2. 22–3 (1567) pp. 221–6; Engl. J. F[reake] as *Oculta Philosophy* (1651) pp. 244–53, gives two dozen multi-angular signs for planets, their intelligences and daemons, and ascribes powers based on numerical significance to all the regular polygons.

40 Spain subsidized the French Roman Catholic *Ligue* in its wars of 1562–94 against the Calvinist Huguenots, though it was with its own forces that it invaded France and, e.g., relieved Paris in 1590, and captured Amiens on 1 March 1597, finally making peace with Henri IV on 26 May 1598. The *Ligue* made a truce with Henri IV on 31 July 1593. Gardner quotes from the Lord Keeper Sir John Puckering's speech at the opening of Parliament on 19 Feb. 1593:

In France at the first he fought with his own money but with other men's weapons, and at their peril, corrupting with his Indian treasure, and stirring up there against the King sundry rebellions, both subjects and towns. . . . So that . . . partly by the help of the French rebels waged by his money, and the assistance of sundry principal towns and cities which if they were not corrupted by his gold would never have shut their gates against their natural king, . . . he attempteth . . . to command all that late most flourishing kingdom. (T. E. Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I* (1981–95) 3. 16.)

ruined, ragged/ragged, ruined] The change is perhaps not authorial.

41 Gardner continues her quotation of Puckering: 'Lastly, in Scotland he hath of late endeavoured by corruption of his money and pensions to make a party there ready to receive an army for over-ruling the King in his own country, and for invading England on the backside by land, from the north', enlarged on by Burghley (Hartley 3. 17, 26–7). **state]** magnificence, display. **proud]** stately, splendid; perhaps 'rebellious, overweening', since Spain had bribed a good part of the nobility to give bonds that they would overthrow the King.

42 The Low Countries, chronically mangled by wars from 1566 to 1609, were split in 1579 between the seven Reformed northern United Provinces and the ten Roman Catholic southern Spanish Netherlands, and the latter conquered by the prince of Parma in 1585 after he had paved his way with bribes. **Belgia]** Pronounced 'Beljeeay'.

44 **chymics]** alchemists.

- 45 Having by subtle fire a soul out-pulled,
 Are dirtily and desperately gulled,
 I would not spit to quench the fire they[^]were in,
 For they are guilty of much heinous sin.
 But shall my harmless angels perish? Shall
- 50 I lose my guard, my ease, my food, my all?
 Much hope which they should nourish will be dead;
 Much of my able youth and lustihead
 Will vanish: if thou love, let them alone,
 For thou wilt love me less when they are gone.
- 55 Oh, be content that some loud-squeaking crier,
 Well pleased with one lean, threadbare groat for hire,
 May like a devil roar through every street,
 And gall the finder's conscience if they meet;

47 they[^]were] th[^]are *Dob*: they[^]are 1635

54 me *II, III, W, 1635: om. H49, D, C57: the Lec*

55 Oh] And 1635 58 they] he *Dal, L74, 1635*

45 soul] The *azoth* or mercurial principle supposed to be common, along with 'sulphur', to all metals, including gold, and so extractable from base metals. Projecting on it the philosophers' stone or elixir would produce gold. The theory originated with the seventh-century Shi'ite Sufi, Jabir ibn Hayyan ('Geber'): see, e.g., E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (1957; 1968) p. 75; *OED s.v.* mercury 8. D.'s use in this poem of the procedures of alchemy, astrology and numerology are outlined by J. M. Walker, *SP* 84 (1987) 44–60.

46 dirtily] In Chaucer's *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* (VIII (G) 636), the Host, hearing of the Canon's supposed alchemical skill, asks the Yeoman, 'Why is thy lord so sluttish?' The yeoman explains that 'whan a man hath over-greet a wit / Ful oft hym happeth to mysusen it', and later says of such alchemists 'For all the world they stynken as a goot' (886). **desperately gulled]** deceived in their false hopes. Chaucer's Yeoman confesses 'Yet is it fals, but ay we han good hope / It for to doon, and after it we grope' (678–9). The process is also set out at large in Jonson's *Alchemist*.

48 Counterfeiting was subject to the death-penalty.

52 lustihead] vigour, virility. The poor man has no power, so is less of a man.

55–7 some loud-squeaking crier . . . street] A practice also figured comically in Kyd *I. 4. 72–102* (Gr.).

56 threadbare groat] meagre, beggarly fourpence. Kyd's Crier 'had but sixpence for crying a little wench of thirty years old and upwards, that had lost herself betwixt a tavern and a bawdy-house', but wants a tenth of the reward of a hundred crowns for the chain since 'that was a wench, and this is gold. . . let them pay that best may' (*I. 4. 75–80*). Pistol is insulted by the offer of a groat in Shakespeare's *Henry V* *5.1. 55–60*.

- Or let me creep to some dread conjuror,
 60 Which with fantastic schemes fulfils much paper,
 Which hath divided heav'n in tenements,
 And with whores, thieves, and murd'ers stuffed her rents
 So full that, though he pass them all in sin,
 He leaves himself no room to enter in;
 65 And if, when all his art and time is spent,
 He say "Twill ne'er be found", oh be content:
 Receive from him the doom ungrudgingly,
 Because he is the mouth of Destiny.

60 Which] That 1635 schemes] Scaues *Dal*, L74: scenes *TCD*, 1635 fulfils] fullfill *Dob*: fills *S96*: fills full *Dal*, L74, 1635
 62 her] his *overwriting* her (?) L74: his *Lec*, C57, *Dal*, *Dobbc*, *W*: their *DC*
 65 And] But 1635 66 ne'er] near *W*, L74 oh] yet 1635
 67 from him the doom] ~ ~ that doom 1635: the doom from him *W*, III

59 some dread conjuror] Gardner quotes from *CSPD* 1591–4 pp. 316–18 for 17 Feb. 1593 a case in Cambridge of a woman consulting astrologers for the recovery of jewels. The practice is exposed by J. Melton, *Astrologaster or the Figure-caster* (1620), which the title-page announces as an 'Arraignment of Artless Astrologers and Fortune-tellers that cheat many ignorant people under the pretence of . . . finding out things that are lost', but carried on through the next century under penalty of law: see the autobiography *The Last of the Astrologers: Mr. William Lilly's History of his Life and Times from the year 1602 to 1681*, ed. K. M. Briggs (1974) pp. 48, 69–70, 106–7, on the recovery of a horse and a pillion-cloth by William Hodges, and Lilly's own prosecution in 1655 under an Act of King James's; and Derek Parker, *Familiar to All: William Lilly and Astrology in the 17th Century* (1975) pp. 121–4.

60 schemes] astrological diagrams. **fulfils]** fills.

61–2 The ecliptic was divided into twelve astrological sections (distinct from the signs); there were five competing methods of doing this. See J. C. Eade, *Forgotten Sky* pp. 41–51, 73–6. The twelve houses were each subdivided according to the seven planets into eighty-four rooms containing trades and occupations, some criminal. Gardner quotes *The Alchemist* 1. 1. 96: 'Searching for things lost with a sieve and shears, Erecting figures in your rows of houses'; and cites the table from the popular perpetual almanac *Erra Pater* (1540? onward) that Melton inserts between pp. 12–13. He perhaps echoes D. in asserting (35) that 'These twelve houses are the tenements most commonly such astrologers as you yourself do let out to simple people'.

62 whores, thieves, and murd'ers] *Erra Pater's* table has compartments among the more numerous lawful occupations for highwaymen, 'lifts', cutpurses, 'gilt', 'decoys', 'roaring boys', 'brothers of the sword', informers, and pettifoggers. **rents]** properties let for rent.

68 Augustine, *Citie of God* 5. 1 (1610) pp. 197–8, disallows both the idea of Fate, as 'excluding the will of God and man', and astrology even in mild form:

but if the stars be said to portend this only, and not to procure it, and that their positions be but signs not causes of such effects, . . . how cometh it to

- Thou sayst, 'Alas, the gold doth still remain
 70 Though it be changed and put into a chain':
 So in the first-fall'n angels resteth still
 Wisdom and knowledge, but 'tis turned to ill,
 As these should do good works and should provide
 Necessities, but now must nurse thy pride.
 75 And they are still bad angels: mine are none,
 For form gives being, and their form is gone.
 Pity these angels: yet, their dignities

71 the] those *W*, *III*

77 angels. yet, *L74*, *TCD*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *W*: angels. yet; 1635: angels, yet *I*, *DC*,
Dob: ~, ~, *Dal*

pass that they could never show the reason of that diversity of life, actions, fortune, profession, art, honour, and such human accidents that hath befallen two twins? . . . being notwithstanding born both within a little space of time the one of the other, and conceived both in one instant, and from one act of generation?

But the superstition had crept back into European Christianity through Jewish and Arabic scholarship in the Middle Ages and flourished in the sixteenth century.

71–2 The doctrine was enunciated by Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 4. 64. 1–2. Devils retained natural and some speculative knowledge, but could no longer know and love God. Numismatically, bad angels were those that had been clipped, debased or forged, so went to the fire for reminting if detected: cp. Falstaff's disowning of any similarity to himself: 'Your ill angel is light' (2 *Henry IV* 1. 2. 166).

71 the/those] An obviously necessary correction since the fallen angels have not been referred to for sixty lines: 'those' was perhaps left over from an earlier shorter version.

73 good works] Not necessarily valued by D. only before his conversion to Anglicanism: the twelfth of the *Articles of Religion* avers that although good works cannot effect salvation, they are nevertheless 'pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith'.

76 form gives being] Scholastic doctrine: cp. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 7. 10 (1035a7): 'The bronze is a part of the particular statue, but not of the statue as form. (For each thing must be referred to by naming its form, and as having form, but never by naming its material aspect as such.)', at 1035b32 equating form and essence; and Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 76. 4: 'Substantial form gives substantial being'. Wiggins 57 compares logicians such as Blundeville, *Logike* 2. 1 (1599) p. 48: 'The Schoolmen do define form to be that which gives a being to anything'.

77–8 Angels ranked lowest in the traditional scheme of nine orders (concocted by the sixth-century Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite from texts such as *Eph.* 1. 21, *Col.* 1.16), below Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones; Dominations, Virtues and Powers; Principalities and Archangels, but the coins can bribe earthly virtues (52–4), and like Spanish coin overcome powers such as France (40), and buy principalities such as Scotland (41).

77 yet] nevertheless, still. Gardner and *VD* prefer to punctuate after 'yet' rather than before, making the first clause plead for a mere postponement.

- Pass virtues, powers, and principalities.
 But thou art resolute; thy will be done.
 80 Yet with such anguish as her only son
 The mother in the hungry grave doth lay,
 Unto the fire these martyrs I betray.
 Good souls, for you give life to everything,
 Good angels, for good messages you bring,
 85 Destined you might have been to such a one
 As would have loved and worshipped you alone;
 One which would suffer hunger, nakedness,
 Yea, death, ere he would make your number less;
 But I am guilty of your sad decay;
 90 May your few fellows longer with me stay.
 But oh, thou wretched finder, whom I hate
 So much that I almost pity thy state:
 Gold being the heaviest metal amongst all,

85 a] an *S96*, *Lut*, 1635 87 which] that 1635 91 oh, thou] thou, oh *III*
 92 So much that] ~ ~ as *Dob*, *S96*, *W*: So as *Lut*, *O'F*: So that 1635 almost]
om. Lec, *C57*: shall most *S96* thy] thine *Lut* state] estate *Lec*, *L74*, *TCD*, *Lut*,
O'F, 1635

79 thy . . . done] A phrase of the Lord's Prayer.

80-1 D. burlesques the analogy used by Cicero in the case of his country submitted to the military dictatorship of Julius Caesar, *Letters to Friends* 193. 3.

82 Since under Mary only Protestants, and under Elizabeth only Arians and Anabaptists were burnt, with neither of whom, perhaps, as a Roman Catholic himself the younger D. had much sympathy, he is perhaps thinking of the fires in which early Christians bore witness to their faith.

83 i.e., the coins buy the food and other necessities to sustain life.

84 The meaning of the Greek word ἄγγελος in the New Testament was simply 'messenger'.

86-8 More religious parody, this time of the Commandment, *Exodus* 21. 'Thou shalt have none other gods before me'; *Rom.* 8. 35: 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?'; and Paul's glorying 'in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and in nakedness', *2 Cor.* 11. 27 (*GV*).

91-110 On the genre on which these lines work a variation, see headnote to *Curse*. Ovid made the curse at home in the elegy, cursing the tablets which carried an unsuccessful proposition to his mistress (*Amores* 1. 12).

92 much that/much as] Since *Lut* and *O'F* vary from other witnesses so freely, a real early reading may be contained in *Dob* and *S96*, along with *W*. Scribes obviously found the departure from metre hard to accept, though the line has ten syllables.

93-4 Wiggins 55 points out that the logical maxim that 'Of things having like proportion, like judgement is to be made' is enunciated by, e.g., Blundeville 4. 3 (1599) p. 97. Cp. *All* 23-6, *Primrose* 25-7.

93 Until the discovery of platinum in the mid-eighteenth century.

- May my most heavy curse upon thee fall.
 95 Here, fettered, manacled, and hanged in chains
 First may'st thou be, then chained in hellish pains;
 Or be with foreign gold bribed to betray
 Thy country, and fail both of that and thy pay.
 May the next thing thou stoop'st to reach contain
 100 Poison, whose nimble fume rot thy moist brain,
 Or libels or some interdicted thing
 Which, negligently kept, thy ruin bring.
 Lust-bred diseases rot thee and dwell with thee
 Itchy desire and no ability.
 105 May all the hurt which ever gold hath wrought,
 All mischiefs which all devils ever thought,
 Want after plenty, poor and gouty age,
 The plagues of trav'lers, love and marriage
 Afflict thee, and at thy life's latest moment
 110 May thy swoll'n sins themselves to thee present.

95–110 *om.* O'F except for catchword: final leaf missing

96 in] to *Dal*, *L74*, *TCD*, *Lut*, 1635 98 that] it 1635

104 Itchy] Itching 1635

105 hurt which ever gold hath] ~ that ~ ~ *Dal*, *L74*, *TCD*: evils that gold ever
1635

106 mischiefs which] mischief that 1635 108 love and marriage] love, marriage
1635

109 latest] last *Dal*, *Dob*, *Lut*, 1635

96 in/to] The primacy of one reading or the other is difficult to decide: those in Hell are figuratively chained 'to' their pain, but literally 'in' it. The latter reading, 'in', could have resulted from scribal eyeslip to the line above.

100 nimble] fast-acting. **moist brain]** Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 2. 7 (653a21, 33): 'The brain is a compound of earth and water', referring to its 'superabundant fluidity'. Cp. Du Bartas 1. 6. 673: 'The brain's cold moisture'.

101–2] 'Thomas Kyd was arrested on 12 May 1592 . . . He was examined and put to the torture. In his letter to Puckering he wrote:

When I was first suspected for that libel that concerned the state, amongst those waste and idle papers (which I cared not for) and which, unasked, I did deliver up, were found some fragments of a disputation touching that opinion affirmed by Marlowe to be his, and shuffled with some of mine (unknown to me) by some occasion of our writing in one chamber two years since.' (Gardner, from F. S. Boas's Introduction to Kyd's *Works*, frontispiece, pp. cviii, lxxvii–lxxviii.)

101 libels] To defame in writing or print any member of the ruling class was prosecuted as *scandalum magnatum*, and truth or public interest were not admitted as defence. **interdicted]** forbidden (not necessarily a religious term).

104 no ability] impotence.

But I forgive; repent, then, honest man.
 Gold is restorative: restore it than.
 Or, if with it thou be'st loath to depart,
 Because 'tis cordial, would 'twere at thy heart.

111 then] thou *Lec*, *C57*, *Dal*, *L74*, *TCD*: thee *Lut*, 1635

113 Or, if with] But if from 1635

The Comparison

Date. 1593–6? This is a young man's poem, even if the writer's attitude towards the speaker is ironic.

Analogues. D. contrasts two long-traditional forms, related by opposition, blazon (detailed description with poetic analogies) and its parody, counterblazon. The former is exemplified in *Song of Songs* 4. 1–15, 5. 9–16, 7. 1–9; by Rufinus, *Greek Anthology* 5. 48; then by Petrarch (e.g., *Rime sparse* 325) and his many imitators, in English, e.g., Thomas Watson's *EKATOMIAΘIA* ([1582]) 7; Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, 9, and *Old Arcadia* 3 (62), 'What tongue can her perfections tell?'; T. Lodge, *Rosalynde* (1590), ed. W. W. Greg (1907) pp. 70–1; and Spenser, *Amoretti* 15 (1595). The counter-blazon is found in, e.g., *Greek Anthology* 5. 204, by the first-century BCE Meleager; Martial, 3. 93; Angelo Poliziano, *Epigrammata Latina*, in *Opera* (1553) p. 618, 'In Anum' (thirty-nine outstandingly vicious lines); Duessa in Spenser, *FQ* I. 8. 47–8; Dromio of Syracuse in Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* 3. 2 (performed at Gray's Inn Revels 28 Dec. 1594), and the more subtle Sonnet

112 Gold is restorative] According to Avicenna, *Liber canonis* 2. 2. 78, and *De viribus cordis* 2. 3; and to Paracelsus, *Opera Medico-Chymica* (1603–5) 3. 4 f., 153, 220, 266; 4. 72–3, 178, 265; 5. 13); rebutted by, e.g., T. Erastus, *Disputationes in Paracelsum* 4 (Basle 1572–3) p. 196, quoted by Burton (see note below). Gardner quotes R. Baddeley and J. Naylor, *Life of Dr. Thomas Morton* (1669) pp. 103–4: 'At one time, when Bishop Morton gave him [Donne] a good quantity of gold . . . saying "Here, Mr Donne, take this: gold is restorative", he presently answered "Sir, I doubt I shall never restore it back again", and I am assured that he never did.' Cp. G. Herbert's figurative use in 'To all Angels and Saints' 11–13: 'Thou art the holy mine whence came the gold, / The great restorative for all decay / In young and old.' **than]** then.

114 cordial] good for the heart. The scepticism underlying this ironic joke was traditional: see Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, General Prologue 443–4, on how gold heartened his doctor, quoted by R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* 2. 4. 1. 4 (Gr.). In light of the dispute cited above, Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 2. 5. 3 (1981 pp. 125–8), thought that, though none was absorbed, it might work at a distance like the lodestone, static electricity or amulets, so 'exact and critical trial should be made by public enjoyment'. Burton translates Erastus as thinking 'potable gold etc. "to be no better than poison"', and Gardner quotes D.'s answer to his Problem 14, 'Why Gold doth not Soil the Fingers?', 'Doth it direct all venom to the heart?', to clarify the point of the poem's concluding wish.

130, 'My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun'; Campion's Latin epigram 'In Afram', *Poemata* (1595) sig. G7v, l. 175 (1619; 1909) pp. 260-1; and John Davies's 'In Gellam', *Epigrammes* 1. 26 (1595-6; 1975) p. 140. The two genres merged together are exemplified in Marot's *Epigrammes* 77, 78, ed. C. A. Meyer (1970) pp. 156-60. D.'s poem is clearly imitated in some particulars by Henry King in 'Madam Gabrina, or the Ill-favoured Choice'; Sir Francis Kynaston, 'To Cynthia. On a Mistress for his Rivals', *Leoline and Cydanis, . . . Cynthia* (1642) pp. 124-7; *CH* p. 51; and an anonymous song in Bodleian MS Mus. b. 1, fol. 132v (*CH* pp. 52-3). D.'s joining of two extravagant extremes in one voice makes his speaker doubly naive and preposterous. Cp. Olivia's cool response to the amatory rhetoric of 'Cesario' in *Twelfth Night* 1. 5. 209-66, and Captain Otter's item-by-item denunciation of his wife in *Epicene* 4. 2.

Text. The Westmoreland MS demands least correction, and the insertion in l. 41 may well be non-authorial but makes the line decasyllabic. Line 6's 'carcanets' against the common word preferred by most texts confirms *W*'s superiority. The recovery of 'kissings' in l. 43 is particularly felicitous. The halves of the comparison, and the switch of addressee from the other lover to his beloved in l. 19 and back again in l. 43, are here made clear by indentation.

As the sweet sweat of roses in a still,
As that which from chafed musk-cats' pores doth trill,

Sources collated: *Group II: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, O'F; IV: W; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading 1635 (*perhaps from MSS not collated here*)

1-6 Cp. Spenser, *FQ* (1590) 2. 12. 78. 1, 4-5: 'Her snowy breast . . . Few drops, more clear than nectar, forth distilled, / That like pure orient pearls adown it trilled.'

2 chafed] rubbed or warmed. D. is wrong: The '*incalescit*' of Gesner (see subsequent note) denotes *oestrus*, being 'on heat', and the civet is simply scraped off without any chafing. **musk-cats]** civets. C. Gesner, *Historia animalium* 1, *De quadrupedibus viviparis, 'De Moschi Capreolo'* (1551) p. 787, says that 'musk-cats' is the English term for civets, not musk-deer, *Moschus*, which were hard to capture or keep in captivity: instead they were commonly hunted to death for the anal sac of the male, from which comes the secretion used in perfumery. Of the civet (any of four species of *Viverra*, African or Asian), Gesner says in his Appendix (p. 20) that when tamed it brings in much money, and in his main entry '*De Fele Zibethi*' (pp. 948-9) describes how both male and female animals (though the male is hard to tame) go on heat at a certain time of year, excreting the civet, which is collected with a bone instrument like an ear-cleaner. In this concentrated state, it smells fiercely animal and disagreeable (cp. the speaker's disgust at such constituents of perfume in *Perfume* 57). E. Topsell, *The Historie of Four-footed Beastes* (1607) pp. 756-8, gives an English version of Gesner. By D.'s time, the civet had been kept in England for at least sixty years: last to be listed by *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic* (later *CSP*) for 1531-2 (repr. 1956) 5. 329 under 'The King's New Year's Gifts' is 'Stephen Andrew, a beast called a civet cat.' Lines 1 and 3 contain examples of plants, so one may be tempted to read 'muscats', referring to the sweet grapes (as does Shawcross), but *OED*'s first

As the almighty balm of th'early East
 Such are the sweat drops on my mistress' breast,
 5 And on her neck, her skin, such lustre sets,
 They seem no sweat drops, but pearl carcanets.
 Rank sweaty froth thy mistress' brow defiles,
 Like spèrm'tic issue of ripe menst'r'ous boils,
 Or like the scum, which, by need's lawless law

4 sweat] sweet III on] of III, 1633, 1635

6 carcanets *W*: coronets II, III, 1633, 1635 7 mistress'] mistress's 1633, 1635

example of 'muscat' to mean the grape is from 1655, and chafing, whether heating or rubbing, is unlikely to produce aromatic droplets from grapes. **trill]** roll, stream, flow.

3 The dew of dawn was thought to be an exudation rather than the condensation it really is (Heninger p. 67). Literally, balm or balsam, often referred to by D., was the aromatic oleo-resin from Middle-Eastern trees such as *Balsamodendron Gileadense* or *B. opobalsamum*, used rationally as an antiseptic and soothing ointment but also claimed to cure every sort of ill. Cp. Gerard, *Herball* 3. 139 (1597) pp. 1343, 1345, on 'divers sorts of trees from which doth flow balsam . . . The liquor that floweth out of the tree when it is wounded is called *opobalsamum*, the wood *xylobalsamum*, the fruit *carpobalsamum*, and the liquor which naturally floweth from the tree in Egypt, *balsamum*.' On p. 1346, he states that it is a remedy for asthma, breathlessness, bladder and stomach-pains, bad breath, shivering in fever, consumption, barrenness, indigestion, hard spleen, 'all manner of aches', hard tumours, palsy, convulsions 'and all griefs of the sinews', and fresh wounds; finally, it 'strengtheneth the weak members, refresheth the brain'. **early]** because it is the direction of sunrise.

6 carcanets] necklaces. G. A. Stringer, *Text* 13 (2002) 175–91, regards 'coronets' in *O'F* as an earlier authorial reading corrected by D. to the 'carcanets' of *W*.

7 sweaty] A sign of lust rather than love: cp. *Venus and Adonis* 794, 'sweating lust'.

8 Gardner points out the stress on the first syllable of 'spèrm'tic', comparing Drayton, *The Owl* 370: 'Pampered with meats, full spermatic and fat'. The analogy is with the secretion of the sperm-whale rather than semen; 'menst'r'ous' is also counted as two syllables.

9 need's lawless law] It was proverbial (see Tilley N76, and *ODEP*), even a legal maxim, in, e.g., Skelton, 'Colin Clout' 863, and D.'s grandfather John Heywood's *Dialogue . . . of All the Proverbs* 1. 10 (1546; 1963) l. 606, that 'Need hath no law'.

9–12 D. C. Allen, *MLN* 68 (1953) 238–9, quotes L. de Léry, *Histoire de la ville de Sancerre* (La Rochelle 1574), repr. in G. Nakam, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy: guerre civile et famine* (1975), on the nine-month siege of the Huguenots in Sancerre in 1573. Léry says that necessity, mistress of skills, forced the inhabitants to eat any hides they possessed, and any that were fatty made fricasee. Then they were reduced to parchments (some of them a hundred to a hundred-and-twenty years old), horse-harness, and purses; children ate their belts as if they were tripe. Nevertheless, more than 500 starved. *CSPF 1572–1574*, p. 411 for 28 Aug., reports that 'It is said the poor men were brought to such necessity that they had cast lots to eat each other, or were very near so to do.' For D. decades later it remained the modern example of extremity in *Serm.* 5. 71 (Whitsunday ?1622; Gr.).

- 10 Enforced, Sanserra's starvèd men did draw
 From parboiled shoes and boots, and all the rest
 Which were with any sovereign fatness blest;
 And like vile, lying stones in saffroned tin,
 Or warts or weals they hang upon her skin.
- 15 Round as the world's her head, on every side,
 Like to that fatal ball which fell on Ide,
 Or that whereof God had such jealousy,
 As, for the ravishing thereof we die.
 Thy head is like a rough-hewn statue of jet,
- 20 Where marks for eyes, nose, mouth, are yet scarce set;
 Like the first chaos or flat-seeming face
 Of Cynthia when th'earth's shadows her embrace.
 Like Proserpine's white beauty-keeping chest,

13 lying stones] stones lying 1633

14 they hang] ~ hung *Dal*: it hangs *O'Fae*, 1633, 1635

16 that] the *TCC*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635 20 yet scarce] scarcely III

12 sovereign] supremely efficacious (in staving off starvation).

13 lying] false. **saffroned tin]** V. Biringuccio, *Pirotechnia* 9. 7 (1540) Engl. C. S. Smith and M. Gnudi (1942) p. 377, states that 'Tin is also beaten like gold, and leaves are made of it as thin as paper. These are smeared with a gilding composition [a varnish colored with saffron or otherwise] and give the color of gold to wood or other things that one wishes to appear gilded with little expense.'

15-16 Cp. J. Lyly, *Midas* 1. 2. 29 (1592; *Works* 3. 120), where Licio's mistress's head is 'as round as a tennis-ball', which is intended, however, to be ludicrous.

16 Eris, 'Strife', threw down a golden apple, to be awarded to the fairest of the goddesses: Paris or Alexandros at his judgement on Mt Ida (in the Taurus Mountains in Asia Minor) preferred Aphrodite's offer of Helen to Hera's wealth or Athene's victory, good looks or wisdom, and so gave the apple to Aphrodite; in revenge, Hera and Pallas Athene started the Trojan War (Lucian, *Judgement of the Goddesses*; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 92).

17-18 The fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (*Gen.* 2. 16 - 3. 19), traditionally called an apple: see Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 7. 1. Cp. *Metem* 81-110.

17 jealousy] intolerance of disobedience or possessiveness.

18 ravishing] plundering, seizing, stealing.

19-26 The change of addressee suggests this part of the poem was originally drafted simply as a counter-blazon apostrophising the woman directly, and later changed to a comparison addressed to another man, without D. making the necessary adaptation of his original piece.

19 jet] black and cheap, as in modern usage.

21-2 flat-seeming face/Of Cynthia] Cp. Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 2. 8 (290a26): 'the "face", as it is called, of the moon'; 2. 11 (291b17): 'The evidence of our eyes shows that the moon is spherical.'

23 In Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 6. 16, Engl. W. Adlington as *The .xi. Bookes of the Golden Asse* (1566; 1596) p. 98, Venus commands Psyche: 'Take this box and go to Hell to Proserpina, and desire her to send me a little of her beauty' (Chambers).

- Or Jove's best fortune's urn, is her fair breast:
 25 Thine like worm-eaten trunks clothed in seal's skin,
 Or grave, that's dirt without and stench within.
 And like the slender stalk, at whose end stands
 The woodbine quivering, are her arms and hands:
 Like rough-barked elm boughs, or the russet skin
 30 Of men late scourged for madness or for sin;
 Like sun-parched quarters on the city gate,
 Such is thy tanned skin's lamentable state,
 And like a bunch of ragged carrots stand
 The short, swoll'n fingers of thy gouty hand.
 35 Then, like the chymic's masculine equal fire,
 Which in the limbeck's warm womb doth inspire

25 Thine] Thine's 1633, 1635

26 dirt] dust 1633, 1635 stench] stink II, Dob, S96, 1633, 1635

27 the] that II, III, 1633, 1635 34 thy] her 1633

D. assumes such a queenly casket was made of ivory. In another story, Aphrodite gave a lovely boy, Adonis (the offspring of Smyrna or Myrrha and her father) in a chest to Proserpina, who refused to give him back (Apollodorus, *Library* 3. 14. 4). Proserpina's beauty was such that one glimpse sufficed to give Mercury an erection (Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 3. 22 (56)), perpetuated in the ithyphallic herms omnipresent in Athens and Rome to induce fertility sympathetically.

24 Jove's . . . urn] Zeus had two $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\iota$, large wine-jars out of which he dealt good and evil—Homer, *Iliad* 24. 527–8.

25 seal's skin] Separate words in *W* (not 'sealskin'), since the rhyme preferably requires stress on the second syllable as well. Sealskin was the normal waterproof covering for trunks: see *OED*. Its roughness was renowned: see, e.g., its use for grating skin raw in T. Nashe, *Unfortunate Traveller* (*Works* 2. 316).

28 woodbine] Honeysuckle.

30 men . . . madness] As in *As You Like It* 3. 2. 386–90. On the relative rarity of this treatment of mental illness in D.'s time outside institutions, as in Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*, 'To the Reader' (1594; *Works* 2. 180), and the title of John Davies of Hereford, *Wits Bedlam,—where is had, Whipping-cheer, to cure the mad* (1617), see M. MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam* (1981 pp. 196–7). Cp. *Somerset* 10–11.

31 The division and display of executed bodies at the entrances of the city such as London Bridge and Temple Bar was particularly practised on people thought to oppose those in power, such as D.'s brother Henry's priest, William Harrington (Bald p. 58).

34 short, swoll'n fingers] Cp. J. Lyly, *Endymion* 3. 3. 55 (1591; *Works* 3. 44): 'fingers fat and short'.

35–7 D.'s unquestioning description of alchemical practice contrasts with the scepticism of *Bracelet* 43–6.

35 chymic's . . . equal] alchemist's generative, well tempered or steady. Cp. *Metem* 494.

36 limbeck] alembic, still.

- Into th'earth's worthless dirt a soul of gold,
 Such cherishing heat her best-loved part doth hold:
 Thine's like the dread mouth of a fired gun,
 40 Or like hot liquid metals newly run
 Into clay moulds, or like to that Etna,
 Where round about the grass is burnt away.
 Are not your kissings then as filthy and more
 As a worm sucking an envenomed sore?
 45 Doth not thy fearful hand in feeling quake,
 As one which gath'ring flowers, still feared a snake?
 Is not your last act harsh and violent
 As when a plough a stony ground doth rent?
 So kiss good turtles, so devoutly nice
 50 Are priests in handling rev'rent sacrifice,

37 dirt] part *TC*, 1633 38 heat] heats *III*

41 to that *III*, 1633, 1635: that *II*, *W* 43 kissings] kisses *II*, *S96*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635:
om. Dob

46 feared] fears *L74*, *Dal*, 1633, 1635 48 when] where 1633

37 It was an ancient belief that gold was formed by the action of the sun on base materials, which process alchemists tried to imitate: see E. H. Duncan, *ELH* 9 (1942) 267, for the idea that the sun's influence converted suitable material in the ground to gold.

39–42 D. elaborates on the 'parts unknown' of Sidney's Mopsa in the 1590 *Arcadia* 1. 3 (*Poems* (1962) p. 12). Paradoxically, by claiming to know what they are like, the speaker undermines himself either as a lover of beauty or else as a teller of truth. The images of heat may imply sexual disease: prostitutes resorted to merkins to try to conceal the fact that their pubic hair had fallen out because of syphilis or its treatment with corrosive sublimate. Cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 144. 12–14 (thought by Heatt and others to have been written in the first half of the 1590s).

41–2 **Etna . . . away**] The mention of grass suggests D. knew the eye-witness account by T. Fazelli, *De Rebus Siculis Decades* 1. 2. 4 (in *Rerum Sicularum Scriptorum* (1579) p. 51), of his approach to the crater (beaten back by the heat): after some plant-cover came a stretch that was bare and barren with grass burnt yellow, then sand as far as the summit. Cp. the only slightly less specific Strabo 6. 2. 8 (273–4), and Claudian, *Rape of Proserpine* 1. 162: 'No cultivator pierces the land at the top'.

43 **kissings**] *W*'s reading brings out that the motions do not achieve the real thing, anything that could be termed actual kisses.

44 See Paré 13. 8 (1634) p. 473: 'Of an Ulcer Putrid and Breeding Worms'.

46 This warning to flower-pickers is given in Virgil, *Ecloques* 3. 92–3. It is also used by Tasso, *Sopra la Bellezza*, stanza 2, of which Leishman pp. 81–2 gives a prose version.

48 D.'s agricultural similitude is a variation on the conventional analogy. Cp. *Antony and Cleopatra* 2. 2. 235: 'He ploughed her, and she cropped.' **rent**] rend, tear (a common variant from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries).

49 **turtles**] doves, the birds of Venus. **nice**] fastidious, careful.

And such in searching wounds the surgeon is
As we when we embrace or touch or kiss.

Leave her, and I will leave comparing thus:
She and comparisons are odious.

51 such] nice 1633, 1635

The Perfume

Date and Context. c. 1595? The echo in lines 27–8 of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, now thought to have been written by this year, is the most precise clue. Autobiographical readings of the poem are mistaken: D. first met Ann More in Egerton's household in 1597 or 1598, and wooed her there. Her father, Sir George More of Loseley Park, Surrey, was hale and hearty, outliving D. The elegy satirizes not only the woman and her family—she is suspected of promiscuity ('escapes'), her family's only attraction its wealth (10–11), presumably mercantile—but also the narrator, the 'brisk, perfumed, pert courtier' and 'fine, silken, painted fool' of *Satyre* 1 19, 31, 72: they are the stock cast of several D. elegies and *Lincoln*.

Analogues. This satire on the courtly lover fulfils the dictum of Seneca, *Epist.* 108. 16 that 'the best scent for a person is no scent at all.' Cp. Hotspur's opinion of such a courtier, 'Perfumed like a milliner', 1 *Henry IV* 1. 3. 35 (c. 1597–8); the down-to-earth Corin's assumption that 'The courtier's hands are perfumed with civet', characterised by the equally worldly Touchstone as 'the very uncleanly flux of a cat', *As You Like It* 3. 2. 61–2, 66 (c. 1599); and the denunciation of men's wearing perfume by Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* 5. 4. 334–40.

Text. *W* demands no substantive correction, so is obviously nearer to D.'s holograph than the archetypes of the main groups. *DC*, like 1633 and thence 1635, seems to derive distantly from the Group I archetype, but is so erroneous that it has been included in the select list of variants only for the interest of its misreading in l. 29 of 'ingled' as 'jugled', which is the same error as editors have made with the heading of the epigram 'The Ingler' in *HN*.

51 Cp. *Lincoln* 88–90 and Paré 10.3 (1634) p. 419:

You shall, if it be possible, search for these bodies with your finger, that so you may the more certainly and exactly perceive them. Yet if the bullet be entered somewhat deep in, then you shall search for it with a round and blunt probe, lest you put the patient to pain.

He had found a deeper bullet 'by gently pressing with my fingers the parts near the wound.' **such]** i.e., so tender.

54 comparisons are odious] Proverbial: see Tilley C576, who quotes, e.g., J. Lyly, *Midas* 4. 1. 9–10 (1592): 'Comparisons cannot be odious where the deities are equal'; cp. *Euphues*: 'Livia, though she be fair, yet is she not so amiable as my Lucilla . . . But lest comparisons should seem odious, . . . I will omit that' (*Works* 3. 140, l. 214). Shakespeare's Dogberry gets it wrong in *Much Ado* 3. 5. 15.

- ONCE, and but once, found in thy company,
 All thy supposed escapes are laid on me;
 And as a thief at bar is questioned there
 By all the men that have been robbed that year,
 5 So am I (by this trait'rous means surprised)
 By thy hydroptic father catechised.
 Though he had wont to search with glazed eyes
 As though he came to kill a cockatrice;
 Though he have oft sworn that he would remove
 10 Thy beauties' beauty, and food of our love—
 Hope of his goods—if I with thee were seen,
 Yet close and secret as our souls we've been.
 Though thy immortal mother, which doth lie

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; Group II: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; IV: W; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading 1635

2 supposed escapes] supposed scapes *DC, III 7–8 om. I, DC, 1633*

9 have] hath *I, DC, Dob, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*

2 escapes] sexual escapades. Cp. T. Lodge, *Margarite of America* 37 (1596) sig. D3v: 'The escapes of Jupiter, the wanton delights of Venus, and the amorous deceits of Cupid' (*OED*).

3 at bar] arraigned before a judge.

6 hydroptic] bloated, possibly because of an addiction to alcohol, as alleged of the Dutch in *Fatal* 42. Presumably D.'s preferred form of 'hydropic', since it appears in the base text *W* and Groups I and II, *Dob, 1633* and *1635* of *Perfume* 6, overwhelmingly in the MSS of other poems, and in *Letters* p. 51 (to Goodyer, ?7 Oct. 1608—D.'s boast disguised as a confession of 'an hydroptic, immoderate desire of humane learning and languages'), suggesting it was his own formation from 'hydropsy' on the analogy of *epilepsy/epileptic*, despite the extant Greek *hydropikos* in, e.g., Hippocrates, Aristotle, *Luke* etc., and the Latin *hydropicus* in Horace and Pliny. Cp. *Fatal* 42, *DivM3Sighs* 9, *SecAn* 48, *Lucy* 6, *Harington* 126. **catechised]** examined, interrogated. (There was not an overwhelmingly religious suggestion in this usage at the time.)

7 glazed] bespectacled to protect him from the deadly glare of the cockatrice.

8 to kill a cockatrice] Or basilisk. 'Men still affirm that it killeth at a distance, that it poisoneth by the eye'—Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3. 7 (1981 p. 182). The belief is recorded by Pliny, *Natural History* 29. 19 (66). Cp. Shakespeare's eight mentions, e.g., *Lucrece* 540: 'a cockatrice' dead-killing eye'; Jonson, *Poetaster*, Induction 35–40; E. Topsell, *Historie of Serpents* (1608) p. 125.

10–11 Thy . . . goods] The cynicism reveals that the poem is a joke. Cp. *Lincoln* 13–16.

10 beauties' beauty] most beautiful quality. D. uses the Hebraism familiar in the Vulgate Old Testament rendering of *Exodus* 26. 34, *sanctum sanctorum*, 'holy of holies' ('most holy place' in English versions such as *GV, AV*).

- Still buried in her bed, yet will not die,
 15 Take this advantage to sleep out daylight,
 And watch thy entries and returns all night,
 And when she takes thy hand, and would seem kind,
 Doth search what rings and armlets she can find,
 And, kissing, notes the colour of thy face,
 20 And, fearing lest th'art swoll'n, doth thee embrace,
 And, to try if thou long, doth name strange meats,
 And notes thy paleness, blushings, sighs, and sweats,
 And politicly will to thee confess
 The sins of her own youth's rank lustiness,
 25 Yet love these sorceries did remove, and move
 Thee to gull thine own mother for my love.
 Thy little brethren, which, like fairy sprites,
 Oft skipped into our chamber those sweet nights,
 And, kissed and ingled on thy father's knee,
 30 Were bribed next day to tell what they did see;
 The grim, eight-foot-high, iron-bound serving-man,
 That oft names God in oaths, and only than,

15 Take] Takes *I*, *DC*, *Dob*, 1633, 1635

21 And *om.* *I*, *DC*, *Dob*, 1633 22 blushings] blushing *TCC*, *S96*, 1633, 1635

29 ingled] nigled *H49*, *D*, *II*: jugled *DC*: dandled *III*

20 swoll'n] with child.

21 Eating-habits may change during pregnancy. Cp. Bosola's pregnancy test of apricots in Webster, *Duchess of Malfi* 2. 1. **meats]** foods.

23 politicly] cunningly.

27–8 like fairy sprites . . . chamber] Gardner compares *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1594–5) 5. 2. 23–4, 33–4, 46–7: 'Every elf and fairy sprite / Hop as light as bird from brier. / . . . / To the best bride-bed shall we, / Which by us shall blessed be. / . . . / Every fairy take his gait / And each several chamber bless.'

29 ingled] fondled (usually pederastically). According to G. A. Stringer, *Text* 13 (2002) 175–91, the 'dandled' of Group III was the author's own first, less abusive version.

31–3 Door and porter are familiar obstacles in Ovid, *Amores*, e.g., 1. 6, 2. 12. 3, but, of course, realities also in Elizabethan England. Then as now, doormen were chosen for their stature and bulk: cp. Dekker, 'Those big fellows that stand like giants at lords' gates' (Gr.)

31 iron-bound] The janitor with whom Ovid pleads in *Amores* 1. 6 is a slave bound to his place by a chain. That cannot be true of the one here in Elizabethan England, so this may be a literary echo rather than a real description. Alternatively, since *OED* cites no use in the sense 'immovable' before the nineteenth century, *D*. may be joking: in his time the epithet was applied only to inanimate objects such as chests, barrels and cart-wheels. The word may suggest some kind of body-armour.

32 Cp. the Second Ruffian in anon., *History of King Leir and his Three Daughters* (1589; ed. W. W. Greg, '1907', i.e., 1908) sig. E3r: 'I named not God unles'twere with an oath'. **than]** then.

- He that to bar the first gate doth as wide
 As the great Rhodian Colossus stride,
 35 Which, if in Hell no other pains there were,
 Makes me fear Hell because he must be there,
 Though by thy father he were hired for this,
 Could never witness any touch or kiss.
 But oh, too common ill, I brought with me
 40 That which betrayed me to mine enemy:
 A loud perfume, which at my entrance cried
 E'en at thy father's nose: so we were spied
 When, like a tyrant king, that in his bed
 Smelt gunpowder, the pale wretch shiverèd.
 45 Had it been some bad smell, he would have thought
 That his own feet or breath that smell had wrought.
 But as we, in our isle imprisonèd
 Where cattle only and diverse dogs are bred,
 The precious unicorns strange monsters call,
 50 So thought he good strange, that had none at all.

37 for] to 1633, 1635 40 mine] my I, 1633 41 my] mine II, Lut, O'F

42 we were] were we Lec, C57, S96, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635 43 When] Then III

48 diverse] some III

34 The Colossus of Rhodes, a 105-ft bronze statue of their patron god, Helios (Apollo), supposed in the Middle Ages to have bestridden the harbour entrance but now known to have been on a hill, was one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world—see Pliny, 34. 18 (41), Strabo 14. (654).

47 **imprisonèd**] One could only leave England by special leave of the Privy Council, a condition that bore especially hard, as intended, on Roman Catholics, and added to the cultural insularity of the English before the peace with Spain in 1604.

48 **cattle**] livestock in general.

49 D.'s credulity, dependent as he was on book-learning, is commonplace, despite the scepticism of, e.g., Paré, (1579 etc.; Engl. transl. 21. 39, 1634) pp. 813–15: cp. Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3. 23 (1646; 1981 p. 256), who points out that there are numerous unicormous species, not only five quadrupeds, but some even among fish and insects. **precious**] Alleged unicorns' horns (often, as Browne shows, taken from other animals such as the narwhal) were supposed to have medicinal value, especially against poison, and so cherished by rulers. One shown to visitors at Windsor in the 1590s was valued at £100,000—W. B. Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (1865) pp. 17, 134, 139, 202.

- I taught my silks their whistling to forbear;
 E'en my oppressed shoes dumb and speechless were;
 Only thou, bitter sweet, whom I had laid
 Next me, me traitorously hast betrayed,
 55 And, unsuspected, hast invisibly
 At once fled unto him and stayed with me.
 Base excrement of earth, which dost confound
 Sense from distinguishing the sick from sound!
 By thee the silly am'rous sucks his death
 60 By drawing in a leprous harlot's breath;
 By thee the greatest stain to man's estate
 Falls on us: to be called effeminate.
 Though you be much loved in the prince's hall,
 There, things that seem exceed substantial.
 65 Gods, when ye fumed on altars, were pleased well
 Because you were burnt, not that they liked your smell.

63 you] thou *II*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F* 64 There] These *I*: Those *DC*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

65 ye] you *I*, *Lut*, *O'F* 66 Because] That *III*

51–2 New shoes and sumptuous dress were obvious problems for the would-be surreptitious courtier: J. Reeves, ed., *John Donne: Selected Poems* (1952) p. 96, compares Shakespeare, *Tragedy of King Lear* 3. 4. 88–9.

51 whistling] A sound between swishing and rustling.

52 oppressed] Gardner perceives a reference to the torture of pressing to death, the *peine forte et dure*, to make prisoners speak. Some managed to remain silent nevertheless out of commitment to their cause or because their dependants would forfeit their inheritance to the Crown if they conceded guilt. The penalty furnishes jokes in, e.g., *Much Ado* 3. 1. 75–6, *Measure for Measure* 5. 1. 521. Cp. *Metem* 250: 'Weakness invites, but silence feasts oppression.'

53 bitter sweet] The centre of the paradox on which the poem is founded.

57 Gardner compares *As You Like It* 3. 2. 65–6: 'Civet is . . . the very uncleanly flux of a cat'. Cp. note on *Comparison* 2. **excrement]** excretion.

59–60 By thee . . . breath] Cp. Paré (1634) 20. 6, p. 769; noted by Allen, *Essential Articles* p. 96.

60 leprous] scabby, polluted, loathsome. Long used figuratively (like 'scurvy' then and 'scrofulous' now) as a term of disapproval. Leprosy had died out in England, but other skin diseases including symptoms of syphilis were covered by the Elizabethan term, for all of which physical contact rather than breath was the vehicle of transmission.

63 Cp. *Satyre* 1 19 and *As You Like It* 3. 2. 61–2: 'The courtier's hands are perfumed with civet.'

64 Cp. *Satyre* 4 172–3: 'Gay-painted things, which no sap nor / Taste have in them, ours are'.

65 Gods . . . altars] As in, e.g., Tibullus 1.8. 70; Ovid, *Heroides* 21. 7; Q. Curtius Rufus 5. 1. 20. **fumed]** smoked.

66 Paradoxically contradicting frequent references in the Pentateuch, beginning with *Gen.* 8. 20–1, to the Lord delighting in the sweet savour of burnt (animal) offerings, repeated in *Ezek.* 20. 40–1 (though *Ps.* 51. 16–17 dismisses both the burning and the smell).

You're loathsome all, being taken simply[^]alone,
 Shall we love ill things joined, and hate each one?
 If you were good, your good doth soon decay;
 70 And you are rare: that takes the good away.
 All my perfumes I give most willingly
 T'embalm thy father's corse. What, will he die?

67 taken simply] ~ simple *Dal*: ~ singly *Lec*: ~ single *C57*: simply ta'en *III*

Jealousy

Date and Context. 1592–5. The only specific dates that can be associated with this poem are the Southwark riots of June 1592 and June 1595, but the insubordination of the inhabitants continued to vex the City of London authorities throughout the decade.

Analogues. D.'s starting-paradox is the praise of a passion generally dispraised in his time: in, e.g., *Skialetheia* (1598; 1974) pp. 78–81, D.'s friend Everard Guilpin aims the whole of his Satire IV against Jealousy. Carroll on Guilpin pp. 190–1 outlines the extensive literary tradition, embracing Ariosto's (oft-translated) *Orlando* 31. 1–6, Spenser, and Elizabethan prose-writers, prominently *Tell-Trothes New-Yeaes Gift* (1593). However, Ovid, *Amores* 2. 19 demands that the husband be jealous so as to add spice to his affair. Gardner observes of the Ovidian echoes, the legacy-hunters, and the slave, that they evoke ancient Rome rather than Elizabethan London, and that the latter are characteristic denizens of satire rather than elegy.

Text. VD plausibly regards the variants of ll. 21 and 30 in Group III MSS as earlier authorial versions. Group I and *W*, in substantial agreement throughout, and therefore taken as joint base text, at first sight require emendation of their l. 9's 'pure' to 'poor'; its retention is explained in the note below.

67 'Your components do not smell pleasant individually.' This is not always true of basic ingredients such as the essential oils of plants—lavender, rosemary, jasmine, rose, and citrus oils—spices, frankincense, balsam, and even animal ingredients such as castor, civet, musk or ambergris, though in excessive concentration these last can be unpleasant.

68 By this false logic no human body could be loved.

69 decay] fade away.

70 D. himself implies that good is rare in his paradox that 'Good is More Common than Ill' (ed. Peters, pp. 17–19), which again makes the speaker the target of this poem, a believer with the speaker of the paradox that the 'vicious may be fair and rich' and so good. He concludes there with a statement as cavalier as his attitude here: 'I remember nothing that is therefore ill because it is common but women, of whom also they which are most common are the best of that occupation they profess.'

72 The final paradox is this contradiction of the Fifth Commandment: 'Honour thy father and thy mother' (*Exod.* 20. 12).

- FOND woman, which wouldst have thy husband die,
 And yet complain'st of his great jealousy:
 If, swoll'n with poison, he lay in's last bed,
 His body with a sere bark coverèd,
 5 Drawing his breath as thick and short as can
 The nimblest crotcheting musician,
 Ready, with loathsome vomiting, to spew
 His soul out of one hell into a new;
 Made deaf with his pure kindred's howling cries,
 10 Begging, with few, feigned tears, great legacies,
 Thou wouldst not weep, but jolly and frolic be
 As a slave which tomorrow should be free;
 Yet weep'st thou when thou seest him hungerly
 Swallow his own death, heart's bane jealousy.

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; IV: W; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *I, W*

Select variants:

Heading 1635 4 sere] sore *II* 9 pure] poor *II, S96, Lut, O'F*: few *Dob*

1 Fond] silly (not 'affectionate'). **husband]** An Ovidian figure, e.g., *Amores* 2. 12. 3. Like the speaker in *Art of Love* 2. 551–2, D.'s lover is jealous of him. **die]** That the husband is imaged as dying disgustingly, swollen, crusted all over, panting and vomiting; that even when well he is deformed, greedy, bloated, and sleeps like a pig, rules out any intention of a sexual pun here, even to imply the additional accusation that he is impotent.

3 swoll'n with poison] A popular misconception: generalised oedema, swelling of the body, would more probably be caused by organic disease such as cirrhosis of the liver or heart failure.

4 Scaly, thickened skin could indicate chronic arsenic poisoning. **a sere bark coverèd]** his skin crusted like dry bark. Cp. *Hamlet* 1. 5. 71–3 (Chambers).

5–6 Again, symptoms rather of organic disease of the lungs.

6 crotcheting] rapid-playing. Crotchets are relatively short musical notes.

7 vomiting] This could be caused by acute arsenic poisoning.

9 pure/poor] The latter is an easy reading, but the generally accurate Group I and *W*'s 'pure' may be authorially ironic, a satirical glance (by a still Roman Catholic D.) at the husband's family's claims to be members of the reformed church, purified of all post-Scriptural practices and doctrines, while nevertheless materially greedy. D.'s attitude to such people at this time may be seen in *Satyre* 1 27. The satirical usage of 'pure' is cited by *OED* from Marston, *Scourge of Villanie* 1. 1. 74 (1598; 1599) sig. B7r, and Jonson, *Poetaster* 4. 1 (1601).

11 frolic] playful.

14 'Heart's bane' is D.'s coinage on the analogy of the plant names Heart's-ease and Ratsbane: it is hoped the husband will die 'Like rats that ravin down their proper bane' (*Measure for Measure* 1. 2. 121). A real-life case was reported in 1613 by Chamberlain, *Letters* 1. 440: 'Langley, our Town Clerk, is lately dead of the horn-sickness, for, taking his wife tardy with one of his men, it drave him into

- 15 Oh give him many thanks: he's courteous,
That in suspecting kindly warneth us.
We must not, as we used, flout openly
In scoffing riddles his deformity,
Nor, at his board together being sat,
20 With words, nor touch, scarce looks, adulterate.
Nor when he, swoll'n and pampered with great fare,
Sits down and snorts, caged in his basket-chair,
Must we usurp his own bed any more,
Nor kiss and play in his house as before.
25 Now I see many dangers, for that is
His realm, his castle, and his diocese.
But if, as envious men which would revile
Their prince or coin his gold themselves exile
Into another country, and do it there,
30 We play in another house, what should we fear?

21 great] high III 25 that] it S96, 1633, 1635

30 We . . . fear?] We into some third place retirèd were, III

such a distemper of melancholy and frenzy that within four or five days made an end of him.' **bane]** poison.

19–20 Cp. Ovid, *Amores* 1. 4. 15–32 (Gr.), a passage more closely imitated in the misattributed *Parting* ll. 50–2.

20 scarce] hardly even with. **adulterate]** commit adultery. Cp. *Matt.* 5. 28: 'Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.'

21–3 Cp. Ovid, *Amores* 1. 4. 51–4 (Gr.).

21 great] The word is more contemptuous than 'high', i.e., 'fine', found in Group III MSS, since 'great' denotes mere quantity of food, gluttony rather than delicacy of taste. G. A. Stringer, *Text* 13 (2002) 175–91, thinks that 'high' was revised by D. himself. 'High' was a usual epithet for luxurious diet: cp. *The Duchess of Malfi* 2. 4. 33.

22 basket-chair] wicker-chair, perhaps with open-ribbed sides like a cage.

26 The husband is king, lord and bishop to his household. Cp. W. Whateley, *Bride Bush* (1617) p. 112: 'this domestical kingdom or monarchy', going on, however, to assert that 'just, wise and mild government is government indeed, causing the husband to be as it were a little God in the family' (p. 113). The more complex (and humane) reality is shown by R. A. Houlbrooke, *English Family 1450–1700* (1984) pp. 96–119. The proverb that 'An Englishman's house is his castle' is traced back to Mulcaster, *Positions* 40 (1581) 225, by *ODEP*.

27–9 The speaker implicitly identifies his adultery with the capital crimes of counterfeiting and treason.

30 The vaguer line in Group III MSS may be an earlier version D. improved on. Its phrase 'some third place' presumably denotes premises belonging to a third party, i.e., not to the husband or the speaker.

There we will scorn his household policies,
 His silly plots and pensionary spies,
 As the inhabitants of Thames' right side
 Do London's Mayor, or Germans, the Pope's pride.

34 Mayor] Major 1633, 1635

Love's Recusant

Date and Context. 1596? The echoes in ll. 2 and 38 are quite possibly coincidental.

Analogues. A. Armstrong, *ELH* 44 (1977) 432, 434 likens D.'s rejection of traditional servitude to his mistress to Ovid's wish for reciprocated love or reasons why he should love for ever in *Amores* 1. 3.

Text. Unlike all three other groups of MSS, *W* demands no emendation, so has been chosen as the base text.

31 household policies] domestic stratagems.

32 pensionary] hired.

33-4 Neither comparison is complimentary: the South Bank was notorious for its low-life, and as a Roman Catholic still D. was probably hostile to the Lutherans. The speaker proposes that he and his mistress should become legal and moral outlaws. **the inhabitants . . . Mayor]** The City complained repeatedly about disorder on the South Bank. After mass protest on 12 June 1592 at official violence in Southwark (a ward of the City since 1550), the Privy Council forbade plays or other public pastimes, and the Lord Mayor promised to punish the disorderly, but 'with such caution as is meet to be used in proceeding against multitudes' (Penry Williams, *Tudor Regime* (1979; 1986) p. 329). Direct action by Southwark apprentices on 23 June 1595, against profiteering in the fish-market, was punished by whip, pillory and prison. Like D.'s speaker the Privy Council deemed that 'examinations . . . have been very partially taken and too favourably on their behalf' (*APC* 23. 19).

34 Germans . . . pride] Lutheranism, which originated in Germany but had spread to Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, rejected papal supremacy in doctrinal matters. D. is perforce silent about England's position since 1536, but is probably alluding to the doctrinal rather than political aspects of the Reformation, since the Pope himself had ceded rights of ecclesiastical nomination to high office in the Gallican church to the French King by the Concordat of Bologna, 1516, but called Queen Elizabeth a heretic in the 1570 Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*.

Heading This seems to describe the topic of the poem more precisely than Gardner's *Recusancy*, since it is more about the religion of love than religion itself.

O H let not me serve so as those men serve
 Whom honour's smokes at once fatten and starve,
 Poorly enriched with great men's words or looks;
 Nor so write my name in thy loving-books
 5 As those idol'trous flatterers, which still
 Their princes' styles with many realms fulfil
 Whence they no tribute have, and where no sway.
 Such services I offer as shall pay
 Themselves: I hate dead names. Oh then let me
 10 Fav'rite in ordinary, or no fav'rite be.
 When my soul was in her own body sheathed,

Sources collated: *Group I*: H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; *Group II*: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; *Group III*: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; *IV*: W; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: Recusancy Gardner

1 not me *W*, L74ae (corr. in another hand): me not I, III, 1633, 1635: me L74be, TCC

2 fatten] flatter II, S96: mother O'Fbe 3 or] and II 4 so] to I

6 with] which 1633, 1635 11 her] mine II

1 not me/me not] *W*'s reading places the stress on 'me', an emphasis both characteristic of D. and appropriate for the plea to be an exception.

1-2 serve/starve] A full rhyme in sixteenth-century pronunciation.

2 honour's smokes] insubstantial, evanescent titles. Cp. La Primaudaye, *Second Part of the French Academie* (1594) p. 333: 'Their eyes dimmed with some smoke of honours' (*OED*). **at once]** simultaneously **fatten]** Presumably, Gardner suggests, because they 'eat the air, promise-crammed' (*Hamlet* 3. 2. 90-1).

4 loving-books] lists of lovers. *OED* love 16a defines 'love-books' as 'books that treat of love', but it may be meant figuratively (*OED* 10b) here, as 'in thy good books'.

6 Elizabeth styled herself Queen of France although the English no longer had possessions there, and Grierson points out that Mary Queen of Scots for a time bore the arms of England and Ireland. Cp. 2 *Henry VI (First Part of the Contention)* 1. 1. 108-9: 'poor King René, whose large style / Agrees not with the leanness of his purse'. **styles]** titles. **fulfil]** stuff, fill out.

8-9 Such . . . Themselves] Services whose reward is inseparable from their performance include 'service' in the physical sexual sense. Under 'serve' v. 52, *OED* quotes B. Googe's version of C. Heresbach, *Foure Bookes of Husbandry* 3 (1577) 148v: 'At half a year old they [boars] are able to serve a sow.'

8-9 pay . . . dead names] The collocation suggests that D. has the abuse of muster-rolls (see *Satyre* 1 18) at least at the back of his mind.

9 dead] lifeless, barren.

10 in ordinary] regular, recognised. A parody of such actual offices as chaplain-in-ordinary to the Queen.

- Nor yet by oaths betrothed, nor kisses breathed
 Into my purgatory, faithless thee,
 Thy heart seemed wax, and steel thy constancy:
 15 So, careless flowers strawed on the water's face,
 The curlèd whirlpools suck, smack, and embrace,
 Yet drown them; so, the taper's beamy eye
 Am'rously twinkling, beckons th'giddy fly,
 Yet burns his wings; and such the Devil is,
 20 Scarce vis'ing them, who are entirely his.
 When I behold a stream which from the spring
 Doth with doubtful, melodious murmuring
 Or in a speechless slumber calmly ride
 Her wedded channel's bosom, and then chide
 25 And bend her brows and swell if any bough
 Do but stoop down to kiss her upmost brow,
 Yet if her often-gnawing kisses win

12 Nor] Not *II*, *DC*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

15 strawed] strewed *L74*, *TCC*, *TCD*: strowed *Dal*, *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

24 then] there *II*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

26 to] or *Lec*, *C57*, 1633 upmost] utmost *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

13 my purgatory] She is the punishment either for his falling in love with her (despite the warnings of Ovid in *Remedies for Love*), or for his own past fickleness.

15–17 careless . . . drown them] Cp. *Satyre* 3 103–8, *Ignatius* (1969) p. 63.

15 careless flowers] i.e., 'flowers carelessly'.

16 smack] kiss vigorously (*OED v.²* 2).

17–19 the taper's . . . wings] Proverbial: Tilley F394, quoting, e.g., Florio, *Second Frutes* 12 (1591) p. 171: 'All of us . . . are before fair women . . . like the fly near to the candle'; and common with emblematisers such as Whitney, *Choice of Emblemes* 2 (1586) p. 219, who uses the plate with a motto signifying that love brings torment previously seen in Giovio, Symeoni, H. Junius, G. Corrozet (Henry Green's notes on Whitney, pp. 241, 251, 395) and Camerarius. It is also common in Italian Renaissance poems, e.g., B. Guarini, *Madrigali* 37, in *Rime* (1598) p. 76; and naturalised in English verse by, e.g., Sidney, *Certain Sonnets* 21. 11–12.

17 taper's] feeble candle's.

18 fly] Usually a moth.

21–34 Grierson quotes Julia's similitude for her love in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 2. 7. 25–6: 'The current that with gentle murmur glides, / Thou know'st, being stopped, impatiently doth rage.'

22–32 This personification anticipates the human tenor of the comparison revealed in l. 34.

22 doubtful] hesitant. **melodious]** Three syllables.

25 bend her brows] frown. This visual particularity as to the shape of the ripples passing down either side of the dangling branch thus: <<<, is rare in D.'s verse. Jonson preferred this sort of writing (*Jonson* 1. 135).

- The trait'rous bank to gape and let her in,
 She rusheth violently, and doth divorce
 30 Her from her native and her long-kept course,
 And roars and braves it, and, in gallant scorn,
 In flatt'ring eddies promising return,
 She flouts the channel, who thenceforth is dry;
 Then say I: that is she, and this am I.
 35 Yet let not thy deep bitterness beget
 Careless despair in me, for that will whet
 My mind to scorn, and oh, love dulled with pain
 Was ne'er so wise nor well-armed as disdain.
 Then, with new eyes I shall survey thee and spy
 40 Death in thy cheeks, and darkness in thine eye.
 Though hope bred faith and love, thus taught I shall,
 As nations do from Rome, from thy love fall.
 My hate shall outgrow thine, and utterly
 I will renounce thy dalliance; and, when I

28 bank] banks *Lec*, *C57*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

33 the] her *II*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 who] which *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

41 bred] breed *H49*, *C57*, *II*, *III*, 1635 43 My] Mine *II*

28 trait'rous] Because bound to the riverbed.

31 roars and braves it] swaggers noisily. **gallant]** like that of a fashionable man of pleasure.

33 flouts] disdains.

34 that] the stream. **this]** the channel.

35–8 Gardner compares Ovid, *Remedies for Love* 655–72, who, however, recommends indifference rather than the passionate hatred promised (conditionally) here to deter the woman.

36 Careless] Unconcerned, indifferent.

38 Cp. the Giant Disdain who punishes the scornful Mirabella in Spenser, *FQ* 6. 7. 43. 9 (1596): 'And in his hand a mighty iron club he bore.'

39–40 Ovid, op. cit. 315–48, 417–18, advises one who does not wish to be deeply involved to find faults in the woman's virtues and deliberately contemplate her defects.

41 hope . . . love] The three theological virtues of *1 Cor.* 13. 13, here reapplied to the religion of love. **bred/breed]** *W* and some other MSS and 1633 have the author referring to a situation which will be in the past tense: faith and love had only hope of her love to justify them: once that is gone, so will they. The 'breed' of other MSS and 1635 implies that hope will still exist despite her infidelity and 'deep bitterness'.

42 An understanding reference to the Reformation, cp. *Satyre* 3 43–8. **nations]** Such as the Scandinavian countries and Baltic states, the United Provinces and some German princely states, as well as England and Scotland.

44 dalliance] Her flirtatious advances or his flirting with her. He implicitly wishes it to continue, should his wish in ll. 35–6 be granted.

- 45 Am the recùsant, in that res'lute state
 What hurts it me to be excommunicate?

Love's Pupil

Date and Context. 1593–6?

Analogues. Ovid expresses disquiet at such a pupil's progress beyond his teaching in *Amores* 2. 5. 55–62, but whereas he fears only that another lover has taught her more, D.'s central paradox is that the woman owes more to her tutor in love than to her husband (ll. 20–4), flouting the Seventh Commandment. The speaker has, ironically, educated her in being unfaithful, like the lover in Tibullus 1. 6. 9–10.

Text. VD follows earlier editors in seeing four main lines of descent for the most authoritative MSS—W and Groups I, II and III, with three further lines for less important MSS. W alone demands no emendation, so has been chosen as the base text here.

NATURE's lay idiot, I taught thee to love,
 And in that sophistry, oh, thou dost prove

Sources collated: *Group I:* H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; *Group II:* TCC, TCD; *Group III:* Dob, Lut, O'F; *IV:* W; 1633, 1635

Base text: W

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: Tutelage Gardner

45 recùsant] refuser. Having likened himself in ll. 41–2 to a Protestant, D. reverses the common application of the word to Roman Catholics who stayed away from Anglican services to characterise one who is excommunicated, excluded from the old Church, as the Pope did Protestants such as Queen Elizabeth. In her case it put her in danger of being killed, but the addressee of the poem should pride herself on no such power: he will no longer care. Here is the nonchalance of *Blossom, Indifferent, Will, Constancy*.

46 excommunicate] excluded from a set of worshippers to which he does not wish to belong anyway. Carew reverses the excommunication in 'Song: To my Inconstant Mistress'.

Heading Gardner's invention seems unnecessarily obscure, so one has been supplied that describes the subject of the poem and is in keeping with others. The theme might be more precisely indicated by 'The Teacher Taught'.

1 Nature's lay idiot] Artless, uninitiated ignoramus. The speaker comes to realise, however, that he is the one who has acted as if there were no other men in the world; he has not taken into account Nature's opposition to monogamy, of which D. himself in, e.g., *Relic* 30 was well aware. **idiot]** Two syllables.

2 sophistry] craft.

Too subtle. Fool, thou didst not understand
 The mystic language of the eye nor hand;
 5 Nor couldst thou judge the diff'rence of the air
 Of sighs, and say, 'This lies', 'This sounds despair';
 Nor by th'eyes' water call a malady
 Desp'rately hot, or changing fev'rously.
 I had not taught thee then the alphabet
 10 Of flow'rs, how they devicefully being set
 And bound up, might with speechless secrecy
 Deliver errands mutely^and mutually.
 Remember since all thy words used to be
 To every suitor 'Ay^if my friends agree';
 15 Since household charms thy husband's name to teach

7 call] know III, 1635 8 fev'rously] feverishly DC

3 Fool] 'Simpleton', but also a term of endearment then: cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 73. 12.

4 Meaningful glances and gestures, rather than the exclusive gaze and clasp of *Ecstasy* 5–12, are detailed by Ovid, *Amores*, I. 4. 17–28. **mystic]** secret, symbolic, understood only by initiates.

5 air] tune.

6 sounds] expresses. Cp. *Romeo and Juliet* 3. 2. 126: 'No words can that woe sound.'

7–8 Adapting the practice of uroscopy, diagnosis from looking at urine. Cp. *Twickenham* 19–22 (Gardner).

9–10 alphabet / Of flow'rs] Rather a symbolic language than a letter-by-letter alphabet. D. uses the violet significantly in *Ecstasy* 3, and divination by flowers in *Primrose*. Many and various were their significations: Clement Robinson (1584) A2r–A3v expounds the symbolism of a dozen plants, and T. Bradshaw, *Shepherds Starre* (1591) sig. G2r, employs classical associations. Greene concludes a substantial account, *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592; *Works* II. 213–20): 'I wish no man to hold any discourse herein authentical.' Cp. *Hamlet* 4. 5. 175–83, with the longer note in the second Arden edition, and *Winter's Tale* 4. 4. 74–6.

10 devicefully] emblematically.

13 since] the time when.

14 friends] relatives, kinsfolk, 'people' (*OED*).

15 household . . . teach] See T. Kirchmeyer (Naogeorgus), *Popish Kingdome*, Engl.

B. Googe (1570) f. 44v:

In these same days [Advent] young wanton girls that meet for marriage be
 Do search to know the names of them that shall their husbands be.
 Four onions, five, or eight, they take, and make in every one
 Such names as they do fancy most and best do think upon.
 Thus near the chimney them they set, and that same onion then
 That first doth sprout doth surely bear the name of their good man.

Cp. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* 3. 2. 3. 1 (1621 etc.) who also describes fasting on St Agnes Eve, baking a cake of barley-meal, and burning the beans found in a cake. B. Holyday, *Mariages of the Arts* 2. 3 (1618) sig. G2r–v, has characters divining from a sieve. **household]** homely, domestic.

- Were all the love-tricks that thy wit could reach;
 And since an hour's discourse could scarce have made
 One answer in thee, and that ill arrayed
 In broken proverbs, and torn sentences.
 20 Thou art not by so many duties his
 That from th'world's common having severed thee,
 Inlaid thee neither to be seen nor see,
 As mine, which have with am'rous del'cacies
 Refined thee into a blissful paradise.
 25 Thy graces and good words my creatures be;
 I planted knowledge and life's tree in thee,
 Which oh, shall strangers taste? Must I alas
 Frame and enamel plate, and drink in glass?

17 could] would *II* 23 which] who *Lec*, *C57*, *1633*, *1635*

25 words] works *I*, *TCC*, *Dob*

18 arrayed] (a) set out, expressed; (b) adorned, clothed.

19 Her conversation consisted of scraps of platitudes not only well worn but jumbled. **sentences]** moral sayings.

21 Referring to the legal enclosure of common land. The woman has been married. **common]** sexually available. Cp. Jonson's character Dol Common in *Alchemist*.

22 Inlaid] Enclosed (from *OED* *lay* *v.* 53e, of land). See E. Jacobsen, *ES* 45 (1964) suppl. 190–6. The husband has sequestered her in his household like Leantio in Middleton, *Women Beware Women* (written 1621?) 1. 1. 165–7, 170–2: 'Tis great policy / To keep choice treasures in obscure places: / Should we show thieves our wealth, 'twould make them bolder. / . . . / The jewel is cased up from all men's eyes; / Who could imagine now a gem were kept / Of that great value under this plain roof?' **neither . . . see]** Obstructing the women's desire to see and be seen at the theatre, as in Ovid, *Art of Love* 1. 99 (Gardner). Cp. *Satyre* 4 6.

24 The speaker asserts that his enclosure is a pleasure-garden (for medieval Christians a symbol of virginity, ironically), whereas the husband's enclosure is merely agricultural, to produce a crop of children.

25 good words] polished conversation. In an age dominated by the dispute between Geneva and Rome as to the efficacy of faith bestowed by grace against that of good works, several scribes assumed that 'graces' should be associated with 'works', whereas the speaker refers here not to divine grace in the singular but to the traditional plural, social graces of conversation and deportment. 'Good works' was thus a cliché of the time into which it would be easy for the scribe of the copy for Group I to fall. D.'s speaker has taught her 'mystic language', to eschew 'One answer . . . arrayed in broken proverbs and torn sentences', so the *lectio difficilior* ('reading less likely to be invented'), which has support across groups implying an archetype predating the copy for Group I, seems plausible.

26 D. implies that she was made a paradise by his planting the trees of forbidden knowledge and sexual generation in her mind and body, while overtly alluding to *Gen.* 2. 9, 16–17. God likewise failed to create an exclusively obedient woman.

28 Frame] fashion. **plate]** a golden cup.

Chafe wax for others' seals? Break a colt's force
 30 And leave him then being made a ready horse?

30 then *om.* II

Love's War

Date and Context. c. 1594? After appeals from Henry of Navarre, beset by Spanish invasion, to Queen and Council, a force was decided on for Brest in July 1594, and eventually sent in Sept., returning in Feb. 1595 (*CSPD 1591-1594*, pp. 528, 551-3; *CSPD 1595-1597* p. 78; *News from Brest*, 1594; Hammer pp. 181-2). In June 1596 D. joined the expedition against Cadiz. A later date, 1596-7, might be suggested, since the experiences evoked in *Storm* might have given force to l. 24, and in *Calm* to 19-20: an English force was recruited and sent to France in Sept.-Oct. 1596 (*APC 1595-1597*, pp. 192-7, 255, 257). Lines 5-6 might suggest D. is wavering between Roman Catholic and Reformed sympathies, doubts he had resolved when he took service under Egerton in 1597-8, but official English policy from the start put order above religion, preferring to have the Low Countries united under Spain as a counterbalance to the traditional enemy, France. England did not want Spain to dominate France, and secure nearer Channel ports from which to invade. Lines 5-17, like *Bracelet* 23-42 (dated to 1593), refer to events in Flanders, France, and Spain, and though England was militarily engaged in those countries through the 1590s, artistic arguments as well as the historical reference in l. 10 favour the earlier date.

Analogues. The lover as warrior is the theme of Propertius, Tibullus 1. 1. 75 f., and Ovid's *Amores* 1. 9, which D. brings thoroughly up to date in imagery. Cp. Campion's song, 'My sweetest Lesbia' 7-10 in P. Rosseter, *Booke of Ayres* 1. 1 (1601). Carew's 'To Lucasta, Going to the Wars' inverts the preferences here expressed by D.

29 Chafe] Soften by warming, or rub. **seals]** On medieval documents familiar to lawyers such as D. and his friends, the male sports the round red seal containing a rider, the female the pointed oval or cusped ellipse, (), containing a (submissively) standing woman (see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edn, 24. 540; P. D. A. Harvey and A. McGuinness, *Guide to British Medieval Seals* (1996) pp. 48-50). The latter, known also as a mandorla (Italian for 'almond'), and *vesica piscis*, 'fish's swim-bladder', in medieval representations framing Christ in majesty (*Oxford Dictionary of Architecture* (1996) *s.v.* *vesica*, mandala), could symbolise the womb of his mother Mary. Juvenal 1. 39, 6. 64, uses *vesica* as slang for the vagina. There is perhaps a parodic allusion to *Rev.* 5. 2, 4, where 'to loose the seals . . . no man was found worthy'. Cp. *Bed* l. 32, *Relic* ll. 29-30. **Break]** tame.

30 being] One syllable. **ready]** prepared to be ridden. **horse]** A figure of lust in *King Lear* 4. 5. 120-1. Cp. the worse of the soul's two horses in Plato, *Phaedrus* 253e.

Heading Supplied by Sir John Simeon, *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Soc.* 3 (1856-7) p. 17.

Text. Group I is clearly in wrong in l. 17, and all Group III's members in varying combinations in other instances, so the Group II tradition best exemplified in *TCC* and *TCD* is followed here. A departure from the text traditionally printed occurs when their reading (supported by Group I and members of Group III against elsewhere unreliable members of Groups II and III) is accepted in l. 19 ('the' for 'that'), though in l. 44 the predominant reading ('wars' for 'war') is accepted from Group I and members of Groups II and III. This was one of the five elegies (the 'Tenth', as in *C57, Lec*) excepted from John Marriott's licence to print in the Stationers' Register on 13 September 1632, and so omitted from 1633. Degenerate fragments were included in the printed verse-miscellanies *Harmony of the Muses* (1654; ll. 29–46), and John Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter* (1655; ll. 29–32, 35–6, 39–40, 43–6). The full text was first printed in F. G. Waldron's *Collection of Miscellaneous Poetry* (1802) from the Nedham MS, now Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 18 (Pressmark 25. F. 17). None of these early printings is as authoritative as the MSS.

TILL I have peace with thee, war other men,
 And when I have peace, can I leave thee then?
 All other wars are scrup'lous: only thou,
 O fair, Free City, may'st thyself allow
 5 To anyone. In Flanders, who can tell
 Whether the master press or men rebel?
 Only we know that which all idiots say:

Sources collated: *Group I:* *H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; Group II:* *L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; Group III:* *S96, Dob, Lut, O'F; IV:* *W; HM (ll. 29–46); WI (ll. 29–32, 35–6, 39–40, 43–6)*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: *Simeon:* *Elegy. D, H49, TC, DC, S96, Dob:* *Elegy. 10th. C57, Lec:* *Elegy.*

5. L74, Dal: *Elegy 6. Lut, O'F:* *Elegy 7^a W*

6 press] peers III

1–2 Propertius 5. 1–2.

1 war other men] let other men make war.

3 are scrup'lous] discriminate between friend and foe.

4 Free City] About sixty-six cities in what is now Germany, such as Augsburg and Nuremberg, owed nominal allegiance to the Holy Roman Emperor, but might as self-governing republics enter into alliances with outside powers. Cp. E. Sandys, *Europae Speculum* (1629) p. 170: 'The Free Cities, which are of very great number and strength, have all, save some very few [*e.g., Cologne and Aachen*], enfreed themselves from the Pope, either in whole or in their greater part.' Ovid, *Amores* 1. 9. 19–20, prefers laying siege to his mistress to trying to capture towns.

5–6 In Flanders . . . rebel?] The Dutch rebellion against Spanish rule had been on foot since 1566, and Elizabethan England had often sent gentleman volunteers in support since 1570; in 1585 it sent a substantial force under Leicester. See note on *Bracelet* 42. **press]** oppress.

7 Only we know] 'All we know is'. **idiots]** those who do not think beyond private affairs.

‘They bear most blows which come to part a fray’.
 France in her lun’*t*ic giddiness did hate
 10 Ever our men—yea, and our god, of late—
 Yet she relies upon our angels well,
 Which ne’er return, no more than they which fell.
 Sick Ireland is with a strange war possessed

8 which] that *II, III* a] the *I, DC, II, III*

8 The previous line seems to imply that this is proverbial, but it has not been found in Tilley. Gardner compares Sidney’s *Lady of May*: ‘Master Rhombus . . . fully persuaded of his own learned wisdom, came thither with his authority to part their fray, where for answer he received many unlearned blows.’ Cp. J. Gay, *Fables*, ‘The Mastiffs’ (1727): ‘Those who in quarrels interpose / Must often wipe a bloody nose.’

9–10 **France . . . men**] The enmity broke out in war repeatedly between the Norman Conquest, 1066, and the entente cordiale, 1904.

9 **France . . . giddiness**] A stereotype reinforced by the alternation between Roman Catholic Henri III and his Reformed successor, Henri of Navarre, who then professed to convert to Roman Catholicism so as to assure his throne as Henri IV. The nation was proverbially changeable: Even Montaigne 2. 27 found substance in the reproach: ‘We are not contented to manifest our follies and bewray our vices to the world by reputation, but we go into foreign nations, and there in person show them. Place three Frenchmen in the deserts of Libya, and they will never live one month together without brawling, falling out, and scratching one another’ (1928) 2. 422. Cp. *Fatal* 33 and note. **lun’*t*ic**] like the Moon in changing often (with a hint that France is effeminate as well as mad).

10 **our god, of late**] Referring to Henri of Navarre’s conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1593 (*CSPD 1591–4*, pp. 353, 368–9), prompting the comment by his chief minister, the duc de Sully, that ‘Paris [which had held out against his claim to the throne] is well worth a Mass.’

11–12 **she relies . . . return**] There is an abstract of debts amounting to over £50,000, the latest due in June 1591, still owed by Henri IV to the Queen and to the Lord Mayor of London on 16, 18 Feb. 1593 (*CSPF May 1592 to June 1593* F546, p. 332). By Aug. 1596 English aid to the French since 1589 was reckoned to amount to nearly £365,000 (*CSPD 1595–1597*, p. 216). Cp. *Matt.* 25. 41: ‘Everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels’.

11 **angels**] The usual pun on the coin: see note on *Bracelet* 9–90.

12 **they which fell**] i.e., the rebel angels, led by Satan.

13–14 Referring to the Nine Years’ War, Great Irish Revolt, or Ulster rebellion of 1593–1603. Decades of civil war and rebellion in Ireland, encouraged by Spain, continued until the flight of Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O’Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnel, in 1607. With D.’s advocacy of killing the leaders, cp. Sir Roger Williams’ opinion in Feb. 1593 ‘that the greatest danger to England may proceed . . . especially by Ireland, where it stands Her Majesty upon to make sure of those people by cutting off the principal instruments’ (*Elizabethan Journals* 1. 202). Cp. Hammer pp. 184–5.

13 **strange**] Perhaps ‘foreign’, implying that Spanish designs were the root of the war.

- Like to an ague: now raging, now at rest,
 15 Which time will cure, yet, it must do her good
 If she were purged, and her head-vein let blood.
 And Midas' joys our Spanish journeys give:
 We touch all gold, but find no food to live,
 And I should be, in that hot, parching clime,
 20 To dust and ashes turned before my time.
 To mew me in a ship is to enthrall
 Me in a prison that were like to fall,
 Or in a cloister—save that there men dwell
 In a calm heav'n, here in a swagg'ring hell.
 25 Long voyages are long consumptions,
 And ships are carts for executions,
 Yea, they are deaths: is't not all one to fly
 Into another world as 'tis to die?
 Here let me war; in these arms let me lie;
 30 Here let me parley, batter, bleed, and die.

17 give] gives *I, DC* 19 that] the *I, DC, TCC, TCD, Dob, S96*

14 ague] a malarial fever with cold, hot and sweating stages, and intermissions of unpredictable length.

16 These usual procedures of contemporary physicians, giving emetics and laxatives, and extracting blood, were to be applied to a body politic. **head-vein]** According to A. Paré (1579 etc.; Engl. 17, 89; (1634) p. 693), 'The vein of the forehead being opened is good for the pain of the hind part of the head; . . . Galen wisheth to open the arteries of the temples in a great and contumacious defluxion falling upon the eyes, or in the megrim or headache.' Cp. the use of this figure in the title of a book of epigrams, Samuel Rowlands's *Letting of humours Blood in the Head-Vaine* (1600).

17 Midas' joys] See, e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 11. 85–130.

20 dust and ashes] As Job laments in 30. 19.

21–2 Cp. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2. 3. 4. 1 (1621): 'What is a ship but a prison?' Johnson agreed: 'Being in a ship is being in a jail, with the chance of being drowned' (16 March 1759; Boswell, *Life*, 1964 I. 348).

21 mew] coop up, cage (like a bird), imprison.

24 swagg'ring] lurching.

25 consumptions] wasting diseases.

26 carts for executions] Victims were taken to the gallows at Tyburn in carts, or dragged on a hurdle behind. D. compares ships to tombs and coffins in *Satyre* 3 18 and *Storm* 45 (Milgate).

29–32 Expanding Ovid, *Art of Love* 2. 674, and Propertius 1. 6. 30, 3. 5. 2.

30 By finding terms that fit both warfare and sex, D. appropriates the social esteem granted to fighting for his amorous engagement. **batter]** Like a siege-ram. **bleed]** Since sperm was thought of as a concentration of blood: see comment on *Flea* 4–13, *Metem* 204–10. **die]** the usual word for orgasm and detumescence, as in *Prohibition* 19.

- Thine arms imprison me, and mine arms thee;
 Thy heart thy ransom is: take mine for me.
 Other men war that they their rest may gain,
 But we will rest that we may fight again.
 35 Those wars th'ignorant, these th'experienced love;
 There we are always under, here above.
 There engines far off breed a cursed true fear;
 Near thrusts, pikes, stabs, yea, bullets, hurt not here.
 There lies are wrongs, here, safe, uprightly lie;
 40 There men kill men, we'll make one by and by.
 Thou nothing, I not half so much shall do
 In those wars as they may which from us two
 Shall spring. Thousands we see which travel not

31 Thine *Dbe*, II, III: Thy *W*, *H49*, *Dae*, *C57*, *Lec*, *DC*, *HM*, *WI* imprison] encompass *WI* mine] my *H49*, *DC*, *HM*, *WI*

32 thy] my *HM*: the *WI* for] from *Dal*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *WI* me] thee *HM*

34 But] And *HM* 35 these] ours *WI* love] prove *HM*, *WI*

36 we are] are we *Dob*: men fall *WI*

37 far] a far *HM* breed] move *HM* cursed *ed.*: cust *W*: just Σ

38 Near] But *HM* pikes] pricks *HM* yea] nay *HM*

39 lies] rights *WI* wrongs] wrong *HM* safe] we'll *HM*, *WI*

40 make] get *WI* 41 Thou] There *HM* shall] can *HM*

42 those] these *I*, *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*, III: their *HM* may *om.* *HM*

43–5

Many there are that war don't undertake,

But stay at home, shot, arms, and swords to make.

Say, prithee tell me, do not we do then, *WI*

34, 36 we, we] The reference slips from 'we lovers' to 'we men'.

35 these th'experienced love] Cp. Ovid, *Amores* 1. 9. 32. **experienced]** Three syllables.

36 under] sc. command.

37 engines] such as cannon.

38 Cp. *Astrophil and Stella* 79. 5, 10, characterising 'Cupid's fight' as 'The friendly fray where blows both wound and heal'. **bullets]** i.e., ballocks. Cp. the boastful Pistol's vow concerning Mistress Quickly, 2 *Henry IV* 2. 4. 111–12: 'I will discharge upon her, Sir John, with two bullets.'

39 Punning on *lies/lie* and *uprightly*: 'On the battlefield defiances are offensive, here in bed, at peace, I recline horizontally with an erection/irreproachably'. Line 36 shows that despite its 'we' it is the male role that is the topic. **There lies . . . wrongs]** Nashe notes in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592; *Works* 1. 188) that 'The Irishman will draw his dagger, and be ready to kill and slay, if one break wind in his company, and so some of our Englishmen that are soldiers, if one give them the lie.' Cp. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour* (1601) ll. 794, 1914–17; and *Othello* 3. 4. 5: 'For me to say a soldier lies, 'tis stabbing.' **uprightly]** honestly.

43–5 Line 44 is two syllables short. The rewriting in *Harmony of the Muses* is neat but with 'Do' where 'To' would make sense. The more extensive rewriting in *Wits Interpreter* employs a phrase characteristic of Cavalier poets, 'Say, prithee, tell me', but not of D. Neither has authoritative sanction.

- To wars, but stay, swords, arms and shot
 45 To make at home: and shall not I do then
 More glorious service staying to make men?

44 wars *I*, *L74*, *DC*, *Dal*, *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *W*: war *TC*, *S96* stay] ~ at home *HM*,
WI arms] guns *HM* 45 To make at home: and] Do make for others; *HM*

To his Mistress Going to Bed

Date. 1593–6? There appears to be no internal suggestion of a date, unless ll. 39–40 were prompted by a public performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, thought to be written by 1595. A possible friend-cum-patron of D.—see comment on *Derby*—Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, who succeeded to the earldom of Derby in 1593 and died in 1594 may have had a particular taste for such poems: Nashe's *Choice of Valentines* (*Works* 3. 403–16) was dedicated to 'the Lord S.', probably Strange (see, e.g., C. Nicholls, *A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe* (1984) pp. 87–98; Folger MS V. a. 399, ff. 53v–7r; and on its circulation in MS, *Works* 5. 136). D.'s poem need not have been written for Strange in particular since it obviously would have had wide appeal.

Analogues. Ovid, *Amores* 1. 5 (and Marlowe's translation), recount a sexual encounter with uninhibited joy, but without D.'s speaker's demanding tone, the present tense, the woman's fashionable Elizabethan clothing, the absence of struggle, sensuous description, teasing, or witty metaphors. Nashe is much concerned with prostitution, premature ejaculation, and dildoes. D.'s sexual fantasy is emulated by, e.g., T. Jordan, 'To Leda his Coy Bride' in *Poeticall Varieties* (1637) pp. 8–9 (*CH* pp. 46–8); R. Herrick, 'Vine', and T. Carew, 'Rapture' (*Cavalier Poets*, ed. T. Clayton (1978) pp. 6–7, 182–7).

Text. In the prolonged absence of a printed text (*Bed* was one of the five elegies proscribed by the licenser in 1633), it circulated widely in MS: *VD* found and classified sixty-seven exemplars, of which *W* demands least emendation and has been adopted here as base text. The poem was first printed in *Harmony of the Muses* 1654 (*HM*) in an obviously degenerate text.

COME, madam, come, all rest my powers defy:
 Until I labour, I in labour lie.

Sources collated: *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*; *Group II*: *L74*, *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCD*;
Group III: *S96*, *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*; *IV*: *W*; *Bur* (ll. 1–32); *HM*; 1669

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: 1669

1 rest] stay *HM* defy] deny *HM*

1 madam] The form of address used by D. for patrons such as Lady Huntingdon and Lady Bedford: this opening courtesy is replaced by concluding animality. **defy]** scorn.

2 labour] work hard. Rochester, in 'Love to a Woman', puts a more negative view: 'Let the porter and the groom, / Things designed for dirty slaves, / Drudge in fair Aurelia's womb / To get supplies for age and graves.' **in labour]** suffering preliminary pain.

- The foe ofttimes, having the foe in sight,
 Is tired with standing though they never fight.
 5 Off with that girdle, like Heav'n's zone glist'ring
 But a far fairer world encompassing!
 Unpin that spangled breastplate, which you wear
 That th'eyes of busy fools may be stopped there!
 Unlace yourself, for that harmonious chime
 10 Tells me from you that now 'tis your bed-time!
 Off with that happy busk, whom I envÿ
 That still can be and still can stand so nigh!

4 they] he *Dob*, *S96*, *HM*, 1669

5 zone *I*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *HM*, 1669: ~s *W*, *II*, *Dob*, *Bur* glistening] glittering
Dob, 1669

8 th'eyes] eyes *HM* 10 'tis your] is your *Dal*, *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *Bur*: it is *HM*,
 1669

11 whom] which *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *HM*, 1669

4 standing] 1. staying still; 2. having an erection.

5 Cp. Catullus 2A. girdle] belt. **Heaven's zone glist'ring/~ ~s ~]** the Milky Way/all the stars in the sky. MS testimony is divided: the authority of *W* and *II* is slightly weightier but does not give the more precisely vivid image. Ancient astronomers divided the celestial sphere into five zones, but the Milky Way appears to the observer *the belt*: Ovid, *Met.* 1. 179 says it is *candore notabilis*, 'remarkably white', and Aratus, *Phaenomena* 469–79, describes it as a broad belt set with brilliants, in this respect unmatched by any other zone. D.'s original thought is suggested by his use of the same epithet in *Serm.* 9. 73 (April 1629): 'that glist'ring circle in the firmament, which we call the Galaxy, the milky way'. Gardner thinks the reference may be to the three bright stars of the Belt of Orion, but that does not encompass the world. Before modern lighting, the whole sky could be bright, yet even so, as Aratus says, the Milky Way stands out. Catullus uses *zonam* in the singular for Atalanta's belt.

6 world] universe.

7 breastplate] stomacher: 'An ornamental covering for the chest (often covered with jewels) worn by women under the lacing of the bodice' (*OED*). Here the jewels are replaced with spangles, and the poet figures it as worn over the lacing.

8 busy] interfering, nosey. Cp. *Sun* 1.

9–10 that harmonious chime . . . from you] Either the astronomical analogy is continued with a reference to the harmony of the spheres, or the woman is wearing a highly fashionable chiming watch.

11 busk] constraining garment, corset.

12 still can stand] because stiffened with wood or whalebone. *OED*'s citation of Addison's *Spectator* 127 is apposite here: 'A Female who is thus invested in Whalebone is thus sufficiently secured against the Approaches of an ill-bred Fellow.' D.'s speaker implies that her beauty is so awesome that he may lose his erection: cp. the disappointment caused by over-excitement in Nashe 121–41 (*Works* 3. 408–9). Male erections do not persist for ever in proximity to the desired object (disregarding medical priapism): detumescence is inevitable, either after ejaculation or from exhaustion or from impotence. The busk suffers none of these, but remains lastingly stiff.

- Your gown's going off such beauteous state reveals
 As when from flow'ry meads th'hill's shadow steals.
 15 Off with your wiry coronet, and show
 The hairy diadem which on you doth grow!
 Now off with those shoes and then safely tread
 In this—Love's hallowed temple—this soft bed!
 In such white robes Heaven's angels used to be
 20 Received by men: thou, angel, bring'st with thee
 A Heav'n like M'homet's Paradise; and though
 Ill spirits walk in white, we eas'ly know

13 gown's] gown *Lut, O'F, Bur, HM, 1669*

14 when] where *TCC, TCD* from] through *1669* th'hill's] hills *HM*
 shadow] ~s *S96, HM, 1669* 15 your] that *Dob, HM, 1669*

16 hairy] happier *HM* on you] on your head *1669*

17 Now] *om. I, TCC, TCD, III, HM* and then] you wear and *III: that thou*
 mayst *HM* safely] softly *I, 1669* 18 Love's hallowed] ~ hollowed *L74, HM: love*
 hollowed *Bur*

19 Heaven's Σ: heaven *W* used] use *II, O'Fbe, HM*

20 Received by] Reverenc'd ~ *O'Fbe: Revealed to 1669* thou, angel,] ~s
 ~s, *Dal, HM*

21 Heav'n like] heavenly *HM*

22 Ill] All *Lut, O'F* spirits] sprites *Wbe, TCD: angels S96, Lut, O'F*

13 state] splendour (*OED* sb. 17a).

15 coronet] ornamental wreath or fillet, perhaps of gold wire, round the head (a sign of fashion rather than rank).

17–18 off with those shoes . . . temple] Cp. *Exod.* 3. 5: 'Put thy shoes off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground' (*GV*). Having sex with shoes on would be 'profanation of our joys'.

18 Love's . . . temple] Parody of religion is also employed by the brothel-keeper in *Nashe* 37–9: 'For in our oratory, sikerly, / None enters here to do his nicery / But he must pay his offertory first.' In *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem* (1593) he terms a brothel a 'nunnery' (*Works* 3. 405, 2. 152).

19–20 In such . . . men] *John* 20. 10, *Acts* 1. 10.

20 thee] For the rest of the poem the woman is imagined in her shift, and the pronoun changes from *you* to the less formal or less respectful *thou*. In underwear, she is no longer deferred to, so the man may become intimate.

21 M'homet's Paradise] In which, it was supposedly promised, beautiful maidens would give men prolonged orgasms: see Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 1. 3, 5 (1646; 1981, pp. 17, 28): 'He set out the felicity of his Heaven by the contentments of flesh and the delights of sense, . . . the felicity of their Paradise should consist in a jubilee of copulation, that is, a coition of one act prolonged unto fifty years.' Browne derives this not from a reading of the Koran but from a mid-sixteenth-century traveller, Pierre Belon.

22 Ill . . . white] 'For Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing though his ministers transform themselves, as though they were the ministers of righteousness'—2 *Cor.* 11. 14–15 (*GV*).

- By this these angels from an evil sprite:
 They set our hairs, but these the flesh upright.
 25 License my roving hands, and let them go
 Behind, before, above, between, below!
 O my America! My new-found land!
 My kingdom, safeliest when with one man manned!
 My mine of precious stones! My empery!
 30 How blessed am I in this discovering thee!
 To enter in these bonds is to be free:

24 They] Those *Lut*, *O'F*, 1669 the] our *Lec*, *TCC* (line inserted in later hand), *III*, *HM*, 1669

26 Behind, before, above, between] ~ ~ between, above *L74*, *Dal*: Above, behind, before, beneath *S96*: Before, behind, between, above 1669

28 My] The *HM* kingdom, safeliest] ~ safe *L74*, *Dal*: ~ safest *S96*, *Bur*: ~'s safest *Lut*, *O'F*, *HM*, 1669

30 blessed am I in this] ~ ~ ~ ~ thus *L74*, *Dal*, *Bur*: am I blessed in thus 1669

31 in] into *I*, *TCC*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *HM*

25–32 Analogies have been drawn with the licences for transatlantic exploration granted by the Queen, such as the patent under which Raleigh financed taking possession of Virginia in 1584, and explored Guyana in 1595.

25–6 Imitated by Carew in 'Rapture': 'There my enfranchised hand on every side / Shall o'er thy polished ivory slide.'

27–30 R. V. Young, *South Central Review* 4 (1987) 35–48, exemplifies the figure's reverse application in the 1596 accounts of Guyana by Raleigh, *Discoverie* (1596), G. Chapman's poem (ll. 18–21, 164), and the work it was prefixed to, L. Keymis, *A Relation of the Second Voyage*. Cp. *Sun* 17, 21, 23, *Morrow* 12–14.

27 new-found land] General term, as in the title of T. Hariot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588, enl. 1590).

28 The woman is to the lover as the body politic is to its ruler, in absolutist doctrine a personal possession. Cp. *Sun* 19–24. In the patriarchal analogy of kingdom and household, the husband was a king. As in *Anniversary* 25–7 and *Canonization* 1–18 there is an uneasy acknowledgement of insecurity in even mentioning the possibility of treason. Cp. also *Serm.* 4. 269 (13 Nov. 1622, to the Virginia Company): 'To be a *King* signifies *Liberty* and *Independency*, and *Supremacy*, to be under no man, and to be a *King* signifies *Abundance*, and *Omnisufficiency*, to need no man.' **with one man]** The Latin *uniuira* was carved on tombstones of constant wives (*Oxford Latin Dictionary* quotes examples in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*). **manned]** 1. politically occupied; 2. sexually occupied.

29 **mine]** That D. was aware of a possible sexual play on 'mine', see *Mummy* 1. *stones]* the vernacular word for testicles (for the pun cp., e.g., *Merchant of Venice* 2. 8. 20–4). **emperry]** empire.

30 **discovering]** D. reverses the personification of a land to colonise as a woman. A second meaning is 'undressing'.

31 A parody of 1 *Cor.* 7. 22: 'For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman; likewise also, he that is called being free is Christ's servant'; and of the *BCP* Second Collect for Morning Prayer: 'God . . . whose service is

- Then where my hand is set, my seal shall be.
 Full nakedness, all joys are due to thee:
 As souls unbodied, bodies unclothed must be
 35 To taste whole joys. Gems which you women use
 Are as At'lanta's balls cast in men's views,
 That when a fool's eye lighteth on a gem,
 His earthly soul may covet theirs not them.
 Like pictures, or like books' gay cov'rings made
 40 For lay men, are all women thus arrayed:
 Themselves are mystic books, which only we

34 unbodied] in bodies *HM*

35 whole] those *TCC*: these *HM* Gems which] Those gems *HM*

36 as] like *III*, 1669 balls] ball 1669

38 covet] court *S96*, 1669 theirs] that *Lut*, *O'F*, 1669

41 are . . . which only we] are only . . . which we 1669 books] bodies *Dob marg.*,
HM only] hourly *HM*

perfect freedom'. Cp. *HolyS10Batter* 14. The scribe of the Bridgewater MS took this as a reference to D.'s marriage, commenting in the margin: 'Why may not a man write his own epithalamion if he can do it so modestly?' (Huntington MS EL 6893, fol. 106v.)

32 hand is set] literally, 'I have signed'. **my seal]** His monarchic phallic seal. See note on *Relic* 29–30.

33 For paeans to unadorned charms see Propertius 2. 1. 1–8, 15. 11–16.

34–5 As souls . . . joys] Cp. *Satyre* 1 43–4. However, D. insisted later that only when the body was resurrected in perfection, as Christians believed, would full and final bliss be experienced. See note on *DivM6Play* 7.

34 bodies] Giving an extra unstressed syllable to the line.

35 whole joys] enjoy complete heavenly and earthly bliss. The poem humorously applies *John* 16. 24: 'Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.' R. H. Ray, *Expl* 50 (1992) 203–4, detects puns on 'taste' meaning 'enjoy sexually' and 'whole'/'hole'.

36 At'lanta's balls] Venus's three golden apples (from Tamasus in Cyprus) which she gave to Hippomenes, who threw them to distract fleet-footed Atalanta so that he could overtake and marry her, ironically for this poem with fatal results, since the great Mother Goddess changed the couple into lions for defiling her temple with their lust—Ovid, *Met.* 10. 560–704. Catullus 2A also concerns Atalanta's sacrifice of virginity for greed.

39–41 like books' . . . mystic books] Cp. *Romeo and Juliet* 1. 3. 93–4 (1594–5): 'That book in many's eyes doth share the glory / That in gold clasps locks in the golden story.'

41 mystic books] Such as the Bible, which Roman Catholicism preferred to restrict to priests; the book of *Rev.* 5. 1–9, which only the Lamb of God was worthy to open; and the Sibylline Books of ancient Rome, a collection famously (if reluctantly) started by Tarquinius Priscus (Aulus Gellius 1. 19; Pliny, *Natural History* 13, 27 (88)).

- Whom their imputed grace will dignify
 Must see revealed. Then, since I may know,
 As lib'rally as to a midwife show
 45 Thyself! Cast all, yea, this white linen, hence:
 There is no penance, much less innocence!
 To teach thee, I am naked first: Why than,
 What need'st thou have more cov'ring than a man?

43 see revealed] be ~ *I, Dal, TCC, TCD*: thus reveal *S96* since] ~ that *Lut, O'F, HM, 1669*

44 a] thy *1669* 45 cast all] ~ you all *HM*

46 There] Here *L74, Dal, Dob, S96* much less] due to *Lut, O'F, HM, 1669*

48 What] Whats *TCC: om. HM* have] to have *HM*

42 imputed grace] For the Calvinist and meticulous reader of *Rom.* 4 righteousness was 'imputed', that is, attributed, for faith in the divine revelation. D.'s speaker makes women the revealers of a religion of love by opening themselves to elect lovers. Cp. *Pupil* 4, *Ecstasy* 71–2, *Book*. If D. was still of the Roman persuasion that Christ's suffering alone infused the righteousness necessary to salvation into all mankind, this use of a Reformed theological term would not have been blasphemous. **dignify]** make worthy.

43–5 Then . . . all] Cp. Propertius 2. 15. 17–18 on the undesirability of going to bed clothed: his method of persuasion differs from this speaker's of setting an example.

43 *Lut, O'F, HM, 1669* regularize the metre by adding 'that'. **know]** In the Hebrew, biblical usage 'sexually', as in *Change* 6, *Fatal* 37, *Indifferent* 15.

44 As liberally . . . midwife] Suggesting the woman has already given birth, and has had to overcome girlish inhibitions. The command may be ironic or show inexperience. Cp. Montaigne, *Essays* (1580–8, Engl. 1603; 1928) 2. 182:

The skilfullest masters of amorous dalliances appoint for a remedy of venerean passions a free and full survey of the body which one longeth and seeks after, and that, to cool the longing and assuage the heat of friendship, one need but perfectly view and throughly consider what he loveth . . .

The love stood still that ran in full career
 When bare it saw parts that should not appear.
 Ovid, *Remedies for Love* 2. 33–4

liberally] freely, permissively, and therefore, in the present context, licentiously.

45 white linen] shift, undergarment.

46 Although those found guilty by an ecclesiastical court of fornication or adultery might be sentenced to appear in church before the congregation in a white sheet, and, according to *Rev.* 19. 8, 'to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white, for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints' (*AV*), those are not the reasons for her wearing white here and now. The MS evidence of what D. wrote is overwhelmingly in favour of 'much less', whatever readers may prefer to read.

47–8 There is a hint that the desires of ll. 25–32 have not been granted, and that the speaker is left ridiculously exposed at the end while the woman stays dressed, though l. 45 suggests that she is at least down to her shift. It may have been

Change

Date and Context. 1590s? There are no topical references to suggest a date.

Analogue. The generalisation about female promiscuity is commonplace in men's verse at this time (and earlier, e.g., Virgil, *Aeneid* 4. 569–70, and later), and played with by D. in, e.g., *Confined*, Go. 'A Defence of Women's Inconstancy' was published under D.'s name in *Paradoxes* 1633, but the attribution is doubted by Peters. The paradox in this poem is that the speaker who starts by decrying change ends by embracing it, at least in a discriminating form.

Text. *W* has been used as base text, needing least correction. The poem switches between direct conversation with the woman and misogynist generalisations shared with a male reader, indicated here by paragraphing.

ALTHOUGH thy hand and faith—and good works, too—
 Have sealed thy love, which nothing should undo—
 Yea, though thou fall back, that apostasy
 Confirm thy love—yet much, much I fear thee.

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; Group II: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; IV: W; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading 1635

thought an inversion of order that a man should undress himself in front of a clothed woman.

47 than] then. The old spelling has been kept for the rhyme.

48 Since 'Naked, you've odds enough of any man.' (*Damp* 24). **cov'ring]** Two meanings: 1. 'Why should you, a woman, need any more clothing than this naked man?' 2. 'Why should you need anything more to cover you than a man?' leading to the sexual sense of 'cover' when used of a stallion's coupling with a mare: 'Why should you need any more sexual gratification than a man can provide?' There was some anxiety at the time and within D. about the rival charms of dildos and other women. As Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 4. 6 (1981, p. 313) points out, the 'secret parts' are 'more discoverable' in a man.

1–2 Both legally and religiously she has committed herself.

1 faith . . . works] A humorous allusion to the religious dispute between Roman Catholics and Reformers as to whether faith alone sufficed for salvation: the Anglican *Articles of Religion* 12 stated 'that Good Works which are the fruits of Faith cannot put away our sins, . . . yet are they pleasing and acceptable . . . insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by its fruit' (*BCP*).

3 fall . . . apostasy] Punning on the conventional position in sexual intercourse and religious lapse. Cp. *Romeo and Juliet* 1. 3. 44 (1594–5): 'Thou wilt fall backward when thou hast more wit' (Gardner).

4 much, much I fear thee] From here on, suspicion is argued into conviction, as with Iago in *Othello* 1. 3. 387–9, 3. 3. 150–1, 168–9: 'I know not if't be true,

- 5 Women are like the arts: forced unto none,
 Open to all searchers, unprized if unknown.
 If I have caught a bird and let him fly,
 Another fowler, using those means as I,
 May catch the same bird; and, as these things be,
 10 Women are made for men, not him, nor me.
 Foxes and goats, all beasts change when they please:
 Shall women, more hot, wily, wild than these,
 Be bound to one man? And did Nature then
 Idly make them apter t'endure than men?
 15 They're our clogs, and their own: if a man be

8 those] these *I*, 1633, 1635: the *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F* 10 men] man *II*
 15 and] not *DC*, *II*, *Lut*. *O'F*, 1633, 1635

/ But I for mere suspicion in that kind Will do as if for surety', a propensity which he himself can describe: 'oft, my jealousy Shapes faults that are not', and can see that it 'doth mock The meat it feeds on', but not avoid.

5 the arts] At university, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, but here perhaps any field of learning.

6 Open . . . searchers] D. Erasmus *et al.*, *Adagia* (1629) p. 221: '*Apertae musarum ianuae*', 'the Muses' doors are open wide', citing Zenodotus, third century BCE Alexandrian editor and librarian. **Open]** If D. had written 'Ope' (the form used in *Satyre* 4 132, *Name* 44), the line would have been decasyllabic, but the form appears in no MS. **unprized if unknown]** A variation on a scholastic adage, *ignoti nulla cupido*, 'For what is not known there is no desire', according to P. Legouis, *Donne: poèmes choisies* (1955) p. 211.

8 those] the same.

9 as . . . be] in the same way.

10 The scribe of the archetype of Group II was possibly influenced by *1 Cor.* 11. 9, where both sexes are in the singular: 'Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man', referring to *Gen.* 2. 18.

11 Foxes] Proverbially cunning: Tilley F269: 'As wily as a fox'. **goats]** Proverbially lustful: Tilley G167 quotes *Othello* 3. 3. 408: 'as prime as goats, as hot as monkeys'. **all beasts]** Like women, members of the natural world, made for men in the Judaeo-Christian scheme of things, *Gen.* 1. 26; men are closer to God (this was also the Aristotelean view: see *Generation of Animals* 2. 1, 732a2-9).

13-14 did Nature then / Idly] for no purpose. Referring implicitly to the saying 'Nature does nothing in vain' (Tilley N43), already proverbial in Aristotle's *Politics* 1. 2 (1253a9); according to Browne, *Religio Medici* 1. 16 (1642), 'the only undisputed axiom in philosophy', and even accepted by Newton, *Opticks* 3. 1. 28.

14 apter . . . men] Expressing a common male regret that a woman's desire may outlast a man's potency. **endure]** last, prolong sex.

15 clogs] impediments. Cp. the proverb, Tilley N347: 'When nought is to wed with, wise men flee the clog.' Cp. also Harington's Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 20.19 (1591) p. 154: 'There can be a greater clog to no man / Than to be weary of a wanton woman'. *OED* cites a translation of H. Bullinger, *Fiftie Godly and Learned Sermons* (1592) p. 227, quoting Hierocles on a wife being made 'a grievous clog

- Chained to a galley, yet the galley's free;
 Who hath a plough-land, casts all his seed-corn there,
 And yet allows his ground more corn should bear;
 Though Danuby into the sea must flow,
 20 The sea receives the Rhine, Volga, and Po.
 By nature, which gave it, this liberty
 Thou lov'st, but oh! canst thou love it and me?
 'Likeness glues love.'
- Then, if so thou do,
 To make us like and love, must I change too?
- 25 More than thy hate I hate't.
 Rather let me
 Allow her change, than change as oft as she;
 And so, not teach but force my opinion
 To love not any one, nor every one:
 To live in one land is captivity:
 30 To run all countries, a wild roguery;
 Waters stink soon if in one place they bide,
 And in the vast sea are worse putrefied:
 But when they kiss one bank, and, leaving this,
 Never look back, but the next bank do kiss,

23 then, if so thou] and then ~ ~ ~ *S96, Lut, O'F*: and if that thou so 1633, 1635
 32 worse] worst *DC*: worser *Dal*: more 1633, 1635

to her husband' because married for money, looks, or on bad advice. **and/not their own**] The original means 'And their own mistresses, possessors of themselves, free, autonomous', but some MSS understood the original to mean '... own clogs', and emended the line to make sense.

16 Chained to a galley] For penal servitude in English galleys in the 1590s, see note on *Calm* 37.

19-20 Danuby . . . Po] Great rivers of Europe which all issue through multi-streamed deltas.

19 Danuby] Danube.

23-6 Cp. the song in T. Morley *First Booke of Ayres* (1600; Fellowes p. 628): 'What if my mistress now will needs unconstant be? / Wilt thou be then so false in love as well as she? / No, no, such falsehood flee, though women faithless be.'

23 'Likeness glues love'] This allusion to the proverb precedes Tilley L294, as do references in *ODEP* for this proverb and for 'Like will to like', quoting, e.g., 'H. S.' in 'To the Reader' prefixed to Sidney's *Arcadia* (1593): 'Likeness is a great cause of liking.' Cp. *Eclus* 13. 15: 'Every beast loveth his like' (*AV*).

23 so thou do] thou changest.

24 like] alike (to which some Group II MSS have altered the word).

28 He will be neither celibate nor promiscuous.

30 roguery] idle vagrancy.

32 worse putrefied] made even less drinkable.

- 35 Then are they purest. Change's the nursery
Of music, joy, life, and eternity.

The Anagram

Date and Context. Early 1595? For D. to be elected as joint Master of the Revels on 26 Nov. 1594 (Bald, p. 57), his interest in such things must have been conspicuous, so he is likely to have attended those of the sister-inn, Gray's, at which Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, of which there is a hint of an echo in ll. 41–2, was performed on 28 Dec. Marotti (1986) p. 48, explains that 'The point of the exercise is not to indulge in a virtuoso antifeminism, but to question an entire range of amorous customs and rituals.' *Anagram's* established literary lineage is a warning against indulgence in the biographical fallacy (as with most of D.'s work). It is just possible that the poem mocks pretended lovers of Queen Elizabeth, such as Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earls of Cumberland and Essex, Sir Charles Blount (see Bates pp. 46–7), or eulogistic sonneteers such as Lodge, *Phyllis* 4, 6 (1590); Daniel (in the 1591 *Astrophil and Stella*); and Constable, *Diana* 2. 1. 2 (1592). On such Petrarchizing of Elizabeth see E. C. Wilson pp. 239–55: slightly later foreign descriptions of the sexagenarian Queen, unhampered by English constraints, resemble *Anagram* in several particulars, e.g., 'A great reddish-coloured wig . . . As for her face, it is, and appears to be, very aged. . . . her teeth are very yellow and unequal. . . . Many of them are missing' (A. Hurault, *Sieur de Maisse, Journal* . . . 1597, Engl. G. B. Harrison and R. A. Jones (1931) pp. 25–6); 'Her face fair but wrinkled; her eyes small, . . . she wore false hair, and that red' (P. Hentzner, *Journey into England 1598*, Engl. R. Bentley from the *Itinerarium* (1612 etc.; 1757) pp. 47–51).

Analogues. The tradition of the paradoxical encomium, arguing against received opinion or defeating expectation, seems to have a history as long as straight-faced encomium. It is known from, e.g., the Greeks Isocrates and Lucian, the Roman M. C. Fronto, the Church Father Synesius' long-popular defence of baldness (Engl. A. Fleming 1579), and the ninth-century monk Hucbald, to the Renaissance explosion of the genre in, e.g., Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (1509, Engl. T. Chaloner 1549), Rabelais's pseudo-encomia of debt and debtors and of the codpiece in *Gargantua and Pantagruel* 1. 3–4, 8, O. Landi's *Paradossi* (1543), and even, according to Sir John Harington, *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (his praise of the water-closet, (1596) sig. A6r), 'a beastly treatise only to examine what is best to wipe withal'. The tradition is outlined by McKerrow on Nashe, *Works* 4. 389; H. K. Miller, *MP* 53 (1956) 145–57; Leishman pp. 77–80, and H. Peters in D.'s *Paradoxes and Problems*

35–6 Change's . . . eternity] Gardner compares Change's argument in Spenser's *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie*. Change is the nursery of music, whose melody passes from one note to another; of joy because it is known by its contrary, and monotony is joyless; of life, which is continually coming to be and passing away; and even of eternity, because that shall be ushered in when 'we shall be changed, for this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality' (1 Cor. 15. 52–3). M. Hughes, in *Essential Articles* p. 49, draws attention to a motto of Queen Elizabeth, *Per molto variare la natura è bella*, 'Much variety makes Nature beautiful.'

(1980 xvi–xxi). The first twelve paradoxes in C. Estienne’s French version of twenty-five of Landi’s original thirty were Englished by A. Munday as *Defence of Contraries* (1593; *NSTC* 6467), which contains as ‘Declamation 2’, pp. 17–23, a defence of ‘the hard-favoured face, or foul complexion’ and barrenness. The genre of ironic encomium had thus long been fashionable in sixteenth-century Italy, France and Germany. In English the ugly woman is praised ironically in Sidney’s hexametric ‘What length of verse can serve brave Mopsa’s good to show?’ in the 1590 *Arcadia* 1. 3 (*Poems* no. 3, p. 12); J. Lyly, *Endymion* 3. 3. 52–60 (performed at Court, 1588, publ. 1591; *Works* 3. 44); and Shakespeare, *MND* 5. 1. 325–30 (1594–5). Following Drummond of Hawthornden, Leishman pp. 80–2 translates and compares Tasso, ‘Sopra la Bellezza’ (*Rime* 37), but a closer analogue to *Anagram* is found by D. L. Guss, *HLQ* 28 (1964) 80–1, in F. Berni’s sonnet ‘*Chiome d’argento fin’*, *Rime* 31 (23; 1548 etc.), which perhaps provided the model for Sidney. Harington, preface to Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* (1591; 1972) p. 11, reported a more subtle critique of such conventional dissections of beauty: ‘I have heard a friend of mine (one very judicious in the beauty of a woman) say of a lady whom he meant to praise that she had a low forehead, a great nose, a wide mouth, a long visage, and yet, all these put together, she seemed to him a very well-favoured woman’; and Shakespeare likewise asserts the attractiveness of unfashionable looks in his Sonnet 130. In his *Comedy of Errors* he uses a topographical counter-blazon, as does *Anagram* ll. 35–6, 41–3 (see note). The related traditions of blazon and counter-blazon are outlined in the Headnote to *Comparison*.

Text. The error of ‘letters’ for ‘words’ in l. 18 is common to Group I and the Westmoreland MS, showing that even the latter derives the text of this poem from a defective, probably non-authorial source. *TCD* requires no correction, so has been adopted as the base text. 1633 appears to derive mainly from a Group I relative of *C57/Lec*, emended in l. 18 from a Group II MS. Lines 53–4 were omitted from printed texts until 1669, which there follows a sub-group of Group III.

MARRY and love thy Flavia, for she
Hath all things whereby others beauteous be:
For, though her eyes be small, her mouth is great

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; DC; Group II: L74, Dal, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O’F; IV: W; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading 1635

1 Marry] Punning on the exclamation and on consent to a wedding. **Flavia]** In classical times indicating membership of the noble Flavian *gens* (Juvenal 4. 37’s ‘last of the Flavii’ was the cruel emperor Domitian, who seduced a niece, Flavia Julia—Suetonius, ‘Domitian’ 22), but D. presumably uses it to play on the meaning of the Latin *flava*, ‘pale yellow, golden’, her complexion in l. 7. D. may be alluding to Catullus 6, where the poet suspects Flavius is in love with some graceless and clumsy girl or fever-ridden whore.

3 Cp. Berni, Sidney (l. 11): ‘her mouth, oh heavenly wide!’ and Lyly (ll. 56–7): ‘What little hollow eyes! What great and goodly lips!’

- Though they be iv'ry, yet her teeth are jet,
 5 Though they be dim, yet she is light enough,
 And though her harsh hair fall, her skin is rough;
 What though her cheeks be yellow her hair is red,
 Give her thine, and she hath a maidenhead.

- These things are beauty's elements: where these
 10 Meet in one, that one must, as perfect, please.
 If red and white and each good quality
 Be in thy wench, ne'er ask where it doth lye.
 In buying things perfumed, we ask if there
 Be musk and amber in it, but not where.
 15 Though all her parts be not in th'usual place,
 She'th yet an anagram of a good face.
 If we might put the letters but one way,
 In that lean dearth of words, what could we say?

4 are] be *I, Dal, 1633, 1635* 6 rough] tough *III, 1635*

7 hair is] hair's *S96, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*

18 that] the *I, S96, Lut, O'F, 1633* words] letters *I, W*

4 they be iv'ry] Cp. Berni's praise of the pearliness of her eyes, i.e., cataracts. Campion jeers at false teeth in 'In Afram', *Poemata* (1595) sig. G7v; *I, 175* (1619; *Works* pp. 260–1). **jet]** black. Cp. Tasso, Berni, and J. Davies, 'In Gellam', *Epigrammes* *I, 26, 4* (1595–6; 1975) p. 140: 'rotten teeth, which she in laughing shows'.

5 they] her eyes. D. seems to have interpolated l. 4 after writing ll. 3 and 5. Cp. *Gen. 27, 1* (cp. 48, 10, *1 Sam. 3, 2*): 'Izhak was old and his eyes were dim (so that he could not see)' (*GV*). **light]** sexually available.

6 rough] hairy (*OED* 2a, quoting *Tempest* 2. 1. 255: 'rough and razorable').

7 her cheeks be yellow] Cp. Berni, '*un bel viso d'oro*'; Sidney, p. 12: 'Her skin like burnished gold'.

8 thine] your lack of sexual experience. **maidenhead]** virginity. D. contradicts his thesis elsewhere that she is untouchable: perhaps she was not always so, and some of her defects in ll. 4–8 are due to age, though l. 32 and D.'s avoidance of praising silver hair as does Berni suggest not.

11 red and white] Conventionally praised in love poetry when found in lips and skin respectively, or mingled in the cheeks, also burlesqued in Shakespeare's Sonnet 130. Cp. *Twelfth Night* *I, 5, 228–9* (1601–2): 'Tis beauty truly blent, whose red and white / Nature's own sweet and cunning hand laid on.'

14 amber] ambergris.

16 She'th] She's. *D, Dal's* omission of 'yet' is presumably the scribes' independent attempts to avoid the need for this elision. Later, D. wrote 'she's', e.g., *Metem* 268.

17–21 Grierson quotes Du Bartas, *I, 2, 264–6, 269–70*: 'As six sweet notes curiously varied / In skilful music make a hundred kinds / Of heavenly sounds that ravish hardest minds, . . . / Or as of twice twelve letters thus transposed / This world of words is variously composed, . . .'

17 but one way] in one fixed order.

- When by the gamut some musicians make
 20 A perfect song, others will undertake,
 By the same gamut changed, to equal it.
 Things simply good, can never be unfit;
 She's fair as any, if all be like her,
 And if none be, then she is singular.
 25 All love is wonder; if we justly do
 Account her wonderful, why not lovely too?
 Love built on beauty, soon as beauty, dies,
 Choose this face, changed by no deformities.
 Women are all like angels; the fair be
 30 Like those which fell to worse; but such as she,
 Like to good angels, nothing can impair:

19 gamut] scale.

22 Things simply good] A paradox: it is not just Stoic orthodoxy that nothing material is good purely, or independent of context, but also Christian: cp. *Serm.* 6. 237 (4 March 1625): 'When it is ordinarily enquired in the School, whether anything be essentially good, it is safely answered there, that if by essentially we mean independently, as good that it can subsist of itself, without dependence upon, or relation to any other thing, so there is nothing essentially good: but if by essentially good, we mean that whose essence, and being is good, so everything is essentially good.' Cp. *Metem* 518–20 and note, and *BedfordRefined* 4.

24 singular] unique. Oneness was an attribute of divinity.

25–6 Cited by Leishman p. 83 as an example of D.'s use of the fallacy of the undistributed middle: that all love is wonder does not entail that all that is wonderful is lovely. 'Is' can mean either 'constitutes the whole of' or 'constitutes part of'. The reader accepts it in the latter sense, but the speaker goes on to assume the former. An approved rhetorical device, chiasmus, defeats approved logic, as a grammar-rule does in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* 63.

25 All love is wonder] Cp. the proverb, Tilley L517, e.g., J. Lyly, *Campaspe* 2. 2. 110 (1584; *Works* 2. 331): 'In love there is no reason'. In *Book* 28–9 love and wonder are two different qualities united in the divine, in *Funeral Elegy* 27–9 in 'those fine spirits which do tune and set / This organ' of the world.

26 wonderful] Punning on two sorts of wonder: admiration of beauty and astonishment at ugliness. D. permits himself occasionally a syllable more or less among decasyllabics, e.g., in *Satyre* 1, 27–9.

28 changed by no deformities] which cannot become more ugly than it already is. Cp. Landi (1593) p. 19: 'True liberality is known by the firm and long continuance of the gift bestowed upon anyone: and what see ye of less permanence than beauty?'

29–30 the fair . . . worse] Assuming that 'Nowhere Lives a woman true and fair' (*Go* 17–18), all fair women will fall to worse morally like Lucifer's rebel angels. Cp. Tilley B163, F29.

30–1 such . . . impair] Proverbial: cp. Tilley S608, quoting Marlowe, *Elegies* 1. 8. 43: 'She's chaste whom none will have', translating Ovid, *Amores*: '*Casta est quem nemo rogavit.*'

- 'Tis less grief to be foul, then to've been fair.
 For one night's revels silk and gold we choose,
 But in long journeys cloth and leather use.
 35 Beauty is barren oft; best husbands say
 There is best land, where there is foulest way.
 Oh what a sovereign plaster will she be
 If thy past sins have taught thee jealousy!
 Here needs no spies nor eunuchs: her commit
 40 Safe to thy foes—yea, to a marmoset.
 When Belgia's cities the round countries drown,

41 round] foul III countries] country DC, III: sentries Dal drown] drowns III:
 drowned Dal

32 **foul]** ugly.

35 **husbands]** husbandmen, farmers, punning on the marital sense. For the common metaphor cp. *Measure for Measure* 1. 4. 42–3: 'Her plenteous womb / Expresseth his full tilth and husbandry' (Gardner).

36 Presumably already proverbial, though Tilley's quotations for G461, L50, R118, start early in the seventeenth century. **foulest]** muddiest because least stony.

37–8 Cp. Lyly, *Endymion* 3. 3. 59–60 (*Works* 3. 44) 'How virtuous is she like to be, over whom no man can be jealous!' Landi (1593) p. 19 similarly: 'Ye shall seldom times see it happen that in a beautiful body . . . chastity agreeth in self-same likelihood, because it is to be kept with great difficulty, being by so many sought after so earnestly. . . . All they . . . that . . . are studious in chastity do openly confess as nothing hath like force in them to tame and check the pricks of the flesh . . . as one only look upon an ill-favoured and counterfeit person. Hence ensueth that which is used as a common proverb concerning a very foul, deformed woman: that she serveth as a good receipt and sovereign remedy against fleshly temptations.'

37 **sovereign plaster]** supremely effective remedy.

38 i.e., if his seduction of other men's wives has made him insecure about his own.

39 **spies]** Cp. the Ovidian 'pensionary spies' of *Jealousy* 32.

40 **marmoset]** little monkey (proverbial for lust: cp. Marston, *Scourge of Villainie* 1. 3. 29–32 (1598; 1599): 'How, then, shall his smug wench . . . quench Her sanguine heat? . . . She hath her monkey'; and 2 *Henry IV* 3. 2 (1600 quarto): 'lecherous as a monkey').

41 **Belgia's]** the Low Countries'. Cp. the extended topographical counter-blazon in *Comedy of Errors* 3. 2. 116–44, concluding: "'Where stood Belgia, the Netherlands?" "Oh sir! I did not look so low!"'. **round countries]** surrounding districts (the object of 'drown').

41–2 e.g., at the sieges of Alkmaar (1573), Leiden (1574) and Antwerp (1584)—G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (1977) pp. 156, 214, at the last of which sieges Flynn (1989) 316, asserts D. was present in 1585.

That dirty foulness guards and arms the town:
 So doth her face guard her; and so for thee
 Which, forced by business, absent oft must be—
 45 She, whose face, like clouds, turns the day to night,
 Who, mightier than the sea, makes Moors seem white,
 Who, though seven years she in the stews had laid,
 A nunnery durst receive, and think a maid,
 And though in childbirth's labour she did lie,
 50 Midwives would swear, 'twere but a tympany;
 Whom if she[^]accuse herself I credit less
 Than witches which impossibles confess;
 Whom dildoes, bedstaves, and her velvet glass

42 That] The *S96* town] ~s *III* 44 Which] Who *TCC*, *III*: Who, oh, *Dob*
 49 childbirth's] childbirth *Dal*, *S96*, *Lut*: childbed's *C57*, *Lec*, *O'Fbe*, 1633, 1635
 53-4 om. *DC*, 1633, 1635 53 and her] ~ a *S96*: or a *Lut*, *O'F*

42 dirty foulness] 'Foul' in the sense of ugly is slid by D. from facial into faecal, into a hint that sex with her is polluted by her excretions. Cp. Rochester's song 'By all Love's soft yet mighty powers'.

43-55 for thee . . . One like none] The main clause of the sentence is interrupted for eleven lines, stressing the accumulation of reasons for the woman's fitness as a wife.

43 In Ovid's *Amores* 2. 12. 6-7, the girl is considered a better capture than a town. Cp. Ammonides' Antipatra, *Gk Anth.* 11. 201, whose naked appearance would have put the Parthians to flight, and Landi p. 20: 'O sacred and precious deformity, dearly loved of chastity . . . a firm rampart against all amorous assaults!'

44 forced by business] D. may be picturing Flavia's would-be husband as a citizen merchant, whose wives were conventionally supposed to be unfaithful by and with such as D.'s fellow-students.

45 For Helena, the opposite transformation is performed by her lover: *MND* 2. 1. 221; and for Juliet, Romeo is 'day in night', *Romeo and Juliet* 3. 2. 17. D. himself reverses the process as a compliment in *BedfordRefined* 19, in words close to Ferdinand's in *Tempest* 3. 1. 33-4.

46 makes . . . white] Defying the proverb, Tilley E186, 'To wash a Moor white', quoting J. Baret, *Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionarie* (enl. A. Fraunce 1580): 'To be applied to those whose industry is to no purpose, and, as we term it, to bestow labour in vain'.

47 stews] brothels.

50 a tympany] internal wind.

53-4 Cp. the farewell to love in Nashe, *Choice of Valentines* (c. 1588-93) 239-46 (*Works* 3. 412-13): 'My little dildo . . . That bendeth not . . . But stands as stiff as he were made of steel . . . And doth my tickling 'suage . . . he'll refresh me well, And never make my tender belly swell.'

53 bedstaves] presumably short sticks meant to help make beds or keep bedding in place, used as instruments of pleasure. **velvet glass]** smooth dildo. Cp. Nashe 275-6 (*Works* 3. 414): 'Armed otherwhile in thick-congealèd glass / When he more glib to hell below would pass'; and Marston: 'her instrument / Smooth

- Would be as loath to touch as Joseph was.
 55 One like none and liked of none fittest were,
 For things in fashion every man will wear.

To his Mistress on Going Abroad

Date and Context. 1593–6? The existence of literary analogues suggests that this is an imaginary exercise, rather than referring to an actual trip abroad. The allusions to ‘parents’ wrath, want and divorcement’, and the echo of Du Bartas in ll. 33–4, suggest that if a biographical occasion is sought for this poem it might be D.’s trip to France and Italy with Sir Walter Chute in 1605, licensed on 16 February (see Bald pp. 148–53), but his wife was pregnant with George (christened, seemingly in D.’s absence, on 9 May), so presumably impossible to disguise as a page-boy; her father’s wrath had abated long before, and ‘divorcement’, i.e., forced separation, suggests the speaker was not married to the girl.

Analogues. The idea in ll. 14, 27–41 of a woman disguising herself as a page-boy to follow her lover was common, as in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 2. 7, probably written in the late 1580s, well before this elegy. Propertius 1. 8, and Ovid, *Amores* 2. 11 attempt to dissuade a beloved woman from a dangerous voyage, but only ll. 19–21 of D.’s poem allude like them to sea and wind. D.’s inventiveness lies in introducing what R. D. Bedford, *Dialogues with Convention* (1989) p. 67, calls ‘passionate tenderness’ concerning the woman, rather than Roman cynicism.

Text. This elegy was ‘excepted’ by the licenser from the first edition. Its text in 1635 was evidently derived from a manuscript of the *Lut/O’F* subgroup of Group III, perhaps *O’F* itself. *W* provides the base text here, requiring least correction: *VD* shows that l. 46’s ‘into’, which keeps the line decasyllabic, is not unique to

framed at Vitrio’, ‘her pleasure, being hurried / In jolting coach, with glassy instrument / Doth far exceed the Paphian blandishment’ (l. 3. 32–3, 122–4).

54 Joseph] Who refused to be seduced by Potiphar’s wife, *Gen.* 39. 7–13.

55–6 Cp. the anonymous elegy misattributed in D.’s time to Tibullus as 4. 13. 5–7, Tasso (Leishman p. 81), *Go* 17–18, and the commonplace of Ovid, *Amores* 3. 4. 41–2, reiterated in such as Tilley B163, quoting R. Edwards, *Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576) [p. 59]: ‘Twixt comeliness and chastity / A deadly strife is thought to be’; Tilley H657, quoting e.g., Pettie (1581), and Florio, *Second Frutes* 12 (1591) p. ‘179’, i.e., 191: ‘He that a white horse and a fair wife keepeth, / For fear, for care, for jealousy scarce sleepeth’; and Tilley F2, quoting R. Greene, *Never too Late* (1590): ‘Such as marry but to a fair face tie themselves oft to a foul bargain.’ The sexual second meaning may account for the omission from some MSS.

56 things] sexual organs (*OED* 11c), as in Jonson, *Alchemist* 5. 1. 24. **wear]** Punning on *OED* 8b, ‘to possess and enjoy’ a woman, usually as a wife.

Heading The various headings in MS seem unauthoritative and cumbersome, and that in 1635 merely an unhelpful abbreviation, so a new one has been supplied.

W, but appears in half a dozen (less authoritative) MSS. Line 35's 'Love's/Lives' involves a problematic reading of *W*: the existence of both readings in other groups offers no help, since none of them is free from error elsewhere in the poem.

- B**y our first strange and fatal interview,
 By all desires which thèreeof did ensue,
 By our long-starving hopes, by that remorse
 Which my words' masculine, persuasive force
 5 Begot in thee, and by the memory
 Of hurts which spies and rivals threatened me,
 I calmly beg; but by thy parents' wrath,
 By all pains which want and divorcement hath,
 I conjure thee. And all those oaths which I
 10 And thou have sworn to seal joint constancy
 I here unswear, and overswear them thus:
 Thou shalt not love by means so dangerous.
 Temper, O fair love, love's tempestuous rage:
 Be my true mistress still, not my feigned page.
 15 I'll go, and, by thy kind leave, leave behind
 Thee only worthy to nurse in my mind

Sources collated: *Group I*: *H49, D, C57, Lec*; *Group II*: *DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F*; *IV*: *W; 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: On his Mistress' Desire *Dob*: ~ ~ Mistress Desiring *S96, Lut, O'F*:

On his Mistress. 1635: to be Disguised and *III* to Go *Dob, S96*: Go *O'F*: Travel

Lut: like a Page with him *Dob, S96, O'F*: with him like a Page *Lut*

3 starving] starveling *II* 7 parents'] father's *Lut, O'F, 1635*

9 those] these *H49, D*: the *III, 1635*

11 overswear] ever swear *II* 12 means] ways *Lut, O'F, 1635*

1 Cp. *Anniversary* 5, *Broken* 17–20, *Ecstasy* 53–4, *Air* 1–6. *D*. agreed with Marlowe, *Hero and Leander* 1. 174, 'Whoever loved, that loved not at first sight?' **strange]** wonderful (*OED* 10a). **fatal]** 1. destined; 2. momentous, decisive, life-determining. **interview]** sight of each other.

3 remorse] pity.

6 spies and rivals] Ovidian roles still filled by family and friends. Cp. *Jealousy* 32.

8 divorcement] enforced separation.

9 conjure] swear.

11 overswear] swear again.

12 means so dangerous] R. D. Bedford, *EIC* 32 (1982) 222–3, hears an echo of Marlowe's translation of Ovid, *Amores* 2. 11. 7–8: 'Lo, country gods and known couch to forsake / Corinna means, and dangerous ways to take.'

13 love's . . . rage] Exemplified in ll. 51–4. Cp. *Canonization* 39.

16 only] solely.

- Thirst to come back. Oh, if thou die before,
 From other lands my soul t'wards thee shall soar.
 Thy else almighty beauty cannot move
- 20 Rage from the seas, nor thy love teach them love,
 Nor tame wild Boreas' harshness: thou hast read
 How roughly he in pieces shiverèd
 Fair Orithyia, whom he swore he loved.
 Fall ill or good, 'tis madness to have proved
- 25 Dangers unurged. Feed on this flattery:
 That absent lovers one in th'other be.
 Dissemble nothing, not a boy, nor change
 Thy body's habit, nor mind's: be not strange
 To thyself only—all will spy[^] in thy face
- 30 A blushing, womanly, discov'ring grace.
 Richly clothed apes are called apes, and as soon
 Eclipsed as bright we call the moon the moon.

18 From . . . towards] My soul from other lands to thee *Lut, O'F, 1635*

28 mind's] mind *I, III, 1635*

19 move] remove.

21–3 Socrates offers as a typically over-ingenuous intellectual's rationalisation of the myth that a gust of the north wind blew Orithyia over the rocks on which she was playing and killed her (Plato, *Phaedrus* 229c).

21 Boreas'] the north wind's. Pronounced as two syllables.

24 Fall . . . good] Whether harm or benefit befall us. **proved]** undergone.

25 unurged] unimpelled. **flattery]** D. instead urges this as a truth in, e.g., *Mourning* 21, *Ecstasy* 35–6.

27 Dissemble] Actually she would be simulating a boy, dissembling that she was a girl. Bacon maintains the distinction in his essay, allowing dissimulation but disallowing simulation, so D.'s sloppiness though common (*OED* 4 is nearest in use and date) was not strictly correct or universal.

28 body's habit] clothes. **mind's]** mental habits. Grierson quotes *As You Like It* 1. 3. 118–21, Rosalind's resolve to bluff her way. **strange]** other, foreign.

30 discov'ring] revealing.

31 Richly . . . called apes] A proverb, Tilley A263, quoting, e.g., Erasmus, *Adagia* (citing Augustine and Ammianus Marcellinus), Florio, *First Frutes* (1578) f. 31v: 'Bedeck an ape with gold, and he will be an ape still'; and Puttenham, 3. 19 (1589; 1936) p. 201: 'An ape will be an ape by kind, as they say, / Though that ye clad him all in purple array.' The woman would ape men in dressing as one. Cp. also Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* 17 (Engl. B. Radice (1971) p. 88): 'As the Greek proverb puts it, an ape is always an ape even if clad in purple; and a woman is always a woman, that is, a fool, whatever mask she wears' (J. A. W. Bennett, *N&Q* ns 13 (1966) 254). Cotgrave (1611) uses 'ape' to define *femme* (*OED*).

31–2 as soon . . . as] whether . . . or.

- Men of France, changeable chameleons,
 Spitals of diseases, shops of fashions,
 35 Love's fuellers, and the rightest company
 Of players which upon the world's stage be,
 Will quickly know thee^and *know* thee; and, alas,

35 Love's *II*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *W?*, 1635: Lives *I*, *Dob*, *S96*, *W?*

37 know thee^and *know* thee; and, alas] know thee and alas *I*, *Dob*, *S96*: know thee, and no less *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

33–42 These national stereotypes were commonplace, as in the version of J. Du Bellay's *Les Regrets* quoted disapprovingly by Browne, *Religio Medici*, 2. 4: '*Le bougre italien et le fol français . . . et l'allemand ivrogne*'. Cp. Nashe, *Return of Pasquill* (1589; *Works* 1. 82), ascribing to Guillaume de Lorraine a portrayal of 'the colours of all nations: he touched the pride, the wantonness, the mutability and the mutinies of the Spaniard, the Italian, the French and the Scotchman'.

33–4 French changeability was a byword: cp. note on *War* 9. For Du Bartas, 1. 2. 221–6, the mutability of the world was

Much like the French, (*or like ourselves, their apes [interposes Sylvester]*),
 Who with strange habits do disguise their shapes,
 Who, loving novels, full of affectation,
 Receive the manners of each other nation,
 And scarcely shift they shirts so oft as change
 Fantastic fashions of their garments strange.

The close echo of Du Bartas in the obviously early *Anagram* 17–21 suggests that D. knew the French original.

34 Spitals of diseases] hospitals, i.e., full of diseases. Syphilis was known as 'the French disease': see note on *Satyre* 1 103–4. Gardner quotes *Serm.* 4. 55 (8 March 1622): 'Even spitals will give me soldiers to fight for me, by their miserable example against that sin'. **shops of fashions]** as concerned with clothes as tailors.

35 Love's/Lives] *W* is ambiguous: the second letter matches both the *o* in *love* in ll. 12 and 13, and yet, if the distant and faint dot above is contemporaneous, also matches the no more distantly but firmly dotted *i* in line 32's *bright*. The only support for reading 'Lives', however, comes from Group I, *Dob* and *S96*, which combine against Group II and *W* in ll. 28 and 37 only in error. The reading 'Love's' is supported by Group II, *Lut*, *O'F* and 1635, and agrees with the common view of the French as sophisticated practisers of the art of love. Gardner quotes in support of 'Love's' as the probable reading *Serm.* 4. 55:

If I do not fuel, and foment that sin, assist and encourage that sin, by high diet, wanton discourse, other provocation, I shall have reason on my side, and I shall have grace on my side, and I shall have the History of a thousand that have perished by that sin, on my side.

fuellers] artificial stokers. **rightest]** most absolute, most rightly called absolute.

36 the world's stage] A very common proverb in the sixteenth century: see Tilley W882.

37 quickly know thee] Life imitated art in July 1605 when the Governor of Calais arrested nineteen-year-old Elizabeth Southwell, who had fled England disguised as a page with her married thirty-two-year-old lover, Sir Robert Dudley

- Th'indifferent Italian, as we pass
 His warm land, well content to think thee page,
 40 Will haunt thee with such lust and hideous rage
 As Lot's fair guests were vexed. But none of these,
 Nor spongy^hhydroptic Dutch, shall thee displease
 If thou stay here. Oh stay here, for, for thee
 England's only a worthy gallery
 45 To walk in expectation till from thence
 Our great King call thee into his Presence.

40 haunt] hunt *III*, 1635

46 great] ~est *III*, 1635 call] do ~ *II* into] to *I*, *II*, *III*, 1635

(*Jacobean Journal* pp. 212–13), from J. T. Leader, *Life of Sir Robert Dudley* (1895) pp. 46–50, and *DNB*). Cp. Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (1907) 1. 169–70. **and know]** and have sex with.

38–41 If, as Bald pp. 51–2 hypothesises, D. had visited Italy in his late teens, he might have experienced such attentions, but see note on ll. 33–42, and cp. Nashe, *Unfortunate Traveller* (*Works* 2. 301).

38 indifferent] undiscriminating, bisexual.

40–1 such lust . . . vexed] *Gen.* 19. 1–11.

42 spongy] absorbent. Generalised oedema, due to kidney failure, is seen in some alcoholics. Cp. Portia's vow regarding her German suitor, *Merchant of Venice* 1. 2. 95–6: 'I will do anything, Nerissa, before I am married to a sponge'.

hydroptic Dutch] dropsical Netherlanders and Germans. The inhabitants of Germany and the Netherlands were infamous for their drinking: cp. the welcome given by Witemberg in Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (*Works*, 2. 247–8, 301–2). **hydroptic]** See note on *Perfume* 6.

44 England prided itself on being the only nation to have truly reformed Christianity.

44–6 a worthy . . . Presence] The reference may at first be read as to the Tudor Long Gallery, found in most great houses of the time, one of the main uses of which was to walk in for exercise during bad weather. It may be a worthy gallery for her beauty since galleries were also used for entertainments and to display pictures, usually portraits (see M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (1978; 1980) pp. 100–2), such as those in Kalander's pleasure-house: of Diana, goddess of chastity, and 'a young maid, . . . the beauty of her bestowed new skill of the painter' (Sidney, *New Arcadia* 1. 3 (1593; 1987) pp. 14–15). Finally it becomes clear that D. uses 'gallery' for an entrance-corridor in which one waits for admission, as in *Serm.* 3. 203 (7 Jan. 1621): 'This life shall be a gallery into a better room' (Gr.), and specifically that referred to in *Serm.* 4. 47, 49: 'The Heaven of Heavens, the Presence Chamber of God himself, expects the presence of our bodies. . . . Let this Kingdom, where God hath blessed thee with a being, be the Gallery, the best room of that house' (Gardner), and 4. 240 (5 Nov. 1622): 'This and the next, are not *two Worlds*; . . . This is the *Gallery*, and that the *Bed-chamber* of one, and the same *Palace*' (Gr.).

46 King] The Christian god, or, according to Carey, Love, as in *Deity*, though her possible death before his return has been obtruded into the poem in ll. 17–18.

- When I am gone, dream me some happiness,
 Nor let thy looks our long-hid love confess.
 Nor praise nor dispraise me, bless nor curse
 50 Openly love's force, nor in bed fright thy nurse
 With midnight startings, crying out 'Oh, oh!
 Nurse! Oh my love is slain! I saw him go
 O'er the white Alps alone! I saw him, I,
 Assailed, fight, taken, stabbed, bleed, fall, and die!
 55 Augur me better chance—except dread Jove
 Think it enough for me to've had thy love.

49 bless] nor bless III, 1635

His Picture

Date and Context. 1596–7? Though not necessarily describing an actual transaction, the poem may well be occasioned by departing for the Cadiz adventure or the Islands Expedition. The reference to the practice in *Woodward's Slumber* suggests the latter. D. sat for his portrait at least five times between 1591 and 1620 (Keynes, *Bibliography* (1973) pp. 372–5).

Analogues. Marotti (1986) p. 96 sees this Valediction as 'in the tradition of the medieval *cong e d'amour*' described by P. Dronke, *Medieval Lyric* (1968) pp. 127–31. The counter-genre is exemplified by *Love's War*. Unlike the latter, *Picture* does not refer to difference of sex. The beloved's portrait engraved on the writer's heart was a Petrarchan commonplace: cp. Shakespeare's Sonnet 24, Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* 1, and *Damp*.

Text. *W* appears to require least emendation, so has been adopted as the base text.

Presence] Subjects were formally received by the Monarch in the Presence Chamber, through which were reached the Privy Chamber then the Bedchamber. Cp. *Sickness* 1–3. From Shakespeare's usage it seems unlikely that this would be stressed on the second syllable, so it is another case of D. rhyming a stressed with an unstressed syllable.

47–55 dream . . . happiness, . . . Augur . . . chance] By dreaming or fearing the worst, she may bring it about, as in *Sweetest* 33–6 and *Weeping* 21–7.

49 Cp. Catullus 92. **bless/nor bless]** Group III's archetype gave in to the strong temptation to regularise the line.

52–4 I saw . . . die] Leishman suggested to Gardner a reminiscence of Virgil, *Eclagues* 10. 44–9: 'Now an insane love of harsh Mars keeps me in arms, amid weapons and opposing foes: you, far from your country, . . . ah, hard-hearted girl, gaze on Alpine snows and the frozen Rhine, alone, without me. Ah, may the frosts not hurt you! Ah, may the rough ice not cut your tender feet!' Cp. *Sweetest* 52–5, *Weeping* 19–25.

- H**ERE, take my picture: though I bid farewell,
 Thine in my heart, where my soul dwells, shall dwell.
 'Tis like me now, but I dead, 'twill be more
 When we are shadows both, than 'twas before.
- 5 When weather-beaten I come back, my hand
 Perchance with rude oars torn, or Sun's beams tanned,
 My face and breast of haircloth, and my head
 With care's rash, sudden hoariness o'erspread,
 My body[^]a sack of bones, broken within,
- 10 And powder's blue stains scattered on my skin,
 If rival fools tax thee to've loved a man
 So foul and coarse as, oh, I may seem then,

Sources collated: *Group I*: H49, D, C57, Lec, S96; *Group II*: DC, TCC, TCD; *Group III*: Lut, O'F; *IV*: W; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading 1635

6 Perchance] Perhaps *I, II, III, 1633, 1635* Sun's beams] sunbeams *I, II, III, 1633, 1635*

8 rash] harsh *III, 1635* hoariness] storms *I*: storms being *II, 1633*

1 Here . . . picture] Cp. *Woodward's Slumber* 13–14; the infatuated King to Gaveston in Marlowe, *Edward II* 1. 4. 127: 'Here, take my picture, and let me wear thine'; and Daniel, *Delia* 37. 5, giving the woman a portrait of herself in her prime: 'Then take this picture which I here present thee'. With D.'s more self-centred, one-way transaction, Gardner compares *Twelfth Night* 3. 4. 203: Olivia, besotted with a girl disguised as a boy to serve Orsino, giving a precious framed miniature of herself: 'Here, wear this jewel for me. 'Tis my picture.'

2 where . . . dwells] Attendant on the hypothesis of a 'soul' was the question of its location in the body. Cp. *Image* 2.

3 more] more like. Both will then be 'shadows', one in being his portrait (*OED sb.* 6. b), the other merely the phantom of his dead self (*OED sb.* 7). Cp. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 4. 2. 117, 122: 'Vouchsafe me yet your picture for my love, . . . And to your shadow I will make true love'; 4. 4. 115–18; *Merchant of Venice* 3. 2. 115–29; and *Macbeth* 3. 4. 105: 'Hence, horrible shadow!'

6 Perchance] Occurring elsewhere in the poems fifteen times, 'perhaps' never (Gardner).

7 haircloth] Because he has let his facial hair grow, and his chest is matted from lack of bathing (and, perhaps, grooming). Haircloth was traditionally worn by penitents and ascetics.

8 hoariness/storms] Group I's less expressive and unmetrical reading presumably arose from a defect in its archetype. 'Hoariness', likeness to frost, was the usual description of aged hair.

10 powder's] gunpowder's.

11 tax thee to've] find fault with thee for having.

12 foul] ugly.

- This shall say what I was. And thou shalt say,
 'Do his hurts reach me? Doth my worth decay?
 15 Or do they reach his judging mind, that he
 Should like[^]and love less what he did love to see?
 That which in him was fair or delicate
 Was but the milk which in Love's childish state
 Did nurse it, who now is grown strong enough
 20 To feed on that which to[^]disused tastes seems tough.'

16 like[^]and] now *II*, 1633, 1635

17 or] and *I*, *II*, *III*, 1633, 1635 delicate Σ: deliate *W* 20 that which] what *III*

On Love's Progress

Date and Context. c. 1593? Ll. 40–96 may be an expansion of Nashe's *Choice of Valentines* 99–115 (*Works* 3, 407–8). The 'Lord S.' to whom that poem is dedicated may be Lord Strange (see headnote on date of *Bed*), who became Earl of Derby on 25 Sept. 1593. See note on 79–80 for D.'s possible derogatory irony in this poem.

Analogues. *Progress* disagrees with Sidney's regretful 'The best things still must be forgotten', l. 86 of the detailed blazon in *Old Arcadia* 3. 62 (*Poems* p. 88), 'What tongue can her perfections tell?', arguing like *Mummy* that all Petrarchan elaboration is (as it were) beating about the bush, time-wasting pretence. Carew's 'Rapture' 55–78 is perhaps related. There is an imitation in *Wit Restor'd* (1658) pp. 90–1; *CH* 56–7.

13 This] The picture.

13–20 And thou . . . tough] The speaker dictates what he wants the other's response to be, implying that without such dictation it will not.

14, 15 reach] affect.

16 like[^]and love] The Elizabethans were well aware that one feeling could exist without the other: cp. Spenser, *FQ* 3. 9. 24: 'Yet everyone her liked, and everyone her loved' (*Gr.*), to which we may add Jonson's wish at the end of his lament 'On My First Son' (*Epigrams* 45): 'As what he loves may never like too much.'

18–20 Gardner cites *1 Cor.* 3. 1–2, and *Hebr.* 5. 13–14: 'For every one that useth milk is inexpert in the word of righteousness, for he is a babe; but strong meat [i.e., food] belongeth to them that are of age' (*GI*). The re-application of Scripture fittingly concludes a poem of self-pity and moral blackmail where a claimed 'judging mind's' continuing approval merits grateful appreciation. That motives for such voyages could be less than noble, including 'the queasy pain / Of being beloved and loving', is acknowledged (to a man) in *Calm* 39–42.

19 who] Love.

20 disused] unaccustomed.

Heading Gardner points out that the heading presumably appeared attached to the poem in the Group I archetype, early in the tradition, since it is given in *D* and *H49*, so may even have been D.'s.

Text. Of the traditional three Groups of MSS, III and the first printed texts are the most corrupt. Of Groups I and II, least correction is required by *D*, in ll. 42 and 66. The *farther/further* disagreement in l. 70 seems indifferent, given the random variation among MSS of the spellings. *D* has therefore been adopted as the base text for the apparatus. The poem was first printed (omitting ll. 49–52) in *Harmony of the Muses* 1654 (*HM*) in an obviously degenerate text.

WHOEVER loves, if he do not propose
 The right, true end of love, he's one which goes
 To sea for nothing but to make him sick.
 And love's a bear-whelp born: if we o'er-lick
 5 Our love, and force it new, strange shapes to take,
 We err, and of a lump a monster make.
 Were not a calf a monster that were grown
 Faced like a man, though better than his own?
 Perfection is in unity: prefer

Sources collated: *Group Ia*: *H49, D*; *Group Ib*: *C57, Lec, S96*; *Group II*: *TCC, TCD*; *Group IIIa*: *S96*; *Group IIIb*: *Lut, O'F; HM (lines 1–48, 53–96); 1669*

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading *H49, D, S96*: Love's Progress *IIIb, HM*

1 loves] loved *HM*

2 true *om. HM* end of love] end, love *HM* he's] he is as *HM* which] that *III, HM, 1669*

4 And love's] Love is *1669* 5 new, strange] ~ strong *1669*: strange new *HM*

7 that were] if't *HM*

1–2 if . . . love] J. R. Mulder, *Temple of the Mind* (1969) p. 43, points out that they would frustrate the Aristotelean maxim that all things seek to fulfil their purpose: see, e.g., Aristotle, *Physics* 2. 8 (199a8–9): 'Where there is an end, all the preceding steps are for the sake of that.'

4 bear-whelp born] Traditionally licked into shape by the mother. Cp. *Bracelet* 31 and note.

4–6 if we o'er-lick . . . make] i.e., love should be licked into the proper shape for which it was born, i.e., copulation.

6 monster] Cp. Aristotle, *Physics* (199b3–4): 'Monstrosities will be failures in the purposive effect.'

7–8 a calf . . . man] Cp. the reference by Aristotle, *Physics* (199a32), to Empedocles' 'man-faced ox-progeny'. *D*. might have come across such prodigies in A. Paré (Engl. transl. 25. 1 (1634) p. 962), who tells of and illustrates a colt with a human face born in Verona in 1254.

9 Perfection is in unity] Bungus 1 (Bergamo 1585) p. 13 declares that unity, the beginning and end of all, the similitude of God, not only contains all perfection but is itself the first perfect number (cp. 6, p. 185, on unity as the height of perfection). Jesus prayed, *John* 17. 23, 'that they may be made perfect in one'. Christians attributed both perfection and unity to their god, *Deut.* 6. 4, *Matt.* 5. 48. Cp. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 11. 3: 'Since, therefore, what is first is most perfect, . . . it must be that the first which reduces all into one order should be only

- 10 One woman first, and then one thing in her.
 I, when I value gold, may think upon
 The ductileness, the application,
 The wholesomeness, the ingenuity,
 From rust, from soil, from fire ever free;
 15 But if I love it, 'tis because 'tis made
 By our new nature, use, the soul of trade.
 All these in women we might think upon
 (If women had them) but yet love but one.
 Can men more injure women than to say
 20 They love'm for that by which they are not they?
 Makes virtue woman? Must I cool my blood
 Till I both be and find one wise and good?
 May barren angels love so; but if we

11 I, when] Or ~ *HM* may think] I ~ *HM*

13 wholesomeness] whole summes *HM* 14 ever] for ~ *III*

16 nature, use] nature's use *HM* 17 these] this *HM*

18 had] have *HM* but yet] and ~ *Sg6, HM, 1669* 21 Makes] Make *HM*

one'. Neoplatonists from Porphyry to Ficino reconciled Plato with Christian tradition, imagining a transcendent One who was the perfection of truth and goodness. **prefer**] favour.

12–13 D. posits all these properties of gold as inseparable adjuncts to its exchange value (Mulder p. 45).

12 ductileness] A word peculiar to D.: see *OED* a. 4. Cp. *Biathanatos* (1984 p. 110): 'As the Word of God hath that precious nature of gold, that a little quantity thereof, by reason of a faithful tenacity and ductileness, will be brought to cover 10,000 times as much of any other metal, they extend it so far, and labour and beat it to such a thinness as it is scarce any longer the Word of God'. **application]** workability, uses, as in leaf-form.

13 wholesomeness] curative property. See note on *Bracelet* 112. **ingenuity]** nobility, i.e., resistance to oxidation.

14 soil] tarnishing. **ever free]** never oxidised. Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 3. 6 (378b3).

16 use] usury, borrowing and lending at interest. It made easier the profitable employment of wealth. Cp. Tilley C932, quoting Florio, *Second Frutes* 12 (1591) p. 171: 'To love a fair woman is usual, and use is another nature.' By 'use' both Florio and D. mean custom, as in *Deity* 6, 'that vice-nature, custom', but add a sexual meaning, as in *Community* 12 and Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 20. 14. **trade]** intercourse, for which specifically women are supposed to be provided.

17 these] these secondary qualities.

18 but one] only one of these characteristics.

20 that . . . not they] their accidents, external qualities, not their essential purpose.

22–5 wise and good . . . beauty . . . wealth] four additional qualities matching in number gold's four in ll. 12–13.

23 barren] Because sexless: in good angels 'there are no passions of concupiscent', according to Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 59. 4. Cp. *Relic* 25–6.

- Make love to woman, virtue is not she,
 25 As beauty's not, nor wealth; he that strays thus
 From her to hers is more adulterous
 Than if he took her maid. Search every sphere
 And firmament: our Cupid is not there;
 He's an infernal god, and underground
 30 With Pluto dwells, where gold and fire abound:
 Men to such gods their sacrificing coals
 Did not in altars lay, but pits and holes.
 Although we see celestial bodies move
 Above the Earth, the earth we till and love:
 35 So we her airs contèmples, words, and heart
 And virtues, but we love the centric part.

25 beauty's not] beauties no 1669 nor wealth; he] he then *HM* 27 if he] he that *IIIb*, *HM* took] takes *HM*
 32 in] on *III*, *HM*, 1669
 35 her airs] ~ air *H49*: as ~ *Lut*: are ~ *O'F*: his heirs *HM* words] wounds *HM*
 36 centric] rend'ring *HM*

26 In Scholastic terms, from essence to accidents.

27 **her maid]** A conventional denizen of the Ovidian love-elegy, e.g., 2. 8–9. Cp. *Usury* 12, *Name* 49. The Latin for maid is *ancilla*: all other qualities are ancillary to a woman's sexuality.

27–9 **Search . . . god]** D. rewrites classical myth to suit his argument: 'No planet in its sphere or constellation in the firmament is named after Cupid. Not being a celestial god he must be presumed to be infernal' (Gardner). It is often forgotten that the names Eros/Cupid signify not 'love', the realm of Aphrodite/Venus, but its offspring (Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 3. 23 (59)), 'desire'.

27 **every sphere]** the seven spheres of the classical system which bore the Moon, Sun, and five known planets round the earth.

28 **firmament]** Ptolemy's eighth sphere, in which the fixed stars were placed. **our]** men's.

30 **Pluto]** The god of the underworld, to whom belonged all beneath the surface of the earth. **gold and fire]** Money and desire are necessary to obtain sex. The woman is not expected to get any other pleasure than payment in coin.

31–2 See, e.g., Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3. 1032–4, 1207–11; Horace, *Sat.* 1. 8. 26–34. Cp. Porphyry from Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 4. 9 (Migne, *PG* 21. 253): 'For gods infernal, bury deep, and cast / The blood into a trench' (Gr.).

34 **the Earth . . . love]** For this agricultural analogy, cp. those in *Anagram* 35–6, *Comparison* 48 and notes.

35–6, 71–3 These lines summarise the axiom, demonstration, and conclusion of the poem.

36 **centric]** central physically (cp. the Renaissance diagram of the extended human body, in which the genitals are at the centre), and also to the speaker's interest. The word had hitherto been used of Earth as the centre of the cosmos (*OED*'s first citation is of Marlowe, *Dr Faustus* 2. 3. 37/35, performed 1588–9?); now the woman's body is the lover's universe. Cp. *Mummy* 1–2.

- Nor is the soul more worthy or more fit
 For love than this, as infinite as it.
 But in attaining this desired place
 40 How much they stray that set out at the face.
 The hair a forest is of ambushes,
 Of springes, snares, fetters and manacles.
 The brow becalms us when 'tis smooth and plain,
 And when 'tis wrinkled, shipwrecks us again:
 45 Smooth, 'tis a paradise where we would have
 Immortal stay, and wrinkled, 'tis our grave.
 The nose, like to the first meridian, runs
 Not 'twixt an east and west, but 'twixt two suns;
 It leaves a cheek, a rosy hemisphere,
 50 On either side, and then directs us where

37 worthy or] swarthy nor *HM*

40 they stray that] ~ err ~ 1669: err they which *S96*

42 springes *H49, Lutae, O'F*: springs *D, Ib, II, 1669, HM* and] and of *HM*

44 'tis wrinkled] it wrinkles *HM* 46 and] but 1669 our] a *S96, 1669*

47 first] sweet 1669 48 an] the *HM* 49–52 *om. HM* 50 directs] direct *II*

38 infinite as it] the soul, which D. believed infinite (*DivM8Round* 3) in the sense of immortal (*Salisbury* 53), and for which his emblem in *Annunciation* 4 and *Harington* 105 is also a circle. Either is fitting for love which is infinite too: see *Spring* 5–6. The vulva, the soul, infinity and love may all four be represented by a circle (as might perfection and God).

41–2 For the idea of detention by her hair, cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* (1591) 103. 6–8: 'While wanton winds, with beauties so divine / Ravished, stayed not till in her golden hair / They did themselves (oh sweetest prison!) twine.'

42 springes] traps. *VD* prefers the erroneous reading 'springs' (presented by some otherwise more reliable MSS), which is nonsensical and also makes the line lack a syllable.

43 The woman's forehead was conventionally complimented in this manner.

46 wrinkled . . . grave] Paradoxically the lover's last stop, whereas usually the wrinkles themselves are called 'graves', as in *Autumnal* 13. Cp. Daniel, *Delia* (1594) 10. 2–3: 'the cruel fair, within whose brow / I written find the sentence of my death'.

47 the first meridian] 'through which Fortunate Islands Ptolemy and his followers do appoint the first meridian to pass'—Blundeville, *Description* sig. B4r. Even if D.'s geographical knowledge had advanced beyond the medieval, only the classical convention would have suited his poetic purpose. Cp. *Serm.* 7. 310 (28 Jan. 1627): 'the Fortunate Islands, the first meridian'. Since the nineteenth century, it has passed through Greenwich.

48–9 two suns . . . rosy hemisphere] The conventional analogies used by, e.g., R. Lynche, *Diella* 31. 3 (1596): 'Fair suns that shine when Phoebus' eyes are gone!'; Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* 91. 7: 'rose cheeks'; and T. Watson, '*EKATOMIAΘÍA* ([1582]) sig. A4r: 'On either cheek a rose and lily lies'; rejected by Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 130. 1, 5–6 as, in his swarthy woman's case, 'false compare': 'My mistress'

Upon the Islands Fortunate we fall
 (Not faint canary but ambrosial),
 Her swelling lips, to which when we are come
 We anchor there, and think ourselves at home,
 55 For they seem all: there Sirens' songs, and there
 Wise Delphic oracles do fill the ear;
 There in a creek, where chosen pearls do swell,
 The remora, her cleaving tongue, doth dwell.
 These and the glorious promontory her chin
 60 O'erpassed, and the strait Hellespont between
 The Sestos and Abydos of her breasts
 (Not of two lovers but two loves the nests),
 Succeeds a boundless sea, but that thine eye
 Some island moles may scattered there descry,

52 canary] Canaries *II, III, 1669*

53 Her swelling lips to which] Unto her swelling lips *1669* 54 ourselves] we are *HM*

55 there] their *C57, Lec: the ~ HM* 56 Wise Delphic] The Delphian *HM*

57 There] Then *HM, 1669* 58 her] the *TCD* cleaving] charming *HM*

59 These] That *IIIb* 60 O'erpassed and] Being past *1669* strait] Straits of *1669*

62 but] but of *II* 63 that] yet *1669*

eyes are nothing like the sun; / . . . I have seen roses damasked red and white,
 / But no such roses see I in her cheeks.'

51 Islands Fortunate] The Isles of the Blessed, where the virtuous went after death (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. 638–65), identified by, e.g., Pliny, 6. 37 (202), with the Canary Islands on account of their comfortable climate.

52 canary] Canary wine, light though sweet. It was also termed 'Canaries' as in the other groups of MSS. **ambrosial]** heavenly, out of this world.

55 Sirens' songs] Which lured sailors to their deaths (Homer, *Odyssey* 12. 39–46, 166–200; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4. 891–921; Apollodorus, *Epitome* 7. 18–19).

56 Delphic oracles] Prophecies and promises. They were often ambiguous, as for King Midas in, e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 11. 85–130.

57 pearls] The conventional metaphor for teeth: cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, 9. 6, etc.

58 remora] A sucking-fish deriving its name (in Latin meaning literally 'hindrance') from its supposed ability to halt ships: see Pliny, 32. 1 (2–6). Cp. *WottonKisses* 8–9. **cleaving]** clinging.

60–2 the strait . . . lovers] Alluding to the story by Musaeus, and, perhaps, Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*. Cp. *Epigrams*.

62 loves] focuses of desire.

63 thine] the male reader imagined as lover (not involving any change of addressee).

64 moles] Perhaps punning on skin-blemishes and the ports or piers of islands.

- 65 And sailing t'wards her India in that way
 Shall at her fair Atlantic navel stay.
 Though thence the current be thy pilot made,
 Yet, ere thou be where thou wouldst be embayed,
 Thou shalt upon another forest set
- 70 Where some do shipwreck and no farther get.
 When thou art there, consider what this chase
 Misspent by thy beginning at the face:
 Rather, set out below, practise my art.
 Some symmetry the foot hath with that part
- 75 Which thou dost seek, and is thy map for that:
 Lovely enough to stop but not stay at.
 Least subject to disguise and change it is:
 Men say the Devil never can change his;
 It is the emblem which hath figured

65 that] the *HM* 66 Shall] shalt *III*

67 thence] there *1669* thy] the *1669*

68 be] come *HM* wouldst] shouldst *1669* embayed] inlaid *HM*

70 some do] many *IIIb*, *1669* farther] further *H49, II, S96, HM, G*

71 what] what's *IIIb*: that *S96*: in *HM*

72 Misspent by thy beginning] Is much misspent, ~ *S96*: What time they lose that set out *HM*

75 thy] as *IIIb inserted*: a *HM* 79 which] that *II, III, HM, 1669*

65 India] the West Indies, i.e., America, where the Spanish-controlled gold and silver mines were, as in *Sun* 17; 'love's mine', *Mummy* 1.

66 Atlantic navel] The Azores were considered the mid-point of the Atlantic Ocean, and even, as the site of the first meridian, of the world, replacing the ancients' navel-stone at Delphi (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 'Obsolescence of Oracles' 1 (409E)). See note above on l. 47. Sidney places this mid-point of the microcosm, the navel, between the thighs in the central lines 73-4 of his 146-line analogue in *Arcadia* 3 (Ringer no. 62) to D.'s poem, but the speaker of *Progress* shows no interest in such numerological diversions.

67 thy pilot made] allowed to guide you.

68 be embayed] reach harbour.

69 another forest] her pubic hair.

73 Cp. Nashe, *Choice* l. 99 (*Works* 3. 407).

74 symmetry] similarity of shape. **foot]** In *Henry V* 3. 4. 52 Catherine is outraged by its similarity of sound to French *foute*, subjunctive 'fuck'. Cp. *Love's Labour's Lost* 1. 2. 160-1.

78 Cp. Tilley D252.

79-80 the emblem . . . Firmness] One of many significations of the foot drawn by G. P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* 35. 41 (1556) ff. 256v-7r, is that from *Pss.* 73. 2, 121. 3, of stability of mind and faith. Cp. *Ps.* 121. 3: 'He will not suffer thy foot to be moved.' (D. C. Allen, *Essential Articles* p. 104). Ironically for this poem, *Ps.* 73. 26 further reads 'Thou hast destroyed all them that commit fornication

- 80 Firmness: 'tis the first part that comes to bed.
 Civility, we see, refined the kiss,
 Which, at the face begun, transplanted is
 Since to the hand, since to th'imperial knee,
 Now at the papal foot delights to be.
- 85 If kings think that the nearer way, and do
 Rise from the foot, lovers may do so too;
 For, as free spheres move faster far than can
 Birds, whom the air resists, so may that man
 Which goes this empty and ethereal way
- 90 Than if at beauty's elements he stay.
 Rich Nature hath in woman wisely made

80 that] which *IIIb* 82 face] foot *HM* begun] began *TCC, III, HM, 1669*

83 since] then *HM* 85 that] it *HM* nearer] nearest *HM*

87 For] And *HM* 90 elements] enemies *1669*

91 woman] women *III, 1669, HM*

against thee'; nor does Allen note that according to Valeriano (1556) f. 257v, ancient philosophers said of a voluptuary given over to the softnesses of love, and of one who stood up to all other adversity but succumbed to desire, that his soul was in his foot, the most contemptible part (perhaps the ironic message of this poem). A prominent example for them was the post-Homeric myth of the vulnerability of Achilles' heel: his passion for Patroclus led eventually to his death.

81-4 'The kiss on the face is the kiss between equals. To kiss the hand is to acknowledge superiority; to kiss the knee is a sign of feudal service; to kiss the foot is a sign of total subservience' (Gardner).

82 begun] *OED* records Group I's spelling 'begonne' as a current form of the past participle, so no substantive emendation is necessary.

85-6 kings . . . foot] Vividly presented to D.'s contemporaries in the pictures of Holy Roman Emperors kissing the Pope's feet, and Pope Celestine kicking the crown off the head of the Emperor Henry VI, in J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments (Book of Martyrs)* (enl. 1576; 4th edn 1583) i. 783, 784.

85 the nearer way] the quickest way to get what they want.

87-90 Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, 2. 8-9 (289b15-290b21), recognises that the celestial spheres holding the fixed stars and planets must circle the earth at great speed to complete a circuit in a day, and for Pliny 2. 3 (6) there is no doubt that they revolve unceasingly with indescribable velocity. They could only do this because they were above the Moon and the base elements of air, water and earth beneath it. By paralleling woman's legs with the celestial medium, ether, but the series of infinite delays of the beauties of her upper half with physical air-resistance in the biosphere, D. paradoxically implies that purely carnal love is higher.

90 elements/enemies] *VD* finds no MS precedent for the error in *1669*, emphasising its unreliability.

91 Nature . . . wisely made] Cp. Landi (1593) p. 19: 'Nature, the most discreet and careful mother of all things', and *Community* 7.

Two purses, and their mouths aversely laid;
 They, then, which to the lower tribute owe,
 That way which that exchequer looks must go;
 95 He which doth not, his error is as great
 As who by clyster gave the stomach meat.

93 which] that *HM* 95 He which doth not] Who doth not so *IIIb*
 96 clyster] clysters *HM*: glysters *C57*: glister *Lec*, 1669 gave] gives *TCD*, *IIIb*,
HM, 1669

Autumnal

Date and Context. 1590s? 1608? Opinions about the date and composition derive from two ways of reading *Autumnal*: as a paradoxical encomium to amuse male readers, or as a sincere encomium of a real woman. If *Autumnal* was written simply as a paradox with no necessary personal application, like, e.g., *Anagram*,

92 purses] *OED*'s first use for pursing the mouth is from 1746. Though under *sb.* 8. b. it records the word's use from the fifteenth century to mean the scrotum, it does not record this female application. G. Williams, *Glossary of Shakespeare's Sexual Language* (1997) p. 250, detects it in *Merry Wives of Windsor* 1. 3, but the argument for such use there is perhaps strained. **aversely]** at a right angle.

93-4 On the pleasure earned from the woman's 'India' a tax must be paid, just as the East India Company gave a share of its profits to the Crown. Ejaculation was termed 'expense' (Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 129. 1-2), and the ejaculate believed to derive from an amount of blood forty times as great. See note on *Metem* 204-10, and cp. *War* 30.

96 D.'s apparent unawareness that this was a standard medical procedure suggests allusion to a particular anecdote known to his circle. For a comprehensive account of the standard composition and use of nutritional clysters, see Paré, 26. 22 (1634), pp. 1051-2, who explains: 'We use these kind of clysters to strengthen children, old and weak men, and bodies which are in a consumption.' Cp. H. Crooke, *Μικροκοσμολογία* (1615) p. 44: 'Nourishing clysters do not ascend unto the stomach, yet they are sucked by the meseraic veins, and transported unto the liver, and so sustain the body, as may be instanced in that malefactor who after he was taken from the gallow was found to be alive, and a good while sustained by such clysters when it was not possible to get anything into his stomach'. Allen (1943) 339 notes disagreement by J. Riolan, *Opera omnia* 3. 1 (1610) p. 369. **clyster]** tube used to deliver nutritious, cleansing, medicinal or purgative substances to the rectum. **meat]** food.

Heading Magdalen Herbert was never *Lady* Herbert as *Lut* and *O'F* entitle her, being plain Mrs Herbert, the dignity coming with her second marriage to Sir John Danvers in Feb. 1609. The ascription in Subgroup IIa is therefore more authoritative, though it likewise has no external support. 'Lady Chandos' might refer either to the widow of Giles, Third Lord Chandos (d. 21 Feb. 1594), who

Comparison, *Jealousy*, *Perfume*, it might date like them from D.'s time at Lincoln's Inn in the early 1590s. However, it is not in *W* (in which all the poems except *DivM/HolyS/HSW* were written before 1600), and is separately placed (among the lyrics) from the twelve love-elegies in Group I, which suggests it was not circulated with them in a Book of Elegies (though *Progress*, which no editor has doubted to be one of the group, is not among *W*'s twelve love-elegies, and *Comparison* is excluded from Group I's).

L74 and *Dal*'s heading 'Widow Her.' has been interpreted as referring to the widowed mother of Edward Herbert, who, at about thirty-one (hardly l. 44's 'ancient': Magdalen Herbert (?1568–1627) was only about four years older than D.), returned with him to live in Oxford from Feb. 1599 until 1601. Gardner concludes (p. 254): 'It has been suggested that there was a reason for Donne's visiting Oxford in 1599 when he was Egerton's secretary, for Egerton's stepson, Sir Francis Wolley (who went with Donne on the Islands Voyage and later gave him and his wife shelter), graduated in that year. It may well have been through Wolley that Donne met Edward Herbert and his mother in Oxford.' Edward was moreover a ward of Sir George More, Egerton's brother-in-law and, undreamt of by him, D.'s future father-in-law.

Although I. Walton, *Lives of Dr. John Donne, . . . George Herbert, . . .* (1670) pp. 261–2) says *Autumnal* was written when D. met Magdalen Herbert at Oxford 'near to the fortieth year of his age', i.e., c. 1611, that cannot have been, as Walton says, on the matriculation of her son Edward (1583–1648) from The Queen's College, since he matriculated from University College in 1596, but of her third son William from Queen's with her nephew Edward in July 1608, when D. had already, on Walton's own evidence, known her well for about a year (see head-note to *HerbertMMary*), and was himself about thirty-six (see H. W. Garrod, *RES* 21 (1945) 161–73, Gardner, *ESS* pp. 252–4). Were Walton's date correct, *Autumnal* would be nearer in time to *HerbertMMary*, *HerbertMPaper*, poems addressed to her by D. in the year and a half before her remarriage, rather than the early Elegies, to which, however, as Gardner remarks (p. 253), it is closer stylistically in its following of classical analogue, simplicity, and taste for paradox: 'It is a very odd poem for Donne to be writing in 1608.' The heavy end-stopping of the couplets is comparable only with *Anagram* and *Bed*. If Magdalen Herbert were to have been the subject, she was about forty in early 1609 when she married the twenty-year-old future regicide, Sir John Danvers, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry, Prince of Wales (*DNB*). The date of composition, and whether D. had a particular person in mind, rather than a theme for the display of invention, remain in doubt.

Analogues. Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 13. 4 retails the following anecdote:

King Archelaus gave a lavish banquet for his companions. As the drink flowed, Euripides drank wine very little diluted with water, and gradually became drunk. Then, as the tragic poet Agathon sat down beside him, he embraced

lived till 1623, or to the widow of William, Fourth Lord (d. 18 Nov. 1602), who lived till 23 Oct. 1624. The probable date rules out the Lady Chandos definitely known to D., Anne Stanley, the eldest daughter of the Countess of Derby, who became part of D.'s employer's household when her mother married Egerton in October 1600. Anne married the Fifth Lord Chandos in 1608, and was widowed 10 Aug. 1621.

and kissed him, even though Agathon was about forty. When Archelaus enquired if Agathon still seemed suitable to be the object of his love, he replied: 'Yes, by Zeus. It is not just spring that is excellent in handsome men: there is also autumn'.

(Engl. N. G. Wilson)

Epigrams in *Greek Anthology*, 5. 62, 258; 7. 217 (E. E. Duncan-Jones, *MLR* 56 (1961) 213–15), Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 2. 663–702, and Clément Marot's *Epigrammes* 114 (ed. C. A. Meyer 1970, p. 187), praise older women. M. Praz, *Secentismo a marinismo in Inghilterra* (1925) p. 128 notes a sonnet by Tasso to Lucrezia Borgia:

Così più vago è 'l fior poi che le foglie
 Spiega odorate, e 'l sol nel mezzo giorno
 Via più che nel mattin luce e fiammeggia.

The heading of the elegy in the Stephens MS (Harvard Ms. Eng. 966. 6, f. 93), 'A Paradox of an ould Woman', and the tone of more than one manuscript miscellany in which it appears, suggest that a seventeenth-century reader might not have taken it seriously. R. Chamberlain heads the poem 'On Age, or an Old face' in his printed anthology *Harmony of the Muses* (1654) p. 47, and A. Wright, *Parnassus Biceps* (1656) p. 118, calls it 'On an Aged Gentlewoman'. Accordingly, Marotti (1986) p. 52 thinks that *Autumnal* 'lacks the signs of direct or indirect complimentary purpose', and so is meant as a paradox. The number of lines, fifty, and the specifying of 'age' as fifty in l. 34, might allude to the supposed age of the subject, or simply be the sort of ingenuity appropriate in a paradox about age and beauty. Fifty seems too old at that time to be called autumnal: Euripides could call forty autumnal, but Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 2, implies that man's winter begins at forty. *Autumnal*'s own occasional brutality (ll. 13–18, 29–32, 37–46) has to be ignored to produce a reading that will support an anachronistic desire to hear biography in poems and to idealise the writer (though D.'s clandestine marriage shows he could seriously miscalculate what he might get away with, and be oblivious of others' sensibilities). On the tradition of the paradoxical encomium see headnote to *Anagram*. In 'To Mr C. Cotton at Nottingham' 11–12 (after 4 Aug. 1634), Thomas Pestell protests himself unworthy of the eminent man's friendship thus: 'Not such a mistress, but herself to grace, / Donne's wit-sick Muse chose an autumnal face' (*Poems*, ed. H. Buchan (1940) p. 26). Later exercises in the sub-genre include Rochester's song 'A Young Lady to her Ancient Lover'.

Text. The base text for the apparatus is *D*, which demands correction in ll. 3, 13, 23, and 26. Other differences between the inferred archetype of Group I and acceptable readings of other groups are discussed below. The collation includes *Herb* since it once belonged to the family into which a putative subject had married, though it sheds no light on the question and its text is obviously not of authoritative independent derivation. Shawcross prints *Autumnal* among the *Songs and Sonnets* (like Group I), in four-line stanzas, except ll. 37–42, though according to *VD* 2. 280, 'Among the seventeenth-century artefacts, *Autumnal* is never rendered stanzaically.'

NO spring, nor summer beauty hath such grace,
 As I have seen in one autumnal face,
 Young beauties force your love, and that's a rape:
 This doth but counsel, yet you cannot scape.
 5 If 'twere a shame to love, here 'twere no shame,
 Affection here takes reverence's name.
 Were her first years the Golden Age, that's true;
 But now she's gold oft-tried, and ever new.
 That was her torrid and inflaming time,
 10 This is her tolerable, tropic clime.

Sources collated: *H40*; *Group Ia*: *H49, D*; *Group Ib*: *C57, Lec*; *Group IIa*: *L74, Dal*; *Group IIb*: *TCC, TCD; DC*; *Group IIIa*: *Dob, S96 (lines 1–22, 25–8)*; *Group IIIb*: *Lut, O'F; Herb; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading *H40, I*: The ~ *DC, Dob, 1633, 1635*: Widow Her. *IIa*: On the Lady Herbert, afterwards Danvers *IIIb*: ~ on the Lady Chandos *S96*: no heading (apart from *Elegy*) *IIb, Herb*

1 summer] summer's *IIIb, 1635* 3 your *H40, II, III, 1635*: our *I, DC, 1633*

6 Affection here takes] ~ ~ take *H40*: ~s ~ take *DC, IIIb, 1633, 1635*: Affliction ~ ~ *Ibbe*

8 she's] they're *DC, 1633* 10 tolerable] habitable *II, IIIb, Herb, 1635*

1–2 As well as the precedents noted above as analogues, *D.* would probably know the derivative Erasmian adage that 'The autumn of the beautiful is beautiful too', thrice repeated in Plutarch, and approximated in *F. Bacon*, 'Of Beauty', *Essays* (1612). In this respect, *Autumnal* is a contribution to a debate rather than a paradox against received opinion.

2 autumnal face] Alluded to by *B. Jonson*, *Epicæne* 1. 1, in *Clerimont's* abuse of the ageing Lady Haughty, 'A pox of her autumnal face', when she keeps a man waiting 'till she has painted and perfumed and washed and scoured', though his companion *Truewit* argues (in the tradition of *D.'s Paradox 2*, 'That women ought to paint themselves') for the delightful variety of such art.

3 your/our] 'Your' agrees with 'you' in l. 4. The consistent distinction between *you/your, her/she's*, and *He* in lines 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 23, 24 assume male, heterosexual readers.

7 the Golden Age] Applying to an individual life the ideal early world of *Ovid, Met.* 1. 89–90, in which mankind was free from law and punishment because people kept faith and did right of their own free will.

8 Because it is practically incorruptible, gold repeatedly tested is unspoiled and proved genuine.

10 tolerable/habitable] This variant could be a scribe's, especially if only the last four letters were decipherable. 'Tolerable' is semantically preferable as *OED's* sense 4: 'moderate'. That the torrid zone was both intolerable and uninhabited was a commonplace of classical geography (e.g., *Pliny the Elder*, 2. 68 (172)), but fifteenth-century voyages had disproved it. As *Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy* 2. 2. 3. 1. put it: 'The torrid zone was by our predecessors held to be inhabitable [i.e., uninhabitable], but by our modern travellers found to be most temperate.' Cp.

- Fair eyes! Who asks more heat than comes from hence,
 He in a fever wishes pestilence.
 Call not these wrinkles 'graves'; if graves they were,
 They were Love's graves; for else he is nowhere.
 15 Yet lies not Love dead here, but here doth sit
 Vowed to this trench, like an anàchorite.
 And here, till hers (which must be his) death, come,
 He doth not dig a grave, but build a tomb.
 Here dwells he: though he sojourn ev'rywhere
 20 In progress, yet his standing house is here.
 Here, where still evening is; not noon, nor night;
 Where no voluptuousness, yet all delight.

13 these *H40, H49, Ib, DC, Dob, IIIb, 1633, 1635*: theses *D*: their *S96*: those *II*
 15 lies] lieth *Herb* dead here, but here] ~ ~, ~ he *S96, IIIb*: dead, here he *Herb*
 16 this] his *Ib, Herb* anàchorite] anchorite *Lecae, II, S96, IIIb, Herb*
 17 hers] her *II* 22 Where] Where's *III*: When *H49*

Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 1. 6 (1981 p. 38): 'They conceived the torrid zone uninhabitable, and so made frustrate the goodliest part of the Earth. But we now know 'tis very well empeopled, and the habitation thereof esteemed so happy that some have made it the proper seat of Paradise.' In real life, the speaker of *Calm* finds the tropics, though just habitable, hardly tolerable. Cp. *Harington* 124. **tropic**] solstitial, under the Tropic of Capricorn or Cancer, and so the warmest part of the temperate zone (not tropical in the present sense), and known to the ancients as habitable: cp. Claudian, *Rape of Proserpine* 1. 262-3. The subject of *Autumnal* is on the cusp of her torrid youth and temperate age.

11-12 Cp. *Greek Anthology* 7. 217 (Duncan-Jones).

12 'He wants his fever to turn into plague.'

13 these/those] 'These' agrees with 'here' in l. 15. **wrinkles 'graves'**] A conventional metaphor: cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 77. 5-6: 'The wrinkles which thy glass will truly show / Of mouthèd graves will give thee memory', and 2. 1-2. Gardner also quotes *Serm.* 6. 269 (Easter Day 1625): 'God would not have the body . . . varnished with foreign complexion. . . . If when they are filling the wrinkles, and graves of their faces, they would remember, that there is another grave, that calls for a filling with the whole body, so, even their pride would flow into a mortification'.

16 anàchorite] hermit confined to a fixed place. Cp. the disapproval of such dwellings in *SecAn* 169-72. The longer form of the word, closer to Greek, Latin and French, was common.

18 tomb] i.e., a worthy monument.

19-20 The image is of a monarch being put up temporarily by subjects when circulating round his kingdom, but always returning to one permanent base, as in *BulstrodeRecant* 41, *FirAn* 7-8.

19 sojourn] stay temporarily.

20 standing house] permanent residence.

- In all her words, unto all hearers fit,
 You may at revels, you at council sit.
 25 This is Love's timber, youth his underwood;
 There he, as wine in June, enrages blood,
 Which then comes seasonabliest, when our taste
 And appetite to other things, is past;
 Xerxes' strange Lydian love, the platane tree,
 30 Was loved for age, none being so large as she,
 Or else because, being young, Nature did bless
 Her youth with age's glory, barrenness.
 If we love things long sought, age is a thing

23 her Σ : his *D*, 49 25 his] is *Leche*: her *II*, *Herb*

26 enrages *H40*, *II*, *DC*, *S96*, *Herb*, 1633, 1635: enrageth *Dob*, *IIIb*: breeds *Ib*: brings *Ia*

27 seasonabliest] seasonably'st *IIIb*: seasonablest *C57*, *II*, *DC*, *IIIa*, *Herb*, 1635

28 appetite Σ : ~s *I* 30 large] old *IIIb*, 1635

23–4 Cp. 'her house was a *Court*, in the conversation of the best'—*Serm.* 8. 89 (commemoration, 1 July 1627). Although the verse-epistles show that D. was adept at praising more than one woman as fulfilling his ideals, Aubrey wrote that Danvers 'married her for love of her wit', i.e., intelligence.

25 underwood] saplings.

26 wine . . . blood] Cp. Florio, *Second Frutes* 6 (1591) p. 105: 'In June, July, and August, Touch neither women nor sweet must [new or partly fermented wine].' **blood]** passion.

29–32 A common story: see, e.g., Lodge, *Margarite of America* (1596) sig. H1r. According to Herodotus 7. 31, Xerxes adorned and assigned a guard to the plane-tree (*Platanus orientalis*) solely because of its beauty, but Aelian 2. 14 implies it was also for its great size. For its barrenness see Virgil, *Georgics* 2. 70. To praise a woman for being large and barren would indeed be paradoxical, and the latter at least seems to rule out Mrs Herbert as subject, since, although past child-bearing when she married Danvers, in her first marriage, 'transplanted young from [her father's family] by marriage, into another family of Honour, as a flower that doubles and multiplies by transplantation, she multiplied into ten Children; Job's number; and Job's distribution (as she herself would very often remember), seven sons, and three daughters' (*Serm.* 8. 87); her eldest son, Edward, was born at the beginning of 1582, when she was in her early teens, if she was forty when she married twenty-year-old Sir John Danvers in 1608 ('sixty between them'—*Serm.* 8. 88, though D.'s preceding calculation makes their joint age seventy with 'her, at so much more than forty, [as] him, at so much less than thirty'). After the death of Richard Herbert in 1596, she bore no more children, which was perhaps why, according to Aubrey, 'the Earl of Danby [Danvers's elder brother] was greatly displeased with him for this disagreeable marriage'. Landi (1593) pp. 68–75 argues that contrary to received opinion 'the barren woman is more happy than the child-bearing': 'As for the advantages that ensue by barrenness, I find so great a number of them as it is impossible for me to acquaint ye with them all' (p. 69).

- Which we are fifty years in compassing.
 35 If transitory things which soon decay,
 Age must be loveliest at the latest day.
 But name not winter faces, whose skin's slack,
 Lank as an unthrift's purse, but a soul's sack,
 Whose eyes seek light within, for all here's shade;
 40 Whose mouths are holes, rather worn out, then made;
 Whose every tooth to[^]a several place is gone,
 To vex their souls at Resurrection;
 Name not these living death's-heads unto me,
 For these, not ancient but antic be;
 45 I hate extremes; yet I had rather stay

41 several] funeral *Herb* 42 at] at the *Ila*, *III*

43 death's-heads] death's head *H49*: death-heads 1635: death shades *H40*

44 ancient] ~s *IIIb*, 1635 antic] antics *II*, *DC*, *III*, *Herb*, 1635: antiquities *H40*

34 Suggesting that the subject of the poem is fifty years old; cp. final note. Mrs Herbert was about forty in 1608, only thirty-one in 1599.

36 Because a person is nearest to decay on the last day of life.

37 **winter faces**] Human life was analogised with the succession of the seasons by Ovid, *Met.* 15. 199–233, commonly followed by, e.g., S. Daniel, *Delia* 33. 9–10, 35. 4, 37. 1–4 (1594); Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 5–6, 73. 1–3.

38 **Lank**] shrunken. Cp. Shakespeare, 2 *Henry VI* 1. 3. 132: 'the clergy's bags / Are lank and lean with thy extortions'; and the proverb, Tilley P648: 'An empty purse maketh the face full of wrinkles.' **unthrift's**] spendthrift's. **but**] only.

39 These eyes are dim with age (like those of the subject of *Anagram* 5?), and attention has turned inwards for religious consolation in default of being able to see the real world clearly.

41–2 Their souls will be perplexed by the scattering of their parts to reassemble their bodies for their resurrection. As apologist for the Church of England, D. later preached that 'God knows in what cabinet every seed-pearl lies, in what part of the world every grain of every man's dust lies'—*Serm.* 8. 98 (19 Nov. 1627).

43 Mrs Herbert's status may have put D. in mind of the proverb recorded by his grandfather J. Heywood, *A Dialogue of Proverbs*, 2. 7. 89–90 (1963) p. 160, spoken by a second husband: 'I never meet thee at flesh nor at fish / But I have a dead man's head in my dish.' Cp. Portia's protest, *Merchant of Venice* 1. 2. 49–51: 'I had rather be married to a death's-head with a bone in his mouth than to either of these!'

44 **not ancient but antic**] not venerable (as in *Taming of the Shrew* 5. 1. 66) but grotesque, as in *Richard II* 3. 2. 156–9: 'Within the hollow crown / That rounds the mortal temples of a king / Keeps Death his court, and there the antic sits / Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp.' Cp. M. Drayton, *Idea* 31. 4 (1599): 'Making withal some filthy antic face'. **antic/antics**] The singular matches 'ancient'.

45 **I hate extremes**] The speaker proclaims the classical ideal of the mean, e.g., Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 2. 6 (1106b16–1107a7), Plato, *Republic* 10 (618–19), *Laws* 7 (792c–d), then paradoxically says he would rather be morbid than infantile.

With tombs than cradles, to wear out a day.
 Since such love's natural lation is, may still
 My love descend, and journey down the hill,
 Not panting after growing beauties; so,
 50 I shall ebb on with them who homewards go.

47 natural lation] ~ station *Ib, III, 1635*: motion natural *1633*

50 ebb on] ~ out *DC, 1633* homewards] homeward *II, DC, Herb, 1633, 1635*

46 wear out] spend.

47 love's . . . lation] the planet of love's . . . motion. Venus seems constantly to decline with the Sun. For this elliptical reference to the planet cp. *Name* 38.

48 journey . . . hill] spend the rest of my life. Cp. Ovid, *Met.* 15. 227: 'the downhill path of declining age'.

50 ebb on] decline, decay, fade away. **homewards]** Proverbial, from *Ecclesiastes* 12. 5: 'Man goeth to his long home' (*BV*), i.e., the grave. Cp. W. Bond, *Pilgrimage of Perfection* (1526): 'To draw homeward toward death.' The number of lines is perhaps symbolic, given l. 34.

SATIRE

Satire

D. writes in the Latin genre exemplified in Horace, Juvenal, and Persius. The humour in D.'s first, second and fourth satires evokes Horace, who admits in 1. 4. 39–62 that his lines are like prose, and so, if their regular stress and rhythm (the norm for Latin satire after Lucilius was the dactylic hexameter) were to be broken up by reordering the words, would be like everyday talk, rather than poetry inspired by loftier themes such as war, which does not depend on metre for its quality. The unremittingly serious indignation of the third and fifth, on religious subjects, recalls Juvenal. A. F. Bellette, *UTQ* 44 (1975) 130–40, highlights D.'s inventive departures from generic tradition. D.'s roughness of metre and tone derives partly from traditional practice, partly from the prevalent confusion between the Latin *satira*, 'medley', and the Greek satyr comedy, featuring a wild creature of the woods half-man, half-goat, and so traditionally aggressive and (conspicuously) always ready for sex. The confusion, encouraged perhaps, by Horace, *Art of Poetry* 220–50, was pointed out by I. Casaubon, *De satira* (1605). Since D. espoused the older understanding of the genre's character, the titles preserve the spelling *Satyre* preferred in MS and printed editions. In addition, there was assumed to be an allusion to the planet associated with melancholy, Saturn, so that the speaker was saturnine: thoughtful, withdrawn, preferring books to people. D.'s most important vernacular predecessors in classical satire were: in Italy Ariosto, Aretino, Alamanni, Berni and Bentivoglio, and, in England, Sir Thomas Wyatt. Joseph Hall gave to be printed two books of *Virgidemianum*, *Toothlesse Satyrs* (1597), and *Byting Satyres* (1598), and in a postscript to the second wrote 'I think my first satire doth somewhat resemble the sour and crabbed face of Juvenal's, which I, endeavouring in that, did determinately omit in the rest'. D.'s satires were written at about the same time as Hall's or, some of them, just before, so either may have been the first Juvenalian satirist in English. D.'s remained in MS, so were not included in the order by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London that Hall's (reprinted), Marston's *Pygmalion* and *Scourge of Villainy*, T. M.'s *Micro-Cynicon*, and Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, among other books, should be found and burnt. It was thus with good cause that D. wrote to Wotton in c. 1600 that 'to my satires there belongs some fear' (*Bur* 308v, transcribed in Simpson 316). That the poems were sought after by connoisseurs is suggested by Jonson's *To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with Mr Donne's Satires (Epigrams 94)*, written when the vindictive Topcliffe and the Queen whose dirty work he did (see note on *Satyre 4* 216) were safely dead.

The Satires circulated as a group along with *Storm* and *Calm* in MSS such as the Harley Satires MS (*H51*), the Queen's College MS (*Q*), the Neve MS (*D16*), and the Heneage MS (*Hen*) (*IELM* 254). Some such must have been sent to Lady Bedford by Jonson with his complimentary poem (*Epigrams 94*), and seen by Thomas Freeman, 'Rubbe, and a Great Cast. The Second Bowle' 84, in *Rubbe, and a Great Cast. Epigrams* (1614; *CH* 72, Keynes 282): '“The Storm” described hath set thy name afloat; / Thy “Calm” a gale of famous wind has got; / Thy “Satires” short, too soon we them o'erlook: / I prithee, Persius, write a bigger book.'

Milgate, *SEVL* lix–lxi divides the MSS of the Satires into three categories representing three stages of composition and revision, with that containing *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal1*, *TCD* (here called 'Group B') as the author's final version, which, he guesses, was sent to Lady Bedford by Jonson. Familiarity with the printed text, always hitherto deriving from 1633, may have led him to favour its readings: he does, after all, adopt 1633 as his copy text. However, as Gardner shows in *DP*

lxii, *ESS* lxiv, *C57* and *Lec* are the furthest from the archetype in Group I, at least for those poems, and collations elsewhere show them to be more prone to error than *H49* and *D*. Grierson showed that the printer of 1633, in the words of Gardner, *DP* lxxxii, 'followed as his main source a manuscript of Group I, . . . supplemented . . . from a manuscript of Group II'. Collations elsewhere show that 1633's Group I copy was closely akin to *C57*, its Group II to *TCD*, so it is not surprising that it is their version that it gives here. 1635 tended to follow printed versions when available in 1633, supplementing it mostly from a MS closely akin to *Lut* and *O'F*, if not *O'F* itself. It is thus of no authoritatively corroborative value when *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635 agree in readings, and occasionally *O'F* and 1635. Readings of the traditional Group III, subdivisible as usual with *Lut* and *O'F* agreeing in readings presumably derived from a copyist intermediate between them and a Group III archetype, are easily explicable as variants within the capability of a scribe. For the Satires, *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F* are associated textually with collections of the Satires, *Storm*, *Calm*, *Q*, *D16* and *Hen*, which Beal does not date more precisely or earlier than 'early 17th century'. They are of little help in establishing an authoritative text. With another collection of the first three Satires, *H51*, are associated *H49* and *D* (which, for the texts of other poems, are grouped with *C57* and *Lec*, but are more reliable), and *W*. Since it is the only MS known to be transcribed by a friend of D., probably from holographs provided by D., *W* is of the highest authority.

Satyre I

Date and context. c. 1593. *H51* has written on the back 'Jhon Dunne his Satires/ Anno Domini 1593'. The speaker's situation in a 'standing wooden chest, / Consorted with these few books' is that of a student in typical accommodation, probably in Lincoln's Inn. The date is suggested by the references to performing animals in 80–1. According to a note at the end of Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller*, which parallels the 'heretofore' of D.'s l. 80 with its reference to Banks's performance 'in former days', it was finished by mid-1593, so both writers must refer to the outbreak of plague from 1592 to 1594, which prevented public performances.

Analogues. The idle student has long been a stock figure of ridicule for which there are fresh models in every age. In D.'s time, cp. his contemporary Sir John Davies, *Epigrams* (c. 1594–5), 43, 'In Publium', on a 'student at the common law' who 'Oft leaves his books, and for his recreation / To Paris Garden doth himself withdraw' for the 'filthy sports' of bear-baiting and mingling with the animals. Cp. *Lincoln* on the Inn life of 'study and play'. D.'s friend Everard Guilpin modelled *Skialetheia* 5, esp. ll. 1–36 (1974) pp. 82–7, on D.'s *Satyre 1*. See R. E. Bennett, *RES* 15 (1939) 66–72. B. Everett 247–8, 249–50, likens the two figures to the traditional pedant and zany of the commedia dell'arte, and compares the device of an imagined internal dialogue in Persius 1.

Text. The main distinction is between *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *TCD* (here called 'Group B') and the rest in varying associations. It is possible to see variants in MSS, *pace* Milgate, as scribal errors, especially in ll. 62, 63, 84. If *W*'s differences in readings from the other groups are accepted (often mere smoothings of metre, neither requiring, nor necessarily desired by the author), it needs correction only once (l. 94) in its text of *Satyre 1*, so has been adopted as the base text here.

AWAY, thou changeling, motley humorist!
 Leave me, and in this standing wooden chest,
 Consorted with these few books, let me lie
 In prison, and here be coffined when I die.
 5 Here are God's conduits, grave divines; and here

Sources collated: *Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; Q, D16; H49, D, W, H51; Group B: C57, Lec, L74, TCD; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *H49, 1633, 1635: Satyra prima Dob: Satyre S96, TCD: Satyre 2 Lut, O'F: Satyre 1^a D: Satyra 1^a W, Q: no title H51: Satyre 1st C57, Lec: Satyra L74*

1 changeling] fondling *C57, Lec, L74, TCDbe, 1633*

1–12 The speaker immediately portrays himself as withdrawn and studious, stock attributes of the saturnine or melancholy man. Browne, *Religio Medici* 2. 11, wrote that 'I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet within me. I am in no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardise of company.'

I thou . . . humorist] That D. is here engaged in an internal dialogue is suggested by his portrayal as a melancholy lover in the Lothian portrait of the 1590s, and the confession later in *HSW3Vex* to 'humorous . . . profane love'. Much later, he pertinently observes that

We make *Satires* and we look that the world should call that *wit*; when God knows, that that is, in a great part, self-guiltiness, and we do but reprehend those things which we ourselves have done; we cry out upon the illness of the times, and we make the times ill: so the calumniator whispers those things which are true nowhere but in himself. *Serm.* 7. 408 (1 April 1627)

Jonson, *Epigrams* 65, 'To My Muse', similarly enjoins the flattering, favour-begging part of himself 'Away, and leave me' (when unsuccessful). **changeling/fondling]** inconstant/foolish. Milgate assumes the change could only have been made by D.: however, the source of *C57, Lec, L74, TCD, 1633* could have been indistinct or damaged. The poem focuses on the changeability of the humorist as much as on his folly, and it is D.'s focus elsewhere, e.g., *Fatal* 33–4, written at about the same time. It is not made redundant by 'motley' any more than would be 'fondling'. **motley]** The usual multi-coloured costume of fools (see *As You Like It* 2. 7. 12–43). **humorist]** One who switches moods often from sanguine to choleric to bilious to melancholic, as excess of one of the four humours predominates.

2–4 Cp. J. Lyly, *Sappho and Phao* 1. 2. 27–9 (1584; *Works* 2. 376): 'Cease, then, to lead thy life in a study, pinned with a few boards, and endeavour to be a courtier, to live in embossed roofs.' D.'s knowledge of a student's rooms subdivided with wainscot partitioning was of course first-hand, but the play's second reprinting in 1591 might also have reinforced in his mind the image and contrast of life-styles. At Lincoln's Inn D. was chamber-fellow to Christopher Brooke: it was assumed that students reading, thinking and writing needed more privacy than when asleep, so rooms were divided between a larger one shared for sleeping and smaller ones used for study.

5 conduits] channels of communication.

- Nature's secretary, the Philosopher;
 And jolly statesmen, which teach how to tie
 The sinews of a city's mystic body;
 Here, gathering chroniclers, and by them stand
 10 Giddy, fantastic poets of each land.
 Shall I leave all this constant company,
 And follow headlong, wild, uncertain thee?
 First swear by thy best love in earnest
 (If thou which lov'st all, canst love any best)
 15 Thou wilt not leave me in the middle street,
 Though some more spruce companion thou do meet:
 Not though a captain do come in thy way,
 Bright parcel-gilt with forty dead men's pay;

7 jolly] wily *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

13 swear] ~ here *Lut*, *O'F* love] love, here, 1635 16 do *W*, *H51*, *Q*: dost Σ

6 Referring conventionally to Aristotle as *the* philosopher. Since the reconciling of his philosophy with Christian doctrine in the Middle Ages, it had been the basis of European university teaching, and any disagreement with it might be taken as an attack on Christianity. **secretary]** i.e., party to secrets.

7 jolly statesmen] presumptuous (*OED* 6; cp. *Satyre* 2 44) writers on constitutions and politics.

7–8 tie/body] P. Simpson (1943) 127–9, shows that this rhyming of a normally stressed final syllable with an unstressed extra syllable was presumably acceptable, being practised also by Peele, Chapman and Jonson. Cp. *Storm* 55–6, *DivMPart* 4–5 etc.

8 mystic body] its invisible 'body politic'.

9 gathering] Chroniclers tended merely to accumulate records: pioneer historians of modern Europe, such as Machiavelli and Camden, were concerned also to analyse the causes of events. Cp. *Satyre* 4 97–8.

10 fantastic] infecting the fancy with their illusory imaginings (a sort of poetry inferior to the realistic, according to Sidney, *Apology for Poetry*, ed. R. W. Maslen (3rd edn 2002) p. 104).

11 constant] An ironic compliment to the 'Giddy, fantastic poets': at least their texts are stabilized in printed books.

12 Grierson points out that 'headlong' is 'possibly an adverb here, going with "follow"'.
13–24 R. W. Hamilton, *N&Q* ns 26 (1979) 405–6 adduces two parallels in Castiglione's *Courtier*.

13 That the line has only nine syllables caused *Lut/O'F/1635* to insert 'here', but D. may have seen occasional irregularity as characteristic of satire's traditionally prosaic style. For the rhyming of stressed and unstressed, see Simpson (1943).

15 'A Latinism, *in media via*'—Milgate.

18 Cp. Dekker, *Newes from Hell* (1606; *Non-dramatic Works* 2. 119): 'Captains, some in gilt armour (unbattered), some in buff jerkins plated o'er with massy silver lace (raised out of the ashes of dead pay)' (Grosart). **parcel-gilt]** Bronze sculptures were sometimes partly gilded. **forty . . . pay]** Grierson quotes a passage from

- Nor though a brisk, perfumed, pert courtier
 20 Deign with a nod thy courtesy to answer;
 Nor come a velvet justice with a long,
 Great train of blue-coats, twelve or fourteen strong,
 Shalt thou grin or fawn on him or prepare
 A speech to court his beauteous son and heir.
 25 For better and worse take me or leave me:
 To take and leave me is adultery.
 Oh monster: superstitious puritan!
 Of refined manners, yet ceremonial man,
 That, when thou meet'st one, with enquiring eyes
 30 Dost search and (like a needy broker) prize
 The silk and gold he wears, and to that rate

19 Nor] Not *H51*, *Q*, *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, 1633, 1635 20 courtesy] ~ies *III*, *Q*

23 Shalt] *Wilt* *Group B*, 1633, 1635

25 better and] ~ or *O'F*, *Q*, *D*, *Group B*, 1633, 1635: ~ or for *Lut*

27 monster] monstrous *Lut*, *O'F*, *Q*, *Group B*, 1633, 1635

a letter to Sir John Norris of 1592 (*APC* 1592 p. 279), suggesting that the allowance of ten per company of a 100, fifteen for 150, and so on, Essex's own company numbering 200, had been abused. Milgate quotes M. Sutcliffe, *Practice, Proceedings and Laws of Arms* (1593) p. 320, on this abuse of muster-rolls, regarded as a perquisite. Corruption is thus implicit in the captain's splendour. For a full account of the institution, which even when legitimate did not amount to 'twenty dead men's pay', see C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (1946; 2nd edn Oxford 1966) 151–8.
19 perfumèd . . . courtier] Also satirised in *Perfume*.

21–2 This index of the status of a judge was one of the expenses of office, later notoriously indulged in by Bacon.

22 blue-coats] attendants, conventionally dressed in blue.

24 beauteous] because of his father's wealth and/or status.

25 better and/~ or] *W*'s reading preserves an allusion to the Order of Matrimony (*BCP*): 'in prosperity and adversity . . . in sickness and in health'.

26 take] Playing on the sexual sense. Intercourse was permissible if marriage were promised and intended.

27 monster] marvel. Grierson, however, understands 'monster' as an older form of 'monstrous'. Cp. *Progress* 7–8. **superstitious puritan]** Paradoxically applying in reverse the usual reformist denunciation of image-worship, transubstantiation, etc.

28 The line has eleven syllables, as often in *D*'s satires and verse-letters (Milgate cites seventeen examples). **ceremonial]** Puritans advocated a return to primitive Christian practice before the Churches devised their liturgies. Their objections presumably necessitated the *BCP*'s 'Of Ceremonies: Why some be Abolished and some Retained', and Article 34.

30 broker] secondhand-clothes dealer. **prize]** appraise, put a price on, reckon the value of.

31 silk and gold] The Crown had tried by several sumptuary laws to limit their wearing to the nobility. **to that rate]** according to that estimate.

- So high or low dost vail thy formal hat;
 That wilt consort none until thou have known
 What lands he hath in hope or of his own,
 35 As though all thy companions should make thee
 Jointures, and marry thy dear company.
 Why should'st thou (that dost not only approve,
 But, in rank, itchy lust, desire and love
 The nakedness and bareness to enjoy
 40 Of thy plump, muddy whore or prostitute boy)
 Hate virtue, though she be naked and bare?
 At birth and death our bodies naked are,
 And till our souls be unapparellèd
 Of bodies, they from bliss are banishèd.
 45 Man's first blest state was naked; when by sin
 He lost that, yet he[^]was clothed but in beast's skin,

32 vail] raise *S96, H49, D, Group B, 1633, 1635*

33 none until thou have] with none till thou hast [until th[^]hast *Dob*] *III*: none till thou hast *Q*

37 dost not only] not only dost *III*

39 bareness] barrenness *S96, Group B, 1633, 1635*

40 or *om.* *S96, Lut, O'F, 1635* 42 birth and death] ~s ~ ~s *III*

45 blest] best *Lut, O'F, H51, Q* 46 yet he[^]was] yet was he *Q*: he was *III, 1635*

32 vail/raise] To dip or 'vail' their flags was a courtesy paid to each other by passing ships. The hat of a person paying respects was not only raised but swept downward. Cp. Guilpin, *Skialetheia* 1. 64: 'Vailleth his cap to each one he doth meet' (Milgate); Jonson, *Poetaster* 3. 4. 126–7, where the braggart Capt. Tucca reckons that a mere actor should 'vail to a man of war' (Gr.). Cp. the satire of Massinger, *Emperor of the East* 1. 2. 187–92 (1632) on the 'hair's-breadth' discrimination between addressees (Milgate). **formal]** More important for ritual than for functional purposes.

33 consort] mix with.

34 in hope] with expectation of inheriting.

36 Jointures] Legal settlements of income on a spouse.

37–40 For D.'s usual homophobia, cp. *Inglor, Perfume* 61–2, *Fatal* 27–30, 33, 41, *Metem* 468–70.

38 rank] lustful, gross, loathsome (*OED* 13, 14). **itchy]** restless, urgent.

39 nakedness and bareness] Line 41 shows D. could mean both, though synonymous, to express a satirist's fervour.

40 muddy] dirty, filthy (morally). Cp. *OED* 7's quotation of H. Cross (1603): 'muddy quean'.

41 Cp. *Lincoln* 78.

42 Cp. *Job* 1. 21.

43–4 Cp. *Bed* 34–5.

43 unapparellèd] undressed.

45 Man's . . . naked] *Gen.* 2. 25.

46 he . . . skin] *Gen.* 3. 21.

- And in this coarse attire which now I wear
 With God and with the Muses I confer.
 But, since thou like a contrite penitent,
 50 Charitably warned of thy sins, dost repent
 These vanities and giddinesses, lo,
 I shut my chamber door, and 'Come: let's go.'
 But sooner may a cheap whore, that hath been
 Worn by as many several men in sin
 55 As are black feathers or musk-colour hose,
 Name her child's right true father 'mongst all those;
 Sooner may one guess who shall bear away
 Th'Infant of London, heir t'an India;
 And sooner may a gulling weather-spy
 60 By drawing forth heav'ns' scheme tell certainly
 What fashioned hats or ruffs or suits next year
 Our supple-witted, antic youths will wear,
 Than thou when thou depart'st from hence canst show

47 now I] I now *Dob, H49, D, Group B, 1633, 1635*

53 that] who *Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635* 55 colour] ~ed *III, H51, Q*

60 scheme] ~s *L74: scenes C57, Lec, TCD, 1633*

62 supple] subtle *Dob, S96, H49, D, Group B, 1633, 1635*

63 depart'st from hence] depart'st from me *Group B, 1633, 1635: departest hence III, Q* canst] can *S96, H49, D, H51, C57, Lec, L74, 1633, 1635*

50 warned . . . sins] As enjoined in *1 Thess. 5. 14, 2 Thess. 6, 7, 11.*

53–62 An analogy with the diversion to incidental targets introduced by 'sooner . . .' has been found in Juvenal *10. 219–26*, when he turns on the promiscuous, inept, fraudulent, lustful and over-charging, during a denunciation of the vanity of human wishes.

54 several] different.

55 black feathers] In fashion in Sir John Davies, *Epigrams* (c. 1594–5), 47, 'Meditations of a Gull', but in 48 '*Ad Musam*' have 'grown stale' along with 'this Muse of mine'. **musk-colour]** reddish-brown.

57 bear away] win as a prize.

58 Cp. *Lincoln 13–16, 22.* **Infant]** heiress. The claim of the Infanta of Spain, Philip II's eldest daughter, as a descendant of John of Gaunt, was advanced later by the Roman Catholic R. Parsons *et al.* in *Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of England* ('1594' [Antwerp 1595]). **an India]** great wealth, much treasure.

59 gulling weather-spy] fraudulent weather-forecaster.

60 drawing . . . scheme] making a horoscope. **heav'ns']** An elided definite article, 'th'heav'ns', may have been lost (Gr.).

62 supple-witted/subtle~] The reading of *W, H51, Lut, O'F*, fits the sense better: D. is censuring youths' easy changeability, not praising their cleverness in varying fashions. **antic]** grotesque, absurd, fantastic, ludicrous.

63 hence/me] Again, the reading in *W, H51, H49, D*, makes more sense.

- Whither, why, when, or with whom thou wouldst go.
 65 But how shall I be pardoned my offence,
 That thus have sinned against my conscience?
 Now we are in the street: he first of all,
 Improvidently proud, creeps to the wall,
 And so imprisoned, and hemmed in by me
 70 Sells for a little state his liberty.
 Yet, though he cannot skip forth now to greet
 Every fine, silken, painted fool we meet,
 He them to him with am'rous smiles allures,
 And grins, smacks, shrugs, and such an itch endures
 75 As prentices or schoolboys which do know
 Of some gay sport abroad, yet dare not go;
 And as fiddlers stop low'st at highest sound,
 So to the most brave stoops he nighest ground,
 But to a grave man he doth move no more
 80 Than the wise, pol'tic horse would heretofore,

70 his] high 1633 71 skip forth now] now step forth III 73 them] then 1633
 78 stoops] stooped Group B, 1633 nighest] nigh'st the III, H51, Lec, L74, TCD,
 1633, 1635: the nighest C57

65–6 Cp. *Satyre* 4 1–16, and a letter of June–July 1607 to Goodyer (*Letters* p. 87): 'It is sin to do against the conscience, though that err'. More seriously, in *Biathanatos* 2. 6. 8 D. follows the common opinion that 'a man is bound not to do against his conscience', however ill-informed, wrongly persuaded, negligent, or deceitful, and preaches in *Serm.* 5. 243 that 'he that sins of Ignorance, may be pardoned if he repent; but he that sins against his Conscience, and is thereby impenitent, cannot be pardoned.'

67–8 **he first . . . wall**] A courteous person would offer a companion the side further removed from the dirt thrown up by passing traffic, mud, and slops thrown out of windows. By taking it without hesitation the 'humorist' shows he considers himself socially superior. Cp. Nashe's allegation in *Have with You to Saffron Walden* (1596; *Works* 3. 76) that Gabriel Harvey 'would make no bones to take the wall of Sir Philip Sidney'.

70 Alluding to those who grant service in exchange for status alone, such as courtiers.

72 **silken**] clothed in silk. *OED*'s first citation is from 1640: 'silken coxcomb'.

painted] with made-up, rouged face, or perhaps colourfully clothed.

74 **smacks**] i.e., his lips.

77 Milgate compares the paradox concluding Gynecia's poem 'My lute' in Sidney, *Arcadia* 3 (*Poems* no. 54, p. 81): 'And lowest stops do make the highest sound'.

77–8 **stop/stoops**] Nearer in pronunciation, and so to a pun, then than now.

78 **brave**] showily dressed. **stoops/stooped**] C57, Lec, L74, TCD, 1633 are obviously wrong here, since the whole story is told in the historic present.

80–2 All three animals are mentioned by Davies, *Epigrams* 30, 'In Dacum' 5–8, 12, horse and elephant by Joseph Hall, *Virgidemiarum Six Books* 4. 2. 93–6 (1598),

- Or thou, O elephant or ape, wilt do
 When any names the King of Spain to you.
 Now leaps he upright, jogs me[^]and cries, 'D'you see
 Yonder well-favoured youth?' 'Which?' 'Yea, 'tis he,
 85 That dances so divinely!' 'Oh,' said I,
 'Stand still: must you dance here for company?'
 He drooped, we went, till one (which did excel
 The Indians in drinking his tobacco well)
 Met us, they talked; I whispered, 'Let us go:
 90 Maybe you smell him not; truly[^]I do.'
 He hears not me, but on the other side
 A many-coloured peacock having spied,
 Leaves him and me. I for my lost sheep stay;
 He follows, overtakes, goes on the way,
 95 Saying, 'Him whom I last left, all repute
 For his device in handsoming a suit—
 To judge of lace, pink, panes, cut, print, or pleat—

81–2 *om.* 1633 84 Yea] Oh III, H49, D, Group B, 1633, 1635

90 Maybe] 'T may be Dob, Group B, 1633, 1635 94 on Σ: in W, H51, Q

95 all] s'all C57, Lec, L74ae, 1633: space before all TCD

97 cut, print] print, cut Dob, Group B, 1633, 1635 panes] pane III or] and Group B, 1633, 1635

and by Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* 4. 6. 60–1 (acted 1599); and the political ape in *Bartholomew Fair's* Induction. Performing animals were a popular sight in London, most famously Banks's horse, Morocco, which from c. 1588 for about twenty years (apart from times of plague) performed in England and on the Continent, once landing its owner in prison on suspicion of witchcraft. Cp. Nashe, *Unfortunate Traveller* and *Have with You to Saffron Walden* (*Works* 2. 230, 3. 21, and McKerrow's note, 4. 266); T. Bastard's epigram on Banks's horse, *Chrestoleros* 3. 17 (1598), and many others in S. H. Atkins, *NE&Q* 167 (1934) 39–44. **81–2** The omission of these lines from 1633 may be attributed to political caution or official pressure: relations with Spain could be a sensitive matter, especially if they recalled Charles's absurd and unsuccessful visit in disguise to obtain the Infanta's hand in marriage.

84 well-favoured] good-looking. **Yea/Oh]** 'Oh' occurs in the line below, so the repetition may be attributable to the eyeslip forward of an early scribe. 'Yea' has the sense of 'Indeed'.

88 Indians] North Americans. **drinking]** smoking and inhaling. Cp. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour* 3. 2. The addiction was widespread in England from the 1570s, even being argued for on medical grounds.

92 peacock] A 'fine, silken, painted fool' as in l. 72.

93 lost sheep] Possibly referring to the parable of *Luke* 15. 4–7.

96 device] ingenuity. **handsoming]** making handsome

97 pink] decorative hole, eyelet or scalloped edge. The word later came to denote the usual colour of the flower with filled petals, *Dianthus plumarius*. **panes]** pieces

- Of all the Court to have the best conceit.
 'Our dull comedians want him: let him go.
 100 But oh, God strengthen thee, why stoop'st thou so?'
 'Why? He hath travelled.' 'Long?' 'No, but to me'
 (Which understand none) 'he doth seem to be
 Perfect French and Italian.' I replied,
 'So is the pox.' He answered not, but spied
 105 More men of sort, of parts and qualities.
 At last, his love he in a window spies,
 And, like light dew exhaled, he flings from me,

100 stoop'st] stop'st *Lut, O'F, 1635*

of different colour let into clothes. **cut**] Either (a) Fashionable style or shape (*OED* 17a); cp. Lyly, *Euphues* (1578; *Works* 1. 284): 'With costly attire of the new cut: the Dutch hat, the French hose, the Spanish rapier, the Italian hilt, and I know not what'; or (b) Ornamental slash (*OED* 20, quoting the 1563 *Homily* on 'Excess of Apparel': 'Spending his patrimony on pounces and cuts'). Milgate quotes *Much Ado about Nothing* 3. 4. 18: 'Cloth o'gold, and cuts, and laced with silver'. Cp. Nashe, *Christs Teares over Jerusalem* (1593; *Works* 2. 138): 'As many jags, blisters and scars shall toads, cankers and serpents make upon your pure skins in the grave as now you have cuts, jags or raisings upon your garments.' **print**] crimping, goffering, pleating of a ruff (*OED* 15c, earliest quotation from *Guilpin* 5. 127). **98 conceit**] idea, notion, conception.

99 Milgate compares *Satyre* 4 180–5 for the practice of courtiers selling cast-off clothes to the Theatre. **comedians**] players, actors.

101 The punctuation of this line in all texts consulted, except *W, Dob, S96, H49*, fails to make clear that this is a rapid conversational interchange.

101–3 to me . . . Italian] Cp. Nashe's portrait of an upstart in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592; *Works* 1. 169): '*Al Italianato* is his talk, and his spade-peak [a French style of beard] is as sharp as if he had been a pioneer before the walls of Rouen'; and Portia's description of the 'young baron of England' in *Merchant of Venice* 1. 2. 64–73 (c. 1596–7): 'He understands not me nor I him. He hath neither Latin, French nor Italian, . . . How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere.' 'Every satirist and epigrammatist of the period inveighs against the aping of continental fashions by Englishmen'—Milgate.

104 pox] syphilis, which broke out among both sides at the French siege of the Italian city of Naples in 1594.

105 of sort, of parts] of rank, of talents.

106 On this practice of prostitutes, see *Guilpin*, 5. 159–61: 'There in that window Mistress Minx doth stand, / And to some copesmate [lover] beckoneth her hand: / In is he gone, Saint Venus be his speed' (Milgate).

107–10 Cp. the abrupt and quarrelsome character of 'A Humorist' in H[enry] P[arrot]'s *Cures for the Itch* (1626) B3v (Milgate).

107 Hosea 6. 4, 13. 3, uses the evaporation of dew as a simile of evanescence. **flings**] dashes.

Violently ravished to his lechery.
 Many were there: he could command no more;
 110 He quarrelled, fought, bled, and, turned out of door,
 Directly came to me hanging the head,
 And constantly a while must keep his bed.

108 lechery] liberty 1633

Satyre 2

Date and Context. c. 1594. The allusions in l. 6 suggest the last quarter of 1595, when they would be acutely topical.

Analogues. Sir John Davies satirises the lover's use of law-terms more succinctly in *Gulling Sonnets* 8, aiming especially at the anonymous sonnet-sequence *Zepheria* 20, 37, 38 (1594; Krueger on Davies pp. 167, 391, 393). D. dramatises the idea in a live figure, rather than burlesquing its literary manifestation. The original sonneteer, perhaps, and Davies and D. presumably, are all writing for fellow-members of the Inns of Court: the last two's poems on this topic circulated only in manuscript during their lifetimes. C. D. Lein, *CompLit* 32 (1980) 133, n. 12 calls the poem 'a tissue of classical motifs', and details the echoes *passim*. For instance (132), the transfer in ll. 39–40 of satirical aim from Horatian ridicule of bad poets to Juvenalian rage at abuse of the law is a division in the classical tradition, exemplified in Juvenal 4 and Persius 5, and in mixing kinds of poem, introducing the addressee of the epistolary genre, D. was preceded as a satirist by Persius in his sixth. In giving a list of targets, then finding one far worse, D. resembles Juvenal 2. 18–21. Satire of lawyers who disgraced their profession was popular among Elizabethan students and laymen too, e.g., the 'libel against some Grayes Inn gentlemen & Revellers' associated with the 1594–5 *Gesta Grayorum* (Poem 180 in Rosenbach MS 1083/15; see James Sanderson, *An Edition of an Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Collection of Poems* (Rosenbach MS. 186), Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania (1960) pp. 335–46), containing names, e.g., 'Claxton . . . mongrel student youth . . . coming from his study to a wench / He straight began to court her in law French . . . When he could not his suit prevail / Went home, and studied cases in the tail'. Attorney-General Edward Coke's marriage in 1598 to an allegedly already-pregnant widow, Lady Hatton, was also mocked by the town wits such as Davies (Krueger on Davies pp. 171–6, 395–8; Chamberlain 1. 54, 84–5). Cp. the Cambridge satirical farce, G. Ruggle's *Ignoramus* (1615), an adaptation of G. B. Della Porta's Italian comedy, which was objected to by London lawyers (Chamberlain, *Letters*, 1. 587, 597–8); and the anecdote in N. L'Estrange's *Merry Passages and Jeasts* (no. 529 (1974) p. 142) of the Earl of Bedford speaking 'Bawdy in Law Termes'. The poem was refashioned by Pope (1713, ?1733).

Text. Group B, *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal1*, *TCD* (except in 104), followed by 1633, 1635 (except in 105), agree together seventeen times (in ll. 7, 8, 12, 15, 24, 27,

112 keep] keep to, stay in.

33, 40, 54 (twice), 61, 79, 87, 97, 104, 105, 108). Only the variants in ll. 40 and 79 seem likely to be D.'s own (and possibly those in 8, 12): the case against the others is made below. That the variants in 7, 27, 97 and 104 also occur in *HN* for which Drummond claims in a note to have taken the poem 'From C. B. Coppy' would, if 'C. B.' were D.'s chamber-fellow at Lincoln's Inn, Christopher Brooke, suggest that they entered the tradition quite early, which does not necessarily imply their authenticity.

- SIR, though (I thank God for it) I do hate
 Perfectly all this town, yet there's one state
 In all ill things so excellently best
 That hate t'wards them breeds pity t'wards the rest.
 5 Though poetry indeed be such a sin,
 As I think, that brings dearths and Spaniards in;
 Though, like the pest'lence or old-fashioned love,

Sources collated: *Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F, Q; H49, D, W, HN, Wed, H51; Group B: C57, Lec, L74, Dal, TCD; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *Satyre II 1633, 1635: Satyre 2^a H49, C57, Lec: Satyre 2 HN, adding in same hand after C. B. copy: Sat: 2^a W: Sat. 2th H51: Satira 2^a Q: Satyra Quinta Dob: Sat: 5 Wed: Satyre S96, D, TCD: no heading Lut, O'F, L74, Dal*

3 best Σ , *Wae: blest S96, Wbe*

4 t'wards them] toward ~ *L74, 1633, 1635* t'wards the] toward ~ *Dob, H49, D, H51, Dal, 1635: to ~ S96, Lut, O'F, Q*

6 dearths] dearth *Dob, Lut, O'F, H49, D, Q, 1633, 1635: death S96*

7 or] and *HN, Wed, Group B, 1633, 1635*

4 Cp. the conflict of pity and scorn at the beginning of *Satyre 3* (Milgate).

5–9 Though poetry . . . starved out] D.'s speaker ironically adopts the views of, e.g., S. Gosson's denunciation of playwrights, *The Schoole of Abuse . . . a Plesaunt Invective against Poets . . . and suchlike Caterpillers of a Commonwealthe* (1579) ff. 1–27v, esp. f. 32r: 'If the enemy besiege us, cut off our victuals, prevent foreign aid, gird in the city, and bring the ram to the walls, it is not Cicero's tongue that can pierce their armour to wound the body'.

6 dearths] In 1594 occurred the first of three exceptionally wet summers in succession. The price of grain was high by the end of Sept. 1594 (Stow, *Annals* (1631) p. 769; by 2 Oct. 1595 there was hunger amongst the poor in, e.g., Leics. (*APC* 1595–6 p. 7). In *Have with you to Saffron Walden* (1596), Nashe refers to 'this great dearth in England, (*Works* 3. 136). **Spaniards]** A constant threat in the 1590s, they landed in Cornwall on 23 July 1595, burning Mousehole, Newlyn and Penzance (*HMC Hatfield* 5. 290; Birch, *Memoirs* 1. 269; *CSPD* 1595–7 p. 77).

7–8 like . . . men] For likening the urge to write poetry to a disease, cp. Juvenal 7. 50–2.

7 the pest'lence] Fears of a recurrence of the 1592–3 plague arose throughout 1594. **or/and]** Indifferent.

- It riddlingly catch men, and doth remove
 Never till it be starved out; yet their state
 10 Is poor, disarmed, like papists, not worth hate.
 One (like a wretch which at bar judged as dead
 Yet prompts him which stands next and could not read,
 And saves his life) gives idiot actors means
 (Starving himself) to live by's laboured scenes,
 15 As in some organs puppets dance above

8 It riddlingly] It riddlingly *S96, Lut, O'F, H49, HN*: Riddlingly it *Group B, 1633, 1635* 12 which] who *Dob*: that *S96, Lut, O'F, HN, Wed* could not] cannot *Group B, 1633, 1635*

15 organs] organ *Lut, O'F, Group B, 1633, 1635*

8 It riddlingly/Riddlingly it] *HSW3Vex* uses 'riddlingly' in the same position as *W*, but Group B's variant increases metrical irregularity (echoing the sense) in accordance with D.'s satirical style.

10 Roman Catholics who refused to attend C. of E. services were impoverished by fines, weakened by searches, arrests, and imprisonments, and, if suspected of violent plots, were executed. Nevertheless, the government still feared possible collusion with foreign enemies.

11–30 D. dismisses five sorts of poet: playwrights (11–16), love-poets (17–20), those who write in hope of lucrative patronage (21–2), those who just follow the trend (23–4), and plagiarists (25–30). He himself wrote love-poems and (later) poems for patrons: his most prolonged treatment here is given to the first and last sorts.

11–14 One . . . scenes] D.'s example may be an imitation of Juvenal 7. 82–93 (Lein), but in his own time the labour of writing a play for a one-off payment was notoriously ill-rewarded. Henslowe paid £8 5s for one costume for T. Heywood's *Woman Killed with Kindness*, but only £6 to the author himself for writing it (*Diary* (2002) pp. 223–5). Many regarded common players as no better than rogues and vagabonds. There is possibly an allusion to Greene, who died in 1592, according to W. B. Hunter, JR., *AN&Q* 21 (1982) 6–7, but the situation was common: cp. Nashe: 'Learning, of the ignorant, is rated after the value of the ink and paper, and a scrivener better paid for an obligation than a scholar for the best poem he can make. . . . This is the lamentable condition of our times, that men of art must seek alms of cormorants, and those that deserve best be kept under by dunces, . . .' (*Pierce Penilesse, Works* 1. 158–60). Nashe died in obscure poverty c. 1601.

11–13 like a wretch . . . life] Privilege of clergy, the ability to read, could be claimed only once (as did Jonson), and was exercised by reading aloud the 'neck-verse', *Ps.* 51. 1 (aptly), obviously possible to be learnt. The 'wretch' is conceived as under his second sentence of death, his illiterate neighbour under his first.

11 bar] The rail separating off the judge's area, at which defendants stood for arraignment, trial or sentence. **judged as dead]** sentenced irrevocably to death.

12 could not/cannot] The change makes the tenses accord.

13 idiot] Incapable of writing plays themselves.

15–16 W. L[udham] of Leicester, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 42 (1772) 565 n., notes that 'The old organ at Lynn had on it a figure of King David playing on the

- And bellows pant below which them do move;
 One would move love by rhymes, but witchcraft's charms
 Bring not now their old fears, nor their old harms:
 Rams and slings now are seely battery,
 20 Pistolets are the best artillery;
 And they who write to lords rewards to get—
 Are they not like boys singing at doors for meat?
 And they who write because all write have still
 That 'scuse for writing, and for writing ill;
 25 But he is worst who, beggarly, doth chaw
 Others' wits' fruits, and in his ravenous maw

17 witchcraft's] witchcraft III, H49, D, HN, Wed, Q

22 not om. W like boys singing at doors] ~ ~ ~ door Wed, H51: ~ ~ ~ ~ a door Q: boys singing at door Lutae, O'Fae: like boys at doors singing Dob: like singers at door S96, Lutbe, O'Fbe: like singers at doors Group B, 1633, 1635

24 'scuse] excuse Group B, 1633, 1635

harp cut in solid wood, larger than the life: likewise several moving figures which beat time, &c.' The 1642 reference to such an organ in Hereford Cathedral (Milgate from *Archaeologia* 35 (1853) 332) may refer contemptuously to the choirboys.

15 organs/organ] The second version alters the meaning of 'some'.

16 bellows] D.'s variation, making them drive puppets rather than a forge, on Horace, *Sat.* 1. 4. 19–21; Persius 5. 10–11 (Lein).

17 witchcraft's charms] Innumerable rhymes were used to provoke love, as Brabantio alleges in *Othello* 1. 3. 60–1: 'She is abused, stolen from me, and corrupted / By spells': D. seems to believe they worked once. The principal works rebutting such claims were R. Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) and G. Gifford's *Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcraftes* (1593; Shakespeare Assoc Facs 1, 1931). Cp. the half-dozen superstitions listed by T. Campion, *Third . . . Booke of Ayres*, 18 (1617?).

19 Rams and slings] Such medieval siege-engines had long been made obsolete by cannon. **seely]** harmless, pitiable, feeble.

20 Pistolets] Foreign gold coins (punning on small firearms), perhaps alluding to the Spanish subsidies to the League in France and to Scotland in 1593: see notes on *Bracelet* 40–1. The same point is made in *Bracelet* 31–2: 'Pistolets / That more than cannon-shot avails or lets'. D.'s speaker implies that women are sooner won by wealth than by verse.

21 Cp. Juvenal 7. 30–1 (Lein).

22, 29, 30 meat] food.

23 Cp. Horace, *Sat.* 1. 4. 140–3; Juvenal 7. 50–2 (Lein).

24 'scuse/excuse] The change violates the metre unnecessarily.

25–6 he . . . fruits] Cp. Persius 5. 5–6 (Lein). 'Beggarly' because like those who swallow the discarded remains of others' food.

25 chaw] chew. D.'s form is preserved for the rhyme.

- Rawly digested doth those things outspew
 As his own things; and they're his own, 'tis true,
 For if one eat my meat, though it be known
 30 The meat was mine, the excrement's his own.
 But these do me no harm, nor they which use
 To out-swive dildoes, and out-usure Jews;
 T'out-drink the sea, out-swear the Litany;
 Who with sins' all kinds as familiar be
 35 As cõfessors, and for whose sinful sake
 Schoolmen new tenements in Hell must make;
 Whose strange sins canonists could hardly tell
 In which Commandment's large receipt they dwell.
 But these punish themselves: the insolence
 40 Of Coscus only breeds my great offence,

27 Rawly] Rankly *Dob, Lut, O'F, Q, Wbe, HN, Wed, H51, Group B, 1633, 1635*
 32 out-swive dildoes] outdo ~ *Q, H51, Group B, 1635*: outdo — 1633: out-lie lawyers
Dob

33 out-swear] t'outswear *Lut, O'F, Group B, 1633, 1635* Litany] — 1633: blank 1635
 34 all] of all *S96, C57, Lec, Dal, 1633*

40 great] just *Group B, 1633, 1635*

27 Rawly/Rankly] *W*'s change is presumably the result of closer inspection by Woodward, suggesting that *D.*'s own writing was ambiguous. For the possible significance of the variant's occurrence in *HN* see headnote on text. 'Rawly' suits better the image of regurgitating poorly digested fragments.

30 excrement] Used for anything coming out of the body. Cp. Nashe, *Anatomic of Absurditie* (1589; *Works* 1. 20): 'the excrements of arts . . . bought at the second hand'.

31–2 use **To]** habitually.

32 out-swive dildoes/outdo ~/outdo —] The versions rejected here obviously remove one then both sexual colloquialisms in deference to public taste. One of the earliest known written uses of *dildoes*, 'artificial phalluses': cp. *Anagram* 53 and note.

33 out-swear/t'outswear] The variant in Group B and other MSS is unnecessary, and possibly mistaken, since it violates the parallel with l. 32. **Litany]** 1633 also avoided a possible charge of blasphemy.

35 cõfessors] In this sense stressed on the first syllable until the nineteenth century.

36 The best-known example of assigning a particular place in Hell to each individual sin is Dante's *Inferno*. Cp. *Essays* 1. 3 (p. 27): 'Schoolmen . . . have invented new things, and found out or added suburbs to Hell' (Milgate). **Schoolmen]** medieval theologians, well known for making finer and finer distinctions.

37 canonists] experts in ecclesiastical law.

38 large receipt] broad remit (since there are only ten Commandments, but sins are innumerable).

40 Coscus] In Latin *coscus* denoted a maggot or grub found in wood (Pliny 17. 27 (220)). In Juvenal 5. 202, *Cossus* is a legacy-hunter. **great/just]** Group B's variant highlights the paradox that *Coscus* apparently in the service of justice should violate it, so may be *D.*'s.

- Whom time (which rots all, and makes botches pox,
 And plodding on must make a calf an ox)
 Hath made a lawyer, which was (alas) of late
 But a scarce poet. Jollier of this state
 45 Than are new-ben'ficed ministers, he throws
 Like nets or lime-twigs, wheresoe'er he goes,
 His title of barrister on ev'ry wench,
 And woos in language of the Pleas and Bench:

42 an] an an 1635 43 which was] who *Lut*, *O'F*: which 1635

44 a scarce] scarce a *Lut*, *O'F*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, 1633, 1635 46 Σ : *om.* *H49*, *D*, *W*

41–2 time . . . ox] Cp. *Return from Pamassus* 2 4. 2 (ll. 1664–5): 'When thou wert born, Dame Nature cast her calf: / Forage and time hath made thee a great ox' (Milgate).

41 makes botches pox] Turns the chancres of primary syphilis into the rash all over the body of secondary.

42 make . . . ox] Lein 138 points out that D. finds increasingly disparaging animal comparisons—calf, ox, owl, ass—and finally makes Coscus a sodomite (though it was not in connection with animals that such Protestants as John Bale had alleged it of churchmen).

43 An eleven-syllable line.

44 Jollier of] Puffed up with, presuming on. Cp. *Satyre* 1 7.

46 lime-twigs] To catch small birds for eating, twigs were smeared with a glutinous substance, the best made from mistletoe, an inferior sort from holly-bark (Gerard, 3. 28, 35 (1597) 1155–9, 1168–70).

48–57 woos . . . affidavits] Grierson quotes *Zepheria* Sonnet 20:

How often hath my pen (mine heart's solicitor)
 Instructed thee in breviate of my case!
 . . .
 How have my Sonnets (faithful counsellors)
 Thee without ceasing moved for day of hearing!
 While they my plaintive cause (my faith's revealers),
 Thy long delay, my patience in thine ear ring!
 How have I stood at bar of thine own conscience
 When in Requesting Court my suit I brought!
 How have thy long adjournments slowed the sentence
 Which I (through much expense of tears) besought!
 . . .

Even denser in legal terms is Sonnet 37:

When last mine eyes dislodgèd from thy beauty,
 Though served with process of a parents' writ,
 A supersedeas countermanding duty
 E'en then I saw upon thy smiles to sit.
 Those smiles, which me invited to a party,
 Disparpling [i.e., *dispersing*] clouds of faint, respecting fear
 Against the summons which was served on me,

- ‘A motion, lady.’ ‘Speak, Coscus.’ ‘I’ve been
 50 In love e’er since *tricesimo* of the Queen.
 Continual claims I’ve made, injunctions got
 To stay my rival’s suit, that he should not
 Proceed.’ ‘Spare me!’ ‘In Hil’ry Term I went;
 You said if I returned this ’Size in Lent,
 55 I should be in remitter of your grace;
 In th’interim my letters should take place
 Of affidavits.’ Words, words, which would tear
 The tender lab’rinth of a soft maid’s ear:

54 returned] return *Group B, 1633* this] next *Lut, O’F, Group B, 1633, 1635*

A larger privilege of dispense did bear.
 Thine eyes’ edict, the statute of repeal,
 Doth other duties wholly abrogate
 Save such as thee endear in hearty zeal.
 Then, be it far from me that I should derogate
 From Nature’s Law, enregistered in thee:
 So might my love incur a praemunire.

In his parody, *Gulling Sonnets* no. 8, Davies manages to include in an ostensible love-poem the legal terms *case, fealty, discharge, acquit, right, distrained, impounds, repleve, high sheriff, eloined, in withemam*.

48 the Pleas and Bench] The Court of Common Pleas and the Queen’s Bench (Milgate).

50 tricesimo of the Queen] The thirtieth year of Elizabeth’s reign, 17 Nov. 1587 to 16 Nov. 1588.

53 Hil’ry Term] The Common Bench session from 23 Jan. (or Mon. 24 Jan. in 1592) to 12 Feb.

54 returned/return, this/next] Group B’s variants seem indifferent, with the balance of the first slightly in favour of *W*. **’Size]** Assize, periodic legal sitting of circuit court, now replaced by Quarter Sessions. **Lent]** The legal vacation between the end of Hilary Term and the start of Easter Term, which varied from 12 April to 7 May in the 1580s and 1590s.

55 in remitter of] restored to.

57–8 Words . . . ear] Cp. Persius 5. 107–8. **lab’rinth]** Cp. Chapman’s *Hymnus in noctem* 23 (1594): ‘My words unfold / To break the labyrinth of every ear’ (Milgate). Although the cochlea or spiral cavity of the inner ear was termed ‘labyrinth’ in later seventeenth-century English, he and D. may refer to nothing deeper than the outer ear. Paré, *Œuvres* (1579 etc.), Engl. 6. 10 (1634) 189, thus describes the outer ears: ‘They have been framed by the providence of nature into twining passages like a snail’s shell, which as they come nearer to the *foramen caecum* or blind hole, are the more straitened, that they might the better gather the air into them, and conceive the differences of sounds and voices, and by little and little lead them to the membrane.’ (The 1634 diagram (p. 190) showing the semicircular canals is Johnson’s not Paré’s.)

- More, more, than ten Slavonians scolding; more
 60 Than when winds in our ruined abbeys roar.
 When sick of poetry and possessed with Muse
 Thou wast, and mad, I hoped; but men which choose
 Law-practice for mere gain, bold soul, repute
 Worse than embrothelled strumpets prostitute.
 65 Now, like an owl-like watchman, he must walk,
 His hand still at a bill; now he must talk
 Idly, like prisoners which whole months will swear
 That only suretyship hath brought them there;
 And to every suitor lie in everything
 70 Like a king's favourite—yea, like a king;
 Like a wedge in a block, wring to the bar,

61 of] with *S96, Lut, O'F, Q, D, H51, Group B, 1633, 1635*

69–70 replaced by dashes 1633 70 yea] nay *S96*: or 1635

59 Slavonians] Slavs, representative of those speaking incomprehensibly. Their languages were classified with Arabic, Turkish, Tartar, Chinese, Canadian and Icelandic by J. Dee, *General and Rare Memorials pertaining to . . . Navigation* (1577) p. 62, as 'far-foreign'. Educated Englishmen might have a smattering of French, Italian, Spanish or Dutch, but command of a Slavonic language was almost unknown. 60 Cp. Shakespeare's nostalgic reference in *Sonnets* 73. 4 to these relics of the Reformation: 'Bare, ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang'.

61 Grierson, 2. 103, partly quotes Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets* (1904) ci–cii: ' . . . "portionize", "partialize", "thesaurize", are some of the fruits of his ingenuity. He claims that his Muse is capable of "hyperbolized trajections"; he apostrophises his lady's eyes as "illuminating lamps" . . . ' **of/with**] The variant in Group B and other MSS seems unnecessary: cp *Twelfth Night* 1. 5. 86: 'Oh, you are sick of self-love, Malvolio!'

61–2 When, sick . . . mad] For this conventional joke about the *furor poeticus*, cp. *Midsummer Night's Dream* 5. 1. 12–22.

62–3 men . . . gain] R. J. Corthell, *JDJ* 6 (1987) 25–31, brings out the social division at the Inns of Court between 'gentlemen' (living off land-rents) and those like Coscus studying to acquire a (lucrative) professional education.

63 mere gain] to enrich themselves without striving for justice and equity.

64 embrothelled] in brothels.

65 owl-like] searching in the dark.

66 bill] Punning on the weapon carried by a watchman: Coscus rather is always armed with a written statement of a case.

67–8 Referring to the inclination of some debtors to claim that only unselfishness is to blame for their predicament, in this case imprisonment.

69–70, 74–5 1633 replaces these frank lines with dashes, perhaps 'made tonguetied by authority'.

71 The image seems to be of Coscus forcing his way through the solid throng in, e.g., Westminster Hall, as a wedge is driven into a block of wood to split it. **wring]** force a way (*OED* 16b). **the bar]** from which he may address the judge.

- Bearing like asses; and, more shameless far
 Than carted whores, lie to the grave judge; for
 Bastardy abounds not in kings' titles, nor
 75 Simony and sodomy in churchmen's lives,
 As these things do in him: by these he thrives.
 Shortly (as the sea) he will compass all our land
 From Scots to Wight, from Mount to Dover strand;
 And spying heirs melting with gluttony,
 80 Satan will not joy at their sins as he:
 For, as a thrifty wench scrapes kitchen-stuff,
 And barrelling the droppings, and the snuff
 Of wasting candles, which in thirty year
 (Relic-like kept) perchance buys wedding gear;
 85 Piecemeal he gets lands, and spends as much time
 Wringing each acre as men pulling prime.
 In parchments then, large as his fields, he draws

74–5 replaced by dashes 1633 77 our] the Q, 1633, 1635

79 gluttony] luxury O'Fae, Q, Group B, 1633, 1635

83 which in] within III 84 Relic-like] Relicly HN, Wed, C57, Lec, 1633, 1635
 87 parchments] parchment Lut, O'F, HN, Wed, Group B, 1633, 1635

72 Bearing like asses] Cp. Juvenal 7. 107. Elizabethan lawyers too were usually seen heavily laden with books and documents. Cp. *Taming of the Shrew* 2. 1. 199: 'Asses are made to bear, and so are you' (Gr.). Egerton punished one who submitted ten times as much as was necessary (Bald p. 99).

73 carted whores] Prostitutes displayed through the streets in a cart, as in *Taming of the Shrew* 1. 1. 55. **lie . . . judge]** Cp. Juvenal 7. 13–14, whose poet at least avoids earning a living by perjury. D. substitutes prostitutes for foreign slaves as a comparison (Lein).

74 Bastardy . . . in kings' titles] Queen Elizabeth was regarded as illegitimate by Roman Catholics, who did not acknowledge the validity of Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Pope Pius IV excommunicated her in 1570, asserting that the devout need no longer be loyal to her.

75 Simony] Buying (as Simon Magus attempts, *Acts* 8. 18–19) and selling of benefices.

78 Mount] St Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

79 gluttony/luxury] This variant in Group B and Q, changing the specific sin to lust (the definition then of 'luxury'), seems likely to be D.'s.

81 kitchen-stuff] kitchenware, utensils.

82 barrelling] putting in a barrel, as Nashe's Dame Niggardize does her nose-droppings in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592; *Works* 1. 167). **snuff]** ends, remains.

84 Relic-like] Such disrespect for popular Roman Catholic practice was not unknown in some who stayed in the Roman Church, such as Erasmus.

86 pulling prime] sitting long at primero, a card-game, to draw a winning hand of four suits.

87 parchments/parchment] The variant in Group B etc. is plainly wrong, since the simile is plural.

- Assurances, big as glossed civil laws,
 So huge that men (in our time's forwardness)
 90 Are Fathers of the Church for writing less.
 These he writes not; nor for these written pays,
 Therefore spares no length; as in those first days
 When Luther was professed he did desire
 Short *Pater nosters*, saying as a friar
 95 Each day his beads, but, having left those laws,
 Adds to Christ's prayer the 'power and glory' clause.
 But when he sells or changes lands, he impairs
 His writings, and (unwatched) leaves out 'ses heirs',
 As slyly as any commenter goes by
 100 Hard words or sense; or in divinity
 As controverters in vouched texts leave out
 Shrewd words which might against them clear the doubt.

93 When] Where 1635 97 lands] land III, H49, D, HN, Wed, Group B, 1633, 1635
 98 writings] writing S96, Lut, O'F, L74, Dal, TCD ses] his Dob, H49, D, HN,
 H51be, Dal: blank Lut

101 controverters] controversers III, H51

88 As a law-student D. would have to be familiar with such tomes, where explanation usually far exceeded the statute itself. **Assurances]** Conveyances.

89 **forwardness]** eagerness.

90 **Fathers of the Church]** Except in the Eastern Orthodox Church, the series was deemed to have concluded in the seventh century, but the title 'Doctor of the Church' continued to be conferred, e.g., in 1567 on Thomas Aquinas (whose writings are voluminous).

93-6 The inaugurator of the Reformation, Martin Luther, was previously an Augustinian Hermit or Friar. In England the doxology was not added to the Lord's Prayer until the 1662 *BCP*. Erasmus included it in his Greek New Testament (1516), though deeming it inauthentic (it derived from liturgical custom), and Luther incorporated it in his German version (1521). D. includes 'M. Lutherus, *De abbreviatione orationis Dominicae*' as no. 13 in his mock *CatLib*.

97 **lands/land]** Group B etc.'s variant is probably erroneous, since we have been led to believe that Coscus will repossess more than one mortgaged estate. For the possible significance of the variant's occurrence in *HN* see headnote on text.

98 **leaves out 'ses heirs']** Thus removing the entail (from a deed written in law French) and making it possible for him to foreclose on a mortgage or buy the land at an advantageous price.

99 **commenter]** writer of a commentary.

100-2 **in divinity . . . doubt]** A culprit well known to Roman Catholics would have been the Anglican Bishop Jewel, detected in such practices by his critics T. Stapleton and T. Harding in, e.g., Harding's *Detection of Sundrie Foule Errours, Uttered by Master Jewel* (1568). See F. Walsingham, *Search Made into Matters of Religion* (1609).

101 **controverters]** controversialists. **vouched]** quoted in support (*OED* 2c).

102 **Shrewd]** Unfavourable, damaging (*OED* 11).

- Where are those spread woods which clothed heretofore
 These bought lands? Not built, nor burnt within door.
 105 Where th'old landlord's troops and alms? In great halls
 Carthusian fasts and fulsome Bacchanals
 Equally I hate: means bless; in rich men's homes
 I bid kill some beasts, but not hecatombs.
 None starve, none surfeit so. But, oh, we allow
 110 Good works as good but out of fashion now,
 Like old, rich wardrobes. But my words none draws
 Within the vast reach of th' huge statute-laws.

104 These] Those *S96, Lut, O'F, Q, HN, Wed, C57, Lec, L74, Dal, 1633, 1635*
 105 Where] Where's *Group B, 1633* alms? . . . halls] alms, . . . halls? *1633* In great]
 In *S96, Lut, O'F, L74, Dal, 1635*: Great *C57, Lec, TCD, 1633*
 107 means bless] mean's best *Dob, S96ae*: mean's blest *S96be, 1635*
 108 but not] ~ no *Group B, 1633, 1635*: not *Q*
 109 oh,] (ah!) *HN*: (oh) *C57, Lec, TCD, 1633, 1635*

103–4 Where . . . lands] Coscus indulges in asset-stripping for immediate gain.

103 spread] extensive.

104 These/Those] The repetition from the previous line is inappropriate. For the possible significance of the variant's occurrence in *HN* see headnote on text.

105 Where/Where's] Group B's variant is inappropriate. **Where's . . . alms]** The decay of ancient hospitality was a common lament of the time. **alms? . . . halls/alms, . . . halls?]** The punctuation in *1633* (and the readings of *C57, Lec, L74, Dal1*) suggest that the great halls of rich men had disappeared, which was the opposite of the truth in the sixteenth century, with its enormous expansion of secular building, especially of 'prodigy houses'. **In great/In/Great]** Different groups of MSS contain alternate parts of this fuller reading, indicating difficulty in an early copy.

106 Carthusian] As austere as the monastic order renowned for the self-denial enjoined by their rule. **fulsome Bacchanals]** gluttonous, drunken feasts.

107 means] middle ways. Grierson quotes as the classic enunciation of this commonplace Horace, *Odes* 2. 10. 1–8.

108 but not/~ no] Group B's variant is indifferent. **hecatombs]** killing many animals.

110 Good works] Alluding to the Protestant assertion that faith alone was the sign of God's saving grace. One did not need to be a Roman Catholic to share D.'s protest: cp. Nashe's sarcastic jeremiad in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem* (1594; *Works* 2. 107, 161–2), attributing the plague to disregard of the medieval Church's Seven Corporal Works of Mercy. However, D. the Protestant preacher rejects the accusation:

To the confusion of those shameless slanderers who place their salvation in works, and accuse us to avert men from good works, there have been in this Kingdom, since the blessed reformation of Religion, more public charitable works performed, more *Hospitals* and *Colleges* erected and endowed in three-score, than in some hundreds of years of superstition before (*Serm.* 2. 234).

111–12 my words . . . laws] D. is careful to point out the political correctness of his writing.

Satyre 3

Date and Context. Mid-1590s. More serious than the first two satires, this seems likely to be written when, in Walton's words, D. 'began seriously to survey and consider the body of divinity as it was then controverted betwixt the Reformed and the Roman Church'. Milgate points out that in June 1596 D. was fighting at Cadiz for a Protestant queen against a Roman Catholic king, but that could have been inspired rather by nationalism than by religion.

Analogues. A satire sceptical of all authority is unusual, one applying that scepticism practically unknown in the early modern period. M. L. Brown (1995) p. 57 points out that, in dismissing the Roman Church's assertion of its own authority as validation of belief, D. shows he already espouses the Reformed doctrine that it is everyone's duty to 'Be busy to seek' truth, 'To stand enquiring right' by 'The mind's endeavours', not to rest in the 'idolatri' of resigning decisions to either side, 'a Philip, or a Gregory, / A Harry, or a Martin', but to go back to the source of Christianity, 'the rough stream's calm head', Scripture. Cp. W. Perkins, *Discourse of Conscience*, ed. T. F. Merrill as *William Perkins, 1558–1602, English Puritanist: His Pioneer Works on Casuistry, 'A Discourse of Conscience' and 'The Whole Treatise of Cases of Conscience'* (Nieuwkoop 1966) p. 43:

Those who do not debate their own cases lack the right and true direction of conscience out of God's word, and therefore their best actions are sins. . . . For they do these actions either of custom, or example, or necessity, as beasts do, and not of faith: because they know not God's will touching things to be done or left undone. The consideration of this point should make every man most careful to seek for knowledge of God's word and daily to increase in it, that he may in all his affairs have God's laws to be the men of his counsel.

The poem was rewritten by Thomas Parnell (1675–1718).

Text. The tradition is broadly split into what are here designated Group A and Group B. Within Group A (which includes the four MSS from what is elsewhere designated Group III, *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*) the most correct MS is *W*. Group B (*C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal1*, *TCD* followed usually by 1633, 1635) agrees as a group twenty-nine times (in ll. 2, 3 (twice), 4, 7, 14, 17, 31, 32, 33, 35, 43, 47, 53, 57, 75, 79, 80 (twice), 81, 84, 86, 88, 94, 95 (twice), 97, 99, 103), both with and against other witnesses, indicating a divergence early in transmission. Most of these variants in Group B seem to be substantive authorial revisions designed to be more expressive or, in ll. 32 and 84, improve the sense in accordance with the context. As an exemplar of Group B (though for this poem *C57*, *Lec* require as little correction), *TCD* has been chosen as base text.

KIND pity chokes my spleen; brave scorn forbids
 These tears to issue which swell my eyelids:
 I must not laugh nor weep sins, and be wise.
 Can railing, then, cure these worn maladies?
 5 Is not our mistress, fair Religion,
 As worthy of all our souls' devotion,
 As virtue was in the first, blinded age?
 Are not Heav'n's joys as valiant to assuage
 Lusts, as Earth's honour was to them? Alas,
 10 As we do them in means, shall they surpass
 Us in the end, and shall thy father's spirit
 Meet blind philosophers in Heav'n, whose merit

Sources collated: *Group A*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F (III)*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51*; *Group B*: *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal*, *TCD*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading *Satyre III 1633, 1635*: *Satyra Sexta Dob*: *Satyre. 3 Lut, O'F*: *Satyre: 3^d. H49, C57*: *Satyre D*: *Sat: 3^a W*: *Sat. 3. Of Religion H51*: *Satyr. 3 Lec*: *A Satire L74, Dal*: *Satyre 2 TCD*

1 chokes] checks 1635

2 These *Dob, S96, Q, H49, D, W, H51*: Those *Lut, O'F, Group B, 1633, 1635*

3 not] nor *S96, Lut, O'F, W, H51* sins] sin *H49, D, W* 4 Can] May *Group A*
 7 in] to *Group A, L74, Dal* first, blinded] ~, blind *S96, Q, H49, D, W, H51*:
 soul's first, *Dob*

9 honour was] ~s were *H49, D*: ~s was *W*

1 spleen] violent denunciation. **brave]** defiant.

2 These/Those] *W* expresses greater dramatic immediacy.

3 Christian stoicism forbids either extreme of scorn or sorrow, although sin must be taken seriously.

7 blinded] An epithet applied to the Jews who did not recognise the Christian revelation in *Rom. 11. 7* in sixteenth-century translations. The 'first age' was 'blinded' because it was not even able to know it, having only worldly honour to encourage virtue.

10 we . . . means] Since we have been granted the Gospel.

12 blind . . . Heav'n] Cp. *Serm. 4. 119* (Easter Monday 1622): 'Almost in every-one of the ancient Fathers, you shall find some passages wherein they discover an inclination to that opinion that before Christ came in the manifestation of his Gospel (for since that coming every man is bound to see him there), many Philosophers, men of knowledge and learning, were saved without the know-ledge of Christ' (Milgate). But for Lutherans and Calvinists salvation was achieved by faith alone, and for *D.*'s own opinion see *Serm. 2. 253* (16 June 1619): 'The visible God was presented in visible things, and thou mightst, and wouldst not see him: but this is only such a knowledge of God as Philosophers, moral and natural men, may have, and yet be very far from making this knowledge any means of salvation.' Knowledge was necessary to salvation: 'Knowledge cannot save us, but we cannot be saved without Knowledge; Faith is not on this side

- Of strict life may be imputed faith, and hear
 Thee, whom he taught so easy ways and near
 15 To follow, damned? Oh if thou dar'st, fear this;
 This fear great courage and high valour is!
 Dar'st thou aid mut'nous Dutch, and dar'st thou lay
 Thee in ships, wooden sepulchres, a prey
 To leaders' rage, to storms, to shot, to dearth?
 20 Dar'st thou dive seas, and dungeons of the Earth?
 Hast thou courageous fire to thaw the ice

14 so easy ways] ways easy *III*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51*: ways, ways easy *Q*: ways so easy *O'Fae*

17 Dutch, and dar'st] Dutch? Dar'st *Group A*

Knowledge, but beyond it: we must necessarily come to *Knowledge* first, though we must not stay at it' —*Serm.* 3. 369 (Christmas 1621). Cp. 4. 120 (Easter 1622): 'Of the ignorant, God will be ignorant.' But only a minimum was needed: 'I may have as much knowledge as is presently necessary for my salvation, and yet have a restless and unsatisfied desire to search into unprofitable curiosities, unrevealed mysteries, and inextricable perplexities. . . . I know nothing, if I know not Christ crucified' (*5.* 276, n. d.). Faith was primary: 'There is no salvation but by faith, nor faith but by hearing, nor hearing but by preaching' (*Serm.* 7. 320, 28 Jan. 1627). Good works followed inevitably on such knowledge and faith, *D.* in this following and quoting Augustine: 'Let no man presume of merits before faith; but . . . every man must know that he may be saved, and that by his own merits he cannot; and, lastly, that the merits of Christ are applied to no man that doth nothing for himself. . . . "Never to take confidence in works otherwise than as they are rooted in faith"' (*Serm.* 9. 383, n. d.) Nevertheless, *D.* was not a Lutheran solifidianist: 'Not faith itself (and yet faith is of somewhat a deeper dye and tincture than any works) is any such cause of our salvation. . . . Yet . . . when Christ finds this faith, . . . he will enlarge his mercy' (*Serm.* 10. 76, 2 Feb 162?).

13 imputed] reckoned as. For classic Protestant theology, it was the imputation of the merits of Christ that followed faith, which itself, in the *C.* of *E.* at least, depended on divine grace.

14 easy ways] Cp. *Matt.* 11. 30.

17–28 This catalogue of activities, fighting in the Low Countries, taking part in naval expeditions, diving, mining and caving, Arctic exploration, risking the Spanish Inquisition, equatorial voyaging and duelling (to indulge in all of them hardly possible for an individual), suggests *D.* is addressing the English generally, not writing an epistle to anyone in particular.

17 aid mut'nous Dutch] Many Englishmen had gone to fight in the Low Countries. The English government provided help out of political motives, not any love of the Dutch.

18 wooden sepulchres] Cp. *Storm* 45 and *War* 26–7 for this assumption (Milgate).

19 leaders' rage] Captains had power of life and death over crews.

21–4 *J.* Scodel, *MP* 90 (1993) 484 compares *HSW3Vex*: 'riddlingly distempered, cold and hot'.

- Of frozen North-discoveries, and, thrice
 Colder than salamanders, like divine
 Children in th'oven, fires of Spain, and th'Line,
 25 Whose countries limbecks to our bodies be?
 Canst thou for gain bear? And must every he
 Which cries not 'Goddess!' to thy mistress, draw,
 Or eat thy pois'nous words? Courage of straw!
 Oh desperate coward! Wilt thou seem bold, and
 30 To thy foes and his (who made thee to stand
 Sent'nel in his world's garrison) thus yield,
 And for forbidden wars leave th'appointed field?
 Know thy foes: the foul Devil (whom thou

31 Sent'nel] Soldier *Group A* 32 forbidden] forbid III, *W*, *H51*

33 foes *Group A*: foe *Group B*, 1633 whom *Dob*, *S96*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51*:
 he ~ *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635: h'is ~ *C57*, *Lec*, 1633: is, ~ *L74*, *Dal*: his, ~ *TCD*

22 North-discoveries] Such as the voyages of Cabot 1497, Willoughby and Chancellor 1553, Frobisher 1576, Davis 1585, 1587.

23 Colder than salamanders] It was anciently supposed by, e.g., Aristotle, *History of Animals* 5. 19 (552b13–16), Pliny 10. 86 (188), dismissed by Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3. 14, that the salamander could survive in fire.

23–4 divine . . . oven] Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-Nego, who refused to worship Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol, *Dan*. 3. 25. Cp. *Calm* 27–8.

24 fires of Spain] The burnings of prisoners as heretics at the behest of the Inquisition. **Line]** Equator.

25 limbecks] alembics, distillation-vessels. Cp. *Comparison* 1.

27 draw] i.e., his sword, to fight a duel.

28 pois'nous] malevolent, insulting. **of straw]** insubstantial, or phoney, like a 'man of straw' who would swear to anything.

29 desperate coward] Scodel 483 compares *Paradoxes* pp. 9, 21: 'Extremes are equally removed from the mean, so that headlong desperateness as much offends true valour as backward cowardice'; 'Between cowardice and despair, valour is engendered.'

30 his] i.e., God's.

30–1 who made . . . garrison] A usual figure in the classical argument against suicide: cp. Cicero, *On Old Age* 20 (73); Philoclea to Pyrocles in Sidney, *Old Arcadia* 4 (1973) p. 294; Spenser, *FQ* 1. 9. 41: 'The soldier may not move from watchful stead, / Nor leave his stand until his Captain bed ['bid']. . . And he that points the sentinel his room, / Doth license him depart at sound of morning drum.' For examples in John of Salisbury, Erasmus and Montaigne, see Scodel 486, n. 24.

31 Sent'nel/Soldier . . . garrison] Cp. *Ezek.* 33. 7, *Heb.* 3. 17 for the revised version, more pertinent to the poem's demand for vigilance, *Job* 7. 1 (Vulgate) and *Eph.* 6. 11–17 for the original.

32 forbidden wars] Since 'He maketh wars to cease in all the world' (*Ps.* 46. 9). *James* 4. 1–2 attributes conflict to covetousness and lust.

33 foes/foe] An error: there are in ll. 33–42, as in *DivM6Play* 14, *HSW1* Since 14 and the *BCP* Order of Baptism, three foes: the Devil, the world and the flesh.

- Strivest to please) for hate, not love, would 'low
 35 Thee fain his whole realm to be quit; and, as
 The world's all parts wither away and pass,
 So the world's self, thy other loved foe, is
 In her decrepit wane, and thou loving this
 Dost love a withered and worn strumpet; last,
 40 Flesh (itself's death), and joys which flesh can taste,
 Thou lov'st; and thy fair goodly soul, which doth
 Give this flesh power to taste joy, thou dost loathe.
 'Seek true religion.' Oh where? Myrius,
 Thinking her unhoused here, and fled from us,

35 quit] rid *Group A* 40 itself's] itself *D*, 1633

43 Myrius *Dob*, *S96*, *Q*, *W*: Mirius *Lut*, *O'F*, *H49*, *D*: Mireus *H51*: Myrreus *C57*:
 Mirreus *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635 44 here] her *1633*

34–5 would . . . realm] One of his temptations of Jesus, *Matt.* 4. 8–9.

34 'low] allow, give.

35 be quit/~ rid] be requited, repaid, in exchange [with, for thy soul]/be successful, accomplish his aim. Probably *D*'s own revision, losing the alliteration, but making the sense clearer. Cp. *Matt.* 16. 26: 'For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' In the Temptation in the Wilderness, *Luke* 4. 5–6, the Devil offers Jesus 'all the kingdoms of the world'; in *John* 18. 36 Jesus says 'My kingdom is not of this world', in 12. 31 referring to the Devil as 'the prince of this world'; throughout the Gospels the kingdom of God is Heaven, though Smith thinks the Devil would be glad to be quit or rid of the kingdom of Hell (unlike Milton's Satan, who thinks it 'Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven'). Milgate finds the sense 'obscure', and is supported by L. D. G. Ferry, *JDJ* 16 (1997) 221–7, who defends Milgate's understanding of the lines, but concludes more definitely that 'be quit' = 'be free from the earth' or 'to die'.

35–8 as/The world's . . . wane] Cp. *Metem* 5, *FirAn passim*, *Salisbury* 9–11, etc.

36 The world's all parts] All the world's parts.

40 itself's death] its own destruction. Cp. *Devotions*, 12 *Meditation*, attributing fevers, consumptions and madness to yielding to temptations: they 'proceed from ourselves, and so as we are in the plot; and we are not only passive but active too in our own destruction. . . I . . . am mine own executioner.'

43–78 The insufficient reasons for choosing a church are more briefly surveyed in *HSW2Show*.

43 Seek true religion] A quest exemplified in E. Bunny's 1584 censoring and correcting of Robert Parsons's *Christian Exercise* to make it fit for Protestants.

Myrius/Mirius/Mireus/Myrreus/Mirreus] The variety of spellings in the MSS suggests that the name was not significant to contemporary readers. The Latin *mureus* or *myrheus* denotes association with myrrh, perhaps here signifying one devoted to Roman ritual with its incense. On the other hand, an allusion to *mirror*, 'I wonder at, revere' would be apt: as Johnson observes, 'All wonder is a cessation of reason'.

44 unhoused] evicted.

- 45 Seeks her at Rome—there because he doth know
 That she was there a thousand years ago;
 He loves the rags so as we here obey
 The state-cloth where the Prince sat yesterday.
 Crantz to such brave loves will not be enthralled,
 50 But loves her only who at Genève is called
 Religion: plain, simple, sullen, young,
 Contemptuous; yet unhandsome, as among
 Lecherous humours there is one which judges
 No wenches wholesome but coarse, country drudges.
 55 Graius stays still at home here, and because
 Some preachers—vile, ambitious bawds—and laws—
 Still new, like fashions—bid him think that she

47 He] And *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 the] her *Group A*

49 Crantz *W*, *S96*: Crants *H51*, *C57*, *Lec*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635: Crates *Q*: Grants
Lut, *O'F*, *L74*, *Dal*: Grant *H49*, *D*: Morus *Dob*

53 which *S96*, *O'F*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51*: who *Dob*: that *Lut*, *Group B*, 1633, 1635

55 Graius] Grajus *Lutbe*, 1635: Grayus *Lutae*, *O'F*, *H51*, *L74*, *Dal*: Grugus *H49*, *D*

57 bid *Group A*: bids *Group B*, 1633, 1635

46 Protestants saw the doctrines, institutions and ceremonies invented for the Roman Church after the death of the last authoritative western Church Father, Isidore of Seville, in 636 CE as inauthentic.

47 **the/her]** The revision removes any absurd suggestion that it is the Queen's rags which are left behind and adored.

48 **state-cloth]** throne. Milgate quotes from Walton's *Lives* a letter from D. to Mrs Herbert: 'Your memory is a State-cloth and Presence, which I reverence though you be away.'

49 **Crantz]** Grierson prefers *W*'s spelling to Σ 's 'Crants' as being of Dutch character, assuming that D. 'has in view the "schismatics of Amsterdam"' (*Will* 20–1).

brave] showily dressed. **enthralled]** enslaved.

50 **Geneva]** The centre of Calvinism.

54 **wholesome]** uninfected with venereal disease.

55–62 **Graius . . . values]** Scodel 487–8 points out that in accepting both deference and novelty Graius manages to combine the faults of Myrius and Crantz, and that like the Greek denounced by Juvenal 3. 73–80, 100–6, he merely mimics his superiors.

55 **Graius]** Poetic Latin for 'Greek'.

56 **ambitious bawds]** procurers for the sake of their own gain, promotion. Echoed by Jonson, *Catiline his Conspiracy* Act 2 Chorus: 'Ambition's bawds'.

57 **Still new]** Constantly changing. Acts against Popish Recusants and Seditious Sectaries were published in 1593; J. R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents A.D. 1485–1603* (2nd edn, Cambridge (1930) pp. 159–63, 197–201). **like fashions]** Fashion itself is a frequent target: cp. *Satyre* 1 61–2, and *Jet* 8: 'I'm cheap, and nought but fashion: fling me away.' **bid/~s]** A mistaken change in *Group B*.

- Which dwells with us is only perfect, he
 Embraceth her whom his godfathers will
 60 Tender to him, being tender, as wards still
 Take such wives as their guardians offer, or
 Pay values. Careless Phrygius doth abhor
 All, because all cannot be good, as one,
 Knowing some women whores, dares marry none.
 65 Gracchus loves all as one, and thinks that so,
 As women do in divers countries go
 In divers habits, yet are still one kind,
 So doth, so is Religion; and this blind-

62 Phrygius] Phrigius *Lut*, *O'F*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal*: Phrygas *W*: Prigas *H51*

65 Gracchus] Graccus *Q*, *W*, *H51*: Grattus *H49*, *D*

62 Pay values] The feudal guardian of a ward was entitled to compensation if a marriage financially beneficial to him was refused. The Earl of Southampton's rejection of a granddaughter of Burghley was rumoured to have cost him £5,000. As has been observed, marriages between wealthy, powerful or titled families were legally and financially constructed like the mergers between large corporations today. Milgate directs to *OED* value *sb.* I. 1. c, valour 3. d, which quotes the definition of 'Valour of Marriage' in J. Cowell, *Interpreter* (1607) as 'a writ that lieth for the lord having proffered covenable [suitable] marriage to the infant, without disparagement, against the infant, coming to his years, if he refuse to take the lord's offer. And it is to recover the value of the marriage.' Coke painstakingly listed possible 'disparagements', such as lunacy, descent tainted by felony or treason, bastardy, deformity, disability, chronic disease, and impotence. See J. Hurstfield, *Queen's Wards* (1958) pp. 99, 138–43. Milgate points out that recusants had to pay fines under the 1559 Act of Uniformity if they did not attend their parish church as the ecclesiastical authorities, 'godfathers', ordered.

62–8 Careless . . . Religion] Phrygius and Gracchus do not bother to discriminate.

62–3 Careless . . . good] Cp. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* 3. 4. 2. 1, on those who 'infer that, if there be so many sects, and denied by the rest, why may they not all be false?' (Milgate.)

62 Phrygius] 'the Trojan': perhaps a reference to Paris, the notorious abductor of Helen, termed *Phrygius* . . . *raptor* by Statius, *Silvae* 5. 1. 57. Alternatively, Juvenal 2. 115–16 refers to the Phrygian cult of Cybele, whose devotees castrated themselves, and thus would not care to marry any women. *W*, *H51*'s '~gas' may have been caused partly by an apparently closed loop on the *u*-.

65 Gracchus] Juvenal 2. 117–25, 143–8 and 8. 199–210, tells how Gracchus, priest of Mars, takes part in a marriage ceremony as the bride, and (perhaps another member of the ancient noble family) degrades himself in gladiatorial combat. He represents those who do not make distinctions.

68–9 blind-ness . . . breeds] Cp. *Germany* 26–8, and *Acts* 22. 11, *Rape of Lucrece* 375, *Love's Labours Lost* 1. 1. 83. Such splitting of a word between lines may be found in classical verse, as well as *Satyre* 4 13–14, 104–5.

- ness too much light breeds; but unmovèd thou
 70 Of force must one, and, forced, but one allow;
 And the right; ask thy father which is she,
 Let him ask his: though Truth and Falsehood be
 Near twins, yet Truth a little elder is.
 Be busy to seek her; believe me this:
 75 He's not of none, nor worst, that seeks the best.
 T'adore or scorn an image, or protest,
 May all be bad: doubt wisely. In strange way,
 To stand enquiring right is not to stray,
 To sleep, or run wrong, is. On a huge hill,

75 that] which *Dob*, *S96*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51* 79 huge] high *Group A*

69 unmovèd] independently.

69–70 thou . . . allow] Neither Phrygius' disengagement nor Gracchus' all-embracing ecumenism were allowed by Elizabethan law, which classified subjects as loyal members of the Church of England or 'popish' or 'puritan' recusants.

70 of force] necessarily.

71–3 ask thy father . . . elder is] Though this is similar to the approaches of Mirreus and Graius denounced in 43–6, 55–61, it is supplemented by independent enquiry. Cp. *Deut.* 32. 7 (Milgate).

75 The emphasis is on seeking.

76 protest] be a Protestant.

77–8 doubt . . . stray] Cp. J. Owen, *Epigrammata* (1607), 'Ad Arbellam Stuart' no. 221, 'Opiniaster': 'Qui dubitat, non errat; adhuc in utrumque paratus; / Error opinando, non dubitando venit' ('Whoever doubts, does not err; he is still ready for either possibility; / Error comes from holding an opinion, not from doubting'); and D.'s endorsement of doubt when preaching to the lawyers and students of Lincoln's Inn:

To come to a doubt and to a debatement in any religious duty is the voice of God in our conscience. Would you know the truth? Doubt, and then you will enquire. . . . says S. Chrysostom, 'As no man resolves of anything wisely, firmly, safely of which he never doubted, never debated, so neither doth God withdraw a resolution from any man that doubts with an humble purpose to settle his own faith, and not with a wrangling purpose to shake another man's' (*Serm.* 5. 38).

Cp. *Serm.* 6. 69 (Easter 1624): 'A man may stand upon the way, and enquire, and then proceed in the way, if he be right, or to the way, if he be wrong; but when he is fallen, and lies still, he proceeds no farther, enquires no farther' (Milgate). Montaigne, *Essays* 1. 25 (1928) 1. 156, quotes Dante, *Inferno* 12. 48: '*Che non men che saper dubbiar m'aggrada*', Engl. Florio as 'No less it pleaseth me / To doubt, than wise to be.'

77 In strange way] On an unfamiliar road.

79 To sleep . . . wrong] Cp. Jonson, *Forest* 13, 'Ode. To Sir William Sidney, on his Birthday': 'he doth lack / Of going back Little, whose will / Doth urge him to run wrong, or to stand still'. **huge/high]** The revision emphasises the difficulty of the climb.

80 Craggèd and steep, Truth stands, and he that will
Reach her, about must, and about go,

80 Craggèd] Ragged *III*, *H49*, *D*, *W*: Rugged *H51*, *Q* stands] dwells *Group A*
81 her] it *Dob*, *S96*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51* go] must go *Lut*, *O'Fae*, 1633, 1635

79–81 On a huge hill . . . go] Cp. Lucretius 2. 7–13. Milgate *SEVL* quotes many analogues, most personifying Virtue rather than Truth, e.g., Hesiod, *Works and Days* 286–92, and Cebes, who makes Truth one of the daughters of Education, who dwells high on a steep hill. The inspiration for this image could have been Holbein's engraved title-page for the 1521 edition of Erasmus' revised edition of the Greek New Testament. On Holbein's hill, a zigzag path leads up to 'Arx verae foelicitatis', the Citadel of True Happiness, while *Veritas*, Truth, stands among the lesser figures on the level below. The title-page was reworked by Holbein himself and others for, e.g., Augustine, *De civitate Dei* (Basle 1522), Strabo's Greek geography (1523) and a Greek dictionary (1525; see A. B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger* (1913) 1. 193–5). Cp. M. Merian's frontispiece for a 1638 edition of Cebes, and see R. Schleier, *Tabula Ceбетis* (1973) pll. 3–10, 60. A minor possible analogue is noted by H. Dubrow Ousby, *N&Q* 222 (1977) 144–5, in Seneca, *Moral epistles* 84. 13. On 1 April 1627, D. assured King Charles that 'this is not God's ordinary way, to be whispering of secrets. . . . And, for publication of himself here by the way, he hath constituted a Church in a visibility, in an eminency, "as a city upon a hill [Matt. 5. 14]"' (*Serm.* 7. 396). But cp. Montaigne, *Essays* 1. 25 (1928) 1. 170: 'Virtue, . . . as the school saith, is not pitched on the top of an high, steepy, or inaccessible hill, for they that have come unto her affirm that, clean contrary, she holds her mansion in a fair, flourishing, and pleasant plain'.

79–80 On a huge . . . stands] In addition to the closer analogues cited above, B. Richards, *N&Q* 225 (1980) 161, points to the emblem of G. Whitney p. 40, whose Hercules makes his famous Choice at an urban crossroads, but is enjoined by Alcides in the explanatory verses to 'ascend that steep and craggy hill, / The top whereof whoso attains is sure / For his reward to have a crown of fame.' It is perhaps in reminiscence of D.'s lines that John Davies of Hereford, *Scourge of Folly* [1611], wrote Epigram 97, 'To the no less ingenious than ingenuous Mr John Dun': 'Dunne is the mouse (they say) and thou art Dunne; / But no dunne mouse thou art; yet art thou one / That (like a mouse) in steep highways dost run, / To find food for thy Muse to prey upon.' (Modernisation has stopped short of erasing the visual as well as aural play on *dun/Donne*.)

80 Craggèd/Ragged] The variant is almost indifferent: but 'ragged' may be less applicable to a high rock, though cp. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 1. 2. 122. Cp. *Serm.* 5. 373: 'He shall shine upon thee in all dark ways, and rectify thee in all ragged ways' (Gr.). **stands/dwells]** This substantive change could be D.'s to emphasise Truth's unfallen nature; *dwells* was more appropriate if Holbein was the original inspiration.

81 her/it] The revision of the pronoun removes any possibility of doubt whether the hill or Truth is meant. **go/must go]** The insertion of a second 'must' would make the line decasyllabic, but there is no decisive authority for the variant. D. might leave nine syllables to the line in the *Satyres*: cp. *Satyre* 1 13. Such wrenching of metre enacts the difficult changes of mental direction.

- And what the hill's suddenness resists, win so.
 Yet strive so, that before age (death's twilight)
 Thy soul rest, for none can work in that night.
 85 To will implies delay: therefore now do;
 Hard deeds, the body's pains—hard knowledge too,
 The mind's endeavours—reach, and mysteries
 Are like the sun: dazzling, yet plain t'all eyes.
 Keep the truth which thou'st found; men do not stand
 90 In so ill case here that God hath with his hand
 Signed kings blank charters to kill whom they hate,
 Nor are they vicars but hangmen to Fate.
 Fool and wretch! Wilt thou let thy soul be tied
 To man's laws, by which she shall not be tried

84 soul] mind *Group A* that] the *Lut*, *O'F*, *H49*, *D*, *Q*, 1635

86 too *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *Q*, *W*, *H51*: to *O'F*, *H49*, *D*, *Group B*, 1633, 1635

88 like] as *Group A* 90 case] case here *Group A*, *L74ae*, *Dal*

94 man's] men's *Dob*, *S96*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51* she *S96*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51*, *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal*, 1633, 1635: it *Dob*: thou *Lut*: he *O'F*, *TCD*

82 suddenness] steepness.

84 soul/mind] The soul's repose is the higher religious purpose, to be preceded by the mind's settling of truth, as in l. 87. Cp. *Letters* 72: 'our third part, the mind, which is our natural guide here, chooses to every man a several way' (Milgate).

none . . . night] *John* 9. 4, *Catullus* 5. 5–6.

85 An implicit rejoinder to the proverb 'To take the word for the deed' (Tilley *W393*).

86 too/to] The former is correct: though MS spelling varied in distinguishing the words, that of 1633 did not.

88 dazzling . . . eyes] Explained in *Serm.* 3. 356 (Christmas 1621): 'As the Sun, . . . is the most evident thing to be seen, and yet the hardest to be looked upon, so is natural light to our reason and understanding. . . . Nothing more *easy*, for a child discerns it; nothing more *hard*, for no man understands it. It is apprehensible by *sense*, and not comprehensible by *reason*.'

91 blank charters] Such unspecific demands had been financial: see *Richard II* I. 4. 47–9.

92 'Destiny, the commissary of God' (*Metem*) does not pass down its full powers to kings: they merely carry out its decrees. According to Luther, *Von weltlicher Oberkeit* (1523), Engl. W. I. Brandt (1962) p. 113, it is bad princes that 'are God's executioners and hangmen' (Milgate).

93–5 Wilt . . . day] Cp. *Biathanatos* 2. 6. 8: 'This obligation which our conscience casts upon us is of stronger hold and of straiter band than the precept of any superior, whether law or person'. Cp. C. Goodman, *How Superior Powers ought to be Obeyed* (1558; 1931) p. 46 (Milgate).

94 man's/men's] Perhaps revised to convey the conventional distinction between God and man.

- 95 At the last day? Oh, will it then boot thee
 To say a Philip or a Gregory,
 A Harry or a Martin taught thee this?
 Is not this excuse for mere contraries,
 Equally strong? Cannot both sides say so?
 100 That thou may'st rightly obey pow'r, her bounds know;
 Those passed, her nature and name is changed: to be
 Then humble to her is idolatry.
 As streams are, pow'r is: those blest flow'rs that dwell
 At the rough stream's calm head thrive and do well,
 105 But having left their roots, and themselves given
 To the stream's tyrannous rage, alas are driven
 Through mills, rocks and woods, and at last, almost
 Consumed in going, in the sea are lost:
 So perish souls which more choose men's unjust
 110 Pow'r, from God claimed, than God himself to trust.

95 Oh, will *Dob*, *S96*, *Q*, *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51*: Or will *Lut*, *O'F*, *1635*: Will *Group B*, *1633* boot] serve *III*, *Q* *H49*, *D*, *W*, *H51*

97 thee] me *Dob*, *W* 99 strong] strange *W*: true *H49*, *D*

103 that] which *Group A* 104 do] prove *Group A*, *L74*, *Dal*

107 rocks and woods] and ~ ~ ~ *Dob*, *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal*, *1633*: woods, rocks *Lut*, *O'F*

95 Oh, will/Will] The earlier reading maintains a decasyllabic line.

96 Philip] Philip II (1527–98), King of Spain. **Gregory]** Alluding to Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), last of the Four Doctors of the Western Church, or to Gregory VII (d. 1085), who asserted papal authority over monarchs, notoriously Henry IV, Emperor of Germany, at Canossa; possibly to Gregory XIII (pope 1572–85), who blessed the Babington Conspiracy to murder the Queen, or Gregory XIV, pro-Spanish pope for ten months 1590–1.

97 Harry] Henry VIII, who asserted royal authority over the Church in England. **Martin]** Luther, initiator of the Reformation. **thee/me]** *W* is obviously wrong.

98 mere] downright, unqualified.

99 strong/strange/true] The disagreement between MSS suggests illegibility in the copy for *W*, *H49*, *D*.

101 passed] transgressed.

103–8 those . . . lost] Cp. the image in *Recusant* 15–17, and its adaptation in *Ignatius* (1969) pp. 62–3.

109–10 At least as much against the Pope's unlimited and absolute edicts as against royal authority in religious matters. 'God himself to trust' instead is Protestant doctrine.

Satyre 4

Date and Context. March–April 1597. Reference in l. 114 to the loss of Amiens marks a date of composition after early March 1597, and that *Satyre 4* was written soon after is suggested by the reference to the Theatre in l. 183, closed in April 1597. The possible relevance of the Epistle at Communion on the feast of the Purification on 2 Feb. 1597 noted below is slight corroboration. In *HN* William Drummond of Hawthornden adds ‘anno 1594’ to the title, and gives this note before *Satyre 4* (which appears before *Satyre 2*, the only other satire copied into the MS): ‘This satire, though it here have the first place because no more was intended to this book, was indeed the author’s fourth in number and order, he having written five in all, to which this caution will sufficiently direct in the rest.’

Analogues. Satires on the Court (especially by courtiers out of favour) are common in preceding poetry, e.g., Spenser, *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale* 502–8, 607–918. Like the first two satyres, this one is comparable to Horace, *Sat.* 1. 9, in narrative framework, at least for ll. 1–154, when the poem switches from urbane Horatian mockery of social shortcomings in the boring, pretentious courtier to the Christian vision of ‘the Seven Deadly Sins’ practised at Court. M. T. Hester, *Kinde Pity and Brave Scorn: John Donne’s Satires* (1982) pp. 75–6 sees a five-part structure: 1. Introduction, 1–4; 2. First visit to Court, 5–154; 3. Dantean trance on retreating home, 155–74; 4. Second visit to Court, 175–237; 5. Concluding evaluation of experiences, 237–45. Additionally, as in *Satyre 2*, C. D. Lein, *CompLit* 32 (1980) 132, points out that division is a classical tradition, exemplified in Juvenal 4 and Persius 5. For later criticism of the Court possibly by D. writing to Wotton see Simpson p. 310. For echoes of classical writers, see N. Rudd, *TLS* 22 March 1963. J. S. Baumlin, *TSLL* 30 (1988) 363–87, sees a rejection of classic satire’s ability to reform in a confession of the powerlessness as well as deceptiveness of language—a reflexive criticism of the genre’s pretensions, and criticism of Roman Catholicism’s teaching of salvation by mere words—the saying and hearing of Mass and other sacraments and set prayers—invoking Reformed preachers as alone able to bring about a second Deluge to ‘Drown the sins of this place’. A. N. Wall, *ELN* 22 (1985) 23–31, suggests as background to the religious allusions in the poem some of the prescribed lessons for the Anglican Purification of Mary on 2 Feb. 1597, such as 2 *Cor.* 11. 19–31, on Paul’s sufferings, and *Ps.* 15, with its allusions to deceit, slander and pride. M. T. Hester, *South Atlantic Review* 49 (1984) 3–17, notes echoes by D.’s friend Everard Guilpin in *Skiaetheia* (1598). The Augustan Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea, rewrote part of *Satyre 4* as ‘Adam Pos’d’: see A. P. Messenger, *West Coast Review* 8. 4 (1974) 10–11. The poem was refashioned by Pope (?1713, 1733).

Text. As with the first three Satyres, *C57, Lec, A23* (lines 203–44), *L74, Dal, TCD* tend to read as a group (here designated Group B) against other MSS in varying combinations. Some of these readings could be revisions, but others are manifestly wrong, suggesting corruption early in the tradition. *W* has been used as base text, needing least correction.

- WELL, I may now receive and die: my sin,
 Indeed, is great, but I have been in
 A purgatory such as feared Hell is
 A recreation, and scant map of this.
- 5 My mind nor with pride's itch, nor yet hath been
 Poisoned with love to see or to be seen;
 I had no suit there, nor new suit to show,
 Yet went to Court; but, as Glare, which did go
 To^a mass in jest, caught, was fain to disburse
- 10 The hundred marks which is the statute's curse
 Before he scaped, so^{it} pleased my destiny
 (Guilty^{of} my sin of going) to think me
 As prone to^{'all} ill, and of good as forget-
 ful, as proud, lustful, and as much in debt,

Sources collated: *W, H49, D, HN, Wed, Bur; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; Q; Group B: C57, Lec, A23* (ll. 203–44), *L74, Dal, TCD; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading: Satyre 4] Satyre *D, TCD, S96* :: Sat. 4 anno 1594 *HN* :: no heading *Bur, L74, Dal*

2 I] I yet *S96*: yet I *Lut, O'Fae, 1635* 4 scant] scarce *Q, Dob, Bur*

5 nor with] not ~ *Lut, O'F*: neithers ~ *C57, Lec*: neither *L74, Dal, TCD, 1633, 1635*

8 Glare] Glaze *Q, H49, D, C57, Lec, 1633*

9 To^a] To *Lut, O'F, Q, Bur, C57, Lec, 1633, 1635*

12 sin of going] ~ in ~ *S96, Lut, O'F, 1635*: going *Q*

14 ful, as] As *Dal, TCD, 1633* lustful] and ~ *Dob*: as ~ *Q, Bur, C57, Lec, L74be*

1 receive] receive the last rites (Roman Catholic Extreme Unction or Anglican Communion of the Sick).

1–2 my sin . . . great] Cp. the ironic confession of Horace, *Sat. 2. 4. 4*.

3 purgatory] D's lighthearted use suggests he may no longer take the doctrine seriously.

4 scant/scarce] Grierson found it 'inconceivable' that the scribes responsible for the copy of *Q, Dob, Bur*, or of Group B at l. 240, 'would have introduced' *scarce*. That at least two different scribes made the change may, however, be because it was an easy thing to do, not because there were three authorial versions.

5 nor/neither] Group B's variant is more usual, but not necessary.

6 love . . . seen] Cp. Ovid, *Art of Love* 1. 99, and *Pupil* 22 (Milgate).

7 suit . . . suit] 'The pun equates in importance (as courtiers do) a petition to the Queen and the clothes worn by the petitioner'—Milgate.

8–11 Glare . . . scaped] If there is a topical allusion, it has not been traced.

10 hundred marks] Equal to £66 13s 4d **the statute's]** 23° Eliz. c. 1. sect. 3 (1580); see *Collection in English, of the Statutes now in Force* (1583) f. 98v: 'Every person which shall willingly hear Mass shall forfeit the sum of 100 marks, and suffer imprisonment for a year.'

- 15 As vain, as witless, and as false as they
 Which dwell at Court, for once going that way.
 Therefore I suffered this: t'wards me did run
 A thing more strange than on Nile's slime the Sun
 E'er bred, or all which into Noah's Ark came:
 20 A thing, which would have posed Adam to name,
 Stranger than seven antiquaries' studies,
 Than Afric's monsters, Guyana's rarities,
 Stranger than strangers; one who for a Dane
 In the Danes' Massacre had sure been slain,
 25 If he had lived then; and without help dies,
 When next the prentices 'gainst strangers rise.

16 at Court] in ~ C57, *Lec*, 1633, 1635 18 Nile's] Nilus' D, Bur, Group B
 22 Than Afric's] Guyana's S96: ~ Afric H49, D, Bur, Wed, Group B

15 witless] foolish.

18–23 Quoted by J. Wybarne, *New Age of Old Names* (1609) pp. 112–13, to evoke his opponents' image of Antichrist.

18–19 See Ovid, *Met.* 1. 422–37. Cp. *Gulpin* 2, *Derby* 1–2, *BedfordRefined* 21–2.

18 Nile's/Nilus'] As its scattering across only distantly related MSS shows, Group B's reading is indifferent, and adds a syllable to a decasyllabic line.

19 Noah's Ark] Into which came every living thing, bird, beast, and reptile: *Gen.* 6. 19–20, 7. 7–9. Pererius, 11. 13–99 (1592) 2. 140–55, thinks this included basilisk, chameleon, salamander, amphibiaena, hydra, dragon, sphinx, manticore, monoceros (i.e., unicorn), pegasus (winged horse), camelopard, cynocephalus, and, after long debate, a phoenix.

20 posed] puzzled, perplexed in a difficulty. **Adam to name]** He named all creatures, *Gen.* 2. 19–20, traditionally according to their natures.

21 Cp. *Antiquary* and *Satyre* 5 86–7. **seven]** A conventional intensifier: cp. *Matt.* 18. 1–2.

22 Afric's monsters] For Aristotle, *History of Animals* 8. 28 (606b20), and thence Pliny 8. 17 (42), it was a Greek proverb that there was always something new out of Africa. Cp. Browne, *Religio Medici* 1. 15: 'There is all Africa and her prodigies in us.' **Afric's/Afric]** Group B's variant of noun to adjective is indifferent.

Guyana's rarities] Gold mines, El Dorado, armadillos, Amazons, cannibals, and 'men with heads beneath their shoulders' are described in W. Raleigh's *Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* (1596; Hakluyt (1903–5) 10. 338–431). Cp. *Calez.*

23 strangers] foreigners.

24 the Danes' Massacre] On St Brice's Day, 13 Nov. 1002, ordered by Ethelred II.

26 prentices 'gainst strangers] Such a riot had occurred in 1517. Grierson quotes at length, from J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (1731; 1824) 4. 234–5, a document of 1593 threatening that 'Apprentices will rise, to the number of 2,336. And all the apprentices and journeymen will down with the Flemings and strangers.' Queen and Council took a dim view of this xenophobia, authorizing search and torture (*APC 1592–1593*, pp. 187, 200–1, 222).

- One whom the watch at noon lets scarce go by;
 One to whom th'examining Justice sure would cry,
 'Sir, by your priesthood, tell me what you are!'
 30 His clothes were strange though coarse, and black
 though bare;
 Sleeveless his jerkin was, and it had been
 Velvet, but 'twas now (so much ground was seen)
 Become tuftaffeta; and our children shall
 See it plain rash awhile, then nought at all.
 35 This thing hath travelled, and saith speaks all tongues,
 And only knows what to all states belongs;
 Made of th'accents and best phrase of all these,
 He speaks one language. If strange meats displease,
 Art can deceive or hunger force my taste,
 40 But pedant's motley tongue, soldier's bombast,
 Mountebank's drug-tongue, nor the terms of law,

35 This] The *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

36 only knows] also knoweth *Bur*: only knoweth *Group B*, 1633, 1635

37 all these] these *III*, *H49*, *D*, *Q*, *Bur*, *HN*, *Wed*

27 Even in broad daylight he looks shifty.

29 by your priesthood] Not implying necessarily that he is a Roman Catholic, but that he looks as if he is hiding something. It had been proclaimed in 1581, following the Pope's declaration that a killer of Queen Elizabeth would go straight to Paradise, that Jesuits, whose order was militant, and seminary priests were to be hanged, drawn and quartered (like the priest found in the room of D.'s brother, Henry, in 1593).

30 strange though coarse] foreign in style but not of the fine fabric associated with this fashionable affectation (see note on *Satyre 1* 97). **bare]** threadbare.

33 tuftaffeta] A kind of taffeta with the pile or nap arranged in tufts. The velvet has bare patches.

34 rash] cloth without a nap.

35 saith] so he says.

36 i.e., claims to be well-informed about all countries. knows/knoweth] Group B's reading would have its second syllable elided to remain metrical. As a revision, it seems pointless. D. frequently, it seems, wrote *-s* or *-eth* as metre demanded.

38 one language] Despite his claim in l. 35. **strange meats]** foreign food.

39 Art] skill.

40 pedant's motley tongue] Containing an admixture of Latin and perhaps Greek or Hebrew words, like Holofernes in *Love's Labours Lost* 4. 2, 5. 1. **soldier's bombast]** Inflated language such as Pistol's in *2 Henry IV* 2. 4, 5. 3. **bombast]** Originally cotton padding for doublets.

41 Mountebanks' drug-tongue] Quacksalvers' jargon (exemplified by the disguised Volpone, 2. 2). The comparison is used by W. Fennor, *Compters Common-Wealth* (1617) p. 20. **terms of law]** A mixture of English, Law French and Latin, such as Coscus uses in *Satyre 2* 48–58.

- Are strong enough preparatives to draw
 Me to bear this; yet I must be content
 With his tongue, in his tongue called compliment,
 45 In which he can win widows and pay scores,
 Make men speak treason, cozen subtlest whores,
 Out-flatter favourites, and out-lie either
 Jovius or Surlius or both together.
 He names me and comes to me: I whisper 'God!
 50 How have I sinned, that thy wrath's furious rod,
 This fellow, chooseth me?' He sayeth, 'Sir,
 I love your judgement: whom do you prefer
 For the best linguist?' And I seelily
 Said that I thought Calepine's *Dictionary*.

47 and] or *Group B*, 1633, 1635 48 Surlius] Sleidan *Dob marg. Lut*, O'Fbe, Q

42 preparatives] preliminaries to medical treatment, aperitifs.

44 compliment] polished conversation.

45 win widows] A usual way for needy men to enrich themselves: see *Taming of the Shrew* 4. 2. 36–9, 50–1. Cp. Middleton's *Widow* 1. 2. 1–4: 'It was the naturallest courtesy that ever was ordained: a young gentleman, being spent, to have a rich widow set him up again' (Milgate). **pay scores]** More probably 'exact revenges' than 'pay bills'.

46–7 cozen . . . favourites] Cp. *Satyre* 2 70, 73 for favourites and whores as good liars.

46 cozen] trick.

47 With this means of denoting excess cp. *Satyre* 2 32–3. **and/or]** Since *and* remains in l. 45, *Group B*'s reading seems unlikely to stem from authorial preference.

48 Jovius] Paolo Giovio (1486–1552), notoriously untruthful historian of his own time, and also writer on Turkey, Britain, medicine, natural history, biography, and imprese. **Surlius]** Laurentius Surlius (1522–78), German ecclesiastical historian and hagiographer, classed among 'no very credible authors' (an understatement) by D., *Biathanatos* 3. 4. 5. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, nicknames him 'furious Surlius' for his writing against Luther, while Nashe, *Return of Pasquill* (1589), mocks 'books as big as Surlius', and in *Have with you to Saffron Walden* associates him with those 'that have been so bold with Her Majesty and this state' (1596; *Works* 1. 72, 3. 124). Some MSS substitute a Protestant, Johannes Sleidanus (1506–1556), whence Milgate (p. lvii) surmises that they represent D.'s own earlier balancing of the two sides before his employment by Egerton.

49–50 God . . . rod] Cp. *Lam.* 3. 1.

53 linguist] The courtier means speaker of a foreign language, but D.'s persona deliberately misunderstands him. **seelily]** innocently.

54 Calepine's Dictionary] A. Calepino (1435–1511) compiled a Latin *Dictionarium* (1502) that was progressively augmented after his death to embrace eleven languages eventually in 1590.

- 55 'Nay, but of men, most sweet sir?' Beza then,
 Some Jesuits, and two reverend men
 Of our two acadèemies, I named. There
 He stopped me and said: 'Nay, your Apostles were
 Good pretty linguists, and so Panurge was;
 60 Yet a poor gentleman all these may pass
 By travail.' Then, as if he would have sold
 His tongue, he praised it, and such wonders told
 That I was fain to say, 'If you'd lived, sir,
 Time enough to've been interpreter
 65 To Babel's bricklayers, sure that Tower had stood.'
 He adds, 'If of Court life you knew the good,
 You would leave loneness.' I said, 'Not alone

56 two . . . men] Dr Reinolds and Dr Andrewes *Dob marg.*

57 There] And ~ *Dob*: Here 1635

59 Panurge] Panurgus *S96, Lut, O'F, Q*; Panirge *Group B, 1633*

62 wonders] words *C57, Lec, L74be, Dal, TCD, 1633*

65 sure that] ~ the *S96, Q, Group B, 1633, 1635*: the *Lut, O'F*

67 loneness] loneliness *Group B, 1633*

55–7 Beza . . . named] He carefully chooses representatives of the three main Christian persuasions.

55 Beza] T. de Bèze (1519–1605), Genevan Calvinist and controversialist, editor and translator into Latin of the Greek New Testament. He was exceptionally despised and hated by Roman Catholics: Grierson cites 'a bitter and calumnious attack' of 1585 by James Laing (1502–94), Doctor of the Sorbonne, which represents Beza as easily the principal heretic of the time.

56 some Jesuits] e.g., R. Bellarmine (1542–1621) and others who produced the Clementine Vulgate (1592), and Francis Xavier (1506–52) and M. Ricci (1552–1610), who learnt Japanese and Chinese for their missions. **Jesuits]** Two syllables.

56–7 two . . . acadèemies] The universities of Oxford and Cambridge. *Dob* glosses these in the margin as 'Dr Reinolds and Dr Andrewes': J. Rainolds (1549–1607) of Corpus Christi College, Oxford ('our learnedest Doctor'—*Essays* p. 25), and L. Andrewes (1555–1626) of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, both later translators of the *AV*.

58–9 your Apostles . . . linguists] The Twelve who, when 'cloven tongues like as of fire . . . sat upon each of them, . . . were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues' at Pentecost—*Acts* 2. 1–4.

59 Panurge/Panurgus/Panirge] Group B's reading is obviously wrong. In Rabelais 2. 9, Panurge answers Pantagruel in thirteen languages.

60 poor] lowly. **pass]** outdo, excel.

61 travail] (a) hard work; (b) travel.

61–2 as if . . . praised it] Cp. Horace 2. 2. 11, and the proverb, Tilley P546 (Milgate).

62 wonders/words] As l. 59.

65 Gen. 11. 1–9. that/the] The variant in *S96, Q, Lut, O'F* and Group B seems unnecessary.

67, 68 loneness] solitariness. **loneness/loneliness]** Group B's change to the more familiar word upsets both sense and metre.

- My loneness is; but Spartans' fashion,
 To teach by painting drunkards, doth not last
 70 Now: Aretine's pictures have made few chaste;
 No more can princes' courts, though there be few
 Better pictures of vice, teach me virtue.
 He, like a too-high-stretched lute-string squeaked, 'Oh sir,
 'Tis sweet to talk of kings!' 'At Westminster',
 75 Said I, 'the man that keeps the Abbey tombs,
 And for his price, doth with whoever comes
 Of all our Harries and our Edwards talk;
 From king to king and all their kin can walk:
 Your ears shall hear nought but 'King'; your eyes meet
 80 Kings only. The way to it is King's Street.'
 He smacked, and cried, 'He's base, mechanic, coarse!
 So^are all your Englishmen in their discourse.

68 loneness] loneliness *Group B*, 1633

69 last] taste *S96, Lut, O'F, Q, Bur*, 1635

73 a too-high-stretched] an high, o'er-stretched *Dob*: to high-stretched *S96, HN*: to a high-stretched *Lut, O'F, Q (an), H49, D, Wed, C57, L74, Dal, TCD*, 1633, 1635: a high, out-stretched *Bur*: a high-stretched *Lec* lute-string] ~s *S96, HN* squeaked, 'Oh] squeaked *Dob*: squealed, 'Oh *S96*: squeaks, 'Oh *Lut, O'F*

79 King] ~s *Dob, Bur, Group B*, 1633, 1635

80 King's] King *S96, H49, D, Bur, C57, L74, Dal, TCD*, 1633, 1635

67–8 **Not alone/My loneness is]** Cp. Cicero, *De officiis* 3. 1 (1).

68–9 **Spartans' . . . drunkards]** Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28. 4, says rather that helots were made drunk to show the young men what drunkenness is like.

70 **Aretine's pictures]** Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) wrote the *Sonetti lussuriosi* on positions of heterosexual intercourse for designs by Giulio Romano engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi. For a modern English version, see *I Modi: The Sixteen Pleasures* (Evanston, IL 1988). Cp. Jonson, *Alchemist* 2. 2. 43–5.

73 **a too-high-stretched/an high, o'er-stretched/to high-stretched/to a high-stretched/a high, out-stretched/a high-stretched]** Since all lute-strings are 'high-stretched', only the variants in *Dob, Bur* make as good sense as *W*.

74–7 Sir John Davies, *Epigrams* (c. 1594–5), 30, 'In Dacum' also scorns the 'formal tale' of 'him that keeps the monuments / At Westminster'.

74 'Tis . . . kings] Like the bore in Horace, *Sat.* 1. 3. 12.

79 King/~s] The variant in *Dob, Bur* and *Group B* is unnecessary.

80 **King's Street]** Which ran from Whitehall Palace (where the Court was) to Westminster with its Abbey containing royal tombs. **King's/King]** The variant in *S96, H49, D, Bur* and *Group B* is unnecessary.

81 **smacked]** sc. 'his lips', the effect of pouting or grimacing discontentedly before exclaiming. **mechanic]** as uneducated as a manual labourer.

82, 83, 86 **your]** As Grierson points out, 'The joke turns upon D.'s pretending to misunderstand the bore's colloquial, but rather affected, indefinite use of "your".' He compares *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1594–5) 1. 2. 86–90 for the affectation's use by ridiculous characters, Bottom and Quince.

- Are not your Frenchmen neat?' 'Mine? As you see,
I've but one Frenchman. Look, he follows me.'
- 85 'Certes they are neatly clothed. I of this mind am:
Your only wearing is this grogram.'
'Not so sir: I have more.' Under this pitch
He would not fly. I chafed him; but as itch
Scratched into smart, and as blunt iron ground
- 90 Into an edge, hurts worse, so I, fool, found
Crossing hurt me: to fit my sullenness,
He to another key his style doth dress,
And asks, 'What news?' I tell him of new plays.
He takes my hand, and as a still which stays
- 95 A sem'breve, 'twixt each drop, he niggardly,
As loath t'enrich me, so tells many a lie,

83 Mine? As] Mine is *HN*: Fine as *L74be*, *Dal*: in me, as *TCD*: Fine, as 1633

84 Frenchman] *Sir Lut*, *O'F*, *Q*, 1635: now *Bur* 85 are] go *H49*, *D*

86 this] your *S96*, *Group B*, 1633, 1635

88 chafed him] chafed *Dob*, *Bur*: chased him *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *HN*: chaffed him
1633, 1635

92 dress] address *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *TCD*, 1633 96 many a Σ : many *W*

83 neat] elegant in speech. D.'s persona deliberately takes the expression to apply to smartness of dress.

84 I've but one Frenchman] The real D. had a French servant in c. 1614 (*Letters* p. 201).

86 this/your] The variant in *S96* and *Group B* is unnecessary. **grogram]** grogram, a coarse fabric.

87 I have more] D. has more suits, of other fabrics than the courtier is absurdly complimenting. He pretends there is an implication that he is as poor as the page-boy Epiton in J. Lyly, *Endymion* 4. 2. (*Works* 3. 55): 'my wardrobe on my back, for I have no more apparel than is on my body'. **Under this pitch]** i.e., he would not make himself vulnerable to more of this sort of teasing. 'Pitch' is a term from falconry, meaning the height to which a bird flies before stooping on its prey. D. wishes Goodyer 'hawks and fortunes of a high pitch' (*Letters* p. 204). Cp. *SecAn* 435.

88 chafed] irritated (*OED* 5), goaded. 1633's *chaffed*, 'mocked', is thought by *OED* to have arisen after D.'s time of writing.

88–9 itch . . . smart] W. B. Hunter, *South Central Bulletin* 43 (1983) 109–11 compares the proverb in J. Heywood 701–2: 'Whom in itching no scratching will forbear, / He must bear the smarting that shall follow there' (Tilley I105).

92 dress/address] The variant in *Group B* (except *Dal1*) upsets the metre unnecessarily.

94 takes my hand] As Horace's bore does, 1. 9. 4. **still]** distilling apparatus.

94–5 Imitated by Pope, 'To Henry Cromwell' 15–18 and *Guardian* 92 (Milgate).

95 sem'breve] the longest musical note then in use.

96 many a/many] Usage supports wide agreement against *W*, and necessitates emendation.

More than ten Holinsheds and Halls and Stows,
 Of trivial household trash he knows: he knows
 When the Queen smiled or frowned, and he knows what
 100 A subtle statesman may gather of that;
 He knows who loves whom; and who by poison
 Hastes to an office's reversion;
 He knows who'th sold his land, and now doth beg
 A licence, old iron, shoes, boots, or egg-
 105 shells to transport; shortly, boys shall not play
 At blow-point or span-counter but they pay
 Toll to some courtier; and, wiser than all us,

97 and Halls and] or ~ or *Dob, Lut, O'F, Bur, Group B, 1633, 1635*: Halls or Q
 99 smiled or frowned] frowned or smiled Q, *Group B, 1633, 1635*

104 shoes, boots] boots, shoes *Dob, Bur, Group B, 1633, 1635*: boots or shoes *S96*:
 boots *HN, Wed* or egg-] and ~ *Dob, Group B, 1633, 1635*

106 blow-point or span-counter] span-counter or blow-point *Dob, Bur, Group
 B, 1633, 1635* they] ~ shall *Dob*: the *H49*: shall *L74, Dal, 1633, 1635*

97 Holinsheds . . . Stows] Chroniclers of English history, who indiscriminately mixed the trivial with the lastingly important (also mocked by Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (1592; *Works* I. 194), for writing 'of nothing but of Mayors and Sheriffs, and the dear year, and the great frost'). Both editions of R. Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577, 1587) were censored, rather for political reasons than because of redundancy or inaccuracy. E. Halle's *Union of . . . Lancastre and Yorke* was posthumously published in 1548, and banned by the Roman Catholic government under Mary in 1555. As well as editing the 2nd edn of Holinshed, J. Stow himself produced chronicles from 1565 till his death in 1605. All the chroniclers accepted Geoffrey of Monmouth's imaginary account of the origins of Britain and of King Arthur, doubted since his own time, and finally demolished by Camden's *Britannia* (1586). **and Halls and/or ~ or]** See note above on l. 47 regarding *Dob, Lut, O'F, Bur* and *Group B*'s reading here.

99 smiled or frowned/frowned or smiled] Q and *Group B*'s inversion seems indifferent.

100 statesman] politician.

102 reversion] The Crown sold the rights to succeed to state offices.

104 licence] Such monopolies were invented by projectors and let by the Crown to raise revenue. Opposition was growing in the House of Commons to this use of the Queen's prerogative. **shoes, boots/boots, shoes]** *Dob, Bur* and *Group B*'s inversion seems indifferent. **or egg-/and ~]** See note above on l. 47 regarding *Dob* and *Group B*'s reading here.

105 transport] import or export.

106 blow-point or span-counter/span-counter or blow-point] See second note above on l. 104. **blow-point]** *OED* quotes Joseph Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes* (1801): '... probably blowing an arrow through a trunk at certain numbers by way of lottery'. **span-counter]** 'A game in which the object of one player was to throw his counters so close to those of his opponent that the distance between them could be spanned with the hand. Common in the early part of the 17th c.' (*OED*, quoting, e.g., Shakespeare, and Nashe, *Summer's Last Will* 1466-7 (1600; *Works* 3. 279; cp. I. 1950, 3. 295).

- He knows which lady is not painted. Thus
 He with home-meats tries me; I belch, spew, spit,
 110 Look pale and sickly like a patient. Yet
 He thrusts more, and, as if he'd undertook
 To say *Gallo-Belgicus* without book,
 Speaks of all states, and deeds which have been since
 The Spaniards came, to th' loss of Amiens.
 115 Like a big wife, at sight of loathèd meat
 Ready to travail, so I sigh and sweat
 To hear his macaroon talk; in vain: for yet,
 Either my humour or his own to fit,

108 which] what *Dob, Bur, Group B, 1633, 1635* 109 tries] tried Q: cloys *S96, Lut, O'F, 1635*

111 thrusts] ~ in *Dob, S96*: ~ on *Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*: trusts me *C57, Lec*: thrusts me *L74, Dal, TCD* if he'd] he'd *S96, Lut, O'F, 1635*: if had *D*: if he *Group B, 1633*

113 which] that *Group B, 1633, 1635* have] hath *C57, Lec, L74, TCD, 1633*

115 Like *III, Q, Bur, HN, Wed, C57, Lec, L74be, TCD, 1633, 1635*: Like to *W, H49, D, Dal*

117 his] this *Q, H49, D, Bur, HN, Wed, C57, Lec, 1633, 1635*

108 which/what] *Dob, Bur* and *Group B*'s version seems indifferent.

109 The gastronomic analogy is resumed from ll. 38–9 (Milgate). **home-meats]** domestic sustenance, local concerns.

111 if he'd/he'd/if had/if he] None of the variants seems to make better sense than *W*.

112 Gallo-Belgicus] The notoriously unreliable periodical of European affairs (i.e., wars) *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* was published in a collected volume in 1594. See *D*'s epigram on it, *Mercurius*.

113 which/that] *Group B*'s variant is more acceptable before a defining relative clause to a purist modern grammarian, but *D*'s usage is indifferent. **have/hath]** *Dal1* does not follow its *Group B* copy here: the reading of it and the other MSS is preferable, though *D*. was no stickler for numeral concord between subject and verb.

113–14 since / The Spaniards came] The Armada in 1588, when *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* began.

114 the loss of Amiens] Captured by the Spanish at the beginning of March 1597, described in *HMC Hatfield* 7. 88, *CSPV 1592–1603* pp. 261–2.

115 Like/Like to] The variant in most MSS except *W, H49, D, L74ae, Dal1* is not necessary, given the usual elision in *to^a*, but obviously occurred very early in the line of transmission. **big]** pregnant. **meat]** food.

116 travail] labour. **sweat]** Like Horace's persona, *Sat.* 1. 9. 10–11.

117 macaroon] fool, buffoon. This spelling is justified by R. B.'s rhyming it with *shoon* in *In Memory of Doctor Donne* (1633 401). See the definition by Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611): 'Maccarone, a gull, a lubby, a loggerhead that can do nothing but eat macaroni' (Milgate). *A Worlde of Words* (1598) has 'Maccarone. A gull, a dolt, a patch, a fool, a lubber, a loggerhead.'

- He, like a privileged spy whom nothing can
 120 Discredit, libels now 'gainst each great man.
 He names a price for every office paid;
 He says our wars thrive ill because delayed;
 That offices are entailed, and that there are
 Perpetuities of them, lasting as far
 125 As the last day; and that great officers
 Do with the pirates share and Dunkirkers.

122 He says] And ~ Q: How *Dob, Bur*: He saith *Group B*, 1633, 1635
 123 and that] and 1635

119–36 Cp. *Serm.* 7. 406 (1 April 1627): ‘“Take heed what you hear” . . . says the little great Epictetus (or Arrian upon him): . . .’

119 privileged spy] The risk of encountering an informer or *agent provocateur* in Elizabethan London was notorious: cp. Nashe, *Pierce Peniless* (1592) on a ‘neat, pedantical fellow, in form of a citizen, . . . thrusting himself into my company like an intelligencer, . . . to question me about the cause of my discontent’; and the character in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*: ‘a cur that flatters and fawns upon everyone . . . till he may spy an advantage, and pluck out his throat’ (1596; *Works* 1. 163, 3. 106).

120 libels] Any criticism of the more powerful, however true, was an offence known as *scandalum magnatum*. In 1612, D. (*Letters* p. 90) allows

that there may be cases where one may do his country good by libelling against a live man, for where a man is either too great, or his vices too general, to be brought under a judiciary accusation, there is no way but this extraordinary accusing which we call libelling; and I heard that nothing hath suppld and allayed the Duke of Lerma in his violent greatness so much as the often libels made upon him.

But here in *Satyre* 4, D. fears for himself the fate he wishes on the finder in *Bracelet* 101–2.

122 says/saith] The variant in *Group B* is unnecessary, as l. 143 shows.

123 entailed] Predetermined to be inherited. It was obvious that William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer from 1572, was grooming his son Robert, Principal Secretary of State from 1590, to succeed him as chief power in the realm under the monarch. Robert succeeded William as Keeper of the Privy Seal, and in the (enviably lucrative) office of Master of the Court of Wards. Inheritance of office was more usual in the royal household, e.g., that of Lord Chamberlain passed from Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon to his eldest son George in 1596–7.

124 Perpetuities] Everlasting possessions, inalienable rights.

126 pirates] Pirates from Dieppe were reported 20 March 1597, on 10 April an English act of piracy in the Mediterranean four years previously was proceeded against, and on 16 May warrants were issued for the arrest of others (*APC* 1596–1597 pp. 561–3; 1597 pp. 31–3, 116). **Dunkirkers]** These privateers were long a scourge of merchant shipping and ports in the North Sea and English Channel. The Council ordered defensive measures on 26 July 1596 (*APC* 1596–1597 p. 61). Cp. Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, ‘The Prayse of the Red Herring’ (1599; *Works* 3. 171) on the cost to Great Yarmouth, Norfolk.

- Who wastes in meat, in clothes, in horse, he notes,
 Who loves whores, who boys, and who goats.
 I, more amazed than Circe's pris'ners when
 130 They felt themselves turn beasts, felt myself then
 Becoming traitor, and methought I saw
 One of our giant Statutes ope his jaw
 To suck me in; for hearing him, I found
 That as burnt, venomed lechers do grow sound
 135 By giving others their sores, I might grow
 Guilty, and he free: therefore, I did show
 All signs of loathing. But, since I am in,
 I must pay mine and my forefathers' sin
 To the last farthing. Therefore to my power
 140 Toughly and stubbornly I bear this cross. But th'hour
 Of mercy now was come; He tries to bring
 Me to pay a fine to scape his torturing,
 And says, 'Sir, can you spare me'—I said, 'Willingly!'—
 'Nay, sir, can you spare me a crown?' Thankfully I
 145 Gave it as ransom. But as fiddlers still,
 Though they be paid to be gone, yet needs will
 Thrust one more jig upon you, so did he

134–6 That . . . free] *replaced by dashes* 1633

134 venomed] venom *HN, Wed, 1635*

145 it as] it as a *III*: as a *Bur*: for *Q* 146 Though] Thou 1635

127 meat] food.

128 Cp. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie* 3. 35–50 (1599); Jonson, *Epigrams* 25. 4, 26. 2.

129–30 Circe's . . . beasts] *Odyssey* 10. 235–40.

132 giant Statutes] Laws of wide scope and great power. Cp. *Satyre* 2 112. The personification was perhaps suggested by gigantic statues, such as Gog and Magog outside the Guildhall, London.

134–5 burnt . . . sores] Perhaps the period of latency without outward signs of infection between secondary and tertiary syphilis gave rise to this infectious superstition. Cp. *Timon of Athens* 4. 3. 63–4.

134 burnt, venomed] infected. Cp. *Comedy of Errors* 4. 3. 57.

137 in] sc. 'this situation'.

138 my forefathers' sin] As decreed in *Exod.* 20. 5, 'unto the third and fourth generation'. D. may have felt by now that some of his Roman Catholic forebears had been guilty of the bowing down to images forbidden therein.

139 farthing] the smallest coin, a quarter of a penny. **to my power]** so far as I am able.

143 spare me] By interrupting the 'macaroon' in mid-sentence, his victim deliberately misunderstands him.

144 a crown] a five-shilling coin.

- With his long, complimentary thanks vex me.
 But he is gone, thanks to his needy want
 150 And the prerogative of my crown. Scant
 His thanks were ended when I (which did see
 All the Court filled with more strange things than he)
 Ran from thence with such or more haste than one
 Who fears more actions doth make from prison.
 155 At home, in wholesome solitariness,
 My piteous soul began the wretchedness
 Of suitors at Court to mourn, and a trance,
 Like his who dreamt he saw Hell, did advance
 Itself o'er me: and such men as he saw there,
 160 I saw at Court, and worse, and more. Low fear
 Becomes the guilty not th'accuser: then
 Shall I, none's slave, of high-born or raised men
 Fear frowns? And, my Mistress Truth, betray thee
 To th'huffing, braggart, puffed nobility?

153 Ran Σ : Run *W*, *Bur*

154 doth make] makes *III*, *Q*: hastes *Bur*: doth haste *C57*, *Lec*, *L74be*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635

156 piteous] precious *Group B*, 1633

159 o'er] on *Group B*, 1633 and such men] and such *S96*, *Bur*: such men *C57*, *Lec*, *L74be*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635

164 the'huffing] huffing *C57*, *Lec*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635

148 complimentary] formal, flattering, insincere. Grierson compares *Serm.* 4. 346 (Easter 1623): 'We have a word now denized, and brought into familiar use amongst us, Compliment; and for the most part, in an ill sense'.

150 prerogative of my crown] Humorously alluding to the monarch's power to act independently of the law, as in the granting of monopolies. **Scant]** Scarcely. Another example of *D.*'s use of this word: cp. ll. 4, 240.

154 i.e., to avoid re-arrest. **make]** hasten.

155 wholesome] restorative.

156 piteous/precious] *Group B*'s variant is plausible, but could have arisen from misreading, obscurity or damage in the —*ite*— of *piteous*, and goes against the claim in *Satyre* 3 1 that *D.*'s satire is more in sorrow than in anger.

158 his . . . Hell] Dante, who wrote the *Inferno*. *D.* re-uses the device in *Ignatius* 5-7: 'I was in an ecstasy . . . I saw all the rooms in Hell'. It is worse even than the social purgatory of ll. 1-154, and the narrator will be shown no *Paradiso* at Court. Cp. Fennor (1617) p. 14.

159 o'er/on] The variant in *Group B* except *L74*, *Dal1*, is probably mistaken. **and such men/and such /such men]** Two attempts have been made to reduce the line's eleven syllables to ten. One or both may be authorial, though an eleven-syllable line was acceptable to *D.* elsewhere, e.g., *Satyre* 1 28, *Satyre* 2 43.

162 high-born or raised] born into or raised to the nobility.

164 Sylvester's addition to *Du Bartas*, 1. 2. 939, denouncing England's 'huffed, puffed, painted, curled, purled, wanton pride' (*Gr.*). **huffing]** arrogant. **puffed]** proud.

- 165 No, no. Thou which since yesterday hast been
 Almost about the whole world, hast thou seen,
 O Sun, in all thy journey, vanity
 Such as swells the bladder of our Court? I
 Think he which made yon waxen garden, and
 170 Transplanted it from Italy to stand
 With us at London, flouts our Court here, for
 Just such gay-painted things, which no sap nor
 Taste have in them, ours are; and natural
 Some of the stocks are; their fruits, bastard all.
 175 'Tis ten o' clock, and past: all whom the mews,
 Balloon, tennis, diet, or the stews
 Had all the morning held, now the second

166 whole world] world *Dob, Bur, HN, Wed, C57, Lec, TCD*

169 yon] the *Dob, S96, H49, D, Bur: your Group B, 1633, 1635*

170 Transplanted] Transported *Dob, Q, Bur, HN, Wed, Group B, 1633, 1635*

171 Court here] ~s ~ *HN: Presence Dob, Bur, Group B, 1633: courtier S96: courtiers Lut, O'F, 1635*

174 their *Dob, Bur: there, W, HN, Wed: thetre TCD*

166–8 Cp. *Eccles.* 1. 14.

169–171 **he which . . . London**] Grierson notes the allusion to Italians' 'artificial gardens' in Drayton in *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1597), 'Edward IV to Jane Shore' 53–6 (*Works* 2. 248).

169 **yon/the/your**] That two variants exist suggests obscurity early in the MS tradition which different scribes tried to clarify differently.

170 **Transplanted/Transported**] The word specific to a garden seems more appropriate, though it was soon changed.

171 **flouts**] mocks. **Court here/~s ~/Presence/courtier/courtiers**] the corruptions in *HN, S96, Lut, O'F, 1635* suggest obscurity early in the MS tradition which the original of *Dob, Bur* and Group B tried, not unintelligently, to remove. *W*'s reading makes it easier to exclude the Queen from *D*'s censure, though he could have meant slyly to include her.

173–4 **natural . . . bastard all**] 'Some of them have ancestries blotted by illegitimacy [*OED* 13c]; none is genuinely qualified to possess rank, wealth, and power.' Cp. *Matt.* 7. 20, 12.33: 'By their fruits ye shall know them'; 'The tree is known by his fruit' (*Milgate*). **bastard**] degenerate.

175 **ten o' clock**] A gentlemanly hour: *Milgate* quotes *Catalogus Librorum* (1930) p. 41: 'sleep, which you must not shake off as a rule till after ten o' clock'. Also 'A Courtier' in *Overburian Characters*, ed. W. J. Paylor (1936) p. 7: 'His wit, like the marigold, openeth with the sun, and therefore he riseth not before ten of the clock.' **mews**] The royal stables at Charing Cross, where horsemanship was taught.

176 **Balloon**] Ball-game, involving the striking to and fro of a large inflated leather ball with the arm, protected with a bracer of wood. **tennis**] Real (i.e., Royal) Tennis, played in an indoor court. **diet**] A medical regime (of laxatives, emetics and bleeding), implying sexually transmitted disease; cp. Timon's exhortation to Timandra, 4. 3. 84–8: 'Be a whore still . . . bring down rose-cheeked youth / To the tub-fast and the diet.' **stews**] brothels.

- Time made ready that day, in flocks are found
 In the Presence, and I (God pardon me).
 180 As fresh and sweet th'apparels be as be
 The fields they sold to buy them. 'For a king
 Those hose are!' cries his flatterers, and bring
 Them next week to the Theatre to sell.
 Wants reach all states: meseems they do as well
 185 At stage as court; all are players; whoe'er looks
 (For themselves dare not go) o'er Cheapside books,
 Shall find their wardrobes' inventory. Now
 The ladies come: as pirates which did know
 That there came weak ships fraught with cochineal,
 190 The men board them, and praise, as they think, well
 Their beauties, they the men's wits; both are bought.
 Why good wits ne'er wear scarlet gowns I thought
 This cause: these men men's wits for speeches buy,

178 are] were 1635 180 th'apparels] their apparels *III, Q, Bur*
 182 cries] cry *Dob, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635* his] those *Dob, Bur: the Group B, 1633*
 183 next week to] the ~ ~ ~ *Q: next unto Dob, Bur: to H49, D: next week unto*
C57, Lec, TCD Theatre] Theatre next week *H49, D*
 184 meseems] methinks *III, Bur, Q*
 188 did] do *Q, C57, Lec, Dal, TCD, 1633, 1635*

179 the Presence] the presence-chamber.

181 the fields . . . buy them] A proverbial jibe: Tilley L452. **For a king]** fit for a king.

182 his/those/the] If emendation were needed, that in *Dob, Bur* seems more plausible than Group B's.

183 the Theatre] The first public playhouse, in Shoreditch, north of the City, on whose site the lease ran out in April 1597 (it was reconstructed on Bankside as the first Globe in 1599). All plays in or near London were anyway banned for three months by the Privy Council 28 July 1597. See Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage* 2. 383-400, 4. 321-3.

186 themselves . . . go] The street was lined with mercers, who would have them arrested for debt.

186-7 Cheapside books . . . inventory] All their clothes are itemised in the mercers' accounts of debtors. Cp. Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem* (1593; *Works* 2. 98): 'Courtiers hate merchants more than any men, for that being once in their books, they can never get out.'

188 did/do] *Q* and Group B (except *L74*)'s 'do' does not agree in tense with the 'came' of the subsequent relative clause.

189 cochineal] Bodies of an insect used for scarlet dye, imported from Mexico. Grierson notes a later example of English pirates stealing just such a cargo.

190 board] accost. (Current in the sixteenth century not only for the action of pirates: cp. *Twelfth Night* 1. 3. 53-4: "'Accost" is front her, board her, woo her, assail her!')

192 wear scarlet gowns] achieve distinction as doctors of divinity or law, judges, civic dignitaries.

- And women buy all reds which scarlet die.
 195 He called her beauty 'lime-twigs', her hair 'net';
 She fears her drugs 'ill-laid', her hair 'loose set'
 Would not Heraclitus laugh to see Macrine
 From hat to shoe himself at door refine
 As the Presence were a mesquit, and lift
 200 His skirts and hose, and call his clothes to shrift,
 Making them confess not only mortal
 Great stains and holes in them, but venial
 Feathers or dust with which they fornicate?
 And then by Dürer's rules surveys the state
 205 Of his each limb, and with strings the odds tries
 Of his neck to his leg, and waist to thighs?
 So, in immaculate clothes and symmetry
 Perfect as circles, with such nicety

194 scarlet] ~s *C57, L74, TCD, 1633, 1635*

195 called] calls *III, Q, HN, Wed* beauty] beauties *III*

199 As] As if *Dob, S96, Bur, C57, Lec, TCD, 1633, 1635*

203 or] and Σ : are *H49* with which] by ~ *Dob, Bur*: wherewith *Group B, 1633, 1635*

204 surveys] survey *Lut, O'Fae, Q, Group B, 1633, 1635*

195 lime-twigs] Ensnaring. See note on *Satyre 2 46*. **net]** Entangling, the conventional metaphor among sonneteers, e.g., Daniel, *Delia* (1592) 14. 1, 5.

196 drugs ill-laid] cosmetics badly applied.

197–210 Courtiers' attention to appearance was a stock topic of satire: cp., e.g., Lucifera's court in Spenser, *FQ* 1. 4. 14. 5–9.

197 Heraclitus] The weeping philosopher—Juvenal 10. 28–34. His opposite, Democritus, laughed at human folly. **Macrine]** An unapt reminiscence, presumably unintentional, of the opening of Persius' second satire, addressing his friend on his birthday: '*Hunc, Macrine, diem . . .*'

198 refine] perfect.

199 mesquit] mosque. D. is presumably thinking of the requirement to remove shoes before entering.

200 shrift] confession.

201 mortal] unforgivable because irreparable.

202 venial] pardonable because removable.

203 fornicate] cling tightly.

204 Dürer's rules] For A. Dürer, *Von menschlicher Proportion* (1528; Lat. 1532), beauty depended on the proportions of the parts of the body to each other, which he demonstrated in diagrams. D. might have seen the edition in Italian of 1591. Cp. F. Bacon, 'Of Beauty', *Essayes* (1612): 'Albert Dürer . . . would make a personage by geometrical proportions'. **surveys/survey]** *Lut, O'Fae, Q* and *Group B's survey* is correct if the reader recalls 197–200, but the rhyme-word *tries* in 205 shows D. moves to direct description.

205 odds tries] checks the differences.

208 nicety] preciseness.

- As a young preacher at his first time goes
 210 To preach, he enters, and a lady which owes
 Him not so much as goodwill straight arrests,
 And unto her protests, protests, protests
 So much as at Rome would serve to have thrown
 Ten cardinals into th'Inquisition,
 215 And whispered 'By Jesu' so often that a
 Purs'vant would have ravished him away
 For saying Our Lady's Psalter. But 'tis fit
 That they each other plague: they merit it.
 But here comes Glorius that will plague them both,
 220 Who, in the other extreme, only doth
 Call a rough carelessness 'good fashion';
 Whose cloak his spurs tear, whom he spits on

211 straight] he straight *Dob*, *Q*, *Bur*: he *Group B*, 1633, 1635

215 whispered] whispers *Bur*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

216 Purs'vant] Topcliffe *Dob marg.*, *Lut marg.*, *O'Fbe*, *Q*

217 saying] saying of *Group B*, 1633, 1635

222 whom] or whom *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

211 arrests] waylays.

212–17 protests . . . Psalter] In his secular manner Macrine would inadvertently offend both religious extremes.

216 Purs'vant] A government officer used against all types of religious dissent, but especially Roman Catholics, such as D.'s late brother Henry. Four of the MSS collated have 'Topcliffe' in margin or text. By direct, personal authorisation of the Queen, 'From 1592 until 1597 Topcliffe was extraordinarily busy in the enforcement of anti-Catholic penal legislation. . . . He hunted, captured, interrogated, usually with torture, . . . and he usually monitored, sometimes vociferously, the ensuing trials and executions'—F. Brownlow in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. R. Dutton *et al.* (2004) p. 164; see further pp. 161–78. Richard Topcliffe (1532–1604) was allowed a rack of his own special invention at his private house (on which Robert Southwell, among many others, suffered), and was widely feared and hated even by Protestants.

217 A pentameter if *saying* is pronounced as one syllable. **Our Lady's Psalter]** The Marian Psalter, comprising 150 Hail Marys, the same as the number of Psalms. Each contains 'Jesu' once. The reading of *Lut*, *O'F* 'Jesu' Psalter' is an intelligent alternative but not authoritative: it comprised '15 petitions, each beginning with a tenfold repetition of the name' (*OED* psalter 3).

219 Glorius] A stock braggadocio figure (Spenser, *FQ* 2. 3 etc.), derived from Plautus' *Miles gloriosus*: cp. Shakespeare's Falstaff, Pistol and Parolles, and Jonson's Capt. Bobadill. Cp. Nashe's portrayal of Vainglory in *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem* (1593; *Works* 2. 108): 'He that (to be counted a cavalier and a resolute, brave man) cares not what mischief he do'.

222 spurs] By which outdoor accessories (indecorous at Court) the swaggerer wishes to suggest that he is a ready horseman, and that his time is precious.

- He cares not; his ill words do no harm
 To him. He rusheth in as if 'Arm! Arm!'
 225 He came to cry; and though his face be[^]as ill
 As theirs which in old hangings whip Christ, still
 He strives to look worse: he keeps all in awe;
 Jest^s like a licensed fool, commands like law.
 Tired now, I leave this place, and but pleased so
 230 As men which from gaols t^rexecution go,
 Go through the Great Chamber (why is it hung
 With the Seven Deadly Sins?). Being among
 Those Ascaparts; men big enough to throw
 Charing Cross for a bar; men which do know

223 not] not he *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 225 came] meant *Group B*, 1633, 1635
 226 still] yet still *Group B*, 1633 229 now, I Σ: now, I'll *H49*, *D*, *W*: I *Bur*
 230 men which] men 1633, 1635 234 which] that *Group B*, 1633, 1635

225 came/meant] Group B's variant is not necessary to the sense, but could be authorial.

225–7 though his face . . . worse] Cp. Fennor (1617) p. 3.

226 hangings] tapestries. **still/yet still]** Group B's variant exceeds the measure.

228 licensed fool] Cp. *Twelfth Night* 1. 5. 89–91: 'There is no slander in an allowed fool, though he do nothing but rail'.

231–2 why . . . Sins] Milgate records that such early Flemish tapestries, bought by Wolsey in 1522, still hang in the equivalent place at Hampton Court. He quotes R. Corbett (1582–1636), 'To the Lord Mordaunt' 107–8, on spectators of a Garter feast: worn to a shadow by fatigue and hunger: they 'looked so like the hangings they stood near, / None could discern which the true pictures were'; but these four (described and depicted by E. Ashmole, *Institution . . . of the Garter* (1672) p. 501 and after p. 592) bore scenes from the life of St George, and the place was Windsor Great Hall. **hung / With]** decorated / With tapestries of.

232–7 Being . . . spy] D. imagines passing next through the Guard Chamber.

233–6 'The big-bodied halberdiers that guard Her Majesty'—Nashe, *Return of the Renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England* (1589; *Works* 1. 78; Milgate).

233 Ascaparts] 'Ascapart is a giant thirty feet high who figures in the legend of Sir Bevis of Southampton'—Chambers, referring to a popular medieval verse-romance of which *NSTC* records ten printings by 1582. See *EETS* es 46, 48, 65 (1885–94; 1973).

234 Charing Cross] One of twelve set up by order of Edward I in 1291–4, built of stone, about 10 m high, adorned with statues, with a cross on top, and bearing his Queen Eleanor of Castile's image and arms, to commemorate a resting-place of her coffin on the way from Lincoln to Westminster Abbey. It was removed in 1647 (that outside the railway-station is an extravagant Victorian construction). Eleanor Crosses survive at Geddington (almost complete), Hardingstone, Northants, and Waltham Cross, Essex. **bar]** a heavy rod of iron or wood which men competed to pitch furthest. **which/that]** On Group B's variant see note on l. 113.

- 235 No token of worth, but Queen's man, and fine
 Living barrels of beef, flagons of wine,
 I shook like a spied spy. Preachers, which are
 Seas of wit and arts, you can, then dare
 Drown the sins of this place, for, for me,
 240 Who am a scant brook, it enough shall be
 To wash their stains away. Though I yet,
 With *Maccabees'* modesty, the merit
 Of my work lessen, yet some wise men shall,
 I hope, esteem my writs canonical.

238 wit] ~s *H49, D, C57, Lec, A23, 1633, 1635* arts] art III, *Bur, HN, Wed*
 240 Who] Which *Group B, 1633, 1635* a] but a *Group B, 1633, 1635* scant]
 shallow *S96, H49, D: scarce Group B, 1633*
 241 their] away *S96: the C57, Lec, A23, 1633, 1635: these L74, Dal, TCD*
 Though] And ~ *Dob: Although S96, Lut, O'F, 1635*
 242 the] have not ~ *Dob, Bur: the known S96, Lut, O'F, Q, C57, Lec, A23, L74,*
TCD, 1633, 1635
 243 men] man *S96, Lut, O'F, H49, D, C57, Lec, A23, L74, Dal, 1633, 1635*

235 Queen's man] One in royal service.

236 barrels of beef] *OED's* first citation of the use of 'Beefeaters' for Yeomen of the Guard is from 1671. Nashe, *Strange Neues, of the Intercepting Certaine Letters*, says Harvey's alleged lies are 'as big as one of the Guards' chines of beef' (1592; *Works* 1. 269). Cp. Corbett, 'To the Lord Mordaunt' ll. 129–30: 'the Guard, those men of war / Who but two weapons use, beef and the bar' (Milgate).

238–41 Seas . . . away] Implying it would take the greatest ingenuity to palliate Court conduct. J. S. Baumlín, *TSSL* 30 (1988) 363–87, considers this as a pessimistic satire: the writer perceives the powerlessness as well as deceptiveness of language, and despairs of classic satire's ability to reform.

240–3 Who/Which; a/but a; scant/shallow/scarce; their/away/the/these; the/have not the/the known; men/man] That all these variants occur in *Group B* and other MSS within the last five lines suggests that the exceptionally vulnerable last leaf of a collection of the first four satires was damaged early in the line of transmission.

242 Maccabees' modesty] 'And if I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto'—2 *Macc.* 15. 38.

244 canonical] truthful. The two Books of the Maccabees were relegated in the Protestant Bible from the canonical Old Testament to the Apocrypha because they existed only in the Greek Septuagint, not the Hebrew Bible. 2 *Macc.* 12. 43–5 was used to defend the doctrine of purgatory, implied in prayers for the dead, and is glanced at humorously in ll. 2–3. Baumlín sees these lines as a final implicit admission of the satirist's lack of authority or prospect of success.

Satyre 5

Date. Autumn 1597–1598. Written after the return of the Islands expedition (see *Calm*) at the end of Oct. and D.'s taking office under Egerton (ll. 31–2), and perhaps before the Great Carrack's cargo of pepper was all sold (l. 85).

Analogues. As with *Satyre 2*, in introducing the addressee in ll. 31–3 as if this were a verse-epistle, D.'s satire followed Persius' sixth. More substantially, and relevantly, '*Satyre 5* assumes the form of a judicial oration . . . as described by Thomas Wilson in his influential *Arte of Rhetorique*. [note fols. 47–57]', according to M. T. Hester, *TSL* 20 (1978) 347–66, seeing six sections: stance and charge, 1–9; method to be followed, 9–27; narration, proposition, aim, 28–34; general condition of justice/law in England 35–42; confirming proof in suitor's complaint about the character of judges and officers, 43–63; confutation, this suitor's complicity, 63–78; peroration 79–91—D. following the judicial principle of moving from general to particular.

Text. As with the other Satyres, *L74*, *Dal*, *D*, *TCD*, *C57*, *Lec*, *A23* tend to read together as a group (B). The version in *W* is sometimes supported against others by all the MSS in turn. It has been chosen because it demands fewest corrections (only three are needed, in ll. 42, 73 and 91), and in indifferent cases because of its relative authority.

THOU shalt not laugh in this leaf, Muse, nor they
 Whom any pity warms. He which did lay
 Rules to make courtiers (he, being understood,
 May make good courtiers, but who courtiers good?)
 5 Frees from the stings of jests all who in extreme
 Are wretched or wicked: of these two a theme

Sources collated: *W*, *Q*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *Dob*; Group B: *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *A23*, *L74*, *Dal*, *TCD*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *Satyre 5* *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635: *Satyra secunda Dob*: *Satira 5^a* *Q*: *Sat*: 5^a.
W: *Satire*. 3 *L74*, *Dal*: *Satyre TCD*: *Satyre 5th*. *C57*, *Lec*, *A23*
 5 stings] *sting Lut*, *O'F*, *C57*, *Lec*, *A23*, 1633, 1635

1–2 Thou . . . warms] Cp. the disclaimer of extremes of response in *Satyre 3* 1–3, after the embracing of perfect hate and pity in *Satyre 2* 1–4.

2–6 He which . . . wicked] Castiglione, *Courtier 2* (p. 138): 'It provoketh no laughter to mock and scorn a silly soul in misery and calamity, nor yet a naughty knave and common ribald because a man would think that these men deserved to be otherwise punished than in jesting at. And men's minds are not bent to scoff them in misery, unless such men in their mishap brag and boast of themselves, and have a proud stomach.'

5 stings/sting] The variant seems practically indifferent.

6 wretched or wicked] i.e., suitors or officers.

- Charity and liberty give me. What is he
 Who off'cers' rage and suitors' misery
 Can write, and jest? If all things be in all—
 10 As I think, since all, which were, are, and shall
 Be, be made of the same elements:
 Each thing each thing implies or represents—
 Then man is a world, in which officers
 Are the vast, ravishing seas, and suitors
 15 Springs (now full, now shallow, now dry), which to
 That which drowns them run. These self reasons do
 Prove the world a man in which officers
 Are the devouring stomach, and suitors
 Th'excrement which they void. All men are dust:
 20 How much worse are suitors, who to men's lust
 Are made preys! Oh worse than dust, or worms' meat,
 For they do eat you now whose selves worms shall eat!
 They are the mills which grind you, yet you are
 The wind which drives them; and a wasteful war

12 implies] employs *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *A23*, *L74*, *Dal*, 1633

19 excrement] ~s *Group B*, 1633, 1635

7 Charity and liberty] Compassion for suitors and freedom to criticise injustice.

8 rage] extreme greed and violence.

10–11 all . . . elements] Aristotelean earth, water, fire and air, not Democritean atoms. Cp. P. de La Primaudaye, *Second Part of the French Academie* (1594) pp. 18–19: 'of this first matter, which contained all the elements, . . . Every body is compounded'; the pre-17 July 1614 letter (1633 p. 356) and *Serm.* 9. 173 (12 Feb. 1630) assert this too (Milgate).

12 implies/employs] This could be just a spelling-variant of the time. **implies]** contains.

13–19 The repetition of the weak rhymes in 13–14, 17–18 may be deliberate, emphasising the identity of the 'reasons', or *D*. may once have thought the two analogies were alternatives. In the first, 'man is' means 'the political system is like'; in the second, 'world a man' means 'world is like an individual's body'. In the usual 'microcosm' analogy, the body of a man was likened to the world, as in *DivM7Little*. By 'All men' *D*. means 'All members of the human race', including officers and suitors.

15–16 Springs . . . run] A commonplace; see Tilley *R140*. Cp. *BedfordShe* 30–2.
16 self] same.

19 excrement/~s] *W* etc. limit suitors to being the voiding of the stomach, *Group B* makes them all the excretions of the body, such as sweat, nails, scurf, lice etc., obviously unaptly. **all . . . dust]** Cp. *Eccles.* 3. 20: 'All are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.'

20 lust] any sort of desire.

21 worms' meat] A commonplace: see Tilley *M253* (Milgate).

24 wasteful] devastating.

- 25 Is fought against you, and you fight it; they
 Adulterate law, and you prepare their way
 Like wittols: th'issue your own ruin is.
 Greatest and fairest Empress, know you this?
 Alas, no more than Thames' calm head doth know
- 30 Whose meads her arms drown, or whose corn o'erflow.
 You sir, whose righteousness she loves, whom I,
 By having leave to serve, am most richly
 For service paid, authòrized, now begin
 To know and weed out this enormous sin.
- 35 O Age of rusty Iron! Some better wit
 Call it some worse name, if aught equal it:
 The Iron Age that was when justice was sold; now,
 Injustice is sold dearer far, allow
 All claimed fees and duties; gamesters, anon

26 their] the *Q*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *Dal*, 1635

38 dearer far] dearer *Lut*, *O'Fae*, 1635 allow] did allow *Lut*, *O'F*, *Dob*, 1635:
 How *D*

39 claimed] demands, *Group B*, 1633

27 wittols] cuckolds consenting to the 'adulteration' of l. 26. **issue]** result (and, continuing the sexual analogy, 'children').

28 Empress] Addressed with this flattering term since she was queen of several separate realms, England, Ireland and, in her title, France. *D.* may not have known or prudently ignored that she personally authorised Topcliffe independently of Council. See note on *Satyre* 4 216.

29–30 Jonson uses the image for *The Sad Shepherd* ProL. 25–6.

31–2 You . . . serve] Sir Thomas Egerton (1540?–1617), Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Master of the Rolls, one of whose secretaries *D.* had become. Among the literary men who paid tribute were Camden, Daniel, Davies and Jonson. He was a convert from Roman Catholicism like *D.*, prosecutor of Edmund Campion in 1581, and subsequently a vigorous enforcer of the penal laws against his former co-religionists. See Bald pp. 93–9.

33–4 authòrized . . . sin] *J.* Spedding, *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* (1882) 2. 56, refers to 'The humble petition of the Clerk of the Council concerning his fees restrained by the Lord Keeper', dated 3 July 1597 (now Huntington Library MS Ellesmere 2675), and prints the letter from Bacon, holder of the reversion of the Clerkship, to Egerton about these 'claimed fees' (Gr.). Cp. Bald p. 99.

35 Age of rusty Iron] i.e., it is decayed even from that portrayed by Ovid, as it already was for Juvenal 13. 28–30 (Gr.). Cp. Spenser, *Mother Hubberds Tale* 254; Chapman, *De Guiana* 32; *FirAn* 425–6.

36 aught] anything.

37 The Iron Age . . . sold] Ovid, *Met.* 1. 127–50.

38 allow] allowing for.

39 claimed/demands,] *Group B*'s version might imply that all demands should be allowed, which is not consonant with l. 68. **gamesters]** gamblers, in resorting to law. Cp. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* 2. 3. 7. 1: 'For as it is with ordinary gamesters—the gains go to the box—so falls it out to such as contend: the lawyers get all' (Milgate).

- 40 The money which you swear and sweat for's gone
 Into other hands. So controverted lands
 Scape, like Angelica, the strivers' hands.
 If law be in the judge's heart, and he
 Have no heart to resist letter or fee,
 45 Where wilt thou appeal? Pow'r of the courts below
 Flow from the first, main head, and these can throw
 Thee, if they suck thee in, to misery,
 To fetters, halters. But if th'injury
 Steel thee to dare complain? Alas, thou go'st
 50 Against the stream when upwards, when th'art most
 Heavy and most faint; and in those labours they,
 'Gainst whom thou should'st complain, will in thy way
 Become great seas, o'er which, when thou shalt be
 Forc'd to make golden bridges, thou shalt see
 55 That all thy gold was drowned in them before;
 All things follow their likes: only who have may've more.
 Judges are gods; he who made and said them so,

40 swear and sweat] sweat and swear *Group B*, 1633, 1635

42 Scape, like Angelica Σ: Like Angelica, scape *W*, *Q*

46 Flow] ~s *Lut*, *O'F* these] those *Lut*, *O'F*, *Q*

51 those] these *Group B*, 1633, 1635 52 thy] the *Group B*, 1633

56 likes] like *Lut*, *O'F*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *A23*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635

40 swear and sweat/sweat and swear] The variant seems indifferent, though taking the oath in court would precede sweating under cross-examination.

41 controverted] disputed.

42 Scape, like Angelica/Like Angelica, scape] This is perhaps a revision of *D.*'s first thoughts in *W* and *Q*. The reference is to Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 1. 17–21 (Engl. Sir John Harington, 1591; 1972): 'So hard she rode while they were at their fight / That she was soon escapèd out of sight', whereupon Ferrau and Rinaldo realise that 'So soon we leese what erst we sought so sore.'

44 letter] from powerful patron. **fee]** bribe.

46 Flow/~s] Though more correct by modern standards, the reading in *Lut*, *O'F* does not seem to be what *D.* wrote and most scribes found acceptable. **main head]** the Queen (as in l. 29). **these]** lower courts.

50 upwards] to a higher court.

51 those/these] *Group B*'s variant seems indifferent.

52 thy/the] *Group B*'s version slightly reduces the emphasis.

54 make golden bridges] secure your passage by bribes. A conventional expression: cp. Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*, 'To the Reader', and *Unfortunate Traveller* (both 1594; *Works* 2. 179, 222 and note 4. 248–9).

56 As Milgate notes, citing ten other examples, the line is an alexandrine. **likes/like]** The rejected reading appears mistaken: it is the oppressors' preferences with which affairs accord, not men like them. **only . . . more]** So Jesus promises in *Matt.* 25. 29.

57 Judges are gods] *Ps.* 82. 6, quoted in *John* 10. 35. Cp. *Serm.* 1. 233 (2 Nov. 1617), 6. 297 (8 May 1625; Milgate).

- Meant not men should be forced to them to go
 By means of angels: when supplications
 60 We send to God, to Dominations,
 Pow'rs, Cherubins, and all Heaven's Courts, if we
 Should pay fees as here, daily bread would be
 Scarce to kings. So 'tis: would it not anger
 A stoic, a coward, yea, a martyr,
 65 To see a pursuivant come in and call
 All his clothes 'copes', books 'primers', 'n' all
 His plate 'chalices', and mis-take them away,
 And ask a fee for coming? Oh, ne'er may

58 not] ~ that Q, D, C57, Lec, A23, TCD, 1633, 1635

59 supplications] supplication 1635

61 Courts] Court Dob, D, C57, Lec, A23, TCD, 1633

68 ask] lack C57, Lec, A23, 1633, 1635 ne'er] near L74, Dal, D, C57, Lec, A23

58 not/~ that] The second version is unnecessary, and would make the line unmetrical.

59 angels] Punning on the name of the coin, as in *Bracelet passim*.

60–1 Dominations, / Pow'rs, Cherubins] The 4th, 6th, and 2nd of Ps.–Dionysius the Areopagite's nine orders of angels, listed in note on *Bracelet* 77–8. They and other occupants of Heaven were not singled out for supplication in the Anglican Church (cp. the 'love to saints and angels' admitted to in *HSW1* Since 12).

61 Cherubins] The addition of '~s' makes the plural obvious. Cp. *GV, AV*'s 'Cherubins', *Gen.* 3. 24. D. was aware later in *Serm.* 8. 371 (Easter Day 1629) that 'Cherubim, and Seraphim, are plural terminations; many Cherubs, many Seraphs'. Cp. *BedfordRefined* 72, where '~in' might denote singular or plural, *Markham* 49 (~ins, plural), and *BulstrodeLanguage* 35, *Funeral Elegy* 50 (both '~in' for singular).

Courts/Court] A Protestant emendation in *Dob* and Group B (except *L74, Dal*): for them, Heaven has only one court and judge, to whom there is direct access through prayer. *W* shows that D. still thinks at least partly in the old way. Later (probably in 1609—Bald p. 180 n.), D. disapproves of Roman Catholicism's complication of access to God: 'So the Roman profession . . . carries Heaven farther from us by making us pass so many courts and offices, of saints in this life, in all our petitions and lying in a painful prison in the next' (*Letters* p. 102).

65–8 Cp. *Serm.* 5. 370: 'If a pursuivant, if a sergeant come to thee from the King, in any Court of Justice, though he come to put thee in trouble, to call thee to an account, yet thou receivest him, thou entertainest him, thou payest him fees' (Gr.).

65 pursuivant] officer hunting Roman Catholics. See note on *Satyre* 4 216.

66 copes] prohibited vestments, used in the Roman Catholic Mass. **primers]** devotional books.

67 chalices] cups used for consecrated wine in the Mass.

68 ask/lack] The version in *C57, Lec, A23* must be mistaken, since it puts an end to the bitter irony: the speaker is not asking here for more reward for pursuivants. **ne'er/near]** The second reading is clearly mistaken.

- Fair law's white, reverend name be strumpeted
 70 To warrant thefts: she is establishèd
 Recorder to Destiny[^]on Earth, and she
 Speaks Fate's words, and but tells us who must be
 Rich, who poor, who in chairs, who in jails.
 She is all fair, but yet hath foul, long nails,
 75 With which she scratcheth suitors; in bodies
 Of men, so[^]in law, nails are th'ex extremities:
 So off'cers stretch to more than law can do,
 As our nails reach what no else part comes to.
 Why bar'st thou to yon off'cer, fool? Hath he
 80 Got those goods for which erst men bared to thee?
 Fool! Twice, thrice, thou'st bought wrong, and now hungrily
 Beg'st right; but that dole comes not till these die.
 Thou hadst much, and law's Urim and Thummim try
 Thou wouldst for more; and for all hast paper
 85 Enough to clothe all th'Great Carrack's pepper.

72 but tells us] ~ tell ~ *Dob*: tells *Group B*, 1633, 1635

73 chairs, *Dob*, *Group B*, 1633, 1635: chairs, and *Lut*, *O'F*: chains, *W*, *Q*, *Lut*, *O'F*
 76 th'ex extremities] extremities 1633, 1635

80 erst men] men erst *L74*, *Dal*: men *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *A23*, *TCD*, 1633

69 white] pure, virginal (elsewhere used by *D*. in a sexual context, e.g., *Funeral Elegy* 75, *Litany* 92). **strumpeted]** prostituted.

72 but tells us/~ tell ~/tells] *Group B*'s shorter version makes the line a foot short.

73 chairs,/chairs, and/chains,] Presumably *chairs*, 'positions of authority' (*OED* 3b), is the original reading. The antithesis of the first part of the line is thus repeated with variation. *W*, *Q* and the copy for *Lut*, *O'F* slipped into an easy error, encouraged by *jails*.

79 bar'st] respectfully takest thy hat off to.

80 erst men/men erst/men] The order of adverb and noun seems indifferent, but omission of 'erst' makes the line unmetrical. **erst]** formerly.

81 bought] With the fee of l. 68.

82 dole] charitable gift.

83 Urim and Thummim] in Aaron's breastplate of judgement, *Exod.* 28. 30. *GV* glosses them as 'light and perfection' and 'knowledge and holiness'. They are now thought to have been oracular means of divining 'yes' and 'no'.

85 clothe] wrap. For the same use of unwanted paper in ancient Rome, cp. Horace, *Epist.* 2. 1. 269–70, Martial 3. 2. 5, and Catullus 95. 7–8 (Milgate). **Great Carrack]** A large Portuguese galleon, the *Madre de Dios* (165 ft long, over 46 ft broad, of 1,600 tonnes, taking a dozen or more men to steer, and with a crew of 600–700, 'far beyond the mould of the biggest shipping used among us'—Hakluyt (1903–5) 7. 118), was captured off the Azores and brought into Dartmouth on 7 Sept. 1592. The 300–400 tonnes of pepper she contained, reserved as part of the Queen's share, took until Christmas 1597 to sell on the London market. (Hakluyt 7. 105–18, *CSPD 1591–1594* p. 314, Stow, *Annals* (1631) p. 788).

Sell that, and by that thou much more shalt leese,
 Than Hammon, if he sold's antiquities.
 O wretch, that thy fortunes should moralize
 Aesop's fables, and make tales prophecies:
 90 Thou art that swimming dog whom shadows cozenèd,
 And dived, near drowning, for what vanishèd.

87 if] when *Group B*, 1633 Hammon] Hammond *Lut*, *O'F*: Hamon *Q*: Haman
D, *C57*, *Lec*, *L74*, *Dal*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635: Hamman *A23*

90 that] the *Group B*, 1633, 1635

91 And] Which *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635: Who *Q*, *Dob* dived *Q*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *Dob*: dived'st
W, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *A23*, *L74*: div'st *Dal*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635

Metempsychosis

Date and Context. 1600–16 Aug. 1601. D. was working for Egerton as a secretary, and had met Ann More, who was the niece of the second Lady Egerton (*née* More): see notes on *ValedictionName* and *Bald* pp. 95–6.

Analogues. 'Nosce Teipsum', a long poem on the soul by Sir John Davies, had been published twice in 1599. The hypothesis of metempsychosis, going back at least to Pythagoras (Ovid, *Met.* 15. 158–72), though not compatible with Christianity (Golding's dedication of his Ovid, ll. 26–54), was revived by G. Bruno, *Cabala del cavallo Pegaseo* 2, and *Degl'heroici furori* 1. 4 (both 'Paris', i.e., London, 1585; see F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964) p. 249). It was topical around the 1580s–1590s: cp. Montaigne 2. 11 (1928 2. 123), quoting Claudian, *Against Rufinus* 2. 482–4, 491–3; Marlowe, *Dr Faustus* (1588–92; 1604 A-text)

87 if/when] *Group B* makes the sale an accomplished fact, and Hammon's relics therefore saleable, which blunts the implication that they are worthless.

Hammon/Hamon/Hammond/Haman/Hamman] See notes on *Antiquary*.

89–91 Fables attributed to Aesop were a widely used schoolbook (NSTC 167–89). D. seems to have half-remembered from childhood the fable of the dog carrying a piece of flesh over a bridge (1. 5 in the English of 1634) who was misled by the reflection in the water into dropping what he had in order to gain more. Milgate cites the Latin of Phaedrus 1. 4, but *natans* there is now understood to apply not to the dog 'swimming', but to its reflection, 'floating'.

90 that/the] Indifferent.

91 dived/dived'st/div'st] *Q*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *Dob*'s reading lacks authority, but *W*, *L74*, *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *A23*'s 'dived'st' has the worst of application either to the present addressee (*Dal1*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635's 'div'st') or to the dog in the past which should be in the third person. The aorist 'what vanishèd' rather than a perfect 'what's vanishèd' suggests that D. intended the line to apply to the dog.

5. 2. 107–9; *Merchant of Venice* 4. 1. 129–32 (1596–7), *As You Like It* 3. 2. 172–3 (1599–1600), *Twelfth Night* 4. 2. 50–60 (also probably written during 1601). J. M. Mueller, *MP* 70 (1972) 121, draws attention to other quasi-Ovidian but satirical poems: Marston's *Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image* (1598), which 'attempts to bring lasciviousness to a *reductio ad absurdum*'; John Weever's *Faunus and Melliflora* (1600), 'which represented the appearance of satyrs (satires) in the world'; Chapman's *Σκία νυκτός*. *The Shadow of Night* (1594), 'which sought to employ significant obscurity in the service of philosophical scepticism'; *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* (1595), 'a wholesale inversion of the Platonic and neo-Platonic ladder of love'; and, finally, Cyril Tourneur's *The Transformed Metamorphosis* (1600), expressing 'an utter *contemptus mundi* and the necessity of nothing less than transformation of its evil and debased nature'. She finds 'the nucleus of Donne's poem' in the immoralist (or amoralist) doctrines involving absolute licence and transmigration of souls of Carpoocrates and Epiphaneas as represented by Tertullian, *De anima* 35, Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1. 25, and Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 3. 2–6 (Mueller 123–31). Later, D. expressed Christian orthodoxy regarding transmigration of souls in *Serm.* 1. 316 (19 April 1618), quoted by J. Klause, in *Renaissance Genres*, ed. B. K. Lewalski (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard 1986, pp. 419–20):

Aquinas notes . . . that there were Heretics that held, that the very soul of Adam was by a long circuit and transmigration come into Paul, and so Paul was the same man (in his principal part, in the soul) as Adam was; and in that sense it was literally true that he said, he was . . . the first of all sinners, because he was the first man Adam: but this is an heretical fancy, and a Pythagorean bubble.

Cp. the reference in *Serm.* 7. 257 (12 Dec. 1626) to 'a perpetual revolution and transmigration of souls through bodies, which hath been the giddiness of some philosophers to think.' The sub-title 'Poema Satyricon' signals that D. is offering a poem also analogous to Petronius' prose *Satyricon*: by the Greek word Petronius indicates that his models are the comically lecherous satyr plays, Greek fiction, and Roman satire, resulting in what P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel* (1970) p. 72, characterises as 'an episodic narrative of comic adventure . . . a derisive account of lascivious behaviour, infused with satirical elements' (Mueller 121). Possible parody of Du Bartas, noted by A. H. Upham, *French Influence in English Literature* (1908) p. 185, is treated by S. Snyder, *SP* 68 (1973) 392–407. Klause (pp. 418–43) argues, with qualifications, that in declining any determinate structure and his freedom of style D. is akin here to Montaigne, whom D. may well have read in MS before the publication of Florio's translation.

Jonson averred to Drummond that D.'s 'general purpose was to have brought in all the bodies of the heretics from the soul of Cain, and at last left it in the body of Calvin. Of this he never wrote but one sheet, and now, since he was made Doctor, repenteth highly' (*Jonson* 1. 136; *CH* 69). However, it has been plausibly recognised that ll. 61–3 accurately describe Robert Cecil instead, and relate *Metem* to the fall of Essex. D.'s loss of sympathy with Essex, and his execution on 25 Feb. 1601, would have accounted for the hasty rounding off of the poem. In Part 2 of his article, M. van Wyk Smith, *RES* ns 24 (1973), argues for reading the poem as a *roman à clef* of a slightly new sort, with each of the Cecils figured by more than one creature.

Also inconsonant with Jonson's account is the conclusion of a poem dedicated to the infinite after as many stanzas as there are weeks in the year. It may be, as suggested by Gardner, *TLS* (29 Dec. 1972) 1587, that D. never intended to draw 'the great world to his aged evening' (which, even if the soul were thenceforth

to inhabit humans only, would have involved some 200 generations), and that calling it the 'First Song' (i.e., 'Canto') was a ruse to disguise his 'Poema Satyricon', which was actually and sufficiently a satirical attack on 'this great soul which here amongst us now / Doth dwell, and moves that hand and tongue and brow / Which, as the moon the sea, moves us'. D. aims satirically also at other powerful people of his day: it is significant that the word 'great' and its derivatives occur twenty-three times—in nearly half the stanzas of *Metem*. Acting for the Queen and Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London had banned all satire in 1599.

Whether the poem is complete as intended or not, after seven introductory stanzas, the soul inhabits the following:

Stanzas	Lines	Abode
7-9	66-90	Forbidden Fruit (plucked by Serpent)
10-12	91-120	Digression on Original Sin
13-17	121-170	Mandrake (plucked as drug by Eve)
18-22	171-220	Sparrow (exhausted by sex)
23-4	231-240	Fish (consumed by Swan)
25-30	241-300	Another Fish (caught by Oyster-catcher)
31-36	301-60	Whale (killed by lesser creatures)
37	361-70	Digression on kings' death
38-40	371-400	Mouse (killer of Elephant)
41-3	401-430	Wolf (trapped by Abel)
44-5	431-50	Half Dog, half Wolf (killed by both sorts)
46-9	451-90	Ape (stoned by Tethlemite)
50-1	491-510	Themech (daughter of Eve)
52	511-20	Concluding paradox

As in the love-poems *Anniversary*, *Morrow*, and in the epithalamia *Lincoln*, *Elizabeth*, the final alexandrine rounds off each stanza, here suggesting to some an intended allusion to the Spenserian stanza.

Text. *Metem* survives in eight early seventeenth-century MSS. Two are copies of others (*A18*, *N*), two contain *Metem* alone. Of the latter, *H39* gives the first third of the Epistle and fifty-one out of fifty-two stanzas in a version that frequently misreads. Almost as unreliable is *TCC*, apparently copied by the same scribe as *TCD*, but much less accurate. *C57* is usually followed in its slightly less frequent errors by *1633*, which implies the latter's copy was similar; *1635* follows *1633* (retaining the Epistle to *Metem* at the beginning of the volume amid the preliminaries as (an inappropriate) preface to the whole, while moving the poem itself to p. 301), except for a few imaginative errors in *O'F*, which it presumably consulted from time to time. That leaves *G*, *TCD* as the best representatives of what Milgate (p. lxiv) shows are two main lines of descent from a lost archetype, making respectively thirty-six and twenty-seven obvious errors each. On fourteen occasions either might be right, or both give what D. wrote in successive versions. *TCD* has been adopted as the base text, slightly more likely to be correct in these indifferent readings.

Infinitati Sacrum,

16^o Augusti 1601.

Epistle

OTHERS at the porches and entries of their buildings set their arms: I, my picture—if any colours can deliver a mind so plain and flat and through-light as mine. Naturally, at a new author I doubt and stick and do not quickly say
 5 ‘Good’. I censure much and tax, and this liberty costs me more than others by how much my own things are worse than others’. Yet I would not be so rebellious against myself as not to do it, since I love it; nor so unjust to others, as to do it *sine talione*. As long as I give them as good hold
 10 upon me, they must pardon me my bitings. I forbid no reprehender but him that like the Trent Council forbids not books but authors, damning whatever such a name hath or shall write: none writes so ill that he gives not something exemplary to follow or fly. Now, when I begin this book,
 15 I have no purpose to come into any man’s debt: how my

Sources collated: G, H39 (*first nine lines of Epistle, stanzas 1–51*), TCC, TCD, C57, O’F; 1633, 1635 (*Epistle prefixed separately to entire volume*)

Base text: TCD

Select variants:

Heading Infinitati . . . Epistle TCC, TCD, C57, O’F (1633, 1635): Infinitati Sacrum H39: Epistle G: [Metempsychosis] Μετεμψύχωσης G on general title page of MS

4 quickly say] say quickly C57, 1633, 1635

6–7 by . . . others’ G, TCC, C57, O’F, 1633, 1635: om. H39 (*eyeslip*), inserted above line TCD

8–9 as to G, H39, O’F: to TCD, C57, 1633, 1635

Heading *Infinitati Sacrum*: Dedicated to Infinity, as Ovid, *Met.* 1. 4, characterises his work as an ‘everlasting song’ (Mueller). The task the poet has undertaken cannot be concluded: there were just too many generations to describe.

Epistle

3 through-light] transparent. Apparently D.’s own (re-)coinage.

4 stick] hesitate (Milgate).

5 tax] reprove.

9 sine talione] without giving an opportunity to retaliate (a phrase used by Martial 12. 63. 10 of a bad poet whose work is not worth borrowing in return).

11 Trent Council] The Council which met in twenty-five sessions from 1545 to 1563 to produce the Counter-Reformation of the Roman Catholic Church. D. seems to be wrong: the notorious *Index* it ordered to be revised was of books rather than authors. Cp. *Biathanatos* 3. 2. 5.

stock will hold out I know not—perchance waste, perchance
 increase in use. If I do borrow anything of Antiquity, besides
 that I make account that I pay it to posterity with as much
 and as good, you shall still find me to acknowledge it, and
 20 to thank not him only that hath digged out treasure for me,
 but that hath lighted me a candle to the place. All which
 I will bid you remember (for I would have no such readers
 as I can teach) is that the Pythagorean doctrine doth not
 25 only carry one soul from man to man, nor man to beast,
 but indifferently to plants also: and therefore you must not
 grudge to find the same soul in an emperor, in a post-horse,
 and in a mushroom, since no unreadiness in the soul but an
 indisposition in the organs works this. And therefore, though
 30 this soul could not move when it was a melon, yet it may
 remember and now tell me at what lascivious banquet it was
 served. And though it could not speak when it was a spider,
 yet it can remember and now tell me who used it for poison
 to attain dignity. However the bodies have dulled her other
 35 faculties, her memory hath been ever her own, which makes
 me so seriously deliver you by her relation all her passages
 from her first making when she was that apple which Eve
 ate, to this time, when she is he whose life you shall find in
 the end of this book.

19 still find me] find me still G

22 you] you to G would] will 1633, 1635

23 is] us G 27 and in a] and a 1633

30 now] can now 1635 34 been ever] ever been C57, 1633, 1635

37 he] she 1635

23–5 the Pythagorean . . . plants also] Cp. P. de La Primaudaye, *Second Part of the French Academie* 11. 84 (1594) p. 507: 'According to the opinion of Pythagoras, . . . they imagined that after a soul was once entered into a body it never ceased to go from body to body . . . whether it were of a man or of a beast or of a plant.' The original source was Diogenes Laertius, 8. 77, according to whom Empedocles claimed to have been 'a boy and a girl, a bush and a bird and a dumb sea fish'. Cp. Aelian, *On Animals* 12. 7. On p. 508 La Primaudaye links the belief to libertinism (see headnote on analogues).

36 apple] The traditional interpretation of the general 'fruit of the tree that is in the midst of the garden' of *Gen.* 3. 3, although Adam (2. 20) had already named all the creatures. The identification was encouraged by the similarity of the Latin *malus*, 'apple', to *malum*, 'evil'. Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 6. 6, enumerates other candidates such as grape, Indian Fig, pomegranate and banana, aptly concluding that 'after this fruit curiosity fruitlessly enquireth'.

*Poema Satyricon**First Song*

I

ISING the progress of a deathless soul
 Whom Fate, which God made but doth not control,
 Placed in most shapes; all times before the Law
 Yoked us, and when, and since, in this I sing;
 5 And th'great world to his aged evening
 From infant morn through manly noon I draw.
 What the gold Chaldee or silver Persian saw,
 Greek brass or Roman iron, is in this one;
 A work t'outwear Seth's pillars, brick and stone,
 10 And (Holy Writ excepted) made to yield to none.

Sub-heading First Song *TCC, TCD, C57, O'F: Poema Satiricum. / Metempsychosis H39: no heading G: The Progress of the Soul. / First Song 1633, 1635*

Stanza numbers *Arabic G, C57, O'F: not given H39, TCC, TCD: Roman 1633, 1635*
 7 gold] cold 1635 10 Writ *G, O'F, 1635: ~s H39, TCC, TCD, C57, 1633*

Poem

1 Echoing Virgil, *Aen.* 1. 1: '*Arma virumque cano*', 'Arms and the man I sing'.

2 control] countermand.

3-4 all times . . . I sing] Like Ovid, *Met.* 1. 1-4, who does complete his task (Mueller). **before the Law/Yoked us]** i.e., pre-Mosaic times. However, Pererius 11. 9 (1601) p. 452, rejects the Rabbinical argument that before Moses formulated the Law, *Exod.* 20. 17 etc., all things prohibited therein were nevertheless practised by the pious, thus justifying, for example, the incest of the first two generations of mankind, of Noah and Lot, and Jacob's polygamy. Cp. the Golden Age of Ovid, *Met.* 1. 89-112. Klause (p. 421) quotes Paul's authoritative opinion in *Rom.* 7. 8: 'Without the Law, sin was dead.'

5 A favourite belief of D.'s: cp. *Satyre* 3 35-8 and note.

6 manly] Because the shadow of a sundial or hands of a clock are perpendicularly erect. Cp. *Romeo and Juliet* 2. 3. 104-5.

7-8 The four ages of *Dan.* 2. 32-45, interpreted by Christians, e.g., in the margin of the Geneva Bible, as the four monarchies that should precede Christ.

9 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1. 2. 3 (70-1; *Workes* (1602) p. 6), says that Seth's

heirs and followers . . . invented the science of the celestial bodies, and all that which concerneth the beauty and order of the same. And to the end that their inventions should not be defaced out of the memories of men, neither should perish before they were perfectly known, insomuch as Adam had foretold them of the general destruction of all things after two sorts, the one by the force of fire, and the other by the violence and abundance of waters, they made two pillars, the one of brick, and the other of stone, and engraved in each of them such things as they had invented.

Cp. Du Bartas 2. 2. 4. In l. 517, however, D. opines that the astronomical lore inscribed on the pillars has merely 'vexed us', rather than being of any benefit, thus implying his poem will be useless. See R. J. Corthell, *SEL* 21 (1981) 97-110 on *Metem* as paradox.

10 Holy Writ excepted] Since 'the Word of the Lord endureth for ever'—1 *Pet.* 1. 25.

Thee, eye of Heaven, this great Soul envies not:
 By thy male force is all we have begot;
 In the first East thou now beginn'st to shine,
 Suck'st early balm and Island spices there,
 15 And wilt anon in thy loose-reined career
 At Tagus, Po, Seine, Thames, and Danau dine,
 And see at night thy western land of mine;
 Yet hast thou not more nations seen than she,
 That before thee one day began to be,
 20 And thy frail light being quenched, shall long, long
 outlive thee.

13 beginn'st] begins C57, 1633 16 Danau ed.: Danow Σ: Danon C57, 1633

11 eye of Heaven] Sun. Cp. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 226–8.

12 Ovid, *Met.* 1. 417–21. Cp. *Derby* 1–2.

13–17 The absurdity of D.'s traditionally Eurocentric view is pointed out by Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 6. 7. Its falsity had already been shown by J. C. Scaliger, *Exotiericae exercitationes* 99. 1 (1557) f. 142r.

14 early balm] Dawn dew; balsam was gathered from oriental trees. See note on *Comparison* 3. **Island spices]** i.e., rise over the E. Indies.

16 Danau] Danube.

17 western . . . mine] America, source of Spain's gold and silver.

19 *Gen.* 1. 11–19, 26–7, has plants such as the Forbidden Tree, the soul's first home, created on the third day, the Sun on the fourth.

21 holy] He 'found grace in the eyes of the Lord' (*Gen.* 6. 8), was the only man of his generation who was pious and wise, and inaugurated theology and sacrifice as the first and chief priest (Annius 1, 3, in *Historia antiqua* (1599) pp. 11, 13), and signified the rulers of the Church, according to Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum* 132, 5 (*PL* 37. 1731; Milgate, from D. C. Allen, *Legend of Noah* (1949) pp. 3–4).

Janus] Noah. The identification with the Roman god of beginnings and ends, elaborated from Lactantius, *De falsa religione* 1. 13 (*PL* 6. 188) by Anniius of Viterbo, in *Berosi Babylonii Antiquitates* 5 (1498; in the collection *Historia antiqua* (1599) p. 17), assuming that Janus was the cognomen of Noah; it was popularly repeated by, e.g., Leone Ebreo 3 (Engl 1937) p. 292 (source of D's *Ecstasy*), and S. Münster, *Cosmographia* 1. 29, 2 (1550 edn) pp. 35, 139–40, 1025. Anniius' 'Berosus of Babylon' was discredited, however, by L. Gyraldus, dismissed as a false attribution by G. Varrerius (Barreiros) in an essay appended to *Historia antiqua*, and deemed a fiction, unworthy of belief, by Pererius, 14. 127 (1601) p. 534. Cp. the view of Janus as merely analogous in *Serm.* 8. 112 (Nov.–Dec. 1627): 'We call *Noah, Iamus*, because he had two faces, in this respect: that he looked into the former and into the latter world; he saw the times before, and after the flood.' See Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 6. 6 (1981) p. 480; E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, 2nd edn (1968) p. 251 note 39. **sovereign boat]** Ark (hinted at by the rhyme of the stanza's final couplet).

3

- Nor holy Janus in whose sovereign boat
 The Church, and all the monarchies did float;
 That swimming college and free hospital
 Of all mankind, that cage and vivary
 25 Of fowls, and beasts, in whose womb, Destiny
 Us, and our latest nephews did install
 (For thence are all derived, that fill this All)
 Didst thou in that great stewardship embark
 So diverse shapes into that floating park,
 30 As have been moved, and informed by this heavenly spark.

27 For G, H39: From TCC, TCD, O'F, C57, 1633, 1635

22 The Church] In the margin the Geneva Bible, following Augustine, *City of God* 15. 26, notes on *Gen.* 5. 29 that 'Noah delivered the Church, and preserved it by his obedience'. **all the monarchies]** See note above on ll. 7–8. The Church beginning with Christ superseded the four monarchies.

23 college] Annius, *Berosi Babylonii Antiquitates* 3, in *Historia antiqua* (1599) p. 13, claims that Noah began the study of divine and human knowledge, distinguished sidereal from solar years, and lunar from calendar months, taught simple agriculture and invented viticulture, bequeathing many secrets of nature in sacred books. **hospital]** hostel, charitable refuge. Browne, *Religio Medici* 2. 11, uses it in the modern medical sense: 'For the world, I count it not an inn but an hospital, and a place not to live but to die in.'

24 vivary] From the Latin *vivarium*, 'animal enclosure'. D.'s is the first use of this form recorded in *OED*.

25 fowls and beasts] *Gen.* 7. 8–9, etc.

26 latest nephews] remotest descendants (*OED* nephews 4—Milgate).

27 For/From] There are some seventeen examples in D.'s poems of the introduction of a parenthetical explanation by 'For', none with 'From'. **All]** World.

28 stewardship] responsibility.

29 park] Cp. *Elizabeth* 20–1 (Milgate)

30 heavenly spark] the soul. All souls were thought to come from God: this one will inhabit more creatures than were in the Ark, because Noah was not bidden to take plants, and did not need to take aquatic creatures (noted by Augustine, *City of God* 15. 27).

4

Great Destiny, the commissary of God,
 That hast marked out a path and period
 For everything; who where we offspring took,
 Our ways and ends, seest at one instant; thou
 35 Knot of all causes, thou whose changeless brow
 Ne'er smiles nor frowns: O vouch thou safe to look
 And show my story in thy^eternal book,
 That (if my prayer be fit) I may^eunderstand
 So much myself as to know with what hand,
 40 How scant or liberal, this my life's race is spanned.

5

To my six lustres, almost now outwore,
 Except thy book owe me so many more,
 Except my legend be free from the lets
 Of steep ambition, sleepy poverty,
 45 Spir't-quenching sickness, dull captivity,
 Distracting business, and from beauty's nets,
 And all that calls from this, and to^ether whets,

36 vouch thou safe] vouchsafe thou 1633, 1635 47 other] ~s C57, 1633, 1635

31 The Christian idea of destiny was that by God's general providence all fulfilled what had been decreed before, in the words of Article 17 of the Church of England, 'the foundations of the world were laid'. What might seem unpredictable, was actually under control: 'You sacrifice to Fortune, you make Fortune a god: that you should not do; but yet you should acknowledge that God hath such a servant, such an instrument, as Fortune, too' (*Serm.* 3. 229, 8 April 1621). Cp. also *Serm.* 9. 303: 'God is no Occasional God, no Accidental God; . . . They err equally, that make a God of Necessity, and that make a God of Contingency: . . . God is not Destiny: then there could be no reward, nor punishment; but God is not Fortune neither, for then there were no Providence.' **commissary]** delegate, agent.

36 vouch thou safe] Archaic; *OED*'s last quotation last instance of verb and adjective thus kept distinct is from Golding's Ovid in 1565.

37 thy^eternal book] *Ps.* 139.16. Not to be confused with God's Book of Life in *Dan.* and *Rev.*, which listed only the elect. Cp. *BedfordRefined* 53 and note.

40 scant or liberal] limited or generous.

41 six lustres] thirty years. A lustre was a period of five years (Anglicised form of Latin *lustrum*). **almost now outwore]** Milgate points out that D. would have been twenty-nine years and seven months old on 1 Aug. 1601 if born early in 1572.

43 legend] life-story in the 'eternal book' of l. 37. **lets]** hindrances.

45 Milgate points out that sickness was thought literally to damage the spirits explained below in the note on l. 500.

47 to^ether whets] sharpens (the appetite) for other occupations.

O let me not launch out, but let me save
 Th'expense of brain and spirit, that my grave
 50 His right and due, a whole, unwasted man, may have.

6

But if my days be long and good enough,
 In vain this sea shall enlarge or enrough
 Itself, for I will through the wave and foam,
 And shall, in sad, lone ways, a lively sprite,
 55 Make my dark, heavy poem light and light.
 For though through many straits and sands I roam,
 I launch at Paradise, and sail t'wards home:
 The course I there began shall here be stayed;
 Sails hoisèd there strook here, and anchors laid
 60 In Thames, which were at Tigris and Euphrates weighed.

7

For this great soul which here amongst us now
 Doth dwell, and moves that hand and tongue and brow

54 shall] hold *O'Fbe*, 1635 lone *H39*, *O'F*, 1635: love *G*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*, 1633
 56 straits] sands *H39* sands *G*: lands *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635: straits *H39*
 57 sail *G*, *H39*, *TCC*: I sail *TCD*, *C57*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635 t'wards] t'ward *G*, *H39*
 59 hoisèd] hoisted *G*, *H39* 61 this] the *C57*, 1633, 1635: that *O'F*

49 Th'expense of . . . spirit] Cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 129. 1–2: 'Th'expense of spirit in a waste of shame / Is lust in action'.

54 lone/love] *G* and *TCD* need correction from *H39*.

55 light and light] humorous and lucid.

56 sands/lands] The reading of *G* (and *H39*, inverting the phrase) alone is consistent with the image of the dangers and difficulties of a voyage.

57 i.e., the story begins in the Garden of Eden and ends in England. **sail/I sail]** *G*, *H39* preserve metrical regularity.

58 stayed] ended.

59 hoisèd/hoisted] Both forms were current. Milgate finds 'hoisèd' in *Serm.* 6. 305, 9. 68. **strook]** struck, i.e., lowered. All sources agree on the form with -o- or -oo-. **laid]** put down, i.e., dropped.

60 Tigris and Euphrates] The Garden of Eden was traditionally placed in Mesopotamia. A marginal note to the map in the Geneva Bible explains that the four rivers mentioned in *Gen.* 2. 10–14 are the sources of the two large rivers, and that when it is said one river watered Paradise it referred to the joining of the two.

61 this great soul] Either the Queen herself, as Grierson (2. xviii), and later readers have thought, in the Roman view a heretic like Mahomet and Luther, or Robert Cecil, principal secretary of state, and chief adviser. 'Great' is not a word of admiration: Cecil was merely the most powerful man in England, the Queen the ultimate power.

62–3 moves that . . . moves us] The Queen, as virgin Diana was conventionally symbolised by the moon or Cynthia, e.g., Spenser, *Colin Clout* 166 etc.: 'Cynthia, the Lady of the sea'.

Which, as the Moon the sea, moves us, to hear
 Whose story with long patience you will long
 65 (For 'tis the crown and last strain of my song);
 This soul t'whom Luther and Mahomet were
 Prisons of flesh; this soul, which oft did tear
 And mend the wracks of th'Empire and late Rome,
 And lived where every great change did come,
 70 Had first in Paradise a low but fatal room.

8

Yet no low room, nor than the greatest, less,
 If (as devout and sharp men fitly guess)
 That cross, our joy and grief, where nails did tie
 That All which always was all everywhere,
 75 Which could not sin, and yet all sins did bear,
 Which could not die, yet could not choose but die;
 Stood in the self same room in Calvary,

69 where] when C57, 1633, 1635

66 Luther] 1483–1546, initiator of the Reformation, who thus could be said to 'tear . . . late Rome'. The equation with Mahomet was made by Roman Catholic apologists. *Mahomet]* c. 570–632.

67 Prisons of flesh] D. maintains this Platonic/Pauline view of the body as a prison throughout his life: see notes on *Ecstasy* 68, *SecAn* 173–83.

68 wracks] wreckage, ruins. **th'Empire]** the Roman Empire. **late Rome]** the Roman Catholic Church in the Reformation initiated by Luther and 'mended' by Popes Paul III and Pius IV, under whom the Council of Trent inaugurated the Counter-Reformation. D. impartially demonises all 'great' men.

70 low but fatal] Only as a vegetative soul, but bringing death into the world (Milgate). **room]** place.

73–8 Cp. *Sickness* 21–2. The medieval hagiographer Voragine, 68 (1. 277–8), records legends that Seth, son of Adam, was given a piece of the Tree of Knowledge by the Archangel Michael, which he planted on his father's grave. It was eventually used in the Cross of Christ. In 53 (1. 209), however, James rejects the patristic legend that Adam was buried on Mt Calvary. The standard medieval martyrology, there were ten editions in England of Caxton's translation before the Reformation. For other sources of the legend, Mueller (p. 137 n. 86) cites E. C. Quinn, *Quest of Seth* (1962) 49–101, who cites a string of Church Fathers claiming that Adam was buried on Calvary, and an earlier version of the legend, in which an angel placed a kernel from the Forbidden Fruit in Adam's mouth. For D., this coinciding of place was 'more of a bewildering than a consoling fact', according to Klause p. 440.

74–6 Re-used for *CoronazAnnun* 2–4.

76 could not choose but die] Cp. *Serm.* 6. 155 (13 June 1624): 'Lord of *life*, *life* itself, and yet prisoner to *Death*' (Milgate).

Where first grew the forbidden, learned tree,
 For on that tree hung in security
 80 This Soul, made by the Maker's will, from pulling free.

9

Prince of the orchard, fair as dawning morn,
 Fenced with the Law, and ripe as soon as borne,
 That apple grew which this soul did enlive
 Till the then climbing serpent, that now creeps
 85 For that offence for which all mankind weeps,
 Took it, and t'her whom the first man did wive
 (Whom and her race only forbiddings drive)
 He gave it, she t'her husband; both did eat:
 So perished the eaters and the meat,
 90 And we (for treason taints the blood) thence die and sweat.

83 enlive *G*, *H39*, *O'F*, 1633ae, 1635: blank *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*, 1633be

78 Where first grew] D.'s invention, possibly, or misremembering. **forbidden, learned tree]** *Gen.* 2. 17.

79–80 'Fenced with the Law' of *Gen.* 2. 17, and so safe from being picked.

82 ripe . . . borne] Milgate quotes *Serm.* 6. 172: 'In Paradise, the fruits were ripe the first minute'.

83 enlive] animate.

84–6 then climbing serpent . . . Took it] Since in D.'s account the serpent took the fruit and gave it to Eve, it had to be able to climb. It was traditionally depicted twined round the tree, sometimes with the fruit in its mouth. Though European snakes are earthbound, some tropical species find their prey in trees. Basil, *De paradiso* 3. 7 (*PG* 30. 67), thought, on the strength of the curse, *Gen.* 3. 14, that it moved upright on feet. Cp. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1. 2 (*Workes* pp. 4–5) on its loss of the latter.

84–5 that now creeps . . . weeps] *Gen.* 3. 14.

87 race only forbiddings drive] only prohibiting acts makes her sex perform them. Proverbial: Tilley *W650*, quotes, e.g., Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy* 3. 5: 'That they are most forbidden, they will soonest attempt.'

88 He gave it] *GV*, *AV* both translate *Gen.* 3. 6 as recounting that Eve 'took of the fruit' (cp. Vulgate's *tulit*), which is usually assumed to mean that she picked it herself, since she looks at the tree, rather than received it from the serpent. In *Gen.* 3. 14 Eve says merely, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.'

89 meat] food.

90 treason . . . blood] The property of a traitor or other executed felon could not be inherited (Milgate). **die and sweat]** the threat and curse of *Gen.* 2. 17, 3. 17–19.

IO

Man all at once was there by woman slain,
 And one by one we're here slain o'er again
 By them. The mother poisoned the well-head,
 The daughters here corrupt us rivulets;
 95 No smallness scapes, no greatness breaks their nets;
 She thrust us out, and by them we are led
 Astray from turning to whence we are fled.
 Were prisoners judges, 'twould seem rigorous:
 She sinned, we bear; part of our pain is, thus
 100 To love them whose fault to this painful love yoked us.

II

So fast in us doth this corruption grow,
 That now we dare ask why we should be so.
 Would God (disputes the curious rebel) make

94 corrupt] ~s 1633 us] as G: the *H39* rivulets G, *H39*, *O'Fae*, 1633, 1635: inserted later in same hand TCD: blank TCC, C57, 1633: nothing lets *O'Fbe*

96 thrust] ~s TCC, 1633

99 bear G, *H39*, *O'F*, 1635: hear TCC, TCD: here C57, 1633

91–100 D. here and in *FirAn* 105–7, 180, agrees with *Ecclus* 25. 24 in blaming Eve rather than Adam, but later preached the Protestant orthodoxy of *1 Cor.* 15. 22–2: 'Man was soured in the lump, poisoned in the fountain, withered in the root, in the loins of Adam'; and

Adam sinned, and I suffer. I forfeited before I had any possession or could claim any interest. I had a punishment before I had a being, and God was displeased with me before I was I. I was built up scarce 50 years ago in my mother's womb, and I was cast down almost 6,000 years ago in Adam's loins. I was born in the last age of the world, and died in the first. How, and how justly, do we cry out against a man that hath sold a town or sold an army. And Adam sold the world.

or even 'The devil . . . poisoned us all there in the fountain' (*Serm.* 4. 148 (Midsummer 1622)); 7. 78 (24 Feb. 1626); 9. 247 (Whitsun ?1630).

94 us/as/the] G, *H39* show that there was corruption in their source, while TCD, TCC, C57, *O'F* had difficulties with theirs for 'rivulets'.

96 thrust us out] expelled, ejected from the inheritance of Paradise.

97 turning] returning. **whence we are fled]** To Paradise on Earth.

99 pain] penalty.

101–10 Milgate points out that the raising of these objections is quite usual, set out, e.g., in Pererius 6. 41–95 (1601) 283–96. D. seems to have replaced the four volumes of the first edition with the single volume of the largely augmented second as soon as it came out.

103–5 **Would God . . . cross his]** Cp. *DivM9Poisonous* 1–8.

105 A law, and would not have it kept? Or can
 His creatures' will, cross his? Of every man
 For one, will God (and be just) vengeance take?
 Who sinned? 'Twas not forbidden to the snake
 Nor her, who was not then made; nor is't writ
 That Adam cropped or knew the apple; yet
 110 The worm and she and he and we endure for it.

12

But snatch me, Heav'nly Spirit, from this vain
 Reckoning their vanities; less is their gain
 Than hazard still to meditate on ill,
 Though with good mind; their reason's like those toys
 115 Of glassy bubbles, which the gamesome boys
 Stretch to so nice a thinness through a quill
 That they themselves break, do themselves spill.
 Arguing is heretics' game, and exercise,

108 Nor *G*, *H39*, *C57*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635: No and space *TCC*: No, *TCD*

112 their] the *G*, *H39* vanities] vanity 1635

115 which *G*, *H39*, *TCC*, *O'F*, 1633ae, 1635: with *TCD*, *C57*, 1633be

117 do] and do *O'F*, 1635

106 For one] Because of one.

110 *Gen.* 3. 14, 19.

111–20 Even well-intentioned reasoning about matters of faith is fruitless, becoming self-destructive heresy. Cp. the warning of *Col* 2. 8: 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.' In the Roman Catholic Church, heresy was a matter for the Inquisition (whose permanent existence might be thought to generate the very thing it looked for), but Calvin likewise (controversially) had Servetus burnt in Geneva in 1553 for denying the divinity of Christ, while Anabaptists and Arians were burnt on the orders of Elizabeth and James I. D. is not therefore putting an exclusively R. C. point of view.

112 their] theologians'.

114–17 their reason's . . . spill] Cp. *Serm.* 7. 294 (Christmas 1626), on R. C. miracles, which, like 'boys' bubbles (which were but bubbles before, at best) by an over-blowing become nothing.'

114 toys] mere trifles as well as amusements.

115 which/with] The contractions *wth* and *wth* are easily misread in MS, so *TCD*, *C57* could have made the mistake independently.

116 nice] (a) subtle, fine, slender; or (b) critical (*OED* 9b–11a).

117 do/and do] *O'F* makes a tenth syllable for the line, and is followed by 1635, but MS authority is content with nine.

As wrestlers, perfects them; not liberties
 120 Of speech, but silence, hands, not tongues, end heresies.

13

Just in that instant when the serpent's gripe
 Broke the slight veins and tender conduit-pipe
 Through which this soul from the tree's root did draw
 Life and growth to this apple, fled away
 125 This loose soul, old, one and another day.
 As lightning, which one scarce dares say he saw,
 'Tis so soon gone (and better proof the law
 Of sense than faith requires) swiftly she flew
 To a dark and foggy plot. Her, her fate threw
 130 There through th'Earth's pores, and in a plant housed her
 anew.

14

The plant thus abled, to itself did force
 A place, where no place was; by nature's course
 As air from water, water fleets away
 From thicker bodies, by this root thronged so,
 135 His spongy confines gave him place to grow;

119 perfects] profits *H39*: perfect *O'F*, 1633*be*

126 scarce dares] dare scarce *H39*: dares scarce *O'F*

129 fate *G*, *H39*: ~s *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

130 Earth's pores] Earth'-pores 1633*be*: Earth-pores 1635 anew] a new *C57*, 1633

119 perfects/profits] The symbol for *per* is easily confused with that for *pro*, and the spelling of most MSS is 'perfitts'. The copy for *H39* or an ancestor was evidently abbreviated.

125 old . . . day] completing its life in two days.

127-8 better . . . requires] 'Physical matters need stricter logical proof than matters of faith. The senses must be checked by reason.'

129 dark . . . plot] Dioscorides 4.75 (Eng. J. Goodyer 1655, ed. R. T. Gunther, 4. 76 (1934) pp. 473-4), followed by, e.g., R. Dodoens, *Nieuwe Herball* 3. 84 (1578) pp. 437-8: 'Mandrage groweth willingly in dark and shadowy places'. **foggy]** boggy, marshy (*OED* 2, Gr.).

130 through th'Earth's pores] through the minute gaps between particles of earth (to animate the seed in it). **a plant]** Not any plant, but the aphrodisiac and narcotic mandrake, *Mandragora officinarum*.

131 abled] endowed with power, i.e., soul and life.

133 fleets] drains, separates out from.

134 thronged] crowded.

Just as in our streets, when the people stay
 To see the Prince, and have so filled the way
 That weasels scarce could pass, when she comes near
 They throng and cleave up, and a passage clear,
 140 As if, for that time, their round bodies flattened were.

15

His right arm he thrust out towards the East,
 Westward his left; th'ends did themselves digest
 Into ten lesser strings: these fingers were.
 And as a slumb'rer stretching on his bed;
 145 This way he this, and that way scatterèd
 His other leg, which feet with toes upbear.
 Grew on his middle parts, the first day, hair,

137 Prince] Princess *TCCae*, 1633*ae* and have so filled G: and so filled *TCC*,
TCD, *C57*, 1633: so fillèd is *H39*: and so filled up *O'F*: and so fill up 1635
 147 middle parts Σ: mid-parts *TCD*: middle part 1635

136 stay] wait.

137 Prince] Queen. The word could be used to mean 'sovereign, ruler, monarch', irrespective of sex (*OED* 1b). **and have so filled/and so filled/so fillèd is/and so filled up/and so fill up]** *G*, *H39*, 1635 all give readings that make both grammatical and metrical sense: *G* has been followed, as less likely to make a mistake than *H39*, and of more authority than 1635, but the wide evidence of difficulty in scribes' copy means that its reading, too, is a guess.

138 weasels] Remarkable for their slenderness. One figures in a fable about slimmess told by Horace, *Epist.* 1. 7. 29–33.

139 cleave up] cling together.

141–6 Cp. Gerard, *Herball* 2. 60 (1597) pp. 280–1:

The root is long, thick, whitish, divided many times into two or three parts resembling the legs of a man, with other parts of his body adjoining thereto, as the privy parts, as it hath been reported; whereas in truth it is no otherwise than in the roots of carrots, parsnips and suchlike, forked or divided into two or more parts, . . . I myself and my servants . . . never could either perceive shape of man or woman, but sometimes one straight root, sometimes two, and often six or seven branches coming from the main, great root, . . . But the idle drones that have little or nothing to do but eat and drink have bestowed some of their time in carving the roots of bryony, forming them to the shape of men and women; which falsifying practice hath confirmed the error amongst the simple and unlearned people, who have taken them upon their report to be the true mandrakes.

142 digest] divide.

147 hair] i.e., pubic hair. D. is deceived by the imposture described also by Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 2. 6. 1. (1981) p. 143: after carving out the figures of men and women, the fraudsters stick in them 'grains of barley or millet where they intend the hair

To show, that in love's business he should still
 A dealer be, and be used well or ill:
 150 His apples kindle, his leaves, force of conception kill.

16

A mouth, but dumb, he hath; blind eyes, deaf ears,
 And to his shoulders dangle subtle hairs;
 A young Colossus there he stands upright,
 And, as that ground by him were conquerèd,
 155 A leafy garland wears he on his head,
 Enchased with little fruits, so red and bright
 That for them you would call your love's lips white.
 So, of a lone, unhaunted place possessed,
 Did this soul's second inn, built by the guest,
 160 This living buried man, this quiet mandrake, rest.

17

No lustful woman came this plant to grieve,
 But t'was because there was none yet but Eve,

150 kindle G, H39, 1635: kind TCC, TCD, C57, O'F, 1633

158 lone] love G, C57

should grow, then bury them in sand till the grains shoot forth their roots, which at the longest will happen in twenty days; they afterward clip and trim those tender strings in the fashion of beards and other hairy teguments.'

148 love's business] Cp. Browne, 7. 7 (1981, p. 556): 'It was, I confess, from good antiquity, and in the days of Theophrastus [*Historia plantarum* 9. 9. 1] accounted a philtre or plant that conciliates affection, and so delivered by Dioscorides.'

149 well or ill] for conception or for abortion. The judgement is made in relation to the supposed divine command, 'Be fruitful and multiply' (*Gen.* 1. 22 etc.)

150 The vernacular name was 'Love apple' or 'Devil's apples'. Cp. Browne (1981) p. 556: 'Now what Dioscorides affirmeth in favour of this effect, that the grains of the apples of mandrakes mundify the matrix [cleanse the womb], and, applied with sulphur, stop the fluxes of women, he overthrows again by qualities destructive unto conception, affirming also that the juice thereof purgeth upward like hellebore, and, applied in pessaries, provokes menstruous flows, and procures abortion.' **kindle/kind]** Clearly a mistake in the copy from which TCC, TCD, C57, O'F, 1633 derived.

156 red] 'Of a yellowish colour, smooth, soft and glittering'—Gerard.

158 lone/love] The copy for G, C57 obviously suffered from the common confusion of *n* and *u*.

159 built by the guest] Because the soul was thought to contain the formal cause, determining the form.

- And she (with other purpose) killed it quite:
 Her sin had now brought in infirmities,
 165 And so her cradled child the moist, red eyes
 Had never shut, nor slept since it saw light;
 Poppy she knew, she knew the mandrake's might,
 And tore up both, 'n' so cooled her child's blood.
 Unvirtuous weeds might long unvexed have stood;
 170 But he's short-lived, that with his death can do most good.

18

- To an unfettered soul's quick, nimble haste
 Are falling stars and heart's thoughts but slow-paced:
 Thinner than burnt air flies this soul, and she
 Whom four new-coming and four parting suns
 175 Had found and left the mandrake's tenant, runs
 Thoughtless of change, when her firm destiny
 Confined and enjailed her that seemed so free
 Into a small blue shell the which a poor,
 Warm bird o'erspread, and sat still evermore,
 180 Till her enclosed child kicked, and pecked itself a door.

178 Into a Σ : Into *blank space TCD*

180 enclosed *G, H39, O'Fae, 1635*: enclothed *TCC, TCD, O'Fbe*: unclothed *C57, 1633, O'Fbe* pecked] pricked *G*: poked *H39*: picked *1633, 1635*

163–8 Medical authorities were agreed on the mandrake's narcotic and blood-cooling properties: see, e.g., Dodoens p. 438: 'A suppository made of the same, and put into the fundament, causeth sleep. . . . The smell of the apples causeth sleep, but the juice of the same taken into the body doth better.' Cp. *Othello* 3. 3. 334–7.

165 'The child was Cain, whose name was often (wrongly) translated as "lamentation", "constant weeping" [for killing Abel] (as in Rabanus Maurus, *De universo* 2. 1, *PL* 111. 32; Milgate). Cp. Dioscorides and Dodoens, pp. 438, 433 on its use for 'medicines that do mitigate the pains of the eyes', and 'all other'.

167 Poppy] Also used to induce sleep: cp. Dodoens, p. 433.

169 Unvirtuous] Not endowed with healing powers.

170 Perhaps glancing at the proverb, Tilley G251, quoting, e.g., T. Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) p. 73: 'Whom God loveth best, those he taketh soonest.'

171–3 Cp. *SecAn* 180–206.

173 Thinner . . . air] D. conjectures that thin as air is, it is even thinner when consumed by fire, like liquid or solid objects, which disappear.

174 i.e., four days.

176 firm destiny] Milgate points out that the mere vegetative or animal soul is always for D. firmly ruled by Destiny.

177 enjailed] imprisoned.

180 enclosed/enclothed/unclothed] *G, H39* are obviously correct. **pecked/pricked/poked/picked]** The reading of *TCD* has been followed, but *G* or *H39* could well be correct, though the disagreement between them suggests obscurity in their common ancestor. Puzzlingly, *pecked* was unacceptable to the printed editions.

19

- Out crept a sparrow, this soul's moving inn,
 On whose raw arms stiff feathers now begin,
 As children's teeth through gums, to break with pain.
 His flesh is jelly yet, and his bones threads;
 185 All a new, downy mantle overspreads;
 A mouth he opes, which would as much contain
 As his late house, and the first hour speaks plain,
 And chirps aloud for meat. Meat fit for men
 His father steals for him, and so feeds then
 190 One that within a month will beat him from his hen.

20

- In this world's youth, wise Nature did make haste;
 Things ripened sooner, and did longer last:
 Already this hot cock in bush and tree,
 In field and tent o'erflutters his next hen.
 195 He asks her not who did so taste, nor when,
 Nor if his sister or his niece she be;
 Nor doth she pule for his inconstancy
 If in her sight he change, nor doth refuse
 The next that calls; both liberty do use:
 200 Where store is of both kinds, both kinds may freely choose.

185 a new, downy mantle] ~ ~ mantle downy C57: downy a new mantle 1633

187 hour G, H39, TCC, 1633, O'Fae, 1635: house TCD, C57, O'Fbe

181 moving] An essential property of the animal soul.

185 All] The bird's whole body.

188 meat] food. **men]** Either (a) adults; or (b) humans. Sparrows may live partly on grain and crumbs.

191 wise Nature] Cp. *Community* 7, *Progress* 91–2, *FirAn* 223.

193–9 Proverbial conduct, Pliny 10. 52 (107), Tilley S715. Cp. Chaucer's Summoner, *Canterbury Tales* 1. 626: 'lecherous as a sparwe', and Drayton's 'liquorous sparrow', *The Owl* 369.

194 o'erflutters] *OED*'s only entry apart from Browning's *Ring and the Book*: for more extensive evidence that he read *Metem*, see note on l. 345.

197 pule] whine, complain.

199 next] in place or time.

200 store] plentiful supply.

21

Men, till they took laws which made freedom less,
 Their daughters and their sisters did ingress:
 Till now, unlawful, therefore ill, 'twas not.
 So jolly that it can move this soul is,
 205 The body so free of his kindnesses,
 That self-preserving it hath now forgot,
 And slack'neth so the soul's and body's knot
 Which temp'rance straitens, freely on his she-friends
 He blood and spirit, pith and marrow, spends,
 210 Ill steward of himself, himself in three years ends.

22

Else might he long have lived; man did not know
 Of gummy blood which doth in holly grow

204 soul is *G*, *H39*, *C57*, *O'F*: soul, is *TCD*, *C57*: soul; *Is 1633*: soul. *Is 1635*
 208 straitens *G*: straightens *H39*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*, *O'F*, *1633*, *1635*

201–3 A traditional lament, deriving from that of the incestuous Myrrha in Ovid, *Met.* 10. 324–33. Cp. *Change* 10–11, *Confined* 5–8, *Relic* 30. Annius, *Berosi antiquitates* 1, in *Historia antiqua* (1599) p. 11, says that before the Flood, men copulated with their mothers, daughters, sisters, other males and animals, scorning religion and gods.

202 ingress] enter, penetrate.

204–10 Deriving from Aristotle, *Of Length and Shortness of Life* (466b11). Cp. *Farewell* 24–5 (Milgate). Cp. Cuffe 28 (1607) p. 106:

Avicenna, a learned philosopher and physician, doubted not to say that the emission of a little seed more than the body could well bear was a great deal more hurtful than the loss of forty times so much blood. And the truth hereof Aristotle proveth by his experimental observation, for so hath he noted the cock sparrow by immoderate and too frequent use of venery very seldom to live out the term of two years.

Cp. also *Flea* 4–13, *War* 30, *Progress* 93, and Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3. 9 (1981) 190.

204 jolly] pleased. Cp. *Satyre 1* 7. **move]** which the apple and mandrake could not.

205 free of his kindnesses] generous with his favours.

207 knot] the vital spirits, as in *Ecstasy* 64, on which see note.

208 straitens/straightens] The reading of *G* makes sense as antithetical of 'slack'neth'. 'Straightens' may just be an alternative spelling. **straitens]** tightens.

209 spirit] The supposed link between body and soul. See note on *Ecstasy* 61–4.

pith] vigour (*OED* 5a). **marrow]** vitality (*OED* 2b). **spends]** ejaculates. See quotation above on ll. 204–10.

210 The sparrow was a byword for sexual activity: cp. T. Cogan, *Haven of Health* (1588) p. 242: 'The sparrows through incontinency consume themselves'. **three years]** Because, Milgate points out, 'Things did longer last'.

212–13 Of gummy . . . bird-lime] See note on *Satyre 2* 46, and cp. *Satyre 4* 195.

How to make bird-lime, nor how to deceive
 With feigned calls, hid nets, or enwrapping snare
 215 The free inhab'tants of the pliant air.
 (Man to beget and woman to conceive
 Asked not of roots, nor of cock-sparrows, leave.)
 Yet chooseth he, though none of these he fears,
 Pleasantly three, than, straitened, twenty years
 220 To live, and to increase his race, himself outwears.

23

This coal with overblowing quenched and dead,
 The soul from her too-active organs fled
 T'a brook; a female fish's sandy roe
 With the male's jelly newly leavened was,
 225 For they had intertouched as they did pass,
 And one of those small bodies, fitted so,
 This soul informed, and abled it to row
 Itself with finny oars, which she did fit.
 Her scales seemed yet of parchment, and as yet
 230 Perchance a fish, but by no name you could call it:

214 hid *G*, *H39*: his *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635 snare *G*, *H39*, 1633, *O'Fae*, 1635: ~s *C57*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *O'Fbe*

220 his race *om.* *C57*, 1633

222 from her too *H39*, 1633, 1635: ~ ~ to *G*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*:—her too—from *O'Fbe*

225 had intertouched *G*, *H39*, 1635: intertouched *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*, *O'F*, 1633

230 you could] could you *H39*: could *G*

215 pliant] accommodating.

217 roots] Gerard l. 69, 2. 389, 391, 409, 448, 468, pp. 97, 872, 874, 895, 968, 1000, notes those of corn-flag, skirret, wild carrot, spignel, lady's bedstraw, and eryngium. **cock-sparrows]** According to Milgate, their flesh, eggs and dung were thus used.

218 these] The traps of 211–14.

219–20 D.'s arithmetic implies an hourly performance during daylight in the sparrow's three-month breeding season—quite a demanding programme.

219 straitened] restricted, restrained.

225 intertouched] touched one another (a favourite form of coinage with D., in this case *OED*'s only citation).

226 fitted so] suited or supplied in this way.

227 informed] animated, shaped. **abled]** enabled.

228 fit] fashion as the formal principle: see note above on l. 159.

24

When goodly, like a ship in her full trim,
 A swan so white that you may unto him
 Compare all whiteness, but himself to none,
 Glided along, and, as he glided, watched,
 235 And with his archèd neck this poor fish caught.
 It moved with state, as if to look upon
 Low things it scorned, and yet, before that one
 Could think he sought it, he had swallowed clear
 This and much such, and, unblamed, devoured there
 240 All but who too swift, too great, or well-armed were.

25

Now swam a prison in a prison put,
 And now this soul in double walls was shut
 Till, melted with the swan's digestive fire,
 She left her house the fish, and vapoured forth.
 245 Fate, not affording bodies of more worth
 For her as yet, bids her again retire
 T'another fish, to any new desire
 Made a new prey; for he that can to none
 Resistance make, nor complaint, sure is gone.
 250 Weakness invites, but silence feasts oppression.

240 too great] or ~ TCD

237 Low . . . scorned] For Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in uniuersam Sacram Scripturam* (PL 112. 894) the swan was an allegory of Pride (Milgate).

240 great] (a) 'large'; (b) 'powerful, of high position in society'.

241 Cp. note above on l. 67. **a prison within a prison]** Such double captivity might have been felt by the young D. empathetically, when his brother Henry died in prison in a country, England, which made it hard for Roman Catholics to go abroad to a country which espoused their faith. The idea stayed in D.'s mind, transmuted: cp. *Serm.* 2. 63 (1618): 'We do but carry another wall about our prison, another storey of unwieldy flesh about our souls'.

244 vapoured] Cp. *Expiration* 2.

249 complaint] Perhaps stressed on the first syllable, though this was not usual. **gone]** lost, ruined, undone.

250 As D. well knew, brought up as one of those 'poor, disarmed . . . papists, not worth hate' (*Satyre* 2 10). His realism here contradicts Christian ideals such as 'The meek shall inherit the earth' (*Ps.* 37. 11), and 'As a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth' (*Isa.* 53. 7). Cp. the proverb, Tilley S446, 'Silence is consent', from the maxim of the law, *Qui tacet consentire videtur*, quoted by Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron Walden* (1596; *Works* 3. 27).

26

Pace with the native stream this fish doth keep,
 And journeys with her t'ward the glassy deep,
 But oft retarded, once with a hidden net
 Though with great windows (for, when need first taught
 255 These tricks to catch food, then they were not wrought
 As now, with curious greediness to let
 None scape, but few, and fit for use, to get),
 As in this trap a ravenous pike was ta'en,
 Who, though himself distressed, would fain have slain
 260 This wretch (so hardly are ill habits left again).

27

Here by her smallness she two deaths o'erpassed;
 Once inn'cence scaped, and left th'oppressor fast.
 The net through swum, she keeps the liquid path,
 And whether she leap up sometimes to breathe
 265 And suck in air, or find it underneath,
 Or working parts like mills or limbecks hath
 To make the water thin and air-like, faith
 Cares not, but safe the place she's come unto,
 Where fresh with salt waves meet, and what to do
 270 She knows not, but between both makes a board or two.

252 with her] with the 1633, 1635: with C57 t'ward] ~s G, C57, O'F, 1633, 1635
 267 water G, H39, O'F, 1635: weather TCC, TCD, C57, 1633

253-4 net . . . windows] Cp. *Bait* 20.

254-5 need . . . tricks] Proverbial: cp. Tilley N60, N61. The Latin form, *Artis magistra necessitas*, derived originally from Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 514 (Milgate). Cp. Persius 1. 10-11: 'The stomach, master of art and liberal giver of skill'.

256 curious] ingenious.

261 two deaths] Net and pike.

262 Once] At one time (*OED* 4). fast] in inextricable restraint.

264-8 And whether . . . faith/Cares not] D. regards as separate the realms of faith and experience, religious and material truth. Plato, *Timaeus* 92b, and the pseudo-Aristotelean *On Breath* 2 (482a21-4), initiated a controversy unsettled by D.'s time (Milgate).

266 limbecks] stills.

267 water/weather] *TCD* obviously needs correction from G, H39.

270 board] tack (*OED* 15). The fish swims to and fro once or twice.

28

So far from hiding her guests water is,
 That she shows them in bigger quantities
 Than they are. Thus, doubtful of her way,
 For game, and not for hunger, a sea-pie
 275 Spied through this trait'rous spectacle from high
 The seely fish where it disputing lay,
 And, t'end her doubts and her, bears her away.
 Exalted she's but to th'exalter's good,
 As are, by great ones, men which lowly stood:
 280 It raised to be the raiser's instrument and food.

29

Is any kind subject to rape like fish?
 Ill unto man, they neither do, nor wish:
 Fishers they kill not, nor with noise awake;
 They do not hunt, nor strive to make a prey;
 285 Of beasts, nor their young sons to bear away;
 Fowls they pursue not, nor do undertake
 To spoil the nests industrious birds do make;
 Yet them all these unkind kinds feed upon.

273 Thus] And thus *O'F*: Thus her 1635

280 It raised] It's ~ *O'F*, 1633ae, 1635: Raised *H39*, *C57ae*

273 Thus/Thus her] 1635's insertion of 'her' was premature: l. 276 provides the object of 'Spied'.

274 sea-pie] oyster-catcher; cp. G. Markham, *Second Booke of the English Husbandman: The Pleasures of Princes* 8, 'Of Angling' (1614; 1635) 2. 37: 'The sea-pie is a great devourer of all sorts of fish.' Actually it is a mud-feeder, its diet molluscs and worms.

275 spectacle] magnifying glass.

276 seely] simple, harmless, helpless. **disputing]** debating.

279 by] i.e., exalted by.

280 It . . . instrument] Cp. Nashe, *Summer's Last Will* 374–5 (1600; *Works* 3. 245): 'Such is the state of men in honour placed: / They are gold vessels made for servile uses'. **It raised/It's ~/Raised]** *O'F*'s change of the original ablative absolute clause to the more English syntax is not necessary.

281 rape] violence.

283 nor . . . awake] The muteness of fish was proverbial from ancient Greek times, whence the Pythagoreans, according to Plutarch, *Symposiaca*, regarded them as fellow-disciples and abstained from eating them. Cp. Horace, *Odes* 4. 3. 19; Jonson, *Poetaster* 4. 3. 133, and *BulstrodeRecant* 14.

To kill them is an occupation,
 290 And laws make fasts and Lents for their destruction.

30

A sudden stiff land-wind in that self hour
 To seaward forced this bird that did devour
 The fish; he cares not, for with ease he flies,
 Fat gluttony's best orator. At last,
 295 So long he hath flown and hath flown so fast
 That, many leagues at sea, now tired he lies,
 And with his prey, that till then languished, dies.
 The souls, no longer foes, two ways did err:
 The fish I follow, and keep no calendar
 300 Of t'other; he lives yet in some great officer.

31

Into an embryon fish our soul is thrown,
 And in due time thrown out again, and grown

296 many leagues *G, H39*: leagues *TCC, TCD, C57, O'Fbe*: leagues o'erpassed
1633, O'Fae, 1635

289 occupation] pastime, as made clear in *The Compleat Angler* (1653) by D.'s later disciple, Walton.

290 laws make fasts] Milgate explains that the reduction of fast-days by the Reformation harmed the fishing industry, so a statute was promulgated (5 Eliz. c. 5, 11–12; *Statutes of the Realm* 4. 1. 424) making Wednesdays and Saturdays fish-only days, under penalty of fine. Meat was still disallowed on the remaining fast-days or in Lent.

293 he cares not] Though out of his habitat.

294 orator] advocate.

296 many leagues/leagues/leagues o'erpassed] The line's deficiency in his copy, akin to *TCD, C57*, presumably forced the editor of *1633* to guess. The correct reading is preserved in *G, H39*.

298 err] wander.

299 calendar] record (*OED* 5).

300 officer] office-holder in Court or government.

301–70] The whale is thought by van Wyk Smith 149 to stand for Essex, of whom D. at one time may have had high expectations.

301 embryon] embryonic. The soul was thought to be infused prenatally. The whale is a viviparous mammal.

302 thrown out again] born.

To such vastness, as if unmanacled
 From Greece Morea were, and that by some
 305 Earthquake unrooted, loose Morea swum,
 Or seas from Afric's body'd severèd
 And torn the Hopeful Promontory's head:
 This fish would seem these, and, when all hopes fail,
 A great ship overset, or without sail
 310 Hulling, might (when this was a whelp) be like this whale.

32

At every stroke his brazen fins do take,
 More circles in the broken sea they make
 Than cannons' voices, when the air they tear.
 His ribs are pillars, and his high-arched roof
 315 Of bark that blunts best steel, is thunder-proof.
 Swim in him swallowed dolphins without fear,
 And feel no sides, as if his vast womb were
 Some inland sea, and ever as he went
 He spouted rivers up, as if he meant
 320 To join our seas with seas above the firmament.

303–7 Cp. *Paradise Lost* 1. 201–7, 7. 412–15: 'Leviathan, / Hugest of living creatures, on the deep / Stretched like a promontory sleeps or swims, / And seems a moving land.' The analogy was commonplace, deriving from *Physiologus* (e.g., the metrical version by Hildebert, *PL* 171. 1221), appearing, e.g., in C. Gesner, *De piscium et aquatiliū natura* (1558) p. 240; S. Bateman, *Batman upon Bartholome* 13 (1582) f. 200v; Harington's Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 6. 37.

304 **Morea**] the Peloponnese, so called because likened in the Middle Ages to the leaf of the mulberry, *morus*.

307 **torn**] had torn. **Hopeful Promontory's**] Cape of Good Hope's.

308 **when all hopes fail**] (a) of conveying its size; (b) of survival.

309 **overset**] capsized. **without sail**] visually most apt if dismayed.

310 **Hulling**] Floating, drifting.

315 **bark . . . steel**] *Job* 41. 26–7: 'When the sword doth touch him, he will not rise up, nor for the spear, dart nor habergeon; he esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood' (*GV* 41. 17–18; *AV* 41. 26–7). The traditional description is inconsistent with the whale's vulnerability to the mere bone and cartilage of swordfish and thresher in ll. 356–9. **bark**] outer covering (*OED* 5), hide.

thunder-proof] According to Pliny, 2. 56 (146), the only skin of a marine animal that is proof against lightning is that of the seal.

317 **womb**] stomach.

318 **inland sea**] This usually, however, signified the Mediterranean.

320 **seas above the firmament**] *Gen.* 1. 7. As Pererius records, 1. 90–8 (1601) pp. 40–6, there were many opinions as to what these were precisely (hence, perhaps, D.'s omission of the definite article).

33

- He hunts not fish, but, as an officer,
 Stays in his court, as his own net, and there
 All suitors of all sorts themselves enthrall.
 So on his back lies this whale wantoning,
 325 And in his gulf-like throat sucks everything
 That passeth near. Fish chaseth fish, and all,
 Flyer and follower, in this whirlpool fall:
 O might not states of more equality
 Consist? And is it of necessity
 330 That thousand guiltless smalls to make one great must die?

34

- Now drinks he up seas, and he eats up flocks;
 He justles islands, and he shakes firm rocks.
 Now in a room-full house this soul doth float,
 And like a prince she sends her faculties
 335 To all her limbs, distant as provinces.
 The Sun hath twenty times both Crab and Goat
 Parchèd, since first launched forth this living boat.
 'Tis greatest now, and to destruction
 Nearest: there's no pause at perfection.
 340 Greatness a period hath, but hath no station.

321 an officer] a favourite *H39*

322 Stays . . . there All suitors] Lies still at Court, and is himself a net Where suitors *H39* 322ax *O*, *TCC*, *C57*, *O'Fbe* :: at *H39*, 1633, *O'Fae*, 1635 :: in *TCD* 337 this] his 1635

321–3 as an officer . . . All suitors] *H39* reads 'as a favourite / Lies still at Court, and is himself a net / Where suitors', and may give an earlier version (such a degree of creativity is assumed by editors elsewhere to be beyond the abilities of scribes). Gr. detects possible allusion to *Ps.* 10. 9.

324 wantoning] playing, enjoying himself. Cp. *Ps.* 104. 26.

327 whirlpool] Cp. 'the whirlpool death' of *Harington* 162.

330 smalls] people of lower rank.

332 justles] jostles.

334–5 The analogy of soul and monarch, 'her Court, the brain', is elaborated by Davies, *Nosce Teipsum* 331–400.

334 faculties] powers.

336 Crab and Goat] The Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, where the Sun is overhead at the solstices.

338–40 Cp. *Shadow* 25–6, and Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 15. 1–2: 'Everything that grows, / Holds in perfection but a little moment'.

340 period] end. **station]** still point, stationary condition.

35

Two little fishes whom he never harmed,
 Nor fed on their kind, two not throughly armed
 With hope that they could kill him, nor could do
 Good to themselves by^his death: they did not eat
 345 His flesh, nor suck those oils which thence outtreat,
 Conspired against him; and it might undo
 The plot of all, that the plotters were two,
 But that they fishes were, and could not speak.
 How shall a tyran wise strong projects break,
 350 If wretches can on them the common anger wreak?

36

The flail-finned thresher and steel-beaked sword-fish
 Only attempt to do what all do wish.

344 did] do G, H39 351 flail-finned] hail-finned G: flat-finned H39

341–60 The ‘two little fishes’ are identified by van Wyk Smith 149 with the Bacon brothers: Anthony, secretary to Essex, and Francis, an adviser to the latter. (Some advice may have been (more tactfully) indirect, as when Francis sent a copy of his *Essays* to his brother.) Both dissociated themselves from Essex’s failed coup attempt, and Francis became the Crown’s leading prosecutor of his former patron.

341–5 The details of the ‘two little fishes’, their lack of defensive motive, benefit from the whale’s death, or personal profit, argue against identifying them with Drake and Howard who captured rich prizes while supposedly warding off the Spanish Armada.

341 little] smaller (rather than small). The Bacons were members of the gentry rather than the aristocracy.

342 throughly armed] entirely convinced, thoroughly fortified.

345 outtreat] were exuded. *OED* records this as a nonce-word, apart from Browning’s use. That he had read this poem is shown by his quotation of ll. 338–40 ‘in a tribute to the verse of “revered and magisterial Donne” in “The Two Poets of Croisic” 114 (ll. 904–12)’—Milgate.

346–7 it might . . . two] Cp. the proverb, Tilley T257, quoting, e.g., Lyly, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578; *Works* I. 213): ‘Two may keep counsel if one be away.’

348 See note above on l. 283.

349 tyran] ruler, governor. **projects]** schemes.

351–60 A traditional story, given by, e.g., Bateman, *Upon Bartholome* 13 (1582) f. 200v (Milgate).

351 flail-finned thresher] This seems to combine characteristics of the killer-whale (up to 10 m), also known as the thresher-whale, whose dorsal fin is narrow and vertical, known to attack large whales, and thresher-shark or sea-fox or fox-shark (5.5–6 m), which uses its remarkably elongated upper tail-fin to attack smaller fish.

The thresher backs him, and to beat begins;
 The sluggard whale yields to oppression,
 355 And t'hide himself from shame and danger, down
 Begins to sink. The swordfish upward spins,
 And gores him with his beak; his staff-like fins
 So well the one, his sword the other plies,
 That now a scoff and prey, this tyran dies,
 360 And (his own dole) feeds with himself all companies.

37

Who will revenge his death? Or who will call
 Those to account that thought and wrought his fall?
 Th'heirs of slain kings, we see, are often so
 Transported with the joy of what they get,
 365 That they revenge and obsequies forget;
 Nor will against such men the people go,
 Because he's now dead to whom they should show
 Love in that act. Some kings by vice being grown
 So needy[^]of subjects' love, that of their own
 370 They think they lose if love be to the dead prince shown.

38

This soul, now free from prison and passion,
 Hath yet a little indignation
 That so small hammers should so soon down beat
 So great a castle,[^]and having for her house
 375 Got the strait cloister of a wretched mouse
 (As basest men that have not what to eat,
 Nor enjoy aught, do far more hate the great

358 well the] were ~ G, C57, 1633: weareth H39

368 Some] And H39 being] are H39

357 staff-like fins] Though the killer whale has a tall, narrow dorsal, and the shark long pectoral fins, both use their tails to beat the sea, and the shark to stun prey.

360 dole] (a) charitable distribution of food; (b) reward for hounds. **companies]** Groups of guests.

368 Some/And . . . being/are] Perhaps H39 preserves an earlier, more dangerously outspoken version of this line: neither could be claimed to apply to the Queen, but might be taken as a slur on her fellow-Protestant king, Henri IV of France.

369 their own] i.e., loyalty to them.

375 strait cloister] narrow enclosure.

And, foe to none, suspects no enemies;
 Still sleeping stood; vexed not his fantasy
 Black dreams; like an unbent bow, carelessly
 390 His sinewy proboscis did remissly lie,

40

In which, as in a gallery, this mouse
 Walked and surveyed the rooms of this vast house,
 And to the brain, the soul's bedchamber, went,
 And gnawed the life-cords there. Like a whole town
 395 Clean undermined, the slain beast tumbled down.
 With him the murd'rer dies, whom envy sent
 To kill, not scape, for only he that meant
 To die did ever kill a man of better room;
 And thus he made his foe his prey and tomb:
 400 Who cares not to turn back may any whither come.

41

Next housed this soul a wolf's yet unborn whelp,
 Till the best midwife, Nature, gave it help

397 scape] rape G: save H39 meant G, H39, O'F, 1633, 1635: went TCC, TCD, C57

389 carelessly] van Wyk Smith 150 points out in favour of the identification with Essex that one of the characteristics that made men such as D. withdraw their loyalty was the earl's lack of prudence.

390 proboscis] trunk. **remissly]** negligently. The trunk should have been conorted and convoluted so that no mouse could get in.

391 Milgate cites as the apparent original source García da Orta, *Aromatum . . . historia* (1563; Latin 1567) p. 70.

391 gallery] corridor.

393 bedchamber] where the highest policies were decided on by the monarch of l. 334.

398 room] situation (*OED* 12a).

399 his prey and tomb] For the tradition of appropriate tombs, cp. the head-note on analogues of D.'s epigram *Caso d'un Muro*.

400 Cp. the proverb for which Tilley R210, 'He runs far that never turns again', quotes, e.g., D.'s grandfather Heywood, Lyly, Gosson and Bacon.

401-50 The wolf and its half-breed offspring are identified by van Wyk Smith 150-1 with Burghley and his son Robert Cecil, the latter of whom was a misshapen birth.

401-10 Two grey wolves featured on the arms of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits, with their militant mission to reconvert England to the Roman Church. See Milton, *Lycidas* 128-9.

To issue. It could kill as soon as go.
 Abel, as white and mild as his sheep were
 405 (Who in that trade of Church and kingdoms there
 Was the first type) was still infested so
 With this wolf that it bred his loss and woe;
 And yet his bitch, his sentinel, attends
 The flock so near, so well warns and defends,
 410 That the wolf (hopeless else) to corrupt her intends.

42

He took a course which since, successfully,
 Great men have often taken to espy
 The counsels, or to break the plots of foes:
 To Abel's tent he stealeth in the dark,
 415 On whose skirts the bitch slept; ere she could bark,
 Attached her with strait gripes—yet he called those
 'Embracements of love'. To love's work he goes,
 Where deeds move more than words; nor doth she show
 Now much resist, nor needs he straiten so
 420 His prey, for, were she loose, she would not bark nor go.

406 infested *G, H39, O'F, 1633, 1635*: infested *TCC, TCD, C57*

419 Now much resist] Nor ~ ~ *C57, 1633, 1635*: Resistance much *O'F*

420 not] nor *G, 1633, O'Fae, 1635*

403 go] walk.

405-6 Who . . . type] Abel as the first shepherd exemplified the Churchman in contemplation, pilgrimage, and sacrifice, and the ruler's administration and government of the flock, as noted by Pererius 7. 12 (1601) p. 330.

406 still infested] continually troubled.

408-10 The dog symbolises fidelity, but this one, being female, has a weakness, specifically lust, as in *Change* 12. Abel was a type of Christ, and his flock may be taken conventionally for Christ's sheep. Cp. *Acts* 20. 29, where Paul predicts that 'after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock'.

411-13 Referring to the use of a double agent, as in the detection of the Babington conspiracy.

415 On whose skirts] close to which.

416 Attached] seized. strait gripes] tight clutches.

419 resist] resistance. straiten] confine.

420 go] run away.

43

He hath engaged her; his she wholly bides:
 Who not her own, none other's secrets hides.
 If to the flock he come, and Abel there,
 She feigns hoarse barkings, but she biteth not:
 425 Her faith is quite, but not her love forgot.
 At last a trap, of which some everywhere
 Abel had placed, ended his loss and fear
 By the wolf's death; and now just time it was
 That a quick soul should give life to that mass
 430 Of blood in Abel's bitch, and thither this did pass.

44

Some have their wives, their sisters some begot,
 But in the lives of emp'rors you shall not
 Read of a lust the which may equal this:
 This wolf begot himself, and finishèd
 435 What he began alive when he was dead.
 Son to himself and father too, he is
 A riddling lust, for which Schoolmen would miss
 A proper name. The whelp of both these lay

427 ended *G*, *H39*: end and *TCCbe*, *C57*: end both *TCCae*: ending *TCD*: ends both *O'F*: ends all 1633, 1635

435 began] begun *G*, *H39* 438 proper name] name *blank H39*

421 engaged] secured, bound, fascinated.

422 This has the air of a proverb, but is not in Tilley.

428–30 now . . . blood] According to Aristotelean theory, *Generation of Animals* 2. 3 (736b1), the sensitive soul infused by the male's semen does not start to operate until it begins to form the internal organs, firstly the heart, the seat of the sensitive soul and of animal life, in the material increased by the generative and nutritive parts of the vegetative soul.

431 Cp. note on 201–3.

432 lives of emp'rors] Suetonius and the *Historia Augusta* contain many details of the sexual practices of, e.g., Tiberius, Nero and Elagabalus. Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3. 17 deplors 'the anomalies of venery, . . . irregular ways of lust', but, 7. 19. 2, requires a name for them from intellectual rather than ecclesiastical authorities.

437–8 A riddling . . . name] D. alludes also to the taxonomic ingenuity of medieval philosophers in *Satyre* 2 36 and *Sorrow* 20.

In Abel's tent, and with soft Moaba,
 440 His sister, being young, it used to sport and play.

45

He soon for her too harsh and churlish grew,
 And Abel (the dam dead) would use this new
 For the field, being of two kinds made:
 He, as his dam, from sheep drove wolves away,
 445 And as his sire, he made them his own prey.
 Five years he lived and cozened with his trade,
 Then, hopeless that his faults were hid, betrayed
 Himself by flight, and, by all followèd,
 From dogs a wolf, from wolves a dog he fled,
 450 And, like a spy to both sides false, he perishèd.

46

It quickened next a toyful ape, and so
 Gamesome it was, that it might freely go

443 made] thus ~ O'F, 1635

439 Moaba] 'Noaba' in D.'s source, Pseudo-Philo, *Antiquitatum Biblicarum liber* (1527); repr. in *Historia antiqua* (1599) p. 41. Since Pseudo-Philo is printed along with Anniius of Viterbo in this volume and in the 1552 *Antiquitatum variarum auctores* (see notes on ll. 21, 23, 201–3, 431), D. probably used some such collection. *Gen.* 4. 1–2, 25, names only Cain, Abel, and Seth as offspring of Adam, but says, 5. 4, that in the 'eight hundred years' after Seth, 'he begat sons and daughters'.

441–50 Cp. the exploits of the Fox masquerading as a sheepdog in Spenser, *Mother Hubbards Tale* 316–22, a satire on Robert Cecil's father, Lord Burghley.

443 A short line, however pronounced.

446 cozened] deceived.

450 Cp. *Bracelet* 97–8.

451–80 Cp. Harington, *Epigrams* 4. 45 'The Author to his Wife' (1930 no. 299, p. 269): 'But be as wanton, toying as an ape.' G. Cardano, *De subtilitate* 10 (1560 edn) p. 323, is reprinted by C. Gesner, *De quadrupedibus viviparis* (1551) p. 970, translated by E. Topsell, *Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607) p. 10, on an ape 'in stature, bigness and shape like a man, . . . altogether overgrown with hair, . . . : he loveth women and children dearly, like others of his own kind, and is so venerate that he will attempt to ravish women'. See also H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* 9 'Sexuality of Apes' (1952) pp. 261–81. Cp. *Anagram* 40. The Queen called Robert Cecil her pigmy, because of his shortness: Marston noted that 'a male monkey and the diminutive of man [are] *synonyma*' (M. van Wyk Smith, *RES* ns 24 (1973) 148).

451 toyful] playful.

452 Gamesome] playful.

From tent to tent, and with the children play.
 His organs now so like theirs he doth find,
 455 That why he cannot laugh and speak his mind
 He wonders much withal. Most he doth stay
 With Adam's fifth daughter, Siphatecia,
 Doth gaze on her, and, where she passeth, pass;
 Gathers her fruits, and tumbles on the grass,
 460 And, wisest of that kind, the first true lover was.

47

He was the first that more desired to have
 One than another; first that e'er did crave
 Love by mute signs, and had no power to speak;
 First that could make love-faces, or could do
 465 The vaulter's somersaults, or used to woo
 With hoiting gambols, his own bones to break
 To make his mistress merry; or to wreak
 Her anger on himself. Sins against kind
 They easily do, that let feed their mind
 470 With outward beauty: beauty they in boys and beasts do find.

48

By this misled, too low things men have proved
 And too high: beasts and angels have been loved.

459 fruits] fruit *G*, *H39* 465 somersaults] sobersaults *G*, *O'F*

466 hoiting] halting *G*: hoisting *H39* bones] house *H39*

468 anger] angers *G*, *H39*

455 laugh and speak] The attributes of humans only, according to Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 3. 10 (673a7, 28) and the Schoolmen.

457 Siphatecia] Separated into the names of two daughters of Adam in most MSS of Pseudo-Philo 1, they are telescoped into one in the 1527 version repr. in *Historia antiqua* (1599) p. 41 (as in the Admont MS, according to Engl. from superior MSS, G. Kisch 1. 1. 4 (1949) in his apparatus, p. 111 note f).

460 wisest of that kind] Cp. the proverb, 'As wise as an ape' (Tilley A269), i.e., less wise than a human. **true lover]** As ll. 461–8 imply by omission, this does not refer to constancy.

465 somersaults/sobersaults] The latter, from French *soubresauts*, was a current form.

466 Milgate refers to Janson, p. 82. **hoiting]** clumsy.

469–70 feed . . . outward beauty] Cp. *Platonic* 13–16.

472 beasts] Burton 3. 2. 1. 2 lists stallion, bull, jackass, mare, dogs and goats, and later adds pigs. **angels . . . loved]** In *Col.* 2. 18 the worshipping of angels is implicitly forbidden.

This ape, though else through-vain, in this was wise.
 He reached at things too high, but open way
 475 There was, and he knew not she would say nay.
 His toys prevail not; likelier means he tries:
 He gazeth on her face with tear-shot eyes,
 And uplifts subtly with his russet paw
 Her kidskin apron, without fear or awe
 480 Of Nature: Nature hath no gaol, though she have law.

49

First she was silly, and knew not what he meant;
 That virtue, by his touches chafed and spent,
 Succeeds an itchy warmth that melts her quite:
 She knew not first, now cares not what he doth,
 485 And willing half and more, more than half loath,
 She neither pulls nor pushes, but outright
 Now cries and now repents; when Tethlemite
 Her brother entered, and a great stone threw
 After the ape, who, thus prevented, flew.
 490 This house thus battered down, the soul possessed a new.

475 would] could *H39* 477 tear-shot] ~-shed *G*
 478 subtly] softly *H39* 480 have] hath *C57, 1633, O'Fae, 1635*: was *O'Fbe*
 484 now] nor *H39, 1635*: then *TCC*
 485 loath *H39, TCCae* in different hand: Forth *G*: blank *TCCbe, TCD, C57*: Tooth
 1633: wroth *O'F, 1635*
 487 Tethlemite] Tethelemite *C57, 1633*: Thelemite 1635
 488 entered] enters *G, H39*

473 through-vain] thoroughly vain.

476 toys] games.

479 kidskin apron] The 'aprons' of fig-leaves of *Gen.3. 7* were replaced in 3. 21 by God with 'coats of skins'.

480 Nature hath . . . law] A comment on the proverb, Tilley N46 quoting Florio, *Firste Fruites* 19 [1578] f. 32: 'Nature is the right law.' Cp. *Exchange* 11. 'Gaal' is the legal spelling, so seems apt here.

481 silly] naive, unsophisticated.

483 itchy] restless. Cp. *Satyre* 1 38.

485 loath/Forth/blank/Tooth/wroth] There were evidently difficulties with most of the MSS.

487 Tethlemite] This son of Adam is not found in Pseudo-Philo (see note on l. 439) who gives the names of only nine of the twelve sons he says were born later than Seth. It may have been suggested by the names in the 1599 version of two daughters of Jareth, Tethco and Lesse.

50

And whether by this change she lose or win,
 She comes out next where th'ape would have gone in.
 Adam and Eve had mingled bloods, and now,
 Like chymics' equal fires, her temp'rate womb
 495 Had stewed and formed it: and part did become
 A spongy liver, that did richly allow,
 Like a free conduit on a high hill's brow,
 Life-keeping moisture unto every part,
 Part hardened itself to a thicker heart,
 500 Whose busy furnaces life's spirits do impart.

51

Another part became the well of sense,
 The tender, well-armed, feeling brain, from whence
 Those sinewy strings which do our bodies tie
 Are ravelled out; and fast there by one end,
 505 Did this soul limbs, these limbs a soul attend,
 And now they joined. Keeping some quality
 Of every past shape, she knew treachery,

493 mingled bloods] The initial conceit of *Flea*.

494 chymics' equal] alchemists' well tempered or mingled, of even, constant temperature. Cp. *Comparison* 35.

495-504 part did . . . ravelled out] Allen, *Essential Articles* p. 102, finds the successive, tripartite formation and functions of liver, heart and brain in Paré 24. 9 (1634) p. 83.

496-8 Before W. Harvey noted the circulation of the blood in 1628, it was thought simply to flow continuously out of the liver.

496 spongy] Because constantly soaking up and producing fluids.

500 spirits] natural, animal and vital, subtle fluids thought to permeate the blood and various organs. *OED* quotes Norton's *Ordinal of Alchemy* 5 (1477) from E. Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652) p. 82: 'The Spirit Vital in the Heart doth dwell, The Spirit Natural . . . in the Liver, . . . But Spirit Animal dwelleth in the Brain.' D. makes a vague hypothesis even vaguer. Cp. Davies, *Nosce Teipsum* 1121-4, 1137-40, quoted in note on *Ecstasy* 61-2.

502-4 Cp. *Funeral* 9-11 and note.

502 well-armed] Protected by three membranes (the meninges), skull, skin and hair (Milgate). **feeling]** Receiving all the impressions of the senses.

506-9 Keeping . . . woman] M. van Wyk Smith, *RES* ns 24 (1973) 24, observes that 'The "progress" of the soul . . . is ironical and complete in its inversion; while Donne purports to give a traditional description of the soul's ascent from a lower to a higher form of being, the soul actually moves in a downward spiral from beast to beastliness.'

Rapine, deceit, and lust, and ills enow
 To be a woman. Themech she is now,
 510 Sister and wife to Cain, Cain that first did plough.

52

Whoe'er thou be'st that read'st this sullen writ,
 Which just so much courts thee as thou dost it,
 Let me arrest thy thoughts: wonder with me
 Why ploughing, building, ruling and the rest,
 515 Or most of those arts whence our lives are blest,
 By cursèd Cain's race invented be,
 And blest Seth vexed us with astronomy.
 There's nothing simply good nor ill alone:

515 those *G*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635; these *TCC*, *TCD*, *C57*

518 nor *G*, *TCC*, *C57*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635; or *TCD*

508 enow] enough.

509 Themech] Pseudo-Philo, 2. 1–2, *Historia antiqua* (1599) 42. Van Wyk Smith 151 points out that in cabbalism Themech is understood as the evil power behind Cain: in a footnote he cites L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (1909) to the effect that her name means literally 'may she be destroyed', also citing O. F. Emerson *PMLA* 21 (1906) 831–929.

510 Sister . . . Cain] Logically considered, not a factor against her: only sisters, daughters of Adam and Eve, existed; see note on l. 431. **Cain that . . . plough]** *Gen.* 4. 2. Cp. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 1. 3 (*Workes* p. 5), 'Cain (being the wickedest man among men, and addicted to insatiable desire of profit) was he that first found out the use of the plough'. Afterwards, 'he abandoned himself to all pleasures of the body, making it his sport to outrage those with whom he conversed'.

511 sullen writ] (a) solemn, serious record; (b) dismal tale.

514–17 Discussed by Pererius 7. 76–7 (1601) p. 345, approvingly ascribing to Gregory, *Moralia* '16. 5', a diatribe on the worldliness and doomed destruction of these inventions. Josephus, *Antiquities* 1. 3 (*Workes* pp. 5–6), notes that Cain and his race invented measures and weights, field boundaries, cities and their fortifications, pastoralism, music, war and metal-working. On the race of Seth, see note above on ll. 7–8.

516 cursèd Cain's race] He is cursed in *Gen.* 4. 11–15.

517 Vexed us] In astronomy because of the conflicts between the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems, and in astrology. Cp. C. Heydon, *Defence of Judiciall Astrologie* (1603) 2, on the terms astronomy and astrology being used interchangeably 'by the learned' (Milgate).

518–20 Cp. *Hamlet*, 2. 2. 251–2: 'There's nothing good or bad, but thinking makes it so'; and Troilus, 'What's aught but as 'tis valued?', and Hector's reply upholding the idea of intrinsic merit (*Troilus and Cressida* 2. 2. 51–9). The Stoic and Sceptic ancestry of such acknowledgement of subjectivity of valuation is explicated by R. Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica* (1966) pp. 396–406, quoting (pp. 402–3), G. Du Vair,

Of ev'ry quality, comparison
 520 The only measure is, and judge, opinion.

Moral Philosophie of the Stoicks, Eng. T. James (1598) p. 107: '... the use is all in a thing, and everything is as it is used good or bad'. Cp. Du Vair p. 19: 'Let all these things remain indifferent, as being made good or evil by the mind of man which knoweth how to use them rightly'. Milgate points out the wide significance of 'simply', citing *Essays* 1. 2 (p. 29): God 'is so simple that it is impossible to imagine anything before him of which he should be compounded'; and 2. 2 (p. 62). As J. P. Wendell, *MLN* 63 (1948) 480, points out, the compound nature of all worldly things meant that, as D. later preached, 'nothing is Essentially good, but God, ... this Essential goodness of God is so diffusive, so spreading, as that there is nothing in the world, that doth not participate of that goodness; ... so that now both these propositions are true, First, That there is nothing in this world good, and then this also, That there is nothing ill' (*Serm.* 6. 231, 4 March 1625). See also note on *Anagram* 22, and cp. *Bedford Refined* 1-4.

519-20 quality, comparison . . . opinion] Klausen p. 434 notes these exact words in relevant passages of Florio's Montaigne.

520 judge, opinion] Cp. Montaigne, 1. 40: 'That the Taste of Goods or Evils doth Greatly Depend on the Opinion we have of them'; and Nashe's Preface to Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* (1591; *Works* 3. 332): 'So that our opinion (as Sextus Empiricus affirmeth) gives the name of good or ill to everything.', quoted by Tilley under M254. Cp. Tilley O68 for the later satirical lines of Barnabe Barnes and John Marston. Cp. D.'s own later estimate of opinion as 'a middle station, between ignorance, and knowledge; for knowledge excludes all doubting, all hesitation; opinion does not so; but opinion excludes indifferency, and equanimity; ... A man may have an opinion that a thing is so, and yet not know it' (*Serm.* 6. 317, Whitsun ?1625).

RELIGION

Sonnet: 'Show me, dear Christ'

Date and context. Undetermined. Reference to 'German schisms' in *WottonKisses* 65 (c. Aug. 1598) is sufficiently explanatory of 'tore' and 'Now new, now outwore' in ll. 3 and 6 here to support the possibility that this sonnet dates from the 1590s, even before *Satyre* 3, whose ll. 43–60 it repeatedly echoes or anticipates. Calvin had restricted the visibility of the Church to the elect few, and is accordingly reproached for going against the point of the Incarnation by the Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion, *Rationes decem* [Stonor Park, 1581], 3rd reason, tr. as *Campion Englished* (1632) p. 66. The sonnet's late and restricted appearance in the MS tradition might be attributable not to late composition but to uneasiness about circulating a politically imprudent poem written before D.'s acceptance of the Church of England, which had taken place, it is presumed, when he became a secretary to the Lord Keeper in about 1597. It would also have been unsuitable to send to Lady Bedford. At a yet later date, in the *Essays in Divinity* (1952) pp. 48–9 probably completed in 1614, D. pleads in language that implicitly alludes to Calvinists as well as Tridentine papists for the 'admitting of variety' in 'his dearly beloved Spouse . . . the Church' so that it should not 'in her latter age suffer many convulsions, distractions, rents, schisms and wounds'. In favour of a date in the early 1620s, Gardner *DP* pp. 121–7 argues that D. is seeking not one or other of the two main branches of Western European Christianity but the true Catholic (i.e., Universal) Church, the invisible church of true believers, that embraces all national churches. This enables Gardner to detach the sonnet from D.'s religious dilemma of the 1590s, and suggest that the specific reference to the church in Germany being 'robbed and tore' relates to the defeat of the King of Bohemia's forces at the Battle of the White Mountain outside Prague in 1620 by an Imperial Roman Catholic army, which was lamented and mourned in Britain too as a setback for Protestantism and particularly since the 'Winter Queen' was James's daughter (see *Elizabeth*). Despite glossing 'no hill' as Geneva in her commentary, Gardner p. 127 paraphrases it as 'elsewhere', having asserted (p. 124) that D. 'does not speak of Geneva'. The last line of the sonnet, and D.'s letters (1609) and sermons quoted below, indeed show that, in line with Anglican doctrine, he did not limit the true Church to that of England, but the actual alternatives of ritualistic Roman Catholicism and doctrinaire Protestantism are hostilely presented here (as in sermons of 1617, 1621–3, 1625), Luther's Germany and the 'one hill' of Wittenberg being as clear identifiers as the 'richly painted' church on the 'seven hills' of Rome.

Analogues. C. J. Summers, *Bright Shootes of Everlastingnesse* (1987) pp. 72–95 argues that D. is indebted to Spenser, *FQ*, esp. 1. 12. 22. Given the (harsh) reality of D.'s early life, it seems improbable that a work of fiction should be needed to inspire him.

Text. Found only in the Westmoreland MS.

SHOW me, dear Christ, thy Spouse so bright and clear:
 What, is it she which on the other shore
 Goes richly painted, or which, robbed and tore,
 Laments and mourns in Germany and here?

Source and base text: *W*

Heading: *ed.*

1 Challenging God to fulfil the promise of *Rev.* 21. 9, 'I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife', D. engages in what was throughout his life a central but inconclusive Reformation debate. Papists asserted that the continuous outward visibility of the Church since the time of Christ was necessary, and fulfilled only by the Roman institution with its allegedly unbroken succession, demanding of Reformers where their Church was before Luther. They replied that the universal (i.e., 'catholic') Church was the invisible one of all true believers, God's elect, and that its founder had been Jesus Christ, but nevertheless pointed to its occasional visibility in and to Protestant believers or institutions. For the range of polemics on both sides throughout the period from Mornay and Persons to Featley and D.'s acquaintance Matthew, see Questier pp. 23–36. **thy Spouse**] the [true] Church. The term derives from traditional interpretations of *S. of S.*, *Hos.* 2. 19, *Rev.* 19. 7–8, etc., on which last *GV* comments (Junius version): 'They see that the Church is called forth to be brought home into the house of her husband by holy marriage'. Cp. *Serm.* 6. 82, 9. 334 (11 April 1624; n. d., on *Ps.* 32. 7): 'The union of Christ to the whole Church is not expressed by any metaphor, by any figure, so oft in the Scripture, as by this of *Marriage*'; 'the Canticle of Solomon is taken indifferently by the ancient and later Expositors, by some for an Epithalamion and marriage-song between Christ and his Church, by others, for the celebration of the same union between every Christian soul and him'. **bright and clear**] Characteristically, the opening line is paradoxical: were the true church so bright and clear, the searcher would not need to demand that it be shown. Cp. *S. of S.* 6. 9 (*GV*, 6. 10 *AV*): 'Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the Moon, pure as the Sun?'; *Rev.* 19. 8 (*GV* Junius): 'arrayed with pure fine linen and shining, for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints'. **2–4** In a letter datable to the end of Jan. 1609 (Bald p. 180 n.) to Goodyer, who had been suspected of religious vacillation, D. expressed assent to 'that sound true opinion, that in all Christian professions there is way to salvation', but deplors 'the inobedient Puritans, . . . the over-obedient Papists', though he concedes that 'so are many souls well fed with such forms and dressings of Religion, as would distemper and misbecome us, and make us corrupt towards God, . . .' though his caveat against any apostasy might ironically apply to himself: 'You shall seldom see a coin upon which the stamp were removed, though to imprint it better, but it looks awry and squint. And so, for the most part, do minds which have received divers impressions.' He praises 'the Roman profession' for seeming 'to bring us nearer heaven'; but neutralises this with criticism of its interposing the intercession of saints in this life, and Purgatory in the next. He warns Goodyer against mistaking 'indifferent things' (forms and customs rather than essential matters of faith) as 'abominable, or necessary, being neither'. Cp. another letter to Goodyer, perhaps of the same year: 'You know I never fettered nor imprisoned the word "religion"; not straitening it friarly *ad Religiones factitias* ["to the artificial religions"]

(as the Romans call well their Orders of Religion), nor immuring it in a Rome, or a Wittemberg, or a Geneva; they are all virtual beams of one Sun, . . . con-natural pieces of one circle' (*Letters* pp. 100–3, 29). The private D. is thus by 1609 claiming superiority for the Anglican middle way while allowing some good in all the main divisions of Christianity in Western Europe, neither of which is true of the present sonnet. On 14 Dec. 1617, four months after the death of his wife which was probably the occasion of *HSW1* Since, he preaches less tolerantly that 'Thou must not think him [Christ Jesus] . . . so beyond sea, as to seek him in a foreign Church, either where the Church is but an Antiquary's Cabinet, full of rags and fragments of antiquity, but nothing fit for that use for which it was first made, or where it is so new a built house with bare walls, that it is yet unfurnished of such Ceremonies as should make it comely and reverend' (*Serm.* 1. 246). Cp. his later elaborations (Ascension Day [22 May] 1623): 'The word of God, is beyond sea, the true word truly preached in many true churches there, but yet we have it here, within these seas too'; and (26 April 1625):

As Moses says [Deut. 30. 13], that 'the word of God is not beyond sea', so the Church of God, is not so 'beyond sea', as that we must needs seek it *there*, either in a *painted Church*, on one side, or in a *naked Church*, on another; a Church in a *Dropsy*, overflown with *Ceremonies*, or a Church in a *Consumption*, for want of such Ceremonies, as the primitive Church found useful, and beneficial for the advancing of the glory of God, and the devo-tion of the Congregation (*Serm.* 4. 369, 6. 284).

2–3 she . . . painted] The Roman Church, with its coloured statues and figures on walls and in windows, richly adorned shrines, embroidered vestments, precious utensils, and illuminated Latin service-books, of which English churches were stripped in the Reformation under Edward VI. 'Painted', the attribute of the wicked Queen Jezebel in 2 *Kgs* 9. 30, is always a derogatory term for D. in other poems (all from the period 1593–7, but cp. the sermon of 1625 quoted above), and *Phryne* 2, *Satyre* 1 72, *Satyre* 4 108, 172, *Lincoln* 27. The woman 'arrayed in purple and scarlet, and gilded with gold, and precious stones and pearls' of *Rev.* 17. 4 (*GV*) was confidently identified with Rome by Protestants such as the *GV* annotator.

3–4 robbed . . . here] The Reformed Church. If 'here' applies to 'robbed and tore' as well as 'Laments and mourns', it may imply a writer unreconciled to the Anglican Church, or at least the Calvinist element which would abolish all non-scriptural ceremonies, vestments, etc. Gardner reads 'here' as referring only to 'Laments and mourns' in support of her suggestion that 'robbed and tore' refers to the defeat of the Protestant forces of James I's son-in-law in 1620, and the consequent plundering of some Protestant states of Germany, such as the Elector Palatine's own Heidelberg. The embassy of Lord Doncaster on which D. served in 1619 witnessed as it travelled through Germany the appalling aftermath of war, the disease, famine, and destruction, even before the Elector's defeat. However, in the *Essays* of 1612–14 D. uses almost as strong a term in deploring 'Churches utterly despoiled of Ceremonies' along with the Roman Church's opposite excess of 'innumerable objects' (1952, p. 51). Cp. *Serm.* 3. 368 (Christmas 1621) against Puritanism: 'He that undervalues outward things in the religious service of God, though he begin at ceremonial and ritual things, will come quickly to call sacraments but outward things, and sermons and public prayers but outward things, in contempt. . . . Beloved, outward things apparel God, and since God was content to take a body, let not us leave him naked nor ragged.'

- 5 Sleeps she a thousand, and then peeps up one year?
 Is she self truth, and errs? Now new, now outwore?
 Doth she, and did she, and shall she evermore
 On one, on seven or on no hill appear?
 Dwells she with us, or, like advent'ring knights,

4 Laments and mourns] Cp. *Lam.* 2. 5 (Gardner), in both *GV* and *AV*, whose 'mourning' D., however, omits in *Jeremy* 108. **Germany]** Birthplace of Lutheranism, which did not, in fact, go as far as Calvinism in banishing shrines, religious images, etc. Gardner's argument that the allusion is to the first Protestant disaster in the Thirty Years' War may be countered with the reference in *WottonKisses* (c. Aug. 1598) 65 to 'German schisms', which, although it could be merely political, does employ a term used predominantly of religious splits and sects, e.g., especially, the Anabaptists, mocked for their infinite divisions in *Serm.* 2. 112 (1618). The place-name might be applied loosely to include the Low Countries, and therefore the 'schismatics / Of Amsterdam' (*Will* 20-1).

5 It was the Reformers' case that the Roman Church was encumbered with beliefs, institutions and practices fabricated in the Middle Ages without sanction from the Bible or the Church Fathers, between whose period and the Reformation almost a thousand years elapsed, coinciding also with the assumption of political power by the papacy. Cp. *Satyre* 3 43-6. **peeps up]** begins to (re)appear. **one year]** For Reformers, 1517, the year Luther nailed his 95 *Theses* to the church door at Wittenberg.

6 Is . . . errs?] The Roman Church, which claimed infallibility, had many times reformulated doctrines over the centuries, the process culminating in the Council of Trent (1545-63). Gardner p. 126 n. 1 quotes *Serm.* 1. 297 (19 April 1618) on successive popes' abrogation of their predecessors' decrees. **self]** pure. **Now . . . outwore?]** The Protestants continually generated new formularies of belief, Lutheran, Calvinist, Zwinglian, etc. Cp. the 'laws / Still new like fashions' of *Satyre* 3 57.

8 'In the Lutheran, Roman, or Calvinist churches?' The second letter to Goodyer quoted above on ll. 2-4 suggests he is referring to Geneva, Rome and Wittenberg (rather than 'the holy hill of Zion' of *Ps.* 2. 6, since D. was not attracted to Judaism). L. Erne, *EIC* 51 (2001) 208-29, argues the church 'on one hill' was Geneva, quoting (217) Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617) p. 181, Canterbury and Wittenberg on 'no hill'. Cp. the decidedly confident *Serm.* 4. 107 (1622), 5. 251 (?1622): "'The Word of God is not above thee,'" says *Moses*, "nor beyond the sea." We need not climb up Seven Hills [of Rome], nor wash ourselves seven times in a Lake [of Geneva] for it: God make the practice of our lives agreeable to the doctrine of our Church, and all the world shall see that we have light enough'; 'Trouble not thyself to know the forms and fashions of foreign particular Churches; neither of a Church in the lake, nor a Church upon Seven Hills; . . . God hath planted thee in a Church, where all things necessary for salvation are administered to thee, and where no erroneous doctrine (even in the confession of our Adversaries) is affirmed and held' (Gardner). In *Serm.* 9. 363 D. terms Luther and Calvin schismatics, to be escaped from as much as the papist.

9 Dwells . . . us] As the Church of England. Cp. *Satyre* 3 56-8. **advent'ring knights]** The figures of medieval romance, regarded by the more educated as popular or children's literature, such as *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, and *Huon of Bordeaux*. The tone lightens here.

- 10 First travel we to seek, and then make love?
 Betray, kind husband, thy Spouse to our sights,
 And let mine am'rous soul court thy mild Dove,
 Who is most true and pleasing to thee then
 When she's embraced and open to most men.

Of the Cross

Date and Context. c. 1604? In this year, contention about use of the sign of the cross, muffled under Queen Elizabeth, reached a crescendo. By general agreement among reformers, crucifixes had been removed from rood-lofts and many altars (replaced by communion-tables), where they might be mistaken for objects of worship, in Edward VI's reign and early in Elizabeth's. Puritans continued to press for absolute elimination of the symbol of the cross, especially of the signing after baptism, one of the demands made to James I at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. According to W. Barlow, *Summe and Substance of the Conference* (1604) pp. 65–74 (of which D. owned a copy, now in Cambridge University Library,

10 Cp. the quotations from sermons above on ll. 2–4. The same image of seeking a woman is used in *Satyre* 3 43–74.

11 An angelic promise in *Rev.* 21. 9.

12 am'rous soul] Cp. *Germany* 16. **Dove]** A pet name of the beloved in *S. of S.*, e.g., (particularly relevant here) 6. 9 (*AV*): 'My dove, my undefiled is but one'.

13–14 Florio uses the image to justify his translating Montaigne: 'Learning cannot be too common, and the commoner the better. "Why, but who is not jealous his mistress should be so prostitute?" Yea, but this mistress is like air, fire, water: the more breathed, the clearer; the more extended, the warmer; the more diverse, the sweeter.' It were inhumanity to coop her up, and worthy forfeiture close to conceal her' ('To the right Honorable my best Benefactors, and most-honored Ladies, *Lucie Countesse of Bedford*; and hir best-most loved-loving Mother, *Ladie Anne Harrington*' (1928, 1. 7). A conspicuous recusant text in D.'s RC youth (among countless others) may have been Campion's *Rationes decem*, whose third reason disputes the restriction of membership and the visibility of the Church to a few by the Protestant, who 'hath attempted to delineate and draw the Church with such proprieties and shadows which do keep her in a continual latency, and as being removed from all sensible [i.e., perceptible] apprehension . . . do expose her to the sight of some few men'; 'no wonder if they be constrained to vaunt of their Church . . . lying in a perpetual obscurity'; 'Is it possible, then (as if Christ instantly intended to repudiate his Spouse), that it should not be known during the revolution of so many hundreds of years where the Church was . . . ?' (*Campion Englished* 65–6, 67–8, 70–1, from *Rationes decem* sigs. 7^v–9^v).

14 embraced] Cp. *Satyre* 3 55–60. **open**] Cp. *S. of S.* 5. 2: 'Open unto me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled'. Nashe, *Christis Teares over Jerusalem* (1593; *Works* 2. 150), applies the term to prostitutes: 'our openers to all comers'.

though the markings claimed as his (Keynes p. 264) are undatable, and of the five other tracts bound with it one is not published till 1607 (Keynes p. 275, L156)), 'Mr Knewstubs took exceptions to the *Cross* in *Baptism*,' but was rebutted by the King and various prelates; Dr Reynolds desired 'the *Cross* should be abandoned, because, in the time of Popery, it had been superstitiously abused': the King answered firstly that the statement implied 'it was well used before Popery', and secondly that 'to disallow of all things which at all had been used in Popery' entailed renouncing 'the Trinity and all that is holy, because it was abused in Popery', 'and speaking to Doctor *Reynolds*] merrily, "they used to wear hose and shoes in Popery, therefore, you shall, now, go barefoot."' Such reformers were finally rebuffed in the *BCP* of that year, which followed the Order of Baptism with this rubric: 'To take away all scruple concerning the use of the sign of the Cross in Baptism, the true explication thereof, and the just reason for the retaining of it, may be seen in the xxxth Canon, first published in the year MDCIV.' In the associated book-war, the Puritan W. Bradshaw's *Shorte Treatise of the Crosse in Baptisme* ('Amsterdam' [i.e., London] 1604) was answered by J. Dove and L. Hutten. D.'s possible use of Lipsius, once like D. a convert to Protestantism but now firmly back in the fold at the Roman Catholic University of Louvain, suggests, along with the exaggerated implication of l. 9 and the liturgical detail of l. 16, that D. had not abandoned all institutions to do with the old religion (any more than had the Church of England): the pictures listed in his will show that a fondness for them survived his conversion to Anglicanism (Bald p. 563). Like *Annunciation* and *Friday*, *Cross* may have been an occasional poem, written for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, in the C. of E. called Holy Cross Day, 14 September. Marotti (1986) p. 344 thought it might have been written for Magdalen Herbert (cp. *Corona*, *Annunciation*). There is an extended discussion of the poem by Oliver pp. 67–80, plumping for a date around the time of the Hampton Court conference, though conceding that the controversy existed for decades before, and that the poem was written for D.'s own satisfaction and to amuse acquaintances rather than as an intervention in public debate or bid for royal patronage. Oliver p. 78 points out that D. does not repeat the orthodox arguments of either R. Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* 5. 65 (1597; *Works* 2. 301–20) for making the sign of the cross in baptism (taken for granted in D.'s ll. 15–16), or the bishops' side at Hampton Court as reported by Barlow. The bishops argued against any possibility of abuse of the image, whereas D. implies in l. 62 that not all adoration is harmless, and in 41–2 asserts that even joy in crosses must be crossed.

Analogues. Among innumerable treatises and poems on the subject, D. appears to have made substantial use only of Lipsius, as a source for ingenious analogies in ll. 17–24. He himself supports signing with the cross in baptism in, e.g., *Serm.* 2. 258 (16 June 1619), 8. 198 (5 April 1628).

Text. None of the manuscript groups presents an entirely acceptable text. Group I is probably wrong in ll. 2, 20, 21 and 52, II in 6, 25 and 39, III in 20, 36 and 53. In addition, III offers plausible but mostly less convincing alternatives in ll. 26, 44, 47, 50, 54, 55, 57 and 60, seemingly derived not from a less polished version but simply a corrupt archetype. It has therefore seemed best to construct an eclectic text, reading with two groups against a third wherever there is disagreement. Group II has only one absolutely incontrovertible error (that in l. 25), and of its members *DC* does not add errors of its own to those of its group, so is nominally the base text here.

- SINCE Christ embraced the Cross itself, dare I
 (His image) th' image of his Cross deny?
 Would I have profit by the sacrifice,
 And dare the chosen altar to despise?
 5 It bore all other sins, but is it fit
 That it should bear the sin of scorning it?
 Who from the picture would avert his eye?
 How would he fly his pains, who there did die?
 From me no pulpit, nor misgrounded law,
 10 Nor scandal taken, shall this cross withdraw.

Sources collated: *Group I: D, H49, C57, Lec; Group II: DC, TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *Group II (DC)*

Select variants:

Heading *II, III: The Cross I, 1633, 1635*

2 his Cross] the ~ *I 6 sin I, III, 1633, 1635: sins II*

7 eye? *I: eye, DC, Dob, 1633, 1635: eye TCC, TCD, Lut, O'F*

Heading Group II's Latinate MS form with preposition recalls the title of Lipsius' *De Cruce*, as well as being usual in English at this time.

3 the sacrifice] *1 Cor 5. 7.*

4 chosen altar] Cp. *Heb. 13. 10–12.*

9 Cp. *Satyre 3 56–7. pulpit]* The most eloquent and forceful puritan preachers such as William Fulke (author of *T. Stapleton and Martiall (Two Popish Heretikes) Confuted* (1580), against veneration of the cross), Thomas Cartwright, Henry Smith and Walter Travers (whose sermons at the Temple lawyers had flocked to hear in the 1580s till he was silenced in 1586) were no longer to be heard in London in the 1590s, though if D. were at Cambridge c. 1587–9 (Bald pp. 46–7), he might there have heard Fulke, then Master of Pembroke, and William Perkins.

law] Apart from forbidding crucifixes (i.e., crosses with an image of Jesus on them) in places of worship and (in response to papal excommunication of the Queen in 1570) private possession of crucifixes blessed by a pope, the law did not specifically ban the mere symbol of the cross, but it was classed as a forbidden image by those who, for example, repeatedly smashed the cross on the Queen's altar in the Chapel Royal. Her ordering an actual crucifix had upset bishops such as Parker, Jewel, Grindal, Sandys and Cox: on her varying views and actions, see J. Phillips, *Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (1973) pp. 124–8. As *Satyre 5 63–8* complains, pursuivants searching out the recusants and itinerant Jesuits and seminarists, at whom the 1593 statute 'against popish recusancy' was aimed, might pounce on possessions that could be used in conducting mass.

10 scandal] Not 'the active scandal, which is a malice, or at least an indiscretion in *giving* offence,' but 'the passive scandal, which is a forwardness, at least an easiness, in *taking* offence' (*Serm. 3. 171, ?Nov. 1620*). *Gal. 5. 11* in *RhV* reads 'scandal of the cross', transliterating the Vulgate and Greek NT, for *GV*'s 'slander', *AV*'s 'offence', or obstacle to belief.

- It shall not, for it cannot: for the loss
 Of this cross were to me another cross;
 Better were worse, for no affliction,
 No cross is so extreme as to have none.
- 15 Who can blot out the cross which th'instrument
 Of God dewed on me in the sacrament?
 Who can deny me power and liberty
 To stretch mine arms, and mine own cross to be?
 Swim, and at every stroke thou art thy cross;
- 20 The mast and yard make one where seas do toss.

15 which] wth TCC, TCD 20 make] makes I where] when III

13–14 affliction . . . none] Cp. *Serm.* 1. 168 (21 April 1616): 'There is no such unhappiness to a sinner, as to be happy; no such cross, as to have no crosses'; cp. *Serm.* 3. 166 (?Nov. 1620): 'Woe be unto him that hath no crosses! There cannot be so great a cross as to have none. . . for afflictions are our spiritual nourishment'. Cp. also *Serm.* 7. 183.

15 Who . . . cross] Which would be ironic, since Jesus' suffering on it was said to answer the prayer of *Ps.* 51. 1 to 'blot out my transgressions'.

15–16 th'instrument/Of God] the priest.

16 dewed . . . sacrament] Seeming to merge two parts of the Order of Baptism deliberately distinguished by the Church of England in the Book of Common Prayer: the first, the Bible-sanctioned dipping in the font-water 'discreetly and warily' (or pouring or sprinkling it on a weak child), and the second, the making of 'a Cross upon the Child's forehead' as the priest said 'We receive this Child into the Congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified' (quoted by D., *Serm.* 10. 64 (1 Nov. ?1623)). The latter ritual was strongly objected to by Puritans, but orthodoxly supported by D. in *Serm.* 8. 198 (5 April 1628) as not 'part of the Sacrament' but a sign of belonging to Christ. Roman Catholic practice was for the priest to wet his finger with blessed water to sign the child as an efficacious part of the baptising. D. had presumably received Anglican baptism in the church of St Nicholas Olave, Bread Street, almost opposite his home (Bald p. 29), but his mother (arraigned for recusancy in 1589, after the death of her second husband) might have ensured rebaptism by a Roman Catholic priest when feasible.

17–24 J. A. W. Bennett, *RES* n.s. 5 (1954) 168–9, notes that these analogies are collected in J. Lipsius, *De Cruce* 1. 9 (Antwerp 1593/4) pp. 17–21, quoting Church Fathers. He illustrates a globe (from Jerome and Maximus of Turin), bird and swimmer (Jerome), praying man kneeling with arms outstretched (Jerome, Minucius Felix, Maximus and Justin Martyr), a trophy and standards on Roman coins, sailing-ship and galley (quoting the last three), the *tau* (Greek T) cross in 'small things' such as ox-wagon with cross-shaft, spade and maul, and the conjunction of nose and brow in the human face, a plate reproduced by Lewalski (1979) p. 255 (who, despite the quotation from Justin's *Apologia* 2, mistakes the fully fleshed, hair-covered human head for a reference to the sutures of a skull (see below, on l. 56)).

- Look down, thou spy'st out crosses in small things;
 Look up, thou seest birds raised on crossèd wings;
 All the globe's frame, and sphere's, is nothing else
 But the meridians crossing parallels.
- 25 Material crosses, then, good physic be,
 And yet spiritual have chief dignity:
 These for extracted, chymic medicine serve,
 And cure much better, and as well preserve.
 Then are you your own physic, or need none,
- 30 When stilled or purged by tribulation:
 For when that cross ungrudged unto you sticks,
 Then are you to yourself a crucifix.
 As perchance carvers do not faces make,
 But that away which hid them there do take,
- 35 Let crosses so take what hid Christ in thee,
 And be his image, or not his but he.
 But, as oft alchemists do coiners prove,

21 out] our *I* 25 good *I*, *III*, 1633, 1635: and *II*

26 And] But *III*, 1633, 1635 36 And] Or *III*

21 Maximus and Justin instance the plough, the latter adding diggers and other manual workers, on which hint Lipsius adds the wagon and maul in his plate. DiPasquale (1999) p. 40 notes that the cruciform letter x appears at the end of l. 32, the exact centre of the poem (that the letter T occurs in every line is not remarkable: its tendency to do so is shown in a poem of almost equal length, *BulstrodeLanguage*).

23 sphere's] the celestial sphere's, as mapped from the ancient Greeks onwards.

24 meridians, parallels] lines of longitude and latitude.

25–end The theme of D.'s poem turns out to be one acceptable even to Puritans: that spiritual crosses are to be valued above material.

26 And/But] D. uses 'and yet' about seven times as often in his poems, so the Group III alternative is the less probable.

27–30 D.'s preference for total elimination rather than temperate balance, Paracelsus over Galen, is expounded in *WottonKisses* 59–62.

29 physic] emetic or laxative, in the practice of D.'s time.

30 stilled] distilled: continuing the physic image, purged upward, made to vomit, and, as a chemical image, driven off in droplets (tears) by heat (of suffering). *OED* cites *Serm.* 8. 290 (23 Nov. 1628): 'It is a miserable alchemy and extracting of spirits, that stills away the spirit, the soul itself'. **purged]** Cp. *Serm.* 7. 183 (21 May 1626): 'our own evil habits, our own flesh pollutes us, therefore God sends us a Purgatory too in this life, Crosses, Afflictions, and Tribulations, . . . to wash us, and to burn us clean with afflictions from his own hand.'

33–4 carvers . . . take] Famously stated by Michelangelo, *Sonnetti*, 15. Cp. *Serm.* 8. 54 (20 May 1627) and 2. 276 (19 Dec. 1619). A. B. Chambers (1992) p. 207 cites, as lying behind both writers, Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 9. 6 (1048a31).

37 e.g., Edward Kelley, duper of John Dee, who had his ears cropped for counterfeiting at Lancaster c. 1580 (*DNB*). Cp. Lodge, *A Fig for Momus*, Epistle 7, 'The Anatomie of Alchymie' 5 (1598; *Works* 3. 68), quoted by Duncan (1942) 261 n. 12.

- So may a self-despising get self-love;
 And then, as worst surfeits of best meats be,
 40 So is pride issued from humility.
 For 'tis no child, but monster; therefore cross
 Your joy in crosses, else 'tis double loss,
 And cross thy senses, else both they and thou
 Must perish soon and to destruction bow.
 45 For if the^eeye seek good objects, and will take
 No cross from bad, we cannot scape a snake.
 So with harsh, hard, sour, stinking, cross the rest,
 Make them indifferent; call nothing best.

39 meats *I, III, 1633, 1635*: meat *II* 42 joy] self *TCD*

44 destruction] corruption *III* 47 harsh, hard,] hard, harsh, *TCD, III*

48 indifferent, call] ~ all, *Lut, O'Fbe*: ~ all, call *O'Fae*: ~; all, *1635*

38 get] beget, generate.

39 Cp. *1 Cor.* 11. 27–9 on abuse of the Eucharist. **meats]** foods.

40 Cp. *Serm.* 1. 271 (12 April 1618): 'Even humility itself is a pride, if we think it to be our own'; 2. 297 (19 Dec. 1619, rev. 1630): 'There may be a pride in Humility, and an overweening of ourselves, in attributing too much to our own judgement'; and 6. 310 (8 May 1625): 'For, there is a pestilent pride in an imaginary humility'. Cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 59–60, and the parable of the self-exalting Pharisee and the self-abasing publican, *Luke* 18. 10–14.

41 'tis . . . monster] Cp. Spenser, *FQ* 5. 7. 15, for an illustration in the emblematic crocodile. **monster]** grotesque, unnatural birth, quite different from its mother. **cross]** thwart.

43–50 Cp. *Gal.* 5. 24: 'And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts.'

43 cross thy senses] Cp. Augustine, *De vera religione* (*PL* 34. 146), tr. K. G. Frost, *Holy Delight* (1990) p. 95: 'We perceive "not by means of the fleshly eye nor of any of the senses, but by the conceptual intellect"'; and *2 Cor.* 4. 18: 'We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen, for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.'

44 destruction/corruption] The latter reading in Group III MSS seems possible, but in his poems D. tends to use 'corruption' to refer to the process of sin, 'destruction' to its result. Cp. *Prov.* 16. 18: 'Pride goeth before destruction'.

46 snake] fatal, deceitful temptation by pleasing appearances, embodied in the serpent of *Gen.* 3. 1–7. Were it not for the injunction in l. 43 to contradict the senses, this line would allow the other valuation put upon the snake: 'That creeping Serpent, Satan, is war, and should be so; the crucified Serpent, Christ Jesus, is peace, and shall be so for ever. The creeping Serpent eats our dust, the strength of our bodies, in sicknesses, and our glory in the dust of the grave; the crucified Serpent hath taken our flesh, and our blood, and given us his flesh, and his blood for it' (*Serm.* 10. 190, commemoration of a parishioner and benefactor to St Dunstan's). Cp. the Latin poem *HerbertG* 13–16.

47 harsh, hard/hard, harsh] The former reading in Groups I and II seems slightly more forceful, paralleling the intensification in 'sour, stinking'. In whatever order, the line covers the four senses other than sight: hearing, touch, taste and smell.

- But most the eye needs crossing, that can roam
 50 And move: to th'others th'objects must come home
 And cross thy heart, for that in man alone
 Points downwards and hath palpitation.
 Cross those dejections when it downward tends,
 And when it to forbidden heights pretends;
 55 And as thy brain through bony walls doth vent
 By sutures, which a cross's form present,

50 others] other 1633 th'objects] objects III, 1635

52 Points II, III: Pants I, O'Fae, 1633, 1635

53 dejections] defections Dob: detorsions Lut, O'F, 1635

54 heights] height III (O'Fbe) 55 brain . . . doth] brains . . . do III (O'Fbe)

56 sutures I, III, 1633, 1635: ~is II

50 th'objects/objects] Group III's removal of the second definite article makes for easier flow, but the meaning is more idiomatically expressed in the fuller version, i.e., that the objects of the other senses inflict unavoidable impressions, whereas the eye can simply look away from unpleasing objects towards pleasing ones.

52 Points downwards] Referring to the micro of the heart, here understood symbolically as pointing to the sources of anger, gluttony and lust in the lower parts. **palpitation]** strong disordered beating, here associated with passion, but originally by Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 3. 6 (669a19), with hope and anticipation. Cp. James I, quoted s.v. by *OED*: 'that wanton palpitation'. Cp. also *Essays* 1. 3 (p. 30): 'O man . . . only thy heart of all others, points downwards, and only trembles' (Gr.)

53–4 Cp. *BedfordNew* 59–60, *Litany* 128 and D.'s letter to Goodyer (? spring 1608; 1633 pp. 370–1; *Letters* p. 71): ' . . . sometimes, when I find myself transported with jollity and love of company, I hang leads at my heels, . . . When sadness dejects me, either I countermine it with another sadness, or I kindle squibs about me again, . . . '

53 dejections/detorsions] Gr. points out that 'dejections of spirit' are referred to in *Serm.* 2. 326 (Jan. 1620), and 'detortions' in *Essays* 1. 1 (1952) p. 18, meaning twistings of interpretation. Apart from the lack of authority of *Lut/O'F*, the sense of the latter word would not fit the context here.

55 thy brain . . . vent] Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 2. 7 (653a37–b3).

55, 57 brain/brains] D. generally uses the singular in his poems, whether for the mind or the physical organ of a single person, so Group III's variants are probably unauthentic.

56 sutures . . . present] While the *tau* (Greek T) form of cross is matched in the normal junction of sagittal and coronal sutures, Hippocrates, 'On Wounds in the Head' 1, notes that in some adult skulls the sagittal suture is continued by the metopic or frontal across the coronal towards the nose, making the letter X (Allen, *Essential Articles* p. 98). He is followed by A Paré, 5. 3 (1634) p. 161. The type is shown by A. Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* 1. 5 (Basle 1543), and is visible in the plate in C. Estienne, *De Dissectione Partium Corporis Humani* (Paris 1545) p. 43. D. might have inherited any or all of these books (Paré in an earlier edition) from his first stepfather, the prosperous physician John Syminges (who had no son and died intestate in 1588), though D. seems in ll. 51–6 to owe more to the words of the ancients than the demonstrations of sixteenth-century anatomists.

- So when thy brain works, ere thou utter it,
 Cross and correct concupiscence of wit.
 Be covetous of crosses: let none fall;
 60 Cross no man else, but cross thyself in all.
 Then doth the Cross of Christ work fruitfully
 Within our hearts, when we love harmlessly
 That Cross's pictures much, and with more care
 That Cross's children, which our crosses are.

57 brain works] ~s work III 60 but] and III in all] withal TCC
 61 fruitfully] faithfully 1633, 1635 63 That] The 1633, 1635

57–8 Cp. *Litany* 188–9. As noted by DiPasquale pp. 44–5, D. may never the less be thought to be indulging his wit both in this poem and in *Serm.* 5. 108–9:

If we be led to Marah, to the *waters of bitterness* [*Exod.* 15. 23–5], that we bring a bitter taste of those institutions of the Church for the decency and signification in sacramental things, things belonging to *Baptism*, . . . if we had rather *cross* one another, and *cross* the Church, than *cross* the *child*, as God showed Moses *a tree* which made those waters in the wilderness sweet when it was cast in, so remember that there is the *tree of life*, the *cross of Christ Jesus*, and his Merits, in this water of baptism; and when we all agree in that, that all the virtue proceeds from the *cross of Christ*, the God of unity and peace and concord, let us admit any representation of *Christ's cross* rather than admit the true *cross of the Devil*, which is a bitter and *schismatical* crossing of Christ in his Church, that he leads us to these waters.

59 By contrast, the Anglican D. warns in *Serm.* 2. 301 (19 Dec. 1619, rev. 1630):

Alas, that cross of present bodily weakness, which the former wantonnesses of my youth have brought upon me, is not my cross; That cross of poverty which the wastefulness of youth hath brought upon me, is not my cross; for these—weakness upon wantonness, want upon wastefulness—are Nature's crosses not God's, and they would fall naturally, though there were (which is an impossible supposition) no God. . . . Spontaneous and voluntary crosses, contracted by mine own sins, are not mine; neither are devious, and remote, and unnecessary crosses, my crosses. . . . There must be a cross . . . prepared for me by God, and laid in my way, which is tentations or tribulations in my calling; and I must not go out of my way to seek a cross; . . . I am not bound to hunt after a persecution, nor to stand it, and not fly, nor to affront a plague, and not remove, nor to open myself to an injury, and not defend. I am not bound to starve myself by inordinate fasting, nor to tear my flesh by inhumane whippings, and flagellations.

60 **but/and]** The Group III alternative weakens the antithesis.

61 **fruitfully/faithfully]** As Grierson points out, the Cross of Christ could never work unfaithfully, so the unanimous MS reading has obviously been corrupted in 1633.

62 **love harmlessly]** The same anxiety about possible misuse of the potentially desirable is warded off in *Relic* 22's 'harmless lovers'.

La Corona

Date. 1607–8? See note on *HerbertMMary* for only possible external evidence: if these are the ‘hymns . . . to his dear name addressed’ of that poem’s l. 14, there may be implicit an occasional dedication for *Corona*, the Feast of the Name of Jesus on 7 Aug. D. Novarr, *PQ* 36 (1957) 259–65, argues for 1609 because *H49*, which contains elsewhere the date 1629, has inscribed above *Corona* ‘Holy Sonnets written 20 yeares since’. However, as Gardner p. 152 observes, ‘it seems unsafe to take a round number as an exact one’. Moreover, the source and authoritativeness of the statement are unascertainable: it could, for example, have appeared in the earlier exemplar which provided *H49*’s copy-text. Thus the tentative dating by association with *HerbertMMary* to 1607–8, possibly the summer of either year, seems as precise as it is possible to be.

Analogues. The circular form of the sequence symbolizes the soul, and the eternity and perfection of God (*Annunciation* 2–4, *BedfordHonour* 46, *SecAn* 507–8, *Harington* 105, *Serm.* 7. 52). Martz (1962) pp. 105–12 shows how D. adapts forms of religious meditation, the seven-part ‘corona of our Lady’ and a ‘corona of our Lord’, described in handbooks for Roman Catholics such as [H. Gamet, *SJ*], *Société of the Rosary* [1593–4 etc.], and [T. Worthington?], *Rosarie of our Ladie* (1600). D. combines these with the Italian poetic form *Corona di sonnetti*, a sequence of sonnets linked by last and first lines, exemplified in the *Corona* of Annibale Caro (1558), and the *corona di madrigali* of Tasso, and in English by seven linked sonnets in Gascoigne’s *Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* (enl. edn 1575), and by Chapman’s ‘Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie’ (with *Ouids Banquet of Sence* 1595). To Martz’s examples may be added the ten-line stanzas in a ‘crown’ in P. Sidney, *Old Arcadia*, Fourth Eclogues (1590 ‘Second Eclogues’; *Poems* no. 72, pp. 113–16); the four-and-a-half-poem (out of a proposed thirteen) ‘Crown of Sonnets’ by Robert Sidney in his *Poems*, ed. P. J. Croft (Oxford 1984 pp. 174–81); and his daughter Lady Mary Wroth’s fourteen-poem ‘Crown of Sonnets Dedicated to Love’ in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* (1621). D.’s seven sonnets, woven into an endless wreath of ‘prayer and praise’, are therefore to be read as one poem (Martz pp. 110–12). For elaborations on the number seven, taken over as a sacred number by the Christians from the Hebrews, see *Serm.* 4. 295 (25 Dec. 1622), 10. 234 (*Deaths Duell*, 25 Feb. 1631), and particularly 5. 271 (n. d.): ‘As that Prayer [the Lord’s] consists of seven petitions, and seven is infinite, so being at first begun with glory and acknowledgement of his reigning in Heaven, and then shut up in the same manner, with acclamations of power and glory, it is made a circle of praise, and a circle is infinite too, the Prayer and the Praise is equally infinite’ (quoted by A. B. Chambers (1992) p. 102). DiPasquale (1999) pp. 58–100 argues that *Corona* is ‘a commemorative sacrifice modelled on [the Anglican] conception of the Eucharist,’ and adduces the claim of *Serm.* 3. 346 that ‘an auditory, a congregation that compasses the Preacher, was ordinarily called a Crown, *Corona*.’

Heading On the word *Corona* in the Vulgate version of *S of S* 3. 11, D. discusses in *Serm.* 6. 287 (26 April 1625) the crowning of Christ by God the Father

Text. Although, as a group, Group II is arguably least erroneous, its exemplars are individually more erratic. Of individual MSS, *W* contains fewest plain errors (4. 6, 4. 10, 4. 11, 7. 3, 7. 4), but contains different readings from Groups I and II (sometimes corrupted) at 1. 10, 1. 11, 1. 13, 2. 9, 2. 11, 3. 8, 7. 11, which may be D.’s own earlier versions. *W* has therefore been adopted as base text, but

apparent revisions and corrections have been followed. The traditional titles to individual sonnets perhaps originated in the archetype of Group II: they may not be authorial, and, as Gardner observes, interrupt the unity of the poem, but are adopted for convenient reference. This section of the manuscripts, following *Corona* with *DivM* or *HolyS*, is titled as follows in the sources: Holy sonnets written 20 years since. *H49*: Holy Sonnets. *D*, *C57*, 1633, 1635: Divine Poems. *II*, *O'F* (*placing* Litany, Friday, Cross, Resurrection, Annunciation *before* Corona): *no general heading Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*.

I

DEIGN at my hands this crown of prayer and praise,
Weaved in my low, devout melancholy,

Sources collated: *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57* (*not in Lec*); *Group II*: *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; *W*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *I*, *II*, *W*, 1633, 1635: The Crown *III*

2 low] love *C57*: love's *Dob*, *S96*: lone *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

with the glory of his divine nature, and the Ascension, and by his mother with the Incarnation and with the Passion he was consequently subject to.

I-14 Martz p. 108 points out that the first topic of meditation prescribed by S. Chambers *SJ*, *Garden of our B. Lady* (1619), the legendary life of the Virgin, was unacceptable to Protestants; *D*. accordingly substitutes this prayer to God as both Father and Son. Gardner detects correspondences with the Advent Offices of the Roman Breviary, though, as noted below, a number of her parallels are, unsurprisingly, to be found in the texts prescribed for the Christmas season of Advent to Epiphany in the C. of E. *BCP*.

I crown] See headnote on analogues. **prayer and praise]** Cp. *Serm.* 5. 270-2:

Whereas the whole Book of Psalms is called . . . The Book of Praise, yet this Psalm [90], and all that follow to the hundredth Psalm, and divers others besides these (which make up . . . a considerable part of the Book), are called Prayers; The Book is Praise, the parts are Prayer. The name changes not the nature; Prayer and Praise is the same thing. . . . they meet like two waters, and make the stream of devotion the fuller; . . . That Prayer which our Saviour gave us, . . . As that Prayer consists of seven petitions, and seven is infinite, so by being at first begun with glory and acknowledgement of his reigning in heaven, and then shut up in the same manner, with acclamations of power and glory, it is made a circle of praise, and a circle is infinite too, The Prayer, and the Praise is equally infinite

(partly quoted by M. Maurer, *SEL* 22 (1982) 61).

2 low] Cp. the insistence on his own lowliness in *BedfordRefined* 8, *BedfordNew* 27-30. **devout melancholy]** pious thoughtfulness. Cp. *Eccles.* 7. 2-4, and the 'devout sad tears' of *Litany* 25. For the older *D*. the preacher, however, in some forty uses, the word 'melancholy' denotes a pathological state of mind: e.g., 'To

- Thou which of good hast, yea, art treasury,
 All-changing, unchanged Ancient of Days;
 5 But do not with a vile crown of frail bays
 Reward my Muse's white sincerity,
 But what thy thorny crown gained, that give me,
 A crown of glory, which doth flower always.
 The ends crown our works, but thou crown'st our ends,
 10 For at our end begins our endless rest;

3 treasury] a ~ III 9 ends crown] end crowns III our ends] ~ days III
 10 For I, II, O'Fae, 1633, 1635: So III, W end begins] ~s begin Dob, S96: ends
 ~ 1635

weep for sin is not a damp of melancholy, to sigh for sin is not a vapour of the spleen'; 'Religion is not a *melancholy*; the spirit of God is not a *damp*; the Church is not a *grave*'; 'In my night of inordinate and sinful *melancholy*, and *suspicion* of his *mercy*, he may come'; 'Whoever heard, or saw in her [Lady Danvers (Magdalen Herbert)], any such effect of *Melancholy* as to murmur, or repine, or dispute upon any of *God's* proceedings, or to lodge a Jealousy, or Suspicion of his mercy, and goodness towards her, and all hers?'; 'Melancholy being made the seat of Religion . . . by the Papist' (*Serm.* 4. 343; 6. 152; 8. 68, 87, 135).

3 Cp. *Col.* 2. 2–3.

4 **All-changing]** *Dan.* 2. 21. **unchanged]** *Mal.* 3. 6, *Ps.* 102. 25–7/*Heb.* 1. 10–12. **Ancient of Days]** *Dan.* 7. 9, 13, 22

5–8 Cp. D.'s anxiety, about the poetry taking precedence over its religious purpose, with G. Herbert's in his two 'Jordan' poems. **bays]** The secular reward merely for poetry.

6 **white sincerity]** Cp. 'my mind's white truth' in *HolyS8Why*, the 'white integrity' ascribed to lower animals in *WottonKisses* 42, and, to the apotheosised Elizabeth Drury, *Funeral Elegy* 75, and the 'white innocence' in which he anticipates being re clothed, *SecAn* 114.

7 **thorny crown]** *John* 19. 5 (part of the second lesson prescribed by the 1561 *BCP* for Morning Prayer on 27 November).

8 Cp. 1 *Pet.* 5. 4 (part of the second lesson prescribed by the 1561 *BCP* for Evening Prayer on 17 December): 'And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.'

9 **ends crown our works]** Proverbial (Tilley E116). B. Spurr, *JDJ* 20 (2001) 121–39, points out that in the Reformed Church its principal figures, Luther and Calvin, discounted 'works' (though the Thirty-Nine Articles 12 concedes that they 'do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith'). For D. too grace entailed works, and he made this position clear in *Serm.* 7. 228 (Whitsun 1626): 'It is also truly said, "Only faith justifies us" . . . it is as truly said, "Only our works justify us" . . . Neither of these can be said to justify us alone.' **thou . . . ends]** Cp. the same sermon: 'It's truly said of God, . . . God only justifies us'. The words 'crown', 'crown'st' emphasise that D.'s work is *Cor* itself.

10 **For/So]** Possibly an authorial revision. Cp. the motto of Mary Queen of Scots, embroidered on a chair in her captivity '*En ma fin est mon commencement*', and translated in the title of the biography by M. Baring, *In my End is my Beginning* (1931). The paradox appears in a Petrarchan context in Drayton, *Ideas Mirrour* 50. 1 (1594).

This first last end now, zealously possessed
 With a strong, sober thirst, my soul attends.
 'Tis time that heart and voice be lifted high:
Salvation to all that will is nigh.

11 This first last] The ~ ~ D, C57, 1633, 1635: For at our H49 zealously I, II, O'Fac, 1633, 1635: soberly III, W

13 heart and voice I, II, 1633, 1635: voice and heart III, W

2. ANNUNCIATION

Salvation to all that will is nigh:
 That All, which always is all everywhere;

Heading O'F: ANNUNCIATION. 2, 1633, 1635: Annunciation II: 2. I, Dob, Lut, W: no title S96

11–12 Placing commas after 'now' and 'thirst' produces the sense assumed in the next two notes; without commas after these two words, the sense is that the speaker has now possessed God, 'Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end' (*Rev.* 1. 8 etc.), but that his soul is waiting for something unspecified.

11 zealously/soberly] The apparent revision avoids duplication by 'sober' in the next line. **first last end]** The death of the body, the 'end' of l. 10; for the second death see *Rev.* 21. 8. With its opening line linking it to the last sonnet in the sequence, this poem may be seen as a 'first last end', perhaps 'zealously possessed'.

12 thirst] Cp. *Ps.* 42. 2 (a Psalm prescribed by the 1561 *BCP* for Evening Prayer two days after Epiphany), *Matt.* 5. 6 (part of the second lesson prescribed by the 1561 *BCP* for Morning Prayer on the day after Epiphany). D. would have thought it necessary to specify this thirst as 'sober', since more usually he refers to a dipsomaniac 'hydroptic' thirst, e.g., *Fatal* 42, *DivM3Sighs* 3. 9. **my soul attends]** *Ps.* 62. 1.

13 heart and voice/voice and heart] Though the change of order might well come unbidden to a devout scribe, D. may himself have preferred an orthodox reference to the 'pure heart and humble voice' of the priest's exhortation before the General Confession at Morning Prayer (*BCP*).

14 Rejecting the Calvinist teaching that election to salvation was the free gift of God alone, independent of human will. Cp. *Ps.* 85. 9: 'His salvation is nigh them that fear him', and 2 *Cor.* 6. 2.

2. ANNUNCIATION. Matching the second topic of S. Chambers (1619; Martz p. 108). Gardner sees in this and 'Nativity' recollections of the *Primer or Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, after Elizabeth's accession still reprinted frequently but surreptitiously or abroad (e.g., Antwerp 1599).

2–4 Enunciating the standard definition of God the Son's omneity, eternity, omnipresence, absolute goodness, atonement, immortality, and humanity; repeated with only tenses changed from *Metem* 74–6. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 185.

- Which cannot sin, and yet all sins must bear;
 Which cannot die, yet cannot choose but die,
 5 Lo, faithful Virgin, yields himself to lie
 In prison, in thy womb; and, though he there
 Can take no sin, nor thou give, yet he'll wear,
 Taken from thence, flesh which death's force may try.
 Ere by the spheres time was created, thou
 10 Wast in his mind, which is thy son and brother;
 Whom thou conceiv'st, conceived; yea, thou art now
 Thy maker's maker, and thy Father's mother;

6 womb] tomb *I* 9 created *I, II, 1633, 1635*: begotten *III, W*

10 which] who *I, II, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635* 11 conceiv'st *I, II, 1633, 1635*: conceived'st *III, W*

3 cannot sin] Cp. *HolyS7Spit* 4.

6 In prison . . . womb] Cp. the disgusted description of the womb in *SecAn* 157–72, where the 'prison' of 173 is, however, the newborn body. The traditional Christian Platonic figure of body as prison is common in writings of the second half of D.'s life, from *Metem* 93 etc. to *Deaths Duell* (*Serm.* 10. 241). See notes on *Ecstasy* 68, *BedfordWritten* 59. Gardner notes the change from pre-Reformation figuring of Mary's womb as 'palace', 'bower', and 'enclosed garden'.
 7 See note on *BedfordWritten* 59–60.

9–10 Ere . . . mind] Cp. the claim of Wisdom, *Ecclus.* 24. 9, applied to Mary in the Primer (Gardner).

9 by the spheres . . . created] Merging the creation of light and darkness which made evening and morning, the stars which made seasons, days, and years, and Sun and Moon ruling day and night, in *Gen.* 1. 3–5, 14–18, with Platonic/Aristotelean/Ptolemaic cosmogony. **created/begotten]** The latter term, found in *W* and Group III, is doctrinally less correct: the improvement may be D.'s.

9–10 thou . . . mind] Adapting the Neoplatonist doctrine of the divine intellect as the source of the world of ideas: cp. *Serm.* 4. 98: 'God had from all Eternity an internal pattern, an *Idea*, a pre-conception, a form in himself, according to which he produced every Creature.'

10 thy son and brother] In religious belief paradox is orthodox: cp. Augustine, *De Sancta Virgine* 1. 5 (Migne, *PL* 40. 399) on Mary as spiritually both sister and mother (Gr.).

11 conceiv'st/conceived'st] The tense as modified agrees with that in l. 5, and accords with the contrast of past and present in ll. 9–10, so could be D.'s improvement.

12 Gardner quotes the Primer's use of these paradoxes. thy maker's maker] Cp. *Annunciation* 9. **thy Father's mother]** The title *Dei Genetrix*, 'Mother of God' was used by the Latin Fathers of the Church. Cp. the Roman Catholic martyr Southwell, 'Nativitie of Christ' (publ. with *Saint Peters Complaint*, 1595): 'Behold, the father is his daughter's son' (*Poems* p. 6); and his co-religionist H. Constable, 'To our Blessed Lady': 'Who had your God for father, spouse and son' (*Poems* p. 185).

Thou'st light in dark, and shutt'st in little room
Immensity, cloistered in thy dear womb.

3. NATIVITY

Immensity, cloistered in thy dear womb,
 Now leaves his well-belov'd imprisonment;
 There, he hath made himself, to his intent,
 Weak enough, now, into our world to come.
 5 But oh! for thee, for him, hath th'inn no room?
 Yet lay him in this stall, and from th'Orient
 Stars and wise men shall travel to prevent
 Th'effect of Herod's jealous general doom.

Heading *O'F: NATIVITY. 3 1633, 1635: Nativity II: 3. I, Dob, Lut, W: no title S96*

3 There] Therefore *I* he hath] hath he *III* 4 our] the *III*

7 shall: will *I, II, 1633, 1635* prevent] present *III*

8 effect] ~s *H49, D, 1633, 1635* jealous *I, DC, O'Fae, 1633, 1635: zealous TCC, TCD: dire and III, W*

13 light in dark] Jesus in the womb, prefiguring his role in the darkness of the world, *John* 1. 4–5, 3. 19.

13–14 in little room Immensity] A patristic commonplace: see G. K. Hunter, *JWCI* 27 (1964) 222–3, who quotes, e.g., hymns by Ambrose, 'A solis ortus', Venantius Fortunatus, 'Agnoscat omne saeculum'; the Roman Breviary's responsory to the 6th lesson of the 2nd nocturn of the office *In Nativitate Domini*; and later Crashaw, 'In the Holy Nativity': 'Eternity shut in a span'. *D.* is also containing God in the *stanza*, 'room', of his sonnet: see the note on *Canonization* 32. Cp. *Morrow* 11.

14 cloistered] Another echo of the Primer (Gardner).

3. NATIVITY. Matching both the general topic and the particular content, and employing the threefold memory-understanding-will structure of meditation, visualising place and subject, abstracting significance, and proposing a virtuous act, of S. Chambers (1619; Martz pp. 108–9, 27–38). A. B. Chambers, in *Literary Monographs* 6, ed. E. Rothstein (Madison Wisc. 1975) 109–53, compares Nativity poems by a dozen other authors of the period.

4 Weak enough] Cp. 2 *Cor.* 13. 4.

5 Luke 2. 7.

6–8, 13 from th'Orient . . . doom . . . into Egypt go] A synopsis of the Nativity legend as given by *Matt.* 2. 1–15.

7 prevent] come before. But also, since they did not report back to Herod as commanded, they at least impeded his search for the child, although, as Gardner points out, it was Joseph's dream which saved Jesus's life by the flight into Egypt.

8 effect/effects] In support of the reading of MSS against *1633*, Grierson argues that only one particular effect of Herod's decree was avoided; his target, Jesus,

- Seest thou, my soul, with thy faith's eyes, how he
 10 Which fills all place, yet none holds him, doth lie?
 Was not his pity t'wards thee wondrous high,
 That would have need to be pitied by thee?
 Kiss him, and with him into Egypt go
With his kind mother, who partakes thy woe.

9 faith's] faith TCC: faithless III eyes] eye II, 1635
 10 Which] That Dob, S96: Who Lut, O'F 12 by] of III
 14 who I, II, III, Wae, 1633, 1635: which Wbe

4. TEMPLE

- With his kind mother, who partakes thy woe,*
 Joseph, turn back: see where your child doth sit,
 Blowing, yea, blowing out those sparks of wit
 Which himself on those doctors did bestow.
 5 The Word but lately could not speak, and lo,
 It suddenly speaks wonders. Whence comes it

Heading O'F: TEMPLE. 4, 1633, 1635: Temple. TCC, TCD: Flight. Temple. DC:
 4. I, Dob, Lut, W: no heading S96
 2 your] thy III 4 those] the C57, 1633, 1635 6 comes Σ: come W

escaped, but the other infants were massacred. **jealous]** Specifying Herod's motive: Gardner suggests that the reading 'dire and' in *W* and Group III may be an earlier authorial version.

10 Gardner notes further echoes of the Primer and Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 8. Obj. 2: 'God is not in all things, contained by things, but he rather contains them;' and 1. 8. 2. Concl.: 'God fills every place; not, indeed, like a body, . . . [but in this:] . . . he gives being to the things that fill all places.'

13 Kiss him] Cp. *Ps.* 2. 12: 'Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.' D. preached on this text at Lincoln's Inn, *Serm.* 7. 313–31 (Trinity Sunday, ?1621), asserting (320) that 'in this spiritual love, and this expressing of it by this kiss, there is a transfusion of the soul'.

4. TEMPLE. Included by S. Chambers (1619) as part of his fourth subject (Martz p. 109). Milward, (1988) p. 22, observes that this sonnet, centrally positioned in the sequence, presents the turning-point in Jesus's life between private infancy and public life.

1–10 *Luke* 2. 41–52.

3 Both arousing and then confounding the intellectual powers.

5 The Word] The term for the godhead in *John* 1. 1, 14. **could not speak]** See *Serm.* 6. 184 for the origin of this paradox in St Bernard (Gardner). Cp. Southwell, 'Nativity of Christ' 5: 'The word is dumb' (*Poems* p. 6).

That all which was and all which should be writ
 A shallow-seeming child should deeply know?
 His godhead was not soul to his manhood,
 10 Nor had time mellowed him to this ripeness,
 But as for one which hath long tasks 'tis good
 With the sun to begin his business:
 He in his age's morning thus began
 By miracles exceeding power of man.

9 godhead] godhood *H49, Dbe, ?Wbe*

10 had] hath *I* to *I, DC, Lut, 1633, 1635*: in *TCC, TCD*: *om. Dob, S96, O'Fbe, W*

11 for *I, II, 1633, 1635*: *om. Dob*: to *S96, W*: some *Lut, O'F* which] who *S96, Lut, O'F* long tasks] a long task *I, 1633, 1635*: long task *TCC* 'tis *I, II, 1633, 1635*: thinks it *Dob*: thinks *S96, Lut, O'F, W*

9 The orthodox doctrine of the hypostatic union, two natures in one person, asserted that as a true human as well as God, Jesus possessed a human soul as well as body. Cp. 'the Godhead did not swallow up the manhood; but man, that nature remained still'; 'when Christ commended his spirit, into the hands of his Father, this was a testimony, that he was *Verus homo*, that he had a soul'; 'Godhead, the *divine nature* did not depart, but remained still united to his *dead body* in the grave; But yet for all this . . . *hypostatical union* of both natures, we see *Christ* did die; and for all this *union* which made him *God* and *Man*, he became no man (for the *union* of the *body* and *soul* makes the man, and he whose body and soul are separated by death . . . is properly no man)' (*Serm.* 3. 299, 5. 145, 10. 236; ?Trinity Term 1621, At a christening, 25 Feb. 1631).

10 to this] to this degree of ripeness.

11–12 Cp. *Luke* 2. 49: 'Wist ye not that I must be about my father's business?', and D.'s mention of business and early rising in his letter to Mrs Herbert in the headnote to *HerbertMMary*. The task is long and the start early because Jesus is here beginning his mission at the age of twelve, twenty-one years before its consummation.

11 There was presumably some difficulty with the original of *W* and Group II. Here the reading of the two better Group II MSS is followed, agreeing in most respects with the other MSS, but making better sense and rhythm. They are more trustworthy than the intelligent scribe who elsewhere emended the source of *Lut/O'F* with only superficial plausibility. In a long discussion of various MS readings of this awkward line, Gardner concludes, however, that their version, while perhaps only a copyist's 'ingenious improvement', 'may be the true early reading'.

14 Cp. *John* 3. 2.

5. CRUCIFYING

By miracles exceeding power of man,
 He faith in some, envy in some begat;
 For what meek spirits admire, ambitious hate.
 In both affections many to him ran,
 5 But oh! the worst are most: they will and can,
 Alas, and do, unto th'immaculate,
 Whose creature Fate is, now prescribe a fate,
 Measuring self-life's infinity to[^]a span,
 Nay, to an inch. Lo, where condemnèd he
 10 Bears his own cross with pain, yet by and by,
 When it bears him, he must bear more, and die.
 Now thou art lifted up, draw me to thee,
 And at thy death, giving such liberal dole,
Moist, with one drop of thy blood, my dry soul.

Heading O'F: CRUCIFYING. 5 1633, 1635: Crucifying II: 5. I, Dob, Lut, W:
 no title S96

3 meek] week Lut: weak I, II, 1633, 1635

8 infinity] infinite II: infirmity Dob, S96 to[^]a] to I, 1633, 1635

5. **CRUCIFYING.** Included in the fifth topic of S. Chambers (1619), the Passion (Martz p. 109).

1-2 See, e.g., *John* 2. 23, 11. 47-8, 12. 18-19.

3 **meek]** Gardner thinks that this word may be only an early authorial version rejected as too obvious an antithesis to 'ambitious'. However, l. 3 parallels l. 2's contrast of good and bad: weakness is not a Christian virtue, whereas meekness is always commended in the Bible.

4 *Luke* 23. 13-23, 27-8.

5-9 **the worst . . . inch]** Cp. the similar paradox in *Friday* 21-5.

7 **Whose creature Fate is]** Cp. *Metem* 2, 31, *Funeral Elegy* 96.

8 'Thinking to restrict the infinity of the giver of life itself to the shortness of a human life' as described in *Ps.* 39. 6 (BCP version). God alone has 'meted out heaven with the span', *Isa.* 40. 12.

9 **to an inch]** i.e., to part of a span, since Jesus was killed before he had lived the full threescore years and ten of *Ps.* 90. 10 (Gardner).

9-10 **he . . . pain]** *John* 19. 17. In the other three gospels it is carried by Simon of Cyrene.

11 **more]** the sins of the world, e.g., *Isa.* 53. 3-12, *Heb.* 9. 28, 1 *Pet.* 2. 21-4.

12 *John* 12. 32.

13 **dole]** both general alms to humanity, and specifically bread, i.e., the body symbolised by it at the Last Supper, *Matt.* 26. 26, etc.

14 Milward quotes the hymn 'Adoro te' by Thomas Aquinas on the salvation of the whole world by one drop of Christ's blood. Cp. *Ps.* 63. 2, and Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* A-text 5. 2. 79.

6. RESURRECTION

- Moist with one drop of thy blood, my dry soul*
 Shall (though she now be in extreme degree
 Too stony hard, and yet too fleshly) be
 Freed by that drop from being starved, hard, or foul;
 5 And life, by this death abled, shall control
 Death, whom thy death slew; nor shall to me
 Fear of first or last death bring misery,
 If in thy life-book my name thou enrol.

Heading *O'F*: RESURRECTION. 6 1633, 1635; Resurrection. II: 6. I, *Dob, Lut, W*: no title *S96*

2 now be] be now *TCC, TCD, III* 5 this *I, II, 1633, 1635*: thy *III, W*

6 shall] shall now *TCC, TCD, Lut, O'F*: shall more *DC*

8 life-book] little book *I, DC, 1633*: little books *TCC, TCD*

6. RESURRECTION. Included in the sixth topic of S. Chambers (1619; Martz p. 109).

1 Moist] Between the end of 'Crucifying' and the opening of 'Resurrection' the change of parts of speech from verb to adjective has enacted the granting of his prayer. Cp. DiPasquale p. 82.

3 Playing on the divine promise, *Ezek.* 36. 26: 'I will take away the stony heart out of your body, and I will give you an heart of flesh' (*GV*). Cp. Southwell, *Christ's bloody sweat* ll. 23–4 (*Poems* p. 19): 'I withered am and stony to all good, / A sack of dust, a mass of flesh and blood.'

4 starved] Possibly meaning 'withered', to match the other facial metaphors: the word was variously applied to plants and even tarnished silver. **foul]** (spiritually) ugly.

5 this/thy] D. may have revised this so as to remove three identical vowels in succession. **abled]** empowered.

6 Gardner compares a number of lines in other poems which lack a syllable, and considers all normalising variants probably unauthorial. Rhetorical pauses after 'Death' and 'slew' make up the length of the line. **thy death slew]** *2 Tim.* 1. 10. Cp. *Hebr.* 2. 14, and the Proper Preface for Easter Day in the *BCP* Communion: 'who by his death hath destroyed death' (Gardner).

7 last death] *Rev.* 2. 11 (Gardner), 20. 14, 21. 8.

8 thy life-book] The Book of Life of *Philip.* 4. 3, *Rev.* 20. 12–15, confused presumably by author or scribe with the different 'little book' of *Rev.* 10. D. might have been prompted to revise by a conviction that most would be damned eternally to the second death: cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 34 (Gr.). Gardner, however, dismisses the idea, citing *Serm.* 6. 76 (1624): 'Surely the number of them, with whom we shall have communion in Heaven, is greater than ever lived at once upon the face of the earth', and 8. 370 (1629): 'Though *The way to Heaven be narrow, and the gate strait* [*Matt.* 7. 14], . . . may we not hope, that many more than are excluded, shall enter there?' D.'s expectation could nevertheless have become more generous over the years.

Flesh in that last long sleep's not putrefied,
 10 But made that, there, of which and for which 'twas,
 Nor can by other means be purified.
 May then sin's sleep, and death's, soon from me pass,
 That, waked from both, I, again risen, may
Salute the last and everlasting day.

9 last long sleep] long sleep *II*, 1633, 1635: sleep *D*, *C57*: steeped *H49*
 11 purified] glorified *I*, *II*, *O'Fae*, 1633, 1635 12 death's] death *I*, *III*, 1633, 1635

7. ASCENSION

Salute the last and everlasting day!
 Joy at th'uprising of this sun and Son,

Heading *O'F*: ASCENSION. 7 1633, 1635: Ascension *II*: 7. *I*, *Dob*, *Lut*, *W*: no title
S96

2 Son] sin *I*: sum *Dob*

9–11 The transformation in the grave referred to in *Markham* 20–8, *Bedford Tomb* 10–20.

9 Perhaps *D*. can say this because 'as the Godhead, the divine nature did not depart from the body of Christ when it lay dead in the grave, so neither doth the love and power of God, depart from the body of a Christian, though resolved to dust in the grave' (*Serm.* 10. 188, commemoration of a parishioner and benefactor of St Dunstan's). **long sleep]** Gardner argues that 'last long sleep' in Group III MSS and *W*, 'with the obvious contraction "sleep's", was probably the original version'. The phrase may be of Latin origin: Horace, *Odes* 3. 11. 38, has *longus . . . somnus*, entering Elizabethan English through *Eclus* 46. 19. Contrast the characterisation of death as a 'short sleep' in *DivM11Death* 13.

10 of which] The spiritual substance of the soul, which formed and gave life to it: cp. *BedfordShe* 23–6 and note, *Markham* 23–6. **for which]** The resurrected spiritual body of *1 Cor.* 15. 44; cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 46–8, *Bedford Honour* 22–4, *SecAn* 501–3, and *Serm.* 4. 47 (8 March 1622): 'The Kingdom of Heaven hath not all that it must have to a consummate perfection, till it have bodies too.'

11 *Rom.* 8. 11–17. **purified]** Gardner considers this an unsatisfactory earlier authorial version, but cp. *Markham* 20–8: 'So is her flesh refined . . .'

12 sin's sleep] Cp. *Rom.* 13. 11–12, *Eph.* 5. 14, *1 Thess.* 5. 5–7. **death's]** *Ps.* 13. 3. Group II and *W*'s reading, 'deaths', is preferred by Grierson and Gardner against Groups I and III's 'death'.

14 last and everlasting day] Cp. *John* 6. 40, *Rev.* 21. 23–5, and *D.*'s own *Anniversary* 10.

7. *ASCENSION*. Also included in the sixth topic of *S. Chambers* (1619), and here substituted for his seventh, which focused on the merits of the Virgin (*Martz* p. 108).

2 sun and Son] A traditional pun, based on *Mal.* 4. 2, here physically appropriate since both rise through the sky. Cp. *Resurrection* 1–4, *DivM2/HolyS1Due* 5, *Christ* 15–16, *Serm.* 4. 162 (Midsummer 1622).

- Ye whose true tears or tribulation
 Have purely washed or burnt your drossy clay!
 5 Behold! The Highest, parting hence away,
 Lightens the dark clouds which he treads upon;
 Nor doth he, by ascending, show alone,
 But first he, and he first, enters the way.
 O strong ram which hast battered Heaven for me,
 10 Mild lamb, which with thy blood hast marked the path,
 Bright torch, which shin'st that I the way may see,
 Oh, with thine own blood quench thine own just wrath,

3 Ye *TCD*, III, 1633, 1635: Yea I, *DC*, *TCC*, *W* true] just I, II, 1633

4 Have I, II, 1633, 1635: Hath III, *W*

11 the way may I, 1633, 1635: the way *DC*, *TCD*: thee may *TCC*: thy ways may *Dob*, *S96*, *W*: thy ways might *Lut*, *O'Fbe*: the way might *O'Fae*

12 thine . . . thine] thy . . . thy I, 1633, 1635

3-4 Cp. *Ps.* 51. 2 (washed), *Isa.* 1. 22-5 (drossy), *1 Cor.* 3. 13-15 (burnt; Milward p. 34). Cp. *DivM7Little* 9-10.

5 *Acts* 1. 9-12.

7 **show alone**] merely put on a display or military triumph; cp. *Col.* 2. 15 (Gardner).
 8 **first he, and he first**] As the 'first-fruits' (*1 Cor.* 15. 23) leading the way (cp. *Mic.* 2. 13, 'their king shall pass before them, and the Lord on the head of them'), and the first resurrected by his own power: cp. *Serm.* 4. 359 (Easter 1623): 'he rose so, as none before did, none after, ever shall rise; He rose; others are but raised'.
 9-10 *Eph.* 2. 13-14, *Heb.* 10. 19-20. The military siege-engine retrospectively becomes a pun on the animal with the contrasting Lamb of God. Gardner notes the application to Christ in *Serm.* 4. 357 of the first half of *Mic.* 2. 13, translated and abbreviated as '*The breaker is gone up before, and they have passed through the gate*', and the traditional interpretation of the ram in the thicket of *Gen.* 22. 13 as type of Christ, with a patristic explanation of the ram as leader of the flock breaking down obstacles.

10 **Mild lamb**] *Isa.* 53. 7, *John* 1. 29, *1 Pet.* 1. 18-19, *Rev.* 7. 14, 17.

11 **Bright torch**] Recalling *John* 8. 12: 'I am the light of the world.' Cp. the pillar of fire of *Exod.* 13. 21 etc. **the way/thy ways**] Perhaps an authorial revision of the reading in *W* and Group III: 'way' matches 'path' in l. 10, and a torch is more usually employed to light the path than to display the behaviour of the carrier. Either phrase fits in with the following of Christ. Cp. *John* 14. 6: 'I am the way'.

12 Cp. *DivM9/HolyS5Poisonous* 10-12. **thine . . . thine**] This reading in *W* and Groups II and III instead of 'thy . . . thy' is attributed by Gardner to an authorial preference for avoiding the hiatus between 'thy' and a following initial vowel, though the evidence is uncertain and controvertible. All MSS agree on 'thine own' in *Perfume* 26, *Bait* 26, *Usury* 19, *Exchange* 41, *WottonKisses* 47, 52, *BulstrodeRecant* 36, *DivM2/HolyS1* 11, *Harington* 194, but both in the MSS and in works possibly printed direct from autograph in D.'s lifetime, such as *FirAn* 60, *SecAn* 50, 97, 109, 180 (elided) and *Devotions* (see especially the Prayers), the practice is inconsistent. No assumptions may safely be made about copyists'

And if thy Holy Spirit my Muse did raise,
Deign at my hands this crown of prayer and praise.

To Mrs Magdalen Herbert: Of St Mary Magdalen

Date and context. Late summer 1607–summer 1608. The covering letter included with *HerbertMMary* by Walton in his 1670 *Life of Mr. George Herbert* (pp. 24–6), presumed to have accompanied *Corona*, is not precisely datable, since Walton evidently transferred the entire ending from the first of three other letters from D. to Mrs Herbert that he appended (pp. 141–6). It is written from Mitcham, and therefore after D.’s move thither in 1606, and, Novarr, *PQ* 36 (1957) 259–65 infers, claiming to detect a less formal tone, after the last of three appended letters dated 2 August 1607. *Resurrection, Annunciation, Friday* show D. taking a present holy day as occasion for a poem: the feast of Mary Magdalen on 23 July might in the same way originally have prompted this poem with its focus, typical of the genre, on the biblical person or event commemorated. That in l. 14 ‘these hymns’ are ‘to his dear name addressed’ suggests an occasional dedication for *Corona*, the Feast of the Name of Jesus on 7 August, falling on a Friday in 1607, Sunday in 1608. The letter (written on a Sunday, see text below) might thus have been written from 9 August 1607 onwards. D.’s setting out from London for Mitcham early in the morning implies the early sunrise of summer. The poem may not originally have had a title. It should now be identified by one something like that preferred by Gardner and adopted here: before she married Sir John Danvers in 1609, Mrs Herbert was not entitled ‘Lady’. If the poem had been addressed to her after her remarriage, it would have been addressed to ‘Lady Danvers’. Walton, who liked to make the most of the status of his subjects, probably added ‘Lady’ anachronistically. If Walton’s title does preserve the Herbert surname from his source, *HerbertMMary* must pre-date her marriage to Sir John Danvers between 21 Feb. and 3 Mar. 1609 (Bald p. 183 n.), and probably also *HerbertMPaper* with its awareness of her decision to remarry. *HerbertMMary* is likely to predate, too, D.’s commitment, related in a letter to Goodyer of about the end of Jan. 1609, to reserving all his complimentary verses for Lady Bedford (*Letters* p. 104; see note on *BedfordDead* 11–16). Since that relationship may have begun in 1607 (see headnote to *BedfordNew*), a date closer to 1607 than to 1609 seems likely for *HerbertMMary*.

or printers’ fidelity to their originals, or about D.’s availability or competence as proof-reader. No guiding examples are afforded by any of the surviving MSS in his own hand (*Carey* and thirty-eight letters).

13 For Christian writer and reader, there would be no doubt that ‘Holy Spirit’ is subject and ‘my Muse’ object, as in Milton’s invocation in *Paradise Lost* 1. 17–23.

Magdalen Herbert, daughter of Sir Richard Newport of High Ercall, Shropshire, and widow of Richard Herbert of Montgomery Castle (d. 1596), was the mother of D.'s friends, the philosopher, poet, soldier, diplomat and historian Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (see *HerbertE*), and the poet and clergyman George Herbert (see *HerbertG*). See Bald pp. 118–19 for the circumstances of their acquaintance: Edward was a ward of D.'s father-in-law Sir George More. Her town house near Charing Cross was close to D.'s lodgings in the Strand; he mentions calling there in the second of the letters appended by Walton (dated 23 July). In the same letter, D. addresses Mrs Herbert in the register soon to be heard in his poems to Lady Bedford: 'you, who are not only a World alone, but the Monarchy of the World your self' (Walton p. 144), although he has already indicated that both writer and recipient know what to make of such hyperbole. In the third of the appended letters (dated 2 Aug.) he acknowledges having been the subject of her 'doing good' (Walton p. 146), making clear the patron-client relationship. The text of the letter accompanying *HerbertMMary* is given thus by Walton:

Madam,

Your favours to me are everywhere: I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there, and yet find them at Mitcham. Such riddles as these become things unexpressible, and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loath to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning, but my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained me; and my coming this day is by the example of your Saint, Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday to seek that which she loved most, and so did I. And from her and myself I return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe all the good opinion that they whom we need most have of us: by this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the enclosed *Holy Hymns* and *Sonnets* (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire) to your judgement—and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it—and I have appointed this enclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

Walton says 'These Hymns are now lost to us', which may imply that he thinks only the '*Holy Hymns*' D. refers to are lost. Grierson 2. 228–9, is content to take 'Hymns' in letter and sonnet as loosely referring to the sonnets of *Corona*: 'The sonnets are hymns, i.e., songs of praise. . . . "Hymns to his dear name address" is an exact description of the *La Corona* sonnets.' The reference to his wife as 'loved most', and their joint thanks for their patroness's intercession with those 'whom we need most', probably useful people at Court but perhaps including his father-in-law, are characteristic of the Mitcham years as shown in the letters, full as they are both of domestic concerns and the hunt for employment. For Magdalen Herbert, Lady Danvers's funeral sermon, preached by D. on 1 July 1627, see *Serm.* 8. 61–93, of which pp. 85–91 treat directly of her character and achievements.

Analogues. These are perceived by L. L. Jacobs, *Publications of the Mississippi Philological Association* (1987) 62–78 in poems by Southwell, Constable, G. Herbert, Vaughan, Crashaw, and Edward Sherburne in *Poems and Translations* (1651).

Text. Walton is the only relatively early source.

HER of your name, whose fair inheritance
 Bethania was, and jointure Magdalo,
 An active faith so highly did advance
 That she once knew more than the Church did know:
 5 The Resurrection. So much there is
 Delivered of her, that some Fathers be
 Loth to believe one woman could do this,
 But think these Magdalens were two or three.
 Increase their number, lady, and their fame:
 10 To their devotion add your innocence;
 Take so much of th'example[^]as of the name:
 The latter half; and in some recompense

Source and base text: Izaak Walton, *Life of Mr. George Herbert* 1670.

Heading: To Mrs Magdalen Gardner: To the Lady Walton

2 Bethania ed.: Bethina Walton

1–2 D. repeats the traditional identification of Mary, sister of Martha and Lazarus, who lives with them in the family house at Bethany, *Luke* 10. 38–42/*John* 11. 1–45, and anoints Jesus's feet in *John* 12. 1–8, with the unnamed woman of *Matt.* 26. 6–13, *Mark* 14. 3–9, and *Luke* 7. 36–48 (where she is 'a sinner'), and of both with the Mary Magdalene exorcised by Jesus in *Mark* 16. 9/*Luke* 8. 2, who watches the Crucifixion, goes to anoint the body of Jesus, and finds his body gone from the sepulchre in *Matt.* 27. 55–6, 28. 1–10/*Mark* 15. 40, 16. 1–8/*Luke* 23. 49–24. 3/*John* 20. 1–18. To account for the amalgamated Mary having her family house in Bethany yet being named from another place, medieval legend, recorded by, e.g., Voragine, 96 (1. 375), asserted that large family possessions had been divided, property in Bethany going to Martha and in Magdalum to Mary (Gr.). Mrs Herbert had the use of her deceased husband's castle of Montgomery, as well as houses in town and Chelsea.

2 Bethania/Bethina] Walton's form is not found elsewhere. D. uses the Latin Vulgate form *Bethania* in *Serm.* 7. 352 ([11 Feb. 1627?]), perhaps unfamiliar to the less-educated Walton or to a compositor in 1670. 'Bethania' constitutes three syllables.

3 active faith] Cp. *Serm.* 7. 373 (Easter 1627): 'Those Christians that come to that more particular, more active, more operative faith, which the Apostle speaks of in all this Chapter [*Heb.* 11], come also to a more particular reward, and recompense, and retribution at God's hands'.

4–5 she . . . Resurrection] so that she was the one commanded to tell the disciples of it, *Matt.* 28. 10 etc.

5–8 So much . . . three] e.g., Origen on *Matt.* (*PG* 13. 1721). However, as Gardner points out, the identification of the three Maries as one appears to be passively accepted by D. throughout his sermons.

10 their devotion] In the gospel stories enumerated above on 1–2.

10–12 add . . . half] Mrs Herbert bears only the second part of the name, i.e., 'Magdalen', so she is exhorted not to emulate the anonymous 'sinner' of *Luke* 7. 37, 47, traditionally interpreted as a prostitute, and supposed to be the Mary Magdalene of *Luke* 8. 2, cured of possession by seven devils.

That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,
Harbour these hymns to his dear name addressed.

Upon the Annunciation when Good Friday Fell upon the Same Day

Date and Context. Probably c. 25 March 1608, as the scribe of the ancestral copy of Group III thought, though immoveable feast and moveable fast coincided on 25 March in 1597 too. Every year they were brought together in the Collect for Communion on the feast of the Annunciation, praying that 'as we have known Christ thy Son's incarnation by the message of an angel, by his Cross and Passion we may rather be brought unto the glory of his resurrection'. Marotti (1986) p. 344 thought the poem might have been written for Magdalen Herbert (cp. *Corona, Cross*).

Analogues. Sir John Beaumont's last poem, 'Upon the two great Feasts of the Annunciation and Resurrection falling on the same day, March 25, 1627', first published in *Bosworth-field* (1629; *Shorter Poems*, ed. R. D. Sell (1974) pp. 98–9), may, as Gardner hypothesised, have been prompted by a reading of D.'s poem in manuscript (as may G. Herbert's '*In Natales et Pascha Concurrentes*'), though there may rather be a common model in their Roman Catholic heritage, e.g., the discredited (by Protestants) *Voragine* 53 (l. 209), which repeats the early tradition that the Crucifixion occurred on the same day in March as the Annunciation.

Text. TCD is the only source not showing obvious errors. Among many such in Group III, however, some variants offer possible readings, and may be earlier versions, e.g., in ll. 13, 21 and 46.

TAMELY, frail body, ^abstain today: today
My soul eats twice, Christ hither and away.

Sources collated: *Group I:* H49, D, C57, Lec; H40; *Group II:* TCD, DC; *Group III:* Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: TCD

Select variants:

Heading II The Annunciation I: Upon the Annunciation and Passion falling upon [on Lut, O'F] one day. [Anno S96: Anno Do. Lut: An. Do. O'F] 1608 [1618 Lut: 168 O'F]. III: The Annunciation and Passion 1633, 1635
1 body] flesh III, 1635

12–13 in some recompense/That] to some extent matching the way in which.
13 Luke 10. 38–9, John 12. 1–3. Cp. *Serm.* 8. 87: 'From that *Worthy family*, whence she had her original extraction, and birth, she sucked that love of *hospitality* . . . which dwelt in her, to her end.'

14 these hymns] Possibly *Corona*: see headnote.

1 Tamely] Submissively (since the soul has twice as much nourishment, which should be enough for both).

2 Communion services with their proper Collects, Epistles and Gospels are appointed for both.

- She sees him man, so like God made in this,
 That of both them a circle emblem is,
 5 Whose first and last concur: this doubtful day
 Of feast or fast, Christ came, and went away;
 She sees him nothing twice at once, who's all;
 She sees a cedar plant itself and fall,
 Her maker put to making, and the head
 10 Of life at once not yet alive and dead.
 She sees at once the virgin mother stay
 Reclused at home, public at Golgotha;
 Sad and rejoiced she's seen at once, and seen
 At almost fifty and at scarce fifteen.
 15 At once a son is promised her and gone:
 Gabriel gives Christ to her, he her to John.
 Not fully a mother, she's in orbity:

4 both them] them both *I, III, 1633, 1635* 10 and dead] yet ~ 1633

13 Sad and rejoiced] Rejoiced and sad *III* 15 At once a son] A son at once *III*

3-4 Cp. *BedfordHonour* 36, *SecAn* 436, *Harington* 105 and notes, and *Serm.* 6. 173 (Christmas 1624): 'One of the most convenient Hieroglyphics of God, is a Circle; and a Circle is endless; whom God loves, he loves to the end: . . . His hailstones, and his thunderbolts, and his showers of blood (emblems and instruments of his Judgements) fall down in a direct line, and affect and strike some one person, or place: His Sun, and Moon, and Stars (Emblems and Instruments of his Blessings) move circularly, and communicate themselves to all'; and *Serm.* 4. 96, Easter Monday 1622): 'As a circle is printed all at once, so his beginning and ending is all one'.

5 doubtful] ambiguous.

6 feast or fast] The Annunciation and Good Friday respectively, celebrated as such by both the Roman and Anglican Churches.

8 cedar] The bridegroom eulogised as 'excellent as the cedars' in *Song of Songs* 5. 15 was supposed by Christians to be Christ. The cedar was the tallest tree known in the Near East, and thus in the Hebrew Bible, e.g., *1 Kings* 4. 33, *Amos* 2. 9, *Zech.* 11. 2. Since it was not even planted in Britain until c. 1645, D.'s analogy is traditional, not based on experience. Gardner compares Rabanus Maurus (*PL* 112. 891).

9 put to making] subjected to making, made (*OED* 26 a). **head]** i.e., principle, giver.

10 alive] The conception of Jesus is referred to in the future tense by Gabriel at the Annunciation, *Luke* 1. 26-31.

12 Reclused] Secluded, living privately. There may be an allusion to the medieval figure of Mary as *hortus conclusus*, 'an enclosed garden'. **Golgotha]** *Matt.* 27. 33 etc.

14 According to Voragine, 119 (2. 178), the fourth-century saint 'Epiphanius calculated that she was . . . fifteen when she gave birth; she lived with him for thirty-three years' (Gardner), making forty-eight; thus D.'s 'almost fifty' happily chimes with 'fifteen'.

16 Gabriel] Two syllables. **he . . . John]** *John* 19. 26-7.

17 in orbity] bereaved of a child.

At once receiver and the legacy.
 All this, and all between, this day hath shown,
 20 Th'abridgement of Christ's story, which makes one
 (As in plain maps the furthest west is east)
 Of th'angel's *Ave* and *Consummatum est*.
 How well the Church, God's Court of Faculties,
 Deals, in sometimes and seldom joining these!
 25 As by the self-fixed Pole we never do
 Direct our course, but the next star thereto,
 Which shows where th'other is, and which we say
 (Because it strays not far) doth never stray;
 So God by his Church, nearest to him, we know,
 30 And stand firm if we by her motion go:

19 hath] is *III* 21 west is east] east is west *III*

21 An analogy favoured by D. as poet and preacher, e.g., *Serm.* 2. 199–200 (28 March 1619): 'Take a flat Map, a Globe *in plano*, and here is East, and there is West, as far asunder as two points can be put: but reduce this flat Map to roundness, which is the true form, and then East and West touch one another, and all are one: So consider man's life aright, to be a Circle, . . . in this, the circle, the two points meet, the womb and the grave are but one point, they make but one station, there is but a step from that to this.' He could have seen a projection of the whole world in which the eastern tip of Asia is shown on one side, the western extremity of America on the other, by, e.g., E. Wright in Hakluyt 1598–1600, or the 1606 edn of Mercator's *Atlas* augm. by J. Hondius. Cp. *Christ* 13–14.

22 **th'angel's Ave]** 'Hail' (*Luke* 1. 28 in the Vulgate version), becoming the standard denotation of the form of prayer derived from it. ***Consummatum est]*** 'It is finished'. The last words of Jesus on the cross, *John* 19. 30, in the Vulgate version.

23–4 The second Collect for Good Friday declares that 'the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified' by God's Spirit.

23 **Court of Faculties]** The Archbishop of Canterbury's court which issues dispensations, licences or faculties for exceptional departures from practice.

24 **sometimes and seldom]** on rare occasions.

25–8 By the sixteenth century the medieval invention of the magnetic compass and finer astronomical observation meant that the Pole Star was known to oscillate round the true 'self-fixed Pole' (but 'strays not far'), so that Blundeville in his chapters on the Pole Star, *Exercises*, 'Arte of Navigation' 38–42 (1594) sigg. 335v–342r, could reproduce tables and an instrument for its correction (sigg. 337v–340r). Gardner quotes *Serm.* 7. 245 (5 Nov. 1626): 'Neither is that star which we call the North Pole, or by which we know the North Pole, the very Pole itself; but we call it so, and we make our uses of it, and our conclusions by it, as if it were so, because it is the nearest star to that Pole.'

26 **next star thereto]** The nearest visible to the unassisted eye, i.e., the Pole Star.

27 **th'other]** the true but invisible Pole.

29–30 Notable for ignoring the guidance of Scripture: D.'s exaltation of the Church places him firmly in opposition to Puritanism.

- His Spirit as his fiery pillar doth
 Lead, and his Church as cloud; to one end both.
 This Church, by letting these days join, hath shown
 Death and conception in mankind is one.
- 35 Or 'twas in him the same humility,
 That he would be a man, and leave to be.
 Or as creation he had made as God,
 With the last judgement but one period,
 His imitating Spouse would join in one
- 40 Manhood's extremes: he shall come, he is gone.
 Or as though one blood-drop which thence did fall,
 Accepted, would have served, he yet shed all.
 So, though the least of his pains, deeds or words
 Would busy a life, she all this day affords.

31 as] and 1635 33 these] those *Lut*, 1633, 1635 days] feasts *III*, 1635

34 is] are *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

35 Or 'twas] And that *Dob*: Or that *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F* the same] 'twas one *III*

37 had] hath *I*, 1633, 1635 38 the] his *III* 44 busy] buy *III*

31–2 fiery . . . cloud] The guides of the Israelites in the wilderness, *Exod.* 13. 21.

32 his Church as cloud] *D.* may have taken a hint from *Exod.* 40. 34: 'Then the cloud covered the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle'; and *1 Kings* 9. 10–12: 'And when the priests were come out of the Sanctuary, the cloud filled the House of the Lord. The glory of the Lord had filled the House of the Lord. Then spake Solomon: "The Lord said that he would dwell in the dark cloud."' *Heb.* 12. 1 calls those saved by faith 'a cloud of witnesses' (*GV*).

34 D. repeatedly links sex and death.

36 leave] cease.

37–8 Gardner quotes *Serm.* 6. 331 (Christmas 1625): 'This Creation [of the world] and this Judgement are not a minute asunder in respect of eternity, which hath no minutes.'

38 period] Complete moment.

39 Spouse] Church. Another reference to the *Song of Songs*, the allegorical interpretation of which made the bride sung of there to be the Church married to Christ.

41–2 Cp. *Serm.* 4. 296 (Christmas 1622): 'Though then one drop of his blood had been enough, to have redeemed infinite worlds, if it had been so contracted, and so applied, yet he gave us, a morning shower of his blood in his Circumcision, and an evening shower at his passion, and a shower after Sunset, in the piercing of his side' (Gardner).

41 one blood-drop] Cp. *Corona5Cru* 14/*Corona6Res* 1, 4.

43–4 the least . . . life] Cp. *John* 21. 25.

45 This treasure then, in gross, my soul uplay,
And in my life retail it every day.

46 my] thy III

Sonnet: 'Oh, to vex me'

Date. c. 1608? Lines 12–13 are paralleled in *Litany* 208–9, datable to 1608. Some of this poem's distinguishing diction occurs in two letters to Goodyer of ?spring 1608. In one, which also echoes a poem of c. Jan. 1608, *BedfordNew* 59–60, and prefigures *Litany* 127–8, D. writes of the difficulty of understanding 'our souls' sicknesses': 'And I still vex myself with this, because if I know it not, nobody can know it. . . divers minds out of the same thing often draw contrary conclusions, . . . And as often out of contrary things men draw one conclusion', adducing theological examples. In another letter on the same topic, he laments that 'My strength diminishes, and my load grows, and being to pass more and more storms, I find that I have not only cast out all my ballast which nature and time gives, reason & discretion, & so am as empty & light as vanity can make me, but I have over-fraught myself with vice, and so am riddlingly subject to two contrary wrecks, sinking and over-setting' (1633 pp. 371, 368). The 'profane love' of l. 6 recalls the 'profane mistresses' of *HolySgPresent* 10, datable to c. 1609–10, but in the singular might refer simply to the love for his wife which after her death he explicitly tries to relinquish in *HSW1Since*, *Germany, Christ*. The vocabulary of sickness was with D. throughout his mature years, as in his letter of 14 March 1614 to Goodyer while recovering from illness:

I have purged and vexed my body much since I writ to you, and this day I have missed my fit: . . . I . . . ask you leave to make this which I am fain to call my good day, so much truly good, as to spend the rest of it with D. *Layfield* [rector of St Clement Danes, D.'s parish of residence], who is, upon my summons, at this hour come to me[.] My Physicians have made me afraid, that this disease will work into my head, and so put me into lightnesses, therefore I am desirous that I be understood before any such danger overtake me (*Letters* pp. 168, 171).

This and the sermon quoted below make conceivable a date near that of *HSW1Since*, so that the sonnet's existence outside the two sequences would be due to date rather than unsuitability, though it was perhaps too personal and self-revealing to be sent to a patron such as Lady Bedford, whom D. wished to convince of his Christian resolution.

Analogue. J. D'Amico, *Petrarch in England: An Anthology of Parallel Texts from Wyatt to Milton* (Ravenna, 1979) pp. 87–96, cites *Rime sparse* no. 134, though in Petrarch's poem, the conflict within is caused by sexual love.

45 Following the command in *Matt.* 6. 19–20: 'Lay not up treasures for yourselves upon the earth, where the moth and canker corrupt, and where thieves dig through and steal; but lay up treasures for yourselves in Heaven, where neither the moth nor canker corrupteth, and where thieves neither dig through nor steal' (*GV*).

- O H, to vex me contraries meet in one:
 Inconstancy unnaturally hath begot
 A constant habit, that when I would not
 I change in vows and in devotion.
 5 As humorous is my contrition
 As my profane love, and as soon forgot;
 As riddlingly distempered, cold and hot;
 As pray'ng, as mute; as infinite, as none.
 I durst not view Heav'n yesterday, and today
 10 In prayers and flattering speeches I court God.
 Tomorrow I quake with true fear of his rod.
 So my devout fits come and go away
 Like a fantastic ague, save that here
 Those are my best days when I shake with fear.

Source and base text: *W*

Heading: *ed.*

1–4 For the Christian reader there might be an implicit contrast with the lament in one of the Penitential Psalms, *Ps.* 143. 4, 'Therefore is my spirit vexed within me', since there the vexation is caused by an external enemy. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 84 (1618), quoting Gregory: 'The mind of a curious man delights to examine itself upon interrogatories which upon the rack it cannot answer, and to vex itself with such doubts as it cannot resolve.'

2–3 Inconstancy . . . habit] Cp. the woman's hypothetical resolution to be changeable in *Constancy* 11–12, and the praise of inconstancy (or at least serial monogamy) in *Change* 35–6.

5–6 As acknowledged in poems of 'profane love' such as *Constancy* 17, *Usury* 5–8.

5–14 The speaker describes 'blowing cold and hot' in his religious enthusiasm. At least he is in better case than the lukewarm Laodiceans, *Rev.* 3. 14–16.

5 humorous] varying with mood, whimsical, capricious.

7 riddlingly] For 'Love's riddles' see *All* 29–30. As chaplain to Lincoln's Inn, D. preached later, in 1618, about 'that miserable, perplexed, riddling condition of man', explaining that 'sin makes the body of man miserable, and the remedy of sin, *mortification*, makes it miserable too' (*Serm.* 2. 63). **distempered**] diseased, deranged, disturbed by imbalance of the bodily humours.

8 infinite] i.e., in *Progress* 38, *All* 5–6. D.'s tendency to see his passion of the moment in terms of all or nothing runs through his religious as well as his love poetry.

9 I durst . . . Heav'n] Cp. *Friday* 29.

11 fear of his rod] Cp. *Job* 9. 34, 21. 9.

12–13 In the case of actual bodily malaria, the episodes of shivering are accounted the worse. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 84 (1618): 'Every fit of an ague is an earthquake that swallows him'.

13 fantastic ague] fever of the imagination like malaria, alternating fits of burning and shivering.

14 Fulfilling the command of *Philip.* 2. 12 (*AV*): 'Work out your salvation with fear and trembling.' Cp. D.'s preaching 2 Nov. 1617, 'It is an hereditary

A Litany

1. The Father

Date and context. Autumn 1608? D. wrote to Goodyer from Mitcham (*Letters* pp. 32–4): ‘Since my imprisonment in my bed, I have made a meditation in verse which I call a litany.’ The letter goes on to mention the MS of a recently written book as ‘not of much less than 300 pages’, presumed to be *Biathanatos* since the copy sent to Edward Herbert totals 284 pages. *Biathanatos* may have been completed by 8 July 1608 (Sullivan (1984) pp. xxxv–xxxvi). D. also mentions (*Letters* p. 36) that the plague’s increase, which he had noted the week before (?*Letters* p. 139, undated but before Feb. 1609 when the Mrs Herbert it mentions became Lady Danvers), continues: cp. Carleton to Chamberlain on 20 Sept. 1608 (1972) p. 106; there were, however, outbreaks of varying severity from 1603 to 1611. In a later hand, *C*₅₇ contains after the title ‘To Sr: Tho: Roe’: for D.’s familiarity with him around this time, see the letter quoted in headnote to *BulstrodeRecant*, and Bald *passim*.

Analogues. D. himself alludes to his working within a tradition in the letter to Goodyer:

The word, you know, imports no other than a supplication, but all Churches have one form of supplication by that name. Amongst ancient annals—I mean some 800 years—I have met two litanies in Latin verse, which gave me not the reason of my meditations (for, in good faith, I thought not upon them then), but they give me a defence if any man to a lay man and a private impute it as a fault to take such divine and public names to his own little thoughts. The first of these was made by Ratpertus, a monk of Suevia [Swabia, now in Switzerland; in fact of S. Gall and its annalist, d. c. 885; *PL* 87. 39–40], and the other by S. Notker [Notker Balbulus, i.e., ‘the Stammerer’, c. 840–912, biographer of Charlemagne; *PL* 87. 42–3] (of whom I will give you this note by the way: that he is a private saint for a few parishes [St Gall and dependent churches]). They were both but monks, and the litanies poor and barbarous enough, yet Pope Nicolas the Fifth [Canisius (p. 742 marg.; see below) says Nicholas III, Pope 1277–80] valued their devotion so much that he canonized both their poems [Canisius says it only of that of Ratpertus, and that (p. 741), of various popes who ordered the canonisation of Notker in all churches subject to St Gall, the chief was Leo

Sentence, and hath passed from David in his *Psalms* [111. 10], to Solomon in his *Proverbs* [1. 7], and then to him that gleaned after them both, the Author of *Ecclesiastius*, “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom”; repeating the sentence in the 14 Dec. 1617 sermon after censure of all love that is not for God’s sake (*Serm.* 1. 232–5, 243). G. Herbert imitates D. in ‘The Storm’ 17 with ‘the winds and waters’ of remorseful ‘sighs and tears’ of which he says ‘Poets have wronged poor storms: such days are best’.

X], and commanded them for public service in their churches. Mine is for lesser chapels, which are my friends, and though a copy of it were due to you now, yet I am so unable to serve myself with writing it for you at this time (being some 30 staves of 9 lines) that I must entreat you to take a promise that you shall have the first for a testimony of that duty which I owe to your love—and to myself, who am bound to cherish it by my best offices. That by which it will deserve best acceptance is that neither the Roman Church need call it defective, because it abhors not the particular mention of the blessed triumphers in Heaven, nor the Reformed can discreetly accuse it of attributing more than a rectified devotion ought to do.

That his care to avoid offending either party was successful is asserted in the elegy by Sir Lucius Carey (1633 pp. 389–92), referring (p. 390) to ‘his so pious Litany, which none can / But count divine, except a puritan’. Nevertheless, as Oliver (1997) p. 86 pointed out, D. brings back the traditional Litany of Saints, though in Reformed guise stating that they intercede rather than asking them to:

He restores much of what had been cut out in the 1549 revision [of the Prayer Book], even though—as the letter to Goodyer shows—one of his ostensible aims was to avoid scandalising Protestants. Specifically, Donne reintroduces from the 1544 Litany invocations to the Virgin Mary (stanza V), the Angels (stanza VI), the Patriarchs (stanza VII), the Prophets (stanza VIII), the Apostles (stanza IX), the Martyrs (stanza X), the Confessors, or non-martyrs (stanza XI), and the Virgins (stanza XII)—and he introduces an invocation to the Doctors of the Church, or theologians of great distinction (stanza XIII), which had been part of the Roman Litany but not of the English versions of 1544 or 1549.

Gardner points out that whereas in the Roman Litany the Confessors were followed by the Doctors, D. has them followed by the Virgins because they shared white as a liturgical colour (and, presumably, because the sexual language D. uses of both explains why). D. expands the traditional category of All Saints to a ‘universal choir’ including the Church Militant on Earth. Ratpertus and Notker were available to D. in H. Canisius, ed., *Promptuarium Ecclesiasticum* (1608, 2. 742–3, 746–7; see D. Baker-Smith, *RES* 26 (1975) pp. 171–3). Angels, Mary the mother-maid, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs and Virgins reappear as the Church Triumphant in *SecAn* 339–55. The introduction of the first person singular pronoun into a genre composed previously for public use is discussed by A. B. Chambers (1992) pp. 1–7, the liturgical use of the Psalms giving precedent for the interchangeability of singular and plural. Originally, a litany had only standard congregational responses to suffrages presented by a deacon, priest or cantor, but later invocations of the saints were added, here occupying almost half the poem. The equivalent phrases to the responses, ‘Deliver us’ and ‘Hear us’, are delayed until stanzas 14–27, where they vary in position between the penultimate and last lines of each stanza, sometimes with words interpolated, ending with a version of the *Agnus Dei* which in the *BCP* version precedes a closing *Miserere*. The number of stanzas, twenty-eight, is called by Bungus (1599) pp. 464–73 the most perfect number, among other properties containing the sum of its divisors (1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14), and being a triangular number (1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7). It symbolised virtue in thus hitting the mean, neither exceeding nor falling short of its aliquot parts. Such balance was a frequent desire of D.’s, sought here in st. 15. The number of lines in each stanza, nine, was the hour at

which Jesus gave up the ghost, *Matt.* 27. 46–50 etc., the hour of prayer in *Acts* 3. 1, 10. 30 (Bungus (1599) pp. 337, 353), and a traditional number of holiness, perfection, divinity, spirituality etc. However, the approximate mention of ‘some 30 staves’ in the letter above, suggests D. might not have been attending to numbers here.

Text. Group I as a whole requires less correction (in the Heading and ll. 53, 109, 122, 139, 154, 159, 163, 190, 246) from other groups or 1633 than the others. *D* has been chosen as base text since it adds to its group only three readings (in ll. 89, 206, 221) where those of other groups have been preferred. Group III contains possible readings which may survive from an earlier version, e.g., in ll. 20, 49 (both of forms soon to be obsolete), 173.

FATHER of Heaven—and him by whom
 It and us for it, and all else for us
 Thou mad'st and govern'st ever—come
 And re-create me now grown ruinous:
 5 My heart is by dejection clay,
 And by self-murder, red:
 From this red earth, O Father, purge away

Sources collated: *Group I:* *H49, D, C57, Lec; H40; Group II:* *TCC, TCD, DC; Group III:* *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading A *Litany II, III: The I, 1633, 1635*

Stanza headings: *without definite article III: Arabic numerals I, II: Roman numerals 1633, 1635: no numerals III: order of words and numerals inverted I, II*

6 self-murder, red] ~ red, red *II: myself murdered III*

4 ruinous] The Latin sense, ‘liable to fall’, is understood. Cp. Walkington 2 (1607) f. 11v of the body: ‘this ruinous tenement’.

5 A condition prayed against in l. 125.

6–9 Cp. *Serm.* 2. 200–1 (Easter Day 1619): ‘Adam, which is another name of man, . . . signifies “red earth”. . . bloody earth, and therefore in ourselves, as derived from him, let us find, and lament all these *numbers*, and all these *weights* of sin.’ *D.* warms to this theme in *Serm.* 9. 64–6 (April 1629):

He made us all of earth, and of red earth. Our earth was red even when it was in God’s hands: a redness that amounts to a shamefastness, to a blushing at our own infirmities, is imprinted in us by God’s hand. . . . But that redness which we have contracted from blood shed by ourselves, the blood of our own souls, by sin, was not upon us when we were in the hands of God. . . . We are not as accessaries and God as principal in this soul-murder: God forbid. . . . We have dyed ourselves in sins as red as scarlet; we have drowned ourselves in such a Red Sea.

Gardner quotes similarly from the same sermon, 9. 49. Cp. also *DivM5Black* 12, *FirAn* 358.

All vicious tinctures, that new-fashioned
I may rise up from death before I'm dead.

2. The Son

- 10 O Son of God—who, seeing two things,
Sin and death, crept in, which were never made,
By bearing one, tried'st with what stings
The other could thine heritage invade—
O be thou nailed unto my heart,
15 And crucified again:
Part not from it, though it from thee would part,
But let it be by applying so thy pain,
Drowned in thy blood, and in thy passion slain.

3. The Holy Ghost

- O Holy Ghost—whose temple I
20 Am, but of mud walls and condensed dust,

9 before I'm] ere I am *III*

13 could thine] did thy *S96*, *Dob*: would thine *Lut*: would thy *O'F*

20 mud walls] mud-wall *III*

8 vicious tinctures] impurities, acquired from the earth by base metal, which can be transmuted into gold by the virtuous tincture which the risen Christ becomes in *Resurrection* 13–16, 'Of power to make even sinful flesh like his'. Cp. the 'poisonous tincture' of *HerbertE* 20 and *FirAn* 180. See *Duncan* 275–7.

9 Playing on the first death, bodily, and the second, spiritual of *Rev.* 21. 8, in inverse order.

11 Trying to exonerate his God, who is supposed in the Nicene Creed to be 'maker . . . of all things visible and invisible'. As Thomas Aquinas 1. 49. 2 recognises, in *Isa.* 45. 7 the Lord says 'I make peace and create evil', countering with the claim of *Wisd.* 1. 13 that 'God made not death'. Calvinists rejected *Wisd.* as apocryphal, and asserted, for example (with unrelenting logicity) that God willed the Fall.

12 one] sin. Cp. *Cross* 6, *CoronazAnnum* 3, *Jeremy* 362. **tried'st]** tested. **stings]** Though 'The sting of death is sin'—1 *Cor.* 15. 56.

13 heritage] the heavenly kingdom of glory. Cp. *DivM12Wilt* 5–8, *DivM4Part* 7–8.

15 crucified again] 'They crucify again to themselves the Son of God'—*Heb.* 6. 6 (*GV*).

18 Drowned . . . blood] Cp. *DivM9Pois'nous* 10–12.

19 1 *Cor.* 6. 19.

20 mud walls] Walkington f. 11v: 'This mud-walled cottage'. Cp. *Job* 4. 19 (echoed in 1633 p. 384 in Izaak Walton's elegy, and by D.'s admirer Thomas Pestell (see

And, being sacrilegiously
 Half wasted with youth's fires of pride and lust,
 Must with new storms be weatherbeat,
 Double in my heart thy flame,
 25 Which let devout, sad tears intend; and let
 (Though this glass lantern, flesh, do suffer maim)
 Fire, sacrifice, priest, altar, be the same.

4. The Trinity

O Blessed glorious Trinity,
 Bones to philosophy but milk to faith—

24 thy] the *TCD*, III

headnote on *HGJD*, *Psalm for Christmas Day Morning* 17–18: 'Behold, the great creator makes / Himself an house of clay'—*Poems* (1940) p. 66, from *Sermons and Devotions: Old and New*, 1659); *Serm.* 2. 83 (n. d.): 'Behold, God hath walled us with mud walls, and wet mud walls, that waste away faster than God meant at first they should; and by sins this flesh, that is but the loam and plaster of thy tabernacle, thy body—that, all that, that in the entire substance, is corrupted'; and *Serm.* 2. 215 (1619): 'these mud walls, this corrupt body of thine'. See also *Serm.* 1. 273 (12 April 1618). The phrase is adopted by T. Shipman, 'True Nobility. 1679. Upon the Death of the . . . Earl of Rutland' 15–17, *Carolina* (1683) p. 225 (Keynes pp. 299–300). **condensèd dust**] 'The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground', *Gen.* 2. 7.

22 youth's . . . lust] Deplored by D. also in *SecAn* 104, *Harington* 128.

23 new storms] illness (Smith).

25 intend] intensify.

26 this glass lantern, flesh] Cp. Walkington f. 12r: 'A candle in the lantern can yield but a glimmering light through an impure and darksome horn'.

27 Since Christ also combined sacrifice and priest in himself, *Heb.* 7. 26–7, 9. 11–12, 24–6. Cp. *Calm* 26.

29 Bones] indigestible, i.e., illogical matter. In the words of the Athanasian Creed: 'We worship one God in trinity, and trinity in unity; neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance; for there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is all one: the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost: the Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate; the Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible; the Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal: and yet they are not three eternal, but one eternal; as also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated, but one uncreated and one incomprehensible', and so on (*BCP*). **milk**] infant nourishment. Cp. *1 Cor.* 3. 1–2: 'Babes in Christ, I have fed you with milk', *Heb.* 5. 13, and *1 Pet.* 2. 2.

- 30 Which, as wise serpents diversely
 Most slipp'riness yet most entanglings hath—
 As you, distinguished, undistinct,
 By power, love, knowledge be,
 Give me such a self, different, instinct:
 35 Of these let all me elemented be:
 Of power to love, to know you unnumbered three.

5. The Virgin Mary

- For that fair blessed mother-maid—
 Whose flesh redeemed us; that she-cherubin
 Which unlocked Paradise, and made
 40 One claim for innocence, and disseised sin;
 Whose womb was a strange Heav'n, for there

34 such a] a such *III*, 1633: such 1635 35 these] all these *III*: thee *II*
 The Virgin Mary] Virgin Mary *Lut*, *O'F*: Our Lady *Dob*, *S96*
 40 disseised] diseased *III*

30 wise serpents] Jesus bid his followers, *Matt.* 10. 16: 'Be ye therefore wise as serpents'. The serpent was proverbially 'more subtle than any beast of the field', *Gen.* 3. 1.

33 Cp. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* 1. 39. 8, alleging Augustine's authority for a doctrine so far found only in Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis* 1. 2. 6 (*PL* 176. 208): 'Power has the nature of a principle, and so it has a likeness to the heavenly Father, who is the principle of the whole godhead. . . . *Wisdom* has likeness to the heavenly Son, as the Word, for a word is nothing but the concept of wisdom. . . . *Goodness*, as the nature and object of love, has likeness to the Holy Ghost, who is Love.' Power, Wisdom, Love are the terms used by D. in *Serm.* 1. 199 (24 March 1617); Power, Wisdom, and Goodness in 3. 274, 327; 8. 59 (Trinity Sundays ?1621, 1627), 9. 83, 89–90 (April 1629).

34 different, instinct] displaying these separate qualities yet imbued throughout.

35 elemented] constituted in my basic parts.

36 unnumbered three] Cp. 1 *John* 5. 7: 'these three are one', a foundation of Trinitarianism, not in the earliest MSS of the NT, though cp. *Matt.* 28. 19.

38 she-cherubin] because she reopened Paradise, guarded against humans since the Fall by cherubim with a flaming sword, *Gen.* 3. 24. D. later preached against such Mariolatry: 'The Virgin *Mary* had not the same interest in our salvation, as *Eve* had in our destruction; nothing that she did entered into that treasure' (*Serm.* 1. 200, 24 March 1617; Gardner).

40 Since she alone was asserted never to have sinned. Because she is said, *Matt.* 1. 20–3, to have given birth to Jesus without male fertilisation, she was supposed by theologians from the fifth century always to have remained a virgin, despite those termed his brothers and sisters in *Mark* 6. 3 etc. **disseised]** deprived of possession.

God clothed himself, and grew—
 Our zealous thanks we pour: as her deeds were
 Our helps, so are her prayers, nor can she sue
 45 In vain, who hath such titles unto you.

6. The Angels

And since this life our nonage is,
 And we in wardship to thine Angels be—
 Native in Heaven's fair palaces
 Where we shall be but denizen'd by thee—,
 50 As th'Earth conceiving by the Sun
 Yields fair diversity,
 Yet never knows which course that light doth run,
 So let us study that our actions be
 Worthy their sight, though blind in how they see.

7. The Patriarchs

55 And let thy Patriarchs' desire—

49 denizen'd] denizèd *III* 52 which] what *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

53 us . . . our *III*: me . . . mine *I*, *II*, 1633, 1635

42 clothed] The metaphor originates in *Job* 10. 11.

43–5 'In order to avoid colliding with the letter of the Thirty-Nine Articles, Donne makes sure that . . . the speaker addresses God'—Oliver pp. 86–7, though there is a distinctly Roman tinge to envisaging the intercession of the Mother of God.

45 titles unto] just claims on, rights with.

46 nonage] infancy.

47 On D.'s belief in guardian angels, cp. *Relic* 26, *Bracelet* 13–14, *Harington* 228, and see note on *SecAn* 239.

49 denizen'd] resident by permission.

53 study] endeavour.

54 blind . . . see] i.e., whether they perceive only outward appearances or also inner thoughts. Cp. *DivMtoFaith*.

55–63 The Patriarchs] The three great forefathers of Israel, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who lived after the Flood, sometimes expanded to four (see *Semm.* 8. 40, Trinity Sunday 1627, on the four beasts of *Rev.* 4. 8; *Acts* 2. 29 includes David), sometimes denoting humans' antediluvian ancestors from Adam to Noah, and the sons of Jacob who begot the twelve tribes of Israel (*Acts* 7. 8).

55 thy Patriarchs' desire] Gardner quotes *Hebrews* 11. 14–16, which says that Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and Sarah died in faith and 'confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth' and so 'declare plainly that they seek a country', and 'now they desire a better, an heavenly' (*GI*). Cp. the words of Jesus to his disciples, *Matt.* 13. 17: 'Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which you see'.

Those great-grandfathers of thy Church, which saw
 More in the cloud than we in fire,
 Whom Nature cleared more than us grace and law,
 And now in Heaven still pray that we
 60 May use our new helps right—
 Be satisfied, and fructify in me:
 Let not my mind be blinder by more light,
 Nor faith by reason added lose her sight.

8. The Prophets

Thy eagle-sighted Prophets too,

56 of] in III 58 than] that 1635 and] or III
 61 satisfied] sanctified C57, Lec, 1633

56 great-grandfathers of thy Church] ‘The Patriarchs are fathers of the Apostles, who are fathers of the Fathers’ (Gardner). Cp. *Serm.* 1. 289.

57 In *Exod.* 13. 21 etc. the Lord preceded the Israelites through the wilderness ‘by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light’. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 233–4 (Whitsun ?1630): ‘That which was but matter of prophecy unto them (in the Old Testament, they knew not when it should be done) to us in the New is matter of History, and we know when it was done: in the old times God led his people, sometimes with clouds, sometimes with fire, . . . To us all is holy fire, all is evident light.’

58 For the Christian there were three eras: Adamic Nature, Mosaic Law, and Christian Grace. **cleared]** enlightened.

60 new helps] Cp. *Heb.* 4. 16: ‘Let us therefore go boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need’ (*GV*).

61 fructify] From *Matt.* 7. 17 on, ‘Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit’, this is the usual biblical metaphor, e.g., in ‘the fruits of righteousness’ of *Philip.* 1. 11. D. prays not to be ‘hewn down and cast into the fire’ (*Matt.* 7. 19), the fire of the second death in *Rev.* 20. 14.

62 As was Saul of Tarsus, temporarily, *Acts* 9. 3, 8. Cp. *2 Cor.* 3. 13–14: ‘And we are not as Moses, which put a veil over his face, that the children of Israel should not see, . . . Therefore their minds were blinded, for until this day remaineth the same covering untaken away in the Old Testament when they read it, which veil in Christ is put away’ (*GV* 1560).

63 ‘For we walk by faith, and not by sight’—*2 Cor.* 5. 7. Cp. *John* 20. 29: ‘Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed’.

64 eagle-sighted] Keen-sighted in foretelling the coming of Christ, and also, perhaps, because they could look on God, e.g., *Ezek.* 1. 26–7, as the eagle was supposed to be able to stare into the Sun, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10. 3 (10); *Serm.* 8. 42 (Trinity 1627): ‘As the Minister is presented in the notion and quality of an *Eagle*, we require both an Open eye, and a Piercing eye; . . . with the Eagle, to be able to look to the Sun’. Cp. letter to Goodyer of Sept. 1608 (*Letters* p. 49): ‘The eagle were very unnatural if, because she is able to do it, she should

- 65 Which were thy Church's organs, and did sound
 That harmony which made of two
 One law, and did unite, but not confound;
 Those heavenly poets which did see
 Thy will, and it express
 70 In rhythmic feet, in common pray for me
 That I by them excuse not my excess
 In seeking secrets or poetickness.

9. The Apostles

- And thy illustrious zodiac
 Of twelve Apostles, which engirt this all;
 75 From whom whoever do not take

71 excuse] execute *DC*: excute *TCC*, *TCD* 72 In] Of *III*
 75 whoever] whosoever *II*, 1633, 1635 do] doth *III*

perch a whole day upon a tree staring in contemplation of the majesty and glory of the Sun, and let her young eaglets starve in the nest' (Gardner).

65–7 A favourite emblem of harmony: cp. *Funeral Elegy* 27–9, *Harington* 1–4, *Sidney* 14–16, *Serm.* 1. 207 (24 March 1617): 'the world a great and harmonious organ, where all parts are played, and all play parts'. By existing in the Old Testament and being fulfilled in the New the prophets link them.

67 unite, but not confound] Divine and human in Jesus Christ. Gardner quotes the Athanasian Creed: 'One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person.'

68–70 Those heavenly poets . . . rhythmic feet] Cp. *Serm.* 4. 167 (25 Aug. 1622): 'The power of *oratory*, in the force of persuasion, the strength of conclusions, in the pressing of *Philosophy*, the harmony of *Poetry*, in the sweetness of composition, never met in any man, so fully as in the Prophet *Isaiah*'; and 2. 171 (12 Feb. 1619): 'The greatest mystery of our religion . . . is conveyed in a Song, in the third chapter of *Habakkuk*'.

70 in common] together. **pray]** A statement not a petition.

71–2 my excess . . . secrets] Cp. *Serm.* 9. 134 (Christmas [?1629]): 'I can see God in the creature, but the nature, the essence, the secret purposes of God, I cannot see there. . . . Curious men busy themselves so much upon speculative subtleties, as that they desert, and abandon the solid foundations of Religion'.

72 poetickness] mere rhetorical, aesthetically pleasing effects. *OED* cites only D.'s use, but its meaning is clear enough. The struggle for sincere expression is common, e.g., Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 1, Herbert's 'Jordan' poems. Cp. D.'s wariness in *Serm.* 4. 143 (Ascension 1622) of being 'over-vehemently affected or transported with Poetry' (Gardner).

73 zodiac] Because twelve in number, but also as lights of Christianity, conspicuous and influential.

74 engirt this all] engirdle, surround the universe.

Their light, to dark deep pits throw down and fall,
 As through their pray'rs thou'st let me know
 That their books are divine,
 May they pray still, and be heard, that I go
 80 Th'old, broad way in applying: O decline
 Me when my comment would make thy word mine.

10. The Martyrs

And since thou so desirously
 Did'st long to die, that long before thou could'st,
 And long since, thou no more couldst die—
 85 Thou in thy scattered mystic body wouldst
 In Abel die, and ever since
 In thine—, let their blood come
 To beg for us a discreet patience
 Of death, or of worse life: for oh, to some
 90 Not to be Martyrs is a martyrdom.

76 throw] thrown *III*, 1635 and] do *Dob*, 1635: doth *Lut*, *O'Fae&Ebe*

78 books] works *III* 83 long to] love to *III*

89 or of *H49*, *II*, *III*, 1633, 1635: or *D*, *C57*, *Lec*

76 throw . . . fall] Mislead both others and themselves; cp. *Matt.* 15. 14: 'If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch' (Gardner).

80 old, broad] traditional, obvious. *D.* eschews novel, obscure interpretations of the New Testament. **decline]** humble.

85 thy scattered . . . body] The Church.

86 Abel] *Gen.* 4. 1–8. Understood as a type of Christ by, e.g., Augustine, *Citie of God* 15. 18 (1610) p. 555, though, as *Heb.* 12. 24 implies, Abel was not sacrificed by his father, nor did he die willingly, nor for anyone else's benefit.

87 In thine] Cp. *Serm.* 6. 220 (30 Jan. 1625): 'But though all were finished in his Person, he hath a daily passion in his Saints still' (Gardner).

88–90 a discreet . . . martyrdom] Just before *D.* wrote *Litany* he had devoted *Biathanatos* 1. 3 (Sullivan (1984) pp. 53–62) to the desire of some Christians, whether orthodox or heretic, to be killed: Ignatius wrote to Christians in Rome 'Let me enjoy those beasts, whom I wish much more cruel than they are. And if they will not attempt me, I will provoke and draw them by force.' 'That age', writes *D.*,

was grown so hungry and ravenous of it that many were baptised only because they would be burned, and children taught to vex and provoke executioners that they might be thrown into the fire. And this assuredness, that men in full persuasion of doing well would naturally run to this, made the Proconsul in Afric proclaim: 'Is there any more Christians which desire to die?', and, when a whole multitude by general voice discovered themselves, he bid them 'Go hang and drown yourselves, and ease the magistrate.'

D. expands the theme *Pseudo-Martyr 2* (1610) on 'an inordinate and corrupt affectation of martyrdom'.

11. The Confessors

Therefore with thee triumpheth there
 A virgin squadron of white Cònfessors,
 Whose bloods betrothed, not married, were,
 Tendered, not taken by those ravishers:
 95 They know, and pray that we may know,
 In every Christian,
 Hourly, tempestuous persecutions grow;
 Temptations martyr us alive; a man
 Is to himself a Diocletian.

12. The Virgins

100 Thy cold, white, snowy nunnery,
 Which, as thy mother, their high abbess, sent
 Their bodies back again to thee

100 Thy] *The C57, Lec, 1633, 1635*

92 squadron] The military term befits a section (like the Martyrs) of the Church Militant on Earth, and D. juxtaposes Confessors and Virgins partly because both earned white as a liturgical colour, just as apostles and martyrs were both assigned red (Gardner). Cp. *SecAn* 356.

92-4 Cònfessors . . . ravishers] Those who suffered for their belief but were not killed.

97-9 Cp. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo* 4. 2 (*PL* 111. 89; Gardner): those who avoid the Devil's traps and carnal desires would be martyred if the age were violent.

97 tempestuous] Three syllables.

99 Diocletian] A reforming and organising Roman emperor, 284-305, remembered by Christians for the 'Great Persecution' (perhaps, in fact, attributable to his deputy, Galerius) towards the end of his reign.

100-8 Perpetual virginity and monasticism were, of course, not approved of by Protestantism. However, they remained in D.'s Heaven (cp. *Serm.* 4. 176-7 (25 Aug. 1622), 9. 188 (12 Feb. 1630)), and 144,000 male virgins 'not defiled by women' appear in that of *Rev.* 14. 4. D. takes the strict view in *Serm.* 3. 68 (2 April 1620): 'There is a chastity in Marriage: but the chastity of virginity, is the proper, and principal chastity.' His expressed view is relaxed at Christmas 1626 when he found in the sacrifice of pigeons, *Luke* 2. 24, 'no Emblem of a natural, or of a vowed barrenness: nothing that countenances a vowed virginity, to the dishonour or undervaluing of marriage' (*Serm.* 7. 282; cp. 8. 102-4, 19 Nov. 1627).

100, 101 white, snowy nunnery . . . abbess] Figures used by A. Stafford in his Mariolatrous panegyric *Femall Glory* (1635) pp. 148-9 (Keynes p. 287, *CH* p. 46).

101 thy . . . abbess] i.e., Mary.

101-3 sent . . . innocent] Cp. *Serm.* 8. 182 (29 Feb. 1628): 'God shall not only ask, . . . where is that Body? Is it come back in that Virginal integrity in which I made it?'

As thou hadst lent them, clean and innocent:
 Though they have not obtained of thee
 105 That or thy Church or I
 Should keep as they our first integrity,
 Divorce thou sin in us, or bid it die,
 And call chaste widowhood virginity.

13. The Doctors

Thy sacred Academe above
 110 Of Doctors, whose pains have unclasped and taught
 Both Books of Life to us (for love
 To know thy Scriptures tells us we are wrought
 In thy[^]other Book) pray for us there
 That what they have misdome
 115 Or mis-said, we to that may not adhere;
 Their zeal may be our sin: Lord let us run
 Mean ways, and call them stars but not the Sun.

109 Thy] The *TCC*, *TCD*, 1635 Academe II, III, 1635: Academy I, 1633

111 to] for III

112 thy] the *C57*, *Lec*, *TCC*, *TCD*, *Lut*, *O'F* wrought] wrote *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

113 thy[^]other] th[^]other *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*: the other *S96*

105–6 The Church has split, first into Eastern and Western, then that into Roman and Reformed, and the latter into sects, while D. has lost his virginity. D. may be recalling Hooker (quoting before rebutting his opponent T. Cartwright, *Reply to an answer made of M. Doctor Whitgifte* ([1573] 73, 2nd edn [1573]) p. 97), who is quoting Eusebius 3. 32 (*PG* 20. 283–60) who cites Hegesippus) in Preface 4. 2 to *Laves of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (*Works* 1. 22): ‘As long as the Apostles lived, the Church did remain a pure virgin, yet after the death of the Apostles, . . . wicked error began to creep into the Church’.

107 Divorce] Cp. *HolyS10Batter* 11.

109 Academe] Plato’s school of philosophy, founded in a gymnasium sacred to the hero Academus, and thus the archetypal seat of learning.

110 Doctors] ‘Originally the W. theologians Gregory the Great, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, . . . the list has been gradually increased to over 30’, including the Scholastic Doctors (*ODCC*). **unclasped]** Early books were kept closed by clasps.

111–13 Both Books . . . Book] ‘God hath two Books of Life; that in the *Revelation* [3. 5 etc.] and elsewhere [*Philip*. 4. 3], which is an eternal register of his elect; and this Bible . . . Our orderly love of the understanding this Book of Life testifies to us that our names are in the other’ (*Essays* pp. 6–7; Gardner).

114–17 D. expresses the Reformed view that the Doctors of the medieval Church were not infallible guides to whose opinions a Christian might surrender Scripture, reason and conscience.

116–17 Cp. *Serm.* 9. 158–62 (25 Jan. 1629). **run / Mean ways]** take a middle course.

14.

And whilst this universal choir—
 That Church in triumph, this in warfare here,
 120 Warmed with one all partaking fire
 Of love, that none be lost, which cost thee dear—
 Pray ceaselessly, and thou hearken too,
 Since, to be gracious,
 Our task is treble, to pray, bear, and do,
 125 Hear this prayer Lord: O Lord deliver us
 From trusting in those prayers, though poured out thus.

15.

From being anxious or secure,
 Dead clods of sadness or light squibs of mirth;
 From thinking that great courts immature
 130 All or no happiness, or that this earth
 Is only for our prison framed,

118 this] that *III* 122 Pray ceaselessly] Prays ~ 1633, 1635: Ceaselessly prays *III*
 128 clods] clouds *III*, 1635

119 The Church Triumphant in Heaven, the Church Militant on Earth, a second-century conception.

122 hearken too] listen (*OED* 5).

123 gracious] worthy of God's grace.

124 *Mark*. 13. 33, *1 Thess.* 5. 17, *2 Tim.* 4. 5. Christians are bidden to pray to the Father (*Matt.* 6. 6 etc.), the Son bore the punishment for sin (e.g., *Heb.* 9. 28), and 'by the power of the Holy Spirit of God' (*Rom.* 15. 19) Paul is enabled to be one of the 'doers of the word, and not hearers only' commanded by *Jas.* 1. 22.

127 secure] complacent.

128 Cp. D.'s letter to Goodyer of, perhaps, spring 1608 (1633 pp. 370–1):

Sometimes, when I find myself transported with jollity and love of company, I hang leads at my heels, and reduce [recall] to my thoughts my fortunes, my years, the duties of a man, of a friend, of a husband, of a father, and all the incumbencies of a family. When sadness dejects me, either I countermine it with another sadness, or I kindle squibs about me again, and fly into sportfulness and company.

129–30 Even outside *Satyre* 4, most of D.'s references to courts are derogatory (as with many other poets, e.g., Skelton, Spenser) though necessity drove him to incur the risk of ambition.

130–1 that this earth . . . framed] D. is praying against the feeling he is to express in *SecAn* 249: 'our prison's prison, earth', voicing there, too, the opinion of Plato and Paul of the body as a prison, already enunciated eloquently in *SecAn* 173.

Or that th'art covetous
 To them whom thou lov'st, or that they are maimed
 From reaching this world's sweet who seek thee thus
 135 With all their might, Good Lord, deliver us.

16.

From needing danger to be good;
 From owing thee yesterday's tears today;
 From trusting so much to thy blood
 That in that hope we wound our souls away;
 140 From bribing thee with alms, t'excuse
 Some sin more burdensous;
 From light affecting, in religion, news;
 From thinking us all soul, neglecting thus
 Our mutual duties—Lord deliver us.

134 sweet] sweets *II*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 139 souls *III*: soul *I*, *II*, 1633, 1635

132–3 Or . . . lov'st] i.e., literally believing the proverbial consolation of bereaved parents (Tilley G251), 'Whom God loveth best, those he taketh soonest' (T. Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique* 1 (1553; 1560 edn, ed. P. E. Medine (1994) p. 109), and thence that those who live longer are damned. D. however, wants his God to possess him in *HS10Batter* and *DivM2Due*, and proclaims his God's possessiveness in *HSW1Since* 13 and *Germany* 20.

133–4 This is the first assertion in the poem (cp. 160–1) that religious devotion is compatible with material wealth; D. was living in relative poverty at the time.

133 maimed] disabled.

134 this world's sweet] Cp. letter to Goodyer of Sept. 1608 (*Letters* p. 48): 'The primitive monks . . . ought [owed] the world no more, since they consumed none of her sweetness' (Gardner).

136 i.e., being good only out of fear of Hell instead of love of God.

138–9 As the speaker of *DivM5Black* 13–14 is in danger of doing. Perhaps a hit at Calvinist conviction of election to salvation.

139 wound our souls] Cp. *Letters* p. 48: 'not to wound my soul by any actual sin' (Gardner).

140 bribing . . . alms] To the orthodox Calvinist no good works could alone justify.

142 light . . . news] frivolously desiring innovations in religion. This was the burden of reformers' charge against Rome: 'If it [thy snare] be levity, and affection of new things, there may be a snare of things so new in that Religion, as that this Kingdom never saw them yet' (*Serm.* 4. 139, Ascension 1622; Gardner).

143–4 Cp. *Serm.* 4. 226 (13 Oct. 1622): 'Man is not all soul, but a body too; and, as God hath married them together in thee, so hath he commanded them mutual duties towards one another'. D. returns to the theme repeatedly: see *Serm.* 3. 288 (Trinity Sunday ?1621), 7. 104 (Easter 1626), 9. 63 (April 1629), 9. 134 (Christmas ?1629). Cp. also quotation in note above on l. 64.

17.

- 145 From tempting Satan to tempt us
 By our connivance or slack company;
 From meas'ring ill by vicious,
 Neglecting to choke sin's spawn, vanity;
 From indiscreet humility
 150 Which might be scandalous,
 And cast reproach on Christianity;
 From being spies, or to spies pervious;
 From thirst or scorn of fame—deliver us.

18.

- Deliver us through thy descent
 155 Into the Virgin, whose womb was a place
 Of middle kind; and thou being sent
 T'ungracious us, stayd'st at her, full of grace;
 And through thy poor birth, where first thou
 Glorified'st poverty,
 160 And yet soon after riches didst allow,
 By accepting kings' gifts in th'Epiphany,
 Deliver, and make us to both ways free.

153 fame] flame 1633 deliver] good Lord, ~ III

154 through III, 1635: for I, DC, TCD, 1633, 1635: from TCC

159 Glorifiedst II, III, 1635: Glorifiest I, 1633be

147 From excusing occasional sin because it is not as bad as habitual. Cp., however, *Letters* p. 48: 'When a man is purposed to do a great sin, God infuses some good thoughts which make him choose a less sin' (Gardner).

149 indiscreet] demonstrative.

150 scandalous] offensive.

151 cast reproach] discredit.

152 Cp. *Morrow* 9, *BedfordNew* 53–4. **pervious]** open, intelligible.

153 In *Essays* 2 (1952) p. 38 D. claims that 'for fame, . . . I so esteem opinion that I despise not others' thoughts of me (since most men are such as most men think they be), nor so reverence it that I make it always the rule of my actions' (Gardner).

156 middle kind] i.e., between divine and human.

157 ungracious] 1. lacking divine grace; 2. ungrateful, unappreciative. **full of grace]** In *John* 1. 14 designating Jesus; in the *Hail Mary* of the Roman liturgy, his mother.

159 Glorified'st] Mad'st glorious.

160–1 riches . . . Epiphany] *Matt.* 2. 1–11. As Oliver p. 95 points out, D.'s relative poverty for the first decade of his marriage inclined him to moderate his denunciation of riches. Cp. 133–4 and note.

19.

And through thy bitter agony,
 Which is still th'agony of pious wits,
 165 Disputing what distorted thee,
 And interrupted evenness with fits;
 And through thy free confession,
 Though thereby they were then
 Made blind, so that thou might'st from them have gone—
 170 Good Lord deliver us, and teach us when
 We may not, and we may blind unjust men.

20.

Through thy submitting all: to blows
 Thy face, thy clothes to spoil, thy fame to scorn,

163 through] though 1633 thy DC, III: that I, TCC, TCD, 1633, 1635
 164 is still] still is C57, Lec, 1633be, 1635
 168 thereby they were] they were thereby III: thou wert thereby S96ae
 173 clothes] robes III, 1635

165–9 Jesus's Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, *Luke* 26. 39–46, his words on the cross, *Matt.* 27. 46, *Mark* 15. 34, and the failure of the disciples to recognise him after the Resurrection, *Luke* 24. 13–29, all cast doubt on his divinity.

167–9 thy free . . . blind] Admitting that he was the man they were looking for, he struck them down nevertheless: *John* 18. 3–9 (Gardner).

170–1 teach . . . men] Gardner perceives a reference to the debate on equivocation, misleading by uttering aloud only part of a thought, so that a Jesuit priest when challenged might challenge his arrest by protesting 'I am no priest' with the silent qualification 'of Apollo.' D. gives the opinion that suits those in power in *Serm.* 9. 162–3 (25 Jan. 1630):

Whether a man be examined before a competent Judge or no, he may not lie: we can put no case, in which it may be lawful for any man to lie to any man; not to a midnight, nor to a noon thief, that breaks my house, or assaults my person, I may not lie. And though many have put names of disguise, such as Equivocations, and Reservations, yet they are all children of the same father, the father of lies, the Devil, and of the same brood of vipers: they are lies. To an Incompetent Judge, if I be interrogated, I must speak truth, if I speak; but to a Competent Judge, I must speak: with the Incompetent I may not be false, but with the Competent, I may not be silent. Certainly, that standing mute at the Bar, which, of late times hath prevailed upon many distempered wretches, is, in itself, . . . a sin, . . . having stood mute and refused a just trial. . . . To an Incompetent Judge I must not lie, to a Competent I must answer.

172–3 to blows/Thy face] *Luke* 22. 64. **thy clothes to spoil]** *Luke* 23. 34, *John* 19. 23–4. **thy fame to scorn]** *Matt.* 27. 39–44, *Luke* 23. 35–9.

All ways which rage or justice knows,
 175 And by which thou could'st show that thou wast born;
 And through thy gallant humbleness
 Which thou in death did'st shew,
 Dying before thy soul they could express—
 Deliver us from death by dying so
 180 To this world, ere this world do bid us go.

21.

When senses, which thy soldiers are,
 We arm against thee, and they fight for sin;
 When want, sent but to tame, doth war
 And work despair a breach to enter in;
 185 When plenty, God's image and seal,
 Makes us idolatrous,
 And love it, not him, whom it should reveal;
 When we are moved to seem religious
 Only to vent wit—Lord deliver us.

175 And] Or *III* 182 sin] him *II*

178 *John* 19. 30–3. 'Christ died because he would die; . . . he says also, "No man can take away my soul"; and "I have power to lay it down"; and *de facto* he did lay it down, he did die, before the torments could have extorted his soul from him; . . . His soul did not leave his body by force, but because he would, and when he would, and how he would' (*Serm.* 2. 208). **express]** expel.

179 **dying]** our dying.

183–4 D. did not see his recurrent bouts of suicidal depression as only the product of his unemployment, poverty, and restriction at Mitcham. In a letter of Sept. 1608 he writes to Goodyer: 'I had the same desires when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than now; yet I doubt [fear] worldly encumbrances have increased it' (*Letters* p. 50).

185 **image and seal]** Occasionally an appropriate image appeared on the seal: see note on *Relic* 29.

188–9 Cp. *Cross* 57–8, *Serm.* 8. 86 (1 July 1627 on Magdalen Herbert, Lady Danvers):

She lived in a time wherein this prophecy of Saint Peter [2 *Pet.* 3. 3–4] was over abundantly performed: that there should be 'scoffers', jesters in divine things and matters appertaining to God and his religion. For now, in these our days, excellency of wit lies in profaneness: he is the 'good spirit' that dares abuse God, and he 'good company' that makes his company the worse or keeps them from goodness.

189 **vent wit]** show off cleverness.

22.

- 190 In churches, when th'infirmity
 Of him that speaks diminishes the Word;
 When magistrates do misapply
 To us, as we judge, lay or ghostly sword;
 When plague, which is thine angel, reigns,
 195 Or wars, thy champions, sway;
 When heresy, thy Second Deluge, gains;
 In th'hour of death, th'eve of Last Judgement Day—
 Deliver us from the sinister way.

23.

- Hear us, O hear us Lord: to thee
 200 A sinner is more music when he prays
 Than spheres or angels' praises be
 In panegyric alleluïas.
 Hear us, for till thou hear us, Lord,
 We know not what to say:
 205 Thine ear to our sighs, tears, thoughts gives voice and word.
 O thou which Satan heard'st in Job's sick day,
 Hear thy self now, for thou in us dost pray.

190 when *III*, 1633, 1635: where *I*, *II* 191 that] which 1633, 1635

195 Or] When *III* 205 gives] give *TCC*, *TCD*, *III*

206 which *Lc*, *II*, *III*: who *H49*, *D*, *C57*, 1633, 1635

193 ghostly] spiritual, religious.

194 plague . . . angel] Gardner compares *2 Sam.* 24. 16: 'The angel stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it'. Epidemics were commonly claimed to be divine revenge for sin, on the basis of, e.g., *Ezek.* 14. 19, 28. 23, *Rev.* 15. 1.

196 heresy, thy Second Deluge] An Augustinian commonplace for which Gardner cites *D.*'s *Serm.* 9. 329 (n. d.)

198 sinister way] the ill-omened road to damnation: *Matt.* 7. 13; also, perhaps, the route of the condemned on the left hand of Christ at the Last Judgement, *Matt.* 25. 31–46.

200–2 *Luke* 15. 7, 10.

203–7 Cp. *Serm.* 3. 153 (Trinity 1620): 'God charges, and discharges the Cannon upon himself; he fills us with good and religious thoughts, and appoints and leaves the Holy Ghost, to discharge them upon him, in prayer, for it is the Holy Ghost himself that prays in us.' Cp. *Serm.* 7. 181 (21 May 1626): 'God put that petition into his heart and mouth, and moved him to ask it' (Gr.).

206 *Job* 2. 1–7.

24.

That we may change to evenness
 This intermitting, aguish piety;
 210 That snatching cramps of wickedness
 And apoplexies of fast sin, may die;
 That music of thy promises,
 Not threats in thunder may
 Awaken us to our just offices,
 215 What in thy book, thou dost, or creatures say—
 That we may hear, Lord, hear us when we pray.

25.

That our ears' sickness we may cure,
 And rectify those labyrinths aright;
 That we by heark'ning, not procure
 220 Our praise, nor others dispraise so invite;
 That we get not a slipp'riness,
 And senselessly decline;
 From hearing bold wits jest at kings' excess,
 T'admit the like of majesty divine,
 225 That we may lock our ears—Lord open thine.

217 we] me 1635 220 so] to TCD, III

221 get not H49, II, III, 1633, 1635: may get not D: may not get C57, Lec

224 divine] divide 1633be

209 Cp. HSW₃Vex.

210 **snatching cramps**] sudden spasms.

211 **apoplexies**] fits. **fast**] 1. sudden; 2. firmly attached.

214 **offices**] duties.

217–18 **our ears' . . . labyrinths**] For this figure see note on *Satyre* 2 58.

217 **ears' sickness**] 'Ears have they, and hear not'—*Ps.* 115. 6; cp. the itching ears of 2 *Tim.* 4. 3–4, 'given unto fables' (*GV*).

218 **rectify**] correct (punning, irrelevantly, on 'straighten').

219 **heark'ning**] listening, paying attention.

221 **slipp'riness**] precariousness of moral state or judgement.

222 **senselessly**] insensibly, without noticing.

223–4 To a monarchist a king was god-like and above criticism: cp. *Devotions* 8 Expostulation: 'Certainly those men prepare a way of speaking negligently or irreverently of thee that give themselves that liberty in speaking of thy vice-gerents, kings: . . . though kings deface in themselves thy first image, in their own soul, thou givest no man leave to deface thy second image, imprinted in their power.'

26.

That living law, the magistrate,
 Which, to give us and make us physick, doth
 Our vices often aggravate;
 That preachers taxing sin before her growth;
 230 That Satan and envenomed men,
 Which well, if we starve, dine,
 When they do most accuse, may see then
 Us to amendment hear them, thee decline;
 That we may open our ears—Lord lock thine.

27.

235 That learning, thine ambassador,
 From thine allegiance we never tempt;

231 Which] That III well] will C57, Lec, III, 1633be, 1635
 233 hear them] hearken III 234 lock] stop III

James I's infatuations with hunting, alcohol and young men (adding credence to an erotic interpretation of *John* 13. 23 (GV): 'Now there was one of his disciples, which leaned on Jesus' bosom, whom Jesus loved.') were much criticised by D.'s contemporaries (see, e.g., note on *Sun* 7), whereas in *Serm.* 3. 183 (?Nov. 1620) D. approvingly quotes *Eccles.* 10. 20 as 'Curse not, nor speak ill of the King, no not in thy thought' (cp. four other sermons), and the whole of his Gunpowder Plot sermon of 1622 (4. 234–63) deplores the threat to the king, whereas in fact all the Lords, Commons, officials and servants were in danger. D. quotes approvingly that favourite text of the Stuarts, from *Ps.* 82. 6: 'Ye are gods', as he does more than a dozen times in his sermons. Cp. *Serm.* 7. 407 (1 April 1627): 'The Prophet *Isaiah* hath joined them together: "They shall be hungry," says he (indigent, poor, penurious), "and they shall fret" (be transported with ungodly passion), "and they shall curse their King and their God" [8. 21]: if they do one, they will do the other'. Yet in *Serm.* 7. 446 (Whitsun 1627), he sounds a note of reservation: 'the greatest Monarchs . . . though they be by God himself called gods, are but representative gods, but metaphorical gods, and, God knows, sometimes but ungodly gods'. He had many an Old Testament story to back him, as would many examples nearer his own time and country.

227 physick] 1. purgative; 2. take a purgative. First it is a noun, then a verb.

228 aggravate] make seem heavier.

230 envenomed] malignant. Cp. *Jas.* 3. 8: 'But the tongue can no man tame: it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison.'

231 starve] 1. perish eternally; 2. lack food (the latter only to make the antithetical play).

235–6 Cp. *HS10Batter* 7–8.

That beauty, paradise's flow'r
 For physic made, from poison be exempt;
 That wit, born apt high good to do,
 240 By dwelling lazily
 On Nature's nothing, be not nothing too;
 That our affections kill us not, nor die—
 Hear us, weak echoes, O thou ear and cry.

28.

Son of God hear us; and, since thou
 245 By taking our blood, ow'st it us again,
 Gain to thyself or us allow,
 And let not both us and thyself be slain;
 O Lamb of God, which took'st our sin,
 Which could not stick to thee,
 250 O let it not return to us again,
 But, patient and physician being free,
 As sin is nothing, let it nowhere be.

243 cry] eye *TCDbe*, III 246 or] and III, 1635

237–8 flow'r / For physic made] The rose, e.g., was used as a laxative. Cp. G. Herbert, 'The Rose' 18.

239–41 Cp. *SecAn* 285's dismissal 'Of unconcerning things, matters of fact', and the denigration of wit in *Serm.* 6. 215 (30 Jan. 1625): 'Every man that trusts in his own wit, is a fool. . . . To those men, who employ their natural faculties to the glory of God, and their own, and others' edification, God shall afford an exaltation of those natural faculties'.

239 wit] intelligence.

242 Cp. *Serm.* 5. 361–2 (n. d.) on *Matt.* 9. 6. etc.: 'Arise, Take up thy bed, and walk: . . . Our beds are our natural affections; these he does not bid us cast away, nor burn, nor destroy; . . . Arise from this bed . . . walk sincerely in thy Calling, and thou shalt hear thy Saviour say . . . "These affections . . . shall not destroy thee"' (Gardner). Cp. *HSWISince* 5–6: 'admiring her my mind did whet / To seek thee God'. Love of human beauty as a means of ascent to love of goodness is advocated in Plato, *Symposium* 211b–212b.

243 thou ear and cry] Grierson quotes *Rom.* 8. 26: 'We know not what to pray as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh requests for us with sighs' (*GV*). Cp. *Rom.* 8. 15: 'the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry'. See above, 203–5.

245 taking our blood] donning a human body. Then there is a second sense of 'taking away, borrowing'.

248 *John* 1. 29.

251 physician] *Matt.* 9. 12 etc. **free]** Freed from sin—*John* 8. 32–6, *Rom.* 6 etc.

252 sin is nothing] D. refuses to be consoled by this scholastic quibble in *Serm.* 2. 99 ([1618]):

Resurrection (imperfect)

Date and Context. 1609? The supposed transmutation by the earth of Jesus's body to a universally transforming tincture in 13–16 somewhat resembles *Markham* 21–8 (May 1609 on) and the quality of his soul in 10–22 D.'s praise of Lady Bedford's 'soul's stuff' in *BedfordHonour* (1609–11).

Analogues. D. follows a long Christian tradition of poems about days in the liturgical year with this, *Annunciation* (c. March 1608) and *Friday* (April 1613).

Text. DC is the only MS without obvious error, so its reading in l. 21 (though shared only with the unreliable *TCC* and *Lut*) has been accepted.

SLEEP, sleep, old Sun: thou canst not have repassed
 AS yet the wound thou took'st on Friday last.
 Sleep then, and rest; the world may bear thy stay:
 A better Sun rose before thee today,
 5 Who, not content t'enlighten all that dwell
 On the Earth's face, as thou, enlightened Hell,

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*
 Base text: DC

That sin is nothing . . . for, whatsoever is any thing, was made by God, and ill, sin, is no creature of his making. This is true; but that will not ease my soul, no more than it will ease my body, that *sickness* is nothing, and *death* is nothing: for, death hath no reality, no creation, death is but a privation, and *damnation*, as it is the everlasting loss of the sight and presence of God, is but a privation. And therefore as we fear death, and fear damnation, though in discourse, and in disputation, we can make a School-shift, to call them *nothing*, and but privations, let us fear sin too, for all this imaginary *nothingness*, which the heat of the School hath smoked it withal.

Cp. *Serm.* 6. 238 (4 March 1625; Gardner).

1–3 Cp. the 'busy old fool' of *Sun*.

1 repassed] repaired, recovered from. This is *OED*'s only citation.

2 When it was eclipsed, *Matt.* 27. 45 etc.

4 A better Sun rose] i.e., Christ, a traditional English pun on Sun/Son (based on *Mal.* 4. 2). Cp. *Friday* 11–14, *Christ* 15–16 and notes, and *Serm.* 9. 49 (April 1629): 'Christ's name is *Oriens*, the *East*'.

6 enlightened Hell] His descent into Hell was inferred from *1 Pet.* 3. 19, and is an article of faith in the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, and Article 3 of the thirty-nine.

And made the dark fires languish in that vale,
 As at thy presence here our fires grow pale;
 Whose body, having walked on Earth, and now
 10 Hasting to Heaven, would, that he might allow
 Himself unto all stations, and fill all,
 For these three days become a mineral;
 He was all gold when he lay down, but rose
 All tincture, and doth not alone dispose
 15 Leaden and iron wills to good, but is
 Of power to make e'en sinful flesh like his.

Select variants:

8 fires grow] fire grows *III*

7 dark fires] A traditional attribute of Hell, supposed to burn without light by, e.g., Basil, *Homily on Ps. 28* verse 7 (*PG* 29. 297), and Milton, *Paradise Lost* 1. 62–3, reconciling, e.g., Jesus's threats of 'utter darkness' and 'everlasting fire' in *Matt.* 25. 31, 41. Before an eternal life was conceived of, *Job* 10. 22 thinks of dying as going 'where the light is as darkness'. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 87, 239 (1618, 18 April 1619): 'The fires of Hell, in their place, in Hell, have no light'; and, on useless death-bed repentance: 'a sudden flash of horror first, and then he goes into fire without light'. Cp. *Somerset* 34.

10 allow] submit.

11 stations] places, including Hell. **fill all]** assert his divine omnipresence throughout the universe. Cp. *Eph.* 4. 10: 'And that he ascended, what is it but because he descended also first into the inferior parts of the Earth? He that descended, the same is also he that is ascended above all the heavens that he might fill all things' (*RV*); and *1 Cor.* 15. 28: 'And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall also the Son himself also be subject unto him that did subdue all things under him, that God may be all in all' (*GV*).

12 become a mineral] i.e., dwelling in the earth.

13–15 Cp. the commonplace of alchemy repeated by M. Sedzivocz, *Novum Lumen Alchymiae* (1615), Engl. J. French as *New Light of Alchymie* (1650) p. 28): 'The philosophers' stone or tincture is nothing but gold digested to the highest degree.' Alchemy is one of the subjects (the others are cosmology, mythology, and arithmology) explored by K. G. Frost in *John Donne's Religious Imagination* (1995) 231–61. See the headnote on date and context for associated poems by D.

13 He . . . down] In contrast to ordinary mortals: cp. *BedfordDead*14: 'Here to grow gold we lie' (Gardner).

14 tincture] elixir (able, according to alchemists, to change base metals such as lead and iron to gold). **alone]** only.

15 Leaden and iron] Dull and heavy, and obstinate (Cp. *Isa.* 48. 4).

16 Cp. *Philip.* 3. 21: 'Who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body?' (Gardner). Cp. *BedfordHonour* 22–4, and *Markham* 26:

Had one of those whose credulous piety
 Thought that a soul one might discern and see
 Go from a body at this sepulchre been,
 20 And issuing from the sheet this body seen,
 He would have justly thought his body[^]a soul,
 If not of any man, yet of the whole.

[*Desunt caetera.*]

17 one] any III 21 his] this TCD, O'F, 1633, 1635
Desunt caetera: 1633, 1635: Finis. TCD: om. TCC, III

'Flesh of such stuff as God, when his last fire / Annuls this world, to recompense it, shall / Make and name then th'elixir of this all.' The resurrected body would assume a spiritual body, 1 *Cor.* 15. 44.

17–19 credulous . . . from a body] Cp. *Ignatius* (1969) p. 7: 'Gregory the Great and Beda did discern so distinctly the souls of their friends when they were discharged from their bodies, and sometimes the souls of such men as they knew not by sight, and of some that were never in the world, and yet they could distinguish them flying into Heaven or conversing with living men.' Healey quotes *Serm.* 10. 146 (n. d.): 'So ordinary were these apparitions *then*, as that any son, or nephew, or friend, could discern his father's, or uncle's, or companion's soul, ascending out of *Purgatory* into Heaven, and know them as distinctly, as if they kept the same hair, and beard, and bodily lineaments, as they had upon Earth.' In medieval painting the parting soul was depicted as a homunculus flying away from the deceased, e.g., the fourteenth-century tomb-painting in Northmoor, Oxon (D. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (1963) p. 94). In Giotto's *Dormition of the Virgin* (Staatliche Museen, Berlin) her soul is shown by an infant in Christ's arms, as in Byzantine mosaics, e.g., that over the main door of the nave in the Kariye Camii, Istanbul.

21 his/this] The reading 'this' may have been produced by eyeslip to the line above, and is an inelegant duplication. 'His' reminds the reader that it is Christ's body.

22 of the whole] Cp. *Serm.* 8. 260 (Whitsun 1628): 'One that quickens and inanimates all, and is the soul of the whole world: And this soul of the world is the Holy Ghost, who doth that office to the soul of every Christian, which the soul itself does to every natural man, informs him, directs him, instructs him, makes him be that he is, and do that he doth. . . . *Tertullian* calls Christ by the Holy Ghost's name, . . . *S. Basil* gives the Holy Ghost Christ's name'.

Desunt caetera. 'The rest is lacking.' Frost argues that the poem is as complete as it could be. Perhaps D. realised that as a Protestant he could not be certain he believed the popular medieval story of the Harrowing of Hell, referred to in l. 6.

Divine Meditations (A different version of 'Holy Sonnets')

Date. 1609–10. Gardner *DP* pp. xlvii–xlvi points out that the elegy on Cecilia Bulstrode beginning 'Death, be not proud: thy hand gave not this blow', attributed plausibly by Grierson to Lady Bedford, implies that by August 1609 or soon after, *DivM11/HolyS6Death*, with its identical first words, had been read by the author of this riposte to D.'s first Bulstrode elegy, *BulstrodeRecant*. *Divine Meditations* is a more RC, Ignatian title, so perhaps the sequence sent to Mrs Herbert was retitled for the Puritanically inclined Lady B. Other arguments based on D.'s views on the state of the soul immediately after death are less clearly persuasive: see note below on *DivM6Play* 7. If the reference in *DivM7Little* 6 is to Galileo, then that sonnet cannot have been written before 1610, when he published *Nuncius Siderius*.

Analogues. Of the traditional group of Seven Penitential Psalms, 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143, five are echoed in *DivM/HolyS*, sometimes merely in vocabulary (which is inevitable when treating of the same topics) but also substantially in concepts. The common metaphor of sin established in *Ps.* 51. 2, 'Wash me throughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin', blended with the lachrymosity of *Ps.* 6. 6, 'Every night wash I my bed, and water my couch with my tears', appears in *DivM7Little* 7–9. In *DivM3Sighs* 1–2 D. wishes he could emulate the weeper of *Ps.* 6, having wasted his tears on sexual frustration: 'O might those sighs and tears return again / Into my breast and eyes, which I have spent'. See comments on *DivM1Made* 5, 7–8, *DivM3Sighs* 1–3, *DivM5Black* 13–14, *DivM6Play* 13, *DivM7Little* 9, *DivM8Round* headnote, *DivM9Pois'nous* 11–14, *DivM10Faith* 13–14, *HolyS8Why* 5, *HolyS10Batter* 4. The Penitential Psalms were rendered into metre and set to music by William Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, in his enduringly popular *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin* (1583). It was later part of D.'s duties as Dean of Paul's to preach an annual sermon on the Penitential Psalms. Before then, at Lincoln's Inn (1618), on *Ps.* 38. 3, he expresses many of the themes dramatised in *DivM* and *HolyS* (*Serm.* 2. 84):

This diseased man . . . shall suspect his religion, suspect his repentance, suspect the comforts of the minister, suspect the efficacy of the sacrament, suspect the mercy of God himself. Every fit of an ague is an earthquake that swallows him; every fainting of the knee is a step to Hell; every lying down at night is a funeral, and every quaking is a rising to judgement; every bell that distinguishes times is a passing-bell, and every passing-bell his own; every singing in the ear is an angel's trumpet; at every dimness of the candle, he hears that voice: 'Fool! This night they will fetch away thy soul.'

Previous writers of religious sonnets in English include Anne L[ok]'s sequence, *Meditation upon the 51. Psalme* ([1560] *NSTC* 4450); her son Henry Lok's *Christian Passions* (1593, greatly enl. and annexed to his *Ecclesiastes*, 1597), and Barnabe Barnes, *Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnets* (1595)—the former deemed fit in 2 *Returne from Parnassus: or the Scourge of Simony* (1. 2. 261–2 (1949) p. 241) 'to lie in some old nook amongst old boots and shoes'. The date of the fifteen *Spirituall Sonnets* by Henry Constable (1562–1613) is uncertain and, given their sole appearance in BL MS Harl. 7553, they presumably did not circulate widely. D. may have seen in MS the sonnets probably of 1597–8 of the Catholic convert William

Alabaster, who had been chaplain to Essex on the Cadiz expedition (see *Sonnets* (1959) pp. xii, xxxvi–xxxviii), and Oliver (1997) pp. 141–7. In his dramatisations of religious struggles, D. may be thought to risk the false boasting admitted by his model Augustine, whom D. quotes in *Serm.* 2. 107–8 (spring–summer 1618): ‘I saw it was thought wit to make sonnets of their own sins’. See further R. Dubinski, *Ren&R* ns 10 (1985) 201–16.

The sonnet-form in *DivM*, *HolyS*, *HSW*, rhyming *abbaabacddee* or $\sim d d c e e$, in the sestet, combining ingenuity in rhyming the octet with a conclusive final couplet, varying the Italian or Petrarchan norm of $\sim c d e c d e$ or $\sim c d d e d$, had been used by Wyatt and Sidney.

Text. *DivM* are contained as a group of twelve in the same order in *Dob* and *S96*, and in *W* are followed by the four *HolyS* not common to the two sequences, then by the three *HSW* found only in *W*. The four *DivM* not common to the two sequences do not appear in MSS of Groups I and II. *Lut*, *O’F*, 1635 contain the two groups conflated as sixteen. P. F. O’Connell, *PQ* 60 (1981) 323–42 argues persuasively that the Westmoreland MS (*W*, transcribed by D.’s friend Rowland Woodward) and Group III MSS, contain the sequence of twelve devotional sonnets in earlier form, entitled in Group III *Divine Meditations*, and that D. revised, rearranged, and substituted four other sonnets to make the different sequence of twelve which appears in Group I and II MSS and 1633 as *Holy Sonnets*. The retention of the symbolic number of sonnets in the revised sequence reinforces the impression of each sequence as a single work, so it has been decided to print both separately rather than conflate them. The first, as in Group III MSS, is here entitled *Divine Meditations (DivM)*, and, where sonnets retained in the later sequence were also revised, they are given as *DivM* in what appear to be the earlier (not always earliest) versions in *W*. Correspondingly, when they reappear in the second sequence, under the Groups I and II MSS title of *Holy Sonnets (HolyS)*, they are given in what appears to be their latest version. What seem to be authorial revisions are given in the notes. The three devotional sonnets found only in the Westmoreland MS are placed in this edition where they appear to belong chronologically within the section of religious poems: *HSW2Show* has obvious affinities with *Satyre 3*; *HSWVex* with *DivM* in its regret for ‘profane love’; and if the third, *HSW1Since*, refers as seems likely to the death of D.’s wife Ann, it would have been written from 15 August 1617 onwards.

I.

1. ‘Thou hast made me’

Analogues and Sources. P. C. McGuire, *SEL* 14 (1974) 67–8, considers *DivM1Made* as ‘a clear example of a poem composed in accordance with specific rules for . . . the prayer of petition.’

Text. *W*, Group III, 1635. Variants in ll. 7 and 12 in the first printed version, 1635, one of them also occurring in its probable copy-text, *O’F*, are attributable to transcriber and compositor.

THOU hast made me: and shall thy work decay?
 Repair me now, for now mine end doth haste:
 I run to death, and death meets me as fast,
 And all my pleasures are like yesterday.
 5 I dare not move my dim eyes any way,
 Despair behind, and death before, doth cast
 Such terror; and my feebled flesh doth waste
 By sin in it, which towards hell doth weigh.
 Only thou art above, and when towards thee
 10 By thy leave I can look, I rise again.
 But our old subtle foe so tempteth me
 That not one hour I can myself sustain:

Sources collated: *W*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

7 feebled] feeble 1635 8 which towards] which it towards *III*, 1635

12 I can myself] myself I can *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

1 Thou hast made me] *Job* 10. 9: 'Thou hast made me as the clay; and wilt thou bring me into dust again?' For its implicit violation here, cp. *Rom.* 9. 20: 'Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, "Why hast thou made me thus?"' **thy work]** Cp. *DivM2Due* 11.

2 Repair me now] Cp. *Litany* 4: 'Recreate me, now grown ruinous'.

3 I run to death] Cp. Augustine, 13. 10 (1610) p. 476, summarised in *Serm.* 2. 80 (1618) as 'Before we can crawl, we run to meet death'; and *Antony and Cleopatra* (produced 1606) 4. 15. 99–101: 'I will be / A bridegroom in my death, and run into't / As to a lover's bed'.

4 Cp. *Ps.* 90. 4: 'A thousand years in thy sight are as yesterday' (*GV*), quoted in *2 Pet.* 3. 8, and contrast the confident lover of *Anniversary* 8.

5 my dim eyes] Cp. *Ps.* 6. 7 (*GV*), 'Mine eye is dimmed for despite', quoted in *Serm.* 8. 204.

7–8 Cp. the Penitential *Ps.* 38. 3, 8 (*BCP*): 'There is no health in my flesh, because of thy displeasure: neither is there any rest in my bones, by reason of my sin. . . . I am feeble'. D. enlarges on the theme, quoting Bernard and Basil, in *Serm.* 3. 55–6 (2 April 1620): "'It is an unwholesome health of the body that occasions the sickness of the soul. . . in bodily sickness. . . that flesh in which thou hast sinned, comes to vex, and anguish thee; that thy body is become but a bottle of rheum, thy Sinews but a bundle of thorns, and thy bones but a furnace of vehement ashes.'" ". . . in violent diseases, in the stupefaction of an apoplexy, in the damp of a lethargy, in the furnace of a pleurisy, we have no sense, no desire of a physician at all.'"

8 Cp. *DivM6Play* 11–12.

10 rise again] In this death-oppressed sonnet there is here, perhaps, a reminiscence of the raising of Lazarus, and the promise to all faithful Christians.

11–12 One particular aspect of D.'s temptations is addressed later in *Serm.* 6. 191–2 (New Year's Day 1625):

Thy grace may wing me to prevent his art,
And thou like ad'mant draw mine iron heart.

2.

2. 'As due by many titles' Also *HolyS1Due*.

Text. *W*, *Groups I, II, III*, 1633, 1635. Five small variations from *W* are attributable to transcribers and 1633's compositor.

As due by many titles, I resign
Myself to thee, O God: first, I was made
By thee and for thee, and when I was decayed
Thy blood bought that the which before was thine;

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I*: *H49, D, C57*; *Group II*: *DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

2 I was] was I III

One principal reason of the commandment of circumcision was that that mark might be always a remembrance to them against *intemperance* and *incontinency*. . . . *that part of the body is the most rebellious part*; . . . God hath left one part of man's body to rebel against him; for though the seeds of this rebellion be dispersed through all the body, yet, . . . says Saint Bernard, 'The spawns of Leviathan, the seed of sin, the leaven of the Devil, abounds and reigns most in that part of the body.' 'It is', says the same Father, 'the sewer of all sin; not only because all sin is derived upon us by generation, and so implied and involved in Original Sin, but because almost all other sins have relation to *this*'.

11 our old subtle foe] *Gen.* 3. 1.

12-13 Cp. *Ps.* 91. 11-12, quoted by the Devil to tempt Jesus in *Matt.* 4. 6: 'He shall give his angels charge over thee: . . . they shall bear thee in their hands'.

13 grace] Its first operation in the sinner, D. explains in *Serm.* 9. 297-9 (on the Penitential *Ps.* 32. 5), is to make him recognise his sinfulness, which *DivM3Sighs*, 5, 7 proceed to do. Cp. *DivM5Black* 9-10, *DivM8Round* 11-13. **wing . . . art]** 'give me wings to elude his cleverness'. Cp. the (winged) 'cherubin . . . grace, that kept out sin' of *BulstrodeLanguage* 35-6.

14 Cp. *Tilman* 7-8. St Ambrose likened Christ to the magnet in his infusing of power into others. **ad'mant]** lodestone, magnetite. It is used in its other sense of 'diamond' in *Zech.* 7. 12: 'they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law'.

2-4 Reworked below in *DivM12Wilt* 9-12.

4 bought] 1 *Cor.* 6. 20.

- 5 I am thy son, made with thyself to shine,
 Thy servant, whose pains thou hast still repaid,
 Thy sheep, thine image, and, till I betrayed
 Myself, a temple of thy spirit divine.
 Why doth the devil then usurp in me?
 10 Why doth he steal—nay, ravish—that's thy right?
 Except thou rise and for thine own work fight,
 Oh, I shall soon despair, when I do see
 That thou lov'st mankind well, yet wilt not choose me,
 And Satan hates me, yet is loath to lose me.

5 son] Sun *II* 7 thine] thy *III*

9 then] thus *III* in] on *I*, 1633, 1635, *O'Fae*

12 do] shall *III*, 1635 14 lose 1633, 1635: loose *MSS*

5–6 The analogy of servants bought out and adopted as sons derives from *Gal.* 4. 1–7. Cp. *Rom.* 8. 15–17.

5 The last word of the line turns 'son' into the traditional pun on Christ's role as Son of God and Light of the World, supposedly prefigured in *Mal.* 4. 2's 'Sun of righteousness'. D. thus evokes Christ as a type of himself, as well as identifying with the righteous of *Matt.* 13. 43. Cp. *Corona Ascen* 2, *Resurrection* 4, *Friday* 11, *Christ* 15–16.

7 Thy sheep, thine image] The conjunction of these two Christian commonplaces (*John* 10. 27, 21. 16–17; *Gen.* 1. 27, *1 Cor.* 11. 7) shows D.'s disregard of visual effect.

7–8 betrayed . . . temple] Cp. *Essays* 'Prayers' <2> (p. 98): 'We have betrayed thy Temples to profaneness, our bodies to sensuality'; and *Serm.* 5. 203: 'We fall then into that desperate precipitation of Idolatry by *lust*, when by fornication, we profane the temple of the Holy Ghost, and make even his temple, our bodies, a Stews'. D. seems to have believed that it was his lovemaking which produced the recurrent ill-health which followed the serious illness during his imprisonment for his stolen nuptials.

8 *1 Cor.* 3. 16–17, 6. 19.

9 Cp. *HolySioBatter* 5.

12–13 In feeling that God has not elected him to salvation, he may fall into the finally damning sin of despair, against which the *BCP* Articles of Religion 17, 'Of Predestination and Election', warns 'curious and carnal persons'; having admitted his own responsibility in 7–8 he then puts guilt off onto the Devil in 9–10, and reproachfully imposes on God the duty to fight for his own, threatening him with blame for the speaker's damnation. The Calvinist God, of course, was not supposed to feel regret for assigning such a fate to the reprobate.

3.

3. 'Oh might those sighs and tears'

Text. W, Group III, 1635. Three small variations in word order or form, attributable to transcriber or editor, are found in *O'F* and the related first printing in 1635.

- OH might those sighs and tears return again
 Into my breast and eyes, which I have spent,
 That I might in this holy discontent
 Mourn with some fruit, as I have mourned in vain:
 5 In my idolatry, what showers of rain
 Mine eyes did waste! What griefs my heart did rent!
 That sufferance was my sin; now I repent:
 Because I did suffer~I must suffer pain.
 Th'hydroptic drunkard and night-scouting thief,

Sources collated: *W; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

5 my] mine *Lut, O'F, 1635* 7 now I] I now *S96, Lut, O'F, 1635*

8 Because] 'Cause *Lut, O'F, 1635*

1-14 D. quotes Augustine to this effect when preaching on the Penitential Pss. (*Serm.* 9. 384): 'Turn that water which hath served thy stables, and sewers before, into thy gardens: Turn those tears which thou hast spent upon thy love, or thy losses, upon thy sins, and the displeasure of thy God'. Praz (1925) p. 111 notes parallels in Guarini's 140th madrigal: '*Padre del Ciel, s'un tempo / Sì follemente ho pianto, / Che 'l fin del pianto altro non è che pianto: / Deh dammi omai, ti prego, / Lagrime di te degne*' ('Father of Heaven, if at one time / I have wept so foolishly, / Because the desired achievement of this other fit of weeping is not what is regretted. / Oh, give me now, I beg you, / tears worthy of you.')

1-2 e.g., in *Computation* 5, *Dissolution* 9-10, *All* 6, *Twickenham* 1. Cp. *Ps.* 6. 6.

3 holy discontent] Cp. the 'devout melàncholy' of *Corona1Deign* 2, and David's 'holy scorn and indignation against his own sins' in *Serm.* 8. 206 (5 April 1628, on *Ps.* 6. 6-7).

5 idolatry] Presumably of women, as in *DivM10Faith* 9 and *HolyS9Present* 9, rather than in his Roman Catholic youth. Cp. E. Pasquier, *Monophylo* (1572) sig. 9r: 'The love of men to women being extreme, and a rage above all other passions, makes us oftentimes forsake the love of God, and imagine our God to rest in them, as if we should do worship to idols'. Cp. also *Serm.* 1. 200 (24 March 1617) on erotic love of women: 'In this idolatrous love of the Creature, love hath wings, and flies not; it flies not upward, it never ascends to the contemplation of the Creator, in the Creature.' For the opposite view cp. *HSW1Since* 5-6 (Aug. 1617 onward).

6 rent] This now obsolete variant of 'rend' remained current into the eighteenth century.

9 hydroptic] insatiably thirsty. Cp. note on *Perfume* 6.

10 The itchy lecher and self-tickling proud
 Have the remembrance of past joys for relief
 Of coming ill; to poor me is allowed
 No ease, for long yet vehement grief hath been
 Th'effect and cause, the punishment and sin.

4.

4. 'Father, part of his double interest' Also *HolyS12Part*.

Analogues. Legal and commercial terminology was common in religious verse, deriving from the Bible itself (see notes below on 7–8).

Text. *W*, Groups I, II, III, 1635. Differences among the MSS suggest this is a more extensively smoothed-out sonnet than most, with much variation between *W* and other MSS. In l. 4 the source of *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633 and 1635, followed by Grierson, was unable to resist making the syllables up to ten by inserting 'to' before 'me': however, *W*, Groups I, II, *Dob* and *S96* do not, suggesting the line originally lacked it and in that state remained satisfactory to D. (cp. *Corona6Resur* 6 and note). The reading 'doth' in l. 8 is found in all three Groups and *W*, while 1633 reads 'doe'. Gardner argues that MS agreement on 'doth' is mistaken preservation after revision in l. 7 of Group III's 'he' to 'which', but like other writers of the period, D. did not feel rigorously bound in every instance to observe concord of subject and verb (*OED* does not record 'doth' used as a plural after Middle English), and 'doe' was presumably editorial. The text of Group III could, alternatively, have altered 'which' to 'he' to agree with 'doth'. In l. 9, *W* and Group III read 'thy' against 'those' found in both Groups I and II, and 'these' in 1633, 1635 and the closely related Group I *C57*. The sense may be argued to require

10 Cp. *SecAn* 104, where he tells his soul to give back to Satan his pride and lust. **itchy**] constantly lustful (as the Latin *prurio* in Catullus, Juvenal, and Martial); also, perhaps, referring to a sexually transmitted disease.

12–13 to poor me . . . ease] The self-pity recalls amorous idolatry: cp. the last line of a poem attributed to D.'s previous patron, Essex, turning amorous convention to political use ('in his trouble'—Bodleian MS Douce e. 16, fol. 118): 'But I, poor I, must suffer and know no cause'. D. was at Egerton's York House during the Earl's confinement there, Oct. 1599–March 1600, but Essex had previous, less serious periods out of the Queen's favour, when the cause might not have seemed so obvious to him.

13 vehement grief] Cp. *S of S* 8. 6 (GV): 'Love is strong as death: jealousy is cruel as the grave: the coals thereof are fiery coals, and a vehement flame. Much water cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it'.

14 the punishment and sin] D. elaborated in 1618: 'Sin makes the body of man miserable, and the remedy of sin, *mortification*, makes it miserable too'. The line here hints at a feared danger: cp. a sermon on the Penitential Psalms: 'Punish me, O Lord, with all thy scourges, with poverty, with sickness, with dishonour, with loss of parents and children, but with that rod of wire, with that scorpion, to punish sin with sin, Lord, scourge me not, for then how shall I enter into my rest?' (*Serm.* 2. 63, 9. 381).

'thy laws' as the referent of 'those laws'. Line 11, as found in *W* and Groups I and II, is another metrically difficult line which Group III smooths. Line 12's 'and quick'n' in *W* and Group III MSS appears as 'again' in Groups I and II: metrically, 'quick'n' counts as a single syllable, so again the line may have been changed from this to make it smoother, consonant with the mood of faith and hope but less rhetorically emphatic. In l. 14, *W* agrees with Groups I and II in reading 'that last' against Group III's 'thy last' and 1633's unsupported 'this last'.

- FATHER, part of his double interest
 Unto thy kingdom thy Son gives to me:
 His jointure in the knotty Trinity
 He keeps, and gives me his death's conquest.
 5 This Lamb, whose death with life the world hath blest,
 Was from the world's beginning slain, and he
 Hath made two wills, which with the legacy
 Of his and thy kingdom doth thy sons invest.
 Yet such are thy laws that men argue yet
 10 Whether a man those statutes can fulfil:

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49, D, C57*; Group II: *TCC, TCD*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

4 me] to me *Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635* 7 wills, which] wills; he *III*

8 doth] do *O'Fae, 1633: om. 1635* 9 thy] those *H49, D, II*: these *C57, 1633, 1635*

1 interest] right.

3 jointure] 'inherited share' as 'begotten of the Father' (*John* 1. 14). **the knotty Trinity]** Cp. *Litany* 28–36. On the 'knottiness' of the Trinity in the sense of the difficulty of the doctrine, see *Serm.* 3. 142 (Trinity Sunday 1620): 'The explicit doctrine of the Trinity was not easy to be apprehended then [by Abraham]; as it is not easy to be expressed now.'

4–5 conquest/blest] On this rhyming of an unstressed extra syllable with a normally stressed final syllable, see *Satyre* 1 7–8 and cp. *Storm* 55–6.

4 his death's conquest] Eternal life: *1 Cor.* 15. 54–7, *Heb.* 2. 14–15.

5–6 Lamb . . . slain] *Rev.* 13. 8: 'the Lamb, that/which was slain from the beginning of the world', in the wording of the Wycliffe and Rheims (Roman Catholic) translations.

7 two wills] *Matt.* 26. 28, etc. Cp. *Serm.* 7. 258 (12 Dec. 1626): 'God hath made two Testaments, two Wills', and *Serm.* 2. 279 (19 Dec. 1619, rev. 1630): 'God hath manifested his will in two Testaments; and though he have abridged and contracted the doctrine of both in a narrow room, yet he hath digested it into two Commandments, *Love God, love thy neighbour.*' Gardner quotes *Serm.* 9. 232 (Whitsun ?1630), and cites *Heb.* 9. 15–17.

7–8 legacy . . . kingdom] *Matt.* 25. 34, *1 Cor.* 15. 49–50.

9–10 1 John 1. 8 unambiguously states 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves.' The *BCP* Articles of Religion 14, 'Of Works of Supererogation' declared that the idea that it is possible to do more 'than of bounden duty is required'

None doth, but all-healing grace and Spirit
 Revive and quick'n what law and letter kill.
 Thy law's abridgement and thy last command
 Is all but love; O let that last will stand!

11 but] but thy *III*, 1633, 1635 12 and quick'n] again *I*, *II*, 1633, 1635

14 that] thy *III*: this 1633, 1635

5.

5. 'O my black soul!' Also *HolyS2Black*.

Text. *W*, *Groups I, II, III*, 1635. *W* may be an earlier draft: the readings found in Group I (given as *HolyS2Black*) make the poem more consistent grammatically and rhetorically. Apart from small MS variants attributable to scribal error, *W*'s 'had' for 'hath' in l. 3 has support in Groups II and III, so may be authorial, though inconsistent with the tenses in the next line. In line 5 *W* and Group III read 'as' for 'like', suggesting uncertainty during composition as to the outcome of the sentence.

O MY black soul! Now thou art summonèd
 By sickness, Death's herald and champion,

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I*: *H49, D, C57*; *Group II*: *DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F*; 1635

Base text: *W*

'cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety'. According to Oliver p. 131 'The Council of Trent summarily condemned anyone who claimed that "the commandments of God are impossible to keep even for someone who is justified and constituted in grace" . . . ; Luther . . . taught that God alone fulfilled all the commands of the law, and Calvin . . . declared ". . . it is impossible for us to fulfil the law"'. Joseph Hall, *Pharisaisme and Christianity: Compared and Set forth in a Sermon at Pauls Crosse* (1608) pp. 1–2, points out that 'The curious Doctors of the Jews had reduced all God's statute-law to six hundred and thirteen precepts'.

9/11 argue yet/and Spirit] On the accepted rhyming of stressed and unstressed syllables, see P. Simpson (1943). Whether authorial or not, Group III's inserting 'thy' earlier in the line, easing the metre, made the second syllable of 'Spirit' supernumerary.

11–12 None . . . kill] Cp. *John* 1. 17 (Gardner), *Acts* 10. 38. *Rom.* 3. 19–25, 2 *Cor.* 3. 5–6.

12 and quick'n] Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 45: 'the last Adam [Christ] was made a quickening spirit.'

13–14 Thy law's abridgement . . . love] *Matt.* 22. 34–40, etc., in agreement with which (and with *Rom.* cited above and 'thy law' throughout the Bible) the original texts 'lawes' is apostrophised here as a singular noun. D. may have known (in childhood) a metrical version of the Pentateuch by W. Samuel, *Abridgement of Goddes Statutes* (1551; *NSTC* 21690.2). Gardner quotes *Serm.* 9. 150 and *John* 13. 34.

- Thou art a pilgrim which, abroad, had done
 Treason, and durst not turn to whence he's fled,
 5 Or as a thief which, till death's doom be read,
 Wisheth himself deliverèd from prison,
 But damned, and haled to execution,
 Wisheth that still he might be imprisoned.
 Yet grace, if thou repent, thou canst not lack,
 10 But who shall give thee that grace to begin?

Select variants:

- 3 Thou art] Th'art like *I, II, 1633, 1635, O'Faec*: Thou, like *III* had] hath *I, Dob, 1633, 1635, O'Faec*: hast *TCC*
 4 to] from *III* 5 as] like *I, II, 1633, 1635*

3–4 Envisaging the soul as originating from heaven but, having erred during its earthly pilgrimage (see note on *DivM6Play* 2), afraid to return and face judgement at death. In real life, this was a predicament of English Roman Catholics such as D.'s friend Toby Matthew, who had been converted in Florence in 1606, though he willingly returned home and admitted it. D. visited him in prison before his deportation in April 1608 (Bald p. 187).

9 By Roman Catholic doctrine, repentance would secure grace; by Luther and Calvin's, repentance might be a sign of grace.

10 On the impossibility of a sinner's acquiring grace without the aid of grace, cp. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 2. 1. 109. 6. God's grace was of course dependent on his will. Its prevenient operation was still contended, not only between Rome and Reformers, but within the Roman Church: an inconclusive special Congregation from 1598 to 1607 ended in a papal decree suspending dispute between the Dominicans, who supported the pronouncement of the Sixth Session of the Council of Trent that grace could be efficacious without the subject's help, and the Jesuits, advocating the assertion by L. de Molina, *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis* (1588), that it came only with God's foreknowledge of free human co-operation. Within Protestantism, J. Arminius, *Declaratio sententiae* (1608), rejected Calvinist predestination to grace and election and the irresistibility and indefectibility of grace. Like most Englishmen at the time, D. does not seem to credit this extreme assertion of the dependence of grace on the individual's free will, but the uncompromising Calvinist doctrine that grace cannot be sought in time leaves the speaker agonising. Cp. *DivM8Round* 11–13. The answer to D.'s question here is given there and in *DivM4Part* 11–14: love of God induces repentance. His mature view is expressed in *Serm.* I. 244 (14 Dec. 1617):

But can we love God when we will? . . . Every man may love him, that will; but can every man have this will, this desire? Certainly we cannot begin this love: except God love us first, we cannot love him; but God doth love us all so well, from the beginning, as that every man may see the fault was in the perverseness of his own will, that he did not love God better. . . . 'So God loved the world that he gave his Son' [*John* 3. 16, *RhV*]: if he had not loved us first, we had never had his Son.

O make thyself with holy mourning black,
 And red with blushing, as thou art with sin;
 Or wash thee in Christ's blood, which hath this might:
 That, being red, it dyes red souls to white.

6.

6. 'This is my play's last scene' Also *HolyS₃Play*.

Text. W, Groups I, II, III, 1635. *W* agrees with both Groups I and II throughout, sometimes against individual MSS, with the substantial exception of l. 7, revised for the sonnet's re-presentation as *HolyS₃Play*, and discussed below. In l. 4 Group III reads 'latest' for 'last', another metrical regularisation not beyond the powers of scribe or editor. Gardner feels that the progressive shortening of 'last scene . . . last mile . . . last pace . . . last inch . . . last point' is an essential rhetorical device.

This leaves in the hands of God grace and abstention from punishment, as does Lok 27 (1597) p. 15, who foresees damnation 'Unless thou give me grace to see and fear, / To pray in faith, and thou thy hand forbear.' D. could have taken encouragement from *Heb.* 4. 16: 'Let us therefore go boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need' (*GV*). **11-14** Cp. *Serm.* 6. 57-8 (1623) on the sorts of black, white and red in the soul unacceptable and acceptable to God:

There are complexions that cannot blush; there grows a blackness, a sootiness upon the soul, by custom in sin, which overcomes all blushing, all tenderness. White alone is paleness, and God loves not a pale soul, a soul possessed with a horror, affrighted with a diffidence, and distrusting his mercy. Redness alone is anger, and vehemency, and distemper, and God loves not such a red soul, a soul that sweats in sin, that quarrels for sin, that revenges in sin. But that whiteness that preserves itself, not only from being dyed all over in any foul colour, from contracting the name of any habitual sin, and so to be called such or such a sinner, but from taking any spot, from coming within distance of a temptation or of a suspicion, is that whiteness, which God means, when he says, 'Thou art all fair my love, and there is no spot in thee' [*Cant.* 4. 7, *margin*]. . . . But there is a redness that God loves in the soul. But there is a redness that God loves too; which is this Erubescence that we speak of; an aptness in the soul to blush, when any of these spots do fall upon it.

12-14 Elaborated in *Serm.* 6. 57, 9. 64-7 (April-June 1623, April 1629).

12 red . . . sin] *Isa.* 1. 18.

13-14 Cp. *Ps.* 51. 7, *Rev.* 1. 5, 7. 14. *Litany* 138-9 cautions against reckless confidence in this.

THIS is my play's last scene: here heavens appoint
 My pilgrimage's last mile; and my race,
 Idly yet quickly run, hath this last pace,
 My span's last inch, my minute's last point,
 5 And glutt'nous Death will instantly unjoint
 My body[^]and soul, and I shall sleep a space,
 Or presently (I know not) see that face

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I*: *H49, D, C57*; *Group II*: *DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III*:
Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

2 pilgrimage's] pilgrimage *I* 4 last point] latest ~ *III, 1633, 1635*

6 soul] my soul *Dob, S96, 1633*

7 Or presently, I know not,] But my[^]ever-waking part shall *TCC, TCD, 1633, 1635*: But my[^]everlasting part shall *DC*

1–4 Oliver p. 121 notes 'unmistakable signs which the poem offers about how it should be read—such as the four-line search for the choicest metaphor, which at once suggests a certain leisureliness in the face of death's imagined approach; . . . above all, the image of the actor, which returns at the end of the poem'. The rhymes appoint/point/unjoint/joint, evil/devil, may seem to undermine any effect of seriousness.

1 **This . . . scene]** Cp. Lok 30 (1597) p. 68: 'This stately stage wherein we players stand / To represent the part to us assigned / Was built by God'; and *Serm.* 4. 56 (8 March 1622), in which Death, 'when he hath sported himself with my misery upon that stage, my death-bed, shall shift the Scene, and throw me from that bed, into the grave, and there triumph over me, God knows, how many generations, till the Redeemer, my Redeemer, the Redeemer of all me, body as well as soul, come again'. Cp. *As You Like It* 2. 7. 163–4 (Milward).

2 **pilgrimage's]** Though pilgrimage was abolished for Protestants, this metaphor for a life had the sanction of even the Geneva translation of *Gen.* 47. 9, *Ps.* 119. 54, *Heb.* 11. 13. **race]** also a Biblical figure, *Heb.* 12. 1.

4 **span's . . . inch]** Cp. *Corona5Crucif* 8–9, *FirAn* 136. **point]** second.

6–7 **I shall sleep . . . face]** 'I' here includes the soul, whereas the revision of l. 7 discussed below limited it to the body (Gardner *DP* p. xlv, n. 3, parallels *S. of S.* 5. 2: 'I sleep, but mine heart waketh' (*GV*)). Cp. the apostles' puzzlement in *John* 16. 16–18.

7 **Or presently (I know not)/But my[^]ever-waking part shall]** Doubt as to whether the soul sleeps in the grave or is called into God's presence immediately ('presently') at the moment of death was accepted by Protestants such as Calvin, since biblical support could be adduced on either side. In the OT *Job* 14. 12 states categorically: 'So man sleepeth and riseth not: for he shall not wake again, nor be raised from his sleep till the heaven be no more' (*GV*; cp. *Ps.* 13. 3) and in the NT *1 Cor.* 15. 18 and *1 Thess.* 4. 14 speak of those that 'sleep in Jesus', while *Philippians* 1. 23 voices 'a desire to depart, and to be with Christ'. *Matt.* 27. 52, however, specifies the 'bodies of saints which slept' as arising, and in the version of the Crucifixion in *Luke* 23. 43, Jesus says to the repentant thief 'Today

Whose fear already shakes my every joint.
 Then, as my soul t'Heav'n, her first seat, takes flight,
 10 And earth-born body in the earth shall dwell,
 So fall my sins, that all may have their right,
 To where they're bred, and would press me: to Hell.

10 earth-born *ed.*: earth-borne *I, II, III, 1633, 1635* 11 fall] falls *I: full DC*

shalt thou be with me in Paradise'. The Roman Church had officially asserted the soul's immediate enjoyment of the bliss of Heaven in 1336, and this position is adopted by D. in the work entered in the Stationers' Register 2 Dec. 1609, *Pseudo-Martyr* 3. 3. 8 (1610), in consolatory poems, *BulstrodeRecant* 46 and *BulstrodeLanguage* 51–3, and the associated *BedfordShe* 27 and *BedfordWritten* 67–8, all written in 1609, in *SecAn* (e.g., 179–219) in 1611–12, and *Harington* in 1614. Nevertheless, unlike other instances of revision of *DivM* sonnets, the earlier *W* and Group III reading survives in Group I MSS, whose archetype, Gardner argues (*DP* pp. lxiv–lxvi), derived from a collection made by D. at the end of 1614, shortly before his ordination. The elimination of doubt by revision to 'But my ever-waking part shall' first appears in Group II MSS, whose archetype is supposed similarly to have derived from another collection made in 1619 before D.'s departure for Germany (Gardner p. lxxviii), and thus just before he preached in a sermon at Heidelberg that 'When his hand that loves thee best hangs tremblingly over thee to close thine eyes, . . . behold then a new light, thy Saviour's hand shall open thine eyes, and in his light thou shalt see light' (*Serm.* 2. 267; cp. *Serm.* 7. 71, 122). For his change to this view between the *First* and *Second Anniversaries* in Nov. 1611, see notes on *SecAn* 185–206, 214. Even in the latest Group II state of the text, however, D. was content to leave unqualified the 'sleep' of *DivM8Round* 9 and *DivM11Death* 13, and to have the souls of *DivM8Round* 2–4 'arise / From death'. (*DivM10Faith*, in which his father's presence as a glorified soul in Heaven is assumed, was, on the other hand, excluded from *HolyS*, though perhaps rather for its stress on 'idoltrous lovers' than because of theological doubts.) The controversialist, elegist and preacher may have felt it undesirable to make known to a patron a doubt allowed in the more private sonnets. See Gardner *DP* pp. 114–17 for a more fully documented discussion. **see that face]** Cp. *1 Cor.* 13. 12, *Rev.* 22. 3–4.

8 Cp. Ps. 11. 10: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' (*BCP, AV*), and *Job* 4. 14, *Ps.* 22. 14, *Jer.* 23. 9.

9–12 'The speaker, far from stimulating fear of hell, expresses a blithe confidence in his salvation. . . . The death of the elect, Perkins says, results in the severing of body and soul, "the body, that after corruption it may rise to greater glory; the soul, that it being fully sanctified, may immediately after departure from the body, be transported into the kingdom of heaven"'—Oliver p. 120, quoting W. Perkins, *Golden Chaine* (2nd edn 1597) p. 168.

9 her first seat] Implying an unorthodox Platonic belief in pre-existence.

11–12 The diction, as pointed out by C. Sullivan, *N&Q* 240 (1995) 345–6, echoes R. Southwell, 'Sin's heavy load' 3, 5.

11 right] rightful place (Milward).

Impute me rightëous, thus purged of evil,
For thus I leave the world, the flesh and devil.

14 and] the 1633, 1635

7.

7. 'I am a little world'.

Text. *W*, *Group III*, 1635. The scribe of the archetype of Group III was presumably responsible for small variants from *W*, corruption taken further by the ancestor of *Lut/O'F* and the related first printing of 1635: in ll. 12 and 13 Group III MSS read 'their' and 'Lord' for *W*'s 'those' and 'God'.

I AM a little world made cunningly
Of elements and an angelic sprite,

Sources collated: *W*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1635

Base text: *W*

13 Impute me rightëous] i.e., 'Count me among those redeemed from Original Sin, forgiven for my faith' according to the doctrine of the Penitential *Ps.* 32. 1–6, and *Rom.* 4. 6, which thus introduces *Ps.* 32. 1–2: 'Even as David declareth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works . . .' (*GV*). Cp. Lok's conclusion: 'Christ doth attire / The players with the shape their states require.' Gardner cites the *BCP* Articles of Religion 11, which begins 'We are accounted rightëous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings'. Oliver p. 121 observes that 'Luther and Calvin would have been aghast at the thought of Christians being free to ask God at the moment of death to impute righteousness to them: it was not up to individuals to determine these things (salvation was an entirely free gift of God's).'

14 Fulfilling, in the words of the *BCP Litany* ('From fornication, and all other deadly sin; and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, good Lord, deliver us'), the promise made on his behalf at baptism and recalled in the Catechism. Cp. the surviving doubt in *HSW1Since*.

1–2 Cp. the contrasting views in *Serm.* 2. 78, 4. 104 (1618, Easter Monday 1622):

Fire and Air, Water and Earth, are not the Elements of man; Inward decay, and outward violence, bodily pain, and sorrow of heart may be rather styled his Elements; And though he be destroyed by these, yet he consists of nothing but these. . . . As though man could be a *Microcosm*, a world in himself, no other way, except all the misery of the world fell upon him. . . . The Philosopher draws man into too narrow a table, when he says he is *Microcosmos*, an Abridgement of the world in little: *Nazianzen* gives him but his due, when he calls him *Mundum Magnum*, a world to which all the rest of the world is but subordinate: For all the world besides, is but God's Footstool; Man sits down upon his right hand.

Cp. also Alabaster, *Sonnets*, 15. 1: 'My soul a world is by contraction'.

- But black sin hath betrayed to endless night
 My world's both parts, and, oh, both parts must die.
 5 You which beyond that heaven which was most high
 Have found new spheres, and of new lands can write,
 Pour new seas in mine eyes, that so I might
 Drown my world with my weeping earnestly,
 Or wash it, if it must be drowned no more.
 10 But oh, it must be burnt! Alas, the fire

Select variants:

6 lands] land *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

2 For D.'s Thomist stress on the equal necessity of body and soul cp. *Litany* 143–4, *Ecstasy* 61–4 and notes. **sprite**] soul.

3 **black sin**] Cp. *DivMgPois'nous* 12.

5–6 Cp. 2 *Pet.* 3. 13 for the theological vision of 'new heavens and a new earth', elaborated in D.'s commemoration of Lady Danvers, formerly Magdalen Herbert, *Serm.* 8. 80–5 (1 July 1627). **You . . . spheres**] The new astronomy did not posit new spheres beyond highest heaven, so this seems rather to fit the increasingly extravagant efforts of those who adhered to Ptolemaic theory to produce a model which accounted for the movements of heavenly bodies as more precisely recorded by Tycho Brahe in the late sixteenth century. Purchas, *Pilgrimage* 1. 2 (2nd edn, 1614) p. 10, records that Ptolemy, *Almagest* 1. 8, added a ninth sphere as prime mover (to account for the precession of the equinoxes) to the eight main spheres of Aristotle, *On the Heavens* (fixed stars, five planets, sun and moon); that a tenth sphere was invented in the thirteenth century, and an eleventh by C. Clavius on J. de Sacrobosco (1607), and notes that theologians added a twelfth (Gardner).

6 of new lands] Sc. 'you who', not necessarily the cosmographers but perhaps geographers, as in *Confined* 16 (cp. the dismissal in favour of love in *Morrow* 12, *Bed* 27). D. is reported to have tried to become Secretary to the Virginia Company early in 1609 (see note on *BedfordWritten* 67). However, Coffin (1937) p. 186 compares the reference in *Ignatius* (1969) p. 81 (completed in 1610) to Galileo's having 'instructed himself of all the hills, woods, and Cities in the new world, the Moon' in *Sidereus nuncius* (1610), and for the currency since the fourth century BCE of the notion of plural worlds, see note on *Morrow* 13.

6–8 spheres . . . seas . . . Drown . . . weeping] Cp. *Weeping* 20–1, *Markham* 12.

7 new seas] Certainly geographical: the 'seas' of the moon were first so termed in 1647 by J. Hevelius in his *Selenographia*.

9–10 wash . . . burnt] Cp. *Corona7Ascen* 3–4.

9 wash it] Cp. *Ps.* 51. 2. **it must . . . no more**] Applying God's promise to Noah, *Gen.* 9. 11, never to repeat the Flood, to D.'s figurative 'little world'. Cp. the same idea in *Markham* 12.

10 it must be burnt] Like the greater world at the Last Judgement, 2 *Pet.* 3. 6–7. Cp. *Serm.* 8. 69 (5 April 1628): 'With this *stream of fire* [*Dan.* 7. 9], from him, there shall be a *stream*, a *deluge*, a *flood* of tears, from us; and all that *flood*, and *deluge* of tears, shall not put out one coal, nor quench one spark of that fire.'

Of lust and envy have burnt it heretofore,
 And made it fouler: let those flames retire,
 And burn me, O God, with a fiery zeal
 Of thee and thy house, which doth in eating heal.

11 have burnt] hath ~ *Lut*, *O'F*: burnt 1635

12 those *over* thy *W*: their *III*, 1635 13 God] Lord *III*, 1635

8.

8. 'At the round Earth's imagined corners' Also *HolyS4Round*.

Text. W, Groups I, II, III, 1635. *W* is the only text to preserve the reading 'death' (rather than 'death' as all other MSS and 1633) in l. 6's list of agents of death. Gardner argues ingeniously for 'death' as meaning 'pestilence', but in the absence of supporting evidence prefers to accept *W*. Both food shortages and (often linked) epidemics caused conspicuous increases in mortality in D's England.

AT the round Earth's imagined corners, blow
 Your trumpets, angels! and arise, arise
 From death, you numberless infinities
 Of souls, and to your scattered bodies go!

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I: H49, D, C57*; *Group II: DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

11 Persistent preoccupations: cp. *DivM9Pois'nous* 3, *Litany* 22, *Somerset* 33–6, *Devotions* 11 Expostulation, *Serm.* 3. 251.

13 burn me] Cp. *HolyS10Batter* 4, added to the sequence as this sonnet was excluded.

13–14 zeal . . . eating] *Ps.* 69. 9/*John* 2. 17. Cp. *Serm.* 1. 188 (24 March 1617): 'Let me live the life of a *Puritan*, let the zeal of the house of God consume me, let a holy life, and obedience to the Law, testify my reverence to God in his Church, and in his Magistrate: for, this is Saint Paul's *Puritan*, to have a *pure heart* . . . [*1 Tim.* 1. 5], and then to have *pure hands* . . . [*1 Tim.* 2. 8], and to have *pure consciences* . . . [*1 Tim.* 3. 9].'

14 doth . . . heal] With connotations, appropriate to the 'lust' of l. 11, of the corrosive sublimate used by Paracelsan doctors on the ulcers of syphilis, probably alluded to in *FirAn* 159–60. There is no evidence that D. himself was infected.

1–2 At the round . . . angels] *Matt.* 24. 31, *Rev.* 7. 1, used as a microcosmic analogy in *Serm.* 10. 57 (1 Nov. [?1623]). Cp. R. S., *Jesuites Play at Lyons* (1607) p. 5: 'At the four corners, figuring the four winds, four trumpets sounded'.

2–4 On Easter Day, 1626 (*Serm.* 7. 103, 115; cp. 8. 98, 19 Nov. 1627), D. preached that

in natural death, . . . this dust falls into a dispersion, and is scattered unsensibly, undiscernibly upon the face of the Earth; . . . In the general resurrection

- 5 All whom the Flood did and fire shall o'erthrow,
 All whom war, dearth, age, agues, tyrannies,
 Despair, law, chance hath slain, and you whose eyes
 Shall behold God, and never taste death's woe.
 But let them sleep, Lord, and me mourn a space,
 10 For if above all these my sins abound,
 'Tis late to ask abundance of thy grace
 When we are there: here on this lowly ground
 Teach me how to repent, for that's as good
 As if thou'dst sealed my pardon with thy blood.

Select variants:

6 dearth] death *I, II, III, 1633, 1635* 9 a space] apace *I*

upon natural death, God shall work upon this dispersion of our scattered dust . . . by way of Re-collection; where man's buried flesh hath brought forth grass, and that grass fed beasts, and those beasts fed men, and those men fed other men, God that knows in which Box of his Cabinet all this seed Pearl lies, in what corner of the world every atom, every grain of every man's dust sleeps, shall recollect that dust, and then recompact that body, and then re-inanimate that man, and that is the accomplishment of all.

On D.'s uncertainty concerning the state of the soul between death and the Last Day see note on *DivM6Play* 7.

5 *Gen.* 7. 21–3, *Rev.* 9. 18.

6 dearth] An ever-present anxiety in D.'s England, the four bad harvests of 1594–7 causing widespread famine and riots in 1595–8, with more burials than baptisms in 1597 (though not as bad as the plague years of 1593 and 1603); in 1608, there were severe localised food shortages. See Andrew Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (1978) pp. 135–45.

7 Despair] D. is recurrently aware of 'the sin against the Holy Ghost' in these sonnets (cp. *DivM1Made* 6, *DivM2Due* 12, *DivM11Death* 9). The burdens of poverty, illness, and conviction of his own sensual sinfulness show also in the personally applicable stanza XXI of *Litany*, written at the same time as his treatise on suicide, *Biathanatos*. Cp. the listing of death's causes in *DivM11Death* 9–10. **law]** It has been calculated that each year about 200 people suffered execution, usually public.

7–8 you . . . woe] *Matt.* 16. 28 etc. Gardner notes the discussion of *1 Cor.* 15. 51 in *Serm.* 4. 74–6 (?21 April 1622).

9 sleep . . . a space] M. T. Hester, *PLL* 29 (1993) 346–50 compares *Rev.* 6. 9–11. Cp. also *DivM6Play* 6–7 and notes. **mourn]** Because 'Godly sorrow causeth repentance unto salvation'—*2 Cor.* 7. 10 (*GV*).

10 above] in greater number than.

11 abundance of thy grace] Cp. *Rom.* 5. 17–6. 1.

13–14 Repentance will ensure the individual's share in the general redemption effected when Christ 'died for all' (*2 Cor.* 5. 15), according to the Roman Catholic Church; for Calvin, the Crucifixion was rather a mere ratification of what had been decided 'before ever the foundations of the world were laid'.

9.

9. 'If pois'nous minerals' Also *HolyS5Pois'nous*.

Text. *W*, *Groups I, II, III*, 1635. Two readings found in Group III MSS, 'or if the' for l. 1's 'and if that', and 'and' for 'or' in l. 5, may be earlier authorial versions, but are unsupported by *W* or any other text. Of Group III's other variant readings, 'thy' for 'thine' in l. 10 goes against D.'s usual practice before a vowel (but see *DivM3Sighs* 5), and 'no more' for l. 13's 'some claim' makes nonsense of the sentence. *W* is supported among Group III MSS in continuing l. 9's rhetorical question into l. 10, putting the question-mark after 'God'. Gardner argues that other texts' placing of it at the end of l. 9 strengthens the contrast between 'I' and 'thee', though it might seem that attaching 'O God' to the latter pronoun is even more effective in this respect, and that 'O God, oh,' is rather too histrionic even for D.

IF pois'nous minerals, and if that tree
 Whose fruit threw death on else immortal us,
 If lecherous goats, if serpents envious
 Cannot be damned, alas, why should I be?

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I: H49, D, C57*; *Group II: DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

I and if that] or if the *III*

14 sealed . . . blood] The wax seals on legal documents such as pardons were red. D.'s rhetorical technique in this and the next sonnet is perceived by him in *Ps.* 6 in *Serm.* 6. 41 (April–June 1623):

David makes it his first work, to stay God's anger in a deprecatory prayer, but he stays not upon that long, he will not prescribe his Physician, what he shall prescribe to him, but leaves God to his own medicines, and to his own method. . . . it is easy to observe, that in all Metrical compositions, of which kind the book of Psalms is, the force of the whole piece, is for the most part left to the shutting up; the whole frame of the Poem is a beating out of a piece of gold, but the last clause is as the impression of the stamp, and that is it that makes it current.

1–9 On such questioning of God's actions and commands, cp. *Job* 3. 23, 8. 17–21, 10. 2–20, and *Serm.* 6. 187–9 (1 Jan. 1624), where D. elaborates on Luther's 'It is a Dangerous and Infectious *Monosyllable*, *How* or *Why*: . . . It is an Execrable and Damnable *Monosyllable*, *Why*; it exasperates God, it ruins us: . . .'

1–2 that tree . . . us] *Gen.* 2. 16–17, 3. 19.

3 Cp. the 'lust and envy' deplored in *DivM7Little* 11. On the exemption of lower animals, cp. *WottonKisses* 41, and *Serm.* 9. 74 ([April 1629]). **lecherous goats]** proverbial; cp. the *libidinosus* . . . *capere* of Horace, *Epodes* 10. 23, Myrrha's lament in Ovid, *Met.* 10. 323–31, and *Othello* 3. 3. 408, *King Lear* 1. 2. 125, etc. **envious]** malevolent.

- 5 Why should intent or reason, born in me,
 Make sins, else equal, in me more heinous?
 And, mercy being easy and glorious
 To God, in his stern wrath why threatens he?
 But who am I, that dare dispute with thee
 10 O God? Oh! of thine only worthy blood
 And my tears make a heavenly Lethan flood,
 And drown in it my sins' black memory.
 That thou remember them some claim as debt:
 I think it mercy if thou wilt forget.

5 or] and *III* born *ed.*: borne *MSS*, 1633, 1635

9 dare] dares *II* 9–10 thee O God?] thee? O God, *I, II, Dob, S96, 1633, 1635*

13 some claim] no more *III*

IO.

10. 'If faithful souls'.

Text. W, Group III, 1635. *W* preserves readings generally accepted as more probably authentic against 1635 and one or more *MSS* in l. 8, 'to'/'by'; l. 10, 'vile'/'style'; and l. 14, 'true grief'/'grief', and 'in'/'into', but erroneously reads 'father' for 'father's' in l. 2 (according to *OED*, the uninflected genitive is not known to have been used after the fifteenth century; cp. *Satyre* 3 11, 'father's spirit').

9 *Rom.* 9. 20.

11–14 Cp. *Ps.* 25. 6 (*BCP*): 'Oh remember not the sins and offences of my youth: but according to thy mercy think thou upon me', *Ps.* 51. 9, and D.'s later confidence in *Serm.* 5. 319 (n. d., on *Ps.* 6. 1): 'That man which hath seen me at the sealing of my Pardon, and the seal of my Reconciliation, at the Sacrament, many times since, will yet in his passion, or in his ill nature, or in his uncharitableness, object to me the sins of my youth; whereas God himself, if I have repented today, knows not the sins that I did yesterday. God hath rased the Record of my sin'.

11–12 The metaphor of floods of tears occurs in the anonymous two-stanza poem, 'If floods of tears could clean my follies past' among those added to the 1591 quarto of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, sig. L4v, while the idea of washing away 'sins' with tears is, of course, traditional: *OED* cites a comment of c. 1175 on the legend of the sinner who 'has loved much' washing the feet of Jesus (*Luke* 7. 37–48); cp. Puttenham 3. 22 (1589).

11 heavenly] This qualifying epithet is necessary because Lethe was a river of the pre-Christian underworld. **Lethan]** oblivion-inducing, as in Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. 714–15.

13 Gardner quotes *Serm.* 5. 320–1 (n. d., on *Ps.* 6. 1): 'As much as *David* stands in fear of this Judge, he must entreat this Judge, to remember his sins: Remember them, O Lord, for else they will not fall into my pardon'.

IF faithful souls be alike glorified
 As angels, then my father's soul doth see,
 And adds this, ev'n to full felicity,
 That valiantly I Hell's wide mouth o'erstride;
 5 But if our minds to these souls be descried
 By circumstances and by signs that be

Sources collated: *W*; *Group III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

2 father's *III*, 1633, 1635: father *W*

1–7 D. alludes to a medieval Scholastic debate (Gardner cites Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* 1. 54–8), summarised in *Serm.* 10. 82–3 (Candlemas): ‘Let Scotus and his herd think that angels and separate souls have a natural power to understand thoughts, . . . and let Aquinas [1. 57. 4, 1. 89. 8] present his arguments to the contrary, that those spirits have no natural power to know thoughts’. D. preached on Trinity Sunday 1620 (*Serm.* 3. 154) that God ‘sees clearer than they, for he sees secret thoughts’. Cp. *Litany* 53–4, *Sidney* 28, *Serm.* 8. 105. Thomas Aquinas 1. 58. 6, distinguishing between learning all things through God, and contemplating creation directly, follows Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram* 4. 22 (39), 26 (43) (*PL* 34. 312, 314), and *Citie of God* 11. 7 (1610) p. 413, where the knowledge of the angels is called a morning and evening knowledge, ‘because the knowledge of the creature, compared to the Creator’s, is but a very twilight’. According to the official programme-sheet, *Quaestiones, Deo propitio, discutiendae publice in comitiis coram Serenissimo Rege, mense August. An. 1605.* (Oxford 1605), whether angels know the secret thoughts of men was debated before James I at the Divinity Acts in the University Church, Oxford, with the predetermined conclusion ‘Neg.’

2 my father's soul] Cp. the anxiety expressed in *Satyre* 3 11–15 about his father's spirit in Heaven hearing he has been damned, and the reference in the letter to his mother, dated by Bald p. 316 to 1615–17, to ‘my most dear and provident Father, whose soul, I hope, hath long since enjoyed the sight of our blessed Saviour, and had compassion of all our miseries in this world’ (*Matthew* p. 325).

3 full felicity] Here making the point that at death souls immediately enjoy full participation in heavenly bliss. On the idea that accidental joys may be added to the complete essential joy of Heaven, see note on *SecAn* 382–4, and the quotation from *Serm.* 3. 339 (n. d.) including *Luke* 15. 7, 10: ‘There is joy in Heaven at the conversion of a sinner’.

4 Cp. *Ps.* 60. 12 (*GV*): ‘Through God we shall do valiantly, for he shall tread down our enemies.’ **Hell's wide mouth**] Alluding to the traditional depiction of Hell as the whale which swallowed Jonah, a type of Christ between the Passion and Resurrection.

5–7 On Easter Monday 1622 (*Serm.* 4. 127–8) D. was definite that they do not know anything by seeing it: ‘Neither do the Angels know . . . by those resultances and species, which rise from the Object, and pass through the Sense to the Understanding, for that's a deceiveable way’.

5 descried] seen.

Apparent in us, not immediately,
 How shall my mind's white truth to them be tried?
 They see idol'trous lovers weep and mourn,
 10 And vile, blasphemous conjurors to call
 On Jesus' name, and pharisaical
 Dissemblers feign devotion. Then turn,
 O pensive soul, to God, for he knows best
 Thy true grief, for he put it in my breast.

8 to] by *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

10 vile] vild *S96*, *O'F*: style 1635 11 pharisaical] pharisaic call 1635

14 true grief] grief *Dob*, *O'F*, 1635 in] into *III*, 1635

II.

II. 'Death, be not proud' Also *HolyS6Death*.

Text. W, *Groups I, II, III*, 1635. *W* and Group III MSS preserve two apparently authorial earlier readings in ll. 12 and 13, discussed below.

7 Apparent] visible. **not immediately]** not without the medium of light, i.e., merely visually.

8 white . . . tried] Cp. *Dan.* 12. 10. **white truth]** Cp. the 'white integrity' of *WottonKisses* 42, *Funeral Elegy* 75, 'white sincerity' of *CoronaDeign* 6, and 'white innocence' of *SecAn* 114.

9 idol'trous lovers] Of having been among whose number D. repents in *DivM3Sighs* 5–6, *HolyS9Present* 9.

10–12 Cp. the criticism of most Christian Churches, including those of Rome, Geneva and Canterbury, in *Satyre* 3 43–52. Here, by contrast, the 'middle way' of the Church of England is implicitly accepted.

10–11 blasphemous . . . name] Rather than those who claimed to conjure up spirits, this is aimed at Roman Catholic priests (mocked as 'Our new *Roman Chymists*' in *Serm.* 1. 203) who claimed to produce the actual body and blood of Christ out of bread and wine. *OED* gives instances of the application of the terms to them in the sixteenth century *s.vv.* 'conjure' 8, 'conjuring' *vbl. sb.* 3. b.

11–12 pharisaical . . . devotion] As in *Matt.* 23. 1–33. The usual targets of denunciation in these terms were the more extreme Puritans: cp. *Serm.* 1. 188 (24 March 1617), and ll. 13–14 of 'The Lancashire Puritane' (anonymous early seventeenth century): 'The Puritan for painted show / The Pharisee doth far outgo' (in V. de Sola Pinto, ed., *The Common Muse* (1957; 1965) p. 85). However, Joseph Hall, *Pharisaisme and Christianity: Compared and Set forth in a Sermon at Pauls Crosse* (1608), compares rather the Roman Catholics to Pharisees for their obeisance to tradition and ceremony, and particularly the Jesuits for their alleged hypocritical greed.

13–14 he knows . . . grief] Cp. *Ps.* 38. 9.

14 he . . . breast] Cp. *Ps.* 69. 21 (*BCP*).

- DEATH! be not proud, though some have called thee
 Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so;
 For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow
 Die not, poor Death, nor yet canst thou kill me.
 5 From rest and sleep, which but thy pictures be,
 Much pleasure, then from thee much more must flow,
 And soonest our best men with thee do go,
 Rest of their bones, and souls' delivery.
 Thou'rt slave to fate, chance, kings, and desp'rate men,
 10 And dost with poison, war, and sickness dwell;
 And poppy[^] or charms can make us sleep as well
 And easier than thy stroke: why swell'st thou then?

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49, D, C57*; Group II: *DC, TCC, TCD*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

8 bones] bodies *III* 10 dost] doth *1633* 12 easier] better *I, II, 1633, 1635*

1–14 The sonnet expands the triumphal apostrophising in *1 Cor.* 15. 54–5. However, J. R. Mulder, *Temple of the Mind* (1969) p. 63, thinks that readers educated in logic and dialectic would read this sonnet as 'a series of false syllogisms, a hopeless argument from a helpless voice'.

1–2 some . . . Mighty] As *D.* himself does in *BulstrodeRecant* 31, provoking the reply from Lady Bedford opening in the words of the present sonnet. Cp. the penultimate paragraph of Raleigh's *History of the World* 1614: 'O eloquent, just and mighty Death . . .'

5 A popular commonplace as in *Constancy* 10, q. v. and note.

7 Based on another ancient proverb, e.g., Plautus *Bacchides* 4. 7. 18. Tilley G 251 quotes, e.g., T. Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique* 1, 'An Example of Comfort' (1553, enl. 1560; 1994, p. 109): 'Whom God loveth best, those he taketh soonest.' As well as 'earliest', 'soonest' may mean 'most willingly': Cp. *Mourning* 1–2 (Gardner).

8 souls' delivery] Both literally, as in *Rom.* 8. 21 (cp., e.g., *SecAn* 179–89), and figuratively in its second birth, as explained in *FirAn* 450–4.

9–10 Cp. *DivM8Round* 6–7.

9 desp'rate men] suicides.

11 poppy] i.e., its derivative, opium, used then as a sleeping-draught. **charms**] magical signs, words recited or written in scrolls, such as the traditional 'Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, / The Bed be blest that I lie on, . . .' (T. Ady, *Candle in the Dark* (1655) p. 58), and objects worn, hung over the bed, put under the pillow, or offered to saints, as in *Idolatry's* rhyme in J. Bale, *Comedy concerninge thre lawes, of nature Moses, & Christ* 531–4 [Wesel 1548?], in *Complete Plays*, ed. P. Happé (1986) 2. 82.

12 easier] more comfortably. A drugged person falls asleep painlessly, whereas death may involve agony. *D.* came to decide that at death the soul did not sleep at all but found itself immediately in the presence of God (see note above on *DivM6Play* 7 and Gardner's Appendix A).

One short sleep past, we live eternally,
And death shall be no more: Death, thou shalt die!

13 live] wake *I, II, O'Fae, 1633, 1635*

12.

12. 'Wilt thou love God' Also *HolyS11Wilt*.

Text. *W, Groups I, II, III, 1635* all substantially agree on the text with the exception of the Group III variant in l. 10 discussed below.

WILT thou love God as he thee? Then digest,
My soul, this wholesome meditation:
How God the Spirit, by angels waited on

Sources collated: *W; Group I: H49, D, C57; Group II: TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1635*

Base text: *W*

13 sleep] If D. did attempt to eliminate from a later version of the sonnets the idea that the souls of the dead slept until the Resurrection, the lack of differentiation here between body and soul makes this conspicuously inconsistent. **live]** The revision to 'wake' in MS Groups I and II and 1633 conforms with the orthodox doctrine that some souls (perhaps most: cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 31–4), while remaining conscious of their suffering, were destined to suffer the 'second death' of eternal damnation of *Rev* 2. 11, 21. 8, referred to in *Corona6Resur* 7, *Markham* 31–2.

14 R. V. Holdsworth, *N&Q* ns 37 (1990) 183 notes that the version of *Hosea* 13. 14 in the *GV* and *BV* was 'Death, I will be thy death'. In the *BCP* this was appointed to be read as the first lesson at Matins on the Wednesday before Easter. Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 26, *Rev.* 21. 4; Ronsard's concluding line in a love-poem, '*Et de tuer la mort par la mort mesme*' (Richmond (1981) p. 229); T. Kyd (attrib.), *Solyman and Perseda* [1592?] sig. I2v: 'Death shall die, if he attempt her end'; Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, 146. 10: 'And Death once dead, there's no more dying then', and D.'s *Serm.* 2. 202 (Easter Day 1619): 'We shall see the death of Death itself in the death of Christ.'

1 digest] Cp. the *BCP* Collect for the Second Sunday in Advent: 'Blessed Lord, which hast caused all holy scriptures to be written for our learning, grant us that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy word we may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life which thou hast given us in our saviour Jesus Christ.'

2 meditation] D.'s sole use of the word in the sequence, in a poem lacking the urgent dialogue of most of the rest.

3–4 by angels . . . Heaven] *Ps.* 103. 20–1.

- In Heaven, doth make his temple in thy breast;
 5 The Father, having begot a Son most blessed,
 And still begetting (for he ne'er begun),
 Hath deigned to choose thee by adoption
 Coheir t'his glory and Sabbath's endless rest;
 And, as a robbed man which by search doth find
 10 His stole stuff sold must lose or buy't again,
 The Son of Glory came down and was slain
 Us, whom he'd made and Satan stole, t'unbind.
 'Twas much that man was made like God before,
 But that God should be made like man, much more.

Select variants: 8 Sabbaths *D, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*: sabbath's *H49*: sabboths *C57*:
 Sabaoths *TCC*: Sabaaths *TCD*: Saboths *W, S96*: Sabbaoths *Dob*
 10 stuff] steed *III* 12 stole] stol'n *I, II, Dob, O'Fbe, 1633*

4 his temple . . . breast] See note on *DivM2Due* 8.

5 begot a Son] *John* 1. 14, etc.

5-6 Cp. *Anniversary* 8-10.

6 Meticulously conforming to the doctrine that God does not exist or act in finite time. The parentheses are present in all MSS collated, so may be D.'s.

7-8 *Rom.* 8. 15-17 (Gardner). Cp. *Gal.* 4. 1-7 and *DivM2Due* 5.

8 Coheir] The Rheims version of *Rom.* 8. 17. **Sabbath's/Sabaoth's]** Although the MSS show seven different spellings, including 'Sabaoths' and variations on it, since 'sabaoth' (e.g., *Rom.* 9. 29, *AV*) means 'armies, hosts', D. evidently meant 'Sabbaths', i.e., days of rest (e.g., the divine day of rest after the Creation, *Gen.* 2. 2-3; the Fourth Commandment, *Exod.* 20. 8-11, 31. 15). Cp. *Serm.* 10. 139 (n. d.): 'We shall have a *Sabbatary life* here in the rest and peace of conscience, and a life of one everlasting Sabbath hereafter'.

9-12 Expanding *DivM2Due* 1-4.

10 stuff] On the possible authenticity of the Group III MS reading 'steed', Gardner *DP* p. 72 adduces the legal provision that the purchaser of a stolen horse was obliged to sell it to the original owner whereas in the case of other goods acceptance of offer of purchase back was optional. In Christian doctrine, Satan had no choice but to surrender to Christ the souls he had 'stolen'. However, as Gardner points out, 'steed' is unsupported by *W*, and was not D.'s preferred word for a horse (in, e.g., *HolyS8Why* 5). D.'s analogy is not perhaps meant to be scrutinised so closely, since Satan was the thief, not an unsuspecting buyer.

9-12 Cp. *DivM2Due* 4.

12 stole] Perhaps closer to the original.

13-14 A double chiasmus: 'much . . . man . . . God / God . . . man . . . much'.

13 man . . . like God] *Gen.* 1. 26-7.

14 God . . . like man] *Rom.* 8. 3, *Philip.* 2. 5-8.

Holy Sonnets (Another version)

In this sequence the near duplication of topic in *DivM1Made* and *DivM2Due*—that God must fight for his own—is removed by dropping the first, making way for the wondering *HolyS8Why*. Two highly dramatic sonnets, *HolyS7Spit* and *HolyS10Batter*, force their way into the space made by compressing the ‘idolatry’, ‘lust and envy’ and ‘idol’trous lovers’ of *DivM3Sighs*, *DivM7Little*, *DivM10Faithful* into the ‘idolatry’ of *HolyS9Present*, making it the only poem to specify the principal sin repented of in most of the sonnets. In the order of *HolyS*, the ‘last will’ of love of *DivM4Part* is repositioned aptly in the last line of the sequence. The order of *HolyS* follows that of *DivM* after the subtraction from the latter of the first, third, seventh, and tenth sonnets, inserting *en bloc* four new, *HolyS*’s seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth, followed by *DivM*’s last and the repositioned *DivM4Part*. It might be that the reduction of emphasis on D.’s amorous past and increased self-laceration about generalised ‘sinfulness’ made *HolyS* more suitable for Lady Bedford.

I.

I. ‘As due by many titles’ *DivM2Due*.

Text. Variants among MSS seem probably merely scribal.

The reshaping and reconstituting of *DivM* firstly involves placing this sonnet at the head of the sequence, where its movement from calm legalistic reasoning to lamenting usurpation by Satan is mirrored by the new *HolyS10Batter* and the relocated *DivM12Love* and *DivM4Part*. For commentary see *DivM2Due*.

As due by many titles, I resign
 By thee and for thee, O God: first, I was made
 Thy blood bought that the which before was thine;
 5 I am thy son, made with thyself to shine,
 Thy servant, whose pains thou hast still repaid,
 Thy sheep, thine image, and, till I betrayed
 Myself, a temple of thy spirit divine.
 Why doth the devil then usurp in me?
 10 Why doth he steal—nay, ravish—that’s thy right?
 Except thou rise and for thine own work fight,

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49, D, C57*; Group II: *DC, TCC, TCD*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O’F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

2 I was] was I III 5 son] Sun II 7 thine] thy III
 9 then] thus III in] on I, 1633, 1635, O’Fae

Oh, I shall soon despair, when I do see
 That thou lov'st mankind well, yet wilt not choose me,
 And Satan hates me, yet is loath to lose me.

12 do] shall *III*, 1635 14 lose 1633, 1635: loose *MSS*

2.

2. 'O my black soul!' *DivM5Black*.

Text. There are different versions in ll. 3, 5 that may be authorial.

For commentary see *DivM5Black*.

OH my black soul! Now thou art summoned
 By sickness, Death's herald and champion.
 Th'art like a pilgrim which abroad hath done
 Treason, and durst not turn to whence he's fled,
 5 Or like a thief which, till death's doom be read,
 Wisheth himself deliverèd from prison,
 But damned, and haled to execution,
 Wisheth that still he might be^eimprisonèd.
 Yet grace, if thou repent, thou cannot lack—
 10 But who shall give thee that grace to begin?
 O make thyself with holy mourning black,
 And red with blushing, as thou art with sin;
 Or wash thee in Christ's blood, which hath this might:
 That, being red, it dyes red souls to white.

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*; *Group II*: *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III*:
Dob, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1635

Base text: *Group I*

Select variants:

3 Th'art like] Thou art *W*: Thou, like *III* hath] had *DC*, *TCD*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe*,
W: hast *TCC*

4 to] from *III* 5 like] as *W*, *III*

3.

3. 'This is my play's last scene' *DivM6Play*.

Text. Line 7 embodies what appears to be a substantial revision eliminating
 hesitancy about the state of the soul immediately after death.

For commentary see *DivM6Play*.

THIS is my play's last scene: here heavens appoint
 My pilgrimage's last mile; and my race,
 Idly yet quickly run, hath this last pace,
 My span's last inch, my minute's last point,
 5 And glutt'nous death will instantly unjoint
 My body^and soul, and I shall sleep a space,
 But my^ever-waking part shall see that face
 Whose fear already shakes my every joint.
 Then, as my soul t'Heav'n, her first seat, takes flight,
 10 And earth-born body in the earth shall dwell,
 So fall my sins, that all may have their right,
 To where they're bred, and would press me: to Hell.
 Impute me righteous, thus purgèd of evil,
 For thus I leave the world, the flesh and devil.

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49, D, C57*; Group II: *DC, TCC, TCD*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

2 pilgrimage's] pilgrimage I 4 last point] latest point III, 1633, 1635

6 soul] my soul *Dob, S96, 1633*

7 But my^ever-waking part shall] But my^everlasting part shall *DC*: Or presently, I know not, I, III, *W*

8 my] me *C57, III* 10 earth-born *ed.*: earth-borne I, II, III, 1633, 1635

11 fall] falls I: full *DC* 14 and] the 1633, 1635

4.

4. 'At the round earth's imagined corners' *DivM8Round*.

Text. As when the sonnet appears as *DivM8Round*, *W*'s 'dearth' in l. 6 makes its text indubitably superior to that of Groups I, II and III.

The position of this sonnet evoking the Last Day mirrors that of *HolyS9Present*, fourth from last. For commentary see *DivM8Round*.

AT the round earth's imagined corners, blow
 Your trumpets, angels! and arise, arise
 From death, you numberless infinities
 Of souls, and to your scattered bodies go!
 5 All whom the Flood did and fire shall o'erthrow,

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49, D, C57*; Group II: *DC, TCC, TCD*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

- All whom war, dearth, age, agues, tyrannies,
 Despair, law, chance hath slain, and you whose eyes
 Shall behold God, and never taste death's woe.
 But let them sleep, Lord, and me mourn a space,
 10 For if above all these my sins abound,
 'Tis late to ask abundance of thy grace
 When we are there; here on this lowly ground
 Teach me how to repent, for that's as good
 As if thou'dst sealed my pardon with thy blood.

Select variants:

6 dearth] death *I, II, III, 1633, 1635* 9 a space] apace *I*

5.

5. 'If pois'nous minerals' *DivM9Pois'nous*.

Text. In ll. 9–10, MSS of Groups I and II and some of Group III agree against *W* in putting the question mark after 'thee' instead of 'God'. Since this is unlikely to be an authorial reading, *W* has been adhered to.

The position of this sonnet on the relative deserts of man and the rest of creation mirrors that of *HolyS8Why*, fifth from the end. For commentary see *DivM9Pois'nous*.

- IF pois'nous minerals, and if that tree
 Whose fruit threw death on else immortal us,
 If lecherous goats, if serpents envious
 Cannot be damned, alas, why should I be?
 5 Why should intent or reason, born in me,
 Make sins, else equal, in me more heinous?
 And, mercy being easy^and glorious
 To God, in his stern wrath why threatens he?
 But who am I, that dare dispute with thee
 10 O God? Oh, of thine only worthy blood
 And my tears make a heavenly Lethean flood,
 And drown in it my sins' black memory.
 That thou remember them some claim as debt:
 I think it mercy if thou wilt forget.

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49, D, C57*; Group II: *DC, TCC, TCD*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

1 and if that] or if the *III* 5 or] and *III* born *ed.*: borne *MSS, 1633, 1635*

9 dare] dares *II* 9–10 thee O God?] thee? O God, *I, II, Dob, S96, 1633, 1635*

13 some claim] no more *III*

6.

6. 'Death, be not proud' *DivM11Death*.

Text. As in *DivM6Play/HolyS3Play*, D. appears to have revised ll. 12 and 13 to accord with his later ideas on the state of the soul after death.

For commentary see *DivM11Death*.

- DEATH! be not proud, though some have called thee
 Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so;
 For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow
 Die not, poor Death, nor yet canst thou kill me.
 5 From rest and sleep, which but thy pictures be,
 Much pleasure, then from thee much more must flow,
 And soonest our best men with thee do go,
 Rest of their bones, and soul's delivery.
 Thou'rt slave to fate, chance, kings, and desperate men,
 10 And dost with poison, war, and sickness dwell;
 And poppy[^]or charms can make us sleep as well
 And better than thy stroke: why swell'st thou then?
 One short sleep past, we wake eternally,
 And death shall be no more: Death, thou shalt die!

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I*: *H49, D, C57*; *Group II*: *DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III*: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

8 bones] bodies *III* 10 dost] doth 1633

12 better] easier *W, III* 13 wake] live *W, III*

7.

7. 'Spit in my face'

Text. *W, MS Groups I, II, III, 1633, 1635.* *W* preserves what appear to be three authorial readings: in l. 3, 'humbly' not 'only'; in l. 4, 'W^{ch}' not 'Who', and, together with *Group III* MSS, 'no' rather than 'none' (see notes below). The point of the stronger 'humbly' is made clear in l. 13. It is unlikely to have been invented by a scribe.

This is the first replacement sonnet in *HolyS*. Coming as it does in the new order immediately after 'Death, be not proud', it may be read as ironising that poem, particularly in ll. 5–6, which assert that death in itself cannot be so confidently dismissed, since its defeat is conditional for every individual on qualifying through grace and repentance to share in Christ's atonement.

- SPIT in my face, you Jews, and pierce my side;
 Buffet and scoff, scourge and crucify me:
 For I have sinned and sinned, and only he
 Who could do no iniquity hath died.
 5 But by my death cannot be satisfied
 My sins, which pass the Jews' impiety:
 They killed once an inglorious man, but I
 Crucify him daily, being now glorified.

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I*: *H49*, *D*, *C57*; *Group II*: *DC*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III*: *Lut*, *O'F* (not in *Dob*, *S96*); 1633, 1635

Base text: *D*, *H49*

Select variants:

1 you] ye *W*, *II*, *III*, 1633, 1635 3 only] humbly *W*

4 Who] Which *W* none] no *W* *I*, *II* none] no *W*, *III*

6 impiety *W*: iniquity *D*, *H49*: iniquities *C57* 7 man *om.* *W*

1–2 Applying to himself the Passion story of *Matt.* 26. 67, 27. 26–35/*Mark* 14. 65, 15. 15–24, the piercing of the side being added to *Matt.* 27. 49 from *John* 19. 34 in many ancient texts. The piercing, scourging and crucifying were done, according to the text, by the soldiers under Roman command. Cp. (also for l. 8) *Serm.* 10. 22 (n. d.) on 2 *Cor.* 4. 20 on the limits of a priest's function in the face of a sinful congregation: 'when you scourge him, and scoff him, and spit in his face, and crucify him, and practise every day all the Jews did to him once, as though that were your pattern, and your business were to exceed your pattern, and crucify your Saviour worse than they did, by tearing and mangling his body, now glorified, by your blasphemous oaths, and execrable imprecations'.

3 only/humbly] *W* may preserve *D.*'s own thought. The whole poem is about the amazing reversal of roles in the Christian legend.

4 Who/Which] 'He which' occurs six times in the poems (*Break* 17 (in *Group I*, *H40*, *DC*, *Dob*, *S96*), *Satyre* 4 169, *Satyre* 5 2, *Platonic* 7, *BedfordWritten* 47, *Jeremy* 62), 'he who' three times (*Satyre* 5 57, *Platonic* 13 and 15), so *W* may preserve *D.*'s original preference here. The contraction 'W^{ch}' in *W* could, if in holograph or archetype, have been miscopied. **no iniquity]** no wrong against anyone. Cp. *CoronazAnmun* 4, 2 *Cor.* 5. 21, 2 *Pet.* 2. 22. **no/none]** 'None' does not occur in the eighteen other places where it is succeeded by an initial vowel (e.g., *HerbertE* 29's 'antipathy', *Carey* 38's 'infirmity'), so seems unlikely to have been in the holograph here.

5–6 by my death . . . sins] Cp. the Prayer of Consecration in the *BCP* Communion: 'satisfaction for the sins of the whole world'.

8 Cp. *Heb.* 6. 4–6: 'It is impossible that they which were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and of the powers of the world to come, if they fall away, should be renewed again by repentance, seeing they crucify again to themselves the Son of God, and make a mock of him' (*GV*); and *Serm.* 9. 135–6 (Christmas 1629):

He suffers patiently a quotidian Crucifying; we kill the Lord of Life every day, every day we make a mock of Christ Jesus, and tread the blood of the Covenant under our feet every day: And as though all his passion, and blood,

O let me, then, his strange love still admire:
 10 Kings pardon, but he bore our punishment.
 And Jacob came clothed in vile, harsh attire
 But to supplant and with gainful intent;
 God clothed himself in vile man's flesh that so
 He might be weak enough to suffer woe.

8.

8. 'Why am I'

Analogue. P. Grant, *Humanities Association Review* 24 (1973) 39–42, points out that the problem had been similarly treated by an author D. often cited in *Biathanatos* and *Essays*, G. Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus* 5. 6–7.

Text. *W*, *MS Groups I, II, III*, 1633, 1635. In the opening of the sonnet, *W*'s 'Why am I', is consistent with ll. 1–10, though may have been changed by the author to universalise the question and reduce the focus on himself: Groups I, II and III agree in the wording 'Why are we'. Group II reads 'Simpler' in l. 4, erroneously, since the uncompounded elements, in D.'s scheme of things, are absolutely, not comparatively simple. In l. 9, *W*'s 'Alas I'm weaker' for 'Weaker I am' necessitates elision between 'me,' and 'and'. By spacing the alliteration more widely, the other sources may be thought to make it less crude, and increase the emphasis on 'weaker'.

The second replacement sonnet in *HolyS*.

WHY am I by all creatures waited on?
 Why do the prodigal elements supply

Sources collated: *W*; *Group I: H49, D, C57*; *Group II: DC, TCC, TCD*; *Group III: Lut, O'F (not in Dob, S96)*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

1 am I] are we *I, II, III, 1633, 1635*

and wounds, and heart, were spent by our former oaths and blasphemies, we crucify him daily by our daily sins, that we might have new blood, and heart, and wounds to swear by.

Cp. also *Devotions*, 9. Expostulation.

10 he . . . punishment] *Isa.* 53. 4–5, 2 *Pet.* 2. 24.

11–12 *Gen.* 27. 15–29.

12 supplant] In *Gen.* 27. 36, Isaac's accusation of Jacob, the Vulgate uses 'supplantavit', whereas *GV* translates as 'he hath deceived' (Gardner).

13–14 Cp. *Rom.* 8. 3, *Philip.* 2. 6–8, *Heb.* 2. 7–8, and *HolyS11/DivM12Love* 13–14.

13 vile man's flesh] Cp. Walkington, *Optick Glasse* 2 (1607) f. 11r: 'this vile mansion of our body'; and *Philippians* 3. 21: 'our vile body'.

I Questioning the divine dispensation of *Gen.* 1. 26–9, 9. 2–3, *Ps.* 8. 6–8. For a more complacent view see *Serm.* 7. 145–6 (30 April 1626).

- Life and food to me, being more pure than I,
 Simple and further from corruption?
 5 Why brook'st thou, ign'rant horse, subjection?
 Why dost thou, bull and boar, so seelily
 Dissemble weakness, and by one man's stroke die,
 Whose whole kind you might swallow and feed upon?
 Alas, I'm weaker, woe's me, 'n' worse than you:
 10 You have not sinned, nor need be timorous.
 But wonder at a greater wonder, for to us
 Created nature doth these things subdue,
 But their creator, whom sin nor nature tied,
 For us, his creatures and his foes, hath died.

4 simple] simpler *DC, TCD, III, 1635*; simples *TCC*

6 boar] bear *III* 9 Alas, I'm weaker] Weaker I am *I, II, III, 1633, 1635*

11 greater wonder] great wonder *DC, III*; greater *1635*

9.

9. 'What if this present'

Analogues. D. has used the Petrarchan motif of the beloved's picture in the heart parodied in *Damp*. Oliver p. 114 observes that his view of this sonnet as 'melodramatic posturing is much easier to integrate with our knowledge of Donne's violent antipathy towards Loyola and the Jesuits than the idea that . . . [he] was the unconscious and unwilling prisoner of his childhood devotional training.'

Text. *W, MS Groups I, II, III, 1633, 1635.* *W* preserves three apparently earlier authorial readings: in l. 2, 'Looke' for 'Mark', in l. 8, 'ranck' for 'fierce', and in l. 9, 'myne' for 'my'. The l. 2 reading was perhaps too close an echo of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* 1. 14 (Gardner points out that 'look' was then used transitively: see *OED* 'look' *v.* 6a). Line 8's 'fierce' increases the alliterative emphasis

3 The elements are only 'more pure' because only spirit can be absolutely so (Gardner). Cp. *Air* 23-4.

4 The sinfulness of mixing the different, whether plant, animal, or even cloth, is asserted in *Lev.* 19, *Deut.* 22. 9-11.

5 **ign'rant horse]** *Ps.* 32. 9; cp. *Serm.* 9. 385 (n. d.) on that verse: 'If a Horse or a Mule understand not itself, it is never the worse Horse nor Mule, for it is born with that ignorance; But if man, . . .'

6 **seelily]** unthinkingly.

7 **Dissemble]** feign, simulate (i.e., the opposite of 'dissemble', meaning 'conceal').
 9-10 Cp. again *Serm.* 9. 372: 'There is no creature but man that degenerates willingly from his natural Dignity; Those degrees of goodness, which God imprinted in them at first, they preserve still'.

11 Twelve syllables, eleven even eliding the first 'wonder' and 'at'.

13-14 Cp. *Rom.* 5. 6-8, *HolyS7Spit* 13-14, *HolyS11/DivM12Love* 13-14.

(and, Gardner notes, alludes to *Luke* 23. 5). Line 9 uses the same phrase as *DivM3Sighs* 5, found in *W* and Group III only, where the change to 'mine' was apparently editorial, suggesting that the 'my' of Groups I, II and III here matches D.'s preference in this phrase.

The third replacement sonnet in *HolyS*, mirroring in position and initial topic what is now *HolyS4Round*, but asking for the forgiveness which may follow the grace and repentance sought there.

WHAT if this present were the world's last night?
 Mark in my heart, O soul, where thou dost dwell,
 The picture of Christ crucified, and tell
 Whether that countenance can thee affright:
 5 Tears in his eyes quench the amazing light;
 Blood fills his frowns, which from his pierced head fell;
 And can that tongue adjudge thee unto hell
 Which prayed forgiveness for his foes' fierce spite?

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49*, *D*, *C57*; Group II: *TCC*, *TCD* (not in *DC*); Group III: *Lut*, *O'F* (not in *Dob*, *S96*); 1633, 1635

Base text: *TCC*

Select variants:

2 Mark] Look *W* 4 that] his *I*, 1633, 1635 7 unto] to *I* 8 fierce] rank *W*

1 Prompted by literal interpretation of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, *Matt.* 25. 1–13, and the warning in *Matt.* 24. 42–4, *1 Thess.* 5. 2, *2 Pet.* 3. 10, *Rev.* 3. 3, that the Day of Judgement would come 'as a thief in the night'. Cp. *Serm.* 8. 68 (19 Nov. 1627), especially:

In my night of ignorance he may come, and he may come in my night of wantonness; in my night of inordinate and sinful melancholy and suspicion of his mercy, he may come; and he may come in the night of so stupid or so raging a sickness as that he shall not come by coming, not come so as that I shall receive him in the absolution of his minister or receive him in the participation of his body and his blood in the sacrament.

2–3 Cp. the meditative technique and subject of *Cross* and *Friday*.

2 where . . . dwell] Alluding parenthetically to a point of continuing controversy: in 1617 D. preaches on 24 March that 'We dispute whether the throne and seat of the soul be in the Heart, or Brain, or Liver', but on 25 April 1624, more conclusively, 'The soul is . . . diffused over the whole body' (*Serm.* 1. 192, 6. 102).

3 Christ crucified] The phrase is Paul's preaching on the Atonement in *1 Cor.* 1. 23. Imagining the Crucifixion, as D. bids himself do here and in *Friday*, was a frequent practice in Christian meditation: see headnote on *Friday's* analogues.

3–8 tell . . . spite] The forgiveness in Christ's face is seen too in *Germany* 5–6.

5–6 Cp. the evocation near the end of D.'s last sermon, *Serm.* 10. 247 (*Deaths Duell*, 25 Feb. 1631).

5 Tears] *Heb.* 5. 7, expounded in *Serm.* 4. 325, 338–44 ([28 Feb.] 1623).

7 adjudge] sentence.

8 prayed forgiveness] *Luke* 23. 34. his foes' fierce spite] Though in *HolyS7Spit* 6 the speaker's sins are asserted to be worse.

- No, no; but as, in my idolatry,
 10 I said to all my profane mistresses,
 'Beauty of pity, foulness only is
 A sign of rigour', so I say to thee,
 'To wicked sprites are horrid shapes assigned:
 This beauteous form assures a piteous mind.'

9 my] mine *W, Lut* 13 sprites] spirits *I, TCD, 1633, 1635*

14 assures] assumes *1633, 1635*

10.

10. Batter my heart'

Analogues and sources. H. Richmond, *N&Q* 203 (1958) 534–5, *CLS* 7 (1970) 141–60, quotes a close parallel in a Ronsard sonnet, 'Foudroye moi le cors' (in the 1560 wording of *Les Meslanges* as 4^e livre of *Odes*, from 1571 1^{er} livre of *Les Amours*), which, in the words of A. L. Prescott, *French Poets and the English Renaissance* (1978) p. 115, 'shares . . . the image of a warring city betrayed by Reason, a violent tone, and a plea for God's overpowering force to do for the speaker and his inner divisions what his own defective will cannot.' Cp. St Bernard, quoted in *Serm.* 2. 362 (3 March 1620; cp. 2. 87 (1618)): 'with *David* [*mag.* Psal. 119. 71] . . . I am mended by my sickness, enriched by my poverty, and strengthened by my weakness; and with S. *Bernard* desire, . . . O Lord be angry with me, for if thou chidest me not, thou considerest me not, if I taste no bitterness, I have no Physic; If thou correct me not, I am not thy son'. R. Frontain, *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 8 (1987) 163–76 and *John Donne's Poetry* (NY 1992) pp. 338–49, compares the poem's images of marred vessel, usurped town under siege, and degraded woman with those used of Israel by prophets in the OT, such as Isaiah and Jeremiah cited below on ll. 2–4.

Text. The fourth replacement sonnet in *HolyS*, implicitly questioning the Calvinist doctrine of the irresistibility of grace, conferred 'before the foundations of the world were laid' on 'vessels made to honour' (BCP Articles of Religion 17).

9–12 in my idolatry . . . rigour'] Like one of the 'idoltrous flatterers' he vows not to be in *Recusant* 5. Cp. Oliver p. 114: 'If the speaker knows that he was lying to his "profane mistresses" when he used this argument to try to get them into bed, he must realise that it is even more fallacious as an argument for being saved.'

9 my idolatry] Cp. *DivM3Sighs* 5, *DivM10Faith* 9.

10 profane] No example of stress on the first syllable has been found, so it seems safer to assume D. has simply reversed the metrical foot, as he does several times in this sonnet.

11 Beauty of pity . . . A sign] Proverbial: cp. 'Every good face / Hath ever some pity', in D.'s grandfather J. Heywood's *Play of Love* ll. 717–18 (1991) p. 161, and a commonplace of courtship: cp. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 4. 2. 44: 'For beauty lives with kindness', and *Twelfth Night* 3. 4. 404.

BATTER my heart, three-personed God, for you
 As yet but knock, breathe, shine and seek to mend;
 That I may rise and stand, o'erthrow me and bend
 Your force to break, blow, burn and make me new.
 5 I, like an usurped town to another due,

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49, D, C57*; Group II: *TCC, TCD (not in DC)*; Group III: *Lut, O'F (not in Dob, S96)*; 1633, 1635

Base text: All sources agree, apart from two errors in *C57*.

1 Batter] The word introduces all three violent images of tinkering, siege (= 'bombard'), and rape. The final sexual application may be anticipated by the word's use in in *War* 30. Cp. *Serm.* 7. 396 (1 April 1627): 'In this Church, his ordinance is ordnance indeed: his ordinance of preaching batters the soul, and by that breach the Spirit enters'. Richmond finds a close parallel to this violent opening in Ronsard, *Amours* 2. 9, where the poet asks Jove to strike him with a thunderbolt.

2-4 The figure is of the divine workman, specifically a tinker (see J. C. Levenson, *Expl* 11 (Mar 1953) item 31, 12 (April 1954) item 36), a biblical variation (see second note on l. 4) on the figure of God as the potter of men, *Isa.* 64. 8, who are told not to question his workmanship, *Isa.* 29. 16, 45. 9, refashioned when unsatisfactory in *Jer.* 18. 3-4, and shaped for various destinies in *Rom.* 9. 20-3. Cp. *Ps.* 31. 14 (*BCP*): 'I am become like a broken vessel.' Cp. the request for punishment and burning off his rust in *Friday* 39-40, and *Serm.* 3. 250 (1621): 'I consider . . . myself a piece of rusty copper, in which those lines of the Image of God which were imprinted in me in my Creation are defaced and worn, and washed and burnt, and ground away, by many, and many, and many sins'.

2 knock . . . mend] In different senses from those of tinkering, these are the operations of the second person of God, Christ, who allegorically knocks at the door of his Bride the Church, *S. of S.* 5. 2; breathes the Holy Ghost into the disciples, *John* 20. 22; in the Transfiguration shines like the Sun, *Matt.* 17. 2; and heals with his wounds, *2 Pet.* 2. 24. A. L. Clements, *MLN* 76 (1961) 484-9, denies that these operations are exclusively performed by any one particular person of God.

3 bend] bring to bear. Cp. *Job* 22. 29, *James* 4. 10, *Sickness* 30.

4 break] A frequently threatened action of the first person of the Trinity in the OT *Pss* and the prophets, e.g., *Isa.* 30. 14: 'he shall break it as the breaking of the potter's vessel'. **blow, burn]** Cp. *Isa.* 1. 25, *Jer.* 6. 29, *Ezek.* 22. 20-1. Associated with the third person, the Holy Spirit, in *Isa.* 40. 7, *John* 3. 8, *Isa.* 4. 4, *Matt.* 3. 11. **make me new]** Like God the potter in *Jer.* 18. 3-4. Cp. also *Ps.* 51. 10, *Ezek.* 11. 19, and *Rev.* 21. 5: 'And he that sat upon the throne said, "Behold, I make all things new."'.

5-8 Oliver p. 145 draws attention to the similar image in Lok 10 (1597) p. 6: 'Behold, O Lord, the city thou hast built, / Jerusalem, this fleshly frame of mine, / By sin—Assyrian's sword—is almost spilt, / And like to yield.' Cp. the image in *Anagram* 42, and the hypothesis of Flynn (1989) 316 that D. had witnessed the siege of Antwerp in 1585, though the commonplace details in this poem do not depend on such historical particulars. The image of the lover laying siege to his beloved's heart was a commonplace in discourse of love, e.g., Shakespeare, 'A Lover's Complaint' 176-7, where the city is her chastity. Cp. his 'Venus and

Labour to admit you, but oh, to no end:
 Reason, your viceroy in me, me should defend,
 But is captived, and proves weak or untrue.
 Yet dearly I love you, and would be loved fain,
 10 But am betrothed unto your enemy:
 Divorce me, untie or break that knot again;
 Take me to you, imprison me, for I,
 Except you enthrall me, never shall be free,
 Nor ever chaste except you ravish me.

Adonis' 423, 'Rape of Lucrece' 1170–6, *Romeo and Juliet* 1. 1. 209, *Merry Wives of Windsor* 2. 2. 225–6, *All's Well that Ends Well* 3. 7. 17–19.

5 town] Linked to the breaking of a potter's vessel in Yahweh's threat to Jerusalem, *Jer.* 19. 10–11 (see R. D. Bedford, *Dialogues with Convention* (1989) p. 102).

7 Cp. the image in *Serm.* 4. 351 (Easter 1623): 'The understanding believer is in a fenced town, and he hath outworks to lose before the town be pressed, that is, reasons to be answered before his faith be shaken'. D. expatiates on the function of reason, its subordination to God, and its perversion in, e.g., *Serm.* 1. 169–72, 223–6 (21 April 1616, 2 Nov. 1617). Cp., e.g., *Serm.* 6. 188 (New Year 1625): 'Mine own reason . . . affords not lead enough nor line enough to sound the depth of God's proceedings, nor length enough nor strength enough to reach so far'. **9–11** Cp. *Litany* 107: 'Divorce thou sin in us . . .'.

10 your enemy] Satan (derived from the Hebrew for 'enemy'); cp. *DivM2/HolyS1Due* 9–14, and *Lok*, ll. 5–6: 'Yet lo, alas, my soul doth much repine / To see proud Satan so blaspheme thy name'.

14 ravish] The word used for God's carrying a soul off to Heaven in *HSW1Since* 3. As at the end of *Germany*, death alone will separate the speaker from sin. The eroticism is characteristic of Counter-Reformation verse, e.g., St John of the Cross, *Canciones del alma que se goza de haber llegado al alto estado del perfección, que es la unión con Dios, por el camino del negación espiritual* ('Songs of the soul which rejoices at having arrived at the high state of perfection, which is union with God, by the Negative Way of the spirit'), with its homosexual masochism in the penultimate stanza, and Henry Constable, 'To St Mary Magdalen', *Poems* (1960) p. 192:

Sweet saint, thou better canst declare to me
 What pleasure is obtained by heavenly love
 Than they which other loves did never prove,
 Or which in sex are differing from thee:
 For like a woman spouse my soul shall be,
 Whom sinful passions once to lust did move,
 And since betrothed to Goddes son above
 Should be enamoured with his deity.
 My body is the garment of my sprite
 While as the daytime of my life doth last:
 When death shall bring the night of my delight,
 My soul unclothed shall rest from labours past,
 And, clasped in the arms of God, enjoy
 By sweet conjunction everlasting joy.

II.

II. 'Wilt thou love God' *DivM12Wilt*.

Text. Groups I, II and III largely agree on 'stolne' in l. 12 against *W*'s 'stole', so it has been accepted here as a probably authorial revision.

As placed in this sequence, *HolyS11Wilt*, *HolyS12Part* show the 'viceroi' of the previous sonnet overruling the passionate mode of earlier sonnets with the cool legal reasoning which began *HolyS12Due* before the Devil usurped the speaker's soul. For further comment see *DivM12Wilt*.

WILT thou love God as he thee? Then digest,
 My soul, this wholesome meditation:
 How God the Spirit, by angels waited on
 In Heav'n, doth make his temple in thy breast;
 5 The Father, having begot a Son most blessed,
 And still begetting (for he ne'er begun),
 Hath deigned to choose thee by adoption
 Coheir to his glory and sabbath's endless rest;
 And, as a robbed man which by search doth find
 10 His stol'n stuff sold must lose or buy it again,
 The Son of Glory came down and was slain
 Us, whom he'd made and Satan stol'n, t'unbind.
 'Twas much that man was made like God before,
 But that God should be made like man, much more.

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49*, *D*, *C57*; Group II: *TCC*, *TCD*; Group III: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1635

Base text: *H49*

Select variants:

10 stuff] steed III 11 Son] Sun *D*, *C57*, 1635

12 stol'n] stole *W*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'Fae*, 1635

Cp. *Serm.* I. 237 (14 Dec. 1617):

Solomon, whose disposition was amorous, and excessive in the love of women, when he turned to God, he departed not utterly from his old phrase and language, but having put a new and a spiritual tincture and form and habit into all his thoughts and words, he conveys all his loving approaches and applications to God and all God's gracious answers to his amorous soul into songs and epithalamions and meditations upon contracts and marriages between God and his church, and between God and his soul.

12.

12. 'Father, part of his double interest' *DivM4Part*.

Text. The reading 'those' for 'thy' in l. 9 (causing a repetition in l. 10) is found in Groups I and II, as is 'again' (a weak reading) for 'and quicken' in l. 12. Group III readings personalise the deity more (quite consistently with D.'s attitude) with the change to 'he' and threefold preference for 'thy' in ll. 7, 9, 11 and 12.

For commentary see *DivM4Part*.

FATHER, part of his double interest
 Unto thy kingdom thy son gives to me:
 His jointure in the knotty Trinity
 He keeps, and gives me his death's conquest.
 5 This Lamb, whose death the world with life hath blest,
 Was from the world's beginning slain, and he
 Hath made two wills; he with the legacy
 Of his[^]and thy kingdom doth thy sons invest.
 Yet such are thy laws that men argue yet
 10 Whether a man those statutes can fulfil:
 None doth, but thy all-healing grace and Spirit
 Revive and quick'n what law and letter kill.
 Thy law's abridgement and thy last command
 Is all but love; O let thy last will stand!

Sources collated: *W*; Group I: *H49, D, C57*; Group II: *TCC, TCD*; Group III: *Dob, S96, Lut, O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *Dob, S96*

Select variants:

4 me] to me *Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635* 7 wills; he] wills, which *W, I, II, 1633, 1635*

8 doth] do *O'Fae, 1633: om. 1635* 9 thy] those *H49, D, II*; these *C57, 1633, 1635*

11 but thy] but *W, I, II* 12 and quick'n] again *I, II, 1633, 1635*

14 thy] that *W, I, II*: this *1633, 1635*

Verses in *Conclave Ignati* with the English versions in *Ignatius his Conclave*

Date and Context. 1610–11. That D. himself was the translator of his *Conclave Ignati* ([1611]) is generally accepted (see Healy, *Ignatius* pp. xii–xiv).

Text. *Ignatius his Conclave*, 1611. ‘For the English text, it is clear that only the edition of 1611 has any authority’—Healy p. li.

Janus

NOBILISSIMUM par Angelorum, ne nunquam vos convenisse diceretur, semper autem vos mutuo abhorrere, et semper *Aversa facie Ianum referre*, his saltem in cartulis meis vos unire tentavi.

[Narrator]: Most noble couple of angels [protectors of the Pope’s Consistory and of the College of Sorbonne], lest it should be said that you did never agree, and never meet but that you did ever abhor one another, and ever

Resemble Janus with a diverse face

I have attempted to bring and join you together for once in these papers.

Source not found.

Resemble . . . face] Rendered in English here as an iambic pentameter.

The Soul

Eram in ecstasi: et

*Animula, vagula, blandula,
Comes hospesque corporis,*

per omnia libere vagata est. Omnes Coelorum numerabat contiginationes et volumina.

[Narrator]: I was in an ecstasy, and

My little wandering, sportful soul,
Guest and companion of my body

had liberty to wander through all places, and to survey and reckon all the rooms and all the volumes of the heavens.

By Hadrian, the second-century Roman emperor, P. Aelius Hadrianus (according to ‘Aelius Spartianus’ in the *Historia Augusta* ‘Hadrian’, 25. 9, composed on

Hadrian's deathbed; also available in Loeb *Minor Latin Poets* p. 444). A modern translation of 'blandula' is 'charming, pleasant' (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1982). D. quotes only the first two of five lines.

The Lark

Supera cum perlustrassem omnia, tum sicuti

—*operoso tramite scandens*
Aethereum montem, tangens vicens solis,
Hymnos ad Phoebi plectrum modulatur alauda:
Compressis velis, tandem ut remearet, alarum,
Tam subito recidit, ut saxum segnius iisset

ictu oculi, etiam et Inferos video in conspectu meo positos.

[Narrator]: When I had surveyed all the heavens, then, as

The lark, by busy and laborious ways
 Having climbed up th'ethereal hill, doth raise
 His hymns to Phoebus' harp; and striking then
 His sails, his wings, doth fall down back again
 5 So suddenly that one may safely say
 A stone came lazily that came that way,

in the twinkling of an eye, I saw all the rooms in Hell open to my sight.

Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus* 23. 5 (Healy). D. intensifies the analogy of the stone.

More Terrible than a Successful Gunpowder Plot

Clamavit autem intonuitque Ignatius

tanto fragore boatuque,
Et nec sulphureus pulvis quo tota Britannia
Insula per nimbos Lunam volitasset ad imam
Si cum substratus Camerae conceperat ignem,
Aequando fremeret nostro fragore boatuque.

Here Ignatius cried, and thundered out

With so great noise and horror,
 That, had that powder taken fire by which
 All th'isle of Britain had flown to the Moon,
 It had not equalled this noise and horror.

Source not found (obviously 1605–11). As Healy records, the English version omits the Latin's *per nimbos*, 'through the clouds', and *substratus Camerae conceperat ignem*, 'placed beneath the Chamber', i.e., the House of Lords, which latter would have clarified the reference.

From Pope Urban V's Verses to the Emperor Gregory

Aequum certe fuisset ut in illos versus vires suas exercuissent, et, si non haeresibus, at saltem barbarie purgassent et soloecismis, ne nihil in illis verum esse haeretici dicerent, nisi quod in fine habatur,

Parsque minor tantum tota valet integra quantum.

[Ignatius]: It had been reason that they should first have exercised their force upon those verses, and so have purged and delivered them, if not from heresy, yet from barbarousness and solecisms, that heretics might not justly say there was no truth in any of them, but only the last, which is

That the least piece which thence doth fall
Will do one as much good as all.

By Pope Urban V via S. Quaranta, *Summa Bullarii* (1608) p. 6 (Healy). D. had already borrowed this taunt in *Coryat* 72.

Feathers or Straws on a Stream

Ut aliquando videram,

*Aut plumam aut paleam quae fluminis innatat ori,
Cum ventum ad pontem fuerit, qua fornice transit
Angusto flumen, reiieci tumideque repelli;
Duxerat at postquam choreas atque orbibus undae
Luserat, liquidis laqueis et faucibus hausta
Fluminis in gremium cedit reditumque
Desperat spectator scaenae;*

ita Machiavellus, saepe se erigens, saepe repulsus, tandem evanuit.

[Narrator]: But as I had sometimes observed,

Feathers or straws swim on the waters' face,
Brought to the bridge, where through a narrow place
The water passes, thrown back and delayed;
And, having danced awhile and nimbly played

- 5 Upon the wat'ry circles, then have been
 By the stream's liquid snares and jaws sucked in
 And, sunk into the womb of that swoll'n bourne,
 Leave the beholder desp'rate of return;

so I saw Machiavel often put forward, and often thrust back, and at last vanish.

Perhaps D.'s own, though in other versions, *Recusant* 15–17 (Healy), *Satyre* 3 103–8, the image is of flowers.

5 *been*] Pronounceable as 'bin' and therefore a perfect rhyme with 'in'.

Revival

Ego autem ad corpus redeo, quod

*Qualis hesterno madefacta rore,
 Et novo tandem tepefacta sole,
 Excutit somnum, tremulam coronam erigit herba
 Quae prius languens, recidens, recurva,
 Osculum terrae dederat, iubarque
 Denegatum tamdiu, nunc refulgens Solis anhelat,*

animae adventu satis refotum est.

[Narrator]: And I returned to my body, which

- As a flower wet with last night's dew, and then
 Warmed with the new Sun, doth shake off again
 All drowsiness, and raise his trembling crown
 Which crookedly did languish and stoop down
 5 To kiss the earth, and panted now to find
 Those beams returned which had not long time shined,

was with this return of my soul sufficiently refreshed.

An elaboration of Dante, *Inferno* 2. 127–30, where it is the frost against which the flower has stooped and closed up.

Source 1611
 Headings *ed.*

Good Friday: Made as I was Riding Westward that Day

Date and Context. c. 2 April 1613. D.'s own title is perhaps represented by that adopted from Group II, but other manuscripts are more informative. A copy in the hand of Sir Henry Goodyer is untitled, but another, owned by the Skipwiths, related to him by marriage, has the explanatory title 'M'. J. Duñ goeing from Sr. H. G: on good fryday sent him back this Meditacon, on the Waye' (f. 36r, *IELM* p. 364 Δ21, A25). D. visited Sir Henry at his home, Polesworth, Warwickshire after 14 February 1613 (the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, for which D. wrote an Epithalamion). Group I titles the poem '... Riding towards Wales', *H49* expanding this as 'Riding to Sir Edward Herbert in Wales'. (D. presumably showed this poem to his host at Montgomery.) Good Friday 1613 fell on 2 April.

Analogues. A. B. Chambers (1992) p. 195 quotes (a later version of) one example of innumerable contemplations of the Crucifixion, *Seconde Tome of Homilyes*, 'Of the Passion' 2 (1563) sig. 4E1v-2r:

Call to mind, O sinful creature, and set before thine eyes, Christ crucified. Think thou seest his body stretched out in length upon the cross, his head crowned with sharp thorn, and his hands and his feet pierced with nails, his heart opened with a long spear, his flesh rent and torn with whips, his brows sweating water and blood. Think thou hearest him now crying in an intolerable agony to his father, . . . Couldst thou behold this woeful sight, or hear this mournful voice, without tears? . . . O that mankind should put the everlasting son of God to such pains! O that we should be the occasion of his death, and the only cause of his condemnation! May we not justly cry 'Woe worth the time that ever we sinned'? O my brethren, let this image of Christ crucified be always printed in our hearts.

Chambers also cites J. A. W. Bennett, *Poetry of the Passion: Twelve Centuries of English Verse* (1982) pp. 151-2. The temptation to see *Friday* as three sonnets because its lines total forty-two should be resisted, since it does not possess the rhyme-scheme or argumentative structure of D.'s real sonnets: it is in couplets, and ll. 9, 23 and 37 do not exhibit the turn characteristic of D., where the sestet constitutes a logical consequence or rebuttal of the octet. (For another reason for there being forty-two lines in all, see note below on l. 42.) Martz 54-6 sees a three-part structure of 10-22-10 lines, corresponding to the Ignatian meditation's three parts, composition, analysis, and colloquy with God, corresponding to the three faculties ascribed to the soul, memory, understanding, and will. A. F. Bellette, *SP* 72 (1975) finds a nine-part structure of 8-2-4-6-2-6-4-2-8, also symmetrical, in which the opening impersonal, complacent voice is replaced in the close by the urgent and personal. However, a case could be argued for there being no symmetrical arrangement, the poem being seen as easily to fall into sections of

Heading The use of the man riding a horse to symbolize rational control over the lower passions, dating back to Plato's bad chariot-horse in *Phaedrus* 253e-4e, is explored by B. Westerweel in *Convention and Innovation in Literature* (Amsterdam 1989) pp. 105-22, though E. W. Sullivan II, *JDJ* 6 (1987) 1-8 sees in 'riding westward' an allusion to processing to death at Tyburn.

10-4-18-4-6 or 14-1-10, as mood and argument change. Martz and Bellette are discussed by S. L. Severance, *SP* 84 (1987) 24-43, adding the notions of the numbers ten and twenty-two, signifying perfection and completeness respectively (twenty-two being the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet: cp. *Lam.* and *Ps.* 119), and D.'s comment on numerology as 'harmless recreation and entertainment' in *Essays* (1952) p. 129. Ideas and phrases from *Friday* occur in J. Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae* 6. 32, to Sir Ed. B., 25 July 1635 (1645) 6. 50.

Text. Group II's heading, with its first-person pronoun, seems to derive from D. himself, and its members demand less correction than those of the other groups. *D.*, *C57*, *Lec* successively omit more and more lines. Since *TCD* is the best of Group II, requiring correction only in l. 13 from other members of its group and the two other groups, it is the base text here. Collations for the copy in the Conway papers thought by *IELM* pp. 247, 365 to be in Goodyer's hand have been included because of the possibility that Goodyer copied it directly from the text sent him by D., according to the Skipwith manuscript. It contains eight variants which are probably mistakes. Early but very defective copies by Sir Nathaniel Rich, one typically mistitled 'Meditation upon a Good Friday, ryding from London to Exceter, westward', are reproduced and discussed by R. S. Thomson, D. McKitterick, N. Barker, R. E. Alton and P. J. Croft in *TLS* (16 Aug., 20, 27 Sept. 1974) 869-73, 996-7, 1018, 1042-3.

LET man's soul be a sphere, and then in this
LTh'intelligence that moves, devotion is,

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, C57, Lec; Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; A23; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading: *II: Goodfriday. 1613. Riding to S' Edward Harbert in wales H49: ~ ~ ~ towards Wales. D, C57, Lec, Lut, O'F: A Meditation upon Good Friday. 1613. Dob: Good Friday: 1613 S96: Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward. 1633, 1635: no title A23*

1-8 The image is of a cosmic sphere additional to the existing number: like them in their individual orbits it is moved by an angelic intelligence, but as they are daily swept together willy-nilly from east to west by the *primum mobile*, so everyday impulses and the irresistible course of life reduce the soul's natural movement towards the spiritual east. Gardner (*DP* pp. 99, 156-7) points out that D. inverts the values put on the cosmic movements by Johannes de Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera*, in which the daily motion of the 'first mover' was rational, because it moved from east to west and back to east again, like rational thought from Creator to creatures and back to Creator, that of the spheres, in the other direction, irrational or sensual. However, she notes the discovery by R. Beck, *RES* 19 (1968) 166-9, of medieval precedent for D.

2 Th'intelligence that moves] Though a commonplace, the idea perhaps issued directly in Thomas Pestell's tribute to D. in 'On Dr T. Goad and Dr H. King' 10-12 as 'The late Copernicus in poetry, / That wrapped the whole earth round, and gave it sense / Of love to move by his intelligence' (*Poems*, ed. H. Buchan (1940) p. 36).

- And as the other spheres, by being grown
 Subject to foreign motions, lose their own,
 5 And being by others hurried every day
 Scarce in a year their natural form obey,
 Pleasure or business so our souls admit
 For their first mover, and are whirled by it.
 Hence is't that I am carried t'wards the West
 10 This day when my soul's form bends t'wards the East.
 There I should see a sun by rising set,

4 motions] motion 1633, 1635 9 t'wards] t'ward C57: to A23
 10 t'wards] t'ward H49, D, Lec, A23ae, 1633: to Lut, O'F, A23be, 1635
 11 I should] should I Lut, O'F, A23

3–6 In the Ptolemaic system, the most regular motion, caused by the outermost sphere of the prime mover, was the daily rotation of all heavenly bodies from east to west, orbiting the earth round a slightly displaced eccentric. This motion was, however, affected by the oscillation of the ecliptic between the tropics below and above the celestial equator, making Sun, Moon and planets higher or lower in the sky; and the revolutions of each planet round its own epicycle, of that epicycle round its deferent, and that deferent round its equant, accounting for the planet's appearance at times of moving north and south within the ecliptic either side of the Sun's path, and of going backwards during its 'retrograde days' ('foreign motions'), which might be as many as 140 in the case of Saturn. Of course, no planet returned to a position annually except the Sun (and the solar year is slightly shorter than the sidereal): the 'revolution period' of Mercury and Venus was less than a year, the others' more. D. here seems to regard a planet's epicycle as its 'natural form'. In *Ignatius* (1969) p. 17 D. puts Copernicus in Hell, but has Loyola concede that 'those opinions of yours may very well be true'. None the less, he finds the traditional system more apt to his argument here.

7 admit] submit to, give way to, permit, consent to.

8 mover] Of course, God was thought responsible for the *primum mobile* as its 'unmoved mover'.

9 t'wards the West] Metaphorically, towards death: in *Sickness* 11–15 this West meets the East of the Resurrection won for him by Christ's Passion and Atonement.

10 my soul's form bends] Paradoxically, what is in astronomical terms a retrograde deviation is in religious the proper motion. **bends]** 1. inclines; 2. bows submissively. **the East]** Cp. *Serm.* 6. 59 (April–June 1623): 'The name of Christ is *Oriens, The East*', repeated in 9. 49 (April 1629), and 10. 50–1 (1 Nov. ?1623); and D.'s epitaph (perhaps written by him), which ends '*aspicit eum cuius nomen est oriens*', 'He looks towards him whose name is the East.'

11 Expanded in *Serm.* 6. 261 (Trinity Sunday 1624): 'this *Lamb of God* . . . who hath complicated two wondrous works in one: To make *our Sun* to set at Noon, and to make *our Sun* to rise at Noon too'. For the traditional pun, cp. *Corona7Ascen* 2, *Resurrection* 4, *Christ* 15. P. F. O'Connell, *JDJ* 4 (1985) 19 argues that in wishing to focus on Christ as Sun D. thinks of the heliocentric theory, as in a letter to Goodyer from Mitcham: 'Methinks the new astronomy is thus applicable well: that we which are a little earth should rather move towards God than that he, which is fulfilling and can come no whither, should move towards us' (*Letters* p. 61).

- And by that setting endless day beget:
 But that Christ on this cross did rise and fall,
 Sin had eternally benighted all.
- 15 Yet dare I almost be glad I do not see
 That spectacle, of too much weight for me.
 Who sees God's face, that is self life, must die:
 What a death were it then to see God die!
 It made his own lieutenant, Nature, shrink:
- 20 It made his footstool crack, and the sun wink.
 Could I behold those hands, which span the Poles,
 And turn all spheres at once, pierced with those holes?
 Could I behold that endless height, which is
 Zenith to us and t'our antipodes,
- 25 Humbled below us? Or that blood, which is
 The seat of all our souls if not of his,

13 this *I, DC, TCC, III, 1633*: his *TCD, 1635*

20 crack] shake *A23* 22 turn] tune *I, S96, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635*

24 t'our] our *TCC, Lut, O'F, A23, 1633, 1635*

14 Sin . . . benighted all] Cp. *DivM7Little* 3.

15–32 Compare the trepidation in *HSW3Vex* 9.

17 *Exod.* 33. 20. **self life]** life itself.

18 Cp. *Serm.* 10. 243, *Deaths Duell* (25 Feb. 1631): 'That *God*, this *Lord*, the *Lord of life*, could die, is a strange contemplation'.

20 In the earthquake and solar eclipse of *Matt.* 27. 45, 51, *Mark* 15. 33, *Luke* 23. 44–5. **his footstool]** Earth: *Isa.* 61. 1, *Matt.* 5. 35, *Acts* 7. 49. **wink]** close its eye.

21–2 Procrastinating the fulfilment of *Zech.* 12. 10: 'They shall look upon me whom they have pierced' (Chambers). D. places the axis of the ancient universe at the centre of his poem.

21 those hands . . . Poles] Cp. *Isa.* 48. 13: 'My right hand hath spanned the heavens'.

22 turn/tune] The music of the spheres of Plato, *Republic* 10 (617b) did not require tuning since they possessed tones from the beginning, but they did need constant turning about the axis running between the Poles, a motive force supposed in medieval Christianity to be supplied by angels: cp. *Ecstasy* 51–2 where they are made analogous with the lovers.

24 In the material world, a zenith is relative to one particular observer.

26 'Blood being ordinarily received to be *sedes animae*, the seat and residence of the soul' and so, despite this poem's reservation, 'the seat of his soul, the matter of his spirits, the knot of his life' (*Serm.* 4. 294 (Christmas 1622)), but

when Christ commended his spirit, into the hands of his Father, this was a testimony, that he was *Verus homo*, that he had a soul; and in that he laid down his spirit, his soul (for no Man could take it from him), and took it again, at his pleasure, in his resurrection, this was a testimony, that he was *Verus Deus*, true God; and so says Saint *Augustine*, *Spiritus*, the spirit, that is *anima Christi*, the soul of Christ, did testify *De integritate Jesu*, all that belonged to Jesus, as he was *God*, and as he was *Man* (*Serm.* 5. 145, n. d.)

- Make dirt of dust? Or that flesh, which was worn
 By God for his apparel, ragg'd and torn?
 If on these things I durst not look, durst I
 30 Upon his miserable mother cast mine eye,
 Who was God's partner here, and furnished thus
 Half of that sacrifice which ransomed us?
 Though these things as I ride be from mine eye,
 They're present yet unto my memory,
 35 For that looks t'wards them; and thou look'st t'wards me,
 O Saviour, as thou hang'st upon the tree.
 I turn my back to thee but to receive
 Corrections, till thy mercies bid thee leave.
 O think me worth thine anger: punish me,
 40 Burn off my rusts and my deformity;

27 Make] Made *Dob, O'Fae, 1633, 1635* 30 Upon his miserable] On ~ distressed
 1635

35 t'wards] toward *A23* t'wards] toward *A23*

40 rusts] rust *TCC, A23, 1635*

27 **dirt]** mud.

29 **durst]** For this use of what is strictly a past tense form in a present indicative sense, cp. *Salisbury* 31.

30 **his . . . mother]** *John* 19. 25–7. **miserable]** pitiable. The extra foot was metrically permissible.

32 **Half]** Mary supplying the human part, God the divine. **that sacrifice]** Cp. *Eph.* 5. 2, *Heb.* 9. 26, 10. 12. **ransomed us]** *Matt.* 20. 28, 1 *Tim.* 2. 6.

33 **from]** absent from.

34 In *HolySgPresent* 2–8 'The picture of Christ crucified' is 'in my heart'.

memory] The name of Zechariah, whom D. might have had in mind in ll. 22 and 42, was traditionally interpreted as *memor* or *memoria Domini* 'reminder of the Lord' (Chambers, citing, e.g., Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 7. 8. 20 (*PL* 82. 285)).

35 **that looks t'wards them]** The memory was traditionally believed to reside in the back of the head. Cp. Spenser, *FQ* 2. 9. 54. 9–56. 1; Sir J. Davies, *Nosce Teipsum* 1100–1, from La Primaudaye, *Second Part of the French Academie* (1594) p. 162: 'Therefore it is not without the great wisdom and providence of God that the seat and shop thereof is in the hindermost part of the head, because it must look to the things that are past. So that we have in that part as it were a spiritual eye.' **thou look'st t'wards me]** On *Ps.* 66. 7 (66. 6 *BCP*), 'His eyes behold the nations', was based on the tradition that Jesus was crucified facing west.

36–8 **O Saviour . . . Corrections]** D. reinterprets appearances, since there is no escape if 'we turn away from him that speaketh from Heaven'—*Heb.* 12. 25.

36 **hang'st . . . tree]** Emphasising the humiliation: *Gal.* 3. 13.

39 Cp. *Serm.* 2. 87 (1618): 'Saint Bernard begs this anger at God's hands, *Irascaris mihi Domine, O Lord, be angry with me*'. See a fuller version in *Serm.* 2. 362 (3 March 1620), quoted in headnote on *HolyS10Batter*.

40 Echoing the cry of *DivM7Little* 10–14, and the metalwork imagery of *HolyS10Batter* 1–4. Cp. *Isa.* 1. 25, *Jer.* 6. 29, *Ezek.* 22. 20–1.

Restore thine image so much by thy grace
That thou may'st know me, and I'll turn my face.

To Mr George Herbert with my Seal of the Anchor and Christ

Date and Context. 1615? Gardner *DP* 139 writes:

I. A. Shapiro informed me that the only seals he had found on letters written before 1615 bear the 'sheaf of snakes'. The earliest example of a letter sealed with the emblematic seal of Christ upon the anchor is the letter written by Donne to Sir Edward Herbert, 23 January 1615, 'the very day wherein I took orders' (Hayward, pp. 324 and 465–6). . . . a bequest in Donne's will [Bald p. 564] points to his habit of using it until his death.

41 Restore thine image] Pererius 4. 53–4 (1601) p. 168 cites the refutation by Epiphanius out of, e.g., *Gen.* 9. 6 and *1 Cor.* 11. 7, of Origen's assertion that the image of God (*Gen.* 1. 27) was destroyed by the Fall, concluding that while the divinely given but natural quality of reason remained, the supernatural grace and glory did not. George Herbert reuses the phrase in his Donnean penitential sonnet 'The Sinner', preceding his own 'Good Friday' in which he prays that Jesus's distress may 'be my sun'.

42 thou may'st know me] 'Face to face, . . . then shall I know even as also I am known'—*1 Cor.* 13. 12. D. may have been aware that 1613 was his forty-second year for the months after his birthday. According to, e.g., W. Vaughan, *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health* (1600) p. 57, 'A climacterical year is every seventh year' (*DNB*), and in it were seen 'great alterations'. The 14th Expostulation of *Devotions* shows D.'s interest:

Shall we, O my God, determine our thoughts, and shall we never determine our disputations upon our climacterical years for particular men, . . . and never consider these in our *long life* . . . ? We have exercised our curiosity in observing that Adam, the eldest of the eldest world, died in his climacterical year, and Sem, the eldest son of the next world, in his; Abraham, the father of the faithful, in his, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the garden where the root of faith grew, in hers.

Bungus (1585; 1599) p. 512 opens his chapter on forty-two by saying that it designates the spiritual way to Christ through this life's pilgrimage (following Augustine, *Sermon* 257), finding forty-two also in the periods of three and a half years (forty-two calendar months) and 1,260 days (forty-two lunar months of—half a day less than—thirty days) scattered across the NT as periods of endurance, *Luke* 4. 25, *Jas* 5. 17, *Rev.* 11. 2–3, 12. 6, 13. 5. **know]** acknowledge. **I'll . . . face]** Finally fulfilling the command in *Zech.* 1. 3: "'Turn ye unto me," saith the Lord of hosts, "and I will turn unto you"' (Chambers).

Heading my Seal] Accepting Gardner's argument that this poem was not sent with a dying gift, as described by Walton, but simply in a letter which bore the impression of D.'s new seal. **Anchor]** A traditional emblem: cp. *Heb.* 6. 19: 'Hope we have as an anchor of the soul.'

She further notes that 'the opening lines plainly refer to a recent change of seal', 'Adopted in God's family, . . . unto new arms I go', and that he sends his gifts *sub*, 'under' his seal, not *cum*, 'with'. The concluding wish that Herbert may receive 'great bounties' under the royal seal suggest that he was still a courtier with hopes of secular advancement. Walton, who knew D. only in the latter's later years, seems to have been unaware of his first use of the device: Walton's story, told in *Life of John Donne* (1658 p. 83), runs:

Not long before his death, he caused to be drawn the figure of the body of Christ extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the cross, his varying no otherwise than to affix him not to a cross but to an anchor, the emblem of hope. This he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in heliotrope stones, and set in gold; and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends, to be used as seals or rings, and kept as memorials of him and of his affection to them.

1650 prints a formal Latin poem and three epigrams on D.'s gift as follows, with translations (or, in the case of the third poem, a distant approximation), as for D., on the facing page:

In Sacram Anchoram Piscatoris
G. Herbert

QUOD *Crux nequibat fixa, clavique additi,*
Tenere Christum, scilicet, ne ascenderet,
Tuive Christum devocans facundia
Ultra loquendi tempus, addit anchora.
Nec hoc abunde est tibi, nisi certae anchorae
Addas sigillum, nempe symbolum suae
Tibi debet unda et terra certitudinis.

Quondam fessus amor loquens amato
Tot et tanta loquens amica, scripsit;
Tandem et fessa manus, dedit sigillum.

Suavis erat qui scripta, dolens, lacerando recludi
Sanctius in Regno Magni credebatur amoris
(In quo fas nihil est rumpi) donare sigillum.
Munde fluas fugiasque licet, nos nostrarque fixi:
Deridet motus sancta catena tuos.

ALTHOUGH the Cross could not Christ here detain,
Although nailed unto't, but he ascends again,
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
But only while thou speak'st, this anchor will;
Nor canst thou be content unless thou to
This certain anchor add a seal, and so
The water and the earth both unto thee
Do owe the symbol of their certainty.

When love, being weary, made an end
 Of kind expressions to his friend,
 He writ; when's hand could write no more,
 He gave the seal, and so left o'er.

How sweet a friend was he who, being grieved
 His letters were broke rudely up, believed
 'Twas more secure in great love's commonweal,
 Where nothing should be broke, to add a seal!

Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure:
 This holy cable's of all storms secure.

Walton's 1658 version is characteristically free. In his 1670 *Life of Herbert*, Walton gives as 'found wrapped up with that seal which was by the Doctor given him' alternative versions of the first triplet and concluding couplet of 1650's Latin:

When my dear friend could write no more,
 He gave this seal, and so gave o'er.

When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure:
 This anchor keeps my faith, that me, secure.

Gardner *DP* p. 145 assumes the title, meaning 'G. Herbert on the Fisherman's Sacred Anchor', refers to D. as one of 'the fishers of men' (*Matt.* 4. 19 etc.). The second and third poems refer to D. in the past tense, indicating they are posthumous, and refer to the gift of a seal, not a ring. Formally, the Latin poems 'consist of seven iambic trimeters [two iambs to the foot], three hendecasyllables [permissibly, the third line has twelve syllables], three hexameters, and an elegiac couplet' (Gardner pp. 143–4). Gardner argues that Herbert may first have written the English couplets given by Walton, *Herbert* 1670, then turned them into Latin, and finally rendered the Latin in English. She assumes that all the poems were kept together with the first gift of the ring and the dying gift of a seal, so printed in 1650 by John Donne jr (with the exception of the 1670 couplets, thought to be unnecessary duplication), and thence understood as one poem.

Analogues. A contrast typical of D. is with *Ring*.

Text. That given here follows Grierson's emendations in the title and ll. 5, 17, 44 of the text first presented in 1650. All subsequent versions derived from 1650, including, presumably, the erratic transcription in Walton 1658 (his copy of 1650 now at Harvard was according to his inscription sent him by the publisher on 7 Nov. 1650—Keynes p. 205). As Gardner p. 138 points out, 'The fact that they [D.'s verses] first appeared with Herbert's points to their having been preserved by Herbert among his papers.'

- Q**UI prius assuetus serpentum fasce tabellas
 Signare (haec nostra symbola parva domus)
 Adscitus domui Domini, patrioque relicto
 Stemmate, nanciscor stemmata jure nova.
 5 Hinc mihi Crux primo quae fronti impressa lavacro,
 Finibus extensis, anchora facta patet.
 Anchorae in effigiem Crux tandem desinit ipsam,
 Anchora fit tandem Crux tolerata diu.
 Hoc tamen ut fiat, Christo vegetatur ab ipso
 10 Crux, et ab affixo est anchora facta Iesu.
 Nec natalitiis penitus serpentibus orbor,
 Non ita dat Deus ut auferat ante data.
 Qua sapiens, dos est; qua terram lambit et ambit,
 Pestis; at in nostra fit medicina Cruce,
 15 Serpens, fixa Cruci si sit natura; Crucique
 A fixo, nobis gratia tota fluat.
 Omnia cum Crux sint, Crux anchora facta, sigillum
 Non tam dicendam hoc, quam catechismus erit.
 Mitto nec exigua, exigua sub imagine, dona,
 20 Pignora amicitiae, et munera; vota, preces,
 Plura tibi accumulat, sanctus cognominis, ille
 Regia qui flavo dona sigillat equo.

- A**SHEAF of snakes used heretofore to be
 My seal, the crest of our poor family:
 25 Adopted in God's family, and so
 Our old coat lost, unto new arms I go.
 The Cross (my seal at baptism) spread below,
 Does by that form into an anchor grow.

Sources collated: 1650, Walton 1658 (for first two and a half lines of Latin, 25–46 of English)

Base text: 1650

Select variants:

Heading my Seal Gardner: one of my Seal 1650: one of my Seals Walton Christ]
 Crest Walton

1 fasce] falce Walton 5 fronti Grierson: fronte 1650 17 facta Grierson: fixa 1650
 24 the] which is the Walton 26 Our] My Walton unto] into Walton
 27 at] in Walton

5 fronti/fronte] Correcting the Latin.

17 facta/fixa] Making sense of the Latin in accordance with the English.

24 crest] D. is not arrogating to himself an unofficial coat of arms.

25 Adopted . . . family] Ordained.

26 coat] Contradicting l. 24 in the English, but in the Latin of l. 4 *jure nova*, 'in a new right'.

27 The Cross . . . baptism] See headnote on date of *Cross* and note on l. 16.

- Crosses grow anchors: bear, as thou should'st do,
 30 Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too.
 But he that makes our crosses anchors thus
 Is Christ, who there is crucified for us.
 Yet may I with this my first serpents hold:
 God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old:
 35 The serpent may, as wise, my pattern be:
 My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me,
 And as he rounds the Earth to murder sure,
 My death he is, but on the Cross my cure.
 Crucify nature then, and then implore
 40 All grace from him crucified there before.
 When all is Cross, and that Cross anchor grown,
 This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
 Under that little seal great gifts I send:
 Wishes and pray'rs, pawns and fruits of a friend.

33 may I with this] with this I may *Walton*

38 My death he is] He is my death *Walton*

44 Wishes *Grierson: Works 1650: Both works Walton*

29–30 Cp. *Cross* 25–64, and *Rom.* 5. 3–4: 'Tribulation worketh patience, and patience, experience, and experience, hope', and *Serm.* 3. 166 (?Nov. 1620): 'Afflictions are our spiritual nourishment'.

34 Cp. *Matt.* 13. 12: 'Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance', and Cicero, *Letters to Friends* 318. 2, on Caesar's creating new obligations but preferring to let former benefactions stand.

35–8 For this double signification of the serpent, cp. *Serm.* 10. 189–90 (n. d.): 'The creeping Serpent . . . is Craft; the exalted Serpent, the crucified Serpent, is Wisdom; . . . That creeping Serpent, Satan, is war, . . . The crucified Serpent, Christ Jesus, is peace. . . . The creeping Serpent eats our dust, the strength of our bodies, in sicknesses, and our glory in the dust of the grave' (Gardner). R. J. Frontain, *MP* 81 (1984) 287 quotes *Devotions* 10 Prayer:

And since sin, in the nature of it, retains so much of the author of it, that it is a *Serpent*, insensibly insinuating itself into my soul, let thy *Brazen Serpent* (the contemplation of thy Son crucified for me) be evermore present to me for my recovery against the sting of the first *Serpent*, that . . . so I may have a *Serpent* against a *Serpent*, the *Wisdom of the Serpent* against the *Malice of the Serpent*.

35 Christ bids his followers, *Matt.* 10. 16, 'Be ye therefore wise as serpents'.

36 he feeds on dust] Fulfilling the primal curse, *Gen.* 3. 14.

37 Cp. *Job* 1. 7: 'Then the Lord said unto Satan, "Whence comest thou?" And Satan answered the Lord, saying, "From compassing the Earth"' (*GV*); and *1 Pet.* 5. 8: 'Your adversary the Devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.'

39 Crucify nature] Cp. *Gal.* 5. 24: 'They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts.'

42 catechism] epitome of belief.

44 Wishes/Works] Making sense of the English in accordance with the Latin.

45 And may that saint which rides in our Great Seal,
To you, who bear his name, great bounties deal.

45 And] Oh *Walton* which rides in] that ~ on *Walton*
46 who] that *Walton* great bounties] large bounty *Walton*

Sonnet: 'Since she whom I loved'

Date. Aug. 1617 to c. 1619? It stands outside the sequences *DivM* and *HolyS* both chronologically and thematically. See note on l. 1.

Analogues. A long tradition of aging men turning to religion to replace abated passion is exemplified in Dante (in the *Vita Nuova* and *Paradiso*) and Petrarch (e.g., *Rime sparse* 72), who like D. claimed to reach heavenly love through earthly. Cp. the last of Sidney's *Certain Sonnets*: 'Leave me, O love which reachest but to dust, / And thou, my mind, aspire to higher things'.

Text. Found only in the Westmoreland MS, which Alan MacColl (Gardner *DP* p. lxxviii) showed to have been transcribed by D.'s friend Rowland Woodward, and thus to be of high authority.

SINCE she whom I loved hath paid her last debt
To nature, and to hers and my good is dead,

Source and base text: *W*

Heading: *ed.*

45–6 D. seems to have mistaken the equestrian figure of the monarch brandishing a sword on the counterséal (reverse) of the Great Seals of James I (and Charles I) for that of St George, who appears on neither side: see A. B. Wyon, *Great Seals of England*, nos 114, 116, 118, 120 (1887) pll. XXIV–VII. The Privy Seal and Signet were simply armorial. D.'s error was traditional: see John Phillips, *Reformation of Images* (1973) p. 92 for Thomas Cromwell's reproof and the Bp of Winchester's excuse in *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. J. A. Muller (Cambridge 1933), p. 289.

1 she whom I loved] D. refers to his wife as the one he 'loved most' in a letter to Magdalen Herbert dated by Walton 'July 11. 1607', and for those preferring to think of D. as an exclusively devoted husband, it is easy to assume that the sonnet refers to Ann Donne, although there is no external evidence for this. Nevertheless, the tenor of the poem does accord with *Germany* 15–20 and its condition that God free his soul 'from loving more', probably punning on his dead wife's maiden name as in *Christ* (see also Morris 1973), so this sonnet may be dated between her death on 15 Aug. 1617 and his writing of *Germany* in early May 1619. P. F. O'Connell *PQ* 60 (1981) 331–4 argues ingeniously from close physical examination of *W* that a late date of composition for this sonnet does not entail a late date of copying for all the others.

1–2 debt/To nature] In Latin the phrase for dying, and a commonplace of consolation: cp., e.g., Plutarch, *Consolatory Oration Sent unto Apollonius* 10 (107A; Engl. (1603) p. 516); Marlowe, *Edward II* 4. 7. 109.

And her soul early into Heaven ravishèd,
 Wholly in heav'nly things my mind is set.
 5 Here, the admiring her my mind did whet

2 to hers . . . dead] 'for her good and mine'. Since l. 3 expresses the belief that she is in Heaven, this phrase must signify that her death profits both of them: she is in bliss, he is freed from earthly love. Cp. the consolation of *BulstrodeLanguage* 39–40: 'God took her hence lest some of us should love / Her . . . him and his laws above'.

3 early] In his epitaph for his wife (printed in Milgate *EAE* p. 78, translation p. 215) D. says she died in her thirty-third year, i.e., was thirty-two, twelve years younger than he. **ravishèd]** As D. asks God to do to him in *HolySioBatter* 14; here there is a Christianized re-enactment of Pluto's abduction of Proserpina and Jupiter's of Ganymede (e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 5. 385–424, 10. 155–61).

4–6 She has been like one of the earthly priests who in *Heb.* 8. 5 'serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things' (*AV*).

4 Literal translation of Petrarch, *Rime in morte di Laura* 75, 'Gli angeli eletti e l'animi beate' 13: 'Ond'io voglie e pensier tutti al ciel ergor', as noted by J. Bevan, *N&Q* 243 (1998) 34. **heav'nly things]** Identified with Lady Huntingdon in *Huntingdon* 22.

5–6 In a sermon at Paul's Cross on 24 March 1617, less than five months before his wife's death, D. had said of love of women that 'in this idolatrous love of the Creature, love hath wings, and flies not; it flies not upward, it never ascends to the contemplation of the Creator, in the Creature'. However, on 14 Dec. 1617, four months after her death he relayed Augustine's view that love of a person might 'raise us to the contemplation of the Creator' (though he censures all love for 'thyself, or anybody principally' as hatred of self, beloved, and God if not 'for Gods sake'), and in a marriage-sermon shortly before 12 Feb. 1620 quoted Augustine again on marriage as 'a mystical representation of that union of two natures in Christ, and of him to us, and to his Church'. In ?1621, he preached that 'God stoops even to the words of our foul and unchaste love, that thereby he might raise us to the heavenly love of himself, and his Son.' At Easter 1628 he quoted Jerome: "'Let us meditate upon no other things on Earth than we would be glad to think on in Heaven": and this consideration would put many frivolous and many fond thoughts out of our mind, if men and women would love one another but so as that love might last in Heaven' (*Serm.* 1. 200, 243; 2. 340; 3. 318; 8. 234).

5 admiring her] For the younger D. of *Negative* 1–4 and *WoodwardTHail* 4, and the mature elegist of *Funeral Elegy* 63, 'admiring' applied to 'virtue or the mind', 'wit and art'. In the epitaph he ascribes to Ann Donne the highest virtues as wife and mother, but intellectual companionship was something he could not admire her for, as he made plain in a letter of 10 Aug. 1614 to her brother Sir Robert More: 'When I began to apprehend, that even to myself, who can relieve myself upon books, solitariness was a little burdensome, I believed it would be much more so to my wife if she were left alone', though he goes on to emphasise that 'we had not one another at so cheap a rate, as that we should ever be weary of one another' (Folger MS. L. b. 539). **my mind did whet]** Cp. the regret in *BedfordWritten* 39–40 that 'we have dulled our mind, it hath no ends: / Only the body's busy'.

To seek thee, God: so streams do show the head.
 But though I've found thee, and thou my thirst hath fed,
 A holy thirsty dropsy melts me yet.
 But why should I beg more love, whenas thou
 10 Dost woo my soul, for hers off'ring all thine?
 And dost not only fear lest I allow
 My love to saints and angels, things divine,

6 streams . . . head] In *S of S* 4. 15 the spouse is likened to 'a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon' (*AV*), associated in commentaries such as the Geneva Bible with God as source of the water of life of *John* 4. 10–14 etc. as well as 'head of all principality and power' (*Col.* 2. 10).

8 As in *Pss.* 42. 1–2, 63. 1–3 (*BCP*), 143. 6, despite the promises in *John* 4. 14, 6. 35, 'whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst'; 'he that believeth on me shall never thirst' (*AV*). **dropsy]** D. means the thirst associated with oedema, swelling due to retention of water in the tissues, caused by cirrhosis of the liver or kidney failure (which may cause abnormal thirst), both often caused by heavy drinking (which also produces dehydration and thence thirst). This well-known cause, as well as the metaphysical object, makes the qualification 'holy' necessary here. For this paradoxical 'holy dropsy', cp. *Corona Deign* 11–12, *SecAn* 45–8, and the 'holy discontent' of *DivM3Sighs* 3.

9–10 thou / Dost woo my soul] The idea of Christ as wooer was sanctioned by Christian applications of *S. of S*, exemplified in, e.g., the *GV* preface:

Salomon by most sweet and comfortable allegories and parables describeth the perfect love of Jesus Christ . . . and the faithful of his Church, which he hath sanctified and appointed to be his spouse . . . So that here is declared the singular love of the bridegroom toward the bride, . . . Also the earnest affection of the Church, which is inflamed with the love of Christ, desiring to be more and more joined to him in love, and not to be forsaken for any spot or blemish that is in her.

In *FirAn* 167–8 God's descent to earth as Christ is accordingly a wooing of man.

9 more] Not every use of the word need be read as a pun: in the context here it would not make sense: in 7–8 D. has begged for more of God's love, and now reproaches himself for ignoring God's existing offer. God could not be offering Ann's soul in exchange for his.

10 my soul, for hers off'ring] As in previous editions (Bennett, Gardner), *W*'s semi-colon after 'hers' has been removed, and a comma inserted after 'soul' to make sense of the line. There is no question of God wooing him, on her behalf, to join her in heaven, 'For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage' (*Matt.* 22. 30, etc.)

12 love to saints and angels] Invocation of saints was forbidden to Protestants (see e.g., *BCP* Article 22), and *Coloss.* 2. 18 was interpreted as warning against the worship of angels. Cp. *Litany* 37–117 and his justification to Goodyer (*Letters* p. 34): 'That neither the Roman Church need call it defective, because it abhors not the particular mention of the blessed Triumphers in heaven; nor the Reformed can discreetly accuse it, of attributing more than a rectified devotion ought to do.' In *SecAn* 511–12 he characterises France as 'a place where mis-devotion frames / A thousand prayers to saints whose very names / The ancient

But in thy (tender) jealousy dost doubt
Lest the world, flesh, yea, Devil, put thee out?

To Christ

Date and Context. c. 1619? The final resolution in l. 18, the content of ll. 3–4, 7–8, 9–10, 14, matching that in sermons of those years, and the punning on his dead wife’s maiden name, as in *Germany* (May 1619) 19–20, where D. is still begging, ‘Seal, then, this bill of my divorce to all’, after the lamentation and prayer of *HSW1Since* (1617), suggest a date after those two poems. The context is revealed by the ends of the last two lines of each stanza to be D.’s continued grief for the death of his wife, regretted as a distraction from total devotion to his God in *HSW1Since* and *Germany*. Lines 9–10 confirm that this theme is central among all the other anxieties of the poem: Original Sin (in which the archetypal man preferred his wife to God), a habit of sin, love-poems, nuptial concupiscence, despair. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 76 ([1618]): ‘Though *Original Sin* be my sin, and sickness, . . . yet God comes not to this, *Non sanitas* [Ps. 38. 3], “No soundness in my flesh”, nor to this, *non pax*, “no rest in my bones”, till I have made sin, *my sin*, by *act*, and *habit* too, by *doing* it, and *using* to *do it*. . . . for that *one beloved sin*, especially when that

church knew not’ while justifying his addressing himself to the soul of Elizabeth Drury. D. had of course made saints of the lovers in *Canonization*, and associated them with angels in *Air*.

13 thy . . . jealousy ‘tender’ to distinguish the caring NT God from the vengefully possessive figure of *Exod.* 20. 5, *Deut.* 4. 24, 5. 9, 6. 15, *Josh.* 24. 19. Cp. 2 *Cor.* 11. 2: ‘For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ’. D. elaborated in a marriage sermon, 30 May 1621 (*Serm.* 3. 248): ‘As jealousy is a care and not a suspicion, God is not ashamed to protest of himself that he is a jealous God [*Exod.* 20. 5] . . . Jealousy that implies care, and honour, and counsel, and tenderness, is rooted in God’, but his usual estimation of divine jealousy is noted with regard to uxorious love in an undated sermon:

God is not ashamed of being jealous; he does not only pronounce that he is a jealous God, but he desires to be known by none other name, ‘The Lord whose name is jealous is a jealous God’ [*Exod.* 34. 14] . . . So jealous a God, is God, so jealous, as that in Adam’s case, for over-loving his own wife, for his over-tender compassion of her, for eating the forbidden fruit, . . . lest he should deject her into an inordinate and desperate melancholy, and so make her incapable of God’s mercy, God threw the first man, and in him all, out of Paradise, out of both Paradises, out of that of rest, and plenty here, and that of Joy, and Glory hereafter (*Serm.* 10. 180).

Cp. *Germany* 18.

14 the world . . . Devil Prayed against in the weekly *BCP* Litany, renounced by D. at baptism (vicariously) and confirmation, so that he thinks to escape them on his deathbed in *DivM6Play* 14.

Heading See headnote on text.

my *sin* comes to have a *face* . . . then come these calamities, “no soundness in the flesh, no rest in the bones”, to their height.’ D.’s ecstatic conviction of salvation (so long as ‘my conscience do not tell me, that I belie mine own state’) is expressed at Easter 1619 (*Serm.* 2. 210–12). Walton (see next note) assumes *To Christ* was composed in 1623 at the same time as *Sickness*, to which his anecdote might more aptly apply with its musical allusions in stanza 1 and pervasive ‘thoughts of joy’ and faith rather than the pleas for forgiveness and fearful hope of the present poem.

Analogues. In the second version of his *Life* (1658), *CH* p. 117, Walton alleged that D. ‘caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the *Organ* by the *Choristers* of that *Church* in his own hearing, especially at the Evening Service; and at his return from his Customary Devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, ‘The words of this *Hymn* have restored me to the same thoughts of joy that possessed my soul in my sickness when I composed it.’ And ‘Oh the power of *Church music!* That *Harmony* added to it has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude.’ Walton is of course scoring points on behalf of Anglican music against Puritan opponents, after Oliver Cromwell’s death in 1658 evidently on the way out. *Christ* was set by John Hilton (1599–1657; BL MS Egerton 2013, f. 13v; Grierson 2. 252, Gardner *ESS* pp. 246), and Pelham Humfrey (1647–1674), *Harmonia Sacra* (1688) p. 51–2; Gardner *ESS* p. 247, *Influence* pp. 153–4, 156–7). According to P. C. McGuire, *SEL* 14 (1974) 70, *Christ* ‘corresponds precisely to the instructions for prayers on one’s deathbed found in the devotional manuals and the books of *ars moriendi*’, i.e., confession of sins as an antidote to despair. As J. T. Shawcross pointed out in *Intentionality and the New Traditionalism* (1991) p. 71, *Christ* is termed ‘more correctly a prayer’ than a hymn.

Text. In ll. 15–16 the printed texts extend the personalisation begun in Group III, necessitating the change of title. The MSS are preferable since it is always Christ who is seated in judgement, according to, e.g., *John* 5. 22, 27, 2 *Cor.* 5. 10, the Creeds, and Christian art such as the Doom over many a chancel arch. For D.’s acceptance of this dogma, see *Serm.* 1. 255 (20 Feb. 1618), 2. 195, 204, 290 (21 Feb., 28 March, 19 Dec. 1619), etc. The Latin title of Group III and readings in ll. 2, 5, 7 and 15 are perhaps authorial, but slightly less satisfactory, and so perhaps an earlier draft. *TCD* is the only MS free of inferior readings, so has been adopted as base text. T.–L. Pebworth, *South Central Review* 4 (1987) 16–34, argues that the three texts are all authorial.

WILT thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which is my sin, though it were done before?

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O’F; 1633, 1635*
Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading *To Christ TCC, TCD, Dob: Christo Saluatori S96, Lut, O’F: A Hymn to God the Father 1633, 1635*

2 is] was *S96, 1633, 1635* were] was *III*

1–2 A reference either to Original Sin, disobedient eating of the forbidden fruit, *Gen.* 3, to *Ps.* 51. 5, ‘And in sin hath my mother conceived me’, or both. Cp. *Lam* 361–2.

Wilt thou forgive those sins through which I run,
 And do them still though still I do deplore?
 5 When thou hast done, thou hast not Donne,
 For I have More.

Wilt thou forgive that sin by which I've won

3 those sins] that sin 1633, 1635 4 them] run 1633, 1635

5 thou hast not] I have ~ III

7 by which] which 1633, 1635 I've] I have TCC, 1633, 1635: I III

3-4, 9-10 Cp. *Serm.* 1. 245, on *Prov.* 8. 17, preached on 14 Dec. 1617, four months almost to the day after his wife's death: 'We may lose him [Christ], by suffering our thoughts to look back with pleasure upon the sins which we have committed, or to look forward with greediness upon some sin that is now in our purpose and prosecution'.

3-4 Cp. *Serm.* 8. 208 (1628):

He that passes from sin to sin without repentance, . . . still leaves an enemy behind him; and though he have no present assault from his former enemy, no temptation to any act of his former sin, yet he is still in the midst of his enemies; under condemnation of his past, as well as of his present sins; as unworthy a receiver of the Sacrament, for the sins of his youth done forty years ago, if those sins were never repented, though so long discontinued, as for his ambition, or covetousness, or indevotion of this present day.

3 those sins . . . run] Cp. *Prov.* 6. 18: ' . . . feet that be swift in running to mischief.'

4 deplore] lament.

5, 6, 11 Donne, More] D.'s conviction of the deep significance of names was biblically sanctioned, e.g., *Serm.* 1. 310-12 on 'Jesus' and 'Emanuel' in *Isa.* 7. 14, *Matt.* 1. 21-3. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 79 ([1618]): 'But Man hath a fourth name too in Scripture, *Enosh*, and that signifies nothing but *misery* . . . *Adam* is *blushing*, *Ish* is *lamenting*, *Geber* is *oppressing*, *Enosh* is all that; . . . *Enosh* is . . . a man miserable, in particular, by the misery of "*sickness*".' See also *Serm.* 2. 200 (Easter 1619). In that age delighting and skilled in words, consciousness of the punning significance of D.'s own name was shown in an anonymous dog-Latin poem, rendering it as *Factus*, 'Done', and, of course, by D. himself in the identical concluding phrase of the verse-letter *WottonKisses*. Even the scribe of the Lincoln's Inn Council minutes, solemnly recording D.'s election as Divinity Reader in 1616, earned the following footnote on his version of 'done': 'W. P. Baildon, the editor of the printed selections from the Society's *Black Books*, comments justly at this point that "The capital letter and the spelling seem to show that the pun is intentional." Donne's friends could no more keep from punning on his name than could he himself, or his twentieth-century readers' (G. R. Potter, 'Introduction', *Serm.* 2. 2. n. 4). For D.'s own long-standing habit of punning on his own name and his wife's (More) see Morris 1973, *Name* 9-10, 17, 40 and notes, *WottonKisses* 70, *HSW1* Since 9, *Germany* 9. Spelling out both names, then one, then none, shows the gradual reduction of the speaker's burden and completion of his redemption.

5-6 Even when Christ the Judge has shown mercy on his general sins, his intensely personal one remains, and means he is not all Christ's: see *Germany* 19-22.

7-8 Cp. the misgivings (temporarily) felt by Sir John Harington about his often amusing and erotic version of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591):

Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
 Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
 10 A year or two, but wallowed in a score?
 When thou hast done, thou hast not Donne,
 For I have more.

Being almost proud in mine own conceit that I had in these my young years employed my idle hours to the good liking of many, and those of the better sort [e.g., in translating Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*] I happened to read in a grave and godly book [E. Bunny's Protestant adaptation of R. Parsons, *Booke of Christian Exercise, Appertaining to Resolution*, 'Of the accounting day', in one of the fifteen 1585 edns] these words: '... The torments of... wicked heretics are continually augmented by the numbers of them who from time to time are corrupted with their seditious and pestilent writings... The like they hold of dissolute poets... which have left behind them lascivious, wanton, and carnal devices' (1972, pp. xxx, 558).

D. made public his fear in *Serm.* 2. 88 (1618): 'Their sin that shall sin by occasion of any wanton writings of mine, will be my sin, though they come after. Woeful riddle: sin is but a privation, and yet there is not such another positive possession; sin is nothing, and yet there is nothing else;... I sinned in the first man that ever was, and, but for the mercy of God, in something that I have said or done might sin, that is, occasion sin, in the last man that ever shall be.' Cp. *Serm.* 10. 991 (n. d.): 'They that write wanton books, or make wanton pictures, have additions of torment as often as other men are corrupted with their books, or their pictures'; and 9. 61 (April 1629) on being haunted by 'the ghosts of those sinners, whom I made sinners, ... reproaching to my conscience, the heavy judgements that I have brought upon them', and, 'when my appetite is dead to some particular sin, the memory and sinful delight of past sins, the ghosts of those sins'.
 9–10 Central lines, both in position and thematically, referring to his Dec. 1601–15 Aug. 1617 marriage to Ann More. Cp. *Serm.* 1. 224 (2 Nov. 1617) on 'The slipperiness of habitual sin, with that note of S. Gregory, "... Sinful thoughts produced into actions, are speaking sins; sinful actions continued into habits, are crying sins."' Sex within marriage was not to be enjoyed for its own sake: in the 'Solemnization of Matrimony' the priest started by reminding the congregation that it 'is commended by Saint Paul to be honourable among all men, and therefore is not by any to be enterprised... wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beasts that have no understanding' (*BCP*), echoing the hostility of, e.g., Luther and Calvin to sexual pleasure even within marriage. Cp. D.'s favourite church father, Augustine, *Citie of God* 14. 16, 23–6. More particularly, in *Serm.* 1. 205 (24 March 1617) D. exhorts his hearers 'to look inward and consider... whether you have not mingled licentiousness in that which God gave you for a remedy against fornication', and asserts in a marriage sermon (Feb. 1620) that 'The fitness that goes through all is a *sober continency*, for without that... marriage is but a continual fornication sealed with an oath'; on 1 Nov. ?1623, he speaks of 'The spirit of fornication, that is, some remembrance of the wantonness of my youth' still contaminating even his private prayers (*Serm.* 3. 346–7, 10. 56). Cp. 'A man may be a drunkard at home with his own wine, and never go out to a tavern: a man may be an adulterer in his wife's bosom, though he seek not strange women' (*Serm.* 5. 120).

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
 My last thread, I shall perish on the shore:
 15 Swear by thyself that at my death this Sun
 Shall shine as it shines now and heretofore;
 And, having done that, thou hast done,
 I have no more.

15 Swear] But 1633, 1635 this] thy III, 1633, 1635 sun] son 1633, 1635
 16 it] he 1633, 1635 18 have] fear 1633, 1635

13 a sin of fear] In *Rev.* 21. 8 the fearful are lumped together with the 'unbelieving, and the abominable' etc., who shall suffer 'the second death.'

13-14 when I've spun / My last thread] D., perhaps unintentionally, arrogates to himself a task in Christianity outside the individual's control, and ascribed in classical literature to the Fates, particularly Clotho, 'the spinster', e.g., Ovid, *Ibis* 244.

14 perish on the shore] An image perhaps reinforced in D.'s mind by crossing the Channel in Lord Doncaster's embassy in 1619, but cp. the final prayer of the 1617 sermon on *Prov.* 8. 17: '... thou hast not given us over to a final perishing in the works of night and darkness' (*Serm.* 1. 250f.). While the primary image is of one who has struggled to the end of life in the 'world's sea' (*WottonKisses* 53, *FirAn* 225; and cp. *Pss.* 130. 1: 'Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord' (*BCP*), and 69. 1-2, 15-16) only to die in sight of rescue, the lack of definition allows a rich field of classical and biblical association: the shore of the Styx on which the dead wait for Charon to ferry them across to an afterlife, specifically, perhaps, Aeneas' helmsman, Palinurus, the shade of whose unburied corpse washed up on a shore he meets in Hades (*Aen.* 6. 337-91); the image of the soul as water breaking as a wave and ceasing to be, e.g., *Job* 14. 10-12: 'Man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up, so man lieth down, and riseth not'. Cp. the sixteenth-century proverb (Tilley H219), exemplified in Harington's *Ariosto*, *Orlando Furioso* 46. 3 ('perish in the port'), and Daniel, *Hymens Triumph* 1. 1. 15-17 (1615) p. 1: 'And then to be undone, when all was done, / To perish in the haven, after all / Those ocean suff'rings.' Daniel initially—and relevantly to this poem's theme—echoes the observation in Dec. 1602 that 'Donne is undone' recorded by Manningham p. 150 and the epigram 'John Donne, Anne Donne, Undone' (see Bald p. 139).

15 Swear by thyself] Cp. *Hebr.* 6. 13: 'When God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself' (*AV*), referring to *Gen.* 22. 16.

15-16 that . . . shine] Implying belief that the soul of the departed instantly enters the presence of God: see note on *DivM6Play* 7. The sun is the life, the Son is the Life, i.e., eternal.

15 this Sun] Cp. *Friday* 11-12. The traditional Christian pun on sun/son (based on *Mal.* 4. 2) was used by D. on Easter Sunday and Monday and on Midsummer Day 1622: 'I shall see the Son of God, the Sun of glory, and shine myself as that Sun shines'. On All Saints' Day (1 Nov. [?1623]) he implied a possible particular meaning here: 'when thy sun, thy soul, comes to set in thy deathbed, the Son of Grace shall suck it up into glory' (*Serm.* 4. 65, 104, 162; 10. 52; cp. 3. 120; 8. 231, 9. 407). In *Serm.* 7. 423 (6 May 1627), 'I have assurance that the Sun, the Sun of Righteousness will arise to me.'

17 thou hast done] D. used a similar punning phrase simply to conclude *WottonKisses*; here it is part of the scheme and theme of the whole poem. God will at last have D. all to himself.

Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke his Sister

Date and context. Oct.–Nov. 1621. Novarr (1980) p. 157 connects the writing of this poem with the death of the Countess of Pembroke (mentioned in ll. 52–3) on 25 Sept. 1621, and sees it as a bid by D. for patronage from her son, William, 3rd earl, in his campaign for the Deanship of Paul's: it is 'obviously . . . an encomiastic offering'. D. was already known to the Lord Pembroke, who in May 1619 asked Lord Doncaster to 'commend my best love to Mr Doctor Donne', who was the ambassador's chaplain in Germany (Bald p. 351). The Sidneyan Psalms were widely known in MS, but only a few had perhaps been printed by 1621 (see Ringler in Sidney, *Poems* (1962) p. 500). John Davies of Hereford transcribed them for the next Lady Pembroke (N. Kinnamon, *EMS* 2 (1990) 139–61), and in the epistle dedicatory of *Muses Sacrifice* (1612; *Works* 2. 4. 5) commends the Sidneyan Countess and her fellow dedicatees and writers, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and Elizabeth, Lady Carey, in that 'you press the press with little you have made' (Love (1993) p. 56).

Analogues. *Sidney* is most closely comparable to the commendatory poems usually prefixed to volumes.

Text. There are only two early sources: the MS is more plausible than the printed edition, which was in this case probably set from it.

ETERNAL God (for whom whoever dare
Seek new expressions, do the circle square,

Sources collated: *O'F*, 1635

Base text: *O'F*

Select variants: 2 Seek 1635: ~s *O'F*

1–4 Cp. *Serm.* 6. 175 (Christmas 1624): 'God is a circle himself, and he will make thee one; Go not thou about to square either circle, to bring that which is equal in itself, to angles, and corners, into dark and sad suspicions of God, or of thyself, that God can give, or thou canst receive no more Mercy, than thou hast had already.'

2 circle square] find the ratio of the radius of a circle to the side of a square of the same area. It was a proverbially endless occupation: D. jests in *Ignatius* (1967) p. 65 that 'of those that pretended they had squared the circle, the number was infinite' in Hell; and cp. Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 'To the Reader' (1596; *Works* 3. 19). T. L. Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics* 7 (Oxford (1921) 1. 220–35), commented 'There is presumably no problem which has exercised such a fascination throughout the ages as that of rectifying or squaring the circle; and it is a curious fact that its attraction has been no less (perhaps even greater) for the non-mathematician than for the mathematician.' The squaring or quadrature of the circle was one of the three classical problems (the other two were

- And thrust into strait corners of poor wit
 Thee who art cornerless and infinite),
 5 I would but bless thy name, not name thee now
 (And thy gifts are as infinite as thou).
 Fix we our praises therefore on this one:
 That as thy blessed Spirit fell upon
 These Psalms' first author in a cloven tongue
 10 (For 'twas a double power by which he sung
 The highest matter in the noblest form),
 So thou hast cleft that Spirit, to perform
 That work again, and shed it here upon
 Two by their bloods, and by thy Spirit one;
 15 A brother and a sister, made by thee
 The organ where thou art the harmony;
 Two that make one John Baptist's holy voice,
 And who that psalm 'Now let the isles rejoice'
 Have both translated and applied it too:
 20 Both told us what, and taught us how to do.
 They show us islanders our joy, our king;
 They tell us why, and teach us how to sing.

making a cube of double the volume of a given cube, and trisecting any angle), insoluble geometrically by compass and straight-edge, approximated to when the area of a circle was proved to equal the circumference divided by the diameter (π), multiplied by the radius (r) multiplied by itself, i.e., πr^2 , so that the proportion of side of square (s) to radius of circle (r) became expressible algebraically also in a simple equation: $s = \sqrt{\pi r^2}$. By D.'s time (in Europe—China was centuries ahead), π had been determined to twenty decimal places by L. van Ceulen, *Van den Circkel* (Delft 1596), and his now-lost monument in St Peter's, Leyden, apparently gave his later achievement of π 's calculation to thirty-five places (*Délices de Leide*, Leiden 1712). Eventually, in 1882, C. L. F. Lindemann proved that π is a transcendental number, i.e., has an infinite number of decimal places, so is not finitely expressible: s is not a constructible length. Cp. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edn 1910) 6. 385; C. B. Boyer and V. C. Merzbach, *History of Mathematics* (2nd edn New York 1989) p. 639; D. M. Burton, *History of Mathematics: An Introduction* (3rd edn 1995) p. 119.

8–9 This figure for divine inspiration is given by *Acts* 2. 3.

14–22 'D. is plainly not aware that Sidney's share ended with *Ps.* 43'—Gardner.

14–16 With this image of union as one musical instrument cp. *Litany* 64–70.

14 bloods] The translators were of exactly the same 'blood', being son and daughter of the same parents. Perhaps, rather than 'bloods and', the apparent reading of *O'F*, the original read 'bodies'.

17 John . . . voice] *Matt.* 3. 1–3.

18 that psalm . . . rejoice'] *Ps.* 97.

- Make all this All three choirs, Heav'n, Earth, and Spheres:
 The first, Heav'n, hath a song, but no man hears;
 25 The spheres have music, but they have no tongue—
 Their harmony is rather danced than sung—
 But our third choir, to which the first gives ear
 (For angels learn by what the Church does here)—
 This choir hath all. The organist is he
 30 Who hath tuned God and man, the organ we.
 The songs are these, which Heav'n's high, holy muse
 Whispered to David, David to the Jews;
 And David's successors, in holy zeal,
 In forms of joy and art do re-reveal
 35 To us—so sweetly and sincerely, too,
 That I must not rejoice as I would do
 When I behold that these Psalms are become
 So well-attired abroad, so ill at home;
 So well in chambers, in the church so ill
 40 As I can scarce call that Reformed, until
 This be reformed. Would a whole state present
 A lesser gift than some one man hath sent?

39 the] thy 1635

23 this All] D.'s habitual and traditional phrase for the Universe.

24 On angels' purely mental communication, see Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 107. 1. Cp. Milton, *Lycidas* 176.

25 The inaudibility of the music of the spheres of Plato, *Republic* 10 (617b) was traditional, though Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 2. 9 (290b12–291a28), argues simply that they moved without making music.

28 D.'s uncertainty as to whether angels perceived human thoughts or merely actions had now been resolved: see note on *DivM10Faith* 1–7.

29–30 he . . . man] David.

30 the organ we] Cp. *Serm.* 10. 131: 'What an Organ hath that man tuned, how hath he brought all things in the world to a Consort, and what a blessed Anthem doth he sing to that Organ, that is at peace with God!'

37–8 these Psalms . . . home] Just like any ordinary person.

38 'This is probably a reference to the excellence of the French versions of the Psalms, by Clément Marot, and possibly also to the richness in hymnody of the Lutheran Churches'—Gardner (on l. 44).

39 chambers] private rooms. **in the church so ill]** Church congregations sang the metrical versions of the *Psalms* by Sternhold *et al.* (complete version 1562, printed with *BCP*, often appended to English Bibles and not supplanted in popularity till Tate and Brady's version in 1696). The educated were offended by the traditional version's crudity and clumsiness, and made frequent attempts to compose replacements: see, e.g., those by George Herbert (presented to his living by a Sidney) and Milton.

- And shall our Church, unto our Spouse and King,
 More hoarse, more harsh than any other sing?
 45 For that we pray, we praise thy name for this,
 Which, by this Moses and this Miriam, is
 Already done. And as those Psalms we call
 (Though some have other authors) David's all,
 So, though some have, some may some Psalms translate,
 50 We thy Sidneyan Psalms shall celebrate,
 And, till we come th'extemp'ral song to sing,
 (Learned the first hour that we see the King,
 Who hath translated these translators) may
 These, their sweet, learned labours, all the way
 55 Be as our tuning, that when hence we part
 We may fall in with them, and sing our part.

46 by this] ~ thy 1635 53 these] those 1635

At the Seaside, going over with the Lord Doncaster into Germany, 1619

Date and Context. May 1619. Doncaster's embassy (large enough to fill 25–30 coaches) spent a week firstly at Gravesend and then at Dover awaiting shipping and favourable winds. For a full account see Bald pp. 338–65.

Analogue. The genre is, of course, traditional in Christianity: according to P. C. McGuire, *SEL* 14 (1974) 71–2, *Germany's* occasion and subject 'link it directly to a specific Renaissance "occasional" prayer, the prayer before a journey', though D. 'rewords other typical elements to suit his own purposes.' J. T. Shawcross, *Intentionality and the New Traditionalism* (1991) p. 71, interprets the number of stanzas, four, as intended to signify man, their final line of seven feet, mystic creation.

43 Spouse] Christ, married to his Church; the traditional interpretation of *S of S* 4, *Matt.* 9. 16 etc., *Rev.* 21. 9, 22. 17. **King]** i.e., 'the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God'—1 *Tim.* 1. 17.

46 this Moses and this Miriam] *Exod.* 15. 20, 'where Miriam, the sister of Moses, takes up her brother's song'—Gardner.

49 W Wyatt, Surrey, D.'s friends George Herbert and Henry King, Phineas Fletcher, George Sandys, Milton, Crashaw, Vaughan, and even Bacon, attempted metrical renderings of *Psalms*.

51–2 extemp'ral . . . King] If the song is extemporary, it does not need to be learned. In *Rev.* 14. 3 only the 144,000 'not defiled with women' get to sing the 'new song', which would rule out both poet and subjects.

53 translated] In the sense of 'translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son', *Col.* 1. 13.

56 fall] join. **sing our part]** Filling out the harmony of Heaven.

Heading Shawcross, preferring *Dob*, observes that this poem is termed 'more correctly a prayer' than a hymn. The editor's eclectic heading seems most likely to be D.'s.

Text. Titles as well as contents suggest that Group III texts derive from the poem as originally written before crossing the Channel (of which a copy was probably left in England, given the risk of the voyage), Group II (and thence the printed editions) from a version revised (with improvements) after landing. There may be earlier readings in the title and ll. 3, 5, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, and 20. There are probable errors in ll. 21 and 25, indifferent readings in 16 and 26.

IN what torn ship soever I embark,
 That ship shall be my emblem of thy Ark;
 What sea soever swallow me, that flood
 Shall be to me an emblem of thy blood;
 5 Though thou with clouds of anger do disguise
 Thy face, yet through that mask I know those eyes,
 Which, though they turn away sometimes, they never will
 despise.

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *Group II*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: At the Seaside, going over with the Lord Doncaster 1619. *S96, Lut, O'F*: At his departure with my L. of Doncaster. 1619. *Dob*: A Hymn to Christ *II*: A Hymn to Christ, at the Author's last going into Germany. *1633, 1635*
 3 soever swallow me] soe'er swallows me up *III* 5 with] in *III*

2 thy Ark] For the traditional symbolism of Noah's Ark (*Gen.* 6–8) see *Serm.* 6. 155 (13 June 1624): 'the *Type* and figure of the Church, *the Ark*'; cp. 5. 106, 6. 210, 7. 423–4, 9. 107, 319).

3–4 What sea . . . blood] Cp., e.g., *DivMgPois'nous* 10–11. In a depressed state, D. focussed even more than usual on death. After his appointment as chaplain to the embassy, he wrote to Lady Montgomery of 'going out of the Kingdom, and perchance of the world', his 'hoarse voice' and 'infirmities' (*Serm.* 2. 178, 12 Feb. 1619). He preached to the Lords on 28 March (admittedly Easter, 'The King being then dangerously sick') on the text from *Ps.* 89. 48, 'What man is he that liveth and shall not see death?' (*Serm.* 2. 197–212). In 'A Sermon of Valediction at my going into Germany, at Lincoln's Inn' he bid his hearers on 18 April:

Let us remember one another. . . I . . . may be restored to you again; . . . if I never meet you again till we have all passed the gate of death, yet in the gates of Heaven I may meet you all, . . . and Christ Jesus remember us all in his Kingdom, to which, though we must sail through a sea, it is the sea of his blood, where no soul suffers shipwreck; though we must be blown with strange winds, with sighs and groans for our sins, yet it is the Spirit of God that blows all this wind, and shall blow away all contrary winds of diffidence or distrust in God's mercy (*Serm.* 2. 248–9).

3 soever . . . me/soe'er . . . up] The Group III reading is (pointlessly) less metrical.

5–6 Cp. *HolySgPresent* 3–8.

5 with/in] Both make sense: The MSS' unanimous version of *Jeremy* 240 reads 'with clouds'. **clouds of anger]** Cp. the Biblical *Lam.* 2. 1, 3. 43–4, and D.'s *Jeremy* 90, 239–41.

- I sacrifice this island unto thee,
 And all whom I loved there, and who loved me;
 10 When I have put our seas 'twixt them and me,
 Put thou thy sea betwixt my sins and thee.
 As the tree's sap doth seek the root below
 In winter, in my winter now I go
 Where none but thee, th'eternal root of true love, I may
 know.
- 15 Nor thou nor thy religion dost control
 The am'rousness of a harmonious soul;
 But thou wouldst have that love thyself: as thou
 Art jealous, Lord, so am I jealous now:

7 sometimes, they] sometimes, *new line* They *S96*, 1633, 1635

9 loved there] love here *III* loved me] love me *III*

10 our seas] those ~ *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*: these ~ *S96*: this flood 1635

11 sea] ~s 1633: blood 1635

14 thee, th'eternal root] thy eternal work *III* root of] root *new line* Of 1633, 1635: work *new line* Of *S96*

15 dost] doth *III* 16 a] an *III*, 1633, 1635 18 am I *III*: I am Σ

7 they never will despise] Cp. *Ps.* 51. 17: 'A broken and contrite heart, O God, shalt thou not despise.'

9 D. wrote to Goodyer on 9 March 'I leave a wretched flock of scattered children' (*Letters* p. 174). **loved there/ love here . . . loved/love]** The differences of tense and adverb suggest later revision abroad.

10 our/those] The seas may have seemed less foreign when D. was looking forward to a passage home.

12-13 As the trees . . . winter] Cp. *Lucy* 5. **my winter]** D. was now about forty-seven.

14 As Gardner argues (*DP* p. 157) the continuity of this line makes ill-advised the printed editions' breaking-up of the final line of each stanza into two of eight and six syllables. **thee, th'eternal root/thy eternal work]** D. may have realised that a distant echo might be made of *Eph.* 3. 17: 'ye being rooted and grounded in love'.

15 dost/doth] The Group *III* reading is grammatically correct, but D. may have felt that a third-person verb might seem to detach religion from Christ. **control]** rebuke, restrain, curb.

16 a/an] Both forms in this position were current: with no other use in D.'s verse of the indefinite article before an unstressed syllable beginning with *h*—, there is no indication that D. preferred one to the other. **harmonious soul]** As in *Sickness* l. 4, D. alludes to the doctrine refuted in Plato, *Timaeus* 47d, *Phaedo* 85e-95a and *Republic* 4 (441e-3d), suggested as sources by C. Butler, *Number Symbolism* (1970) p. 129. See note on *FirAn* 311-12.

18 jealous, Lord] *Exod.* 20. 5 etc., and *1 Cor.* 10. 22: 'Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy?' Cp. *HSW1Since* 13-14. **so am I/~ I am]** Group *III*'s order is followed by all versions collated in *Perfume* 5 and *Salisbury* 67.

Thou lov'st not till from loving *more*, thou free
 20 My soul: whoever gives, takes liberty.
 Oh, if thou car'st not whom I love, alas thou lov'st not me.

Seal, then, this bill of my divorce to all
 On whom those fainter beams of love did fall;
 Marry those loves, which in youth scattered be
 25 On fame, wit, hopes (false mistresses), to thee.
 Churches are best for prayer that have least light:
 To see God only, I go out of sight,
 And, to scape stormy days, I choose an everlasting night.

19 *more*] *italics ed.* 20 whoever] whichever III

21 alas thou] thou III love, alas] love, *new line* Alas 1633, 1635: love *new line*
 Thou S96

25 fame] face III, 1635 26 prayer] ~s III

28 choose an] choose *new line* An S96, 1633, 1635

19 *more*] A pun on the maiden name of D.'s dead wife, More, as in the refrain of *Christ* (see also Morris 1973), and more certainly than in *HSW1* Since 9: still he cannot let go. Cp. *Serm.* 10. 180 (n. d.): 'In *Adam's* case, for over-loving his own wife, . . . God threw the first man . . . out of Paradise, . . . and that of Joy, and Glory hereafter.'

20 whoever/whichever] The former is D.'s preferred wording in *Broken* 1, *Curse* 1, *Funeral* 1, *Satyre* 4 76, *SecAn* 431, and *Carey* 22 (in *Jeremy* 287 'ever' in 'which ever' means 'always'). **liberty**] i.e., if he is left free to love her, he is in bondage to her.

21 Enlarged on in *Serm.* 3. 248 (30 May 1621): 'God presents it as a curse when he says [marg. *Ezek.* 16. 42], "My jealousy shall depart from thee, and I will be quiet, and no more angry"; that is, I will leave thee to thyself, and take no more care of thee.' Cp. *Friday* 39's desire to be 'worth thine anger', and Carew's 'Mediocrity in Love Rejected': 'Give me more love or more disdain.' The omission of 'alas' in Group III is unmetrical, and may be a copyist's error.

22–5 Cp. *HolyS10Batter* 9–14.

25 Group III is probably wrong, mingling the concrete (though true to life) 'face' with the abstract 'wit, hopes'. Cp. *Serm.* 4. 227 (13 Oct. 1622):

That immortality in the kingdom of glory . . . How ill husbands then of this dignity are we by *sin*, to forfeit it by submitting ourselves to inferior things! Either to *gold*, . . . Or, to that which is less than gold, to *Beauty*; . . . To that which is less than *gold*, or *Beauty*, *voice*, *opinion*, *fame*, *honour*, we sell ourselves. And though the good opinion of good men, by good ways, be worth our study, yet popular applause, and the voice of inconsiderate men, is too cheap a price to set ourselves at (Gr.).

26 Cp. the 'dim, religious light' of Milton's 'Il Penseroso' 160. **prayer/~s**] Group II's reading is perhaps slightly preferable, denoting the action rather than the petitions.

28 An everlasting night] A death-wish: cp. Catullus, 5. 5–6: *Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux / nox est perpetua una dormienda*, translated by Jonson (in the play for which D. wrote *Volpone*) 'But if once we lose this light, / 'Tis with us perpetual night.'

The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part according to Tremellius

Date and Context. 1612? 1622? summer–autumn 1625? From the poem’s scarcity in MS may be inferred either that room for improvement may have deterred D. from releasing it, or that it is a late poem (cp. *Sickness* 1623–4). Though D. says of *Lamentations* itself ‘Where we can, it becomes, it behoves us, to maintain a *literal* sense and interpretation of all Scriptures’, he goes on to say ‘when the people of God are distressed with sickness, with dearth, with any public calamity, the Minister is the first man, that should be compassionate, and sensible of it’ (*Serm.* 10. 194, n. d.). Elsewhere he reminds his hearers that in *John* 5. 39 ‘I am commanded *scrutari Scripturas*, “to search the scriptures”; . . . to find all the *histories* to be *examples* to me, all the *prophecies* to induce a Saviour for me’ (3. 367, Christmas 1621). Here (10. 196) he offers as consolation from the Scriptures that extreme sufferings are ‘fatherly chastisements’ for sinfulness, as in *Jeremy* 29–35, 52–4, 86–7, 161–4, 289–90, 361–2, 377–80, which earn resurrection. It is thus permissible to regard *Jeremy* as applicable to a current situation. The distress of a city (even more extreme, of course, in the original) was most immediately and vividly present to D.’s eyes and ears in plague-torn London in 1625, evoked from a multitude of sources by F. P. Wilson (1963) pp. 129–88. D. was kept from late June till late Dec. 1625 in Lady Danvers (Magdalen Herbert)’s house at Chelsea, at first when he was recovering from a different illness, and then by an event which devastated London, the plague. Church-services in infected parishes were forbidden by the Privy Council, and of three ministers officiating in D.’s old parish of residence, St Clement Danes (next to his current cure, St Dunstan’s; Bald *passim*, esp. pp. 459, 539), two fell ill during Communion and one died; King, Council, Lord Mayor, aldermen and other officials left Westminster and London (Wilson pp. 139–40, 154–5 quoting William Lilly, as does Bald p. 473). To Sir Thomas Roe at the Court of the Great Moghul in India on 25 Nov. 1625 D. wrote: ‘In the City of London and in a mile compass, I believe there died 1,000 a day. . . . The citizens fled away as out of a house on fire, and stuffed their pockets with their best ware, and threw themselves into the highways, and were not received so much as into barns, and perished so.’ D. was forced to lay down writing original sermons (there are none in Potter and Simpson’s edition between Whitsun and Christmas 1625): to the letter to Roe he adds a postscript ‘telling your lordship how I have spent this summer in my close imprisonment. I have reviewed as many of my sermons as I had kept any notes of, and I have written out a great many, and hope to do more. I am already come to the number of 80’ (Bald pp. 474, 479, from Hayward pp. 486–7, 489). Half of those preached by this date appear in the *LXXX Sermons* (1640), fifty-five more in *Fifty Sermons* (1649) and *XXVI Sermons* (1660)). By late Nov. 1625 D. would probably have been thinking of his St Paul’s Christmas sermon, but may earlier have felt enabled

Heading The Latin translation from the Hebrew by J. I. Tremellius (symbolised by *T* below), a Jewish Calvinist, first appeared in 1575–9, and was officially published in London in 1580, 1581, 1585 and 1593. As a Protestant Latin version, it was obviously intended to displace the Roman Vulgate, not revised till 1590 (Sistine) and then needing further revision in 1592 (Clementine). The notes follow the text of the 1593 London edition of *T*, corrected by Du Jon (Junius).

by forced leisure but also impelled by events to compose *Jeremy*. The earliest of the handful of MSS in which the poem appears, *TCD*, is dated by *IELM* p. 251 to c. 1623–5. (It contains *Hamilton* (March 1625) on f. 104, but in a different hand, and otherwise no poem firmly datable after *Somerset*, *Harington*, *Salisbury*, all of 1614).

Regarding 1612 as a date of composition for *Jeremy*, Lewalski (1973) p. 28 noted that Prince Henry was constantly compared to 'Josiah, a king of Judah who also died young; whose death was identified by many exegetes as the occasion for Jeremiah's dirge or funeral elegy ['the anointed of the Lord' of *Lamentations* 4. 20, though D. thought this undecidable: see note below on line 337], . . . and who had sought to eradicate idolatry from the land, restoring the full ceremony of the Law.' Typical is Henry's chaplain, D. Price, in *Lamentations for the Death of . . . Henry* (1613) p. 11: 'our Josias was taken away', developing (pp. 15–19) the analogy of Josiah and the vices and idolatry of his times to Henry and Jacobean England. In *Prince Henry his First Anniversary* (1613) pp. 2, 4, Price summons up 'the remembrance of our Josias': 'All the world were sat to see and hearken how his Highness' hopeful, youthful age should be employed, for in him a glimmering light of the golden times appeared, all lines of expectation met in this centre, all spirits of virtue scattered into others were extracted into him' (see Strong (1986) p. 54). Cp. Sylvester, like Price a member of Henry's household, in *Lachrymae lachrymarum* (1612) sig B4: 'So good JOSIAH (HENRY's parallel) / Was (soon) bereft from sinful Israel'. Henry had been the focus of hope for the Protestant war-party, frustrated by James's unwillingness to intervene militarily on the Continent against Roman Catholic Spain and the Empire (when James rejected a later offer by D.'s patron Drury in 1614 to fight against Spain, Drury offered his services to the King of Spain against the Reformers—Bald (1959) p. 134). Thus the Prince's death in 1612, publicly but rather belatedly, dutifully and ingeniously rather than fervently lamented by D. in *Henry* in the third edn of Sylvester's anthology, might have been the occasion for *Jeremy*. However, D. seems not to have been much in favour of physical war on Roman Catholics.

For 1622 Gardner argues that because D. calls James 'our Josiah' in the Gunpowder Plot sermon of 1622 on *Lam.* 4. 20 (e.g., *Serm.* 4. 261), and the Protestants, regarding themselves as the true heirs of Zion, had suffered terrible devastation in the early years of the Thirty Years War, D.'s attention may have been focussed on *Lamentations* at that time. Cp. his quotations of it in *Serm.* 3. 191–2 (7 Jan. 1621), after the Imperial invasion of the Palatinate in the summer and the Battle of the White Mountain in October, in which the Elector Palatine, whom D. knew and had visited as chaplain to Doncaster's embassy in 1619 (Bald *passim*), was disastrously defeated. Ignoring any possibility of indebtedness to the *AV*, J. Klause, *MP* 90 (1993) 337–59, argues for a first version in 1596–7 or earlier on behalf of the suffering RCs (cp. *Satyre* 5), a second in 1608, mentioned as the new version of a work composed previously, in a letter to Goodyer.

Analogues. There was a tradition of emulating Jeremiah in times of plague, proclaiming it to be Jehovah's revenge for conduct displeasing to him: see, e.g., Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem* (1593; *Works* 2. 6–177); his source, J. Stockwood's *Very Fruitful and Necessary Sermon of the Most Lamentable Destruction of Jerusalem and the Heavy Judgements of God Executed upon that People for their Sin and Disobedience* (1584; there were many deaths from plague between 1577 and 1583—Slack (1985) p. 147), and T. Pulletin's *Jeremiah's Teares . . . Preached in Yorkminster 1604* (1608). The biblical *Lamentations* was prompted by the destruction of Jerusalem in c. 586 BCE, so was probably written in Jeremiah's lifetime, and its

ascription to Jeremiah was a tradition begun in the Septuagint, continued by the Vulgate, and perpetuated thereafter. However, in the Hebrew Bible it is one of the separate 'Writings', and is unlikely to be by Jeremiah, since he 'could never have said that the voice of prophecy was silenced, 2. 9; nor could he have praised Zedekiah, 4. 20, or put his trust in Egyptian help, 4. 17' (*New Jerusalem Bible* (1985) p. 1173). 'Ch. 1, 2 and 4 are . . . a dirge for the dead, ch. 3 is an individual lament, ch. 5 . . . a collective one' (*NJB* p. 1173). In the original Hebrew of the first four books, mostly in the falling rhythm of a dirge (three units of sense in the first half of a verse, two in the second), for which there is no English equivalent, 'each strophe begins with a different letter, and in the fifth, each of the twenty-two verses' (*NJB* p. 1173). This alphabetical form is also abandoned in translation. D. gives each strophe in the first two books four lines; in the fifth, twenty-one of the twenty-two verses get two lines each; in the third and fourth his apportionment is irregular. From *GV* on, the verse-structure of 22-22-66-22-22 was so numbered. *NSTC* lists preceding translations of *Lamentations* into English by G. Joye (1534), an early Protestant; 'in prose, and metre . . . with Tremellius his annotations . . . out of the Latin' by C. Fetherstone (1587); out of French by T. Stocker ([?1587]), and in prose 'with great care of his Hebrew. With explications' by the acerbic though scholarly Puritan Hugh Broughton (Amsterdam 1606, cited below as *B*). Drayton, *Harmonie of the Church* (1591) sigg. C4v-D1r (*Works* 1. 20-1), put Book 5 into English fourteeners. A three-part musical setting of the first two stanzas by Thomas Ford (c. 1580-1648) is in Christ Church, Oxford MS 736-8, ff. 21-2. *Lamentations'* supreme popularity as a prophetic book is also attested by J. Udall's four times reprinted *Commentarie* of 1593, Anne Jenkinson's 1609 translation of French *Meditations*, and Quarles's paraphrase of 1624, *Sions Elegies*. D.'s wording is often that of *GV* and *AV* verbatim; where there is a difference of wording between them, in most cases where D. echoes either one or the other, it is *GV* he echoes (always preferring, e.g., *GV*'s 'wrath' to *B*'s and *AV*'s 'anger'). Some examples are noticed below, including departures from Tremellius and/or *GV*: see, e.g., the notes on ll. 134, 150, 159-60, 184. D.'s use of *GV* and *AV* is discussed (not referring, it seems, to *GV* 1560 or *AV* 1611, or else very inaccurately) by J. J. Pollock, *English Studies* 55 (1974) 513-15. D. may also have looked at the version by Broughton, of whom he expects, in the 1608 letter mentioning *Litany* and *Biathanatos*, that 'in that course of opposing the Jews, he will produce worthy things, and our Church will perchance blush to have lost a soldier fit for that great battle' (*Letters* pp. 35-6). *B*'s choice of word often coincides with D.'s, e.g., in ll. 9, 94, 149, 152, 197, 210, 274, 295, 332, 344, 361, and may be responsible for words not used elsewhere in D.'s verse such as 'fidelity' (210) and 'carbuncles' (295). Nevertheless, D.'s prose-writings and sermons show that he had access to numerous versions of the Bible in various languages and commentaries on it, so Broughton was not necessarily his source. In a dozen other cases, *B* agrees with *GV* and D., in ten with *AV* and D., thus not reducing *GV*'s greater similarity to D. noted above. (In *Serm.* 3. 105-6, ?1620, D. prefers a reading of the Great Bible (1539, or perhaps Cranmer's, 1540) to Tremellius 'who hath mollified it', but respects him as one who 'adheres most to the letter of the Hebrew'.) It is worth noting that D. intensifies the idea of suffering as punishment for sin in interpreting and augmenting the original, e.g., at ll. 161, 289-90, 362.

Text. Of the three MSS collated, *OF* contains twice as many errors as the best, *TCD*. 1633 obviously derives from a MS akin to *TCD*, and was generally followed by 1635. *DC* contains almost as many errors as the printed editions,

slightly more than *TCD*, which has therefore been chosen as the base text. It is corrected from the other MSS when in error, in which it usually agrees with 1633, followed for the most part by 1635. Though the translation is into couplets, all sources start by arranging these in quatrains, but the MSS break down at various points. The regularisation of the printed texts has been followed here. Verse-numbering has also been silently supplied or corrected. *D.* generally agrees with *GV*: the notes record where a departure is required by *T* and/or where there is agreement rather with *B* or *AV*.

Chapter I

How sits this city, late most populous,
 Thus solit'ry, and like a widow thus!
 Amplest of nations, queen of provinces
 She was, who now thus tributary is.

5 2 Still in the night she weeps, and her tears fall
 Down by her cheeks along, and none of all
 Her lovers comfort her; perfidiously
 Her friends have dealt, and now are enemy.

3 Unto great bondage, and afflictions
 10 Judah is captive led. Those nations
 With whom she dwells no place of rest afford;
 In straits she meets her persecutor's sword.

4 Empty are the gates of Zion, and her ways
 Mourn, because none come to her solemn days.
 15 Her priests do groan, her maids are comfortless,
 And she is to herself a bitterness.

Sources collated: *TCD*, *DC*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

4 tributary] solitary *DC*, *O'F*

4 **tributary**] paying tribute. *tributaria T.*

5 **Still**] Continually *GV*: *plane*, 'openly' *T*: *sore B*, *AV*.

9 **bondage**] *B.*

10 **captive**] *B.*

12 **straits**] difficulties.

14 **Mourn**] *B*, *AV*.

16 **bitterness**] *GV* *margin*, *B*, *AV*.

- 5 Her foes are grown her head, and live at peace,
 Because, when her transgressions did increase,
 The Lord strook her with sadness: th'enemy
 20 Doth drive her children to captivity.
- 6 From Zion's daughter is all beauty gone.
 Like harts which seek for pasture and find none
 Her princes are, and now, before the foe
 Which still pursues them, without strength they go.
- 25 7 Now in her days of tears, Jerusalem
 (Her men slain by the foe, none succ'ring them)
 Remembers what of old she esteemed most,
 Whiles her foes laugh at her for what she'th lost.
- 8 Jerusalem hath sinned: therefore is she
 30 Removed, as women in uncleanness be;
 Who honoured scorn her, for her foulness they
 Have seen; herself doth groan, and turn away.
- 9 Her foulness in her skirts was seen, yet she
 Remembered not her end: mirac'ulously
 35 Therefore she fell, none comforting. Behold,
 O Lord, my[^]affliction, for the foe grows bold.
- 10 Upon all things where her delight hath been
 The foe hath stretched his hand, for she hath seen

25 her *O'F*: the *DC*: their *TCD*, 1633, 1635

28 Whiles] Whilst *DC*, *O'F*

17 grown her head] assumed rule over her.

19 strook] struck.

21 daughter] *B* notes on v. 3: 'All settled commonweals are called "daughter" in the Scripture.'

24 Which . . . them] *D*'s interpolation.

25 *D*. omits *T*'s *et ploratum suorum*, 'and of her lamentations' (~ ~ ~ miseries *AV*: ~ ~ ~ rebellion *GV*).

31 foulness] filthiness *GV*: *nuditatem* *T*: nakedness *AV*. *D*. prefers *GV* to his text, resulting, like *GV*, in repetition in the next verse.

33 foulness] filthiness *GV*, *AV*: uncleanness *B*, on which he notes: 'The trope meaneth idolatry.'

34 Remembered . . . end] Was thoughtless of consequences. *Respice finem*, 'Look to the end', was hence a proverb: Tilley E125 cites Florio and quotes Greene, Nashe, Dekker, *Comedy of Errors* 4. 4. 42, and half a dozen others. **mirac'ulously]** as a divine sign.

37-8 Upon . . . stretched his hand] Extended his power over.

- Heathen, whom thou command'st should not do so,
 40 Into her holy sanctuary go.
- 11 And all her people groan and seek for bread;
 And they have given, only to be fed,
 All precious things wherein their pleasure lay:
 How cheap I'm grown, O Lord, behold and weigh.
- 45 12 All this concerns not you who pass by me:
 Oh see, and mark if any sorrow be
 Like to my sorrow, which Jehovah hath
 Done to me in the day of his fierce wrath!
- 13 The fire which by himself is governèd
 50 He hath cast from Heaven on my bones, and spread
 A net before my feet, and me o'erthrown,
 And made me languish all the day alone.
- 14 His hand hath of my sins framèd a yoke
 Which, wreathed and cast upon my neck, have broke
 55 My strength. The Lord unto those enemies
 Hath given me, from whom I cannot rise.
- 15 He underfoot hath trodden in my sight
 My strong men; he did company accite

49 The DC, O'F: That TCD, 1633, 1635

50 spread DC, 1633, 1635: hath ~ TCD, O'F 54 have] hath O'F, 1633, 1635

56 whom] whence 1633 58 accite O'F, 1635: invite DC, TCD, 1633

39–40 'Only the Levites should come'—B, citing *Deut.* 23. 3. *Tmarg.* regards the forbidden place as the whole land, and the verse as emphasising the enemy's total power.

50 **spread/hath spread**] Gardner rightly notes that D. usually treats 'Heaven' as a monosyllable, but to do so and follow *GV*, *AV* in 'hath spread' would produce a line awkward for popular singing, as she also contends *Jeremy* was.

54 **wreathed**] *AV*. **have/hath**] *T* has the plural, referring back to his sins.

56 **whom/whence**] *in manus eorum quibus*, 'into the hands of those from whom' *T*, *AV*.

58 **company accite**] *convocat contra me conventum* *T*: called an assembly against me *GV*, *AV*. **accite/invite**] 'Accite', from the Latin *accire*, 'to send for, invite', occurs in *Essays in Divinity* (1952) p. 61. Gardner thinks that because D. does not use it elsewhere in verse, he cannot have done so here, but the *Concordance* shows that he used hundreds of words only once in his verse, and 'accite' was widely current then, e.g., 2 *Henry IV* 5. 2. 140.

- To break my young men; he the winepress hath
 60 Trod upon Judah's daughter in his wrath.
- 16 For these things do I weep; mine eye, mine eye
 Casts water out: for he which should be nigh
 To comfort me is now departed far;
 The foe prevails, forlorn my children are.
- 65 17 There's none, though Zion do stretch out her hand,
 To comfort her: it is the Lord's command
 That Jacob's foes girt him. Jerusalem
 Is as an unclean woman amongst them.
- 18 But yet the Lord is just and righteous still:
 70 I have rebelled against his holy will.
 O hear all people, and my sorrow see,
 My maids, my young men in captivity!
- 19 I callèd for my lovers then, but they
 Deceived me, and my priests and elders lay
 75 Dead in the city; for they sought for meat
 Which should refresh their souls, and none could get.
- 20 Because I am in straits, Jehovah, see
 My heart o'eturned, my bowels muddy be;
 Because I have rebelled so much, as fast
 80 The sword without as death within doth waste.

76 and none could *O'F*, 1635: they could none *DC*: they could not *TCD*, 1633
 78 o'eturned *O'F*, 1635: returned *DC*, *TCD*, 1633

59–60 winepress . . . upon . . . daughter] *GV*.

61 mine eye, mine eye] *B*, *AV*.

62 Casts . . . out] casteth out *GV*.

68 amongst] among *B*, *AV*.

75 meat] food.

76 refresh] *GV* **and . . . get]** *D*. incorporates *GMarg* 'That is, they died for hunger.'

78 o'eturned/returned] *versat se T*: 'turned' *GV*, *AV*.

79 rebelled] *B*, *AV*.

80 without . . . within] *foris . . . intus*, 'in public . . . within' *T*: abroad . . . at home
GV, *AV*: Without, the sword doth rob; within, is death itself *B* (though cp.
DivM1Made 3).

21 Of all which hear I mourn, none comforts me:
 My foes have heard my grief, and glad they be
 That thou hast done it; but thy promised day
 Will come, when, as I suffer, so shall they.

85 22 Let all their wickedness appear to thee:
 Do unto them as thou hast done to me
 For all my sins. The sighs which I have had
 Are very many, and my heart is sad.

Chapter II

1 How over Zion's daughter hath God hung
 90 His wrath's thick cloud! and from the heav'n hath flung
 To earth the beauty of Israel, and hath
 Forgot his footstool in the day of wrath!

2 The Lord unsparingly hath swallowèd
 All Jacob's dwellings, and demolishèd
 95 To ground the strengths of Judah, and profaned
 The princes of the kingdom, and the land.

3 In heat of wrath, the horn of Israel he
 Hath clean cut off, and lest the enemy
 Be hindered, his right hand he doth retire,
 100 But is t'wards Jacob all-devouring fire.

90 the heaven] heaven 1633, 1635 95 strengths] strength O'F, 1635

81 **mourn]** AV.

92 **footstool]** Temple, e.g., *Ezek.* 43. 7.

93 **swallowèd]** *Bmarg*, AV.

94 **dwellings]** dwelling B.

95 **strengths]** *munitiones*, 'strongholds' T: strong holds GV, AV.

96 **the land]** Object along with 'princes' of 'profaned'. *Ut prophanum abjicit regnum cum principibus eius*, 'so that he threw down the profane land with its princes' T: He hath polluted the kingdom and the princes thereof GV, AV: He hath made a riddance of the kingdom and its princes B. In the plague of 1625, too, England was afflicted: 'The outlook would not have been so black for the poor if the harvests had been good. But the nation was threatened with dearth and famine. . . . Owing to the floods of an abnormally wet spring the best meadows had been spoilt for feeding cattle, and bad pasture had caused sheep-rot to spread.' The harvest was spoilt by continuous rain in June and July (Wilson pp. 165, 139).

97 **horn]** power, glory.

- 4 Like to an enemy he bent his bow,
 His right hand was in posture of a foe
 To kill what Zion's daughter did desire,
 'Gainst whom his wrath he pourèd forth like fire.
- 105 5 For like an enemy Jehovah is,
 Devouring Israel and his palaces,
 Destroying holds, giving additions
 To Judah's daughter's lamentations.
- 6 Like to a garden hedge he hath cast down
 110 The place where was his congregation,
 And Zion's feasts and sabbaths are forgot;
 Her king, her priest, his wrath regardeth not.
- 7 The Lord forsakes his altar, and detests
 His sanctu'ry, and in the foe's hand rests
 115 His palace and the walls, in which their cries
 Are heard as in the true solemnities.
- 8 The Lord hath cast a line, so to confound
 And level Zion's walls unto the ground;
 He draws not back his hand, which doth o'eturn
 120 The wall and rampart, which together mourn.
- 9 Their gates are sunk into the ground, and he
 Hath broke the bars; their king and princes be

114 hand] hands 1633, 1635 121 Their] The 1635

122 bars DC, O'F: bar TCD, 1633, 1635

103 what . . . desire] all the desirable of the eye *AV* *margin*.

106 Devouring] devoured *GV*.

107 holds] *munitiones*, 'strongholds' *T*: strong holds *GV*, *AV*.

109 garden hedge] *horti sepem* (i.e., *saepem*) *T*, 'garden fence or hedge': hedge *AV* *margin*: garden *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

110 congregation] *GV*.

113 forsakes] forsaken *GV*.

114 hand/hands] *manum*, 'hand' *T*, *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

115 His palace] *palatia illius*, 'his/her/its palaces' *T*: her ~s *GV*, *AV*: his temple *B*.

116 solemnities] solemnity *GV*.

117 cast a line] Cp. his 'line of confusion', *Isa.* 34. 11. and *2Kings* 21. 13.

120 mourn] ~ed *B*.

122 broke] *perdit et confringit*, 'ruined and broke' *T*: hath destroyed and broken *GV*, *AV*. bars/bar] *vectes*, 'door-bars' *T*.

Amongst the heathen, without Law, nor there
 Unto their prophets doth the Lord appear.

125 10 There Zion's elders on the ground are placed,
 And silence keep: dust on their heads they cast,
 In sackcloth have they girt themselves, and low
 The virgins towards ground their heads do throw.

11 My bowels are grown muddy, and mine eyes
 130 Are faint with weeping: and my liver lies
 Poured out upon the ground, for misery
 That sucking children in the streets do die.

12 When they had cried unto their mothers, 'Where
 Shall we have bread and drink?' they fainted there
 135 And in the streets like wounded persons lay
 Till 'twixt their mothers' breasts they went away.

13 Daughter Jerusalem, oh what may be
 A witness or comparison for thee?
 Zion, to ease thee, what shall I name like thee?
 140 Thy breach is like the sea, what help can be?

14 For thee vain, foolish things thy prophets sought;
 Thee thine iniquities they have not taught,
 Which might disturb thy bondage: but for thee
 False burdens and false causes they would see.

135 streets *O'F*: street *DC*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635

141 thee *DC*, *O'F*, 1635: the *TCD*, 1633

123 heathen, without Law] heathen that have no Law *B*.

125 placed] *sedentes*, 'sitting' *T*: sit *GV*, *AV*.

129–31 muddy . . . liver . . . ground] Translating *T* literally. **ground]** *B*.

134 bread and drink] *GV*'s more realistic phrase for *AV* (and *T*)'s 'corn and wine'.

135 streets/street] *plateis*, 'streets' *T*.

140 Thy breach . . . sea] *magna est velut maris contritio tua*, 'great as the sea is thy grief' *T*: thy breach is great like the sea *GV*, *AV*. **breach]** breaking, broken state. **like the sea]** boundless.

141 thee/the] *tibi*, 'for thee' *T*. **sought]** *vident*, 'see' *T*: looked out *GV*: see *AV*.

142 taught] *retegunt*, 'destroyed' *T*.

143 Which might disturb] *ad advertendum*, 'to the averting' *T*: to turn away *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

144 False burdens] *GV* *margin*, *AV*; *onerosas prophetias renum vanarum*, 'weighty prophecies concerning groundless, useless, illusory matters' *T*.

- 145 15 The passengers do clap their hands and hiss
 And wag their head at thee, and say, 'Is this
 That city which so many men did call
 Joy of the earth, and perfectest of all?'
- 16 Thy foes do gape upon thee, and they hiss
 150 And gnash their teeth, and say, 'Devour we this,
 For this is certainly the day which we
 Expected, and which now we find and see.'
- 17 The Lord hath done that which he purposed,
 Fulfilled his word of old determinèd;
 155 He hath thrown down, and not spared, and thy foe
 Made glad above thee, and advanced him so.
- 18 But now their hearts against the Lord do call,
 Therefore, O wall of Zion, let tears fall
 Down like a river, day and night; take thee
 160 No rest, but let thine eye incessant be.
- 19 Arise, cry in the night, pour, for thy sins,
 Thy heart like water, when the watch begins;

157 against] unto *O'F*, 1635 158 wall *O'Fae*: walls *DC*, *TCD*, *O'Fbe*, 1633, 1635
 161 for] forth *DC*: out 1635

145 passengers] *viatores*, 'passers-by' *T*: *Heb. transeuntes viae Tmarg citing 1. 12 (D.'s line 45) as the same*: All that pass by *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

149 gape] *B*.

150 Devour we this] Let us devour it *GV*: *absorbuimus*, 'We have devoured' *T*.

152 Expected] *B*. **find and see]** *habemus, fruimur*, 'we possess, enjoy' *T*: we have found it, we have seen it *GV*: we have found, we have seen *B*: . . . found it and . . . it *AV*.

153 purposed] *GV*, *B*.

154 determinèd] *GV*.

155 spared] *GV*, *B*.

156 advanced him so] *extollit cornu hostium tuorum*, 'set up the horn of thine adversaries' *T*, *GV*, *AV*.

157 against/unto] *contra*, 'against' *T*: unto *GV*, *B*, *AV*. Presumably the translator, *D.*, knew *T*, a scribe only the more familiar printed version.

158 wall/~s] *mure*, 'wall' *T*, *GV*, *B*, *AV*. Here a part of the city stands for the whole, the literary figure of synecdoche. It cannot refer to the Wailing Wall, a relic of the Second Temple destroyed in 70 CE.

159-60 take thee/No rest] *GV*, *B*.

161-2 pour . . . water] *effunde ut aquas cor tuum coram faciei Domini*, 'pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord' *T*, *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

161 for thy sins] *D.*'s interpolation.

Lift up thy hands to God, lest children die,
Which, faint for hunger, in the streets do lie.

165 20 Behold, O Lord, consider unto whom
Thou hast done thus; what, shall the women come
To eat their children of a span? Shall thy
Prophet and priest be slain in sanctuary?

21 On ground in streets the young and old do lie:
170 My virgins and young men by sword do die;
Them in the day of thy wrath thou hast slain;
Nothing did thee from killing them contain.

22 As to a solemn feast, all whom I feared
Thou call'st about me; when his wrath appeared,
175 None did remain or scape, for those which I
Brought up, did perish by mine enemy.

Chapter III

1 I AM the man which hath affliction seen,
Under the rod of God's wrath having been;
2 He hath led me to darkness, not to light,
180 3 And against me all day his hand doth fight.

4 He'th broke my bones, worn out my flesh and skin,
5 Built up against me; and hath girt me in
With hemlock and with labour; 6 and set me
In dark, as they who dead for ever be.

174 his] thy *O'F*, 1635 177 hath] have 1633, 1635
178 of *DC*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635: or *TCD*

166 thus] *GV*, *B*, translating *ita* *T*: this *AV*.

167 children of a span] *parvulos palmares* *T*: children of a span long *GV*, *AV*: infants that may be spanned *B*.

174 his/thy] *Jehovae*, 'of Jehovah' *T*: Lord's *GV*, *AV*. The emendation in *O'F*, 1635 is intelligent but not faithful to the source.

176 Brought up] *palmis gestabam et educabam*, 'I carried in my hands and brought up' *T*: nourished and ~ ~ *GV*: swaddled and ~ ~ *AV*.

179 led me] *Me ducit et agit*, 'led and driven me' *T*: led me and brought me *GV*, *AV*.

183 labour] *molestia*, 'distress' *T*: labour *GV*: weariness *B*: travail *AV*.

184 dead for ever] Written before Jewish writers conceived of immortality, this phrase is literally included in *GV* and *B*, but rendered in *AV* as the less contentious 'dead of old'.

- 185 7 He'th hedged me lest I scape, and added more
 To my steel fetters, heavier than before.
 8 When I cry out, he[^]out-shuts my prayer, 9 and hath
 Stopped with hewn stone my way, and turned my path.
- 10 And like a lion hid in secrecy,
 190 Or bear which lies in wait, he was to me:
 11 He stops my way, tears me, made desolate,
 12 And he makes me the mark he shooteth at.
- 13 He made the children of his quiver pass
 Into my reins. 14 I with my people was
 195 All the day long a song and mockery.
 15 He hath filled me with bitterness, and he
- Hath made me drunk with wormwood. 16 He hath burst
 My teeth with stones, and covered me with dust;
 17 And thus my soul far off from peace was set,
 200 And my prosperity I did forget.
- 18 My strength, my hope (unto myself I said)
 Which from the Lord should come, is perished.
 19 But when my mournings I do think upon,
 My wormwood, hemlock, and affliction,

186 steel fetters] *chalybeam numellam*, 'iron collar' *T*: chains *GV*: chain *B*, *AV*.

188 Stopped] *GV*. **turned]** *GV*, *B*.

189–90 lion . . . bear] Reversing their position (and methods), perhaps for metrical reasons.

191 stops my way] *Vias meas vagas efficit*, 'has made my paths labyrinthine' *T*: hath stopped my ways *GV*: hath turned aside my ways *AV*. **desolate]** lit. 'all alone'.

193 children of his quiver] *tela pharetrae*, 'weapons' *T*: Heb. *filios, id est, prodeuntes a pharetra*, 'the sons, that is, the issue of a quiver' *T**arg*: sons *GV**arg*, *AV**arg*: arrows ~ ~ ~ *GV*, *AV*: shafts ~ ~ ~ *B*.

197 burst] *B*: *comminuit*, 'ground' *T*: broken *GV*, *AV*.

198 covered . . . dust] *deprimit me in cinere*, 'thrust me down into the ash' *T*: covered me with ashes *GV*, *AV*: turned me on my face in ashes *B*: rolled me in the ashes *AV**arg*.

200 prosperity] *GV*, *AV*: *boni* *T*: good *B*, *AV**arg*.

203 mournings] mourning *GV*.

204 hemlock] Accurately rendering *T*'s *ciuta*, though *GV*, *B*, *AV* have 'gall'.

- 205 20 My soul is humbled in remembering this;
 21 My heart considers, therefore hope there is.
 22 'Tis God's great mercy we're not utterly
 Consumed, for his compassions do not die;
- 23 For every morning they renewèd be,
 210 For great, O Lord, is thy fidelity.
 24 The Lord is, saith my soul, my portion,
 And therefore in him will I hope alone.
- 25 The Lord is good to them who on him rely,
 And to the soul that seeks him earnestly:
 215 26 It is both good to trust, and to attend
 The Lord's salvation unto the end:
- 27 'Tis good for one his yoke in youth to bear;
 28 He sits alone, and doth all speech forbear,
 Because he'th borne it; 29 and his mouth he lays
 220 Deep in the dust, yet there in hope he stays.
- 30 He gives his cheeks to whosoever will
 Strike him, and so he is reproachèd still.
 31 For not for ever doth the Lord forsake,
 32 But when he'th strook with sadness, he doth take

220 there O'F: then DC, 1633, 1635: om. TCD

224 strook] struck 1633, 1635

205 *Plane, inquam recordando, meditatur apud me anima mea*, 'Plainly, I say recollecting, my soul dwells on them' T: My soul hath them in remembrance, and is humbled in me GV: . . . them still in . . . AV: pray . . . full heavily B: bowed AVmarg.

206 **heart considers**] *Heb. cor [heart] Tmarg*: consider this in mine heart GV: make to return to my heart AVmarg: *revoco in animum meum*, 'recall to my mind' T, AV.

209 **renewèd**] GV.

210 **fidelity**] B: *fides* T.

211 **my portion**] the share allotted to me.

215 **trust**] GV, B.

219–20 **his mouth . . . dust**] he humbles himself.

220 **there/then**] there GV, B, AV, om. T.

223 **forsake**] GV.

- 225 Compassion, as his mercy's infinite;
 33 Nor is it with his heart that he doth smite:
 34 That underfoot the pris'ners stampèd be;
 35 That a man's right the judge himself doth see
- To be wrung from him; 36 that he subverted is
- 230 In his just cause, the Lord allows not this.
 37 Who then will say, that aught doth come to pass
 But that which by the Lord commanded was?
- 38 Both good and evil from his mouth proceeds:
 39 Why then grieves any man for his misdeeds?
- 235 40 Turn we to God by trying out our ways;
 41 To him in Heaven our hands with hearts upraise.
- 42 We have rebelled and fall'n away from thee,
 Thou pardon'st not, 43 usest no clemency;
 Pursuest us, kill'st us, cover'st us with wrath,
- 240 44 Cover'st thyself with clouds that our prayer hath
- No power to pass. 45 And thou hast made us fall
 As refuse and offscouring to them all.

229 wrung] wrong *DC*, 1633

226 with his heart] *GMarg*: from ~ ~ *AVMarg*: from his own ~ *B*: *animo*, 'mindfully, wholeheartedly, in anger' *T*: willingly *GV*, *AV*. *D*. omits the second part of v. 33, *moestitiaque afficit filios viri*, rendered by *GV* 'nor afflict [make sorrowful *B*: grieve *AV*] the children [sons *B*] of men.'

228 the judge . . . see] *coram faciei superioris*, 'before the face of a superior' *T*, *AVMarg*: before the face of the most high *GV*, *AV*: . . . Highest *B*.

229 wrung/wrong] *Detorquere*, 'To wring, wrest' *T*.

230 allows] *probat*, 'approveth' *T*, *AV*: seeth *GV*, *AVMarg*: liketh *B*.

233 good and evil] In the OT these are often equated simply with benefit and suffering to the person concerned. Cp. *Serm.* 3. 190–1, where *D*. argues at length that a name of God, *Shaddai*, means also 'dishonour' ('from an entirely different root', acc. to Potter and Simpson 3. 408), 'spoil, violence, depredation', 'destruction, ruin, devastation', 'deceit, error, illusion'.

234 Elliptically rendering *T*'s *Cur quiritaretur homo vivens, vir propter poenas peccatorum suorum*: Wherefore then is the living man sorrowful? Man suffereth for his sin *GV*: . . . doth . . . complain, a man for the punishment of his sins? *AV*.

235 Turn . . . trying out] *Perscrutemur vias nostras, et pervestigemus*, 'Let us thoroughly examine our behaviour, and investigate it in detail' *T*: 'Let us search and try' *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

242 refuse and off-scouring] *T*, *B* cite the quotation in *1 Cor.* 4. 13.

- 46 All our foes gape at us. 47 Fear and a snare
With ruin and with waste upon us are.
- 245 48 With water-rivers doth mine eye o'erflow
For ruin of my people's daughter so;
49 Mine eye doth drop down tears incessantly,
50 Until the Lord look down from heaven to see.
- 51 And for my city daughters' sake, mine eye
250 Doth break my heart. 52 Causeless mine enemy
Like a bird chased me. 53 In a dungëon
They've shut my life, and cast on me a stone.
- 54 Waters flowed o'er my head; then thought I, I'm
Destroyed. 55 I callèd, Lord, upon thy name
255 Out of the pit, 56 and thou my voice didst hear;
Oh from my sigh and cry stop not thine ear.
- 57 Then when I called upon thee, thou drew'st near
Unto me, and said'st unto me, 'Don't fear.'
58 Thou, Lord, my soul's cause handled hast, and thou
260 Rescued'st my life. 59 O Lord, do thou judge now:

245 water-rivers] wat'ry rivers *DC*, *O'F*, 1635 246 daughter] ~s 1633, 1635
250 my] mine 1633, 1635 252 on me] me on *O'F*, 1633, 1635
260 Rescued'st *DC*, *O'F*: Rescu'st *TCD*, 1633, 1635

244 ruin] *B*.

245 water-rivers/wat'ry rivers] *Rivis aquarum*, 'streams of waters' *T*: rivers of water *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

246 ruin] *contritionem*, 'dismay, grief' *T*: destruction *GV*, *AV*: breach *B*.

247 doth drop] droppeth *GV*. incessantly] *nec desistit, ex eo quod nullae sint intermissiones* *T*: without stay, and ceaseth not *GV*: and cannot cease because there is no rest *B*: and ceaseth not, without any intermission *AV*.

249 city daughters] As in 'city fathers' (Gardner).

250 Doth break] breaketh *GV*.

251-2 In a dungëon . . . shut my life] *Excidentes dejiciunt in foveam vitam meam* *T*: They have shut up my life in the dungeon *GV*: . . . cut off . . . *B*, *AV*.

252 on me a stone/ me on ~ ~] *lapides in me*, 'stones on me' *T*; a stone upon me *GV*, *B*, *AV*. 'The application . . . prophetically to the burial of Christ probably made Donne reject the prosaic rendering of Tremellius' (Gardner).

254 Destroyed] *GV*.

255 pit] *D*. omits *T*'s *infima*, 'deepest': low *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

256 sigh . . . stop] *GV*.

260 Rescued'st/Rescu'st] *vindicabas*, 'didst rescue' *T*: hast redeemed *GV*, *AV*.

- Thou heard'st my wrong, 60 their vengeance all they've wrought;
 61 How they reproached, thou'st heard, and what they thought;
 62 What their lips uttered which against me rose;
 And what was ever whispered by my foes.
- 265 63 I am their song whether they rise or sit;
 64 Give them rewards, Lord, for their working fit:
 65 Sorrow of heart, thy curse, 66 and with thy might
 Follow, and from under heav'n destroy them quite.

Chapter IV

- 1 How is the gold become so dim? How is
 270 Purest and finest gold thus changed to this?
 The stones which were stones of the sanctuary
 Scattered in corners of each street do lie.
- 2 The precious sons of Zion, which should be
 Valued as purest gold, how do we see
 275 Low rated now, as earthen pitchers stand
 Which are the work of a poor potter's hand!
- 3 Even the sea-calves draw their breasts, and give
 Suck to their young; my people's daughters live,

261 heard'st *TCDae, O'F, 1633, 1635*; hears't *TCDbe, DC*

274 as] at *1633, 1635*

261 Thou heard'st/ ~ hear'st] *Vides*, 'Thou saw'st' *T*: Thou hast seen *GV, AV*.

264 whispered] whispering *GV*.

265 song] *GV*.

266 Give them rewards] Thou wilt reward them *B*. **for their working fit]** *secundum opus manuum ipsorum T*: according to the work [*~s B*] of their hands *GV, AV*. *B* cites 2 *Tim.* 4. 14's re-use of v. 64 against Alexander the Coppersmith.

267 Sorrow of] *GV, AV: abiectiōnem*, 'downcast' *T*: an obstinate *GVmarg*: obstinacy ~ *AVmarg*: bursting ~ *B*.

272 Scattered] *GV*.

273 precious] *B, AV*.

274 Valued] *B*.

277 sea-calves] *AVmarg: phocae*, 'seals' *T*: dragons *B, GV*: sea-monsters *AV*.

278 young] *GV*.

- By reason of the foe's great cruelty,
 280 As do the owls in the vast wilderness,
- 4 And when the sucking child doth strive to draw,
 His tongue for thirst cleaves to his upper jaw;
 And when for bread the little children cry,
 There is no man that them doth satisfy.
- 285 5 They which before were delicately fed
 Now in the streets, forlorn, have perishèd;
 And they which ever were in scarlet clothed
 Sit and embrace the dunghills which they loathed.
- 6 The daughters of my people have sinned more
 290 Than did the town of Sodom sin before;
 Which being at once destroyed, there did remain
 No hands amongst them to vex them again.

281 doth . . . draw] D.'s interpolation.

282 upper jaw] *palato* *T*: roof of his mouth *GV*, *AV*: throat *B*.

285–6 In London from June through September 1625 too, there were 'people dying in the open fields and in open streets' (Lilly, quoted by Bald p. 473), 'Some frantic raving, some with anguish crying, / Some singing, praying, groaning, and some dying' (Wither; see Wilson (1963) p. 140, from *CSPV* 1625–6 p. 130; p. 148, quoting Wither, Taylor, and Abraham Holland; and pp. 153–4, quoting Wither and D.). Cp. D.'s 'First Sermon after Our Dispersion by the Sickness' in St Dunstan's, 15 Jan. 1626 (*Serm.* 6. 359):

And so were cut off by the hand of God, some even in their robberies, in half-empty houses; and in their drunkenness in voluptuous and riotous houses; and in their lusts and wantonness in licentious houses; and so took in infection and death, like *Judas's* sop, death dipped and soaked in sin. Men whose lust carried them into the jaws of infection in lewd houses, and seeking one sore perished with another; men whose rapine and covetousness broke into houses, and seeking the Wardrobes of others, found their own winding-sheet, in the infection of that house where they stole their own death; men who sought no other way to divert sadness, but strong drink in riotous houses, and there drank up *David's* cup of Malediction, the cup of Condemned men, of death, in the infection of that place.

286 perishèd] perish *GV*.

288 Sit and . . . which they loathed] D.'s interpolations. **dunghills]** *AV*.

289, 290 sinned, sin] *poena, supplicio* *T*: *iniquitas* *T* *margin*: iniquity, sin *GV*: punishment, penalty *B*: punishment of the iniquity, punishment of the sin *AV*. D. characteristically prefers a version which makes the verse a confession of sin instead of a protest against excessive punishment.

291 destroyed] *GV*.

291–2 there . . . No hands amongst them] A literal translation of *T* which agrees with *AV*: no hands stayed upon them *B*: none pitched camps against her *GV*.

292 to vex them again] D.'s explanatory addition.

- 7 But heretofore purer her Nazirite
 Was than the snow, and milk was not so white;
 295 As carbuncles did their pure bodies shine,
 And all their polishedness was sapphirine.
- 8 They're darker now than blackness, none can know
 Them by the face, as through the streets they go,
 For now their skin doth cleave unto their bone,
 300 And, witherèd, is like to dry wood grown.
- 9 Better by sword than famine 'tis to die;
 And better through-pierced than through penury.
 10 Women, by nature pitiful, have ate
 Their children, dressed with their own hands for meat,
- 305 11 Jehovah here fully accomplished hath
 His indignation, and poured forth his wrath,

296 sapphirine] seraphin 1633 298 streets O'F: street DC, TCD, 1633, 1635
 299 their] the DC, O'F 304 hands ed.: hand DC, TCD, O'F, 1633, 1635

293 Nazirite] member of body vowed to abstain from products of the vine, cutting the hair, and touching dead bodies (*Num.* 6. 1–21).

295 carbuncles] *B*; red gems supposed to shine in the dark: see Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 2. 5. 8.

296 sapphirine] Cp. *BulstrodeLanguage* 21.

297 darker . . . blackness] *obscurior est nigredine forma eorum* *T*: darker than blackness *AV**margin*: ~ than a coal *GV*, *B*, *AV*. Presumably because of scurvy.

298 streets/street] *vicis*, 'streets' *T*, *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

299 their/the bone] *cum osse ipsorum* *T*: their bones *GV*, *B*, *AV*.

302 through-pierced than through penury] *O'F*, 1635's reading echoes the parallelism of *T*'s preceding *melius habent confossi gladio quam confossi fame*, 'They are better to be stabbed by the sword than to be stabbed by starvation': The slain by the sword are better than the slain by hunger *B*: They that be slain with the sword than they that be slain with penury *AV*. *GV* ignores the rhetorical repetition 'slain . . . killed'. **penury]** *destituti proventibus agrorum meorum* *T*, 'deprived of the produce of my fields': Heb. *a proventibus* *Tmargin*, 'without provisions': for they fade away as they were stricken through for the fruits of the field *GV*: for they waste away pierced by wanting . . . *B*: for these pine away, stricken through for want of . . . *AV*.

303–4 Women . . . hands/~ . . . hand] *manus mulierum*, 'women's hands . . . cooked' *T*: hands . . . *GV*, *AV*. *D*. omits *T*'s next: *sunt alimento ipsis in contritione filiae populi mei*, 'they are for food in the afflicted state of the daughter of my people'. **meat]** food.

306 indignation] *GV*, *B*.

Kindled a fire in Zion which hath power
To eat, and her foundations to devour.

12 Nor would the kings of th'earth, nor all which live
310 In the inhabitable world, believe
That any adversary, any foe
Into Jerusalem should enter so:

13 For the priests' sins and prophets', which have shed
Blood in the streets, and the just murdered—
315 14 Which when those men, whom they made blind, did stray
Thorouh the streets, defilèd by the way

With blood, the which impossible it was
Their garments should scape touching as they pass,
15 Would cry aloud, 'Depart defilèd men!
320 Depart, depart, and touch us not!' and then

They fled, and strayed, and with the Gentiles were,
Yet told their friends, they should not long dwell there—
16 For this they're scattered by Jehovah's face
Who never will regard them more. No grace

325 Unto their old men shall the foe afford,
Nor that they're priests redeem them from the sword.
17 And we as yet, for all these miseries
Desiring our vain help, consume our eyes:

And such a nation as cannot save
330 We in desire and speculation have.

318 garments] garment 1635 328 consume DC, O'F, 1633, 1635: and ~ TCD

317–18 impossible . . . touching] *non possunt quin tangant*: in that they could not but touch *AVmarg*: so that they would not touch *GV*: . . . men could . . . *AV*.

319 defilèd] Because of *Num.* 19. 11–13, yet falling foul of 31. 19.

321–2 and with the Gentiles . . . friends] *dicunt in Gentibus* *T*: they said among the heathen *GV, AV, B sim.*, reckoning that their neighbours intend to repeat the exiling of the Jews. *D.* seems to misunderstand this.

322 dwell] *GV*.

323 scattered] *GV, B.* **face]** *GVmarg, AVmarg, B: Irata facies*, 'angry face' *T*: anger *GV, AV*.

18 They hunt our steps, that in the streets we fear
To go: our end is now approachèd near,

Our days accomplished are, this the last day.

19 Eagles of heav'n are not so swift as they
335 Which follow us: o'er mountain tops they fly
At us, and for us in the desert lie.

20 Th'anointed lord, breath of our nostrils, he
Of whom we said, under his shadow we
Shall with more ease under the heathen dwell,
340 Into the pit which these men diggèd fell.

21 Rejoice O Edom's daughter: joyful be
Thou which inhabit'st Hus, for unto thee
This cup shall pass, and thou with drunkenness
Shalt fill thyself, and show thy nakedness.

345 22 And then thy sins, O Zion, shall be spent;
The Lord will not leave thee in banishment.
Thy sins, O Edom's daughter, he will see,
And for them pay thee with captivity.

Chapter V

1 REMEMBER, O Lord, what is fallen on us;
350 See and mark how we are reproachèd thus;
2 For unto strangers our possession
Is turned, our houses unto aliens gone;

342 which] that 1635 Hus] Uz O'F, 1635: her 1633

332 approachèd] B.

337 anointed lord] *unctus Jehovahæ*, 'anointed of the Lord' T, GV, AV: ~ ~ ~
Eternal B. The only way to make sense of D.'s version is to reduce his 'Lord'
to 'lord'. The 'anointed of the Lord' signified a king, as explained in T's note,
and B identifies him with Josiah; cp. *Serm.* 4. 239–63 (5 Nov. 1622), e.g., p. 239:
'Both good Kings, and bad Kings, *Josiah*, and *Zedekiah*, are the *anointed* of the
Lord, and the *breath of the nostrils*, that is, The life of the people'. For some Christians,
Josiah was a forerunner of Christ.

340 pit] ~s AV.

342 Hus/Uz/her] *Hutzi* T; Huz B; Uz GV, AV.

344 show thy nakedness] *GV marg.* B.

- 3 Our mothers are become as widows; we
 As orphans all, and without father be;
 355 4 Waters which are our own we drink and pay,
 And upon our own wood a price they lay,
 5 Our persecutors on our necks do sit;
 They make us travail, and not intermit.
 6 We stretch our hands unto th'Egyptians
 360 To get us bread; and to th'Assyrians.
 7 Our fathers did these sins, and are no more,
 But we do bear the sins they did before.
 8 They are but servants, which do rule us thus,
 Yet from their hands none would deliver us.
 365 9 With danger of our life our bread we gat,
 For in the wilderness the sword did wait.
 10 The tempests of this famine we lived in;
 Black as an oven coloured had our skin.
 11 In Judah's cities they the maids abused
 370 By force, and so women in Zion used.
 12 The princes with their hands they hung; no grace
 Nor honour gave they to the elder's face.

354 father *O'F*: ~s *DC*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635

355 drink *DC*, *O'F*, 1635: drunk *TCD*, 1633 368 oven] ocean 1633

354 without father] *GV*. **father/~s]** *nullo patre*, 'with no father' *T*.

355 drink/drank] *Aquas nostras pecunia bibimus, ligna nostra pretio obveniunt*, 'We drink/drank our water for money, our wood they sell us at a price' *T*: . . . have drunk . . . , and our wood is sold unto us *GV*: . . . drunken . . . *AV*: Our water do we drink by money, and our wood cometh by price *B*: cometh for price *AVmarg*. Like *T*, *B*, *D*. has given his other verbs in the present tense ('pay', 'lay'), so if consistent would have written 'drink'. **pay]** pay for.

357 on our necks] *AVmarg*.

361–2 For *D*'s personal involvement with the doctrine that the sons are guilty of the sins of their fathers (*Exod.* 20. 5 etc.) cp. *Christ* 1–2.

361 no more] *B*.

362 bear] *B*. **sins]** *poenas*, 'penalties' *T*: sinned *B*: iniquities *GV*, *AV*. *D*. again emphasises the idea that suffering is caused by sin.

367–8 See note above on l. 297.

367 tempests] *procellas*, storms *T*, *AVmarg*.

371 their] i.e., the persecutors' own.

372 honour] *GV*.

- 13 Unto the mill our young men carried are,
 And children fall under the wood they bear.
- 375 14 Elders the gates; youth did their songs forbear,
 15 Gone was our joy: our dancings mournings were.
- 16 Now is the crown fall'n from our head; and woe
 Be unto us because we've sinnèd so.
- 17 For this our hearts do languish, and for this
 380 Over our eyes a cloudy dimness is,
- 18 Because mount Zion desolate doth lie,
 And foxes there do go at liberty.
- 19 But thou O Lord art ever, and thy throne
 From generation to generation.
- 385 20 Why should'st thou forget us eternally,
 Or leave us thus long in this misery?
 21 Restore us, Lord, to thee, that so we may
 Return, and as of old renew our day.
- 22 For oughtest thou, O Lord, despise us thus
 390 And to be utterly enraged at us?
- 374 fall *O'F*: fell *DC*, *TCD*, 1633, 1635 bear *DC*: bare *TCD*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

374 fall/fell] *corruunt*, 'fall down' *T*: fell *GV*, *AV*: fail *B*. The scribes of *DC*, *TCD* and the source of 1633 agree with the more familiar text, but *D*. may have preferred the consistency of his original.

375 songs] *GV*, *B*.

376 Gone] *GV*. **were]** *D*. uses the past tense but *GV*, *B*, *AV* render the half-verse accurately as 'our dance is turned into mourning'.

377 crown . . . from our head] *AV*: *Cadit corona capitis nostri*: The crown of our head falls, and so *GV*, *B*, *AV**margin*.

380 Caused by deficiencies of vitamin A and riboflavin during the famine.

381–2 London too seemed almost empty at the height of the plague: see Wilson p. 162.

387–8 *B* notes that 'The verse 21 is one of four which in the Massoret Bible are printed as a postscript for better memory; another is the last save one in *Ecclesiastes*, another the last save one in *Isaiah*, the fourth the last save one in *Malachi*, . . . These sayings contain the main [theme] of the writers'.

Hymn to God my God in my Sickness

Date and context. Dec. 1623. The copy in *A34* (BL Add. MS 34324), a collection of papers belonging to Sir Julius Caesar (1558–1636), Master of the Rolls, is endorsed ‘D. Dun Deane of Paules in his greate sicknes in Decemb. 1623’. This illness was also the occasion of *Devotions* (1624).

Analogues. ‘Thomas Cogswell notes that Francis Bacon, John Stradling, and Donne’s friend Goodyer were all writing treatises on the unity of Christendom around the very time when, it is now broadly accepted, Donne was suffering from the illness recorded in the *Hymn*: 1622–3’—D. Roberts, *N&Q* 244 (1999) 257–8 on D.’s questioning: ‘Is the Pacific Sea my home? . . . Is Jerusalem?’ quoting letters to Goodyer, ‘You know I never fettered nor imprisoned the word religion, immuring it in a Rome or a Wittemburg or a Geneva’; and Toby Matthew, ‘Men go to China both by the Straits and by the Cape.’ The hopefulness of redemption here contrasts with the earlier confessional poems, *DivM* and *HolyS*, and even with the other two hymns: it is corroborated in *Serm.* 8. 371 (Easter 1629): ‘I doubt not of mine own salvation’. Cp. Sir Henry Wotton, ‘A Hymn to God in a Night of my Late Sickness’, of unknown date. The stanza-form had been used also by Sidney more than once, e.g., *Old Arcadia* ‘Third Book or Act’ (Ringler 38), and by D. in *BedfordNew*.

Text. There is little to choose between the two MS sources, with one error in each, against which this text takes the first printed edition, 1635, as corroboration, likewise accepting agreement between MSS to signify that 1635 is in error.

SINCE I am coming to that holy room
 Where, with thy choir of saints, for evermore
 I shall be made thy music, as I come,

Sources collated: *S96*, *A34*, 1635

Base text: *S96*

Heading, ‘God my God’] ‘My God, my God’, echoing the last words on the Cross, *Matt.* 27. 46 etc., is the opening address of Expostulations 6–23 in *Devotions*. In contrast to Jesus’s exclamation, they are used not to reproach God but to acknowledge his redeeming love.

1–4 The image is of waiting in the entrance corridor to the royal apartments of a palace. Cp. *Fatal* 44–6, and *Serm.* 3. 203 (7 Jan. 1621): ‘This life shall be a gallery into a better room’.

2 choir of saints] *Rev.* 15. 2–4.

3 thy music] ‘part of thy consort’. For one person as another’s music, cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 128: ‘When thou, my music, music playest’. C. Butler, *Number Symbolism* (1970) p. 129, suggests Plato’s *Timaeus* 47d, *Phaedo* 85e–95a and *Republic* 4 (441e–3d) as sources of this idea of harmonising the soul. Cp. *Germany* 16.

I tune the instrument here at the door,
 5 And what I must do then, think now before.

Whilst my physicians by their love are grown
 Cosmographers, and I their map, who lie
 Flat on this bed, that by them may be shown
 That this is my south-west discovery,
 10 *Per fretum febris*, by these straits to die,

Select variants:

5 now] here 1635

4 Cp. F. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* 2. 24: 'Looking back into that I have passed through, this writing seemeth to me . . . as far as a man can judge of his own work, not much better than that noise or sound which musicians make while they are in tuning their instruments, which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards.'

6 physicians] According to *Devotions* 8, James sent his own, either William Harvey, Physician Extraordinary to the King, or Sir Theodore de Mayerne, Physician in Ordinary to the royal family.

7 Cosmographers] In this case, students of the little world of man, the microcosm.

9–20 The image of life as voyage is commonplace, but may in D.'s case be a development of the 'long and tempestuous voyage' in *Devotions*, Expostulation 19:

But wherefore, O my God, hast thou presented to us the afflictions and calamities of this life in the name of waters? So often in the name of 'waters', and 'deep waters', and 'seas of waters'? Are they bottomless? Are they boundless? That's not the dialect of thy language: thou hast given a remedy against the deepest water by water, against the inundation of sin by baptism; and the first life that thou gavest any creatures was in waters: therefore thou dost not threaten us with an irremediableness when our affliction is a sea. . . . 'Thou art all' [marg. *Eccles* 43. 27]. Since thou art so, O my God, and affliction is a sea too deep for us, what is our refuge? Thine Ark, thy ship. . . . 'Thou hast made a way in the sea, and a safe path in the waters' [marg. *Wisd.* 14. 3], . . . the ship was a type of the Church; . . . But, O my God, my God, since I have my ship, . . . why are we yet no nearer land?

Cp. *Serm.* 9. 185 (12 Feb. 1630): '*the good man, . . . bringeth forth that which is good* [Luke 6. 45]: . . . a narrower way, but to a better land; through straits, 'tis true; but to the *Pacific Sea*', and *Serm.* 8. 371 (Easter 1629): 'Whoever, amongst our fathers, thought of any other way to the Moluccas, or to China, than by the Promontory of Good Hope? Yet another way opened itself to Magellan: a strait, it is true, but yet a way thither; and who knows yet, whether there may not be a north-east, and a north-west way thither, besides?'

9 south-west discovery] D.'s equivalent adventure to the exploring and passage through the narrow waters named after Magellan at the southern tip of South America by his expedition in 1520.

10 *Per fretum febris*] Through the difficult and turbulent passage of a fever. **by these straits to die]** Cp. *Serm.* 8. 62 (1 July 1627):

- I joy that in these straits I see my West,
 For, though their currents yield return to none,
 What shall my West hurt me? As West and East
 In all flat maps (and I am one) are one;
 15 So death doth touch the Resurrection.

12 their] *theis* *A34*: those 1635

Thou alone, dost steer our Boat, through all our Voyage, but hast a more especial care of it, a more watchful eye upon it, when it comes to a narrow current, or to a dangerous fall of waters. Thou hast a care of the preservation of these *bodies*, in all the ways of our life; but in the *Straits of Death*, open thine eyes wider, and enlarge thy providence towards us, so far, that no *Fever* in the *body*, may shake the *soul*, no *Apoplexy* in the *body*, damp or benumb the *soul*; nor any pain, or *agony* of the *body*, presage future torments to the *soul*.

straits] (a) As at the beginning of the note, 'sufferings'; (b) A narrow water-way between two more expansive ones. The Magellan Straits are particularly perilous. D. finds an easy way to neither life nor an after-life.

11–15 Cp. *Serm.* 9. 49–50 (April 1629):

Christ's name is *Oriens*, the *East*; . . . we are made but men: and man, but in the appellation, in this text [*Gen.* 1. 26]: and man there, is but *Adam*: and '*Adam*' is but earth, but 'red earth', earth dyed red in blood, in soul-blood, the blood of our own souls. To that West we must all come, to the earth. . . . When out of the region of your West, that is, your later days, there comes a cloud, a sickness, you feel a storm, even the best moral constancy is shaken. But this cloud, and this storm, and this West there must be. . . . Our West, our declination, is in this: that we are but earth.

See also this opposing symbolism of East and West, eternal rising versus earthly death, in *Friday*, and *Serm.* 9. 185 (12 Feb. 1630): 'Through straits, it is true, but to the Pacific Sea'.

11, 16, 21 straits, home, Paradise] S. Burt, *JDJ* 16 (1997) 155, compares *Metem* 56–7.

11 my West] D.'s ultimate destination. Cp. *Friday* 9, where the 'West' is merely geographical.

12 Cp. *Job* 7. 9–10, 10. 21, 16. 22.

13–20 D. refers to two types of map: 1. Mercator's rectangular projection of the whole world (in, e.g., Hakluyt, 1599) in which the eastern tip of Asia, and the Bering Strait occur on one side, the western extremity of America on the other; 2. the ancient and medieval T-in-O world-map with Jerusalem at the centre, the three oceans reduced to lines separating Shem's Asia (upper half) from Japhet's Europe (lower left quadrant) and Ham's Africa (lower right quadrant). See D. K. Anderson, *SAQ* 71 (1972) 465–72.

13–14 West . . . one] A favourite analogy repeated from *Annunciation* 21, on which see note. D. had used it in sermons shortly before his illness, e.g., in April–June

Is the Pacific Sea my home? Or are
 The Eastern riches? Is Jerusalem?
 Anian and Magellan and Gibraltar,
 All straits, and none but straits, are ways to them,
 20 Whether where Japhet dwelt, or Ham or Shem.

We think that Paradise and Calvary,
 Christ's cross and Adam's tree, stood in one place:
 Look, Lord, and find both Adams met in me:
 As the first Adam's sweat surrounds my face,
 25 May the last Adam's blood my soul embrace.

19 none *A34*, 1635: we *S96*

1623: 'In a flat Map, there goes no more, to make West East, though they be distant in an extremity, but to paste that flat Map upon a round body, and then West and East are all one. In a flat soul . . .'; and on All Saints Day 1623? (just before D.'s illness): 'As in the round frame of the World, the farthest West is East, where the West ends, the East begins, So in thee (who art a World too) thy West and thy East shall join, and when thy soul comes to set in thy death-bed, the Son of Grace shall suck it up into glory' (*Serm.* 6. 59, 10. 52).

16–20 Cp. *Essays* 1. 4 (1952) p. 36: 'for our haven (if we will) is even in the midst of the sea, and where we die, our home meets us.' Cp. also *Serm.* 6. 212 (1 Feb. 1625): 'And he hath not discovered, but made that Northern passage, to pass by the frozen Sea of calamity, and tribulation, to Paradise, to the heavenly Jerusalem.'

17 Is Jerusalem?] Cp. *Serm.* 6. 59 (April–June 1623): 'Still thy Haven is Jerusalem'.

18 The Straits of Magellan and Anian (now Bering) are the only geographical features accorded descriptions of their discovery in cartouches on Edward Wright's 1599 map in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. Cp. Guilpin, *Skaiaetheia* 1. 127–30, on one who boasts: 'He hath been in both the Indias, East and West, / Talks of Guiana, China, and the rest: / "The straits of Gibraltar, and Anyan / Are but hard by—no, nor the Magellan".'

20 where . . . Shem] 'These are the three sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overspread' (*Gen.* 9. 19). 'The whole earth' was traditionally taken to be the continents round the Mediterranean, i.e., Europe or Africa or Asia, the classical threefold division of the known world, e.g., by Strabo 2. 5. 14 (C118).

21–2 Cp. *Metem* 73–7, and see note.

24–5 Cp. *Serm.* 1. 293 (19 April 1618): 'we were all wrapped up in the first *Adam*, all Mankind; and we are wrapped up in the second *Adam*, in Christ, all Mankind too; . . . in the first *Adam*, we inherit death from him, . . . in the second *Adam*, . . . we are made possessors of eternal life', paraphrasing 1 *Cor.* 15. 22, 45.

So, in his purple wrapped receive me, Lord;
 By these his thorns give me his other crown;
 And, as to others' souls I preached thy word,
 Be this my text, my sermon to mine own:
 30 'Therefore, that he may raise, the Lord throws down'.

26 his purple] Jesus's blood, regarded as a shroud because covering his corpse. Cp. Crashaw's *Upon the Crucified Body of our Blessed Lord, Naked and Bloody*: 'Thee with thyself they have too richly clad, / Op'ning the purple wardrobe in thy side.' D. appropriates to himself the actual 'clean linen cloth' or winding-sheet of *Matt.* 27. 59 etc. in *Serm.* 5. 358 (n. d.): 'Look upon my bones as they are confined, and shrouded in that sheet, the righteousness of Christ Jesus'; and in the Latin epigraph under the portrait of D. shrouded prefixed to *Deaths Duell* (1632), meaning 'May this body's soul's shroud be the shroud of Jesus.' Gardner *DP* p. 113 hypothesises that 'the garment is the purple robe set on Christ in mockery', but this is less likely to guarantee D.'s salvation than 'Christ's blood, which hath this might: / That, being red, it dyes red souls to white' (*DivM5Black* 13–14). The term 'purple' might be used of the scarlet ceremonial attire of cardinals, also the colour of D.'s doctoral gown when he preached, so that he was literally 'wrapped' in purple, like Jesus covered in blood. Liturgically, purple was the colour for Lent, appropriate for the season of abstinence and penitence which led to the Passion and Resurrection.

27 these his thorns] D. identifies his own suffering with the mocking thorns of the Crucifixion (*Matt.* 27. 29), thus assuming his own suffering has earned eternal bliss as did Christ's. **his other crown]** The right to his eternal kingdom: cp. *DivM4Part*, *DivM12Wilt*.

30 An amalgam of several scriptural texts: D. probably heard the *BCP* Visitation of the Sick: 'For as Saint Paul saith in the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews, "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,"' itself a quotation of *Prov.* 3. 12, and *Ps.* 102. 10: 'Thou hast lifted me up, and cast me down'. Cp. *Jas.* 4. 10, *Rev.* 3. 19, *John* 12. 24–5, and thence *1 Cor.* 15. 36: 'That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. . . . The body is sown in corruption and riseth in incorruption. It is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour; it is sown in weakness and riseth in power' (*GV*). In *Serm.* 4. 126 (Easter Monday 1622), D. preached that 'Man was fallen, and God took that way to raise him: to throw him lower, into the grave; man was sick, and God invented, God studied physic for him, and strange physic: to recover him by death'; and in *Serm.* 6. 212 (1 Feb. 1625): 'He takes not off his hand from him that is fallen, but throws him down therefore that he may raise him.' Novarr, p. 180, notes the parallel in *The Duchess of Malfi* 5. 2. 353–4: 'Oh, Penitence, let me truly taste thy cup, / That throws men down, only to raise them up.' **raise]** resurrect. Man dies that he may rise again.

WEDDING CELEBRATIONS

Wedding-Songs or Epithalamia

The tradition of the wedding-song may be as old as the (quite separate) religious ceremony: in Greek the adjective *epithalamios*, meaning 'at the bridal chamber', denoted a bedding-down song bawdily encouraging procreation. In Europe, the congratulatory type goes back to Sappho (seventh century BCE). After many appearances in poetry and drama, the epithalamium is substantially exemplified in Theocritus 18, a fifty-eight-line imaginary bridesmaids' song, 'Epithalamios for Helen' marrying Menelaus; an anonymous English version was published in the *Sixte Idillia* (1588; repr. 1903). Catullus, 61, 62, 64 (ll. 323–81), was held up by J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* 3. 101 (1561), followed by Puttenham 1. 26 (1589; 1936) p. 53, as the chief exemplar of the Golden Latin *epithalamium*; in no. 61 Catullus describes the events of the day as Spenser and D. do, and in nos. 61, 62 and 64 employs refrains. Statius (first century CE), and the fourth-century Ausonius (in a day's patchwork of Virgil to amuse an emperor) and Claudian (appropriating it for panegyric of the powerful) described the wedding-day and participants with epic trappings. The genre was enthusiastically revived by Renaissance Latin and vernacular poets such as Ariosto in Italy, Ronsard, Belleau and Du Bellay in France, 'but none more excellent', opined Puttenham (p. 53), 'than of late years a young nobleman of Germany, as I take it, Ioannes Secundus' (who devotes seven of his eleven stanzas to the pleasures of the marriage-bed). Sidney's epithalamium in *Arcadia* (1593 version), Third Eclogues (*Poems*, no. 63, pp. 91–4), is neither a bedding-song nor a grand narration of the day, but a lyrical, pastoral exhortation and benediction. The genre is exhaustively discussed by Tuffe, *Poetry of Marriage* (1970), conveniently summarising on pp. 133–5 Scaliger's programme for epithalamia, and copiously exemplified from Sappho to Larkin in her anthology *High Wedlock* (1970). H. Dubrow appends to *A Happier Eden* (1990) a translation by J. Bryce of Scaliger's chapter on epithalamium in *Poetices*.

Epithalamium Made at Lincoln's Inn

Date and Context. 1594–5. D. was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 6 May 1592; the last record of his presence is 26 Nov. 1594. D. Novarr, *RES* ns 7 (1956) 250–63 (repr. in *Disinterred Muse* (1980), *Essential Articles* pp. 439–50), tentatively dates it to 1595, after the publication early in that year of Spenser's *Amoretti and Epithalamion*, since D.'s poem has the 'blending of the epic narration of the bridal day with an essentially lyric intent and this fusion of traditions was available to him only after the publication of Spenser's poem'. Nevertheless, though Novarr suggests midsummer 1595 because of the reference to the summer solstice in ll.

Heading *W*'s simple heading sufficed before D. wrote *Elizabeth*. Group II's placing of the poem at Lincoln's Inn sets it in time and more significantly in context. Though questionably authoritative, Group III's 'Epithalamium on a Citizen' at least shows that one or more contemporaries perceived irony and read it as burlesque. Group II MSS adopt Spenser's Greek form, *Epithalamion*, from which the intervening Latin *Epithalamium* (D.'s probable original in *W*) derived. (The second citation in *OED* after Spenser is unreliably dated to about 1600, and is possibly later.)

54–5 (the daylight and nocturnal stanzas are equal in number), evidence for Lincoln's Inn revels at midsummer is precarious, and the lines may merely point to Spenser in parody and increase the absurdity of a mock-wedding: D.'s friend Everard Guilpin in his *Epigram* 52 speaks of Inn of Court revellers as called by night 'To paint the torch-light summer of the hall' (*Skiaetheia* (1598; 1974) p. 53). Spenser's *Amoretti and Epithalamion* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 19 Nov. 1594; although the title-page is dated 1595, printers tended from November to use the next year's date (P. Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford 1972) pp. 317–18), so there may just have been time for D. to read Spenser's *Epithalamion*, and parody it in *Lincoln* for the Christmas Revels of 1594–5. His failure to serve as joint Master of the Revels after being elected on 26 Nov. 1594 (Bald p. 57), his first, since they had been cancelled in 1592 and 1593 because of plague, could thus have been due to the pressure of composition. Since his future employer, Sir Thomas Egerton, newly appointed Master of the Rolls, was a senior member of the Inn, he would probably have been present at the Christmas Revels, giving D. a chance to come to his notice, apart from acquaintance with his fellow-student, Egerton's eldest son, Thomas the younger. How serious a career-opportunity this could be is shown by the list of performers at the Jan. 1588 Gray's Inn Revels written out by the Queen's chief minister, Lord Burghley, a senior member of that Inn (BL Lansdowne MS 55, fol. 4, in P. Vivian, *Campion's Works* (1909) p. xxix).

Analogues. The commentary below notes D.'s numerous echoes of Spenser's *Epithalamion*. The stanzas resemble Spenser's inasmuch as the longer lines of four and five iambs are interrupted by a trimeter; as in Spenser's poem, in *Metem*, in the love-poems *Anniversary*, *Morrow*, and in the epithalamium *Elizabeth*, a final alexandrine rounds off each stanza.

There is no evidence that *Lincoln* was composed for a real marriage. Many of its predecessors, such as Theocritus' and Sidney's, were obvious fictions. Taking up Grierson's perception of 'a satiric quality', Novarr pointed out the overtly insulting nature of D.'s references to city merchants and courtiers, suggesting he wrote for a mock-wedding at an Inn revel, which adds resonance to the characterisation of fellow students (all male) as 'strange hermaphrodites', since any female parts would have been acted by them. Though some readers may see this poem as satirizing the reality of arranged marriages in comparison to Spenser's (perhaps justified) idealism (P. Legouis, *Donne: Poèmes choisies* (1955) p. 213, recalls the French nobility's dictum that 'One must dung one's lands'), Novarr sees *Lincoln* not as satire but 'closer to the "palpable-gross play [that] hath well beguiled / The heavy gait of night"', as Theseus characterises the manual workers' inept *Pyramus and Thisbe* at the end of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. This play's presumed date, 1594–5, also strengthens Novarr's case for a revels context. Another composition of the same period probably for Inn revels is *Orchestra* by John Davies of the Middle Temple, 'composed early in 1594, not long before . . . 25 June' (*Poems* p. 357); the best known Inn revels are the *Gesta Grayorum* of 1594–5, partly by Bacon.

Tufte, *Poetry of Marriage* pp. 14–16, records critical disagreement on whether Aristophanes' epithalamia concluding *The Birds* and *The Peace* are burlesque. C. M. Schenck, in *Mourning and Panegyric* (1988) 73–90, classifies *Lincoln* as parody, while Dubrow, *Happier Eden* pp. 156–64, argues that *Lincoln* alternates between 'parodic elements' and sincere imitation, comparing *Bait* and *Metem* (which, however, were not composed for a serious public occasion, and are comparable in their mixed modes rather to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* and Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*). But (p. 122) she classes *Lincoln* with Suckling's 'Ballade. Upon a Wedding' as 'anti-epithalamium' (a term used by Tufte pp. 37–55, 247–8, rather

for ill-omened or tragically ironic re-applications of epithalamic convention by, e.g., Euripides, Seneca, Ovid, Lucan, Musaeus, Bion, Shakespeare and Webster).

Ausonius' *Cento*, with its eight (unequal) sections of actual epithalamium, may not only be a formal precedent: Fowler (1970) pp. 151–4, 158, 160, explains, from Martianus Capella via Jonson's notes on *Hymenaei* (1606), that D.'s eight stanzas allude to eight names and functions of the nuptial goddess, Juno. Fowler also finds a more complex concealed harmony in the references to sunset and sunrise.

Text. The case for *W* as the source closest to the original is meticulously set forth by C. J. Walby, *JDJ* 8 (1989) 17–35. It does not contradict any probably authentic reading in the three other groups of MSS (II, III and (not cited here) V), nor does it share any of their probable errors.

- THE sunbeams in the East are spread:
 Leave, leave, fair bride, your solitary bed.
 No more shall you return to it alone:
 It nurseth sadness, and your body's print
 5 Like to a grave the yielding down doth dint.
 You and your other you meet there anon.
 Put forth, put forth that warm, balm-breathing thigh,
 Which when next time you in these sheets will smother
 There it must meet another
 10 Which never was, but must be, oft, more nigh.
 Come glad from thence, go gladder than you came:
 Today put on perfection, and a woman's name.

Sources collated: *W*; Group II: *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC* (ll. 1–72); Group III: *Dob*, *Sg6*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *W*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: Epithalamium *W*: Epithalamion (Epithalamie *DC*) made at Lincoln's Inn II, 1633, 1635: Epithalamion on a Citizen *Dob* (Epithalamium), *Sg6*, *Lut*, *O'F* 4 body's] body 1633*be* 8 these] those III 10 must be, oft] oft must be III 12 Today] Tonight *Dob*, *Sg6*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

1 Cp. Spenser, *Epith.* l. 20: 'His golden beam upon the hills doth spread' (the first of numerous close echoes).

4–5 **body's print . . . grave**] Corpses were often buried merely in a woollen shroud without a coffin.

5 **grave**] the first of four references to death (see also 41 'tomb', 80 'grave', 90 'embowel') which might be felt to disturb decorum if this were a serious celebration.

6 **your other**] i.e., 'your other self'. This ellipsis, reincarnated in late twentieth century 'significant other', is unnoticed by *OED*. Cp. l. 46 and *BedfordShe* 1–4 (Milgate).

7 Spenser l. 92 notes the bride's 'fair eyes', D. a more erotic part. **balm-breathing**] 'fragrant'. See note on *Comparison* 3.

12 **perfection**] Aristotle, *Generation of Animals* 1. 20 (729a9–12) concluded that the male provided the formative principle, the female the material; thence it was

Daughters of London, you which be
 Our golden mines and furnished treasury;
 15 You which are angels, yet still bring with you
 Thousands of angels on your marriage-days,
 Help with your presence and device to praise
 These rites, which also unto you grow due.
 Conceitedly dress her, and be assigned
 20 By you fit place for every flower and jewel:
 Make her for love fit fuel,

17 device TCD: devise Σ

an uncritically repeated proverb that 'Women receive perfection by men' (Tilley W718), as in Lily, *Euphuus* (*Works* 1. 241); Marlowe, *Hero and Leander* 1. 226. Cp. the (misattributed) *Problems of Aristotle* (Edinburgh 1595 sig. H2): 'the nature of women is imperfect'; 'as the matter doth covet a form or perfection, so doth a woman the male', followed in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* 3. 4. 12–13: 'Woman receiveth perfection by the man'. Jonson, however, celebrates the perfection of both partners in the refrains of the epithalamia which conclude *Hymenaei* (1606) and *The Haddington Masque* (*The Hue and Cry after Cupid*) (1608). If to be married is the 'perfection' of a woman, incomplete without a man, there is also an implicit hit at the spinster Queen Elizabeth, who worried many subjects by lacking an obvious heir, so laying the country open once more to civil war. Novarr observes the extra point to 'Today . . . put on a woman's name' for a mock-marriage with the bride played by a male student.

13–16 The cynical reference to the bridesmaids, rich citizens' daughters, as desirable for their money also suits burlesque, but hardly a genuine marriage-day. The lines parody Spenser's appeal 167–203 to 'ye merchants' daughters' of Cork to admire the sweetness, beauty, mildness, honour and virtue of the aristocratic Elizabeth Boyle: instead D. focuses on London's daughters as possessing not Elizabeth Boyle's 'celestial treasures' of love, chastity, fidelity, womanliness, honour, modesty and purity of mind, but material treasures in their dowries. Cp. the equation of a woman's beauty to her father's hoped-for wealth, 'food of our love' in *Perfume* 10–11.

14 Our] D. includes himself among the student gold-diggers. **mines]** Though a sexual analogy is obviously possible, D. does not draw it anywhere else, even in *Mummy* 1, where, as elsewhere, it figures a source of riches. **furnished]** well-stocked.

15, 16 angels] Gold coins worth 10s. that depicted the archangel Michael on one side. Though worth less than several other coins such as sovereigns (£1) and nobles (15s.), they furnish here the cynical irony that the angels the young men prefer are not poetically idealised women but the money they bring. Cp. D.'s regretful devotion for the coins in that mockery of 'silly old morality', *Bracelet* 9–90, and note.

17 Help] Spenser's request to 'daughters of delight'. **device]** decking of the bride so as to indicate her sex-appeal and dowry.

18 Since the bridesmaids too are of an age to marry or soon will be. Cp. Catullus 61. 36–8.

19 Conceitedly] with emblematic significance: the 'flower' and 'jewel' of l. 20 will represent the bodily attractiveness and wealth specified in ll. 22–3.

21–2 The poem continues to voice lust and greed, seeing the woman as 'fuel' for passion and 'rich'—emphasised by repetition in l. 23. Spenser 106–8 requests rather 'graces' and hymns to Venus.

As gay as Flora and as rich as Ind.
 So may she, fair, rich, glad, and in nothing lame,
 Today put on perfection, and a woman's name.

- 25 And you, frolic patricians,
 Sons of these senators, wealth's deep oceans;
 Ye painted courtiers, barrels of others' wits;
 Ye countrymen, who but your beasts love none;

23 fair, rich, glad, and] fair and rich *Dob, Lut, O'F, 1633*: fair, rich and *S96*

26 Sons] Some *II, 1633* these] those *II, III, 1635* oceans] ocean *S96, Lut, O'F*

27 Ye] You *Wbe*: Yea *II* 28 who] which *DC, III*

22 Flora] Roman goddess of flowers (and so Spring personified in youth and beauty), whose six-day festival, the erotic Floralia from 28 April to 3 May, included sexually free-spoken farces (Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 945–7, 5. 331–74). **Ind]** India and the East Indies, providing the precious stones and metals, silks and spices which enriched the members of the East India Company whose heiresses young men hunted, as in *Satyre* 1 58.

23 glad] Line 11 shows that she is expected to be a willing sexual partner. **in nothing lame]** the negative hardly evokes superlative beauty: she may excel only in not being positively crippled like Sidney's Mopsa (*Poems* p. 12) who 'goes god Vulcan's pace', i.e., limps (Apollodorus 1. 3. 5). The extreme elision of the line produces a limping rhythm which could hint at the palliating sense 'not very lame'. Cp. l. 95 and comment. If 'nothing' were read as signifying her vulva, then she is lame there in possessing the 'female wound' alluded to more clearly in l. 90.

25–30 Mockery of aristocrats, courtiers, country gentry, and students present at the revels, contrasting with Spenser's 'fresh boys that tend upon her groom' (112).

25 frolic patricians] revelling nobles and sons of nobles.

26 The line can be read in two ways: the 'frolic patricians' themselves are sons and sons-in-law and 'wealth's deep oceans' because they swallow the rivers of their fathers' and father-in-laws' wealth, while l. 31's 'Here shine', reveals a play on 'Sun' (favoured by D. in *HerbertMPaper* 1–2, *DivM2Due* 5, *Christ* 15–16, *Semm.* 10. 52), which dries up the sea and returns its water to the land in rain (as in *Storm* 43–4), as the young men, 'suns of these senators' wealth's deep oceans', suck up their father-in-laws' wealth to shower it on London's merchandise and pleasures. **senators]** at its most specific, members of the Lords or Commons, who might well be present at Inn of Court revels, but D. addresses the successful citizens in his audience at Paul's Cross (24 March 1617, *Semm.* 1. 208) as 'Senators of London', warning them against idle, spendthrift sons (Gr.).

27 Colourfully dressed (rather than 'made-up') courtiers (cp. *Satyre* 1 72, *Satyre* 4 172), gaudy but empty, were eager to gather trenchant sayings for their own use: cp. *Hamlet* 1. 5. 107: 'My tables, my tables! Meet it is I set it down'. The scattering of D.'s lyrics and epigrams in MS miscellanies suggests they were used in this way. **barrels]** One syllable. **others' wits]** Cp. *Satyre* 1 192.

28 Cp. the proverb recorded by D.'s maternal grandfather, John Heywood, *Dialogue of Proverbs* (1546, 1549, etc.; 1963) p. 138; included by Camden in his *Remaines* (1605; 1984 p. 274): 'Every man as he loveth, quoth the goodman [yeoman farmer] when that he kissed his cow.'

- Ye of those fellowships whereof he's one
 30 (Of study and play made strange hermaphrodites),
 Here shine: this bridegroom to the temple bring.
 Lo, in yon path which store of strawed flowers graceth
 The sober virgin paceth;
 Except my sight fail, 'tis no other thing.
 35 Weep not nor blush, here is no grief nor shame:
 Today put on perfection, and a woman's name.
- Thy two-leaved gates, fair temple unfold,
 And these two in thy sacred bosom hold

32 Lo] So *Dob*, *Sg6be*, *Lut*, *O'F*: See *Sg6ae* strawed *om.* III

29 fellowships] The plural suggests that members of more than one Inn were taking part, or, perhaps, relatives from Oxford and Cambridge colleges. **one]** a member.

30 strange hermaphrodites] Not only because of their combining legal studies and general recreations, but because they have studied their parts and some of them dressed and made up to masquerade as bride and maids. Cp. *Tilman* 50–4, where the minister's function of bringing together 'God's graces and man's offences' makes him a 'blessed hermaphrodite'. **strange]** Although it would be impossible to construe all D.'s uses of the word in this way, one of the revellers at Christmas 1594 might well be William, Earl of Derby, admitted to Lincoln's Inn in August 1594. Though the family barony of Strange was really extinct with the death of his elder brother Ferdinando in April, Thomas may, during the former's earldom, 1593–4, have been known (as his son was later) as Lord Strange, and have been taking one of the female parts in the revel. See comment on *Derby*.

31 temple] Echoing Spenser's use for 'church' (204), conventional in classically Christian poetry, but perhaps with the added resonance of the Temple Church in Fleet Street associated with the Inns of the Middle and Inner Temple (Lincoln's Inn had its own chapel, presided over by D. from 1616 to 1622, who then preached at the dedication of its replacement in 1623).

33–4 Spenser devotes ll. 148–80 to the bride's entrance and external beauties. Milgate detects affectation of surprise that the groom has managed to find a 'sober virgin' in the City, and has not captured a rich widow, while l. 34's oddness suggests to Novarr an allusion to a not-very-serious impersonation of a bride. Cp. Catullus 61. 118.

35 Weep not] Cp. Catullus 61. 86. **nor blush . . . shame]** Blushes of shame might be even more readily forthcoming from a student in travesty than from a bride. Spenser's bride (159–64, 223–39) blushes out of modesty 'to hear her praises sung so loud'.

37–42 The Protestant Spenser's 'Open the temple gates' (echoing Catullus 61. 76) refers directly to the church of righteousness, truth and salvation of *Isaiah* 26. 2, whereas D.'s church is a place of funeral-vaults hungry for corpses. ('Sarcophagus' derives through Latin from the Greek for 'flesh-eating'.)

37 D.'s 'two-leaved gates' may have a sexual connotation reinforced by l. 40's 'womb': in Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594; *Works* 2. 292) the rapist Esdras of Granado 'used his knee as an iron ram to beat open the two-leaved gate of her

- Till, mystically joined, but one they be.
 40 Then may thy lean and hunger-starvèd womb
 Long time expect their bodies and their tomb,
 Long after their own parents fatten thee.
 All elder claims and all cold barrenness,
 All yielding to new loves, be far for ever,
 45 Which might these two dissever;
 All ways all th'other may each one possess;
 For the best bride, best worthy of prayer and fame,
 Today puts on perfection, and a woman's name.

39 mystically] mistually *II* but] both in *Dob, Lut, O'Fbe*: in *S96*

42 fatten thee] satten there *TCC, TCD*: satten these *DC*

45 Which] *Never II*

46 All ways] *Always Σ*: all th'] th'each *Dob, S96, Lut, O'Fbe* each] th'each *III*

47 prayer] prayers *TCC, DC*: praise *III, 1633, 1635*

chastity'. In *1 Cor.* 6. 19 the temple of the Holy Spirit is the body. **two-leaved]** double. Pre-dating *OED*'s first example.

39 mystically joined] According to the priest's opening address in the *BCP* 'Form of Solemnization of Matrimony', 'signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his Church'.

40-5 More dissonant references to things—death, barrenness, previous contracts, adultery—usually glossed over in epithalamia.

40 An inattentive reader might assume reference to the sex-starved bride rather than the Church, and even to the attentive the resonance may seem incongruous.

41 Cp. Sidney, *Arcadia*, Third Eclogues 1. 31-2: 'Let one time (but long first) close up their days, / One grave their bodies seize' (*Poems* p. 92; Milgate).

43 The allusion to parents' deaths might be displeasing even in that pious age if made in their presence at a real wedding.

43 elder claims] As directed in *Gen.* 2. 24, *Matt.* 19. 5, *Mark* 10. 7: 'Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife', and the *BCP* marriage service: 'forsaking all others', but also with a realistic acknowledgement of previous amorous entanglements, as Catullus 61. 137-9 exhorts the groom to abstain henceforth from his slave-boy bedfellow. **cold barrenness]** *Gen.* 9. 7: 'Be ye fruitful, and multiply'; 'It was ordained for the procreation of children'—*BCP*; but the exhortation to reproduce is common to many cultures, as in Catullus 61. 207-11.

44-5 'What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder'—*Matt.* 19. 6, *Mark* 10. 9, and *BCP*. Cp. Catullus 61. 97-101; in 147-9 he warns the bride against refusing conjugal rights lest her husband seek them elsewhere.

46 All ways/Always] *W*'s form allows a permissible ambivalence.

47 To the Church addressed in this stanza, the bride may be 'best worthy of prayer' for her money. **prayer]** Group *III*'s and the printed 'praise' is weak and little better than tautologous.

Oh, winter days bring much delight,
 50 Not for themselves, but for they soon bring night.
 Other sweets wait thee than these diverse meats,
 Other disports than dancing jollities,
 Other love-tricks than glancing with the eyes,
 But that the sun still in our half-sphere sweats:
 55 He flies in winter, but now he stands still.
 Yet shadows turn: noon point he hath attained;
 His steeds nill be restrained,
 But gallop lively down the western hill.
 Thou shalt, when he hath run the world's half frame,
 60 Tonight put on perfection, and a woman's name.

49 Oh,] Our *Dob*: *om. II, 1633* winter] ~s *Lut, O'F*

51 these] those *III* diverse] *om. with space TCC, TCDBE, DC*

54 that] if *Dob, S96, Lut, O'Fbe* (y^t leading to *Dob's yf*)

55 now he] he now *II, 1633* 57 nill] will *II, III, 1633* 58 western] eastern *Lut, O'F*

59 run] come *II, 1633* world's] heavens *Lut, O'F, 1635*: world *TCC, TCD*

60 Tonight put] ~ but *1633*: Put *Dob, S96, Lut, O'Fbe*

49–50, 54–5 Close to Spenser 270–2, 278–81, but whereas Spenser 242–64, 274–7 focuses on ‘jollity’, wine, the dance of the Graces, singing, bells and bonfires, D. proceeds straight to regrets that bedtime is delayed. Catullus 68. 81–3 (68A. 41–3) alludes to winter’s long nights sating hungry passion. J. Owen, *Epigrammatum ad Tres Mecenates Libri Tres* (1612) 1. 19, teases a man for choosing to be married on the day with the longest night.

50 for they] because they.

52 jollities] Using the word only here and in *Elizabeth* 32, D. echoes the ‘jollity’ of Spenser 245 (Dubrow p. 174).

54–5 The sun is still in the northern hemisphere, in fact at the *solstitium*, ‘sun-standstill’, indicating a midsummer occasion for the poem (but see headnote on date and context). It was (at least in the Middle Ages) one of the traditional dates for elaborate revels at the Inns of Court, and thus appropriate for a parody of Spenser, who (265–2) specifies the feast of St Barnabas, which by the old Julian calendar then in force, coincided with the summer solstice (Novarr, quoting the proverb ‘Barnaby bright, Barnaby bright, The longest day and the shortest night’—Tilley B92).

57–8 Cp. Spenser 282–4.

57 nill] will not. A Spenserian Chaucerism (e.g., *Shep. Cal.* ‘May’ 151—*OED*) which, still current but rare (it is used by Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* 1. 1. 2. 11 (3rd edn 1628)) was vulnerable to change by scribes, and thence printers, into the nonsense of ‘will’. The classical chariot of the sun is unstoppable (except in biblical history, e.g., *Josh.* 10. 13). Milgate disagrees, following J. V. Hagopian, *NE&Q* 202 (1957) 501.

59 the world's half-frame] the hemisphere of the sky. Cp. ‘Epithalamium, or a Nuptial Song Applied to the Ceremonies of Marriage’ 43–5, by D.’s friend, Christopher Brooke, in *England's Helicon* (1614): ‘Now whiles slow hours do feed the time's delay, / Confused discourse, with music mixed among, / Fills up the semi-circle of the day.’

The am'rous evening star is rose:
 Why should not then our am'rous star enclose
 Herself in her wished bed? Release your strings,
 Musicċians, and dancers take some truce
 65 With these your pleasing labours, for great use
 As much weariness as perfection brings.
 You, and not only you, but all toiled beasts
 Rest duly^at night: all their toils are dispensed;
 But in their beds commenced
 70 Are other labours and more dainty feasts.
 She goes a maid, who, lest she turn the same,
 Tonight puts on perfection, and a woman's name.

Thy virgin's girdle now untie,
 And in thy nuptial bed, Love's altar, lie,
 75 A pleasing sacrifice. Now dispossess
 Thee of these chains and robes, which were put on
 T'adorn the day, not thee: for thou alone,
 Like virtue^and truth, art best in nakedness.
 This bed is only to virginity
 80 A grave, but to a better state, a cradle:

62 should not then] ~ ~ thou TCC: then should not 1633

63 your] the III 65 these] those III 72 puts 1633: put W

73 Thy] The S96, Lut, O'F, TCC virgin's] virgin III 76 these] those II, III

61 A swift version of Spenser 285–95. **am'rous evening star]** Venus as Hesperus or Vesper, thus greeted in epithalamia from Catullus 62 onwards.

67–70 Humans are equated with other 'beasts' in their nocturnal 'labours', whereas for Spenser 315–20 night the 'long day's labour dost at last defray'.

71–80 D. stresses the deflowering of a virgin, her helplessness and nakedness, whereas Spenser concentrates on the 'lilies . . . violets, And silken curtains . . . And odoured sheets, and Arras coverlets' of the bed on which the bride lies 'goodly . . . Like unto Maia', while Night spreads her 'broad wing . . . that no man may us see'.

71 turn] return.

73 virgin's girdle] Traditionally fastened in the apparently endless and thus hard to untie true-love knot, associated with the Amazon Hippolyte's Scythian girdle untied by Heracles, who had fathered some fifty children on the daughters of Thespius in one night. Its undoing by the groom thus augured offspring. (See Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 5. 22. 5 and note (1981) pp. 425, 998.)

75 A pleasing sacrifice] Possibly parody of *Philippians* 4. 18, rendered in the Bishops' Bible as 'a sacrifice acceptable, pleasant unto God'.

78 Proverbial: Tilley T589, quoting, e.g., Lyly, *Euphues* (*Works* I. 181). Cp. *Satyre* 1 41 (virtue).

79–80 Paradoxically, grave precedes cradle here as virginity does motherhood.

Till now thou wast but able
 To be what now thou art: then, that by thee
 No more be said 'I may be' but 'I am',
 Tonight put on perfection, and a woman's name.

- 85 E'en like a faithful man content
 That this life for a better should be spent,
 So she a mother's rich style doth prefer,
 And at the bridegroom's wished approach doth lie
 Like an appointed lamb, when tenderly
 90 The priest comes on his knees t'embowel her.
 Now sleep or watch with more joy; and, O light
 Of heaven, tomorrow rise thou hot and early:
 This sun will love so dearly

82 thee] shee *II* 91 and, O] or *S96*: and a *Lut, O'Fbe* 93 This] Thy *Lut, O'Fbe*

81–2 In scholastic teaching, fulfilment is the purpose of potential; *potentia*, possible existence, was 'ordained by nature' (Jonson, *Alchemist* 2. 3. 133) to fulfilment in actual existence, *esse*. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 8. 9 (1051a), followed by Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 25. 1, argues that since potential for good and bad are equally present, actual good must be better than potential, and is its end.

85–6 D. does not question here, as he does later in *Pseudo-Martyr*, the value of martyrdom so recently known in and round his family (Bald p. 58), since sexual pleasure is worth the shortening of life incurred according to Aristotle. Cp. *Farewell* 24–5, *Metem* 206–10, 220, *Elizabeth* 7, and *FirAn* 110: 'We kill ourselves to propagate our kind'.

87 style] name, title.

88–90 This figure of intercourse occurs also in *Comparison* 49–52, suggesting closeness in date as well as attitude. To Christians of D.'s time the sacrificial lamb was revered as a type of Christ (for example, in the *Agnus Dei* of the Eucharist, developed from *John* 1. 29, and *Revelation* throughout), so associating the bride with the Passion in a serious poem might have seemed blasphemous but not sadistic. However, the vivid physicality of this closing passage can be sensed to maintain the hyperbole and incongruity of earlier parts of the poem, and to play on the fact that the male acting the 'bride' does not have the 'female wound' (the vulva), as in *Comparison* 51, and Nashe, *Choice of Valentines* 254 (*Works* 3. 413). G. Williams (1994) p. 1551 adds later examples. Cp. H. Bonar's hymn: 'Soon shalt thou hear the Bridegroom's voice, / The midnight cry, "Behold! I come!"').

90 on his knees] Not Hebrew or classical practice, so incongruously inserted from the Christian Eucharist. **embowel]** sink his knife into. Milgate and *OED* cite *Sem.* 9. 99 (19 Nov. 1627) for the sense applicable to the bridegroom, 'be inside': 'all was embowelled, and enwombed in the waters'.

91–2 Contradicting the usual wish for a long night voiced in 49–50 (and in *Sun*), perhaps with a suggestive hint of the groom's reviving powers (see next).

93 This sun] Applying in reverse *Psalms* 19. 4–5: 'the Sun, which is as a bridegroom' (Grosart), and repeated in *Elizabeth* 85 and *Somerset* 144–5 (Milgate). Cp. *ListerBlest* 2, 10 (Aug. 1594?), *Blossom* 15, which also make the Petrarchan identification. The religious D., by contrast, makes Christ his sun in *Corona7Ascen* 2, *Annunciation* 4, *Friday* 11, *Christ* 15.

Her rest, that long, long we shall want her sight.
 95 Wonders are wrought, for she which had no maim
 Tonight puts on perfection, and a woman's name.

95 maim] name *II, Dob, S96, Lut, O'Fbe*

An Epithalamion or Marriage-Song on the Lady Elizabeth and Frederick, Count Palatine, being Married on St Valentine's Day

Date and Context. Late 1612–early 1613. The treaty for the match of James I's daughter (b. Aug. 1596) was concluded in May 1612, and gave special interest to D.'s visit to the Elector in Heidelberg with the Druries in the spring of 1612 (Bald pp. 257–8; see note below on 86), and he would have had plenty of time in which to conceive his tribute for the solemnization of the marriage on Quinquagesima Sunday, 14 Feb. 1613, three days before the forbidden period of Lent, into which lasted the surrounding fortnight of celebrations. There were bells, bonfires, fireworks, a naval battle on the Thames with thirty-eight warships (an actual disaster in which 'one lost his eyes, another both his hands, another one hand, with divers others maimed and hurt', to the disgust of King and Court—J. Chamberlain, *Letters* (1939) I. 423), processions with princes, ambassadors and nobility, dances, feasts, revels, races, and masques provided for three successive nights by Campion, Chapman and Beaumont (with Bacon). The masques and accounts of all the festivities were reprinted in *Progresses of James I*, 2. 513–610, including (pp. 536–48) the most detailed account of the marriage procession and ceremony, *Marriage of Prince Fredericke, and the Kings Daughter, the Lady Elizabeth* (enl. edn 1613). For the entertainments see also E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage* (1923) 3. 233–5, 241–4, 260–2, 4. 73–4, 127; T. J. B. Spencer *et al.*, eds, *Book of Masques* (1967; 1980) pp. 95–148, for Campion and Beaumont's contributions; and for Chapman's, D. Lindley, ed., *Court Masques* (1995) pp. 74–91. On 18 Feb. 1613 John Chamberlain described the celebrations to Dudley Carleton's sister Alice (*Letters* (1939) I. 423–6); for derivative modern summaries see Carola Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (1938; rev. edn 1964) pp. 75–93, and M. McGowan, in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration* (1972) pp. 184–91, explaining that the British aimed

95 Wonders are wrought] Since the already faultless is nevertheless improved to perfection. Protestants contended that miracles were confined to biblical times. D.'s joking vindication of the Roman position suggests budding scepticism about his religion. **had no maim]** i.e., was a virgin, but also, in the metaphor of sacrifice, fulfils the commands of *Exod.* 12. 5 that the Passover 'lamb shall be without blemish' and *Lev.* 22. 21–2 that a sacrifice 'shall be perfect, to be accepted; there shall be no blemish therein. Blind, or broken, or maimed, or having a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed, ye shall not offer these unto the Lord'. It was applied to Christ crucified in *Eph.* 5. 27, 'not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; . . . holy and without blemish'; and *1 Pet.* 1. 19 (*AV*). Thus the bride could perfectly signify 'the mystical union which is between Christ and his Church'.

to eclipse the double marriages between France and Spain in Paris, 1612 (see Bald pp. 253–4). Dubrow p. 76 notes that the festivities surrounding the marriage cost £93,294, at a time when, according to John Carey (1986) p. 15, ‘An average parish schoolmaster’s salary . . . was £20 a year.’ Chamberlain protested that ‘this extreme cost and riches makes us all poor’ (l. 424–5). Staging Chapman and Beaumont’s two masques plunged the Inns of Court into heavy debt for years afterwards. D. could only hope that while a poem was less vivid it might gain more lasting credit. He may have wanted to distance himself in the eyes of the Elector from his patron Sir Robert Drury: Chamberlain wrote on 3 Nov. 1612 to Sir Ralph Winwood that the Elector ‘is now lodged in the Court . . . and . . . hath the love and liking of all saving . . . (as I hear) Sir Robert Drury, who (because he was not entertained, perhaps, by him or his as, in his vanity, he expected) began to talk maliciously’ (l. 383–4). The Princess, with whose upbringing Lady Bedford’s parents had been entrusted in 1603, later (as exiled Queen of Bohemia in Holland) warmly acknowledged D.’s gifts of the 1624 *Devotions* and of the sermons of 3 April 1625 and 24 Feb. 1626 preached before her brother King Charles, remembering D.’s having preached before her at Heidelberg in June and July 1619 (Bald pp. 171, 351, 358, 455, 483, 540, 569; *Matthew* pp. 296–9).

Analogues. European poets of the period celebrated innumerable royal and noble weddings, including those of the Stuart family: Marot, for example, wrote for the marriage of James V to Mary of Guise in 1537, and Tufte, *Poetry of Marriage* pp. 92–3, considers George Buchanan’s poem for the union of James I’s mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and Francis II of France in 1558, ‘the most important epithalamium of the English neo-Latinists’. As a twenty-two-year-old, James I had himself attempted one as part of a masque for Lord Huntly’s marriage in 1588 (Tufte, *High Wedlock* pp. 92–4). According to Tufte, *Poetry of Marriage* p. 4, ‘Oxford University’s 1613 collection [*Epithalamia. Sive lusus Palatini*] . . . included 230 epithalamia, many in Latin, but some in Greek, Hebrew, and French.’ McGowan pp. 182–3 cites some other tributes to the marriage published in 1613 by those hoping to gain, maintain or improve their position with James I: Wither’s *Epithalamia* (1612 old style); Peacham’s *Nuptiall Hymnes* appended to his *Period of Mourning*; Heywood’s 756-line ‘Marriage Triumphe’ (‘an unselective assortment drawn mainly from the neo-Latin epic epithalamia’—Tufte p. 243); James Maxwell’s *Monument of Remembrance*; John Taylor the Water-poet’s ‘Heaven’s Blessing and Earth’s Joy’; Andrew Willet’s version of and fifty-six-page commentary on Psalm 45, *A Treatise of Salomon’s Mariage* (1612 o. s.); I. M. Franchis’ 2,674-line *De auspiciatissimis nuptiis*, tr. S. Hutton as *A Marriage Hymne*; J. Forbes’s *Genethliaca* (Heidelberg); J. Gellius’ *Epithalamium et Gratulatio* (Heidelberg). Their political hopes are signalled also by Abraham Aurelius, pastor of the French Protestant Church in London. Dubrow adds ‘Epithalamion, of the Princess Mariage’ by D.’s friend and fellow place-seeker Goodyer (in the Skipwith MS, BL Add. MS 25707), like D. employing eight eleven-line stanzas with refrain; Daniel’s *Hymen’s Triumph* (1615); Chapman’s eighty-four-line ‘Hymn to Hymen’; and possibly, the ‘Epithalamium, or a Nuptial Song Applied to the Ceremonies of Marriage’ by another friend of D., Christopher Brooke, in *England’s Helicon* (1614). (This last, however, does not read like a royal epithalamion, apart from a hint in the refrain: ‘To Hymen, and my Muse’s King’, and as son of a mayor of York, Brooke might well have known and been punning on the name of John King (as D. did later in a letter, Bald 282), who married c. 1591 while chaplain to the Archbishop of York.) Brooke’s poem, like *Lincoln*, divides its eight stanzas between day and night; Fowler (1970) pp. 154, 160 notes the significance of the number of stanzas

in *Elizabeth* (the eight nuptial powers of Juno are explained—from L. G. Giraldi, *De deis gentium historia* 3 (1548) pp. 167, 162, 160, 164, 161)—in Jonson's notes to *Hymenaei* (1606; *Works* 7. 219–20, 10. 474–5), and sees the fourteen-line stanza as referring to the date of St Valentine's Day, 14 Feb. For Tufte p. 219, however, they are 'reminiscent of the nuptial sonnets of Tasso, Marino, and Poupo'. Chapman, Heywood, Goodyer, Peacham, Beaumont, Wither and Brooke are printed together in Case, pp. 40–74, 83–6. As in Spenser's *Epithalamion*, in the mock epithalamium *Lincoln*, in *Metem*, and in the love-poems *Anniversary*, *Morrow*, a final alexandrine rounds off each stanza.

Text. The manuscripts traditionally classified as Group III, *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, share relatively implausible variants: 'soon' in l. 11 removes the liveliness of 'straight'; the change of 'here' to 'there' at the end of l. 85 has only specious appeal, since both 'she-moon' and 'he-sun' are 'here' in the close embrace of l. 82; 'Now' for 'And' in l. 99 is plausible, but ruled out by agreement on 'And' between *Dob*, Group I and *TCD*. The copy for *Lut* and *O'F* displays its customary carelessness and freedom of invention: l. 27's 'Where' does not fit the sense as closely as 'Whose', and probably arose from repetition of the opening of l. 25. Line 33's 'bird' for 'bride' is a contamination from the line above, impeding the switch to the new imagery for ll. 33–40. In l. 60, the *Lut/O'F* copy's 'stars' would hasten the sun's setting, instead of being the replenishing 'store' of light, the 'glorious flame' she and her groom are likened to—again, muddying sense and image-progression. The omission of 'late' and 'then' in ll. 67 and 109 are typical smoothings of the metre for which D. felt no need in view of the easy elision in 'by[^]observing', and the only slightly more difficult sounding of 'and' as 'n'. *TCD*'s variants are clearly erroneous, so the cleanest text remains that of Group I. Of its members, *Lec* and *C57* (related to the copy for 1633 and 1635 in the title and 'grow' for 'go' in l. 46), are slightly less trustworthy than *H49* and *D*, and the latter requires least emendation of all, so is the base for the present text.

HAIL, Bishop Valentine, whose day this is!
 All the air is thy diocese,
 And all the chirping quiristers

Sources collated: *Group I: H49, D, Lec, C57; Group II: TCD, Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading An Epithalamion . . . Day] . . . and ^ Count . . . *Lec, C57, 1633, 1635:*
 A Epithalamion . . . being St . . . *H49:* Epithalamium. *TCD:* Upon the Marriage
 of the Prince Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth on . . . *Dob:* Upon Frederick, Count
 Palatine, and the Lady Elizabeth, Married on . . . *Lut, O'F*

I–12 'Bishop Valentine' is a Christian replacement of the Hymen of classical epithalamion (Tufte p. 222). One of the Valentines of legend was a bishop of Terni in Italy. However, the erotic associations of the day may have arisen independently, perhaps from the ancient Roman fertility rites of the Lupercalia on 15 Feb (Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 425–52). Since Chaucer's 'Parliament of Fowls' 309–10 (one of the earliest Valentine poems, if not the first, and also for a royal match), poets had written that on this day birds chose their mates, e.g., *Midsummer Night's Dream* 4. 1. 138–9; Drayton 'To his Valentine' 3–4 (*Poems* 1619). For contrasting use

- And other birds are thy parishioners:
 5 Thou marriest every year
 The lyric lark, and the grave whispering dove,
 The sparrow that neglects his life for love,
 The household bird with the red stomacher;
 Thou mak'st the blackbird speed as soon
 10 As doth the goldfinch or the halcyon;
 The husband cock looks out, and straight is sped,
 And meets his wife, which brings her feather-bed.
 This day more cheerfully than ever shine!
 This day which might inflame thyself, Old Valentine.
- 15 Till now, thou warm'st with multiplying loves
 Two larks, two sparrows, or two doves:
 All that is nothing unto this,
 For thou this day couplest two phoenixes.
 Thou mak'st a taper see
 20 What the sun never saw, and what the Ark
 (Which was of fowls and beasts the cage and park)

11 straight] soon *III* 14 thyself] the self *1633be*

15 warm'st] warm'dst *III*, *1633*, *1635* 19 a taper] taper a *1633be*

21 fowls] fowl *1635*

by D. of a saint's day as occasion for a poem, cp. *Lucy*. Jonson borrowed from this stanza for *Tale of a Tub* 1. 1. 1–7 (Milgate).

3–12 The choir of birds is traditional: cp. Spenser, *Epith.* 78–84.

3 **quiristers]** choristers.

7 Cp. *Metem* 181–210.

8 The ruddock or robin redbreast, 'household' because driven by hunger to approach human beings, especially in winter. **stomacher]** front-piece of upper half of costume.

9–10 The least glamorous bird mates as promptly as the brightest-coloured (Smith 1971).

9 **speed]** succeed.

10 **halcyon]** Usually misidentified in England as the kingfisher (see Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3. 10 (2nd edn, 1650; 1981) p. 197).

12 The hen trodden by the cock suggests a puffed-up featherbed such as a bride might bring as part of her marriage-portion.

15 **warm'st/warm'dst]** There seems to be no compelling need to emend the MSS' present tense, continuing that of ll. 5 and 9. **multiplying]** aimed at reproduction.

17–22 Because only one legendary phoenix existed at a time: the paradox is resolved in 99–102.

19 **a taper]** the faintest night-light.

20–2 Biblical commentators puzzled over the phoenix's survival of the Flood because Noah specifically saved 'two of every living thing' (*Gen.* 6. 19–20, 7. 9). Pererius

Did not contain, one bed contains through thee:
 Two phoenixes whose joinèd breasts
 Are unto one another mutual nests;
 25 Where motion kindles such fires as shall give
 Young phoenixes, and yet the old shall live;
 Whose love and courage never shall decline,
 But make the whole year through, thy day, O Valentine.

25 Where] Whose *Dob*, *S96*, *O'Fbe* 27 Whose] Where *Lut*, *O'F*

(1601) 2. 466–7, thought everything said about the phoenix was dubious, but, as a Roman Catholic subject to the authority of the Church Fathers, felt bound to believe in its existence by Ambrose, *De fide resurrectionis*. Noah was ordered to take one creature of each sex into the Ark, which could not apply to the phoenix, for or against, and Moses might be speaking broadly of what was normally the case. Even if the phoenix were excluded and so perished in the Flood, it might be claimed that God recreated it after the Flood by a special act. **21 park]** As in *Metem* 21–9, lit., ‘enclosure’, but glancing ironically at the deprivation of their usual space to roam.

23–4 J. Lederer, *Essential Articles* pp. 114–15, notes the reapplication to Christ and his mother by H. Hawkins, *Partheneia sacra* (1633) p. 266: ‘Two hearts in one, one phoenix-love contrives’.

25 motion . . . fires] Referring to the fallacy of Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 2. 7 (289a21; repeated by Latin poets, refuted by Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 2. 5 (2nd edn 1650; 1981) p. 133); here used metaphorically for their movements in bed inflaming their passion and resulting in children.

26 Young phoenixes] In Campion’s masque, his Sibyl promises kings and emperors, his Entheus ‘fair nymphs and princely boys’. On their numerous progeny, including Charles Lewis, restored to a much diminished Palatinate in 1648, Prince Rupert who fought for his uncle Charles in the Civil War and against the Dutch after the Restoration, and the youngest, Sophia, Electress of Hanover and mother of George I, see *DNB*. **yet . . . live]** In the legend, one only arises from its predecessor’s ashes.

27 courage] sexual vigour and desire.

29 phoenix bride] The phoenix, a long-established type of chastity and uniqueness, figures two lovers as ‘one neutral thing’ in *Canonization* 23–7, and, with the turtle-dove, love and constancy in Shakespeare’s ‘Phoenix and the Turtle’ (in R. Chester’s *Love’s Martyr*, 1601). For Dubrow pp. 166–7 these words ‘unmistakably effect a comparison between Princess Elizabeth and Queen Elizabeth’, who, from the 1570s, is often portrayed with a phoenix emblem, having adopted its motto, *semper eadem*, ‘Always the same’—a desired belief, too, for any new dynasty such as the Stuart. See, e.g., the Phoenix portrait in the National Portrait Gallery; Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, Drawings and Illuminations 10, Engravings 12, 23, 30 (Plate XVI), Medal 3, Posthumous 14; *Cult of Elizabeth*, plates 45, 49; *Gloriana* 78, plate 6b; Janet Arnold, ed., *Queen Elizabeth’s Wardrobe Unlock’d* (1988) p. 74, figs 128, 438. **Frustrate]** make unnecessary. D.’s choice of word augments the miraculous character of the phoenix with supernatural power by evoking the Latin form, *Natura nihil agit frustra*, of Aristotle’s dictum (e.g., *Politics* I (1256b20)) that Nature does nothing in vain.

- Up, then, fair phoenix bride! Frustrate the sun:
 30 Thyself from thine affection
 Tak'st warmth enough, and from thine eye
 All lesser birds will take their jollity.
 Up, up, fair bride, and call
 Thy stars from out their several boxes, take
 35 Thy rubies, pearls and diamonds forth, and make
 Thyself a constellation of them all,
 And by their blazing signify
 That a great princess falls, but doth not die.
 Be thou a new star that to us portends
 40 Ends of much wonder; and be thou those ends.

33 bride] bird *Lut*, *O'Fbe* 37 their] this *H49*, *TCD*, *Dob*, *O'Fbe*
 39 portends] pretends *Lut*: p'tends *O'F*

31 thine eye] Instead of the eye of heaven (*Metem* 11, *Somerset* 64). For this common Elizabethan image, cp. Spenser, *Epith.* 93–5, and *Measure for Measure* 4. 1. 3–4: 'And those eyes, the break of day, / Lights that do mislead the morn'.

32 jollity] Cp. *Lincoln* 52 for this echo of Spenser's *Epith.* 245 (Dubrow p. 174).

34–6 Cp. *Marriage of Prince Fredericke, and . . . Elizabeth* (1613; 1828) pp. 536–48: 'upon her head a crown of refined gold, made imperial by the pearls and diamonds thereupon placed, which were so thick beset that they stood like shining pinnacles upon her amber-coloured hair, dependently hanging plaited down over her shoulders to her waist, between every plait a roll or list of gold spangles, pearls, rich stones, and diamonds, and withal many diamonds of inestimable value embroidered upon her sleeve'. In the tradition described by Spenser, *Epith.* 151–8, Elizabeth's 'vestments were white, the emblem of innocence; her hair dishevelled hanging down her back at length, an ornament of virginity; . . .'—A. Wilson (1653) p. 64; see also Chamberlain to Winwood, 23 Feb. 1613 (1. 427). Cp. the lyric by Sir Henry Wotton, 'Ye meaner beauties of the night' (quoted below on l. 60), 1st publ. in M. East, *Sixt set of booke* (1624) in a musical setting, and so popular that *IELM*, vol. I, pt 2, WoH 62–133. 5, records seventy-four MS copies in various versions.

38–40 'When beggars die, there are no comets seen, / The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes'—*Julius Caesar* 2. 2. 30–1. But Elizabeth will fulfil her destiny or 'end' only by falling on her back under her husband. D. avoids the usual allusion to orgasm in 'die'.

39–40 Those who wanted intervention on behalf of Protestantism on the Continent hoped this marriage signalled a new era in British policy. They (and the Elector) were to be disappointed.

39 Be thou a new star] A conventional compliment, alluding to the stellifying of rulers by classical poets, derived from the association of mythological figures such as Hercules, Andromeda, Perseus, Cepheus, and Cassiope with constellations. D. could, as in *Bedford Written* 67–8, *FirAn* 259–60, adduce recent supernovae such as that of 1604. In his *Andromeda Liberata* for the Somerset marriage, Chapman apotheosises the pair as new constellations (Tufté p. 206). Cp. *Romeo and Juliet* 3. 2. 21–5.

Since thou dost this day in new glory shine,
 May all men date records from this thy Valentine.

- Come forth, come forth! And as one glorious flame
 Meeting another, grows the same,
 45 So meet thy Frederick, and so
 To an unseparable union grow:
 Since separation
 Falls not on such things as are infinite,
 Nor things which are but one can disunite,
 50 You're twice inseparable, great, and one.
 Go, then, to where the bishop stays
 To make you one his way, which divers ways
 Must be effected; and when all is past,
 And that you're one, by hearts and hands made fast,
 55 You two have one way left, yourselves t'entwine,
 Besides this bishop's knot, or Bishop Valentine.

46 grow] go *Lec*, C57, 1633, 1635 50 inseparable] unseparable S96, *Lut*, O'F
 51 to] Two *Lut*, O'Fbe: Lo *Dob*, S96 56 or] O 1633, 1635

40 The speaker hopes Elizabeth will fulfil the divine purpose she herself heralds. W. F. Melton, *Rhetoric of John Donne's Verse* (1906) pp. 148–9, discusses this as an example of D.'s favoured device of beginning and ending a line with the same word (epanalepsis) as in 45, 85, with initial reversal of stress mirrored in normal terminal stress.

42 The Christian era was supposedly dated from the star that led the Magi to the Nativity. Official acts, chronicles and legal documents were dated from a sovereign's accession (Milgate).

43–6 Linking the two phoenixes of 23–6 to the restored singularity of 99–102.

47–8 Since the infinite contains everything, it cannot be separated from anything.

51–2 The marriage was solemnised in the King's Chapel in Whitehall Palace (*Marriage* 1613 sig. B1r) by George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a fervent Calvinist most highly valued by the Elector. Against the views of Lord Chief Justice Coke, Abbot ensured (along with D.'s friend Bishop John King, their former employer, Egerton, Bishop Neile, Laud, and others) that Bartholomew Legate and Edward Wightman were burnt to death in March and April 1612 for denying the doctrine of the Trinity. D.'s detached mention of the officiator at the wedding suggests distaste: he was already (*Matthew* pp. 318–22) courting Lord Rochester (soon to be Somerset), to whom and whose party, the Howards, Archbishop Abbot was bitterly opposed.

52 **his way]** Abbot married them 'in all points according to the Book of Common Prayer' (*DNB*).

55–6 Their hearts and souls joined by bishops of love and religion, they will complete with their bodies a trinity of bonds.

But oh, what ails the sun, that here he stays
 Longer today than other days?
 Stays he new light from these to get,
 60 And, finding here such store, is loath to set?
 And why do you two walk
 So slowly paced in this procession?
 Is all your care but to be looked upon,
 And be to others spectacle and talk?
 65 The feast with gluttonous delays
 Is eaten, and too long their meat they praise.
 The masquers come too late, 'n'I think will stay
 Like fairies, till the cock crow them away.
 Alas! Did not antiquity assign
 70 A night as well as day to thee, O Valentine?
 They did, and night is come, and yet we see
 Formalities retarding thee.

60 store] stars *Lut, O'F, 1635* 67 too late] late *TCD, Dob, Lut, O'F, 1635*

57–8 As if this were the midsummer marriage of Spenser parodied in *Lincoln*. That the sun could not set soon enough was a traditional topic, as in Spenser, *Epith.* 278–84, and *Lincoln* 51–60.

60 store/stars] A typically specious emendation in *Lut/O'F* (followed in 1635), which makes nonsense to the reader who reflects that stars never prevent the sun setting, nor give it light, the inducement suggested. Cp. Wotton's poem to the Princess: 'You meaner beauties of the night, / That poorly satisfy our eyes / More by your number than your light, / You common people of the skies, / What are you when the Sun shall rise?' The 'store' is of 'light' (59), the radiance of the couple's 'affection' (30).

61–4 A decorous form of the traditional bawdy teasing in the Fescennine verses of classical epithalamium (Tufte p. 224).

65–6 Another traditional regret, developed from Catullus 62. 3.

67 Inigo Jones's devices for Campion's *Lords' Masque* were even more elaborate than for its predecessors, and it contained two Latin speeches greeting the addition of British oak to Germany. Omission of 'too' from some MSS throws stress on the unimportant 'and', better dealt with by colloquial elision.

68 It was traditional lore, as in *Hamlet* 1. 1. 138–48, *Lear* 3. 4. 108–9, that spirits retreated at the cock's first warning of dawn. Campion's masque presented sixteen page-boys as 'fiery sprites'. The final song ran: 'No longer wrong the night / Of her Hymenaeian right; / A thousand Cupids call away, / Fearing the approaching day; / The cocks already crow: / Dance, then, and go!'

71–5 Various rituals and games were practised beforehand on St Valentine's Eve, but none were prescribed for the ensuing night. Married women would put the bride to bed whatever the day of the year.

71–8 Highlighting physical fulfilment was traditional in the Fescennine verses of the genre, but also presumably congenial to the bride's prurient father: see note on 103–11.

- What mean these ladies which (as though
 They were to take a clock in pieces) go
 75 So nicely[^]about the bride?
 A bride, before a 'good night' could be said,
 Should vanish from her clothes into her bed
 As souls from bodies steal and are not spied.
 But now she's laid. What though she be?
 80 Yet there are more delays, for where is he?
 He comes, and passes through sphere after sphere:
 First her sheets, then her arms, then anywhere.
 Let not, then, this day but this night be thine:
 Thy day was but thy eve to this, O Valentine.
- 85 Here lyes a she-sun, and a he-moon here:
 She gives the best light to his sphere;

83 Let not, then, this day] Let not this day, then.; *Dob*, 1633, 1635: Oh, let not this day *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

84 thy] the *III*, 1633, 1635 85 here] there *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

73-5 Her attendants' methodical care ill suits the passionate occasion. Cp. *FuneralEl* 38-40 and *Harington* 131-40.

73 ladies] The traditional married women, who advised as well as undressed the bride. Cp. Catullus 61. 182-4, imitated by Jonson at the end of *Hymenaei* (1606).

75 nicely] meticulously.

76-9 As often for D., hints of death are the piquant sauce for a feast of love. Cp. *Mourning* 1-4.

81 passes . . . sphere] As a comet was thought to do in the old Ptolemaic system. D. had used the image for the departed soul's journey to Heaven in *SecAn* 185-210, and would re-use it for an angel's descent to earth in *Harington* 81-6.

81, 86 sphere] D.'s favourite aggrandising of the microcosmic individual to macrocosmic significance, applied to himself in, e.g., *Sun*, *Air*, *Weeping*, *Ecstasy*.

84 The ceremonies were only preparation for the essential rite of marriage, consummation.

85 Perhaps referring back to 29-32, and out of deference to the British partner's superior status, D. has reversed the usual gender assignment of Sun and Moon, but tactfully suggests neutralising their difference in 87-8. Cp. Goodyer 23-6: 'O most mysterious night, / Which by the setting of a sun and moon / Art clearer than a day at noon: / How art thou happy by their sacred light!' In 78-9 his related image is also Donnean: 'Now, like two half-spheres set / On a flat table, on these sheets they lie' (Case pp. 52, 53).

86 As Sun does to Moon, and as Britain, the government hoped, would strengthen the Palatinate and related principedoms in the Protestant cause in Germany. D. had written to Goodyer from Paris on 3 April 1612 that he and Sir Robert were 'determined to pass some time in the Palatinate. I go thither with a great deal of devotion, for methinks it is a new kind of piety, that as pilgrims went heretofore to places which had been holy and happy [fortunate], so I go to a place now which shall be so, and more, by the presence of the

Or each is both and all, and so
 They unto one another nothing owe.
 And yet they do, but are
 90 So just and rich in that coin which they pay,
 That neither would nor needs forbear nor stay:
 Neither desires to be spared, nor to spare.
 They quickly pay their debt, and then
 Take no acquittances, but pay again.
 95 They pay, they give, they lend, and so let fall
 No such occasion to be liberal.
 More truth, more courage in these two do shine,
 Than all thy turtles have, and sparrows, Valentine!
 And by this act of these two phoenixes,
 100 Nature again restorèd is,
 For since these two are two no more,
 There's but one phoenix still, as was before.
 Rest now at last, and we,

91 nor stay] or stay *III*

94 acquittances *TCD, Dob, Lut, O'F, 1635*: acquittance *I, S96*

99 And] Now *S96, Lut, O'F*

worthiest Princess of the world, if that marriage proceed. I have no greater errand to the place than that at my return into England I may be the fitter to stand in her presence, and that, after I have seen a rich and abundant country in his best seasons, I may see that Sun which shall always keep it in that height' (*Letters* pp. 75–6). Actual negotiation of the match took place over their heads: Britain's formal alliance with the princes of the German Protestant union on 28 March 1612 had made it probable, but the contract of marriage with the Calvinists' leader, Frederick V, was not signed till 16 May. D. may have hoped that an eye-witness report would ingratiate him with the Princess and her father.

88–96 The metaphors of sexual commerce imply the sense of 'spend' as 'ejaculate'. Materially, the flow of money was all one way, to the Palatinate.

94 acquittances] final receipts for full payment.

96 liberal] 'generous' in the monetary metaphor, literally 'sexually unrestrained'.

98 turtles] turtle-doves, proverbial for conjugal love and faith. **sparrows]** See l. 7.

99–102 Not only is the essential uniqueness, the normal abnormality of the fabulous bird restored, but nature as a whole, ruined by the first lovers, Adam and Eve, as in *Metem* 81–110, *FirAn* 99–110. In his occasional poems, D. says what their occasions require.

103–11 The promise of a morning-after greeting goes back to Theocritus 18. 55–7, and was still practised in England. Incidentally, these lines remind us of the lack of privacy even (or especially) in royal domestic life. Though D. was not actually a groom of the Elector's bedchamber, he could have been present at a greater distance as a minor courtier. After the marriage of Lady Susan Vere and Sir Philip Herbert on 27 Dec. 1604, a courtier wrote on 7 Jan. 1605 that

- As satyrs watch the Sun's uprise, will stay
 105 Waiting when your eyes, opened, let out day,
 Only desired because your face we see.
 Others near you shall whispering speak,
 And wagers lay at which side day will break,
 And win by observing then whose hand it is
 110 That opens first a curtain, hers or his.
 This will be tried tomorrow after nine,
 Till which hour, we thy day enlarge, O Valentine.

109 win by observing then] wisely observing then *Lec*: then observing wisely *C57*:
 win by observing *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

'the King gave them in the morning before they were up a *reveille matin* in his shirt and his nightgown, and spent a good hour with them in the bed or upon—choose which you will believe best' (James I openly fancied the twenty-year-old Philip, making him Earl of Montgomery on 4 May 1605)—*Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain* (1972) p. 66. On the present occasion James I behaved similarly: 'The next morning the King went to visit these young turtles that were coupled on St Valentine's Day, and did strictly examine him whether he were his true son-in-law, and was sufficiently assured'—Chamberlain 1. 424.

103–5 In Claudian's *Epithalamium Palladio et Celerinae*, 17–20, winged Cupids protect the Garden of Venus from voyeurs, driving away dryads, country gods, woodland deities and lascivious fauns, alias satyrs. Cp. Tufte p. 226. However, D. may be suggesting satyrs keeping a lookout for the sunrise which will end their Dionysian orgies, in contrast to the unengaged members of the Court who look forward to seeing the bride. They may be related to Spenser's satyrs, *FQ* 1. 6. 7–33, 3. 10. 44–51, Anglicized wood-gods more compassionate and in awe of beauty and virtue than the classical, though Satyrane's father 'kindling coals of lust in brutish eye / The loyal links of wedlock did unbind, / And made [Thyanis] thrall unto his beastly kind' (1. 6. 22. 7–9), and in condign predicament Malbecco witnesses their proverbial sexual energy:

At night, when all they went to sleep, he viewed
 Whereas his lovely wife amongst them lay
 Embraced of a satyr rough and rude
 Who all the night did mind his joyous play:
 Nine times he heard him come aloft ere day,
 That all his heart with jealousy did swell;
 But yet that night's ensample did bewray
 That not for nought his wife them loved so well,
 When one so oft a night did ring his matins bell (3. 10. 48).

105 **your eyes . . . day]** Cp. 29–32.

108–10 Perhaps taking the first to appear as auguring the sex of the offspring.

110 **curtain]** of their four-poster bed.

111 **tried]** seen and decided, ascertained. **after nine]** *Satyre* 4 175–9 implies that under Queen Elizabeth courtiers were admitted to the royal presence at ten.

112 **enlarge]** 'extend, prolong', but perhaps also 'magnify, praise'.

Eclogue and Epithalamion on the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset, 1613, December 26

Date and Context. Late Jan. 1614. James I's favourite, Robert Carr, made Viscount Rochester 1611, Earl of Somerset 3 Nov. 1613, had married Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, on 26 Dec. 1613, after the annulment on 25 Sept. of her politically dictated marriage to the 3rd Earl of Essex (arranged by the King in 1606 when the couple were in their early teens). The couple were later convicted (but pardoned by James I) of conniving at the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, an opponent of the marriage, by his keepers in the Tower. D. was presumably prevented by illness from attending the celebrations, writing on 23 Dec. 1613 [to Goodyer?] that 'I am at least half blind: my windows are as full of glasses of waters as any mountebank's stall', an illness first announced to George Garrard in September (*Letters* pp. 201, 280–1). Since Salisbury's death on 24 May 1612, D. and his immediate patron Drury had been watching the manoeuvres for power at Court between the Somerset-Northampton and Pembroke-Lady Bedford factions, during which D. copied for Drury the self-exculpatory open letter from Carr to Northampton (Bald (1959) pp. 123–4). In his hunt for a job, D. secured, as mediators with the triumphant faction, James Hay (Viscount Doncaster 1618, Earl of Carlisle 1622), gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and Robert Ker (Earl of Ancrum 1633), groom of the late Prince Henry's bedchamber, Scots like James I and Rochester. D.'s letters show him approaching Rochester/Somerset both directly and through these courtiers. He opened his campaign in ?Oct. 1612, by professing to the Lords Rochester and Hay 'a resolution of making divinity my profession' as 'a household servant of God' (*Matthew* pp. 319–22), but having received some other sort of work, wrote to Rochester early in 1613: 'After I was grown to be your lordship's by all the titles that I could think upon, it hath pleased your lordship to make another title to me by buying me' (*Letters* p. 290, *Matthew* p. 318). In the summer or autumn, he declined Rochester's suggestion that he reply to an opponent of one of his books (presumably *Pseudo-Martyr*, though possibly *Ignatius*) on the grounds that a more substantial challenge was expected from the Jesuits (*Matthew* p. 317). In Jan. 1614 he wrote to Ker after the Somerset marriage, 'If my Muse were only out of fashion, and but wounded and maimed . . . , I should adventure to put her to an Epithalamion. But since she is dead, . . . I have not so much Muse left as to lament her loss. Perchance this business may produce occasions wherein I may express my opinions of it in a more serious manner . . . out of a general readiness and alacrity to be serviceable and grateful in any kind' (*Letters* p. 270). On 19 Jan. he wrote [to Goodyer?] concerning the row over Lady Essex's annulment that 'My poor study having lien that way, it may prove possible that my weak assistance may be of use in this matter in a more serious fashion than an Epithalamion. This made me therefore abstinent in that kind, yet, by my troth, I think I shall not scape. I deprehend in myself more than an alacrity: a vehemency to do service to that company, and so I may find reason to make rhyme' (*Letters* pp. 180–1, referring to the annulment controversy again on 14 March, *Letters* pp. 168–9). In a postscript of

Heading Omitting the name of the bride, the divorced Countess of Essex, veiled the questionable nature of the proceedings.

about 8 Feb. 1614 he wrote [to Goodyer?] 'I cannot tell you so much as you tell me of anything from my Lord of Som. since the Epithalamion, for I heard nothing' (*Letters* p. 153), but from his sickbed on 20 March acknowledged Somerset's 'favour of sending to me' and 'that as ever since I had the happiness to be in your Lordship's sight, I have lived upon your bread, so I owe unto your Lordship now all the means of my recovery, and my health itself: so must all the rest of my life and means be a debt to your Lordship', proceeding to beg an ambassadorship (*Matthew* pp. 311–12, 314–15). For these and further petitionings of Somerset see Bald (1970) pp. 289–94.

T. Birch, ed., *Court and Times of James I* (1848) 1. 269 prints a letter of 29 Aug. 1613 (as does Nichols 2. 675, with slight differences) from the Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bt (also a one-time companion of Prince Henry), describing the manipulation necessary to secure the annulment:

It is believed generally that unless the commission be changed, the nullities which his majesty desireth will never be pronounced. For the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London [John King], together with Dr. Bennet and Dr. Edwards, who are like to have the greatest sway in deciding this controversy, are directly against it; insomuch as my Lord of Canterbury, being with his majesty at Windsor for some three or four days before the hearing, fell down upon his knees twice or thrice, to entreat his majesty that he might be dispensed with from being on the commission; which he would esteem a greater favour than all he had received from him in being raised from a private condition, and in so short a space, to the highest dignity ecclesiastical. . . .

Lorkin adds ominously that 'Sir Thomas Overbury is like to run a short course, being sick unto death. The lieutenant of the Tower, and the physicians that were there about him, have subscribed their hands, that they hold him a man past all recovery.'

Birch 1. 270–90 also prints some of the relevant letters from Chamberlain to the Carletons in autumn–winter 1613–14, but a wider range, 29 Apr. 1613–19 Jan. 1622, appears in *Letters of John Chamberlain*, nos. 172–459 (1939) 1. 443–626; 2. 1–582 *passim*; the most informative passages appear, but substantially reworded, in *Chamberlain Letters: A Selection*, ed. E. McC. Thompson (1966) pp. 112–23.

A later servant of Essex, Arthur Wilson, was to give an unrestrainedly hostile account of the Howard–Essex–Somerset–Overbury affair from beginning to end ((1653) pp. 55–9, 65–74, 80–90), but even at the time there was little more public sympathy for the lovers than is found in the ingeniously punning verses quoted by D. Lindley, *Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (1993) p. 117:

From *Catherine's* Dock there launched a pink
Which sore did leak, but did not sink.
Erewhile, she lay on *Essex* shore,
Expecting *rigging*, *yard*, and *store*;
But, all disaster to prevent,
With wind in poop she sailed to Kent:
At *Rochester* she anchor cast,
Which *Canterbury* did distaste,
But *Winchester*, with *Ely's* help,
Did draw to shore the *Lion's* whelp.
She was weak-sided, and did reel,
But *some are set* to mend her keel,

To stop her leak and mend her port,
And make her fit for any sport.

Lindley, pp. 2, 71–2, 76, 193–4, highlights Howard's desperation at being chained for life to Essex, a man whose sexual advances terrified and disgusted her, points out that she was 'demonised' by partisan narrators drawing on 'gossip, rumour, and so-called eye-witness reports', who thus filled out a stereotypical portrait of her as insubordinate woman, but concedes that she may have tried to kill her husband, certainly wanted to kill Overbury, and sent at least one batch of poison. Given the high danger of attacking the Somerset–Howard axis, it seems unlikely that the minor figures who inaugurated the exposure, and greater ones who admitted their involvement, were lying.

Of the associated revels, outfacing ill opinions of the proceedings, full descriptions are given in *Progresses of James I* (1828) 2. 704–45 (summarised by McGowan (1972) pp. 195–9; see also E. K. Chambers (1923) 3. 245–7, 388, 4. 59–60, 128–9). On the evening of the marriage there was a masque by Campion (*Works* (1909) pp. 147–56), invoking the King's grace against Error, Rumour, Curiosity and Credulity; and the Fates, so that Harmony and the Muses banish Confusion. On 27 Dec. Jonson's *Challenge at Tilt*, in which two Cupids with different qualities are reconciled by Hymen, preceded tilting, followed two days later by his *Irish Masque*. Between 31 Dec. and Jan. 6, at the King's command (*Progresses* 2. 731–2), the City provided a banquet, two masques and a play in Merchant Taylors' Hall. Finally, on Twelfth Night, came the Gray's Inn *Masque of Flowers* at Whitehall (in the Banqueting House that preceded Inigo Jones's building of 1619), paid for in requital of Somerset's procuring him the attorney-generalship by Bacon, who later led the prosecution of the Somersets (see E. A. J. Honigmann in T. J. B. Spencer *et al.*, eds, *Book of Masques* (1967; 1980) pp. 149–78). Chamberlain's 30 Dec. 1613 letter to Alice Carleton (l. 415) suggests modified rapture at Court: 'The marriage was upon Sunday, without any such bravery as was looked for, only some of his followers bestowed cost on themselves; the rest exceeded not either in number or expense.'

Analogues. To the live celebrations of the Somerset marriage noticed above, Jonson added a poem 'To the Most Noble and above his Titles, Robert, Earl of Somerset'. Chapman provided what Tufte p. 195 calls an 'abstruse and rambling 643-line mythological vindication of the annulment, the *Andromeda Liberata*', by Milgate p. 118 termed merely 'unfortunate'. Alabaster wrote a Latin poem with English poems addressed to the pair individually (Lindley 133, from BL MS Royal 12A xxxv).

For classical and Renaissance epithalamia in general, see comment on *Lincoln*. In *Somerset*, as in D.'s previous epithalamia, the longer lines of four and five iambs are interrupted by a trimeter, but D. outgoes his English predecessor in employing (as in the love-poems, *Funeral*, *Weeping*, *Will*) a fourteener to round off each stanza. D. gives headings (though mostly different ones) to the stanzas as Ausonius 17 did his sections (Tufte p. 219), but so did later writers such as Christopher Brooke in his *Epithalamium, or a Nuptial Song Applied to the Ceremonies of Marriage in England's Helicon* (1614). D. may have adopted them not only for their ceremoniousness but for ironic potential (see specific notes). Framed by pastoral dialogue, like Sidney's epithalamium in *Arcadia* (1593), Third Eclogues (*Poems* pp. 91–4), *Somerset* is plausibly related to the pastoral epithalamium common in sixteenth-century France, 'Ronsard, Grévin, and Poupo, in particular' (Tufte pp. 167–78, 226), but D.'s poem might recall for some readers a pastoral quasi-epithalamium perhaps covertly opposed to a

marriage, Spenser's 'April' in *The Shepheardes Calender*. If D. was capable of writing *Lincoln* as burlesque, he could fashion this compulsory poem so that its public addressees, the King and his favourite, would swallow the flattery, while a friend from Lincoln's Inn days such as Christopher Brooke, a parliamentary opponent of the Court might appreciate the subtle barbs. This art of deniable flattery could enable D. to distance himself if the favourite fell. For ambiguous suggestions in the speakers' names, and dozens of possible ironies in the text, see notes throughout. Some of them, unpalatable to earlier critics who judged verse according to their ability to believe in its 'sincerity', are commented on by P. G. Pinka in *SP* 90 (1993) 58–73.

Dubrow (1990) pp. 178–200 also detects implicit criticism, and asserts (pp. 191–2) that the eleven eleven-line stanzas covertly express D.'s disapproval of the affair, quoting Augustine, *City of God* 15. 20. D. could have known J. Healey's translation (1610) p. 558, of which fuller quotation than Dubrow's enhances its applicability:

Lamech . . . had as many children as made up eleven, the number of pre-
varication . . . seeing that the Law lieth in the number of ten, as the Ten
Commandments testify, eleven, overgoing ten in one, signifieth the trans-
gression of the Law, or sin. . . . So then the progeny of Adam by wicked
Cain endeth in the eleventh, the number of sin; and the last that consum-
mateth the number is a woman, in whom that sin began for which we are
all Death's slaves, and which was committed that disobedience unto the spirit,
and carnal affects, might take place in us. For Naamah, Lamech's daughter,
is interpreted *Beautiful pleasure*.

The meanings of numbers were, nevertheless, not consistently used: Augustine's numerology generates incompatible implications if applied to the eleven stanzas of Catullus 62 and Sidney, or the eleven-line stanzas of Goodyer's *Epithalamion, of the Princess [Elizabeth's] Marriage*, but may be emphatically signalled here by D.'s double employment of eleven as the number both of lines and of stanzas.

Text. Of those collated, the manuscript texts fall into three main groups. The same scribe wrote *TCC* and *TCD*, which agree in error in ll. 16, 23, 27, 34, 38, 41, 75, 76, 78, 88, 140, 144, 157, 176, 177, 184, 189, 210 and 222. Shared variants in ll. 178, 231 and 234 witness a common origin for Group III, *A23, Dob, S96, Lut, O'F*, with the last three agreeing in error in 84, 168, 224. The variants peculiar to *Lut* and *O'F* (occasionally corrected from *1633*) in ll. 8 (lapsing into a common phrase, erasing the pun), 38, 54, 152 (losing the image), 178 ('ring' for 'king'), 188, 192, 211, are clearly erroneous, rendering suspect their indifferent variants in ll. 55, 57, 127, 145, 201, and 214. The four Group I MSS, *D, H49, Lec, C57*, share patent error only in l. 145. Since (apart from heading and sub-headings) *D* requires emendation only in ll. 38, 145 and 213, it provides the base text here. *IELM* 1. 247 states that *Somerset* is one of three poems in *A23* in the hand of D.'s friend Henry Goodyer: disappointingly, its erratic text derives from Group III's unauthoritative archetype, alleviating regret for the considerable amount lost with the upper and lower outer corners of its leaves.

Eclogue

Argument

Allophanes finding Idios in the country this Christmas reprehends his absence from Court at the marriage. Idios gives an account of his purpose therein and of his actions there.

Sources collated: *Group I: D, H49, Lec, C57; Group II: TCC, TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F, A23; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading: *ed.: Eclogue. 1613. Decemb: 26. I, II, III (Dob om. date), 1633, 1635*

ARGUMENT *ed.: no heading in MSS, 1633, 1635*

Argument 1: this Christmas *H49, Dob*: that Christmas *II*: in the Christmas *D, S96, Lut, O'F*: in Christmas time *Lec, C57, 1633, 1635*

2 the Court] Court *Lec, C57, II, Dob, Lut, O'F, 1633, 1635* the marriage] this ~ *H49*: that ~ *II* marriage *II*: marriage of the Earl of Somerset *I, III, 1633, 1635* an] and *D*

3 actions there *H49, II, Lut, O'Fae, 1635*: ~ here *Dob*: absence there *D, O'Fbe*: absence thence *Lec, C57, 1633*: absence then *S96*

Allophanes, Idios] For Grierson, ‘Donne is of course “Idios”, the private man, who holds no place at Court. “Allophanes” is one who seems like another, who bears the same name as another, i.e., the bridegroom. The name of both Sir Robert and the bridegroom was Robert Ker or Carr.’ It is possible to see more than these direct identities: as in e.g., *Satyre 1, Satyre 4* a decade earlier, *Christ* a decade later, the vexing contrary attractions of public and private, active life and contemplative, are separated out in these Greek-derived names. ‘Allophanes’, roughly ‘Other-showing’, can indicate an alternative side of the writer’s personality (cp. Dubrow p. 196), or the other view of life presented, or one who misrepresents. ‘Idios’ may likewise contain alternative valuations: ‘Private, separate, strange’, in Greek, but perhaps tinged with the English meaning ‘Fool’. A clear precedent is D.’s ancestor Sir Thomas More, with the ambivalent names in his *Utopia* [itself ‘Good Place’ or ‘No Place’]: ‘Hythlodæus’ a mere ‘Tale-teller’ or a ‘Dealer in Lies’, ‘Morus’ the writer’s own persona or gullible ‘Fool’. D. quoted to Robert Ker the opinion concerning *Biathanatos* ‘That certainly, there was a false thread in it, but not easily found’ (*Letters* p. 22): for possibly intended false threads in Allophanes’ argument, see notes on ll. 18–38, 70–2, 75–84, 86.

Allophanes

- UNSEASONABLE man, statue of ice,
 What could to country's solitude entice
 Thee in this year's cold and decrepit time?
 Nature's instinct draws to the warmer clime
 5 Even small birds, who by that courage dare
 In numerous fleets sail through their sea the air.
 What delicacy can in fields appear
 Whilst Flora herself doth a frieze jerkin wear,
 Whilst winds do all the trees and hedges strip
 10 Of leaves, to furnish rods enough to whip
 Thy madness from thee, and all springs by frost
 Have taken cold, and their sweet murmur lost?
 If thou thy faults or fortunes wouldst lament
 With just solemnity, do it in Lent.
 15 At Court the spring already advanced is,
 The sun stays longer up; and yet not his

2 country's] country *II* 3–4 time . . . clime] clime . . . time *O'Fbe*

5 small] smaller 1635 8 frieze] buff *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

12 Have] Having 1635 murmur] murmurs *Lec*, *C57*, 1633, 1635 16 his] kiss *II*

1–104, 226–35 The pastoral framework supports an apology for the poem's late delivery.

3 decrepit] Cp. *Lucy* 7–8's image for the world in midwinter: 'life is shrunk, / Dead and interred'. Here there may be a hint of 'crepitation', the crackling ice underfoot.

8 Cp. Spenser, *FQ* 7. 7. 31. 1: 'Last came *Winter* clothed all in frize'. Frieze is a coarse woollen cloth worn then against the cold by country-folk, made doubly apt for a winter landscape by the pun on 'freeze', whereas the clichéd variant of *Lut*, *O'F* is doubly inept: the connotations of 'buff jerkin', a stout leather coat worn by soldiers and law-enforcers, were primarily military and urban, and the colour appropriate to bare land but not to frost and snow.

9, 10 strip, whip] Perhaps a covert allusion, arising out of D.'s distaste for the occasion he is writing about, to Wither's satire on the times, *Abuses Strip and Whipt* (1613), for which certain grandees had him committed to prison: see note on *Salisbury* 25–8.

10–11 rods . . . thee] Cp. *Comparison* 30, and see note.

11 springs] i.e., water-sources.

14 Lent] The time appointed for repentance, which would not begin until 9 March in 1614.

15 As in *Elizabeth* 57–60, the season is made subject to powerful people and their pleasure.

16 The sun . . . up] Literally, since the morrow of the 26 Dec. wedding on which this dialogue takes place (73) is a fortnight after the winter solstice (13 Dec. in the old Julian Calendar then in force). D.'s regret at exclusion from the

- The glory is: far other, other fires.
 First, zeal to prince and state, then love's desires
 Burn in one breast, and, like heaven's two great lights,
 20 The first doth govern days, the other, nights.
 And then that early light which did appear
 Before the sun and moon created were,
 The prince's favour, is diffused o'er all,
 From which all fortunes, names and natures fall;
 25 Then from those wombs of stars, the bride's bright eyes,
 At every glance a constellation flies,
 And sows the Court with stars, and doth prevent
 In light and power the all-eyed firmament.
 First her eyes kindle other ladies' eyes,
 30 Then from their beams their jewels' lustres rise,
 And from their jewels, torches do take fire,
 And all is warmth and light and good desire.
 Most other courts, alas, are like to hell,
 Where in dark plots fire without light doth dwell,

23 favour, is] favours *II* 27 sows] lows *II* (→lothes)

29 kindle] kindles *Lec*, *C57*, *1633*: kindled *S96*

34 Where in] Wherein *II* plots] places *Lec*, *C57*, *1633*

limelight had earlier been expressed to Goodyer in a letter from Mitcham c. 1609: 'I, which live in the country without stupefying, am not in darkness but in shadow, which is not no light, but a pallid, waterish and diluted one . . . subject to the barbarousness and insipid dulness of the country' (*Letters* pp. 62–3).

19–38 Allophanes' eulogy of the Court (not contradicted by Idios)—its members loyal above all 'to prince and state', the King's favour poured on all, Somerset's zeal on behalf of his King and love for his mistress distinguishable from the selfish equivalents, 'lust and envy', supposed to rule only in other courts, the bride fostering universal 'warmth and light and good desire'—is so precisely contrary to well-known facts as to be open to suspicion of irony on D.'s part.

19 one breast] Somerset's.

19–20 like heaven's . . . nights] *Gen.* 1. 16. As they are God's creatures, so he is the King's, devoting the day to business, the night to love-making.

21–2 *Gen.* 1. 3. James I is more explicitly made god-like.

24 As did those of the Creation in *Gen.* 1.

25–8 The woman's eyes as stars and the stars as eyes of heaven were well-worn commonplaces, but Howard's eyes outgo all others in not just being stars but 'wombs' (an abstract conceit it would be a mistake to try to visualize) generating them, like the Creator in *Gen.* 1. 16–17.

26 Echoed by Pope, *Rape of the Lock* 3. 16: 'At every word a reputation dies'.

27 prevent] go beyond, outstrip.

29–31 The reversal of nature continues with all light and fire being contributed by Howard's eyes to objects naturally shining.

34 plots] both 'places' and 'conspiracies'. **fire without light]** See note on *Resurrection* 7.

35 Or but like stoves, for lust and envy get
Continual but artificial heat:
Here, zeal and love, grown one, all clouds disgest,
And make our Court an everlasting East.
And canst thou be from thence?

Idios No, I am there:

40 As Heav'n, to men disposed, is everywhere,
So are those Courts whose princes animate,
Not only all their house, but all their state.
Let no man think, because he's full, he'th all:
Kings (as their pattern, God) are liberal
45 Not only in fullness but capacity,
Enlarging narrow men to feel and see
And comprehend the blessings they bestow.
So reclused hermits oftentimes do know
More of Heav'n's glory than a worldling can:

37 disgest *H49, C57, Dob, 1633, 1635*: digest *D, Lec, II, S96, Lut, O'F*

38 make] made *II East*] rest *Lut, O'Fbe* 41 animate] ~s *II*

49 of] *om. Lec, C57*

36 Cp. the 'torrid zone at Court, and caleitures / Of hot ambitions' of *Harington* 124–5, written a couple of months later.

37 **disgest**] a current form of 'digest', here meaning 'dissolve, disperse'.

39–55 Jonson in his poem to Somerset claims that his own absence is insignificant because he is one of those 'whose heart and thought / Do wait upon thee, and their love not bought. / Such wear true wedding-ropes, and are true friends, / That bid "God give thee joy!" and have no ends.'

40 As in *SecAn* 154.

43 **he's full**] he has enough.

44 **Kings . . . God**] Cp. *Serm.* 4. 240–1 (5 Nov. 1622): 'Of Monarchy, of Kingdom, God, who is but one, is the *Idea*; God himself, in his Unity, is the Model, He is the Type of Monarchy. . . . All governments may justly represent God to me, who is the God of Order, and fountain of all government, but yet I am more eased, and more accustomed to the contemplation of *Heaven*, in that notion, as *Heaven is a kingdom*, by having been born, and bred in a Monarchy'.

44–6 **liberal . . . men**] 'generous not only with wealth but with ability, enabling people limited in means and perception'. As D. preached to King Charles on 15 April 1628: 'The very form of the Office of a King, is Liberality, that is, Providence, and Protection, and Possession, and Peace, and Justice shed upon all. . . . Kings transmit some beams of power into their Officers', particularizing God's liberality in giving 'souls capable of him', and then grace 'to be sensible of having received him; . . . a holy hunger and thirst to take in more of him;' and 'enlarged that soul, to take in as much of God as he will' (*Serm.* 8. 243–4, 250).

48–9 *Idios* makes his inclinations clear, though in real life D. hungered for a place in the 'world', i.e., public life.

48 **reclused**] shut away out of the light.

- 50 As man is of the world, the heart of man
 Is an epitome of God's great book
 Of creatures, and man need no farther look;
 So is the country of courts, where sweet peace doth,
 As their one common soul, give life to both.
- 55 I am not then from Court.
Allophanes Dreamer, thou art.
 Think'st thou, fantastic, that thou hast a part
 In the East Indian fleet because thou hast
 A little spice or amber in thy taste?
 Because thou art not frozen, art thou warm?
- 60 Seest thou all good because thou seest no harm?
 The Earth doth in her inward bowels hold
 Stuff well disposed, and which would fain be gold,
 But never shall, except it chance to lie
 So upward that Heav'n gild it with his eye.

54 one] own *Lec*, *C57*, *II*, *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe*, 1635

55 I am not] And am I *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

57 East Indian] East India *Lut*, *O'F*: Indian 1633, 1635

61 inward] inner 1633, 1635

50 Alluding as often to the idea of man as microcosm.

50–2 the heart . . . creatures] Cp. *HerbertE* 1–14, specifying horse, goat, ass, wolf and other predators—an uncomfortable thought here—and *Sem*. 4. 104 (Easter Monday 1622): 'The properties, the qualities of every Creature, are in man'. On the creation as God's Book of Creatures, cp. Browne, *Religio Medici* 1. 16: 'There are two books from whence I collect my divinity: besides that written one of God, . . . that universal and public manuscript that lies expanded unto the eyes of all: those that never saw him in the one may discover him in the other'.

53 sweet peace] Flattering James I's favourite self-image as peacemaker, as in *Henry* 32–8.

55 from Court] As D. claimed he would rather be in *WottonNews* 27.

56 fantastic] fantast.

58 amber] Not the semi-precious fossil-resin found on the shores of the Baltic and North Seas, but the more prized ambergris used in perfumery and cookery (e.g., Milton, *Paradise Regained* 2. 344), an aromatic accretion found in the guts of sperm-whales by 'Greenland discoverers' according to Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3. 26 (1658 edn; 1981) p. 274, not only in the East Indies.

61–8 D. is aware that being out of the King's sight risked being out of mind too: cp. note on *Canonization* 1–8. For the concoction of gold in the Earth by the Sun, see note on *Exchange* 35. Idios suffers from the melancholic streak of Hamlet who (1. 2. 67) at a corrupt court finds himself 'too much i'th' Sun' of a peace-making king, like Somerset an unworthy replacement husband for a faithless woman.

64 Heav'n . . . his eye] The Sun, from Ovid, *Met.* 4. 228, onwards, through Chaucer, Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 18, and innumerable others.

- 65 As for divine things faith comes from above,
 So for best civil use all tinctures move
 From higher powers: from God religion springs,
 Wisdom and honour from the use of kings.
 Then unbeguile thyself, and know with me
- 70 That angels, though on earth employed they be,
 Are still in Heav'n: so is he still at home
 That doth abroad to honest actions come.
 Chide thyself then, O fool, which yesterday
 Might'st have read more than all thy books bewray:
- 75 Hast thou a history which doth present

75 present] represent *II*

66 tinctures] additives that change qualities; in alchemy, a supposed 'spiritual principle or immaterial substance whose character or quality may be infused into material things, . . . the quintessence, spirit, or soul of a thing, *universal tincture*, the Elixir'—*OED*. The King is the Sun, God-like, a transformer and gilder by his wisdom and honour.

68 use of] practice, function proper to.

69 unbeguile] undeceive.

70-1 angels . . . heav'n] Cp. *Serm.* 7. 71 (29 Jan. 1626): 'Those Angels, which came [*sic*] from Heaven hither, bring Heaven with them, and are in Heaven here, . . . those Angels do not divest Heaven by coming'. Allophanes' analogy is self-undermining, since, if the royal influence is, like God's, omnipresent, Idios can enjoy it without coming to Court.

72 abroad] away from home. **honest actions]** With the added sense of 'worthy public activities'.

74 bewray] show.

75-84 This idealisation of King and Court, so at odds with what most could see, accords with the classical doctrine of eulogy: O. B. Hardison, *Enduring Monument* (1961) p. 31 cites Pliny the Younger's defence of his flattery of Trajan on the ground that 'good princes might recognise what they had done, bad, what they ought to have done'. Lewalski (1973) p. 18 cites the assertion of Aristotle, *Rhetorica* 1. 9, that 'the actual character of a man should be subordinated to the didactic motive of providing fit images of virtue for emulation, or of inciting the person praised to live up to his ideal self and quotes Erasmus' declaration that 'No other way of correcting a prince is so efficacious as presenting, in the guise of flattery, the pattern of a really good prince'; or, as D. has Ignatius put it, 'There may be even in flattery an honest kind of teaching, if princes, by being told that they are already endowed with all virtues necessary for their functions, be thereby taught what those virtues are, and by a facile exhortation excited to endeavour to gain them' (*Ignatius* p. 33). Quintilian allowed of hyperbole only when the subject was truly exceptional, and Puttenham 3. 18 (1589; 1936, p. 192) pointed out its dangers: 'This manner of speech is used when either we would greatly advance or greatly abase the reputation of any thing or person, and must be used very discreetly, or else it will seem odious; for although a praise or other report may be allowed beyond credit, it may not be beyond all measure'. See note on *Huntingdon* 51-2.

- A court where all affections do assent
 Unto the king's? And that, that king's are just?
 And where it is no levity to trust?
 Where there is no ambition, but t'obey?
 80 Where men need whisper nothing, and yet may?
 Where the king's favours are so placed that all
 Find that the king therein is liberal
 To them in him, because his favours bend
 To virtue, to the which they all pretend?
 85 Thou hast no such; yet here was this and more:
 An earnest lover, wise then and before.
 Our little Cupid hath sued livery,
 And is no more in his minority:
 He is admitted now into that breast
 90 Where the king's counsels and his secrets rest.

76 where] when *II* 77 that, that] that the *TCC, III*

78 where . . . levity] when . . . lenity *II* 84 to the] unto *S96, Lut, O'F*

88 more] man *II* 90 counsels] counsel *II*

75 history] Possibly both 'factual record' and 'fictional story': D.'s picture may exceed the wildest imaginings.

76 affections] inclinations.

77 that, that . . . just] sc. 'a history which doth present'. Since all agree with the King, it would be superfluous to say that *they* think his inclinations just.

78 no levity] not thoughtless, not reckless.

80 Contrast the need conceded in *BedfordNew* 53–4 for 'keys and locks to spy / And scape spies'.

81–4 Not content with this reflection in real life, D. exerted himself to obtain material benefit through Somerset's favour with the King. Though Somerset was not conspicuous for virtue, D.'s first letter to him, seeking service 'to this Church and State', declares in this vein that 'your Lordship's virtues have made you so near the head in the one, and so religious a member of the other' (*Matthew* p. 320).

83 him] Somerset.

84 pretend] aspire, lay claim.

86 earnest] true, sincere. **wise . . . before]** In 'wise then', D. makes an exception to the proverb, Tilley L558, ascribed to Publius Syrus (fl. 45 BCE): 'To both love and be wise is scarce granted to a god' (cp., e.g., Marston, *Dutch Courtesan* 2. 2. 97), as he does for Solomon in *Serm.* 1. 238 (14 Dec. 1617). Somerset's wisdom was not the most obvious reason for the English Solomon's favour, nor for his own succumbing to the charms of Frances Howard.

87 sued livery] on gaining his majority claimed a tenancy hitherto kept in ward by the King (*OED* livery. *sb.* 5a). Cp. *Richard II* 2. 3. 128.

88–90 *Deity* makes reciprocal love the work only of the 'young godhead', this 'little Cupid', who when older extended his prerogative to rage, lust, writing and compliment.

What hast thou lost, O ignorant man!
Idios I knew
 All this, and only therefore I withdrew
 To know and feel all this, and not to have
 Words to express it makes a man a grave
 95 Of his own thoughts. I would not therefore stay
 At a great feast, having no grace to say;
 And yet I scaped not here, for being come
 Full of the common joy, I uttered some.
 Read then this nuptial song, which was not made
 100 Either the Court or men's hearts to invade,
 But since I'm dead and buried, I could frame
 No epitaph which might advance my fame
 So much as this poor song, which testifies
 I did unto that day some sacrifice.

92 only therefore] therefore C57: therefore only II, S96

91–6 As noted above, D.'s absence was attributable to illness.

93–4 It is not having a position from which to speak that makes *Idios* 'dead and buried': see 101 and note. The disappointed suitor for preferment retreats from Court to country like the speaker of Spenser's *Prothalamion* 5–11: 'When I—whom sullen care, / Through discontent of my long fruitless stay / In prince's court, and expectation vain / Of idle hopes which still do fly away / Like empty shadows, did afflict my brain— / Walked forth to ease my pain / Along the shore of silver-streaming Thames.'

97–8 As his 19 Jan. letter to Goodyer made clear, He 'scaped not . . . a vehemency to do service to that company', rather than any 'common joy' (which was not in fact prevalent).

99–100 Exactly the opposite of D.'s admitted aim to insinuate himself further with the Court in the persons of Somerset and the King. The ironic message might be that he did not expect to convince readers in general.

101 **I'm dead and buried**] A favourite figure of D.'s for his lack of a public life: cp. *Salisbury* 72, courting favour in another direction seven months later, and previous uses, as to Goodyer, c. 14 Jan. 1612: 'I died ten years ago . . . when my courses were diverted' (*Letters* p. 122), in *BedfordDead* and *Lucy*.

101–2 **I could . . . fame**] Another example of D.'s fondness for dramatizing his own death, implicitly inviting readers to weep for him: cp. *Legacy, Will, BedfordTomb* and all the paraphernalia, portrait, inscription, epitaph, he arranged for his actual decease seventeen years later.

104 **sacrifice**] For Dubrow p. 187 this 'hints that his devotion to his patron is not without its price'.

Epithalamion

1. The Time of the Marriage

THOU art reprieved old year: thou shalt not die,
 Though thou upon thy death bed lye,
 And shouldst within five days expire,
 Yet thou art rescued by a mightier fire
 Than thy old soul, the Sun,
 110 When he doth in his largest circle run.
 The passage of the West or East would thaw
 And open wide their easy, liquid jaw
 To all our ships, could a Promethean art
 Either unto the Northern Pole impart
 115 The fire of these inflaming eyes or of this loving heart.

2. Equality of persons

But, undiscerning Muse, which heart, which eyes
 In this new couple dost thou prize,
 When his eye as inflaming is
 As hers, and her heart loves as well as his?

Heading: Epithalamion] ~ium *Dob. om. II, 1633, 1635* 108 by] from 1635

Stanza 2 sub-heading: of] of the *II* 118 When] where *Lec, C57*

The Time of the Marriage] The day after Christmas, perhaps conspicuous to some by its lack of mention.

105–7 Imagined as spoken on the day of the marriage, 26 Dec.

108–9 Echoing 15–17.

110 i.e., in midsummer, when the Sun is at his hottest. D. refers, as in *Lincoln* 55, to the time of Spenser's wedding, implying the superiority of this one to its greatest literary predecessor.

111 Referring to the repeated attempts at polar routes north of America and Russia to the East Indies, conspicuous real-life failures which make the hyperbolic flattery absurd.

113 Promethean] of stealing fire from heaven.

115 The refrain moderates the lust of 'inflaming eyes' with commendable 'loving hearts': 'the poem attempts to contain the fires ignited by this wedding, to turn a conflagration into a hearthside glow' (Dubrow p. 188).

Equality of persons] Reminding critical readers, in the words of A. Wilson p. 72 that 'she is a fit gift for the King to bestow: he that took her away from one husband, can give her to another, who must be of equal rank to her, that she may not descend: therefore he is created Earl of Somerset'. Cp. Chamberlain (1930) I. 485: 'But it is thought he shall not stay here, but ascend one step higher, and shortly be made marquis of Orkney, that his mistress may be a better woman (if that may be) than she was before.'

120 Be tried by beauty and then
 The bridegroom is a maid, and not a man,
 If by that manly courage they be tried,
 Which scorns unjust opinion; then the bride
 Becomes a man. Should chance or Envy's art
 125 Divide these two, whom nature scarce did part?
 Since both have both th'inflaming eyes, and both the
 loving heart.

126 have both] have *Lec*, C57, 1633, 1635 eyes] eye *Lec*, C57, 1633, 1635, *O'Fae*

120–4 To credit the groom, Robert Carr, with feminine beauty (which had attracted James I) and the bride with masculine courage (in prosecuting the divorce regardless of opposition) echoes contemporary sneers at gender-role reversal perpetuated in Wilson pp. 71–2: ‘She now mounted on her Carr drives over all oppositions, her beauties shine in the Court (as she would have it), she is the King’s favourite as well as her husband’.

122–5 Although the murder of Overbury did not come out until 1615, the divorcing of Essex by Frances Howard was widely disapproved of, and the character of Robert Carr covertly disliked. Tufte p. 203 notes Chapman’s parallel ‘Praise of the bride and bridegroom as embodiments of virtue who have been attacked by slanderous tongues which “would fain your honour sting.” The poem opens by abusing those who disapprove of the marriage, the “ungodly vulgar . . . whispering their scandals,” . . . There follows a diatribe, partly adapted from Plutarch, against those whose evil minds befoul the good: “No truth of excellence, was ever seen, / But bore the venom of the vulgar’s spleen.”’

123 unjust opinion] A jarring mention of the widespread hostility to the marriage, based on taking the injunction by Jesus in *Matt.* 19. 6, ‘What God hath therefore joined together, let not man put asunder’, adapted for the *BCP* ‘Solemnization of Matrimony’, to identify the minister’s blessing of a marriage as a divine act, but not the majority vote of an ecclesiastical commission to dissolve it. In a sermon without date (but with hints that he himself has a wife, so perhaps not later than 1617) at a christening, D. says to a hypothetical husband: ‘If thou have married her in the presence of God and all the Court, and Quire of Heaven, what wilt thou do to make away all these witnesses? Who shall be of thy Council to assign an Error in God’s judgement? Whom wilt thou bribe to embezzle the Records of Heaven? . . . never ask wrangling Controversers, that make *Gypsy-knots* of Marriages; ask thy Conscience, and that will tell thee that thou wast married “till death should depart you”’. Preaching before King Charles on 24 Feb. 1626, D. quoted approvingly against ‘facility of divorces’ the 1611 version of *Malachi* 2. 16, ‘The Lord the God of Israel, saith, that he hates putting away’, and on 12 Dec. affirmed that ‘God hath made the band of Marriage indissoluble but by death’ (*Serm.* 5. 119; 7. 88, 257). He would not sincerely have dismissed the doctrine as ‘opinion’.

123–4 Though the groom is in his beauty ‘not a man’ (a condition imputed on other grounds to the bride’s first husband), D. leaves unspoken completion of the parallel by terming her ‘not a maid’.

124 Envy’s art] The usual courtly term for any criticism: Envy is a familiar allegorical figure to be subdued in the masques with which the Stuart Court beguiled itself, as in Rubens’s ceiling of the 1619 Banqueting House.

3. Raising of the Bridegroom

- Though it be some divorce to think of you
 Singly, so much one are you two,
 Let me here contemplate thee
 130 First, cheerful bridegroom, and first let me see
 How thou prevent'st the Sun,
 And his red, foaming horses dost outrun;
 How, having laid down in thy sovereign's breast
 All businesses (from thence to reinvest
 135 Them when these triumphs cease), thou forward art
 To show to her, who doth the like impart,
 The fire of thy inflaming eyes, and of thy loving heart.

4. Raising of the Bride

- But now to thee, fair bride, it is some wrong
 To think thou wert in bed so long,
 140 Since soon thou liest down first, 'tis fit
 Thou in first rising shouldst allow for it.

Stanza 3 sub-heading: of the] of *Dob*: the *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F* 127 of] on *Lut*, *O'F*
 128 Singly] Single *Lec*, *C57*, 1633, 1635 129 Let] Yet let *Lut*, *O'F*
 140 'tis fit] *om.* II

Raising of the Bridegroom] A reminder of James I's promotion of his favourite.

127 divorce] An echo of the still unsettled controversy.

129 A stock device, implying the addressee is a high example in religion, as in *Huntingdon* 46, *BedfordHonour* 21, *Salisbury* 32. **Let]** The less reliable MSS' 'Yet let' regularises the syllables and metre. Though D. might not have liked the jingle, it does begin a line in *Recusant* 35, and occurs in a prose-letter of 1608 to Goodyer (1633 p. 372). If not authorial, it is an emendation that would have occurred to and tempted an intelligent scribe. Grierson suggests 'Yet' could have been mistaken for duplication of 'let', and so dropped, but given the agreement of Groups I and II, that would have had to take place far back in the common ancestry.

131 prevent'st] risest before. Cp. *Elizabeth* 29.

133-5 A hint that D. did not want his suit to be forgotten. After the death of his chief minister, Robert Cecil, James I had decided to run state affairs in person, which enabled Somerset to arrogate power to himself. That he should assign to the King's care the King's own business might seem an ironic comment on his presumption and James I's infatuation.

134-5 reinvest / Them] assume them again.

Raising of the Bride] Not only from bed but to the status of wife (again), and from the potential fall of becoming a mere viscountess.

138-41 She must not be mistaken for one of the foolish virgins of *Matt.* 25. 1-12 (current gossip made no such mistake, as the next note shows).

Powder thy radiant hair,
 Which if without such ashes thou wouldst wear,
 Thou, which, to all which come to look upon,
 145 Art meant for Phoebus, wouldst be Phaëthon.
 For our ease, give thine eyes th'unusual part
 Of joy, a tear; so quenched, thou mayst impart
 To us that come thy inflaming eyes, to him thy loving heart.

143 ashes] *om. Lec, C57* wouldst] shouldst *Lut, O'F*

144 all which] all that *Dob, Lut, O'F* come] ~s *II*

145 Art *TCC, Dob, S96: Are D, H49, Lec, C57, TCD, 1633: Wert Lut, O'F, 1635*

142 'She thinking all the world ignorant of her sly practices, hath the impudence to appear in the habit of a *Virgin*, with her hair pendent almost to her feet; . . . her indeed lovely cheeks did not betray themselves to blushes' (Wilson p. 72, writing long after the revelations at the trial). Lindley pp. 64–5, 68 dismisses the later reports by Wilson and Sir Simonds D'Ewes that she had yielded 'the first fruits' to Henry, Prince of Wales, over a year earlier, as he does the sworn testimony to their nocturnal cohabitation by a witness later dismissed even by the fierce prosecutor Coke as unreliable. The annulment commission secured a physical examination to verify her virginity, whose validity was doubted by some, e.g., the balladeer quoted by Lindley p. 99, who builds on the fact that Howard requested to be allowed to wear a veil throughout: 'This dame was inspected, but Fraud interjected / A maid of more perfection, / Whom the midwives did handle whilst the Knight held the candle: / O there was a clear inspection!' and mocks the ecclesiastical involvement: 'Now all foreign writers cry out on these mitres / That allow this for virginity, / And talk of "ejection" and "want of erection": / Oh there is a sound divinity!' More seriously, the Bishop of London, who was present, reported that the testimony of the two midwives was not corroborated by the other women present, and was of dubious honesty, while Chamberlain (1. 461) told Carleton that medical professionals did not believe virginity could be so simply determined.

142–3 Through the delirious Duke, Webster in *White Devil* 5. 3. 124 (1612) mocks this new fashion 'That makes her look as if she had sinned in the pastry'. J. Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae. Familiar Letters Domestic and Forren*, 3rd, enl. edn, 4. 5 (1655) 4. 14, alludes on Ash Wednesday 1654 to 'our modern gallants' who 'ash and powder their pericraniums all the year long.' Recall of biblical associations with grief and repentance might unsettle a reader's response here: in *2 Sam.* 13. 19, 'Tamar put ashes on her head' after being raped by her brother Amnon, and in *Lam.* 3. 16, the least of Jeremiah's afflictions by the Lord's anger is that 'he hath covered me with ashes'.

145 Phoebus] the Sun. **Phaëthon]** i.e., would cause them to be scorched, as the Earth was when he failed to keep the chariot of the Sun in its orbit. But Phaëthon came to grief, which may implicitly warn the bride not to be a *femme fatale* nor meddle in great matters.

146–50 The image slips from refraction or dimming to reflection by water.

5. Her Apparelling

Thus thou descend'st to our infirmity,
 150 Who can the Sun in water see.
 So dost thou, when in silk and gold
 Thou cloud'st thyself: since we which do behold
 Are dust and worms, 'tis just
 Our objects be the fruits of worms and dust.
 155 Let every jewel be a glorious star,
 Yet stars are not so pure as their spheres are,
 And though thou stoop to appear to us in part,
 Still in that picture thou entirely art,
 Which thy inflaming eyes have made within his loving
 heart.

152 cloud'st] cloth'st S96: cladd'st *Lut*, *O'F* 157 thou] those *II*

Her Apparelling] Cp. 1 *Peter* 3. 1, 3, recited in the marriage-service: 'Ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; . . . whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel'.

149 Thus] With powdered hair and tearful eyes. **descend'st . . . infirmity]** dost condescend to, accommodate, the weakness of our eyes, which cannot look directly at the sun.

150 Plato, *Republic* 7 (516), in turn one of Dryden's many borrowings from D. in 'Eleonora' 135-9.

151-4 Recalling *Job* 7. 5, whose 'flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust', while all humans may say with *Job* 17. 14, 'I have said . . . to the worm, "Thou art my mother"', and with *Eccles.* 3. 20, 'All are of the dust, and all turn to dust again', according to *Gen.* 3. 19.

154 fruits . . . dust] silk from silkworms, gold from the earth.

156 In his sixth-century commentary on Aristotle, *De caelo* 2. 7 (289a13), Simplicius argued that since stars reflected light, they must be denser than their invisible spheres, though according to Aristotle both were composed of 'the first body', ether, fifth element or quintessence. Cp. the distinction 'twixt air and angels' purity' of *Air* 27, and *Serm.* 4. 83 (Easter Day 1622).

158-9 In a poetic commonplace used in *Damp* 4, *Picture* 2, she still displays the supreme beauty that made him fall in love.

6. Going to the Chapel

- 160 Now from your Easts you issue forth, and we,
 As men which through a cypress see
 The rising Sun do think it two,
 So, as you go to church, do think of you,
 But that veil being gone
- 165 By the church rites, you are from thenceforth one.
 The Church Triumphant made this match before,
 And now the Militant doth strive no more:
 Then, reverend priest, who God's Recorder art,
 Do from his dictates to these two impart
- 170 All blessings which are seen or thought by angel's eye
 or heart.

Stanza 6 sub-heading: to the] to *H49*, *TCC*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

168 Then] Thou *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F* who] whose *II*: w^{ch} *A23*

Going to the Chapel] Devoting a whole stanza to this (cp. the brief mention in *Elizabeth* 51–2) emphasises, in a way presumably gratifying to James I and the Somersets, the King's overriding of his chief bishops by representing his own desire as the will of God, which it would be sinful to resist. Other readers might feel otherwise about this direction of the religious power by the political.

160 Cp. *Psalms* 19. 5: 'the Sun . . . cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber'.

160–5 Their apparent separateness is a superficial illusion removed by the religious formalities.

161–2 men . . . two] At first it seems to be the fine lacy foliage of a tree that has caused the alleged double vision, but in 164 it is the reticulation of a black gauze fabric used for veils, also named cypress from their supposed common place of origin.

166 According to the sixteenth-century proverb (Tilley M688), marriages are made in Heaven (again raising a question about divorce).

167 The hierarchy of the Church of England, led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, and D.'s friend John King, Bishop of London, had strongly opposed the Essex divorce (see letter from Thomas Lorkin under 'Date and Context'), which James I secured only by packing the commission with compliant, hopeful bishops (one of whom was rewarded with a knighthood for his son, thereafter known as Sir Nullity Bilson—Lindley p. 120). See note on 123.

168 reverend priest] Chamberlain (I. 495) observed to Alice Carleton that 'The Dean of the Chapel [the bishop of Bath and Wells, James Montague, editor and translator of the King's *Works*, 1616] coupled them; which fell out somewhat strangely that the same man should marry the same person in the same place, upon the self-same day (after six or seven years, I know not whether), the former party yet living. All the difference was, that the King gave her the last time, and now her father'. **Recorder]** legal officer whose oral pronouncement of the law is authoritative.

169–70 In the *BCP* prayer for 'thy blessing . . . that . . . these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made, . . . and may ever

7. The Benediction

Blest pair of swans! Oh may you interbring
 Daily new joys, and never sing:
 Live, till all grounds of wishes fail,
 Till honour, yea, till wisdom grow so stale
 175 That, new great heights to try,
 It must serve your ambition to die;
 Raise heirs, and may here to the world's end live
 Heirs for this King to take thanks, you, to give;

176 It] I II 177 to] *om.* II

178 for] from II, *Dob*, *O'Fae*, 1633, 1635 King] ring *Lut*, *O'Fbe* you] yours
Dob, *Sg6*, *Lut*, *O'Fbe*

remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to thy laws'; and, in the Blessing, 'so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, that ye may so live together in this life that in the world to come ye may have life everlasting'. *Ps.* 128, one of those prescribed, begins: 'Blessed are all they that fear the Lord, and walk in his ways, for thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: . . . Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine upon the walls of thy house, thy children like the olive branches round about thy table.' Further prayers repeat the requests to 'bless these thy servants' with grace, goodness, love, children, cherishing, and 'that this woman may be loving and amiable, faithful and obedient to her husband, and in all quietness, sobriety and peace be a follower of holy and godly matrons', followed by readings from the Word of God in *Eph.* 5. 22–33, *Coloss.* 3. 18–19, and *1 Peter* 3. 1–7. To some readers, experience and rumour may have made such an outcome seem improbable.

170 Fowler (1970) pp. 71–3 sees the replacement of the 'inflaming eyes' of previous refrains with 'angel's eye' in this central sixth of the eleven stanzas as marking the new era in which the lovers have rescued the world as promised in stanza 1, and as alluding to the Christ-Sun that rose to redeem it—a link made in *Ephes.* 5. 25–32, quoted in the minister's closing homily in the *BCP* 'Solemnization of Matrimony'.

171 **Blest . . . swans]** Echoed in the opening of Milton's 'At a Solemn Music'. As emblems of purity, beauty and nobility, Spenser uses swans to figure the sister-brides Elizabeth and Katherine Somerset (not related to the new creation of Robert Carr) in *Proth.* 37–126. A pair were usually figured drawing the chariot of Venus, goddess of love (cp. *Proth.* 62–3), but sometimes that of Juno, goddess of marriage, e.g., *As You Like It* 1. 3. 74–5: 'like Juno's swans, / Still we went coupled and inseparable'. In D.'s pair the attributes of the two goddesses are united. **interbring]** bring each other. D.'s favourite coinage by prefix, a nonce-word.

172 **never sing]** i.e., never die. See note on *FirAn* 407.

176 **your ambition]** Not the couple's least prominent characteristic.

178 'Heirs of this king to take thanks, heirs of you to give them thanks' is perhaps the most plausible sense. The number of MS variants shows the difficulty of this line for D.'s contemporaries.

Nature and grace do all, and nothing art;
 180 May never age or error overthwart
 With any West these radiant eyes, with any North this heart.

8. Feasts and Revels

But you are over blessed: plenty this day
 Injures: it causes time to stay;
 The tables groan as though this feast
 185 Would, as the Flood, destroy all fowl and beast.

183 causes] causeth 1633, 1635 184 groan] grow II this] the *Lec*, C57

179–81 Since the appetites of nature, the King's grace, and political artfulness had hitherto been more conspicuous than good nature and divine grace, and age if not error was inevitable, the wishes are hyperbolic again to the point of irony.

179 art] cunning; deceitful appearances.

180 error] straying, infidelity (such as the bride's to her first husband). **overthwart]** afflict, vex.

181 While the eyes prone to ageing and wandering could be those of both, 'this heart' seems retrospectively to separate the couple out again, and may thence be his particularly, in danger of cooling because of her loss of beauty or her infidelity. Cp. the true love of *Morrow* 18, 'Without sharp North, without declining West' and note. **West]** waning of their suns, dimming with age, but also, possibly, shame resulting from 'error'. **North]** cooling of love (from the source of cold winds); a traditional wish, e.g., by Martial, 4. 13.

182–92 Feasts and Revels Wilson p. 72, observed that

all the splendid equipage, and magnificent preparation, that can either fill a court with delight, or people with admiration, are not wanting for the marriage. . . . These glorious days are seconded with as glorious nights, where masques and dancings had a continued motion; the King naturally affecting such high-flying pastimes and banquetings as might wrap up his spirit, and keep it from descending to earthly things.

For Dubrow p. 190, ll. 182–5 'hint at a negative judgement on the lavishly expensive festivities'.

182 Referring to the feasts and revels, but Chamberlain (I. 496) writes to Alice Carleton of the material tributes from courtiers and citizens who wished to be remembered: 'The presents indeed were more in number and value than ever, I think, were given to any subject in this land'. To her brother Dudley on 5 Jan. he says that still 'the presents of plate and jewels increase daily' (I. 498).

182–3 this day / Injures] deprives this day of its due rites of love. For this traditional reproach, cp. *Lincoln* 51–68, *Elizabeth* 65–70.

184–5 Jonson, *Volpone* 3. 7. 204–5, exults in the idea, but Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, 3. 12 (1646; 1981) p. 208, after rejecting the existence of the phoenix, jokes of the Emperor Elagabalus' desire to eat its brain, that 'considering the unity thereof, it was a vain design, that is, to destroy any species or mutilate the great accomplishment of six days', God's Creation. Of course, the Ark prevented this in Noah's Flood.

And were the doctrine new
 That the earth moved, this day would make it true:
 For every part to dance and revel goes.
 They tread the air, and fall not where they rose.
 190 Though six hours since, the Sun to bed did part,
 The masques and banquets will not yet impart
 A sunset to these weary eyes, a centre to this heart.

9. The Bride's Going to Bed

What mean'st thou, bride, this company to keep?
 To sit up till thou fain wouldst sleep?
 195 Thou mayst not when th'art laid do so:
 Thyself must to him a new banquet grow,
 And you must entertain
 And do all this day's dances o'er again.
 Know that if Sun and Moon together do
 200 Rise in one point, they do not set so too:

188 revel] ~s *Lut, O'F* 189 where] when *II*

191 masques] masque *Lec, C57* 192 these] those *Lut, O'F*

186–7 were . . . moved] The daily rotation of the earth on its axis was a perception dating back to the fourth-century BCE Greek, Heraclides Ponticus, and its orbit round the sun (less relevant here) to Aristarchus, c. 280 BCE.

189 D. alludes to Ptolemy's argument against the rotation of the earth, refuted by Nicole Oresme in 1377 (see A. C. Crombie, *Augustine to Galileo* (2nd edn 1959; 1964) 2. 75–80), and Copernicus.

190 Imagining the time to be approaching eleven o'clock at night. **part]** depart.

191–2 When the third masque for the Palatine revels arrived late, its triumphal procession up the Thames from Southwark delayed by disorder and low tide, 'the King was so wearied and sleepy with sitting up almost two whole nights before, that he had no edge to it; whereupon Sir Fra. Bacon adventured to entreat his majesty that by this disgrace he would not, as it were, bury them quick: and I hear the King should answer, that then they must bury him quick, for he could last no longer' (Chamberlain to Alice Carleton, 18 Feb. 1613; I. 426); the masque was postponed. D.'s lines could have been designed to sound a sympathetic chord in that possible reader who was even more important to him than the Somersets, the King.

191 masques] The original spelling 'masks' perhaps included a reference to masked dancers (though not to blindfolds that might allow sleep).

192 A sunset . . . eyes] An ironic clash with the wish for no 'East' in the previous refrain. **a centre . . . heart]** a central place to love, as in *Sun* 30.

196 a new banquet] Cp. *Lincoln* 69–70.

199–200 On the day of the wedding, five days before New Moon, the Moon in its last quarter may have been visible in the morning sky, but had risen about six

Therefore thou mayst, fair bride, to bed depart.
 Thou art not gone, being gone, where'er thou art:
 Thou leav'st in him thy watchful eyes, in him thy
 loving heart.

10. The Bridegroom's Coming

As he that sees a star fall runs apace
 205 And finds a jelly in the place,
 So doth the bridegroom haste as much
 Being told this star is fall'n, and finds her such.

201 fair bride, to bed] to bed, fair bride *Lut*, *O'F*

hours earlier than the Sun. D.'s conceit has to be read as 'poetical', i.e., either imprecise or abstract: if taken precisely, the Moon would be invisible, because, when Sun and Moon rise at the same time they are very near their conjunction (the astronomical 'New Moon'), for up to about a day and a half before and after which, the Moon is in its *interlunium* or 'silence' (cp. Milton, 'Samson Agonistes' 86-9: 'The Sun to me is dark / And silent as the moon / When she deserts the night, / Hid in her vacant interlunar cave'), i.e., invisible to the naked eye, all day (except for the brief, negative phenomenon of a solar eclipse). As Browne puts it in *Pseudodoxia* 4. 12 (1981) pp. 339-40: 'A month of apparition is the space wherein the Moon appeareth, deducting three days wherein it commonly disappeareth, . . . being in combustion with the Sun'. For instance, both rose at London at 0530 GMT on 3 April 2000: the Moon set at 1702 and the Sun at 1837, New Moon being at 1712 next day. If, however, 'point' is simply taken to mean 'hour', there may be several days in the year adjacent to *interlunia* when Sun and visible Old Moon rise within an hour and set two or more hours apart, as happened on 4 March, 1, 2 April, 1, 2 May 2000. In any case, the image here is inconsistent with 130-1, 138-41, where initially the groom seems to rise first, then the bride. Either Moon or Sun may be above the horizon for longer (the lunar day fluctuating monthly but the solar annually), so neither gender need be specified here, in contrast to the specific reversal of the usual in *Elizabeth* 85.

200 point] of the dial: moment in time. Contrarily, bride and groom rose in different places, points of the horizon, the plural 'Easts' of 160, but will set in the same East, the marriage-bed.

202 Thou . . . being gone] A rhetorical paradox echoed with more point in the antanaclasis of *Christ* 5, 11.

204-7 As the meteorite loses its brilliance and (according to common belief) hardness, so she will doff her silks and gold and gems to reveal a soft body beneath. *OED* explains that D.'s reference is to *Nostoc commune*, an alga 'which appears as a jelly-like mass on dry soil after rain', and under *Nostoc* (a Paracelsan coinage), quotes W. Charleton's translation of J. B. Van Helmont, *Ternary of Paradoxes* (1650): 'the nocturnal pollution of some plethorical and wanton star, or rather excrement blown from the nostrils of some rheumatic planet, . . . in consistence like a jelly, and so trembling if touched.' Such was hardly 'a new banquet' (p. 196) for the groom, and Tufte p. 228 characterises the conceit as 'especially unfortunate'.

And as friends may look strange
 By a new fashion or apparel's change,
 210 Their souls though long acquainted they had been,
 These clothes their bodies never yet had seen,
 Therefore at first she modestly might start,
 But must forthwith surrender every part
 As freely as each to each before gave either eye or heart.

11. The good night

215 Now as in Tullia's tomb one lamp burnt clear
 Unchanged for fifteen hundred year,

210 they] there *II* 211 their] the *Lut*, *O'F*

213 forthwith *Lec*, *II*, *III*, 1633, 1635: forewith *H49*, *D*, *C57*

214 As freely] Freely *Lut*, *O'F*

D. might just be showing his usual lack of interest in the possible visual effect of his intellectual comparisons, but, yet again, he could deliberately have struck a false note, like William Somerville in his mock-heroic *Hobbinol* 3. 266 (1740): 'Like that falling meteor there she lies, / A jelly cold on earth.' Suckling echoes D. in 'Farewell to Love', but, like Dryden in the dedication to his *Spanish Friar* (1679), uses the figure more aptly for hope deceived. In Lovelace's sonnet, 'When I by thy fair shape', 'Snail', and 'Mock Song', stars turned to jelly are suggested by the eyes of an ageing lover, the dissolution of a snail, and Cromwell's destruction of the Stuart court.

207 fall'n] For some readers recalling the falls of Eve and the ambitious angels (*War* 11–12, *FirAn* 193–200, *SecAn* 494), led by the angel Lucifer (*Isa.* 14. 12), as well as the sexual falls of *Change* 3, *Elizabeth* 38. R. S. Jackson, *John Donne's Christian Vocation* (1970) pp. 139–40 asks: 'How could this fallen star fail to suggest to anyone at court not only its coarse erotic meaning but also the unsavoury character of the bride, her previous marriage, and the scandalous nullity suit just over?' Courtiers, presumably, could interpret the figure as clever conceit or moral comment, as they preferred.

208–9 An idea repeated from *BedfordRefined* 66.

210–11 Implausibly making the Somersets the miraculous lovers of *Relic* 23–30.

211 These clothes] Cp. *Bed* 34, for which Gardner quotes Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 2. 69. 2, and *Elizabeth* 76–8. Cp. the common analogy also in the 'muddy vesture of decay' of *Merchant of Venice* 5. 1. 64 (Milgate).

212 If believing the gossip, a cynical reader would mentally italicise 'might'. Praz (1925) p. 59 notes the comparable examples of Ariosto in 1502 in an epithalamium terming the experienced Lucrezia Borgia 'most beautiful virgin', and in an epigram praising a bishop for the chastity he notoriously lacked.

213 forthwith/forewith] *OED* quotes a use of the latter form (as *forwith*) in the Douai Bible of 1609, so it may be what D. originally wrote.

215–16 in Tullia's . . . year] In the tomb of Cicero's daughter, Tulliola (d. 45 BCE), on the Appian Way, found ('if we may believe histories', says E. Jordan,

May these love-lamps we here enshrine,
 In warmth, light, lasting, equal the divine.
 Fire ever doth aspire,
 220 And makes all like itself, turns all to fire,
 But ends in ashes, which these cannot do:
 For none of them is fuel, but fire too.
 This is joy's bonfire, then, where love's strong arts
 Make of so noble individual parts
 225 One fire of four inflaming eyes and of two loving hearts.

222 them] these *II*, 1633, 1635 223 where] when *II*, *Dob*: were *S96*

224 Make] Made *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

Discourse of Naturall Bathes 5 (1632) p. 26), during the papacy of Paul III (1534–49). D. could have come across the story in Panciroli 35 (1599) l. 124, as he did others for *Platonic* 5–8, *BedfordRefined* 44–5, *Markham* 21–2, and *BedfordHonour* 29. Re-using the story in *Serm.* 3. 357 (Christmas Day 1621) D. appears to draw also on Salmuth's commentary on Panciroli l. 124. The flash and immediate extinction on opening long-closed chambers was later attributed to the ignition of accumulated gas.

216 fifteen hundred] 'plus minus 1550'—Panciroli.

217–18 A blasphemous idea to a devout reader: in *HSW1*, 'Since she whom I loved', D. assumes that personal love is displaced by the divine, in accordance with the doctrine of *Matt.* 22. 30, etc.

219–20 Aristotle, *De caelo* 3. 5, 3. 8 (304b17, 307a7, 307a25), *Meteorologica* 1. 2 (339a17–18).

221 They have the legendary power of salamanders to survive in fire, but also resemble the phoenix used emblematically for the Princess Elizabeth. That they cannot end in ashes contradicts *Eclus* 17. 32. 'All men are but dust and ashes', and the familiar *BCP* Order for the Burial of the Dead: 'We therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust'. When the trio had survived the burning fiery furnace in *Daniel* 3. 8–29, Nebuchadnezzar ordered that any that should 'speak anything amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill', much as James I tried to stifle criticism of the Somersets (though not by such extreme measures).

222 Neither of them is just fuel, both are also fire.

225 Tufte p. 228 visualises (as D. presumably did not) 'The gruesome image of the eyes and hearts in the flaming bonfire', and (p. 205) notes that Chapman also indulges laboriously in 'the "two-made-one" and "one-made-two" game'. Cp. the chorus of Carew's 'Hymeneal Dialogue' (quoted by Tufte, *Poetry of Marriage* p. 323).

Idios

As I have brought this song that I may do
A perfect sacrifice, I'll burn it too.

Allophanes

No, sir. This paper I have justly got,
For in burnt incense, the perfume is not
230 His only that presents it, but of all.
Whatever celebrates this festival
Is common, since the joy thereof is so.
Nor may yourself be priest, but let me go
Back to the Court, and I will lay't upon
235 Such altars as prize your devotion.

231 festival] nuptial *III*: missing *A23* 234 upon] on *III*

227 Echoing, as at the end of *Lincoln*, the injunction of *Lev.* 22. 21–2 that a sacrifice 'shall be perfect, to be accepted'.

230 of] 'shared by', since the aroma cannot be confined.

233–5 The assignment of the role of 'priest', delivering his offering, to *Allophanes*, suggests a distancing from D.'s self, *Idios*, though in real life he did use intermediaries. From the Jan. 1614 letter to Ker it appears that the commission from Somerset came through him, so he probably filled the role of *Allophanes* here.

235 altars] Making clear the poem was aimed at possible patrons, and flattering their taste for treatment as gods on earth.

VERSE EPISTLES TO
PATRONESSES

To the Countess of Bedford at New Year's Tide

Date and context. Dec. 1607: D.'s first mention of Lady Bedford in a letter to Goodyer is in one dated 14 March 1607 (i.e., 1608—the ecclesiastical year changed in England on 25 March), and implies an established acquaintance: 'When I saw your good Countess last . . .' (*Letters* p. 140). Whereas Lucy, daughter of Sir John Harington of Exton, improved the standing of her family by marrying Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford, in 1594. The Earl's own bid for advancement was to take part in the Essex rebellion, but, having deserted the rebels, he was merely imprisoned and fined, occasioning an anonymous balladeer to jeer that 'his fine dancing dame' would have to secure remission of the fine (see M. Maurer, *ELH* 47 (1980) 214). On the death of Queen Elizabeth in March 1603, Lady Bedford hastened northward with her mother and other ladies to greet the new monarch and his queen. The latter immediately took Lady Bedford into high favour, making her a Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber. Her mother and father were given charge of the Princess Elizabeth, whose extravagance eventually much impoverished them, and the Earl of Bedford was duly released by James I, thereafter living mostly away from Court. According to J. H. Wiffen, *Memoirs of the House of Russell* (1833) pp. 67–8, the Earl of Worcester wrote to Lord Shrewsbury of Lady Bedford's disappointed rivals that 'the plotting and malice among them is such, that I think Envy hath tied an invisible snake about most of their necks, to sting one another to death!' Cp. *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud, Gloucs 1990), recording a meeting soon after: 'Thither came my Lady of Bedford, who was so great a woman with the Queen as everybody much respected her, she having attended the Queen out of Scotland.' At Christmas she began her series of leading roles in the Queen's masques, playing Vesta 'with a dressing like a nun, presenting a burning lamp in one hand, and a book in the other' in her protégé Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, which he dedicated to her on publishing it in 1604 (*Book of Masques*, ed. T. J. B. Spencer and S. W. Wells (1967) pp. 22, 25, 27, 42). There was thus good reason for D. to sue for her influence in his continuing search for a job. Already a patron of poets such as Chapman, Daniel, Drayton, and Ben Jonson, she may have had D. drawn to her attention by Sir Henry Goodyer (himself a patron of Drayton), who attended her frequently, and was one of her agents in 1607 in the negotiations for Twickenham Park, her country seat for the next decade. Alternatively (or in addition) Jonson (author of two poems to Lady Bedford, *Epigrams* nos 76, 84) might already have told her that D. was superior to her current 'verser (or "poet" in the court account)', either Daniel—whom he thought, according to Drummond, 'no poet'—or Drayton—at whom he also sneered in his 'Epistle to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland' (*The Forest* no. 12) sent on New Year's Day 1600—and thus been 'desired by you' to send the poems then accompanied by his 'To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with Mr. Donne's Satires' (*Epigrams* no. 94), presumably in 1607. Line 10 indicates that it is in the year presently closing that D. came to know Lady Bedford (see Bald (1970) pp. 172–4). Although the Church's Year of Grace changed on 25 March, it is obvious from court records, correspondence, etc., that the historical New Year, with its exchange of gifts between superiors and inferiors, was celebrated then as now on 1 January: in 'The General Argument' prefixed to *Shepherds' Calendar* (1579) Spenser argues at length for 1 January on religious and historical grounds and 'the simplicity of common understanding', and begins *Amoretti* 4 'New Year, forth looking out of Janus' gate'.

D.'s poem may be referred to in his letter to Goodyer dated 'the last of 1607 as I remember' (*Letters* p. 204): 'I have bespoke you a New-Year's gift, that is, a good New Year, for I have offered your name with my soul heartily to God in my mornings best sacrifice. If for custom you will do a particular office in recompense, deliver this letter to your Lady, now, or when the rage of the masque is past.' Lady Bedford performed in Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* on 10 Jan. 1608, and his *Masque of Queens* (apparently the last in which she took part) on 2 Feb. 1609.

Analogues. For poets to present verses to patrons as New Year gifts, *strenae*, was long established and widespread, e.g., Marot, *Epigrammes* 85 (1970) p. 167. *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth* (1823) 3. 409–881, reprints, from BL MS Cotton Vespasian E. 8, an anonymous verse-address to Elizabeth, 'in Nature of a New Year's Gift', 1600. Nearer in time to D. are Sir Robert Ayton's 'To Queen Anne upon New-year's-day 1604', and (to a later patron of D.'s) *Basia: siue strena Cal. Ian. ad Iacobum Hayum Equitem*, 1605. Another example is D.'s own *Goodyer*. The stanza-form had been used also by Sidney more than once, e.g., *Old Arcadia* 'Third Book or Act' (Poems, ed. Ringler 38), and reappears in *Sickness*.

Text. The two Group III MSS collated, *O'F* and *Lut* (*O'F* emended as usual to agree with 1633 in ll. 7, 45) do not obviously demand correction whereas Group II, followed by 1633 and 1635, offers less reliable witness. All versions indent the text to match the rhyme-scheme.

THIS twilight of two years, not past nor next,
 Some emblem is of me, or I of this,
 Who (meteor-like, of stuff and form perplexed,
 Whose what and where in disputation is),
 5 If I should call me any thing, should miss.

Sources collated: *Group II*: TCD, DC; *Group III*: *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: III

Select variants:

Heading: Bedford 1633, 1635: B. MSS at New Year's Tide] on ~ ~ Day 1633, 1635

1–5 D. expresses again his sense of lack of identity in letters to Goodyer (1633, pp. 361, 363) datable to the summer of 1607: 'Sir, if I were anything, my love to you might dignify it [i.e., "another rag of verses"]: But infinite nothings are but one such'; 'you can make none of such a nothing . . . of barren sycamores, such as I'; and of 5 March and Sept. 1608 (*Letters* pp. 65, 51–2); and in *Lucy* 10–37. **1** The poetic moment is midnight.

3 Like atmospheric phenomena, mixed in matter and amorphous in shape. Cp. the more assured use of the comparison in a letter to Goodyer of 1612 (*Letters* p. 46): 'Our nature is meteoric, we respect (because we partake so) both Earth and Heaven'.

4 There was much debate, based on Aristotle's *Meteorology* and Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones*, on the substance and origin of things such as hail, lightning, rainbows, and coronas.

5 miss] not hit the mark.

I sum my years, and me, and find me not
 Debtor to th'old, nor creditor to new,
 That cannot say my thanks I have forgot,
 Nor trust I this with hopes; and yet, scarce true
 10 This bravery is, since these times showed me you.

In recompense, I would show future times
 What you were, and teach them to urge towards such.
 Verse embalms virtue, and tombs or thrones of rhymes
 Preserve frail, transitory fame, as much
 15 As spice doth bodies from corrupt airs' touch.

Mine are short-lived: the tincture of your name
 Creates in them, but dissipates as fast,
 New spirits; for strong agents, with the same
 Force that doth warm and cherish us, do waste:
 20 Kept hot with strong extracts, no bodies last.

6 my] the *II*, 1633, 1635 7 new] th'new *O'Fae*, 1633, 1635
 10 times] time 1633 12 towards] toward *II* 14 Preserve] ~s *II*
 18 spirits] spirit 1633
 19 cherish us,] cherish, us 1633 do] doth *II*
 20 bodies last] body lasts *TCD*: bodies lasts 1633

- 6 my/the years]** In this stanza it is his own past that D. reflects on.
9–10 He is not ungrateful for benefits received in the previous year, and is not making any demands (like a hopeful creditor) on that which is to come.
10 bravery] boasting.
11–15 The traditional 'I have raised a monument more lasting than bronze, nobler than the pyramids' royal structure' claim of Horace, *Odes* 3. 30. 1.
12 urge] strive.
13–14 tombs . . . fame] Cp. *Canonization* 32–4.
13 thrones of rhymes] poems of praise, such as the present.
15 corrupt] containing the seeds or principles of corruption.
16 tincture] spirit, elixir. The alchemists claimed that gold contained an essence that if extracted would convert base metals to gold.
18 strong agents] Such as the Sun.
20 Substances whose reaction with powerful agents (such as *aqua fortis*, nitric acid) gives off heat are dissolved.

So my verse, built of your just praise, might want
 Reason and likelihood, the firmest base;
 And, made of miracle (now faith is scant),
 Will vanish soon, and so possess no place;
 25 And you and it too much grace might disgrace.

When all (as truth commands assent) confess
 All truth of you, yet they will doubt how I
 (One corn of one low anthill's dust, and less)
 Should name, know, or express a thing so high,
 30 And (not an inch) measure infinity.

I cannot tell them, nor myself, nor you,
 But leave, lest truth be endangered by my praise,
 And turn to God, who knows I think this true,
 And useth oft, when such a heart mis-says,
 35 To make it good, for such a praiser prays.

35 praiser prays] prayer, praise *TCD*: prayer prays 1633

22 'The protestant alternative to probabilism was probabiorism. As its name suggests, the Reformed doctrine required that one choose the most probable solution to a case of conscience—that is, the solution that best corresponds to one's understanding of Scripture . . . reason, conscience, and Revelation determined whether one act was 'probabilior' than another.'—M. L. Brown, *Donne and the Politics of Conscience in Early Modern England* (1995) p. 60.

23 Protestants generally accorded belief only to miracles claimed by Scripture, whereas in England prior to the Reformation innumerable modern miracles had been attributed to relics and the like. Cp. *Relic* 12–22.

25 Her incredible goodness will not be believed. Cp. *BedfordWritten* 77–8. **grace**] a) virtue on her part; b) honour, praise, eloquence from him.

27–9 **they will . . . high**] Cp. *BedfordRefined* 8–9, *BedfordHonour* 4–15.

28 **corn**] grain.

33 In form the poem is made to represent the turning-point between years as in content it makes something morally significant out of the event: in this mid-line of the poem (whose number recalls the traditional age of Christ at the Passion and Atonement) D. turns from the relationship so far between Lady Bedford and his indeterminate, negative, transitory self to that between her and God from now on, presenting a 'private gospel' that is 'our New Year'.

35 **such a praiser prays**] Cp. a letter to Goodyer (1633, p. 354): 'I am far from dehorting those fixed devotions [of the Church]. But I had rather it were bestowed upon thanksgiving then petition, upon praise then prayer. Not that God is endeared by that, or wearied by this; all is one in the receiver, but not in the sender. And thanks doth both offices.'

He will best teach you how you should lay out
 Your stock of beauty, learning, favour, blood;
 He will perplex security with doubt,
 And clear those doubts hid from you, and show you good,
 40 And so increase your appetite and food.

He will teach you that good and bad have not
 One latitude in cloisters and in Court:
 Indifferent there the greatest space hath got;
 Some pity's not good there; some vain disport
 45 On this side sin with that place doth comport.

37 Your] *His II, 1633, 1635*

39 doubts hid] ~, hid *DC*: ~; hid *TCD*: ~, hide *1633, 1635*

45 doth] may *II, O'Fae, 1633, 1635*

36–7 lay out / Your stock] ‘invest your capital’. Cp. the Parable of the Talents, *Matt.* 25. 14–30.

37 beauty . . . blood] Cp. *BedfordReason* 24–6, *BedfordRefined* 2, and the praise of ‘beauty, virtue, knowledge, blood’ in *Huntingdon* 55. **favour]** kindness, or charm.

38 security] over-confidence (e.g., in personal election to salvation; the word perhaps suggested by association with the commercial metaphor of 36–7).

39 clear . . . you] clarify your difficulties of belief. **good]** ‘what is good’.

41–2 Such moral relativism is not mere flattery but was seriously espoused by D.: see *Sem.* 5. 302: ‘That may come near sin at some time, and in some places, which is not so always, nor everywhere.’

42 One latitude] the same breadth of definition. **cloisters]** religious life, concerned with spiritual salvation. **Court]** Where Lady Bedford probably was at this time, not only for the usual festivities, but rehearsing her part in the next masque.

43 At Court, actions that are customarily permitted outnumber those deemed positively good or bad. Court practice parallels the C. of E.’s doctrine of indifference concerning some traditional ceremonies, vestments, etc., which may vary from country to country and from time to time, so long as they do not contradict Scripture (*BCP* ‘Articles of Religion’ 34).

44 Some pity . . . there] If ‘there’ means ‘in cloisters’, the reference is to some wickedness deserving no pity, but if it equals ‘that place’, then the allusion is more plausibly to Machiavelli’s discounting of personal Christian virtues, such as pity, in the interests of prince or state (see comment on *BedfordWritten* 83).

44–5 some vain . . . comport] ‘some empty amusement (short of actual sin) is fitting at Court’—allowing Lady Bedford’s indulgence in masques such as that referred to in the letter to Goodyer quoted above. Another letter, of the second half of Nov. 1608 (*Letters* pp. 143–4), shows how involved she was: ‘The King is gone this day for Royston, and hath left with the Queen a commandment to meditate upon a masque for Christmas, so that they grow serious about that already; that will hasten my Lady Bedford’s journey, who goes within ten days from hence to her lord, but by reason of this, can make no long stay there.’ In this poem D. implicitly shares the valuation of Bacon, who begins ‘Of Masques and Triumphs’ in *Essays* (1625): ‘These things are but toys’.

Yet he, as he bounds seas, will fix your hours
 Which pleasure and delight may not ingress;
 And (though what none else lost be truliest yours)
 He will make you what you did not possess,
 50 By using others' (not vice but) weakness.

He will make you speak truths and credibly,
 And make you doubt that others do not so;
 He will provide you keys and locks to spy
 And scape spies (to good ends); and he will show
 55 What you may not acknowledge, what not know.

For your own conscience, he gives innocence,
 But for your fame, a discreet wariness,

47 Which] With *TCD*, 1633

46 he bounds seas] e.g., *Job* 26. 10, 38. 8–11; *Ps.* 104. 9. Cp. *Markham* 3–4.

47 ingress] intrude upon.

48 what none else lost] your innate virtues.

49–50 'He will enable you to find time for pious uses by taking advantage of other people's weakness (though not of their vices, which would be sinful) in losing their time in unbounded pleasure, so leaving you alone.' The punctuation in the sources ('others, not vice, but') makes it possible to read this as meaning that God will enable her to possess weakness. This seems inconsistent with the stratagems promised in the next stanza, so it is here repunctuated with apostrophe and parentheses.

52 doubt] fear.

53–4 Cp. the letter probably by D. concerning the Earl of Essex after his banishment from Court in 1599: 'such men want locks for themselves and keys for others' (Burley MS 296v, Simpson (1948) p. 310), and the prayer in *Litany* 152–3: 'From being spies, or to spies pervious, / From thirst or scorn of fame, deliver us.' Cp. also *King John* 1. 1. 214–15: 'I will not practise to deceive, / Yet to avoid deceit I mean to learn.' Wishing God to give Lady Bedford the power of keys has a faint echo of Jesus symbolically conferring them on Peter, *Matt.* 16. 19. The frank commendation of prudence here contrasts with the ingenuous transparency attributed to her in *Bedford Honour* 25–33, yet even there 'Being and seeming' are 'of equal care.' **spy . . . spies]** detect and protect yourself from.

55 'What you may not allow to be known about yourself, and what it would be wrong to try to find out about others.'

56–7 In 'this private gospel' D. again adapts Scripture, *Matt.* 10. 16: 'Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.'

57 fame] reputation.

And (though to scape than to revenge offence
 Be better) he shows both; and to repress
 60 Joy when your state swells, sadness when 'tis less.

From need of tears he will defend your soul,
 Or make a rebaptising of one tear;
 He cannot (that's he will not) disenrol
 Your name; and when with active joy we hear
 65 This private gospel, then 'tis our New Year.

To the Countess of Bedford

Date and context. 1607–8. Lines 3–4 of this poem, in referring to the prompting of love by report rather than personal encounter, imply that their acquaintance is recent. They were on close enough terms for her to stand godmother to D.'s daughter Lucy on 6 August 1608 (Bald p. 158).

Text. TCD (with one questionable reading in l. 4) makes more coherent and appropriate sense than any other MS or 1633.

58–9 'And though it is better not to incur slander than to have to counter it, he makes you display both innocence and a readiness to defend yourself'.

59 he shows both] *Matt.* 18. 21–2, *Luke* 6. 27–38.

59–60 to repress . . . less] The Aristotelean ideal of one great of soul: *Nicomachean Ethics* 4. 3 (1124a15). Cp. *Cross* 51–4, *Litany* 127–8, and the stoicism advocated by Daniel, *To the Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford* 59–66.

60 state] worldly circumstances, grandeur, prestige. Milgate sees reference 'chiefly [to] her financial position', often difficult.

61–2 'God will keep you from all sin, or from all but the smallest.' Cp. *Ps.* 121. 5, 7 (*BCP*).

62 rebaptising] second washing away of sin.

63–4 he will not . . . name] Cp. *Rev.* 3. 5: 'He that overcometh, . . . I will not blot out his name out of the book of life'. The parenthetical gloss was needed lest D. be suspected of denying God's omnipotence.

63 disenrol] D.'s coinage did not catch on, and *OED* gives a definition that is inappropriate to the context.

64 active joy] Cp. *Serm.* 10. 214–15 (n. d.): 'And therefore says *Solomon*, *It is the joy of the just to do judgment*; to have lien still, and done no wrong occasions, is not this Joy; Joy is not such a Rest, as the Rest of the Earth, that never moved; but as the *Sun rejoiceth to run his race, and his circuit is unto the end of heaven*; so this Joy is the rest and testimony of a good conscience, that we have done those things which belong to our calling, that we have moved in our Sphere.' Also cp. *Serm.* 3. 340 (n. d.).

65 private gospel] personal good news, 'the gospel of your salvation', *Eph.* 1. 13. **our New Year]** our renewal on passing from one period to another, i.e., from time to eternity.

MADAM,

REASON is our soul's left hand, faith her right:
 By these we reach divinity, that's you.
 Those loves who have the blessing of your sight
 Grew from their reason, mine from fair faith grew.

- 5 But as, although a squint left-handedness
 Be ungracious, yet we cannot want that hand,
 So would I, not t'increase but to express
 My faith, as I believe, so understand.

Sources collated: *Group I*: C57, D, H49, Lec; *Group II*: TCD, DC; L74; *Group III*: Dob, Lut, O'F, S96, 1633, 1635

Base text: TCD

Select variants:

Heading I, III, 1633, 1635: ~ ~ ~ B. TCD, DC: ~ ~ Countie of Bed. L74

o Madam om. Lut, O'F 3 Those] Their I, L74, III, 1633, 1635 blessing] blessings I, 1633 sight] light 1633, 1635

4 fair faith grew] far ~ ~ I, Dob, S96: faith doth grow Lut, O'F

1–2 For other examples of D.'s concern with the relative status of faith and reason in achieving knowledge of God, Maurer, *MLQ* 37 (1976) 37, quotes *Henry* 1–4, and cites D.'s more extensive argument in *Essays* 1. 2 (1952) pp. 20–1, while Milgate quotes selectively from the later sermons: 'Mercy is God's right hand, with that God gives all; faith is man's right hand, with that man takes all' (*Serm.* 7. 370, Easter 1627); 'A regenerate man is not made of faith alone, but of faith and reason; and signs, external things, assist us all' (*Serm.* 6. 175, Christmas 1624); 'Mysteries of religion are not the less believed and embraced by faith because they are presented, and induced, and apprehended by reason' (*Serm.* 1. 169, 21 April 1616). Cp. also *Litany* 62–3.

2 divinity] knowledge of God.

3–4 Alluding to the reproach of Jesus to doubting Thomas, *John* 20. 29: 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed'; and perhaps to *Heb.* 11. 13: 'These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off'. Love before meeting is also the opening motif of *Air*.

3 Those/Their] TCD's reading is the more appropriate since it is the loves which grew, not the lovers. **blessing . . . sight]** Cp. *John* 20. 29: 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.'

4 fair/far] Faith may be deemed fair as being the 'gracious' right hand (see I. 6), and as a gift of the right hand of the 'gracious' God, *1 Pet.* 2. 3, who may give faith through grace as in *1 Tim.* 1. 14. Cp. 'fair religion', *Satyre* 3 5. Some MSS 'farre' might have derived from a plausible guess at 'faire'—very similar in some hands—as appropriate to those who believe 'afar off', and allowing possible irony if the reader recollects the earlier words of that text, 'not having received the promises', a tactful reminder beneath the surface of this otherwise totally obsequious poem.

6 ungracious] Socially awkward, but also traditionally unfavourable, unlucky or evil. **want]** do without.

Therefore I study you: first in your saints,
 10 Those friends whom your election glorifies;
 Then in your deeds, accesses, and restraints,
 And what you read, and what yourself devise.

But soon the reasons why you're loved by all
 Grow infinite, and so pass reason's reach;
 15 Then back again t'implicit faith I fall,
 And rest on what the catholic voice doth teach:

That you are good, and not one heretic
 Denies it; if he did, yet you are so,

13 by] of L74, Dob, Lut, O'F (but cp. HerbMPap 52: 'loved of her' Σ, 1633)
 16 voice] faith 1633 17 one] an S96, Lut, O'F

9–10 The Countess's secular actions are here associated through religious terminology with the actions of God: cp. *Rom.* 8. 16–17, 27, 30, 33.

10 e.g., Lady Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode, on whom D. was soon to write funeral elegies for Lady Bedford. Marotti (1986) p. 206 hypothesises that the Bedford circle was satirized by Jonson with his Ladies Collegiate in *Epixæne* (1609), who live apart from their husbands like Lady Bedford (but unlike the widow Lady Markham and unmarried Cecilia Bulstrode). If his Lady Haughty does represent Lady Bedford, reversing his eulogies of this principal dancer in some of his masques (*Epigrams* nos. 76, 84, 94), it shows, as with the contrary switch between 'On the Court Pucelle' (*Underwood* no. 49) and 'Epitaph on Cecilia Bulstrode', for how short a time a poet's loyalty might be hired.

11 accesses] increases, augmentations (*OED* 8 exemplifies Milton, *PL* 9. 309–10: 'I from the influence of thy looks receive / Access in every virtue').

12 devise] This suggests that Lady Bedford has already shown him something she has written: see comment on *BedfordRefined*.

13–14 Again cp. *Air* 19–20 where the evidential reasons for loving are overwhelming.

15 implicit faith] D. uses the phrase scornfully of unquestioning submission to dogma in *Pseudo-Martyr*, 'The Preface' 15 (1610) sig. C3'; (1993) p. 19: 'to call every pretence [claim] of the Pope, Catholic faith, and to bleed to death for it, is a sickness and a medicine, which the Primitive Church never understood. For the implicit faith, and blind assent, which you were used heretofore to give to the spiritual supremacy, was put upon you, as Hannibal, to entrap and surprise his enemies, mingled their wine with mandrake, whose operation is betwixt sleep and poison'. This valuation of 'implicit faith' gives an ironic tinge to 'catholic' in the next line, a hint that the writer is consciously employing witty exaggeration.

16 catholic voice] universal opinion.

17–18 The allegations of supreme virtue are as inevitable as those of beauty in praise of a female patron at this time, but D. goes to the extreme of implicitly deifying Lady Bedford: he later noted in *Serm.* 6. 233 (4 March 1625) how even heretics evaded complete denial of the goodness of God by conceiving of a bad

For rocks which high-topped and deep-rooted stick,
 20 Waves wash, not undermine, nor overthrow.

In everything there naturally grows
 A *balsamum* to keep it fresh and new

19 high-topped and] high to some, and I (~ ~ sum, ~ H49): High to Sun, and L74: high to seem, and S96: high to seem, √ Dob: high to sense, √ Lut, O'F, 1635

god as well as a good one. Lady Bedford was not without critics: Marotti (1986) p. 337 records her being teased by the Queen about the Duke of Holstein (Carleton to Chamberlain, 20 Aug. 1606 (1972) p. 90), and the post-1619 annotation by Jonson (ever ready, of course, to abuse those who gave him less than he wanted) against Martial 9. 37, 'In Gallam', insultingly refusing the advances of a lascivious but ageing woman: 'vel Lu.Co:B.' (D. McPherson, *Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia: An Annotated Catalogue*, SP 71, Texts and Studies [1974] 22). An unattributed letter in the Burley MS, f. 296, is, perhaps, by D. and related to this poem: the writer, addressing an unnamed lady, deplores an alleged report by Sir Edmund Neville (self-styled Lord Latimer) to her father that one 'Mr Davis' (perhaps D.'s admiring imitator, John Davies of Hereford, a man of wide acquaintance) had 'dishonoured' her, and derived it 'from him to me'.

19 rocks] A similitude with high religious associations: cp. Ps. 18. 31: 'Who is a rock save our God?'; Jesus's adoption of St Peter as foundation of the Church, *Matt.* 16. 18, and the parable of the well-founded house, *Matt.* 7. 24-5.

20 The Countess's virtue will merely emerge more clearly from aspersions and attacks.

21-8 D. distinguishes the innate strengths of birth and beauty, 'A *balsamum*', from the added powers 'of learning and religion/And virtue^and such ingredients', 'A mithridate'.

21-2 D. seems to have been reading what may have been one of his doctor-stepfather's professional books, Paracelsus' *Chirurgia vulnerum*, contained in *Chirurgia magna* (Strasbourg 1573, recorded by Keynes (1973) p. 273 as among surviving books from D.'s library), the relevant passage of which (*Opera* (1658) 3. 2. 75) D. paraphrases quite closely in *Serm.* 5. 147-8 (n. d.):

Now, physicians say that man hath in his constitution, in his complexion, a natural virtue, which they call *balsamum suum*, his own balsamum, by which any wound which a man could receive in his body would cure itself if it could be kept clean from the annoyances of the air and all extrinsic encumbrances. Something that hath some proportion and analogy to this balsamum of the body there is in the soul of man too. . . . Virtuous inclinations and a disposition to moral goodness is more natural to the soul of man and nearer of kin to the soul of man than health is to the body. . . . So the soul hath a natural and untaught hatred and detestation of that which is evil.

Cp. *Serm.* 6. 116, 10. 170-1 (Whitsun, ?1624, and later at Whitehall). Typically, in both poems and sermons he is making abstract what in Paracelsus is physical.

If 'twere not injured by extrinsic blows:
Your birth and beauty are this balm in you.

- 25 But you, of learning and religion
And virtue and such ingredients, have made
A mithridate whose operation
Keeps off or cures what can be done or said.

- Yet this is not your physic but your food,
30 A diet fit for you: for you are here
The first good angel since the world's frame stood
That ever did in woman's shape appear.

24 are] is *S96, Lut, O'F*

23 Cp. the clause 'so that it escape outward injuries' in the quotation from Pliny the Elder below on *BedfordRefined* 45.

24–6 Cp. the letter possibly from D. to Lady Bedford printed from the Burley MS., f. 303, by Simpson (1924) p. 332, eulogising 'the commandment of a noble birth, and your persuasive eloquence of beauty, . . . the advantage of the furniture of arts and languages, and such other virtues as might serve to justify a reprobate fortune'.

24 **your birth and beauty**] Her father, Sir John Harington, was taken notice of by King James because of his descent through the female line from the royal Bruces of Scotland, and was made Baron Harington of Exton at the coronation in 1603 (the King had also had good sport with Sir John's hounds on his way south). Her mother was daughter of an Elizabethan courtier. As regards her beauty, 'She was', says Wiffen (1833) p. 74, '“the crowning rose” in that garland of English beauty which the Spanish ambassador desired' the company of at an entertainment in Dec. 1603. During the Christmas season preceding the presumed date of this poem, she had taken part with the Queen in Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* (entered in the Stationers' Register on 21 April 1608).

27 **mithridate**] Universal antidote. Pliny the Elder 25. 3 (5–6), Engl. 25. 2 (1601) 2. 209, tells how King Mithridates of Asia Minor 'devised to drink poison every day (having taken his preservatives before) to the end that by the ordinary use and continual custom thereof, it might be familiar unto his nature, and harmless. The first he was also who devised sundry kinds of antidotes or counterpoisons, whereof one [*mithridatium antidotum*] retaineth his name to this day.' When eventually defeated by the Romans in 63 BCE, he was unable to poison himself.

28 Any favourite at Court was of course constantly vulnerable to rivals' plots and gossip, the Countess particularly so in being one of the most favoured and in living (like the Queen herself) largely apart from her husband. Wiffen (1833) p. 85 records her attempt to protect Sir Edward Herbert when he was involved, apparently innocently, in 'one of the many feuds and brawls that were fostered by the growing luxury, if not dissoluteness of the courtiers'.

29 As with Mithridates originally.

31–2 On Easter Day 1630 (*Serm.* 9. 190), preaching on *Matt.* 28. 6, D. found another exception to this belief, but in an actual religious context:

- Since you are then God's masterpiece, and so
 His factor for our loves, do as you do:
 35 Make your return home gracious, and bestow
 This life on that; so make one life of two.
 For, so God help me, I would not miss you there
 For all the good which you can do me here.

33 then] so *S96*: thus *Lut*, *O'F* 36 This] Thy *1633*

37 me, I would *ed.*: me, I would *1633*, *1635*: me, I would Σ : me, I'd *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

38 which] that *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

To compensate that observation, that never good angel appeared in the likeness of woman, here are good women made angels, that is, messengers, publishers of the greatest mysteries of our religion. For, howsoever some men out of a petulancy and wantonness of wit, have called the faculties, and abilities of women in question, even in the root thereof, in the reasonable and immortal soul, yet . . . No author of gravity, of piety, of conversation in the Scriptures could admit that doubt, whether woman were created in the image of God, that is, in possession of a reasonable and an immortal soul.

34 factor] agent, purveyor. **do as you do]** Cp. *BedfordHonour* 52–4.

35–8 These lines will bear both religious and material readings. Her 'return home' may be literally to Twickenham, and spiritually to the Heaven where she belongs and will dwell permanently. It may be 'gracious' in yielding to divine grace, welcome in Heaven on account of the souls she has brought with her, and like divine grace in what she bestows, spiritual or material, on those at Twickenham. She may devote 'this life' on earth to spiritual matters, and continue to exercise the virtue she shows at Court in 'that life' in the country. If God enables D. himself to reach Heaven, he would rather not lack her company there, for all the good spiritual influence she may have on him here; on the other hand, if she is at Twickenham, he will not repine for loss of her good offices at Court. The material realities of his relationship to her are thus delicately clothed in the terms she (increasingly, perhaps: *Masque of Queens*, 1609, was to be her last) liked to hear. The real situation is revealed in a letter to D.'s go-between with Lady Bedford, Sir Henry Goodyer, of Nov. 1608: 'I owe you whatever Court friends do for me—yea, whatsoever I do for myself, because you almost importune me to awake and stare the Court in the face' (*Letters* p. 146).

37 Cp. *Serm.* 7. 360 (preached probably in 1627, after the seemingly mortal illness which prompted D.'s *Devotions* in 1623): 'Truly I would not change that joy and consolation, which I proposed to my hopes, upon my death-bed, at my passage out of this world, for all the joy that I have had in this world over again' (Milgate). **so . . . me]** If this were to be read not as merely emphasising his sincerity (as in the formula for witnesses, 'so help me God') but as a pious reservation, it would imply that D. actually does wish the Countess were pushing his interest at Court. **me, I would/me, I'd]** By keeping the stress on the auxiliary rather than the first person, the elision in *1633* emphasises the strength of the wish rather than D.'s person.

To Mrs Magdalen Herbert

Date and Context. c. late 1608–early 1609. The informal tone of the poem suggests that the friendship started in 1607–8 had progressed; ll. 33–44 hint that it was known that Magdalen Herbert would probably marry again, but not yet that it would be Sir John Danvers, who became her second husband late in Feb. 1609: see headnote to *HerbMMary*.

Analogues. For the established practice of speaking to the letter rather than the recipient, Milgate quotes Dorus in Sidney's *New Arcadia* 2. 5. It was practised by D. in one of his earliest verse-letters to Thomas Woodward, *WoodwardTHaste*.

Text. Palpable mistakes in Group III MSS rule them out as base text. *Herb* has been collated because of its association with the Herbert family, but contains a substantive error in l. 42. Of Group II, *TCD* requires least correction, and has been followed in the problematic l. 41. The inversion in l. 51 is attractive, but, given the general quality of the text in the MSS which contain it, has been eschewed.

MAD paper, stay, and grudge not here to burn
 With all those sons whom my brain did create,
 At least lie hid with me, till thou return
 To rags again, which is thy native state.

- 5 What though thou have enough unworthiness
 To come unto great place as others do,
 That's much, emboldens, pulls, thrusts I confess,
 But 'tis not all, thou should'st be wicked too.

And, that thou canst not learn, or not of me;
 10 Yet thou wilt go: go, since thou go'st to her

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; Herb; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: Mrs M. H. *Lut, O'F*: M. M. H. *II, 1633, 1635*: *Elegy S96: no heading Dob, Herb*

2 whom] which *III* my] thy *1635* 4 is] was *III, Herb*

8 'tis] that's *III, Herb* 10 since] sith *Dob, S96*

1–2 D. adverts to his practice of burning all drafts with which he was not satisfied.
 4 Paper was then made of rags, which accounts for its durability if made before the nineteenth-century change to wood-pulp, with its acid-forming lignin content.
 6 **come unto great place]** achieve positions of power.

Who lacks but faults to be a prince, for she,
 Truth, whom they dare not pardon, dares prefer.

But when thou com'st to that perplexing eye
 Which equally claims love and reverence
 15 Thou wilt not long dispute it, thou wilt die;
 And, having little now, have then no sense.

Yet when her warm, redeeming hand, which is
 A miracle; and made such to work more,
 Doth touch thee (sapless leaf) thou grow'st by this
 20 Her creature; glorified more than before.

Then as a mother which delights to hear
 Her early child misspeak half-uttered words,
 Or, because majesty doth never fear
 Ill or bold speech, she audience affords.

25 And then, cold, speechless wretch, thou diest again,
 And wisely; what discourse is left for thee?
 From speech of ill and her thou must abstain,
 And is there any good which is not she?

12 not] to *III* 16 have then] wilt have *Lut*, *O'Fbe* 19 sapless] shapeless *III*
 27 From] For 1633 ill and her] her and ill *Lut*, *O'F*

12 Truth . . . pardon] Under the laws of *scandalum magnatum*, truth was not accepted as a defence for criticizing the powerful or high-born, whether written or spoken.

14 love and reverence] Martz p. 80 compares L. de la Puente, *Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holy Faith* 2. 17. 2. 1 (1610) p. 176. 'For with these two arms God desireth to be embraced: with charity and humility, with love and reverence' (Milgate). Attraction and intimidation are the traditional attributes of the holy, the *mysterium tremendum*. See R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (1971 etc.).

15 dispute it] resist (*OED* 6).

16 sense] Two meanings are played on: 1. coherence, intelligible, logical signification; 2. capability of feeling.

17–20 Cp. Dorus' letter in *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia (New Arcadia)* 2. 5 (1590): 'No sooner shall that divine hand touch thee, but that thy baseness shall be turned to most high preferment.'

19 sapless leaf] i.e., of paper.

20 creature] created being.

21–2 D. had fathered five children by 1608 (Bald p. 538 etc.) Cp. the reference in *Sem.* 6. 49 (April–June 1623) to 'those imperfect sounds of words, which Parents delight in, in their Children before they speak plain' (Milgate).

22 early] young, precocious.

24 audience] a hearing.

Yet mayst thou praise her servants, though not her,
 30 And Wit, and Virtue^and Honour her attend;
 And since they're but her clothes, thou shalt not err
 If thou her shape and beauty^and grace commend.

Who knows thy destiny? When thou hast done,
 Perchance her cabinet may harbour thee,
 35 Whither all noble^ambitious wits do run,
 A nest almost as full of good as she.

When thou art there, if any, whom we know,
 Were saved before, and did that Heav'n partake
 When she revolves his papers, mark what show
 40 Of favour she, alone, to them doth make.

Mark, if to get them, she do skip the rest,
 Mark, if she read them twice, or kiss the name;
 Mark, if she do the same that they protest,
 Mark, if she mark whether her woman came.

45 Mark, if slight things be^objected, and o'erblown,
 Mark, if her oaths against him be not still

32 and beauty] beauty *III* 33 Who knows] We know *III*
 39 his] her *Dob, Lut, O'F* papers] paper *Lut, O'F*
 41 them] to them *Dob, S96, Herb* do skip] skip *DC, Herb*: skips *Dob, S96*: skips
 o'er *Lut, O'F*: o'erskip *1633, 1635*
 42-45 *om. Dob, S96* 42 kiss] tear *Lut, O'F*: thrice *Herb*

31-2 Grierson compares *Undertaking* 15-16.

34 **cabinet**] case for safe keeping of treasured things.

38 **saved**] Punning on the religious sense.

39 **revolves**] turns over, reads.

40 **alone, to them**] to them only.

43 **do the same**] i.e., commits the acts of one who loves. **protest**] declare.

44 **she . . . came**] *either* she is so absorbed as to be inattentive to domestic intrusion *or contrariwise* she is keeping careful watch because she does not want to give her feelings away.

45 The insincerity detected by Gertrude, *Hamlet* 3. 2. 219, in a guilty reaction: 'The lady protests too much, methinks.' **objected**] raised as objections. **o'erblown**] inflated. Another meaning, 'blown away, disposed of', might be suspected were it not for 'her oaths against him' in the next line, suggesting that there is no overt confession that objections have been contrived.

46 **against**] against accepting. **still**] nevertheless.

Reserved, and that she grieves she's not her own,
And chides the doctrine that denies freewill.

I bid thee not do this to be my spy;
50 Nor to make myself her familiar;
But so much I do love her choice, that I
Would fain love him that shall be loved of her.

47 grieves] grieve 1635 51 I do] do I *TCC*, III, *Herb*
52 shall] should *S96*, *Herb*

To the Countess of Bedford

Date and context. April 1609? Milgate thinks between the letter to Goodyer of c. 8 Sept. 1608 and *Pseudo-Martyr*, entered in the Stationers' Register 2 Dec. 1609 (see comment below on l. 5). Lines 16, 25–7 suggest the spring, but it could be of 1608 or a later year; in 1609 the death of Lady Markham on 4 May would have made this poem inappropriate thereafter. The epistle is written ostensibly at Twickenham Park (ll. 13–14, 21, 28), Lady Bedford's country home for ten years from 1607. In the garden there, she showed him verses she had written, of which he begs a copy in an undated letter (1633 p. 367). His words, beginning with a justification of a prose rather than a verse letter, suggest that her verses were appreciative of him:

Happiest and worthiest Lady,

I do not remember that ever I have seen a petition in verse, I would not therefore be singular, nor add these to your other papers. I have yet adventured so near as to make a petition for verse, it is for those your Ladyship did me the honour to see in a Twick'nam garden, except you repent your making and having mended your judgement by thinking worse, that is, better, because juster, of their subject. They must needs be an excellent

47 Reserved] Made with mental reservation. This was a technique of avoiding direct lying advocated and practised by Jesuits, who kept to themselves the completion of a sentence the first part of which, spoken out loud, seemed to exonerate them. It was advocated by R. Parsons, *Treatise tending to Mitigation towardes Cathollicke-subjects in England* (1607), a work paraphrased (on other subjects) by D. in *Pseudo-Martyr*, Preface (1993) p. 11, and disputed by T. Morton, *Encounter against M Persons* 2 (1610). See *Ignatius* p. 55, Healy's explanation on pp. 131–2, and Bald pp. 207–12. **she's not her own]** Her ten children and the family of her dead husband have some say in her remarrying.

48 the doctrine . . . freewill] Predestinarianism, asserted in *Rom.* 8. 28–30, *Eph.* 1. 3–14, etc. and by Augustine, emphasised by religious reformers such as Luther, *De servo arbitrio* (1525), Calvin and Beza, and the official doctrine of the Church of England as enunciated in Article 17 of the 39. D. frivolously reapplies it to interactions between people instead of eternal salvation.

50 familiar] confidential friend.

exercise of your wit, which speak so well of so ill. I humbly beg them of your Ladyship, with two such promises, as to any other of your compositions were threatenings: that I will not shew them, and that I will not believe them; and nothing should be so used which comes from your brain or heart. . . .

Text. Group I appears to derive from a superior archetype, and in it *D* needs least correction (twice, in ll. 11, 21 with others of the group). 1633's Group I copy was presumably corrected in ll. 11 and 21 from a Group II MS. Groups II and III are noticeably more corrupt; the former's variants in ll. 25, 45 are plainly wrong, while in ll. 16 and 66 they are possible but unnecessary.

MADAM,

YOU have refined me, and to worthiest things—
Virtue, art, beauty, fortune—now I see,
Rareness or use, not nature, value brings,

Sources collated: *Group I: C57, D, H49, Lec; H40; Group II: TCD, DC; Group III: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *Group I (D)*

Select variants:

Heading Σ , 1633, 1635: ~ ~ ~ ~ B. TCD: ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Twitnam O'F

Indentation throughout as *I, H40, II*

1 refined] Though previous commentators have insisted on an alchemical connotation here, such a specific analogy does not seem supported by context. The term was in current usage in the senses of clearing the mind from dullness, making more subtle (*OED* 3a), or, as Grierson paraphrases, 'You have . . . sharpened my judgement'.

1-3 To worthiest . . . brings] A cynical proverb from ancient Greece onwards: Plato, *Euthydemus* 304b, quotes Pindar; cp. Martial 4. 29. 4. Erasmus under *Rarum carum*, 'Rare is dear', says it is a proverb both very ancient and in every mouth that *Quod rarum, carum, vilesit quotidianum*, 'What is rare is dear, the everyday unvalued', and quotes also Jerome, Livy, and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.

2 Virtue . . . fortune] The moral and intellectual virtues, 'Virtue, art [intelligence]', and goods of body (e.g., 'beauty'), and of wealth ('fortune') were Aristotle's desiderata for the achievement of his chief good, happiness. The most highly valued for Aristotelians was theoretical wisdom, for Stoics virtue, for Epicureans (as commonly misrepresented) bodily pleasure. *D.* sees a way out of the copious contemporary debate amongst them by denying intrinsic value to any, not by subordinating them to Christian or Platonist ideals such as faith or the knowledge of God, but simply by the criterion of relative rarity. The same constellation of goods occurs in a copy of a letter possibly by *D.* in *Bur* (f. 303^r): 'with what height or rather lowness of devotion I reverence you: who besides the commandment of a noble birth, and your persuasive eloquence of beauty, have the advantage of the furniture of arts and languages, and such other virtues as might serve to justify a reprobate fortune and the lowest condition.' Unlike the poem, the letter is written under 'The tyranny of a sudden raging sickness' which 'by imprisoning me in my chamber . . . is able to deprive me of that happiness which by your grace was allowed me, when you gave me the privilege of having leave to visit you' (Simpson (1924) pp. 331-2).

And such as they are circumstanced, they be.
 5 Two ills can ne'er perplex us, sin to[^]excuse,
 But of two good things we may leave and choose.

Therefore at Court, which is not Virtue's clime
 (Where a transcendent height (as lowness me)

5 ne'er] never II

3 Milgate sees in this 'a witty variation of the familiar idea' of the 'Three things necessary for the obtaining of virtue' (drawn from Plato, Cicero, and Plutarch) by La Primaudaye in *French Academie* 1. 5, 16, 'Of Virtue' and 'Of Nature and Education' (1594) pp. 59, 165: 'Nature, Reason, and Use'. 'Thus we see that if there be any want in any one of these three, Nature, Reason and Use, virtue also must needs fail and be imperfect in that point'. There, 'Nature' refers to innate virtue, 'Use' to education. D. is here referring to value rather than virtue, to innate value, to rarity value, and by 'use' a pragmatic value, usefulness. The distinction differs from that made in *Progress* 11–16, where gold is said to be valued not for its intrinsically useful 'nature' but 'because 'tis made / By our new nature, use, the soul of trade', where 'use' means 'custom, agreed convention'. Lady Bedford's virtue is valued for its rarity at Court, her beauty for its rarity in the country; at Court it is perhaps her beauty that enables her to be useful to D.; in the country her physical beauty is inseparable from a spiritual beauty whose good offices on his and others' behalf are employed with God and in making them love the deity. D. does discuss the roles of nature, custom, and education in the forming of virtue in a letter to Goodyer (1633 p. 356).

4 Directly contradicting the teaching attributed, e.g., to Cato in Cicero, *De finibus* (*On Ends*) 3. 10 (34), and voiced by D. in *Carey* 34–5. Gr. compares *Metem* 18–20, on which see note, and that on *Anagram* 2.

5–6 'Although all sins are forbidden, so that we may never plead as an excuse that doing one sin was not as bad as doing another, yet there may be a choice between virtues.' Cp. a letter, probably to Goodyer (Bald pp. 188–9) of Sept. 1608:

As God doth thus occasion, and positively concur to evil, that when a man is purposed to do a great sin, God infuses some good thoughts which make him choose a less sin, . . . so the Devil doth not only suffer but provoke us to some things naturally good, upon condition that we shall omit some other more necessary and more obligatory. . . . herein we have the deceitful comfort of having done well' (*Letters* pp. 49–50).

Pseudo-Martyr 10. 14 (entered in the Stationers' Register on 2 Dec. 1609; (1610) p. 270; (1993) p. 194), clearly enunciates the position in this poem, condemning the twelfth-century canon lawyer Gratian 'when he allows that "There may be perplexities in evil," and so in some cases a necessity of sinning, and then, says he, "The remedy is to choose the less evil".' *Litany* 147 (datable to autumn 1608) prays for deliverance from 'Measuring ill by vicious', from excusing lesser sins because greater ones have been avoided.

7 **clime**] region.

Makes her not be or not show), all my rhyme
 10 Your virtues challenge, which there rarest be;
 For, as dark texts need notes, there some must be
 To usher Virtue, and say, 'This is she.'

So in the country[^]is beauty: to this place
 You are the season, madam, you the day;
 15 'Tis but a grave of spices, till your face
 Exhale them, and a thick, close bud display.
 Widowed and secluded else, her sweets she[^]enshrines,
 As China, when the sun at Bràzil dines.

11 need II, III, 1633, 1635: needs I, H40 there some] then ~ H49: some /there/
 Lut: some there O'F 16 Exhale] Awake II

8–9 Virtue is either not there at Court because in a higher latitude ('clime'), or like the summit of a mountain is out of sight. For the speaker's flattering self-abasement cp. *BedfordNew* 26–30, *BedfordHonour* 7–15.

9–10 'Your virtues, as the rarest things at Court, claim as their right all the verse I compose.'

11–12 D. Aers and G. Kress, *Lit&Hist* (1978) 138–58, highlight the assertion here of D.'s potential rare usefulness to Lady Bedford (although, as they note, he skims over the problem of lack of demand for virtue at Court).

11 **dark]** obscure.

12 **usher]** ceremoniously announce, introduce.

13 **So]** i.e., similarly rare. **this place]** Twickenham.

14 **the season]** Courtiers usually retired to the country in summer, though if the Sun in ll. 25–7 is producing Autumn in the antipodean Court, it is presumably Spring at Twickenham, which accords with the figure of the flower in bud in l. 16.

15 **a grave of spices]** The spices are dead (with a connotation also of embalming: cp. *SecAn* 39).

15–16 As in *Bait* 5–6, D. is not above resorting to this cliché of love poetry.

16 **Exhale them]** draw them out. **Exhale/Awake]** The variant in Group II could have arisen from difficult copy, since the two readings share —a— and —e in the same position. 'Exhale' is less likely to be the guess of a puzzled scribe, and so probably the original. It might be taken to indicate authorial second thoughts, did not the obvious corruptions in Group II lessen its authority. **close]** closed. **display]** unfurl.

17 **enshrines]** encloses, as in a cabinet with doors. Cp. G. Herbert's *Virtue* 9–10: 'Sweet Spring, full of sweet days and roses, / A box where sweets compacted lie'.

18 A precise choice of countries twelve hours apart, so that noon in Brazil is midnight in China, when flowers may be closed and spice-plants not give off their scents. (For the time of dining in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, cp. the anonymous, late-sixteenth-century *Passionate Man's Pilgrimage*, l. 54: 'And want a head to dine next noon'.)

- Out from your chariot, morning breaks at night,
 20 And falsifies both computations so;
 Since a new world doth rise here from your light,
 We, your new creatures, by new reck'nings go.
 This shows that you from nature loathly stray,
 That suffer not an artificial day.
- 25 In this you've made the Court th'Antipodes,
 And willed your delegate, the vulgar Sun,
 To do profane autumnal offices,

21 light *Lec*, II, 1633, 1635, *O'Fae*: sight *C57*, *D*, *H49*, *H40*, *III*

25 the Court] your ~ II

19 Her beauty as she descends from her carriage in the darkness is likened to the radiance of the Sun in his chariot (Ovid, *Met.* 2. 106–10), making more precise the compliment paid by Ferdinand in *Tempest* 3. 1. 33–4.

20 both computations] Of the twenty-four-hour day including the night, and of the 'artificial day' of twelve hours reckoned from sunrise to sunset (H. L. Gardner, *MLR* 41 (1946) 319). The latter is employed by Spenser in his *Epithalamium*.

21 Just as the Sun may be rising over the New World when it is setting over the ancient East. **rise]** come into existence (*OED* 26). **light/sight]** The latter reading interrupts the continued image of Lady Bedford as life-giving Sun. If the reading 'light' is correct, there may be a flattering implicit comparison with Christ, 'the dayspring from on high . . . to give light to them that sit in darkness', 'a light to lighten the Gentiles' (*Luke* 1. 78–9, 2. 32), 'the light of the world' (*John* 8. 12 etc.), even the light of 'a new heaven and a new earth' (*Rev.* 21. 1, 22. 5), or at least a hint that her faith has made her 'light in the Lord' (*Eph.* 5. 8). D. carefully stops short of blasphemy below, ll. 31–48.

22 new creatures] Possibly alluding to the ancient belief in spontaneous generation by the heat of the Sun: Pliny 9. 84 (179); Ovid, *Met.* 1. 422–37 (cp. *Satyre* 4 18–19, *Derby* 1–2).

23–4 D. argues paradoxically that the Sun-Countess's violation of natural time shows devotion to the natural order of things.

23 loathly] are disinclined to.

24 suffer] allow. **artificial day]** The period between sunrise and sunset. The quotations in *OED* show that this computation was allegedly abused by clerics, holy days being observed only for this shorter duration. Lady Bedford thus practises true religion.

26 the vulgar Sun] Not only is it the ordinary, everyday Sun, but it rises on the evil and the good alike (*Matt.* 5. 45). For a contrast between the common light of day, *uolgar*, and the sacred light in which a priestess is inspired with foreknowledge of fate, see Lucan 5. 219–20. The derogatory attitude towards the Sun recurs memorably in *Sun*.

27 profane autumnal offices] the inferior rustic duties of those not initiated into the cult of Lady Bedford. Cp. *Sun* 8: 'Call country ants to harvest offices'.

Whilst here to you we sacrificers run;
 And whether priests or organs, you we^obey:
 30 We sound your influence, and your dictates say.

Yet to that deity which dwells in you,
 Your virtuous soul, I now not sacrifice;
 These are petitions, and not hymns: they sue
 But that I may survey the edifice.
 35 In all religions, as much care hath bin
 Of temples' frames and beauty^{as} rites within.

As all which go to Rome do not thereby
 Esteem religions, and hold fast the best,
 But serve discourse and curiosity
 40 With that which doth religion but invest,
 And shun th'entangling labyrinths of schools,
 And make it wit to think the wiser fools,

So in this pilgrimage I would behold
 You as you're Virtue's temple, not as she:

41 labyrinths] labyrinth *Lut, O'F*

28–9 Lady Bedford is here transformed into a goddess of Spring, implicitly Flora, since she makes the buds burst in 16.

28 **run]** move obediently, as the poet denies 'lovers' seasons' should with the 'vulgar Sun' in *Sun* 4.

30 **we sound your influence]** Her divine spirit flows through these human organ-pipes so that they sound her praise, while her doctrines are articulated by her followers as officiants read from the Bible.

33 **petitions]** Cp. the words of the letter quoted above on the date of the poem.

34 The poem is revealed to be an elaborate plea for a meeting.

35–6 D. ignores contemporary Puritans' disregard for both churches and rites.

38 **Esteem]** estimate, weigh up, as in *Satyre* 3 and *HSWShow*. **hold . . . best]** Cp. 1 *Thess.* 5. 21 (*AV*): 'Prove all things: hold fast that which is good'.

39 'Gather material for conversation and to satisfy less serious interests'.

40 **invest]** clothe.

41 **schools]** the theological profession.

42 Cp. *Prov.* 1. 7, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge, but fools despise wisdom and instruction', and 26. 16, 'The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason'.

43 **pilgrimage]** visit to Twickenham.

44–5 As noted by R. N. Ringler, *MLR* 60 (1965) 333–9, D. is drawing on the account by Panciroli (1599) 1. 32 of Nero's rebuilding of a shrine or temple of Fortune. Panciroli confuses the account by Pliny the Elder 36. 45 (160–2), of Roman glazing with what is thought to have been selenite, with the use by Nero

45 What walls of tender crystal her enfold,
 What eyes, hands, bosom her pure altars be;
 And, after this survey, oppose to all
 Babblers of chapels you, th'Escorial.

Yet not as consecrate but merely^{as} fair
 50 On these I cast a lay and country eye.
 Of past and future stories which are rare
 I find you all recòrd, all prophecy.

45 enfold] un~ *H40*, II: in~ *Lut*, *O'F* 52 all prophecy] and ~ 1633, 1635

of another stone, *phengites*, thought to be an onyx marble, which was merely translucent rather than transparent. According to Pliny, the interior of the temple was visible to those outside only through its open doors, but Panciroli misunderstood the entire temple to be transparent. Cp. *Platonic* 5–12, and *BedfordHonour* 28–31. Lady Bedford as Temple of Virtue contrasts significantly with the libertine emperor's worship of Fortune. To Christians, of course, the body, beautiful or not in human eyes, was the temple of God, in particular the Holy Spirit (*1 Cor.* 3. 16–17, 6. 19, 2 *Cor.* 6. 16).

44 she] Virtue herself.

45 tender crystal] For this paradoxical phrase for living 'rock', D. seems to have supplemented Panciroli with a reading of Holland's translation (36. 22; 1601, 2. 592), of Panciroli's source, Pliny, with its eye-catching marginal note '*Specularis lapis*': 'Some are of opinion, that it is a liquid humour of the earth congealed to an ice after the manner of crystal. . . . the white is of a strange and wonderful nature, for being (as it is well known) tender and brittle, nothing more, yet it will endure extreme heat and frozen cold, and never crack; nay you shall never see it decay for age, keep it so long as you will, so that it may escape outward injuries'.

46 Here beauty and virtue are merged.

48 chapels] Subordinate places of worship. **th'Escorial]** El Escorial, the palace-cum-monastery built for Philip II as a focus of the religious and secular pre-eminence here praised in Lady Bedford. It is elaborated on with scorn by the Protestant Joseph Hall in the decade after the Armada as 'the vain bubble of Iberian pride . . . reared to raise the crazy monarch's fame'—*Virgideianum* 5. 2. 37–42 (1598). Apart from D.'s residual Romanist and ecumenical feelings, the Spanish Treaty of 1604 had intervened. The Burley MS letter noted above on *BedfordReason* 17–18, refers to the addressee as 'so fair a palace as you are'.

49 Referring back to 37–40, 43–4.

50 At this point, D. will not let devotion or intellect stop at her physical beauties, though in the last stanza he acknowledges them as an authentic index of her virtues.

51–2 She embodies all exemplary life-stories past and future, as a church might have them represented on walls, windows and screens (and the Escorial contain them in its great library).

51 stories] histories, biographies.

52 recòrd] See note on *Curse* 19.

Purge but the Book of Fate, that it admit
No sad nor guilty legends: you are it.

- 55 If good and lovely were not one, of both
 You were the transcript and original,
 The elements, the parent, and the growth,
 And every piece of you is both their all.
So^oentire are all your deeds and you, that you
60 Must do the same thing still: you cannot two.

- But these (as nice, thin school divinity
 Serves heresy to further or repress)
Taste of poetic rage or flattery,
 And need not where all hearts one truth profess;
65 Oft from new proofs and new phrase new doubts grow,
As strange attire aliens the men we know.

55 lovely] learned *Lut*, *O'F* 56 and] you th' *Lut*, *O'F*

58 both] *but* with *mag.* *both* *Dob*: worth *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

60 same thing] ~ ~s *C57*, *Lec*, 1633, 1635: something *H40*

66 As] *A II*, *Lut*, *O'F* aliens] alters *III*, 1635 men] man *Lut*, *O'F*

53 the Book of Fate] A popularly imagined account of all that had happened and was to come, related to the Sibylline books of the Etruscans (Pliny 13. 28) and ancient Rome, and the book of God mentioned in *Ps.* 139. 16 (not the same as the Book of Life of *Dan.* and *Rev.*) Cp. 2 *Henry IV* 3. 1. 44, where it is probably suggested by the *seriemque evoluere fati* of Ovid, *Met.* 15. 152.

55–8 Virtue and beauty are conceived firstly as texts of which Lady Bedford is archetype, exemplar, and copy, and then as creatures, of which she constitutes the material, efficient, and formative causes.

55 If . . . one] A commonplace of Platonic doctrine, e.g., *Symposium* 201, but the religious posture throughout the poem suggests rather *Phil.* 4. 8: 'Whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things'.

58 'All goodness and all beauty are contained in every part of you' (modified into an insult in *Coryat* 72).

59–60 So absolute is her integrity that being good and being beautiful are necessarily indistinguishable. Cp. the letter to Goodyer (1633 p. 356): 'For virtue is even, and continual, and the same, and can therefore break nowhere, nor admit ends, nor beginnings; It is not only not broken, but not tied together. He is not virtuous, out of whose actions you can pick an excellent one.'

61 nice, thin school divinity] precise, rigorous academic ideology.

63 poetic rage] Translating the proverbial *furor poeticus* (the idea deriving from Plato, *Phaedrus* 245; Cicero, *De oratore* 2. 194; cp. *Midsummer Night's Dream* 5. 1. 12).

66 As/A] D. frequently completes a comparison by starting a line with 'As': see, e.g., l. 18 above, and in other poems written at about this time, *BedfordNew* 15, *BulstrodeLanguage* 14. **aliens]** makes strangers of. The image is re-used in *Somerset* 208–9.

Leaving, then, busy praise, and all appeal
 To higher courts, sense's decree is true:
 The mine, the magazine, the common weal,
 70 The story of beauty in Twick'nham is, and you.
 Who hath seen one, would both; as who had bin
 In Paradise would seek the cherubin.

To the Countess of Bedford

Date. 1609–11. There appears to be no internal or external evidence which would allow more precise dating, although 1609 may be hinted at in l. 27, whereas c. 1611 is suggested by the anticipation of *SecAn* in 2–3, 8–9.

Text. Apart from substantive errors in lines 26, 47, *TCD* and *DC* provide the most plausible basis for the text.

HONOUR is so sublime perfection
 And so refined, that when God was alone
 And creatureless at first, himself had none.

Sources collated: *Group II: TCD; DC; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *Group II*

Select variants:

Heading: *Bedford III, 1633, 1635: B. II Lut, O'F prefix Madam*

67–8 Sense ranks lower than reason, but is the only authoritative judge of beauty.

69 magazine] store. **common weal]** public stock.

70 story] representation, account.

71–2 who . . . Paradise] like the man known to Paul, *2 Cor.* 12. 3–4. Cp. *Twickenham* 8–9.

72 cherubin] Angels of light, full of the knowledge and contemplation of God, set by him to guard the tree of life in the Garden of Eden after the Fall, *Gen.* 3. 24. Cp. *BulstrodeLanguage* 35–6.

1–2 'Sublime' and 'refined' introduce an image (not specifically alchemical) of physical production of purer or 'higher' from basic material that continues through the first four stanzas.

2–3 Expanded and exculpated from blasphemy in *SecAn* 401–6 and *Essays* 2. 1 (1952) p. 54: 'He is content to receive his honour from us (for although all cause of honour be eternally inherent in himself, yet that act proceeds from us, and of that honour which is *in honorante* he could have none till he had made creatures to exhibit it)'. Cp. *Isa.* 43. 7, *Rev.* 4. 11; *Serm.* 1. 207 (24 March 1617): 'God himself, who so many millions of ages contented himself with *himself* in Heaven, yet at last made this world for his glory'; and 2. 342 (before 12 Feb. 1620): 'To perpetuate his glory, he must perpetuate man'.

- But as of th'elements these which we tread
 5 Produce all things with which we're joyed or fed,
 And those are barren both above our head,

 So from low persons doth all honour flow;
 Kings whom they would have honoured to us show,
 And but direct our honour, not bestow.

 10 For when from herbs the pure parts must be won
 From gross by stilling, this is better done
 By despised dung than by the fire or Sun.

Care not then, ma'am, how low your praisers lie:

4 these] those *Lut*, *O'Fbe* 5 or] and *TCD*

10 parts] part 1633, 1635 12 or] of 1635

13 ma'am] lady III praisers] prayers *DC*: prayer *Dob*, *S96*: praises 1633, 1635 lie] be *Lut*, *O'F*

4–6 Earth and water are productive, air and fire sterile. As Milgate says, 'Donne uses the passage from Aristotle that suits him for the moment', *Meteorology* 4. 4 (382a6), ignoring the doctrine followed elsewhere that, since birds live in air, 'only the Fire produces nothing' (*Serm.* 7. 184).

4 these/those] *Lut*'s 'those' (emended from 1633 in *O'F*), makes adequate sense but does not emphasise the contrast.

7–15 For this labouring of his relative lowness, cp. *BedfordRefined* 8–9, *BedfordNew* 26–30.

7–9 Merely reworded slightly in *SecAn* 407–9. The relationship between D. and Lady Bedford is perhaps underlain by conventional assumptions deriving from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 8. 14 (1163b1–15) that in friendships between unequals the better person should receive honour from the poorer in exchange for material help.

10–11 when . . . gross] Referring to the extraction of plant-essences for medicinal purposes.

11 stilling] distillation.

11–12 this . . . sun] For prolonged, gentle heat, the vessel was bedded in slowly decomposing manure (as in the gardener's hot-bed).

13 ma'am/lady] D. calls his aristocratic patroness 'madam' in *BedfordRefined* 14: 'lady' may have been inadequately respectful for a member of the higher aristocracy, though it is used to the plain Mrs Magdalen Herbert in *HerbertMMary* 13. 'Madam' may be shortened to one syllable, or 'lady' elided with 'how' to regularise the line. **lie/be]** *Lut* and *O'F* seem, as a modern reader would but none of the other scribes or editors did, to have found the rhyming of 'lie' with the unstressed final syllables of 'piety' and 'melody' unacceptable, but D.'s

In lab'ers' ballads oft more piety
 15 God finds than in *Te Deum's* melody,

And ordnance raised on towers, so many mile
 Send not their voice, nor last so long a while,
 As fires from th'earth's low vaults in Sicil isle.

Should I say I lived darker than were true,
 20 Your radiation can all clouds subdue;
 But one, 'tis best light to contèmp late you:

14 oft] of DC 15 *Te Deum's*] *Te Deum Dobbe*, S96, *Lut*
 19 darker than were] ~ ~ is *Lut*: dark, then 'twere not S96
 20-1 subdue; But one, *ed.*: ~ ~ ~ ~, II, *Lut*: ~. ~ ~, O'F: ~, ~ ~, 1633, 1635:
 ~ ~ ~ ~; *Dob*, S96
 21 'tis] is *Lut*, O'Fbe

rhyiming of 'piety' with 'die' in *Litany* 209/211 has to be accepted (and there *Lut* makes an eye-rhyme with the spellings 'pietye'/'dye'). See P. Simpson (1943).

14-15 In Erasmus's preface to his pioneering Greek New Testament (1516) he had wished that the Holy Scriptures might be sung by the farm-worker at his plough and by the weaver at his shuttle. From 1547 to 1562, in furtherance of the Reformation ideal of popular participation in church services, the psalms were translated into mostly ballad measure by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, and tunes provided. Despised by the educated, these versions were enthusiastically sung in every parish church by people to whom psalmody and polyphony were inaccessible.

15 *Te Deum's melody*] Any choral setting of the anthem for morning prayer which begins 'We praise thee, O God'.

16 ordnance] cannon.

18 'As subterranean volcanic activity in Sicily'. Cp. Lucretius 6. 639-46, 680-702; Virgil, *Aen.* 3. 570-82; and Pliny 2. 106 (234), 110 (236), *Engl.* as 2. 103, 106 (1601) 1. 46, 47: 'Etna . . . burneth of a light fire so far forth as that for fifty, yea, and an hundred miles, the walming [belching] round balls and flakes of fire cast out sand and ashes'; 'the hill Etna burneth always in the nights, and for so long continuance of time yieldeth sufficient matter to maintain those fires'.

19 darker] more obscurely.

20 radiation] radiance.

20-1 subdue; / But one] The usual omission by scribes of pointing at the end of lines led to complete misunderstanding in *Dob*, S96.

21 But one] 'Excepting God'. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 127 (22 Nov. 1629): 'A great limb of the School with their *Thomas [Aquinas]*, place this blessedness, this union with God, *In visione*, That in heaven *I shall see God [Matt. 5. 8]*, see God essentially, *God face to face [1 Cor. 13. 12]*, God as he is'; and the entire Easter 1622 Spital Sermon on 2 *Cor.* 4. 6 (*Serm.* 4. 89-131). **best light]** Possibly the complimentary pun on her first name already made by Jonson in 'To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with Mr Donne's Satires':

You, for whose body God made better clay,
 Or took soul's stuff such as shall late decay,
 Or such as needs small change at the last day.

- 25 This, as an amber drop enwraps a bee,
 Covering, discovers your quick soul, that we
 May in your through-shine front your heart's thoughts see.

You teach, though we learn not, a thing unknown
 To our late times: the use of specular stone,
 30 Through which all things within without were shown.

23 shall late]: ~ last *O'Fbe*: should latest *S96* 26 quick *III*, 1633, 1635: gross *II*
 27 your through-shine] ~ through *Dob*: you, through your *S96* front] face *III*
 your heart's] our ~ 1633, 1635

Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
 Life of the Muses' day, their morning-star!
 . . .
 Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
 The Muses' evening- as their morning-star.

Cp. Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 255, and Carew, 'To the New Year, for the Countess of Carlisle', 1-3: 'Give Lucinda pearl nor stone: / Lend them light who else have none: / Let her beauties shine alone.'

22-4 Cp. *Markham* 25-8, *BulstrodeRecant* 46-8, *SecAn* 501-3.

24 **small change]** Into the 'spiritual body' alleged in *1 Cor.* 15. 44. Cp. the 'small change' from souls to bodies in *Ecstasy* 76.

25-33 Her alleged moral transparency is perhaps at odds with the need to 'scape spies' in *BedfordNew* 53-4.

25 **amber . . . bee]** Popular curiosities in D.'s time and before: cp. Martial 4. 32, and Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 2. 4 (1646; 1981 p. 121).

26 **discovers]** reveals. **quick]** living.

27 **through-shine]** transparent, possibly in secondary allusion to another 'front', Lady Bedford's attire for the role of the Amazon Penthesilea in *Masque of Queens* on 2 Feb. 1609, for which the costume-design shows a virtually transparent, deep pink gauze bodice with nipples and navel showing through, a deep purple upper skirt, and sky-blue lower (S. Orgel and R. Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley, CA 1969) 1. 140, Cat. 16). Grierson points out D.'s other use of 'through-shine' in *Name* 8, and his fondness for 'through-' compounds, 'through-light' (*Metem* Epistle, *Funeral Elegy* 61), 'through-pierced' (*Jeremy* 302), 'through-swum', and 'through-vain' (*Metem* 263, 473). **front/face]** Group III's archetype seems to have written the more common term, but *OED* shows this sense of the whole face as expressing thought was long current.

28-31 **a thing unknown . . . temples]** See comment on *BedfordRefined* 44-5, and cp. *Platonic* 5-8, and *Serm.* 7. 397 (1 April 1627): 'The heathens served their Gods . . . where they could, in Temples made of *Specular stone*, that was transparent as glass, or crystal, so as they which walked without in the streets, might see all that was done within.'

Of such were temples; so^and of such you are:
 Being and seeming is your equal care,
 And virtue's whole sum is but know and dare.

Discretion is a wise man's soul, and so
 35 Religion is a Christian's, and you know
 How these are one: her 'Yea' is not her 'No'.

31 of such] such *III*, 1633, 1635

34–6 relocated after l. 42 in 1633 (having ended previous page with l. 33)

31 of such/such] The Group II reading may be understood to mean that she is both transparent and stone-like in strength and stability; the other sources, that she is both of those temples' transparent substance and a temple herself.

32–51 A homily on the need, despite strict solafideist Calvinists, to combine faith and good works. Cp. *Letters* p. 29 (1609–11) to Goodyer: 'Religion is Christianity, which, being too spiritual to be seen by us, doth therefore take an apparent body of good life and works: so salvation requires an honest Christian. These are the two elements, and he which [is] elemented from these hath the complexion of a good man and a fit friend. The diseases are too much intention into indiscreet zeal and too much remissness and negligence by giving scandal.'

32 Being good (in faith) and being seen to be good (in good works, as an example in the often morally indifferent Court) are equally important. There is an implicit contrast with the praise of Cato, the exemplar of Roman morals, by Sallust, *Catilina* 54. 6, Engl. T. Heywood as *Two Most Worthy and Notable Histories the Conspiracie of Cateline, and the Warre which Jugurth Maintained*, 16 (1608, i.e., 1609) p. 54: 'He coveted to be, not to seem.' This Stoic ideal has been replaced by the command of Jesus, *Matt.* 5. 16: 'Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in Heaven' (*GV*, *AV*). Cp. *Measure for Measure* 1. 4. 54 [1604], and *BedfordNew* 51, 56–7.

33 To be virtuous she must both know what virtue is and dare to practise it in an unsympathetic milieu. For the commonplace (which goes back to the *Odyssey*), cp. the remark by R. Dallington, *View of Fraunce* (1604) sig. S3, that Sidney's characterisation of Phalantus as 'one that both durst and knew' 'well symbolizeth . . . all requisite virtues in a Gentleman: for if he have not valour to dare, and wisdom to know how and when, he wanteth one of the principal supporters of his honour', quoted by Skretkovicz on *New Arcadia* (1987) p. 525. Cp. *BedfordNew* 41–5, *HerbertMPaper* 10–12, *Funeral Elegy* 98.

34–42 Cp. *Serm.* 4. 301 (Christmas Day 1622): 'There is a heavenly zeal, but if it be not reconciled to discretion, . . . All things in our Heaven and our Earth are not reconciled in Christ. In a word, till the flesh and the spirit be reconciled, this reconciliation is not accomplished. For, neither spirit, nor flesh must be destroyed in us'.

34–5 'Discretion' and 'Religion' control the 'seeming' and 'being' of l. 32. Contrast *WoodwardRWidowhead* 16–18, where religion is the only virtue, and discretion 'vice-covering'.

34 Discretion . . . soul] Cp. *Prov.* 3. 21–2: 'keep sound wisdom and discretion: so shall they be life unto thy soul'; *Serm.* 5. 174 (?Dec. 1618): 'discretion is, to wash, and discern, and debate, and examine all our *future actions*, and all the

But as our souls of growth and souls of sense
 Have birthright of our reason's soul, yet hence
 They fly not from that, nor seek precedence,

38 reason's] reason *Dob*, *S96*

39 precedence *Dob*, *S96*, *Lutae*: presidency *II*, *Lutbe*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

circumstances, that by this spirit of discretion we may see, where the sting, and venom of every particular action lies: . . . *discern*, what is, and what is not sin'. Cp. *Serm.* 1. 282 (12 April 1618). The Countess's need for lessons in discretion in the serious as well as the frivolous business of the courtier is hinted at by D. in a letter to Goodyer of perhaps March or April 1609 (*Letters* p. 193): 'I am afraid she is not a proper mediatrix to those persons'. M. Maurer, *ELH* 47 (1980) 205–34, brings out how in 1607 Lady Bedford overstepped the bounds in pressing a project to marry her fourteen-year-old brother John (the later subject of *Harington*) to a daughter of the Earl of Salisbury, chief power in the land under the King, and was subtly rebuffed, the Earl writing to her father: 'I must be thus far bold with the Countess, that if she had not more resembled her sex in loving her own will than she does in those other noble and discreet parts of her mind (wherein she has so great a portion beyond most of those that I have known) she might have moved you to suspend the sending up of any particularities at this time' (*HMC Hatfield* 17. 629–30). Lady Bedford's own reply shows agility in recovery:

I am not so void of discretion as not to know that if my desires be unreasonable I ought to rest satisfied with such an answer as proceeds from more judgment; and so should I have done in this, but your lordship has thereunto added so much favour (as by your own hand and Sir Henry Goodere's more particular relation I am assured) that I protest the obtaining of a far greater suit than this could not have given me half the contentment I enjoy by so unsuspecting a proof of your well meaning to me (*HMC Hatfield* 17. 291).

36 her 'Yea' . . . 'No'] The souls do not contradict each other: religious certainty does not prohibit discretion, nor discretion religious certainty. Cp. 2 *Cor.* 1. 19–20: 'For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, . . . was not yea and nay, but in him was yea. For all the promises of God in him are yea, and in him Amen, unto the glory of God by us.' 'Yea, and Amen' is glossed as 'certain, and infallible' in *Serm.* 5. 101.

37–9 'Just as our vegetative and sensitive souls are older than our rational but do not because of this either defer to it or try to assume superior rank'. D. follows the basic classification of Aristotle, *On the Soul* 2. 2–3 (413a21–415a12). Cp. *SecAn* 157–62, *Salisbury* 51–4, and *Serm.* 3. 85 (30 April 1620):

First, in a natural man we conceive there is a soul of vegetation and of growth; and secondly, a soul of motion and of sense; and then thirdly, a soul of reason and understanding, an immortal soul. And the two first souls of vegetation, and of sense, we conceive to arise out of the temperament, and good disposition of the substance of which that man is made: they arise out of man himself; But the last soul, the perfect and immortal soul, that is immediately infused by God.

Cp. also *Salisbury* 52–4, *Devotions* 18, *Meditation* (1975) p. 93.

40 Nature's first lesson, so discretion
 Must not grudge zeal a place, nor yet keep none;
 Not banish itself nor religion.

Nor may we hope to sodder still and knit
 These two, and dare to break them; nor must wit
 45 Be colleague to religion, but be it.

In those poor types of God, round circles, so

42 Not] Nor *III* 45 Be] But *Dob* but be] be *Dob*: but *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*

40 Nature's first lesson] Her first submission to the mastery of reason: 'the reasonable soul of man, when it enters, becomes all the soul of man, and he hath no longer a vegetative, and a sensitive soul, but all is one reasonable soul' (*Serm.* 8. 221, Easter 1628).

40-2 Cp. *Serm.* 4. 287 (Christmas Day 1622): 'The seven Deacons [*Acts* 6. 3] were "full of the Holy Ghost, and of Wisdom"; full of Religion towards God, and full of such wisdom as might advance it towards men; full of zeal, and full of knowledge; full of truth, and full of discretion too'; 6. 360-1 (15 Jan. 1626): 'To love God above all, to love him with all my faculties, this exaltation of this religious love of God, is the first born of Religion, and this is Zeal. . . . Discretion is the ballast of our Ship, that carries us steady; but Zeal is the very Freight, the Cargason, the Merchandise itself, which enriches us in the land of the living'; and 9. 199 (12 Feb. 1630): 'Though zeal without discretion produce ill effects, yet not so ill as discretion without zeal, worldly wisdom without Religion, for that is an evident preferring of thy worldly safety before the glory of God.' Cp. *Markham* 45 and note.

43 sodder] solder (the form in *S96*), join, unite.

44-5 Cp. *Litany* 188-9: 'When we are moved to seem religious / Only to vent wit, Lord deliver us.'

46 poor types . . . circles] Cp. *Annunciation* 3-4, *Serm.* 4. 96 (Easter 1622): 'As a Circle is printed all at once, so his beginning and ending is all one'; 7. 52 (29 Jan. 1626): 'Fix upon God anywhere, and you shall find him a Circle; He is with you now, when you fix upon him; He was with you before, for he brought you to this fixation; and he will be with you hereafter, for "He is yesterday, and today, and the same for ever" [Heb. 13. 8]'; *Devotions* 1. Prayer (1987 pp. 9-10): 'O eternal and most gracious *God*, who considered in thy self, art a *Circle*, first and last, and altogether; but considered in thy working upon us, art a *direct line*, and leadest us from our *beginning*, through all our ways, to our end'; and the commonplace Hermetic definition of God as a circle whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere, alluded to in *Serm.* 7. 247 (5 Nov. 1626).

46-7 Typological interpretation of Scripture sometimes found universal significances in particular instances, e.g., *Serm.* 2. 75 (1618), on *Ps.* 38. 3:

Which words we shall first consider, as they are our present object, as they are historically, and literally to be understood of *David*; And secondly, in their *retrospect*, as they look back upon the first *Adam*, and so concern *Mankind collectively*, and so *you* and *I*, and all have our portion in these calamities;

Religion's types, the pieceless centres, flow
And are in all the lines which all ways go.

If ever either wrought in you alone
50 Or principally, then religion
Wrought your ends, and your ways, discretion.

Go thither still, go the same way you went:

47 Religion's *III*, 1633, 1635: Religious *II*

48 all ways *DC*, *Dob*: always *TCD*, *Lut*, *O'F*, *S96*, 1633, 1635

49 ever either] either ever *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635 in] on *Lut*, *O'F*

And thirdly, we shall consider them in their *prospect*, in their future relation to the *second Adam*, in *Christ Jesus*, in whom also all mankind was collected, and the calamities of all men had their *Ocean* and their confluence, . . . for this Psalm, some of our Expositors take to be a *historical*, and *personal* Psalm, determined in *David*; some a *Catholic*, and *universal* Psalm, extended to the whole condition of *man*; and some a *Prophetical*, and *Evangelical* Psalm, directed upon *Christ*. None of them inconveniently; for we receive help and health, from every one of these acceptations.

47–8 The circle is emblematically applied to religious conduct in *Serm.* 9. 406–7 (undated):

If you carry a Line from the Circumference, to the Circumference again, as a Diameter, it passes the Centre, it flows from the Centre, it looks to the Centre both ways. God is the Centre; The Lines above, and the Lines below, still respect and regard the Centre; Whether I do any action honest in the sight of men, or any action acceptable to God, whether I do things belonging to this life, or to the next, still I must pass all through the Centre, and direct all to the glory of God, and keep my heart right, without variation towards him.

47 **Religion's/Religious]** Cp. Group II's similar mistranscription at *Harington* 125. **types]** emblematic representations. **pieceless]** without parts or substance, a point in geometry having no extension or dimensions, only location (a nonce-word). Milgate quotes *Letters* p. 163: 'a Mathematic point, which is the most indivisible and unique thing which art can present, flows into every line which is derived from the Centre' (as an analogy of the unity of the soul, of religion, and of God), written to Goodyer (with the postscript, '*Never leave the remembrance of my poor service unmentioned when you see the good Lady*') in 'late spring or early summer of 1609' (Bald p. 216).

48 **in all . . . go]** While dimensionless, foci are parts of the infinite number of radii in circles. **lines]** diameters.

51 **ways]** means.

52 'Still go towards heaven [the religious destination] by the same [discreet] means.' Cp. *BedfordReason* 34. Cp. S. Daniel, 'To the Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford' 90–4 (1603):

Whoso would change, do covet or repent;
Neither can reach you, great and innocent.

53 Whoso] Whoe'er III

To the Countess of Huntingdon

Date and Context. 1609–. D. would first have met Elizabeth Stanley in 1600, when her mother, Alice Spencer, widow of Ferdinando, 4th Earl of Derby, married D.'s employer, Sir Thomas Egerton. On 15 Jan. 1601 Elizabeth (born c. Sept. 1587) was married to Henry Hastings (b. 24 April 1586), who succeeded as fifth earl of Huntingdon on 30 Dec. 1604. See J. Yoklavich, *PQ* 43 (1964) 283–8. Strictly speaking, she earned the title of 'mother' (l. 29) when the first of her four children, Alice, was born in 1606; the heir to the title, Ferdinando, was born on 18 Jan. 1609, Henry jr in 1610, and Elizabeth in 1612 (G. E. Cokayne, *Complete Peerage* (1926) 6. 658; *DNB* under Henry Hastings). The 'new star' of l. 6 is alluded to in *BedfordWritten* 68, dated to 1610, in *FirAn* 259–60 (March–Oct. 1611), and *Elizabeth* 39–40 (late 1612–early 1613). Lines 17–18's supposed lapsing of the Sun is treated of in *FirAn* 274. There is further subject-matter in common with *BedfordShe* (1609–10) in ll. 37–8, with *Ignatius* (Latin 1610) in 51–2, and with *FirAn* 417–18 and *Carey* 31–2 (Jan.–Feb. 1612) in ll. 25–6. Other frequent parallels with verse-epistles to Lady Bedford may, however, be attributed to community of theme. In a letter that refers to the christening either of Arthur Grymes on 29 Jan. 1609, or of Thomas on 28 June 1610 as just happening (*Letters* pp. 103–4), D. writes to Goodyer from Peckham of Lady Huntingdon:

For the other part of your letter, spent in praise of the Countess, I am always very apt to believe it of her, and can never believe it so well, and so reasonably, as now, when it is averred by you; but for the expressing it to her, in that sort as you seem to counsel, I have these two reasons to decline it: that that knowledge which she hath of me was in the beginning of a graver course than of a poet, into which (that I may also keep my dignity) I would not seem to relapse. The Spanish proverb informs me that he is a fool which cannot make one sonnet, and he is mad which makes two. The other, stronger reason is my integrity to the other Countess, . . . for her delight (since she descends to them) I had reserved not only all the verses which I should make, but all the thoughts of women's worthiness.

However, even as he is writing, D. disregards his two reasons:

But because I hope that she [Bedford] will not disdain that I should write well of her picture [Huntingdon: cp. *BedfordDead*: others to whom he has

And therefore in a course that best became
The clearness of your heart, and best commends
Your worthy powers, you run the rightest way
That is on earth that can true glory give,
By which, when all consumes, your fame shall live.

54 She is not subject to covetousness or repentance since there is no worldly state more desirable than what is hers already, and her religion (and discretion) have preserved her from sin.

written are ‘copies, not originals’ of Bedford’s virtue and beauty], I have obeyed you thus far as to write, but entreat you, by your friendship, that by this occasion of versifying I be not traduced nor esteemed light in that tribe and that house wherein I have lived.

The allusion to that ‘knowledge which she hath of me . . . in the beginning’ suggests a first re-establishment of acquaintance. Milgate in *SEVL* argued that it must have preceded Galileo’s revelation in *Sidereus Nuncius* in early 1610 of numerous stars hitherto unknown, after which D. would not have termed the supernova of 1604 miraculous: however, the knowledge of the revelation of new stars shown in *FirAn* 259–60 may have been delayed till Spring 1610 (see note on *FirAn* 205–11), and in any case Galileo’s claims were controversial, and the supernova had indeed caused a sensation. D.’s lines in *FirAn* 205–12 imply dismissal of astronomical disputes as frivolous, serving his theme of the moment.

Analogues. Elizabeth was praised by Marston in his *Entertainment at Ashby*, and by John Fletcher. Pestell (see headnote on *HGJD*), one-time fellow-student of Lord Huntingdon, wrote a verse-epistle to his wife in 1620 (thus securing his living of Packington, Leics in 1622), and elegies on her death in Jan. 1634, in the first of which, ll. 19–21, he refers to D. as ‘he / Of whom all poets hold in *capite*, Black Prince of wits, the most illustrious Donne’ (see *Poems* (1940) xxix, xxxiv, pp. 87–90, 7–10). Milgate, p. 243, quotes a reference by D. to Goodyer in 1609 (*Letters* p. 104), possibly to an earlier poem, to D.’s writing ‘well of her picture’.

Text. The Dolau Cothi manuscript provides the cleanest text, containing only five errors and one marked omission, compared with eight errors in *TCD*, thirteen in the Group III MSS, nine in 1633, and eight in 1635. *DC* has therefore been chosen as the base text.

MADAM,

MAN to God’s image, Eve to man’s was made,
 MNor find we that God breathed a soul in her;

Sources collated: *Group II: TCD, DC; Group III: Lut, O’F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *DC*

Selective collation:

Heading *III, 1633, 1635: To the C. of H. II*

o Madam] *om. III*

1 Milgate points out that the relevant verse, *Gen.* 1. 27, says that ‘God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.’ Pererius 4. 46 (1601) p. 166, discusses whether woman too was made in the image of God, quoting the doubt raised by *1 Cor.* 11. 7, ‘A man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man’, supported by the testimony of Ambrose and Augustine in the *Decretals* 33. 3. Against the doubt Pererius quotes the last part of the *Gen.* verse, Augustine *De trinitate* 12. 7, and conclusively Basil, *Homilia in Genesim* 10. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 93. 5, concludes that ‘The image of God, in its principal signification, namely the intellectual nature, is found both in man and in woman. . . . But in a secondary sense the image of God is found in man, and not in woman, for man is the beginning and end of woman’.

2 Whether women had souls was a question that did not arise for Aquinas or Pererius, since she was created in the image of God and thus with a rational soul,

Canons will not Church functions you invade,
Nor laws to civil office you prefer.

- 5 Who vagrant, transitory comets sees
Wonders because they're rare; but a new star,
Whose motion with the firmament agrees,
Is miracle, for there no new things are.

- In woman so, perchance, mild innocence
10 A seldom comet is, but active good
A miracle, which reason scapes, and sense,
For art and nature this in them withstood.

but the topic was debated in the medieval schools, and a misogynist argument put by D. in his Problem, 'Why hath the common opinion afforded women souls?' concluding that 'we have given women souls only to make them capable of damnation' (*Paradoxes* 28–9). D. the responsible preacher answers conclusively in *Serm.* 9, 190 (Easter Day 1630):

However some men out of a petulancy and wantonness of wit, and out of the extravagancy of Paradoxes, and such singularities, have called the faculties, and abilities of women in question, even in the root thereof, in the reasonable and immortal soul, . . . No author of gravity, of piety, of conversation in the Scriptures could admit that doubt, whether woman were created in the Image of God, that is, in possession of a reasonable and an immortal soul.

Cp. *Serm.* 1. 200, 4. 241 (Mar. 1617, 5 Nov. 1622).

3 'Church laws do not allow you to assume ecclesiastical roles'.

5 **vagrant, transitory comets**] Such as that of 1577, to the casual observer apparently not conforming to a regular orbit, though Tycho Brahe suggested that it had an oval one. The comet, whose seventy-six-year period was calculated by Edmund Halley in 1696, had returned in 1607.

6–8 **a new star . . . miracle**] The supernovae of 1572 and 1604, described in J. Kepler, *De stella nova* (1606; on D.'s own copy see G. Keynes, *Book Collector* 29 (1977) 29–35), had to be attributed by traditionalists to supernatural agency, since it was standard medieval doctrine, of which the authoritative statement was made by Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 1. 3 (270a12–b16), that 'the primary body is eternal and not subject to increase or diminution, but unaging and unalterable and unmodified, . . . no change appears to have taken place either in the whole scheme of the outermost heaven or in any of its proper parts.'

7 i.e., is one of the stars fixed in the eighth sphere.

10 **seldom**] rare.

12 **art and nature**] Women neither can nor want to be good.

- As such a star the Mages led to view
 The manger-cradled infant, God below,
 15 By virtue's beams, by fame derived from you,
 May apt souls have, and worst may virtue know.
- If the world's age, and death be argued well,
 By the Sun's fall, which now towards earth doth bend,
 Then we might fear that virtue, since she fell
 20 So low as woman, should be near her end.
- But she's not stooped, but raised: exiled by men,
 She fled to Heav'n, that's heav'nly things, that's you.
 She was in all men thinly scattered then,
 But now amassed, contracted in a few.
- 25 She gilded us, but you are gold, and she;
 Us she informed, but transubstantiates you.
 Soft dispositions which ductile be,
 Elixir-like, she makes not clean but new.

13 the *III*, 1635: thy *II*: which 1633 Mages] Magis *TCD*: Magi 1633, 1635
 16 souls have] souls *TCD*, *III*, 1633 worst] the worst *III*, 1633, 1635
 17 world's *TCD*, *III*, 1633, 1635: world *DC* 19 she *TCD*, *III*, 1633, 1635: it *DC*
 23 in] an *TCD*: on *III* 24 amassed] a Mass *TCD*: a mass *III*, 1635
 26 Us she informed] Us informed *TCD*: Informed us *III*, 1635

13–14 a star . . . below] *Matt.* 2. 1–10. Cp. *Elizabeth* 39–40: 'Be thou a new star that to us portends Ends of much wonder' (Milgate).

13 such] miraculous.

14 The manger-cradled infant] *Luke* 2. 7, 12, 16.

15 fame] reputation.

17–18 On the Sun's apparent decline towards the Earth, cp. *FirAn* 274 and note.

21–2 exiled . . . Heav'n] Classically told of the goddess of justice, Astraea, who became the constellation Virgo: see, e.g., Aratus, *Phaenomena* 96–136, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 149–50, Spenser, *FQ* 5. 1. 11. Her return to earth was applied to Queen Elizabeth by Dekker, Peele, and above all Sir John Davies, *Hymnes of Astraea* (1599), as detailed by F. Yates, *Astraea*, (1975; 1985) pp. 59–87.

25 you are . . . she] Lady Bedford could well have been offended, since there she is merely 'To usher Virtue, and say, "This is she"' (*BedfordReason* 12), and the poet wishes to 'behold You as you're Virtue's temple, not as she' (l. 44); she is only 'virtue's best paradise' (*BedfordWritten* 75).

25–6 Cp. *Carey* 31–2, *FirAn* 417–18. Milgate cites the explanation of the alchemical image in Duncan 272–5. Virtue was only superficial in the rest, but Lady Huntingdon is virtuous through and through.

26 transubstantiates] In the non-religious sense (*OED* *v.* a), completely changing her substance into another, its own.

27–8 Like the transforming preparation sought by alchemists, she does not merely improve amenable acquaintances but makes them new people.

Though you a wife's and mother's name retain,
 30 'Tis not as woman, for all are not so,
 But, virtue having made you, virtue's fain
 T'adhere in these names, her and you to show,

Else, being alike pure, we should neither see,
 As, water being into air rarefied,
 35 Neither appear till in one cloud they be,
 So, for our sakes, you do low names abide;

Taught by great constellations, which, being framed
 Of the most stars, take low names, 'Crab', and 'Bull',
 When single planets by the gods are named,
 40 You covet not great names, of great things full.

32 in these] on those *III* 35 appear] ~s *III*

29 In alchemy the transmuted material might still outwardly appear the same. **mother's name]** Ferdinando, her second son, who succeeded as sixth earl, was born in 1609 or a year or two later (*DNB* from Collins's *Peerage*).

30 all] all women. **so]** wives and mothers.

31–3 Wiggins 49 quotes Blundeville, *Logike* 1. 8 (1599) p. 17:

Substance is a thing consisting of itself, and needeth no help to sustain the being thereof, and yet it is clad with accidents, for otherwise we could not discern with our outward senses, whether it were a substance or not: for we cannot see the substance of anything with our bodily eyes, but only with the eyes of our mind and understanding.

'Her *substance* and her *accidents* are one, and this is a property of divinity itself, according to Scholastic philosophy. Upon one not aware of the import of the logical inference, the subtle compliment would be wasted'—Wiggins 50. D. pays a similar compliment in *Carey* 13–18. Cp. the angels' assumption of bodies of air because of the need to be visible to humans in *Air* 23–4.

32 adhere in these names] be intrinsic to these roles. She shows her virtue in being an exemplary wife and mother.

33, 34 being] One syllable. **alike]** similarly.

34–5 water . . . cloud] Standard Renaissance theory was not that a cloud was a mixture of water and air but that water vapour was condensed when it rose to the cold middle region of air (Heninger (1960) pp. 47–51), though Plato, *Timaeus* 49c, talks of water turning into air, and air coalescing and thickening into clouds.

37–8 constellations . . . stars] Cp. *BedfordShe* 8.

38 Crab] Cancer, actually not 'great' one of the smallest constellations, contained only nine stars, according to Ptolemy, *Almagest* 7. 5 (Engl. G. J. Toomer (1984) p. 366), but has a 'low' name suitable to the poet's argument, whereas those which in fact held many more, such as Argo with 45 (Ptolemy 8. 1, pp. 388–91), are too dignified for the poet's purpose. **Bull]** Taurus, which had forty-four stars (Ptolemy 7. 5, pp. 361–4).

39 i.e., Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

So you, as woman, one doth comprehend,
 And in the veil of kindred others see;
 To some you are revealèd as a friend,
 And as a virtuous prince far off to me.

45 To whom, because from you all virtues flow,
 And 'tis not none to dare contèplate you,
 I, which do so, as your true subject owe
 Some tribute for that: so these lines are due.

If you can think these flatteries, they are,
 50 For then your judgement is below my praise.
 If they were so, oft, flatteries work as far
 As counsels, and as far th'endeavour raise.

43 you] ye 1633 revealed as] reveal'd, as in *TCD*, III

46 none] now III 47 do so III, 1635: do [blank] II: to you 1633, *O'F marg*

41 one] her husband.

42 veil of kindred] i.e., simply as a relative.

47 do so] The text of *Huntingdon* in 1633 was obviously derived from a MS akin to Group II with its gap (and *O'F* 'corrected' from 1633), whereas Group III (including *O'F* before 'correction', used for 1635) preserved the full reading.

49 flatteries] exaggerated praises.

50 Because they are accurate: Lady *Huntingdon* is enjoined to recognise her virtue frankly, since modesty will involve falsehood. But to Lady *Bedford D.* writes: 'to admit / No knowledge of your worth is some of it', and 'Virtue hath some perverseness, for she will / Neither believe her good nor others ill' (*BedfordWritten* 29–30, 73–4).

51–2 oft . . . raise] 'Whoever flatters, either he derides or, at the best, instructs. For there may be even in flattery an honest kind of teaching, if princes, by being told that they are already endowed with all virtues necessary for their functions, be thereby taught what those virtues are, and by a facile exhortation excited to endeavour to gain them'—*Ignatius* (1969) p. 33. D. was so fond of the idea that he reused it in *Serm.* 4. 281 (to the Virginia Company, 13 Nov. 1622): 'The *Orators* which declaimed in the presence of the *Roman Emperors*, in their *Panegyrics*, took that way to make those *Emperors* see, what they were bound to do, to say in those public Orations, that those *Emperors* had done so'; and *Serm.* 5. 200 (n. d.). (Cynics might say that little had changed under Elizabeth and James.) Pliny the Younger 3. 18. 1–3 justifies his *Panegyric* of Trajan on the grounds that it is not only deserved but will be a pattern for future rulers. Humanists stressed that it was the best way to teach. Cp. Bacon, *Essayes*, 'Of Praise' added in 1607–12 MS): '*Laudando praecipere*, when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be.' Cp. also Jonson, 'To my Muse' 15–16, *Epigrams* no. 65 (1612): 'Whoe'er is raised / For worth he has not, he is taxed, not praised'; 'Epistle to Master John Selden' 20–2 (prefixed to the addressee's *Titles of Honor* 1614) 20–2; *Underwood* no. 14: 'I have too oft preferred / Men past their terms, and praised some names too much, / But 'twas with purpose to have made them such.'

- So my ill, reaching you, might there grow good,
 But I remain a poisoned fountain still;
 55 But not your beauty, virtue, knowledge, blood
 Are more above all flatt'ry than my will.
- And if I flatter any, 'tis not you
 But mine own judgement, who did long ago
 Pronounce that all these praises should be true,
 60 And virtue should your beauty and birth outgrow.
- Now that my prophecies are all fulfilled,
 Rather than God should not be honoured too,
 And all those gifts confessed, which he instilled,
 Yourself were bound to say that which I doe.
- 65 So I but your recorder am in this,
 Or mouth and speaker of the universe,
 A ministerial notary, for 'tis
 Not I, but you and fame, that make this verse:
 I was your prophet in your younger days,
 70 And now your chaplain, God in you to praise.

55 But] And 1635 beauty, virtue] virtue, beauty III
 56 Are . . . flatt'ry] Far . . . flatteries III 58 mine] my 1633, 1635
 59 these] those III praises III, 1633, 1635: prayers II 63 those] these 1633, 1635
 66 and] or 1633 70 to TCD, III, 1633, 1635: do DC

53 **my ill]** flattery.

54 **But]** Although. **poisoned fountain]** flatterer.

55 **beauty . . . blood]** Cp. D.'s catalogues in *BedfordRefined* 2: 'Virtue, art, beauty, fortune', and *BedfordNew* 37: 'beauty, learning, favour, blood'.

60 Cp. *BedfordReason* 24.

66 **universe]** universal opinion (cp. *OED* 3b). Cp. *BedfordReason* 16–18.

67 **ministerial notary]** subordinate secretary. **ministerial]** Four not five syllables.

68 **fame]** reputation.

69–70 'Grierson suggested that the letter was written just before Donne's ordination in 1614, an idea probably due to his statement that he is now her "chaplain". I take this to be no more literal a remark than that Donne was once her "prophet"'—Milgate p. 247. Cp. a letter of 26 Oct. 1624 to Lady Kingsmill: 'I have not another office by your husband's death, for I was your Chaplain before, in my daily prayers' (*Letters* p. 10); and another of c. 21 June 1625 to Sir Robert Carr: 'When I say grace and bless my own dinner, I shall mean yours also, and be your Chaplain, though absent' (*Matthew* p. 308).

To the Countess of Bedford

Date. July–August 1610? The allusions in ll. 67–8 to Virginia and the deaths of the Countess’s friends Lady Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode suggest August 1609 onwards. The letter to Goodyer quoted below is dated simply ‘14 August’ without year; D. says he is writing to Goodyer (in ‘the Country’ with ‘the best Lady’) from ‘the Rose in Smithfield’ on a Tuesday, which fell on 14 August in 1610. Moreover, I. A. Shapiro, *MLR* 45 (1950) 7, n. 3, states that Goodyer was abroad in August–September 1609. The close echo shown in the comment on l. 7 further links the prose letter and the verse-epistle, which may therefore date from the summer of 1610 rather than autumn 1609. Probable reflections in ll. 14, 59–60, 62–4 of works of which particularly accessible editions appeared in 1610, and of D.’s own writings, strengthen the case for this later date.

Text. Group II MSS, largely followed by 1633, disagree significantly with Group III in ll. 3, 51, 58, 60, 72, 78, and 85, in 3, 58 and 85 affecting the sense. DC agrees largely with TCD, but shares only half its errors. 1633, while avoiding most of the errors in TCD, to which its text is closely related, adds as many of its own. III’s reading in 60 is clearly necessary. Emendations in O’F do not make the latter more reliable than Lut, derived largely from the same copy, since they are in a later hand and follow 1633. Group III unemended gives a plausible text except in ll. 42, 58 and 78 (though the scribe of its copy is not above suspicion elsewhere of indulging in intelligent or careless alteration), and has been followed here, including the debatable readings in ll. 72 and 85. Its indentation of l. 31 helpfully signals the poem’s simple triple structure: (1) thirty lines of apology turned into flattery; (2) forty lines on ‘others’ ills; (3) twenty lines enjoining contentment with virtue. The editor has supplied the corresponding indentation needed at l. 71. Group II and 1633 indent alternate lines throughout to indicate the couplet structure.

TO’VE written then, when you wrote, seemed to me
 Worst of spiritual vices, simony;
 And not to’ve written then is little less

Sources collated: *Group II:* TCD, DC; *Group III:* Lut, O’F; 1633, 1635

Base text: III

Select variants:

Heading: Lut, 1633, 1635: ~ ~ ~ B. II, O’F II, 1633 indent alternate lines

I wrote] writ II, 1633, 1635 3 is] seems II, 1633, 1635

1 when you wrote] Cp. D. to Goodyer: ‘Instead of a letter to you, I send you one to another, to the best Lady, who did me the honour to acknowledge the receipt of one of mine, by one of hers; and who only hath power to cast the fetters of verse upon my free meditations’ (*Letters* p. 117; Milgate).

2 simony] Trying to pay in secular kind for a gift of spiritual power, like Simon Magus in *Acts* 8. 18–24, against which practice the C. of E. *Book of Canons* (1604) had introduced a special oath for ordinands and new incumbents.

- Than worst of civil vices, thanklessness.
 5 In this, my debt I seemed loath to confess;
 In that, I seemed to shun beholdingness.
 But 'tis not so: nothings, as I am, may
 Pay all they have, and yet have all to pay.
 Such borrow in their payments, and owe more,
 10 By having leave to write so, than before.
 Yet since rich mines in barren grounds are shown,
 May not I yield (not gold but) coal or stone?
 Temples were not demolished, though profane:
 Here Peter, Jove's, there Paul hath Dian's fane.

4 Than] The II 5 debt] doubt 1633, 1635 7 nothings] nothing TCD, 1633

13 Temples were] ~, ware DC

14 there] the II hath] have 1633: om. TCDbe in another hand

4 Than/The] The Group II reading, meaning that delaying thanks looks like ingratitude, contains an exact rhetorical symmetry with ll. 1–2. The Group III reading may derive from a scribe's mistaking the meaning to be that delayed thanks are almost as bad as no thanks. 'Then' commonly had a mark of abbreviation above it instead of terminal *n*, so it could easily have been misread as 'The' in copy such as TCD, which often, as here, omits punctuation at the ends of lines. **worst . . . thanklessness]** Cp. *Serm.* 6. 42 (April–June 1623): 'In all *Solomon's* books, you shall not find half so much of the duty of thankfulness, as you shall in *Seneca* and in *Plutarch*. No book of Ethics, of moral doctrine, is come to us, wherein there is not, almost in every leaf, some detestation, some Anathema, against ingratitude' (Gr.). Cp. also T. Elyot, *Governor* 2. 13: 'The most damnable vice and most again justice, in mine opinion, is ingratitude' (quoted in OED 'ingratitude'); *Twelfth Night* 3. 4. 346–9, *Julius Caesar* 3. 2. 183, and the proverb quoted from 1639 in ODEP s.v. 'Call': 'You can call a man no worse than unthankful.' D. was also aware of a dimension other than the ethical to the expression of thanks: 'Nothing doth so innocently provoke new graces, as gratitude' (letter to Goodyer, 1633 p. 354). **civil]** social.

5 this] writing.

6 that] not writing. **beholdingness]** indebtedness.

7 nothings, as I am] Cp. the letter to Goodyer quoted above, after apologising for not having any public news: 'Since therefore I am but mine own Secretary (and what's that?) I were excusable if I writ nothing, since I am so' (*Letters* p. 117).

13–16] In twofold contrast to *Bedford Refined* 31–6, 43–8, D. compares himself rather than the Countess to a pagan temple, and claims for his verses the status of hymns, illustrating how conceits do not have unchangeable significances but 'such as they are circumstanced they be'.

14] Roman temples such as those of Juno Sospita (S. Nicola in Carcere), and Romulus (SS. Cosma e Damiano), the so-called Temple of Bacchus (S. Urbano), and the Pantheon, had indeed been taken over by the Christians. See, e.g., I. A. Dosio, *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium quae supersunt reliquiae* (n.p. 1569) pp. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, on the reuse of the temples then thought to be those of Vesta (S.

- 15 So whether my hymns you admit or choose,
 In me you've hallowèd a pagan muse,
 And denizened a stranger who, mistaught
 By blamers of the times they marred, hath sought
 Virtues in corners, which now bravely do

Stefano), Fortuna Virilis (S. Maria Aegyptiaca), the Pantheon (S. Maria Rotunda), Bacchus (S. Agnes), Fortuna (S. Ioannes in Fontibus ad Basilicam Lateranum). The Basilicas of St Peter, and St Paul, however, were nowhere near the temples of Jupiter and Diana, though O. Panvinius, *De praecipuis Romae sanctoribusque basilicis . . . liber*, 4 (Rome 1570) p. 36, mentions that Pope Honorius repaired the roof of St Peter's with bronze tiles from the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter. Camden, *Britannia*, (Engl. 1610) p. 426, cites a tradition that St Paul's Cathedral had been founded on the site of a temple of Diana (an appealing idea to Christians, in view of the defence of the cult of Diana against Paul at Ephesus, *Acts* 19. 23–34, where, however, the materials of the temple were re-used by Christians largely for the church of St John on another site). Camden p. 428 further records a tradition that Westminster Abbey, dedicated to St Peter, had been built out of the ruins of a temple of Apollo. Cp. *Serm.* 10. 41–2 (1 Nov. ?1623): 'The heathen Romans, who could not possibly house all their gods in several Temples, . . . made one Temple for them all, which they called *Pantheon*, To all the Gods. This Temple *Boniface* the Pope begged of the Emperor *Phocas*; . . . And . . . consecrated to the honour of all the Martyrs, of all the Saints of that kind'. **there/the]** *OED* does not cite any use of 'the Paul' to designate St Paul's Cathedral, though the omission of 'St' was customary. If D. is writing in his lodgings in the Strand, 'Here' and 'there' would correspond to the cities of Westminster and London.

15–20 Alluding to his change from being the author of the *Satyres*, imitating the pre-Christian Horace (sent to her by Ben Jonson with Epigram 94, 'To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with Mr. Donne's Satires', datable to 1607), to the writer of such 'hymns' to the Countess as the present one, with their religiously phrased praise and doctrine. Cp. the regret expressed in *WoodwardRWidowhead* 1–12 for cultivating 'love-song weeds and satiric thorns . . . Where seeds of better arts were early sown.'

17 denizened a stranger] naturalised a foreigner.

18 Cp. *Serm.* 7. 408 (1 April 1627) where D., preaching before the King, denounces 'them, that delight to speak evil of Superiors': 'We make *Satyres*; and we look that the world should call that *wit*; when God knows, that that is in a great part, self-guiltiness, and we do but reprehend those things, which we ourselves have done, we cry out upon the illness of the times, and we make the times ill' (Milgate). **marred]** Possibly punning on the name of John Marston, whose work was publicly burnt by the hangman in 1599 after the edict against satire.

19 corners] Dark and relatively private places for disapproved-of actions, conspiratorial or sexual, such as the brothels at which the satirists vented pretended surprise and scorn on not finding virtues there. Cp. Lucio's innuendo against 'the old fantastical Duke of dark corners', *Measure for Measure* 4. 3. 152–3; and *OED*'s quotation of Angel Day's *English Secretary* (3rd rev. edn 1599 etc.): 'There was . . . no brothel-house but he haunted, no odd corner but he knew'. D. had denounced the absence of virtue in the 'humorist', the mercenary lawyer, state religion, minor courtiers, and officials.

- 20 Shine in the world's best parts, or all it, you.
 I have been told that virtue[^]in courtiers' hearts
 Suffers an ostracism, and departs.
 Profit, ease, fitness, plenty, bid it go;
 But whither, only knowing you, I know;
- 25 Your (or you) virtue two vast uses serves:
 It ransoms one sex, and one court preserves.
 There's nothing but your worth which, being true,
 Is known to any other, not to you;
 And you can never know it: to admit
- 30 No knowledge of your worth is some of it.
 But since to you your praises discords be,
 Stoop, others' ills to meditate with me.
 Oh! to confess we know not what we should
 Is half excuse: we know not what we would.

20 parts] part *TCD*, 1633, 1635 all it, you.] all that, You. *Lutbe*: all, in you, 1633
 24 whither.] whether. *II* 25 you] yo^u *O'F*: yo' *TCD* 26 and] it *DC*
 30 is] it 1633 31 praises] Phrases *TCD*
 32 Stoop, others'] Stop others 1633

22 Suffers an ostracism] is banished. Originally, the majority in the Athenian assembly exercised an annual right to exile a prominent opponent for ten years: victims included Themistocles, who had saved them from the Persian fleet.

23 fitness] Expediency or compliance with custom.

24 whither, only knowing you] Either 'just by knowing you', or, if the comma is misplaced, 'whither only, knowing you, I know': he sees the Countess as sole receiver of all other courtiers' banished virtue.

25 Your . . . virtue] 'Your virtue, or, indeed, you, since you and virtue are coextensive, you are all virtue, and all virtue you.'

26 ransoms one sex] As Christ paid the ransom for the original sin of all humans, so the Countess has redeemed women from the curse laid on Eve, *Gen.* 3. 16: 'In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.' Ironically, her only son had died in February 1602, as D. noted in a letter to Goodyer (Bald p. 172). She was conspicuously independent of her husband, and Jonson attributes to her 'a manly soul' in *Epigrams* 76, 'On Lucy, Countess of Bedford'. **preserves]** keeps fresh, uncorrupted. Cp. the Countess's self-preserving 'balsamum' of birth and beauty, *BedfordReason* 21-4, and the 'balms' seen and heard in her garden 'as else cure everything', *Twickenham* 3-4.

29-30 Cp. *Carey* 33.

33-4 Jesus asked forgiveness of his crucifiers 'for they know not what they do', *Luke* 23. 34, having reproached would-be sharers in his glory, *Mark* 10. 35-8: 'Ye know not what ye ask'.

- 35 Lightness depresses us, emptiness fills;
 We sweat and faint, yet still go down the hills.
 As new philosophy arrests the Sun,
 And bids the passive Earth about it run,
 So we have dulled our mind, it hath no ends;
- 40 Only the body's busy, and pretends:
 As dead, low Earth eclipses and controls
 The quick, high Moon, so doth the body, souls.
 In none but us are such mixed engines found
 As hands, of double office: for the ground
- 45 We till with them, and them to Heav'n we raise;
 Who prayerless labours, or without this prays,
 Doth but one half, that's none; he which said, 'Plough
 And look not back', to look up doth allow.

35 Lightness] Lightens *TCD* depresses] depresseth 1633, 1635

42 quick *II*, 1633, 1635: quick and *III*

46 Who] Whose *TCD* prays] praise *TCD*

35–6 'Frivolity pushes us down towards damnation, we are full of spiritual nothingness; our best efforts are vain.' Cp. D.'s sins which 'would press me to hell' in *DivM6Play* 12, and the paradoxical mode of *HolyS10Batter*, *HSW3Vex*.

36 go down the hills] get worse. Cp. *FirAn* 281–2 and Aston's *HuntingdonUnripe* 86.

37 new philosophy] of the orbiting of the earth round the sun, proposed in Copernicus's work of 1543, but treated largely as a convenient mathematical hypothesis even by professional astronomers till the 1590s, and by some of them well into the seventeenth century. Cp. D.'s better-known reference in *FirAn* 205–8 and note thereon. Cp. *Serm.* 7. 271 (12 Dec. 1626): 'New Philosophy, that denies a settledness, an acquiescence in the very body of the Earth, but makes the Earth to move in that place, where we thought the Sun had moved' (Milgate); other sermons (1. 227 (1617), 2. 232 (1618–19?), 8. 140–1 (1627), 10. 214 (1623?)) confirm that D. failed to grasp the inviability of Aristotelean and Ptolemaic hypotheses.

39 ends] purposes.

40 pretends] aspires, is ambitious, has aims.

41–2 Cp. Leone Ebreo (1937 p. 224): 'The Moon is eclipsed by the interposition of the Earth between it and the Sun, the source of its light, . . . The same occurs in the soul when corporeal and terrestrial things come between it and the intellect, whereby it loses all the light which it received from the intellect'.

41 dead, low Earth] D. expresses the pre-Copernican view of the Earth as motionless and occupying the lowest situation in the universe.

43 mixed engines] dual-purpose instruments.

46 *Orare et laborare*, 'To work and to pray', was a monastic ideal, and continued to be seen as the Christian's duty: cp. *Serm.* 7. 104, 1 *Thess.* 4. 11, 1 *Tim.* 2. 8.

47–8 he which . . . allow] *Luke* 9. 62.

- Good seed degenerates, and oft obeys
 50 The soil's disease, and into cockle strays:
 Let the mind's thoughts but be transplanted so
 Into the body^and bastardly they grow.
 What hate could hurt our bodies like our love?
 We (but no foreign tyrants could) remove
 55 These not engraved but inborn dignities,
 Caskets of souls, temples, and palaces:
 For bodies shall from death redeemed be,
 Souls but preserved, not naturally free.

51 but be] be but *II*, 1633, 1635 53 hurt our] hurt, or *II*
 58 not *II*, 1633: born *III*, 1635

49–50 It was asserted by some (Milgate quotes the sixteenth and seventeenth-century William Turner and Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3, 17 (1646; 1981) 1. 227) that persistent weeds of cereal-fields such as corn-cockle, *Agrostemma githago*, and darnel (occasionally translated from biblical Greek or Latin as 'cockle') were mutations of the crop-plants.

51 **transplanted]** *Transplantatio* was the name given to the supposed transmutation of species by Paracelsians, such as P. Severinus, *Idea medicinae philosophiae* 9 (1571 p. 139).

52 **bastardly]** Cp. Gerard, 2. 428 (1597) p. 926: 'Cockle is called . . . bastard Nigella'.

53 Cp. *Himself* 15–17. In the account of the sparrow, *Metem* 204–10, 218–20, D. retails the belief (going back to Aristotle, *On Length and Shortness of Life* 466b7–12) that sexual intercourse shortens life, more briefly stated in *Farewell* 24–5, 'each such act, they say, / Diminisheth the length of life a day', and *FirAn* 110: 'We kill ourselves to propagate our kind'. Apart from the exhaustion of the male and death in childbirth for the female, D. may also have in mind the then widely experienced disfigurement caused by syphilis: cp. Browne's explanation that his wish for his body not to be seen when dead is not because of 'contracting any shameful disease upon me whereby I might not call myself as wholesome a morsel for the worms as any' (*Religio Medici* 1. 40).

55 **engraved]** superficially imposed. **dignities]** titles, high offices.

56 **Caskets]** jewel-boxes. Cp. *King John* 5. 1. 40. **temples]** 1 *Cor.* 3. 16–17, 6. 19;

2 *Cor.* 6. 16. Cp. *BedfordRefined* 44, *DivM2Due* 7–8, *DivM12Love* 3–4. **palaces]**

Like Cecilia Bulstrode's body in *BulstrodeLanguage* 15. Cp. *Serm.* 6. 75 (Easter 1624): 'By death, the soul falls from that, for which it was infused, and poured into man at first; that is, to be the form of that body, the King of that Kingdom' (Gr.). The valuation of the body progresses through the line from container of treasure to dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit to kingdom of God (*Luke* 17. 21).

57 *Rom.* 8. 23 (only RhV and, later, AV have 'redemption' for the Vulgate's *redemptionem*).

58 **Souls but preserved]** *Ps.* 97. 10. **not naturally free]** Cp. *Essays*, 'Exodus' Part 2 (1952) p. 76: 'For God hath made nothing which needs him not, or which would not instantly return again to nothing without his special conservation: Angels and Souls are not delivered from this dependency upon him'; and *Serm.* 2. 201 (Easter 1619): 'And for the Immortality of the Soul, It is safelier said to be immortal, by preservation, than immortal by nature; That God keeps it from dying,

As men to our prisons now, souls to us are sent,

59 prisons now,] prisons, now *TCD*: prisons, new 1633

than, that it cannot die.’ **not/born**] The Group III reading, superficially attractive, negates the emphasis of ‘but preserved’: the body as temple of the soul is important enough to be guaranteed resurrection, while the soul is not so superior as not to be subject with the body to the second death of *Rev.* 2. 11; 20. 6, 14–15; 21. 8.

59–60 Cp. D.’s letter to Goodyer of 9 Oct. [1610, when it fell on his customary Tuesday; there are, too, several verbal parallels with *Ignatius*, ready for the press in Jan. 1611]: ‘They which follow the opinion of infusion from God, and a new creation (which is now the more common opinion) . . . can very hardly defend the doctrine of Original Sin (the soul is forced to take this infection, and comes not into the body of her own disposition)’ (*Letters* p. 17). Cp. *HerbE* 19–20 (July–Sept. 1610), and *Pseudo-Martyr* 9. 1 (1610 p. 247; 1993 p. 179): ‘the body by inherent corruption vitiates the pure and innocent soul’ (Milgate; cp. 3. 25, p. 31; 1993 p. 47), and *SecAn* 163–7. D. is controverting the orthodox teaching of Augustine, 14. 3 (1610 p. 499):

If any man say, that the flesh is cause of the viciousness of the soul, he is ignorant in man’s nature; for the corruptible body doth but burden the soul: . . . our faith teacheth us otherwise. For this corruption that is so burdensome to the soul is the punishment of the first sin, not the cause: the corruptible flesh made not the soul to sin, but the sinning soul made the flesh corruptible.

Here again we see D. agonising over the relationship of body and soul. Cp. the caution in *Ecstasy* 61–8 against making the body a prison by not exercising its sexual potential, and the comment thereon for numerous other places, including *DivM5Black* 5–8. Cp. a letter to Goodyer of perhaps 1612 (*Letters* p. 46): ‘Our soul is not sent hither, only to go back again: we have some errand to do here; nor is it sent into prison, because it comes innocent, and he which sent it, is just’ (Gr.). D. returns to Augustinian orthodoxy in *Serm.* 2. 58–9 (1618):

Here’s no sin in *that* soul, that God creates; for there God should create something that were *evil*; and that cannot be said: . . . no sin in the *body alone*; None from the soul, no sin in the *soul alone*; and yet, the *union* of this soul and body is accompanied with God’s *malediction* for our first transgression, that in the instant of that *union* of life, as certainly as that *body must die*, so certainly the *whole Man* must be guilty of *Original sin*. . . . we become guilty of *Adam’s sin* done six thousand years before.

Cp. *Devotions* 18 ‘Meditation’; 22 ‘Expostulation’ (1987 pp. 91, 118).

59 Elision is required either in ‘pris’ns’ or ‘to us’. Some stress seems needed for ‘us’ to match the analogous ‘prisons’. **prisons now,/~, ~/~, new**] None of the readings seems less probable but since *TCD* and 1633 are more prone to error, *Lut*’s version has been retained. In support of 1633’s ‘new souls’ against the manuscripts’ ‘now, souls’, see the phrase in *Serm.* 2. 322 (30 Jan. 1620): ‘The Father creates new souls every day in the inanimation of Children’ (Gr.). **prisons**] D.’s much-used figure for the body goes back through Christian tradition (and Virgil) to Plato, *Phaedo* 82d–e.

- 60 Which learn vice there, and come in innocent:
 First seeds of every creature are in us;
 Whate'er the world hath bad or precious,
 Man's body can produce; hence hath it been
 That stones, worms, frogs, and snakes in man are seen;
 65 But who e'er saw, though nature can work so,
 That pearl, or gold, or corn in man did grow?
 We've added to the world Virginia[^]and sent
 Two new stars lately to the firmament:
 Why grudge we us (not Heaven) the dignity

60 vice] it II, 1633 62 Whate'er ed.: What ere MSS, 1633, 1635

65 who e'er ed.: who ere MSS, 1633, 1635

60 vice/it] The Group II reading could refer back only to l. 57's 'death', which does not seem appropriate. The quotations above on l. 58 suggest 'sin' rather than 'vice', but it is the latter which D. harps on in ll. 76, 79, 82, 83 and 88 as the opposite to virtue, the themes of the poem.

61–3 A version of the idea of the microcosm, as expressed by G. Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus*, 'To the Reader', or *Oration on the Dignity of Man* 4: 'On man when he came into life the Father conferred the seeds of all kinds' (tr. E. L. Forbes, in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. E. Cassirer et al. (1948) p. 225), cited by D. in *Essays* I. 3 (1952) p. 30. Pico, however, is speaking in terms of character: the application to the production in the body of stones (bladder and kidney) and worms is presumably Paracelsan. Examples of these, as of 'frogs and snakes', appear in sixteenth-century collections of medical case-studies.

62–4 The French surgeon Ambroise Paré, in 'A discourse of certaine monstrous creatures' prefixed to *Workes* 20. 4 (Engl. 1634 pp. 761–3) likens man's body to the world in its production of 'winds, thunders, earthquakes, showers, inundations of waters, sterilities, fertilities, stones, mountains, and sundry sorts of fruits and creatures', going on to record specific examples, among others, of those here listed by D. In *Serm.* 5. 353, D. seems to allude to one of the Latin translations of Paré (1582, 1594, ed. 1610 by P. Uffenbach as *Thesaurus chirurgiae*). If D. in this poem is using this last edition (19. 4, pp. 423–4)—though he is more likely to have inherited the 1582 edition from his first stepfather, the prosperous physician John Syminges, who had no son and died intestate in 1588—it joins possible allusions to editions of Camden and Augustine in ll. 14, 59–60, as reflections of what was recently available to refer to. Cp. Allen, *Essential Articles* pp. 103–4.

67–70 'Given the daring of our pursuit of self-interest on earth, and our conviction that the deceased enjoy eternal happiness, why are we unwilling to die and join them?'

67 Virginia] First settled in 1607; royal charter granted to the Virginia Company in 1609. In February 1609, according to a letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, D. was angling for the job of Secretary to the Company (Bald p. 162).

68 Two new stars] As 'those fair souls' in l. 70 makes clear, not the supernovae of 1572 and 1604 (cp. *FirAn* 259–60), but Lady Bedford's two friends, Lady Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode, who died in May and August 1609 respectively, occasioning *Markham*, *BedfordShe*, *BulstrodeRecant*, *BulstrodeLanguage*.

- 70 T'increase with ours those fair souls' company?
 But I must end this letter: though it do
 Stand on two truths, neither is truth to you.
 Virtue hath some perverseness, for she will
 Neither believe her good nor others ill.
- 75 Even in you, virtue's best paradise,
 Virtue hath some, but wise, degrees of vice.
 Too many virtues, or too much of one,
 Begets in you unjust suspicïon;
 And ignorance of vice makes virtue less,
- 80 Quenching compassion of our wretchedness.
 But these are riddles: some aspersion
 Of vice becomes well some complexïon.
 Statesmen purge vice with vice, and may corrode

71 *Indent ed.* 72 truth] true II, 1633, 1635

75 you.] your 1633 78 in] on III

72 Explained in ll. 73–4: her goodness believes neither in itself nor in the badness of others. **truth/true** Given D.'s fondness for repeating a word in the same line with a varied sense, III's reading is preferable.

74 her good nor others ill It is possible to read 'her' and 'others' as accusative pronouns with implied 'to be' and 'good' and 'ill' as adjectives (as Milgate), or possessives (others') with nouns (as in l. 32 and Smith), but the general sense is similar in either case.

75–80 Cp. *Markham* 43–4: 'She sinned but just enough to let us see / That God's word must be true, "All sinners be".'

75 paradise Cp. *BulstrodeLanguage* 35.

76 Cp. *Serm.* 3. 235 (8 April 1621): 'the saying of Solomon [*Eccles.* 7. 16], *Be not over righteous*, admits many good senses, even in Moral virtues, and in religious duties too, which are naturally good'.

77–8 'Excessive virtue causes you to be suspected of hypocrisy.' Cp. *BedfordNew* 25.

78 in/on 'of'. *Lut/O'F*'s source perhaps wished to make clearer the point that appearing to be absolutely perfect may invite more suspicion and slander of her than having a few acceptable, humanizing foibles. It would not make *her* unjustly suspicious of others.

79–80 'Lacking experience of the temptations and pleasures of vice, you may lack the mercifulness prompted by fellow-feeling.'

81 aspersion spattering.

82 complexïon psychological make-ups.

83 The expedient distinguishing of public from private morality observed by Machiavelli in, e.g., *Prince* 15–18, *Discourses on Livy* 3. 41, and Montaigne, *Essays* 3. 1 (Engl. 1603; 1928) 3. 8, 'Of Profit and Honesty': 'Vices . . . become excusable, because we have need of them, . . . common necessity effaceth their true property'. In the private man, by contrast, writes D., 'when I think sometimes, that vanity, because it is thin and airy, may be expelled with virtue or business, or substantial vice; I find that I give entrance thereby to new vices' (letter to Goodyer, 1633 p. 368; undated, spring-summer).

83–4 corrode / The bad with bad A medical image: corrosives were applied to growths and ulcers such as those of syphilis.

- The bad with bad, a spider with a toad:
 85 For so, ill thralls not them, but they thrall ill,
 And make her do much good against her will;
 But in your commonwealth, or world in you,
 Vice hath no office, nor good work to do.
 Take then no vicious purge, but be content
 90 With cordial virtue, your known nourishment.

85 thrall] tame *II*, 1633, 1635 88 nor] or 1633, 1635

To the Honourable Lady the Lady Carey

Date and context. Jan.–Feb. 1612. The second addition to the heading in Group I MSS indicates that D. wrote from Amiens, where he was attending on Sir Robert Drury. The opening lines' repetition of the mockery of saint-worship near the end of *SecAn*, published in London by April 1612, suggests that *Carey* was D.'s next work. He mentions in a letter (*Letters* p. 246) dated to early Feb. 1612 by R. E. Bennett, *PQ* 19 (1940) 68, a visit to Amiens by the addressee's brother, Sir Robert Rich the younger, which presumably prompted this new target for D.'s campaign of complimentary addresses to well-connected ladies. Rich (at least five times as wealthy as Sir Robert Drury) was waiting to join Wotton's embassy to the Court of Savoy, which reached Amiens on 27 March/6 April 1612 (Wotton, *Life and Letters* (1907) 2. 1–2). The Drury party had left Amiens for Paris in early March 1612.

84 a spider with a toad] Both were thought to be dangerously poisonous. Cp. Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 3. 37. 6 (1646; 1981 1. 280): 'The antipathy between a toad and a spider, and that they poisonously destroy each other, is very famous, and solemn stories have been written of their combats, wherein most commonly the victory is given unto the spider.' For one such story see Erasmus, *Colloquies* (Engl. 1965) p. 522. The myth was uncritically relayed by Topsell, *Historie of Serpents* (1608) pp. 191–2; in a trial, Browne saw his toad happily consume seven spiders.

85 thralls] enslaves. **thrall/tame]** The Group II reading slightly weakens the antithesis for the sake of variation, which seems uncharacteristic of D. (cp. l. 8's triple antimetabole). A spider killing a toad is hardly 'tame'.

89 vicious purge] A curious caution against indulgence in vice, even if for therapeutic purposes, for a woman praised as uniquely virtuous. 'Purge' returns to the medical analogy of l. 83.

90 cordial] 'heart-invigorating'.

Heading Lettice Rich, eldest daughter of Penelope Devereux (Sidney's 'Stella' and sister of Robert, second Earl of Essex) by her first husband, Robert, third Lord Rich (created Earl of Warwick, 1618), was the second wife of Sir George Carey (or Cary or Carew) of Cockington, Devon, treasurer-at-war and lord justice in Ireland in 1598–9 under Lettice Rich's stepfather, Lord Mountjoy (R. Polwhele, *History of Devonshire*, 3 vols (1806) 3. 489 n.). Her younger sister Essex, whose name is added to the heading in Group I MSS and 1633, married by 1625 Sir Thomas Cheke of Pirgo or Pyrgo, a manor in the Liberty of Havering, Essex.

Analogues. Apart from the verse-letter tradition and D.'s own contributions to it, Henry Lok, *Ecclesiastes* . . . (1597) sig. Y4v, 'Sonets of the Author to Divers', asserts to Lady Carey that 'By view of your rare virtues I was bent / To meditate of Heaven and heavenly thing' (Lewalski (1973) p. 33).

Text. The original verse-letter, the only poem of D.'s to survive in his own hand, was discovered among the papers of the Rich family in the collection of the Duke of Manchester in the Public Record Office by P. J. Croft in 1970, and acquired by the Bodleian Library. It is therefore the supremely authoritative witness to the text, and has been followed here. Nevertheless, the grammatical improvement in l. 14 and slightly preferable reading in l. 26 found in all three Groups of MSS (and so pardonably adopted by Milgate), though within the competence of scribe or editor, might derive from a copy kept by D. Since that is only a possibility, while it is certain that D. wrote what is in *Bod*, the latter's readings have been kept. His mistaken addition to the end of l. 53 in *Bod*, 'extasye ~~1 see~~', is an eyeslip characteristic of scribes, and shows that he is copying from an extant draft, probably itself the finished poem since there are no signs in *Bod* of revision while writing.

MADAM,

HERE, where by all all saints invokèd are,
H'Twere too much schism to be singular,
And 'gainst a practice general to war,

Texts collated: *Bod* (autograph); *I: D, H49, C57, Lec; II: DC, TCD; III: S96, Dob, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *Bod*

Select variants:

Heading *Bod*: To the Lady Carey. *Dob, S96, Lut*: To the La: C. of C. from France
DC: To the La: Co: of C: *TCD*: A Letter to the Lady Carey, & M^r Essex Rich.

He was a son of Henry Cheke the translator, and grandson of Sir John Cheke, the humanist, royal tutor and secretary of state (P. Morant, *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols (1763–8, repr. 1978) 1. 2. 61). Their mother (notorious for deserting Rich for Mountjoy, and the 1605 divorce) and their brother Sir Robert were (like Lady Bedford) prominent in the Queen's masques, Jonson's *Of Blackness* (Twelfth Night, 1605) and *Of Beauty* (1609).

I Cp. *Serm.* 8. 329 (25 Jan. 1629): 'If there be not yet more Saints celebrated by Name, than will make up *Hesiod's* thirty thousand, yet they have more, in this respect: that of *Hesiod's* thirty thousand, one Nation worshipped one, another another thousand; in the Roman Church, all worship all.' The derogatory reference to the Roman Catholic cult of saints would be welcome since the Riches were zealous Puritans (their brother Robert became a prominent Parliamentarian leader in the Civil Wars, though brother Henry, first Lord Holland, vacillated, and was sentenced to death by Parliament). See also *SecAn* 511–12 and note. D. criticises the invoking of saints in *Serm.* 3. 263 (?1621), 9. 321–2, and exuberantly mocks unhistorical and symbolic saints in *Serm.* 4. 311 (2 Feb. ?1623), and, by implication, in *Canonization*.

2 singular] individually eccentric, peculiar in opinion, going against custom.

Yet, turning to saints, should my^humility
 5 To other saint than you directed be,
 That were to make my schism heresy.

Nor would I be a convertite so cold
 As not to tell it; if this be too bold,
 Pardons are in this market cheaply sold,

10 Where, because faith is in too low degree,
 I thought it some apostleship in me
 To speak things which by faith alone I see:

Amyens. *H49*: . . . from Amyens. *I*, 1633, 1635: . . . and her sist^r M^{rs} . . . O'F . . .
 Carey ed.: Carew *Bod*
 5 saint] ~s TCD, III 7 would] could III 8 it] you II

4 my^humility] The necessary elision (marked with an apostrophe in 1633) suggests that D. did not aspirate the *h*.

6 Cp. D. on Roman Catholic equal valuation of schism and heresy: '*Schisma æquipollet hæresi*, Whosoever is a Schismatic, departed from the obedience of the Roman Church, is easily brought within compass of heresy too, because it is a matter of faith to affirm a necessity of such an obedience' (*Serm.* 2. 352, 3 March 1620). **heresy]** Already a well-worn figure in D.'s complimentary poems: cp. *BedfordReason* 17, *BedfordRefined* 62, *Markham* 57.

7 convertite] convert.

8 tell it] proclaim my worship of you.

9 The medieval practice of granting indulgences for sin was of course one of Luther's prime targets, and frequently derided by D. the preacher, e.g., 'An imaginary six-penny Indulgence from Rome'; 'if Sodom were upon the earth again, . . . if they could send to Rome, they might purchase a Charter even for that sin'; his eloquent denunciation in St Paul's on 21 May 1626, and exposure of mercenary motive (*Serm.* 3. 128, 5. 259, 7. 184–7, 10. 126–7).

10 faith . . . degree] From a Protestant point of view, which placed faith above the works such as prayer to saints favoured by Rome as necessary to salvation. See Articles XI and XII of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England at the end of *BCP*, and cp. *Will* 19 and *Serm.* 8. 230 (Easter Day 1628), where D. sets out the orthodox position: 'Faith is . . . infinitely above works [cp. *Serm.* 10. 164], even above those works which faith itself produces, as parents are to children, and the tree to the fruit'. Cp. also *Serm.* 1. 295 (19 April 1618), expounding *Titus* 3. 8, *Serm.* 2. 264 (16 June 1619), and 8. 337 (20 Feb. 1629): 'Our *Nullifidians*, Men that put all upon works, and no faith; and our *Solfidians*, Men that put all upon faith and no works, are both in the wrong'; and *Serm.* 5. 197, 264, quoting *Ps.* 37. 3: 'Trust in the Lord, and do good', and *Luke* 3. 8: 'Believe, and bring forth fruits worthy of belief.' When expounding *Matt.* 5. 16, however (*Serm.* 10. 84–102), D. focuses more on good works.

11–12 Like Paul, *2 Cor.* 5. 7, earning the blessing declared in *John* 20. 29. The similar compliment-cum-excuse in *BedfordReason* 3–4, though extravagant, is less obviously artificial: D. had at least met its object.

That is, of you, who are a firmament
 Of virtues, where no one is grown nor spent:
 15 They're your materials, not your ornament.

Others whom we call virtuous are not so
 In their whole substance, but their virtues grow
 But in their humours, and at seasons show.

For when, through tasteless, flat humility,
 20 In dough-baked men some harmless we see,
 'Tis but his phlegm that's virtuous, and not he.

So is the blood sometimes: whoever ran
 To danger unimpòrtuned, he was than
 No better than a sanguine-virtuous man.

13 are] is 1633 14 nor] or I, TCD, 1633, 1635, Lut, O'F

13–14 She is like the eighth sphere of Ptolemaic cosmogony, whose fixed stars neither increase nor decay, the scholastic doctrine of *Huntingdon* 6–8, put into question by the supernovae of 1572 and 1604 alluded to in *Bedford Written* 68. **materials]** three syllables, not four.

15 She is substantially made of virtue: it is not accidental, adventitious, external. D. pays a similar compliment in *Huntingdon* 29–33. **materials]** three syllables.

16, 21 virtuous] two syllables.

18 humours] The phlegmatic, sanguine, melancholy, or choleric.

19–30 Each of these four stanzas takes a particular humour as manifesting itself in behaviour that might be mistaken for conscientious choice but is merely physically determined by a person's temperament. Cp. the converse in *Serm.* 3. 286 (Trinity Sunday, ?1621): 'Let no man therefore present his complexion to God for an excuse, and say, "My choler with which my constitution abounded, and which I could not remedy, inclined me to wrath, and so to blood"; "My Melancholy inclined me to sadness, and so to Desperation", as though thy sins were medicinal sins, sins to vent humours.'

20 dough-baked] half-baked.

23 unimpòrtuned] unnecessarily. Cp. D.'s Paradox 'That only Cowards Dare Die' (ed. Peters, p. 9). **than]** then.

25–6 Cp. *Serm.* 2. 227 (? before 18 April 1619): 'It is not enough to shut ourselves in a cloister, in a Monastery, to sleep out the temptations of the world, . . . we also must labour, in our several vocations, and not content ourselves with our own spiritual sleep; the peace of conscience in ourselves; for we cannot have that long, if we do not some good to others.' Cp. 3. 169, 3. 259: 'men civilly dead, allegorically dead, dead and buried in an useless silence, in a Cloister, or College'; and *Serm.* 6. 47 (April/May/June 1623).

25 So cloist'ral men, who in pretence of fear
 All contributions to this life forbear,
 Have virtue in melàncholy, and only there.

Spiritual-choleric critics, which in all
 Religions find faults, and forgive no fall,
 30 Have, through this zeal, virtue but in their gall.

We're thus but parcel-gilt; to gold we're grown
 When virtue is our souls' complexiõn:
 Who knows his virtue's name, or place, hath none.

Virtue's but aguish, when 'tis several,
 35 By^occasion waked and circumstantial:
 True virtue's soul always in all deeds all.

26 contributions] contribution *D*, *H49*, *II*, *III* 28 which] who *III*
 30 this] their *C57*, *Lec*, 1633 34 aguish] a guish *D*, *S96*: anguish *C57*, *Lec*

25 cloist'ral] Literally, monastic, but *D.* enjoins his congregation in St Paul's on Easter Day 1626 (*Serm.* 7. 104) 'Not to run away from that Service of God, by hiding ourselves in a superstitious Monastery, or in a secular Monastery, in our own house, by an unprofitable retiredness, and absenting ourselves from the necessary businesses of this world'.

26 contributions/contribution] Until the discovery of *D.*'s autograph, an editor such as Milgate was compelled to accept the singular form in most MSS, and particularly the generally reliable *H49*, since only the less reliable and interrelated *C57*, *Lec*, 1633 gave the plural. Either reading is acceptable, so *H49* may be the closest text to an authorially revised archetype of Group I. However, that is hypothesis, whereas *Bod* is materially authentic.

28 Spiritual-choleric] five syllables in all.

30 zeal] identifying such extreme sectarians as Puritans. **gall]** (a) the gall-bladder, source of choler or bile; (b) bile itself; (c) bitter rancour.

31-2 *D.*'s usual currency of flattery: cp. *FirAn* 417-18, *Huntingdon* 25-6.

31 parcel-gilt] partly covered with gold leaf, as silver vessels sometimes were, but, more appropriately here, many Renaissance bronze figures and tomb-sculptures.

32 complexiõn] literally, the complex of humours, temperament, 'make-up'. Virtue displaces all four humours' influence from the soul.

33 He who can distinguish his virtue from other parts of himself thus nullifies it. Cp. Paul's assertion that even if he has many virtues, lack of love will make him nothing, *2 Cor.* 13. 1-3.

34-5 The unity of virtue was a question classically raised in Plato's *Protagoras* (329, 349), discussed at length in *Meno* (72-4, 77-9), and *Laws* 12 (963-5), and asserted by Cicero, *De Finibus*, 5. 23 (66-7). Cp. *HSW3Vex* 12-13, *Harington* 42-3 and note.

34 aguish] two syllables. **several]** separable into parts.

35 circumstantial] dependent on being externally prompted to act. *D.* says the opposite in *BedfordRefined* 1-4.

36 An integrity already attributed to *D.*'s main patroness in *BedfordRefined* 59-65, and later elaborated on her dead brother, *Harington* 59-68. Cp. also *WoodwardRSlumber* 32.

This virtue, thinking to give dignity
 To your soul, found there no infirmity,
 For your soul was as good virtue as she.

- 40 She therefore wrought upon that part of you
 Which is scarce less than soul, as she could do,
 And so hath made your beauty virtue too.

- Hence comes it that your beauty wounds not hearts
 As others, with profane and sensual darts,
 45 But as an influence virtuous thoughts imparts.

But if such friends by th'honour of your sight
 Grow capable of this so great a light
 As to partake your virtues and their might,

- What must I think that influence must do
 50 Where it finds sympathy and matter too,
 Virtue and beauty of the same stuff as you,

Which is your noble, worthy sister? She
 Of whom, if what in this my ecstasy
 And revelation of you both I see

- 55 I should write here, as in short galleries
 The master at the end large glasses ties,
 So to present the room twice to our eyes,

40 She] She'hath II 41 scarce *inserted above* but *litle erased* Bod
 49 that] your *Lut, O'F* (possibly from a misreading of the abbrev. *y*^s as in *S96*)
 50 Where] When III 53 ecstasy *Σ, 1633, 1635: extasye I-see, Bod*
 57 our] your I, *Dob, Lut*

37–51 This strenuous production of a virtuous image would have been welcome to Lady Carey, whose mother had left her husband, Sir Robert Rich the elder, in 1593, divorcing in 1605 so as to marry her lover Lord Mountjoy (Polwhele 3. 489 n.)

40–1 **that part . . . soul**] Cp. *BedfordHonour* 22–4.

42 Cp. the merging of beauty and goodness in *BedfordRefined* 55.

45 **influence virtuous**] Two syllables each.

50 **sympathy**] affinity of temperament, similarity of qualities, and consequently receptiveness to matching influences.

55–7 The Long Gallery, filled chiefly with portraits showing the owner's important connections, was a usual feature of royal palaces and the Tudor and Stuart nobility's London and country houses, emulated on a smaller scale by lesser gentry and by wealthy merchants in their town-houses. D.'s father-in-law, Sir George More, had one at Loseley Park (now altered).

So I should give this letter length, and say
 That which I said of you; there is no way
 60 From either but by th'other not to stray.

May therefore this be enough to testify
 My true devotion, free from flattery:
 He that believes himself doth never lie.

62 devotion,] devotion, *H49, D, S96, Lut, O'F*

To the Countess of Bedford

Date and Context. c. Easter 1612? The conceit of being dead and buried is that also of *BedfordDead*, so the poem was perhaps sent just before or instead of that unfinished self-exculpation. D. adverts thus to the results of his elopement when writing to Goodyer c.14/24 Jan. 1612 (*Letters* p. 122): 'If at last I must confess that I died ten years ago . . . though I died at a blow then when my courses were diverted, yet it will please me a little to have had a long funeral, and to have kept myself so long above ground without putrefaction.'

Analogues. D. imagines his death in *Canonization, Damp, Legacy, Relic, Will*, less humorously in *Lucy*, and as a figure of the loss of career-hopes in *BedfordDead*.

Text. Group I is obviously corrupt in the first word in l. 5, and the reading of 'wills' in *Lut* for the 'testament/~s' of Group I and most of Group III has a clear motive in reducing a heavily elided pentameter or incongruous alexandrine to a fluent pentameter (though 'testament/~s' seems to have been D.'s first—even only—thought). Contrarily the substitution in l. 7 of 'will' for the 'choice' that lies behind Group I and *Dob* arouses a non-witty confusion of meaning with the 'wills' referred to in l. 5; perhaps a scribe was uncertain to which place a change to 'will/~s' referred, and made it in both. In l. 8 'speechless' has more point, contrasting the dumb body with the speaking stones. Line 12's 'here' is consistent with l. 18 and the whole poem's conceit of being dead and buried, so Group I and *1635b* offer the preferable version. In l. 19 the impulse in the archetype of *Lut* and *O'F* seems to come from a desire to give a smoother reading, which casts doubt on the barely resistible version of l. 5, though there they are followed by *1635a*. Since *Dob* contains fewest divergences from a credible and coherent version, it provides the base text.

62 devotion, / devotion,] The presence or absence of the comma alters syntax though not substantial sense: in the first version, the adjectival phrase 'free from flattery' is in apposition to 'devotion', in the second the ellipses may be supplied thus: 'testify [that] my devotion [is] free from flattery'.

63 Forestalling the proverbial objection (quoted as an old saying in a dialogue ascribed to Plato, *On Justice* (374a), and repeated by M. Porcius Cato the Censor, *De moribus* 3) that poets are not to be believed. D. applies a more serious test in *Serm.* 4. 148 (Midsummer Day, 1622): 'If the thing be *materially false* (false in itself, though true in his opinion), or *formally false* (true in itself, but not known to be so, to him that testifies it), both ways he is an incompetent witness.'

MADAM,

- T**HAT I might make your cabinet my tomb,
 And for my fame, which I love next my soul,
 Next to my soul provide the happiest room:
 Admit to that place this last, fun'ral scroll.
 5 Others by testament give legacies, but I,
 Dying, of you do beg a legacy.
 My fortune and my choice this custom break:
 When we are speechless grown, to make stones speak.
 Though no stone tell thee what I was, yet thou
 10 In my grave's inside see what thou art now.
 Yet th'art not yet so good: till us death lay
 To ripe and mellow here, we're stubborn clay.
 Parents make us earth, and souls dignify

Sources collated: *Group I: H40, H49, D; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1635a* (lines 1–16, page 271), *1635b* (lines 7–24, pages 386–7)

Base text: *Dob*

Select variants:

Heading *III: Epitaph I: Elegy 1635a*

5 Others] Then *H40: Oh then H49, D* testament] ~s *S96, O'Fbe: wills Lut, O'Fae, 1635a*

6–7 *Subheading inserted: To all H40: Omnibus H49, D*

7–24 *Separate version headed On himself. 1635b*

7 choice] ioyce *H49: Joyce D: will S96, Lut, O'F, 1635a*

8 speechless] senseless *Lut, O'F, 1635a*

10 see] seest *1635b* 11 us death] death us *S96, 1635b*

12 here *I, 1635b: there III, 1635a*

1 cabinet] box for letters, etc.

5 by testament] From *OED's* quotation of Blackstone in the eighteenth century, this appears to have been a standard legal phrase.

10 Likening Lady Bedford's inner state to the rotting flesh in his tomb is a variant on the wall-painting, popular in churches, of the Three Living and the Three Dead with their warning that 'As ye are now so once were we. / As we are now so shall ye be.' Examples survive at Widford and South Newington (Oxon), Charlwood (Surrey), Paston (Norfolk), Raunds and Peakirk (Northants), Tarrant Crawford (Dorset), and Hurstbourne Tarrant (Hants). Jacobean monuments revived the medieval practice of incorporating, in a compartment beneath the slab on which the deceased was portrayed as in public life, in armour or robes, a sculpture of the decayed corpse or skeleton, a *gisant*. Examples are to be seen in Canterbury Cathedral (Henry Chichele, d. 1443), and the parish churches of Fyfield, Oxon. (John Golafre, d. 1442), Hatfield, Herts (Robert Cecil, d. 1612), and Burford, Oxon. (Lawrence Tanfield, d. 1625, monument 1628).

13 Parents . . . earth] i.e., by generating our bodies. Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 47.

13–14 souls . . . glass] The soul is like glass in its invisibility. Cp. *Measure for Measure* 2. 2. 123: 'his glassy essence'. In *Litany* 26 it is by contrast the body which is glass, with the soul a candle within.

- Us to be glass; here to grow gold we lie.
 15 Whilst in our souls sin bred and pampered is,
 Our souls become worm-eaten carcasses;
 So we ourselves mirac'ulously destroy.
 Here, bodies with less miracle enjoy
 Such priv'leges, enabled here to scale
 20 Heav'n when the trumpet's air shall them exhale.
 Hear this and mend thyself, and thou mend'st me
 By making me, being dead, do good to thee;
 And think me well composed, that I could now
 A last-sick hour to syllables allow.

19 priv'leges] privilege *Lut*, *O'F* 22 to] for 1635*b*

14 here . . . lie] This figure of alchemical transformation is noted by Duncan 267. Cp. note on *Exchange* 35, and *Somerset* 61–4. Here in *BedfordTomb* and in *BulstrodeLanguage* 60, where the corpse is to become diamond, another figure for the incorruptible, D. seems to envisage a prolonged transformation in the grave similar to his youthful Roman Catholic belief in the preparation of souls in a Purgatory, whereas *1 Cor.* 15. 51–2 assert that ‘We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling [i.e., blink] of an eye at the last trumpet; for the trumpet shall blow, and the dead shall be raised up incorruptible, and we shall be changed.’ D. may have considered that the instantaneity applied only to those still alive at the time, though every grave could refute him, as conceded implicitly in l. 10. In *Resurrection* 13–16 Christ is transmuted in the grave from gold to the tincture which makes it out of ‘even sinful flesh’.

17 D. was fascinated with self-destruction, from *Metem* 204–10, through his own elopement by which he destroyed his career, through *Biathanatos* to *Devotions* 12 ‘Meditation’, with its contemplation of others’ ‘distempers of drink, and surfeits, . . . intemperances and licentiousness, . . . misplacing or over-bending our natural faculties’, suicides, and well-known protest, ‘I do nothing upon myself, and yet I am mine own executioner’, to *Serm.* 1. 257 (20 Feb. 1618), 5. 210–11 (?1621, 1623). Here humans are said to destroy themselves ‘mirac’ulously’ because their immortality was believed to be conditional only on the will of God.

20 air . . . exhale] Punning on ‘air’ as 1. breath; 2. tune; and on ‘exhale’ as 1. breathe out; 2. draw up.

23 well composed] Alluding both to his own composure, calmness, and its reflection in ordered words.

24 last-sick] terminally ill.

To the Countess of Bedford
(*begun in France, but never perfected*)

Date. Easter 1612. D. was in France with Sir Robert Drury from Nov. 1611 to April 1612. Easter Day 1612 was on 12/22 April (old/new styles). D. wrote to Goodyer on 3/13 April (*Letters* pp. 73–8; see Shapiro, *RES* 7 (1931) 300), presumably too soon to send this verse-epistle, but promising to find time for more than one more letter before they left for Frankfurt ‘presently [i.e., immediately] after Easter . . . (as I think)’, and concluding the body of the letter, ‘Therefore give me leave to end this, in which if you did not find the remembrance of my humblest services to my Lady Bedford, your love and faith ought to try all the experiments of powders, and dryings, and waterings to discover some lines which appeared not; because it is impossible that a letter should come from me with such an ungrateful silence.’ The next surviving letter to Goodyer was written in July from Germany (*Letters* pp. 89–93).

Analogues. The confession to another person was sanctioned by *James* 5. 16, but confession to a priest was peculiar to the Roman faith D. had abandoned. Confession direct to God was enjoined by Protestants, and forms part of Communion and Morning and Evening Prayer in the *BCP*; the sanctioning text, *Ps.* 32. 5, was preached on by D. (*Serm.* 9. 296–315). The poem appears to start in sincere contrition, admitting a real breach of faith (11–16), but then employs wit to elude penance by clouding the issue with a pseudo-fault of putting her to the blush, which is implicit flattery (17–20), and ending up impenitent with a contrived justification which embodies further flattery (21–5). The poem’s confessional framework is thus destroyed, or at least impossibly hard for D. to extend.

Text. Out of the few exemplars, *DC* is probably the earliest, *O’F*’s changes seeming to be no more than editorial clarification.

THOUGH I be dead and buried, yet I have
 (Living in you) Court enough in my grave:
 As oft as there I think myself to be,
 So many resurrections waken me.
 5 That thankfulness your favours have begot
 In me, embalms me, that I do not rot.
 This season, as ’tis Easter, as ’tis spring,

Sources collated: *DC*, *O’F*, 1633, 1635

Base text: *DC*

Select variants:

Heading: Bedford *O’F*, 1633, 1635: B. *DC* 5 begot] forgot 1633*be*

1 I be . . . buried] A favourite posture, verbal in *Legacy* 1–8, *Lucy* 12, *BedfordTomb* (on which see headnote), *Somerset* 101, later pictorial in the frontispiece to *Deaths Duell*.

1–2 I have . . . Court] ‘Your keeping me in mind constitutes attendance on you.’
 5 Cp. comment on *BedfordWritten* 4.

Must both to growth and to confession bring
 My thoughts disposed unto your influence: so
 10 These verses bud, so these confessions grow.
 First I confess I have to others lent
 Your stock, and over-prodigally spent
 Your treasure, for, since I had never known
 Virtue or beauty but as they are grown
 15 In you, I should not think or say they shine

8 confession] Taking Communion at least thrice a year, once customarily, on Easter Sunday, the chief feast of the Christian year, was legally obligatory in England. Confession of sins prior to communion was required, though in the Church of England the regular individual auricular confession to a priest of Roman Catholicism was replaced by the general confession within the service, and by the requirement in the last answer of the *BCP* Catechism, 'To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death; and be in charity with all men.'

11–16 D.'s transgression is made clear in a letter to Goodyer of around the end of Jan. 1609, declining to write for the Countess of Huntingdon, for two reasons, one of which is 'my integrity to the other Countess . . . : for her delight (since she descends to them) I had reserved not only all the verses, which I should make, but all the thoughts of women's worthiness' (*Letters* p. 104). Writing to Goodyer and to George Garrard from Paris in April 1612 (*Letters* pp. 74–5, 255), he responds to disapproval by 'those Ladies' (expressed via Garrard: see R. E. Bennett, *PQ* 19 (1940) 72–3) of the publication of the *Anniversaries*. D. makes clear to both correspondents that 'the fault that I acknowledge in myself is to have descended to print anything in verse, which, . . . I confess, I wonder how I ever declined to it, and do not pardon myself' (*Letters* p. 255). Lady Bedford's lasting jealous possessiveness is suggested by his writing to Goodyer on 20 Dec. 1614 (*Letters* p. 65), when planning pre-ordination publication of his poems: 'One thing more I must tell you; but so softly, that . . . if that good Lady were in the room, with you and this letter, she might not hear. It is that I am brought to a necessity of printing my Poems, and addressing them to my L. Chamberlain'. The dedication to another patron, Somerset, implying his greater usefulness, would probably offend the Countess more than the mere fact of publication, since other protégés (e.g., Daniel, Drayton) had gone into print, but with dedications to her.

12 stock] Capital, property, wealth. The image of his words as her investment is appropriate to the material patronage relationship in which she gave him money as well as using her influence on his behalf in his attempts to find a remunerative job. The words the Countess had bought had been quite literally lent to Elizabeth Drury (or rather hired by her father), *BedfordHonour* 22–7 being rephrased for *Funeral Elegy* 59–61, *BedfordHonour* 1–9 for *SecAn* 401–9 (see also below on ll. 16, 25). Cp. the Countess's relationship in *BedfordNew* 36–7 with the ultimate patron, God, who has invested 'His stock of beauty, learning, favour, blood' in her, and will advise her himself how to employ it for his honour.

(So as I have) in any other mine.
 Next I confess this my confession,
 For 'tis some fault thus much to touch upon
 Your praise to you, where half-rights seem too much,
 20 And make your mind's sincere complexion blush.
 Next I confess my[^]impentence, for I
 Can scarce repent my first fault, since thereby
 Remote, low spirits which shall ne'er read you
 May in less lessons find enough to do
 25 By studying copies, not originals,
 . . .

desunt caetera

26 *desunt caetera*] The rest wants O'F

To the Countess of Salisbury *August 1614*

Date and Context. Aug. 1614. Catherine Howard, youngest daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, was married in 1608 to William Cecil, who succeeded his father, Robert, Earl of Salisbury, in 1612. In a letter to Garrard (*Letters* pp. 259–61) D. writes:

Sir, you do me double honour when my name passes through you to that noble lady in whose presence you are. It is a better end and a better way to that than I am worth. I can give you nothing in recompense of that favour but good counsel, which is, to speak sparingly of me, lest you endanger your

16 mine] D. had applied this favourite material similitude for a store of excellence (cp. *Sun* 17, *Bed* 29), in which the Countess herself had been flattered as 'The mine . . . of beauty' (*BedfordRefined* 69), to Elizabeth Drury in *FirAn* 229.

19 half-rights] even half the praises you are entitled to.

20 sincere] pure [white].

23–5 Implying the wide, common readership of the published *Anniversaries* rather than the restricted one of *Huntingdon* 2.

24 less] lesser, inferior.

25 copies, not originals] A pretence made patently outrageous by D.'s published acclamation of Elizabeth Drury herself as 'best and first original / Of all fair copies' (*FirAn* 227–8; cp. *SecAn* 306–10). The superlatives bestowed on the dead girl left him nothing better to offer the Countess (herself already praised in *BedfordRefined* 55–6 as 'the transcript and original' of 'good and lovely'), and only something better might have placated her and justified continuing this poem.

desunt caetera] the rest is lacking. 'Unperfected Confessions (and who perfects his Confession?) leave ill-gotten goods sticking upon thine heir, and they leave a taste, and a delight to think, and speak of former sins, sticking upon thyself' (*Serm.* 9. 314–15, n. d.).

own reputation by overvaluing me. If I shall at any time take courage by your letter to express my meditations of that lady in writing, I shall scarce think less time to be due to that employment than to be all my life in making those verses, and so take them with me, and sing them amongst her fellow angels in Heaven. I should be loath that in anything of mine composed of her she should not appear much better than some of those of whom I have written. And yet I cannot hope for better expressings than I have given of them. So you see how much I should wrong her by making her but equal to others. I would I could be believed when I say that all that is written of them is but prophecy of her. I must use your favour in getting her pardon for having brought her into so narrow and low-roofed a room as my consideration, or for adventuring to give any estimation of her; and when I see how much she can pardon, I shall the better discern how far farther I may dare to offend in that kind.

Garrard was at the time of the poem in the service of the Salisburys (Bald pp. 276–7). The letter presumably refers to the circumstances surrounding *Salisbury*, both it and the poem (l. 73) containing the phrase ‘fellow angels’ and recognising the problem of compliments paid to other women (ll. 37–70). D. had written *Somerset* for the marriage of Lady Salisbury’s sister Frances earlier in 1614.

Text. Group I is the least erroneous of the three groups of manuscripts, and within that Group *D*, which has been adopted as the base text.

- FAIR, great, and good, since, seeing you, we see
 What Heaven can do, what any Earth can be;
 Since now your beauty shines; now when the Sun
 Grown stale, is to so low a value run
 5 That his dishevelled beams and scattered fires
 Serve but for ladies’ periwigs and tires
 In lovers’ sonnets, you come to repair
 God’s Book of Creatures, teaching what is fair;
 Since now, when all is withered, shrunk, and dried,
 10 All virtue ebbd out to a dead low tide,

Sources collated: *Group I:* H49, D, C57, Lec; *Group II:* TCD, DC; *Group III:* Lut, O’F; 1633, 1635

Base text: *D*

Select variants:

Heading *I*, 1633, 1635: To the Countess of S. *II:* ~ ~ ~ ~ *Salisbury III*

2 what *II*, *III*, 1635; and what *I*, 1633

4 value] valley *Lut* + *margin*. value: valley *O’F* + value *written above*

8 Book] bark *III* 10 virtue] ~s *II*, 1633, 1635

3–4 the Sun . . . run] Cp. *FirAn* 274 and note.

6 tires] head-dress, such as the ‘wiry coronet’ of *Bed* 15.

8 God’s Book of Creatures] See *Somerset* 50–2 and note.

9 withered] Perhaps in covert sympathy with the satirist possibly referred to in 25–8.

- All the world's frame being crumbled into sand,
 Where every man thinks by himself to stand,
 Integrity, friendship, and confidence,
 (Cements of greatness) being vapoured hence,
 15 And, narrow man being filled with little shares,
 Court, City, Church, are all shops of small wares,
 All having blown to sparks their noble fire,
 And drawn their sound gold ingot into wire,
 All trying by a love of littleness
 20 To make abridgements, and to draw to less,
 Even that nothing which at first we were;
 Since in these times your greatness doth appear,
 And that we learn by it, that man, to get
 Towards him that's infinite, must first be great;
 25 Since in an age so ill as none is fit
 So much as to accuse, much less mend it
 (For who can judge or witness of those times
 Where all alike are guilty of the crimes?)
 Where he that would be good, is thought by all
 30 A monster, or at best fantastical;

11 sand] land *II* 16 City] Cities *II* 17 noble] nobler *III* 21 at] as *II*
 22 times] things *III* 27 of those] of these *III*: in those *TCD*: in these *DC*
 29 Where] When *II*, *III* 30 best] least *II*, *III*

11 D. had already lamented the dissolution of the world in *FirAn*. Cp. *Serm.* 8. 323 (25 Jan. 1629): 'Every thing in this world is fluid, and transitory, and sandy, and all dependence, all assurance built upon this world, is but a building upon sand; all will change' (Milgate).

12 D. had denounced this individualism in *FirAn* 216–18.

14 Cements of] Assurances essential to. **vapoured]** evaporated.

20 abridgements] D. usually admires them and epitomes, as in *Canonization* 40–4, *Annunciation* 20, *DivM4Part* 13, *Somerset* 50–1, *Harington* 78, 110.

21 Cp. *Calm* 52 and note (Milgate).

25–8 Wither, like D. an elegist of Prince Henry, friend of Christopher Brooke (now a fellow-tenant of Sir Robert Drury), and member of Lincoln's Inn, had just been imprisoned in the Marshalsea for *Abuses Stript, and Whipt* (five edns in 1613, four later). He was released on the intervention of Princess Elizabeth, of whom D. was later fond, apart from writing *Elizabeth* and preaching before her, sending her presentation-copies of *Devotions* and the Lent sermon at Court, 1626 (Bald pp. 351–2, 358, 455, 483). Cp. note on *Somerset* 9–10, and the 'blamers of the times they marred' (possibly alluding specifically to another satirist) of *BedfordWritten* 18.

30 monster] unnatural marvel. **fantastical]** irrational, perverse, extravagantly fanciful, eccentric.

- Since now you durst be good, and that I do
 Discern, by daring to contemplate you,
 That there may be degrees of fair, great, good,
 Through your light, largeness, virtue understood:
 35 If in this sacrifice of mine be shown
 Any small spark of these, call it your own.
 And if things like these have been said by me
 Of others, call not that idolatry;
 For had God made man first, and man had seen
 40 The third day's fruits and flowers and various green,
 He might have said the best that he could say
 Of those fair creatures which were made that day;
 And when next day he had admired the birth
 Of Sun, Moon, Stars, fairer than late-praised earth,
 45 He might have said the best that he could say,
 And not be chid for praising yesterday.
 So though some things are not together true,
 As, that another's worthiest, and, that you:
 Yet to say so doth not condemn a man
 50 If, when he spoke them, they were both true than.
 How fair a proof of this in our soul grows!

36 it] them *II* 37 these] this *III* 39 man had] had man *II*
 50 spoke] spake *III* 51 our] your *III*

31 durst] dare (as in *Friday* 29).

34 largeness] generosity. D. commemorates Lady Danvers's 'Largeness married with a Providence', *Serm.* 8. 90 (1 July 1627).

35 sacrifice] She is implicitly deified.

37–70 D. was by this time aware that his rhetoric of compliment was limited to repeating itself. He had used the gambit of other addressees being mere pictures of the present one in *Bedford Dead* 13–16, 23–5, and cp. *Morrow* 7–8: 'If ever any beauty I did see / Which I desired, and got, 'twas but a dream of thee.' He cannot help implying that his superlatives may even after this be superseded.

38 call . . . idolatry] In *Biathanatos* 2. 6. 8, and again in *Ignatius* (1969) pp. 30–1, D. quotes the Jesuit G. Vazquez, *De cultu adorationis* (Alcala 1594) sigg. 2A6v–7v (Sullivan (1984) p. 225), on Devil-worship not being idolatry if done believing he is the true god.

39 had God . . . first] Whereas humans came last, on the sixth day, *Gen.* 1. 27.

46 chid] chided.

47 together] at the same time.

48 you] you are too.

50 than] then, at the time.

- We first have souls of growth and sense, and those,
 When our last soul, our soul immortal, came,
 Were swallowed into it, and have no name.
- 55 Nor doth he injure those souls which doth cast
 The power and praise of both them on the last;
 No more do I wrong any: I adore
 The same things now, which I adored before,
 The subject changed, and measure; the same thing
- 60 In a low constable and in the King
 I reverence: his power to work on me.
 So did I humbly reverence each degree
 Of fair, great, good, but more, now I am come
 From having found their walks to find their home.
- 65 And as I owe my first souls thanks that they
 For my last soul did fit and mould my clay,
 So am I debtor unto them whose worth
 Enabled me to profit, and take forth
 This new great lesson: thus to study you;
- 70 Which none, not reading others first, could do:
 Nor lack I light to read this book, though I
 In a dark cave, yea, in a grave do lie;

57 any: I] any, if I *Lut*, *O'Fae*, 1635 60 the King] a king *III*
 61–end *om. Lut. O'F squeezes l. 61 on same leaf before next poem, on f. 122 continuing after note*. The rest w^{ch} was left out before pag 233 To the Countesse of Salisbury
 69 new great] great new *II*

52–4 Cp. *BedfordHonour* 37–9 and note, and *Serm.* 2. 358 (3 March 1619): ‘At our inanimation in our Mother’s womb, our immortal soul when it comes, swallows up the other souls of vegetation, and of sense, which were in us before’. It was usual in medieval scholasticism to hold the Aristotelean notion of vegetative, sensitive and rational souls alongside the late biblical hypothesis of an exclusively ‘spiritual’ soul. In fact in the Hebrew books written before this concept was adopted, it was usual for Christians to translate the Hebrew for ‘life’ as ‘soul’, in, e.g., *Ps.* 121. 7.

65–6 Cp. *Ecstasy* 53–4.

67–70 D. had claimed to Lady Bedford ‘I study you first in your saints’ (*BedfordReason* 9), i.e., her choice of friends, and when she was put out by his addressing others that it enabled readers to profit ‘By studying copies, not originals’ (*BedfordDead* 25), then, to her dead brother, that he, D., was ‘to that good degree of goodness grown, that I can study thee’ (*Harington* 10).

72 **cave]** Just as God is too bright to contemplate directly, so her excellences are dazzling, and can be known only by the shadows they cast, as Plato’s prisoners in the cave know the puppets behind them only by their shadows, and would be blinded by the light—*Republic* 7 (514–15). **in a grave]** For this recurrent self-image cp. *BedfordDead* 1–2, *Lucy* 10–12, *Somerset* 101, *BedfordTomb*.

- For as your fellow angels, so you do:
 Illùstrate them who come to study you.
 75 The first whom we in histories do find
 To have professed all Arts, was one born blind:
 He lacked those eyes beasts have as well as we,
 Not those by which angels are seen and see;
 So, though I'm born without those eyes to live,
 80 Which Fortune, who hath none herself, doth give,
 Which are, fit means to see bright courts and you,
 Yet may I see you thus, as now I do;
 I shall by that all goodness have discerned,
 And, though I burn my library, be learn'd.

74 who] which II 77–8 om. I

73–4 On the brightness of angels see, e.g., *Ezek.* 1. 13's description of the cherubim, and cp. *Air* 3–4 and *Macbeth* 4. 3. 23.

75–6 Presumed to refer to Homer. For praise of his wide knowledge, see Plato, *Ion* 536e–7c. Cp. G. Chapman, prefatory matter to English version of *Iliads* (1611) sigg. *6v, A3r, firstly deriving from Pliny 7. 29 (109): 'The fount of wit was Homer, learning's sire'; secondly in his own voice: 'Great Poesy, blind Homer makes all see Thee capable of all arts, none of thee. For out of him (according to our most grave and judicial Plutarch) are all arts deduced, confirmed, or illustrated.' However, Homer was 'not born blind (saith Velleius Paterculus [1. 5]) which he that imagines (saith he) is blind of all senses' (Chapman sig. A5r), and the *Life of Homer* 3, 7, 8, traditionally ascribed to Herodotus and printed with his *Histories* (e.g., Frankfurt 1608, pp. 559–61; ed. with transl. E. N. Coughanowr, Villanova Pa. 1990), specifically says he was not, but first started losing his eyesight as a result of reading too much, and names the occasion when he finally went blind. See also, e.g., Puttenham 1. 1 (1936) p. 4, praising Homer's knowledge of armies, courts, public affairs and people. Milgate quotes W. Webbe, *Discourse of English Poetry* 1586 (*Elizabethan Critical Essays* 1. 234), on 'Homer, who, as it were, in one sum comprehended all knowledge, wisdom, learning and policy'.

77–8 He lacked physical but not intellectual sight. See *Dream* 16 and note on *DivMioFaith* for D.'s disbelief that angels could see secret thoughts.

80 Fortune was traditionally depicted blind because of the indiscriminating distribution of her gifts.

84 Throughout his poetic career, D. favours apparently paradoxical, comparative, contrasting, or ironic endings, e.g., *WoodwardTHail*, *Negative*, *Progress*, *Storm*, *Constancy*, *Funeral*, *HSW2Show*, *Goodyer*, *Twickenham*, *HolyS10Batter*, *BedfordDead*, *Carey*, *Germany*, *Sickness*, *Christ*.

COMMEMORATIONS

Elegy: To the Lady Bedford

Date and context. May 1609–?early 1610. Milgate observes that in MSS the poem occurs juxtaposed to one or other of the elegies on Lady Markham and Mistress Bulstrode, and therefore probably accompanied one of them (in *H40* and *TCD* it follows *BulstrodeLanguage*, in *L74* it follows *Markham* and is followed by *BedfordReason*, *BulstrodeRecant*, *BulstrodeLanguage*, but in *Lut/O'F* occurs between *HerbertE* and *Carey*, those two MSS having grouped the epicedes together). He notes that both Lady Markham and Judith (l. 44) were faithful widows, to which might be added that Lady Markham is credited with two sorts of virginity in *Markham* 36–8. *BedfordShe* shares with *Markham* 1–12, 17–20, and 29 (in different uses) images of the sea (l. 32), precious minerals (33–6/*Markham* 24), and the motif of friendship (1–10, 19/*Markham* 56–8), this last appearing less substantially in *BulstrodeRecant* 61–4, 73, *BulstrodeLanguage* 61. As Milgate EAE p. 177 records, Lady Markham (née Bridget Harington) was first cousin to Lady Bedford, and her monument in Twickenham church asserts their very close friendship. On the other hand, Mistress Bulstrode is ‘pure but not too weak’ (*BulstrodeLanguage* 23), and to her, as to Judith, are attributed ‘beauty and wit’, ‘chaste use of God’s day’, ‘virtue’ and ‘beauteousness’ (*BulstrodeRecant* 52, *BulstrodeLanguage* 47, 55), and tempting attractiveness (*BulstrodeLanguage* 39–40). Moreover, imagery of siege and imprudent generalship, recalling Holofernes, occurs in *BulstrodeRecant* 40, 67–8. In l. 32 (see note below) there is a parallel with a letter of early 1610.

Text. *H40* makes substantive errors in 19, 23, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 43, ruling it out as authoritative. The differences between it, *L74*, *TCD*, 1633 on the one hand and *Lut/O'F* on the other are largely indifferent, and might suggest an authentic alternative text in the latter, slightly inferior and therefore presumably earlier, but the clear error in *Lut/O'F* 17 suggests a less reliable scribe. *L74*’s inferior variants in 14 and 25, and 1633’s patent error in 28 leave *TCD* as the only source not obviously erroneous at any point. It is therefore followed here in all cases of indifferent variation, including the heading.

YOU that are she and you, that’s double she,
In her dead face half of your self shall see;

Sources collated: *H40*, *L74*, *TCD*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

Base text: *TCD*

Select variants:

Heading: Elegy] An ~ *L74* (added in second hand): om. *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

1–4 Cp. Leone Ebreo 1937 31: ‘Such friendships the Philosopher [Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 9. 4 (1166a31)] defined, when he said that a true friend is another self, meaning that those linked in true friendship have a twofold life, constituted in two persons: each, in his own and that of his friend; so that his friend is his other self and each comprises in himself two lives: his own and his friend’s’. Cp. *Storm* 1, *Mourning* 21, *Ecstasy* 35–6, and Leone Ebreo and Castiglione quoted in the notes there.

2 shall] The apparent future tense, instead of ‘may’, seems inappropriate unless it refers to what will be revealed in the poem.

- She was the other part, for so they do
 Which build them friendships, become one of two;
 5 So two, that but themselves no third can fit;
 Which were to be so when they were not yet.
 Twins, though their birth Cusco and Musco take,
 As divers stars one constellation make;
 Paired, like two eyes, have equal motion, so
 10 Both but one means to see, one way to go.
 Had you died first, a carcass she had been,
 And we your rich tomb in her face had seen;
 She like the soul is gone, and you here stay,
 Not a live friend, but the other half, of clay.
 15 And since you act that part, as men say 'Here
 Lies such a prince', when but one part is there,
 And do all honour and devotion due
 Unto the whole, so we all reverence you.
 For, such a friendship who would not adore
 20 In you, who are all what both was before—

6 yet. *L74*: yet *H40*, *TCD*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

17 due] show *Lut*, *O'F* 20 was] were *H40*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

4 become one of two] Cp. *Ecstasy* 41–8 and comment.

5–6 Each is the ideal other, two halves of a whole divided originally, according to the myth in Plato's *Symposium* 190–1, by Zeus, and thus destined to unite with no-one else, no third party.

7 Cusco and Musco] Cuzco, then capital of Peru, and Moscow; not quite on opposite sides of the world, so selected presumably for their rhyme.

8 e.g., especially, the constellation of Gemini, the Twins, Castor and Pollux, which contains, acc. to Ptolemy, *Almagest* 7. 5, eighteen stars, with another seven around it. Cp. *Huntingdon* 37–8.

13 Cp. the offer of Hephaestus in Plato, *Symposium* 192, to make the lovers after death still one departed soul instead of two.

15 that part] of 'th'other half'.

15–16 D. records, *Devotions* 16. Meditation, hearing the great bell at Rouen, where were buried the bowels of Henry I, while the rest of his corpse went to the abbey at Reading (William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella* 1 (459, 462)); and the heart of Richard I, whose principal tomb is in the Abbey of Fontévrault in Anjou. D. may have visited Rouen in 1605–6 with Sir Walter Chute (Bald pp. 149, 237, 261). For Scots readers the best known case would have been Robert de Bruce, whose body was buried at Dunfermline, his heart at Melrose.

16 Lies . . . prince] Cp. *Ecstasy* 68.

20 you, who are all what both was before] The 'both' was their composite soul, so the singular 'was' is correct, as Milgate points out, quoting Leone Ebreo, 'exactly as if this love governed but a single soul and being, embracing,—not divided into,—two persons. . . . noble friendships make of one person—two; of two persons—one.'

Not all as if some perished by this,
 But so that in you all contracted is?
 As of this all, though many parts decay,
 The pure which elemented them shall stay,

22 that] as *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635 in you all] all in you 1633, 1635

21 'Not just "all that is left"'. Contrast *Lucy* 28–9: 'I am by her death . . . Of the first nothing the elixir grown'.

23–6 'This all' here presumably means the microcosm of body and (double) soul of Lady Bedford imagined in the preceding lines (rather than the world as in *Markham* 28 and *BulstrodeRecant* 26): just as the soul as constituting essence will at the resurrection re-collect the body's scattered elements, so the Countess's soul, 'of whom they were', gathers together again the virtues of her dead friend. Cp. *Markham* 23–6 and *WoodwardRSlumber* 32. D. follows the doctrine of the soul developed by Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 76. 8 (cp. 1. 91. 4) from Aristotle, *On the Soul* 2. 1 (412a19), i.e., that just as God formed Adam from the material of dust, breathed life into him, and gave him a purpose (*Gen.* 2. 7, 15), so the soul constituted the form of the body, and imparted life and purpose. D. expresses it more fully in *Serm.* 6. 75 (Easter 1624): 'By death, the soul falls from that, for which it was infused, and poured into man at first; that is, to be the form of that body, the King of that Kingdom; and therefore, when in the general Resurrection, the soul returns to that state, for which it was created, . . . the soul returns to her office, to make up the man.' (Cp. *DivM8Round* 2–4, *FirAn* 37, *SecAn* 72, *Hamilton* 25–8; *Devotions* 18 Meditation (1987 p. 93); *Serm.* 7. 108–9 (Easter 1626), 9. 50 (April 1629)). In both creation and resurrection the soul is merely the agent of God: 'no power, but of God only can recollect those grains of dust, and recompact them into a body, and re-inanimate them into a man' (*Serm.* 7. 114). The reuniting and recollecting specified here in the poem are two (out of three) distinct divine operations in the resurrection:

For first, in natural death, . . . The man, the person falls into a separation, a divorce of body and soul; and the resurrection from this fall is by Re-union, the soul and body are re-united at the last day. A second fall in natural death is . . . The dead body falls by putrefaction into a dissolution, into atoms and grains of dust; and the resurrection from this fall, is by Re-efformation: God shall re-compact and re-compile those atoms and grains of dust, into that Body, which was before: And then a third fall in natural death, is . . . this dust falls into a dispersion, and is scattered unsensibly, undiscernibly upon the face of the earth; and the resurrection from this death, is by way of Re-recollection; God shall recall and re-collect all these Atoms, and grains of dust, and re-compact that body, and re-unite that soul, and so that resurrection is accomplished. (*Serm.* 7. 103 (Easter 1626).)

Cp. 'The love and power of God . . . shall recollect that dust, and recompact that body, and reunite that soul, in everlasting joy and glory' (*Serm.* 10. 188 (undated)). D. later evokes more vividly such problems as 'Where be all the splinters of that bone which a shot hath shivered and scattered in the air? . . . still God knows . . . in what part of the world every grain of every man's dust lies . . .' (*Serm.* 8. 98, 19 Nov. 1627).

24 elemented them] constituted them in their basic parts.

- 25 And, though diffused and spread in infinite,
 Shall recollect and in one all unite,
 So, madam, as her soul to Heaven is fled,
 Her flesh rests in the earth as in a bed,
 Her virtues do, as to their proper sphere,
 30 Return to dwell with you, of whom they were:
 As perfect motions are all circular,
 So they to you, their sea whence less streams are.
 She was all spices, you all metals: so
 In you two we did both rich Indies know;
 35 And as no fire nor rust can spend or waste
 One dram of gold, but what was first shall last,
 Though it be forced in water, earth, salt, air,
 Expanded in infinite, none will impair,
 So to yourself you may additions take,
 40 But nothing can you less or changed make.

28 a] the 1633, 1635

27–32 It suits D. almost to reverse the roles of the two women in ll. 13–14, where Lady Markham is the soul, Lady Bedford the clay, with reference now to the former's physical remains and the resumption of her virtues by the Countess, flatteringly represented as their spiritual source. She becomes a world force, providing its virtues just as the oceans through evaporation and rainfall feed all earth's streams, chief mover in a system natural, inevitable, and complete. Cp. *Huntingdon* 45: 'from you all virtues flow'.

27–8 as her soul . . . Her flesh] 'while her soul . . . And while her flesh'. The four lines of the vehicle of the comparison (23–6) are matched by the four lines of its tenor (27–30).

32 their sea . . . streams are] In *FQ* 6. Proem 7. 1–9, Spenser pays the same compliment to Queen Elizabeth. Cp. *Ecclesiastes* 1. 7 (*AV*): 'All the rivers run into the sea; . . . unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again'. D. bases a letter of early 1610 to Sir Thomas Egerton with a copy of *Pseudo-Martyr* on a similar analogy, beginning: 'Rivers . . . return into the Sea, from whence they issued' (facsim. in Sotheby & Co., *Sale Catalogue of the Egerton Library* (1951) opp. p. 16).

33–4 Cp. *FirAn* 229–33, *SecAn* 228. Both spice and gold are emblematic of lastingness for D., the former to embalm bodies, as in *BedfordNew* 15, *SecAn* 39–40. Cp. *Huntingdon* 25: 'you are gold'.

34 both rich Indies] Cp. Spenser, *Amoretti* 15. 3 (1595), *Sun* 17, *Funeral Elegy* 6.

36 first shall last] Perhaps unintentional parody of *Matt.* 19. 30, *Mark* 10. 31.

37 forced] Perhaps the then current variant of 'farced', in the sense of 'overlaid' (*OED* *farce* *v.* 4) with substances that usually corrupt.

38 Expanded in infinite] beaten out as gold foil. Cp. *Mourning* 21–4.

39 So] As gold may be alloyed with other metals.

Seek not, in seeking new, to seem to doubt
 That you can match her, or not be without,
 But let some faithful book in her room be;
 Yet but of Judith, no such book as she.

An Elegy upon the Death of Lady Markham

Date. May 1609 onwards. Bridget Harington, daughter of Lady Bedford's uncle Sir James, had in 1598 married Sir Anthony Markham, who died in 1604. She herself died at Lady Bedford's house, Twickenham Park, on 4 May 1609, and was buried on 19 May in the parish church, where her informative monument may still be seen.

Analogue. W. M. Lebas, *RES* 23 (1972) 128 points out the classical ingredients of lament (1–16), consolation (17–38), and panegyric (39–62), most clearly distinguishable, perhaps, though in a different order, in Propertius 4. 11, an elegy for the wife of a consul. Given the unexplored multitude of Renaissance funeral elegies in Latin and the vernaculars, and their previous presence in the different subgenre of English pastoral elegy, e.g., Spenser's 'Lay of Clorinda', it would be rash to conclude D. was an innovator in these conventions' use in England. He subsequently employs them, with variations, in *BulstrodeRecant*, *BulstrodeLanguage*, *Henry, Harington*, and *Hamilton*. Grierson and Milgate record another elegy on Lady Markham by Francis Beaumont, and quote a third, anonymous epitaph. As Grierson observes, such works 'were frankly addressed not so much to the memory of the dead as to the pocket of the living.' Beaumont, however, openly confesses 'I never saw thy face', and accordingly that 'As unthrifts grieve in straw

41–2 D. accepts that she will want to replace her friend, but is concerned as ever for appearances: Lady Bedford must make sure that she does not appear to question her self-sufficiency in virtue, which l. 21 has said still comprehends that of Lady Markham.

43–4 A new friend might be an authentic reproduction, but could never be the original. For idealised woman as book of virtue cp. *Salisbury* 69–74, *SecAn* 319–20, for 'book' in this sense of inferior medium, *Ecstasy* 72, and for D.'s valuation of manuscript above print, *Andrews* 1–8, 21–2.

44 Judith] A beautiful and pious widow, wise and benevolent, who, in the apocryphal Old Testament book of that name, broke off her three years and four months of mourning only to beguile the general of a besieging army into drunken sleep, and cut off his head, earning national acclaim. Cp. *Serm.* 6. 230 (4 March 1625): 'So the priests and the elders come to Judith, and they say to her: "Thou art the exaltation of Jerusalem, thou art the great glory of Israel, thou art the rejoicing of our nation, thou hast done all these things by thy hand" [*Judith* 15. 8–10]. And all this was true of Judith, and due to Judith.' As an exemplar of courage, chastity and wisdom she appeared in encomia as a type of Elizabeth I from 1586 to 1603: see E. C. Wilson (1966) pp. 12n, 36, 43, 44, 81, 185, 372, 380, 430, 439.

for their pawned beds, / As women weep for their loss of maidenheads / (When both are without hope of remedy), / Such an untimely grief have I for thee' (Grierson 2. 209). He may have shared the attitude of his 'dear friend' Jonson (to whose *Volpone* (like D.), *Epicæne*, and *Catiline* he contributed commendatory verses in 1607, 1609 and 1611) to Lady Bedford's circle, and not welcomed the soliciting of elegies on Lady Markham from those wishing to please Lady Bedford, as George Garrard later did for Cecilia Bulstrode (see headnote on *BulstrodeRecant*).

Text. Group I MSS and *H40* agree in probable errors in ll. 3, 24, 34, 36 (sin/death) and 37, and are joined in error by Group III in l. 28, while 1633 (followed by 1635 except in 44–5 and 58) is shown to be in error by the MSS at ll. 9, 12, 42, 44–5, 58, and 62, which leaves Group II, pre-eminently *TCD*, as probably the most reliable witness. The indifferent disagreements between Group II and the others in ll. 11, 16 (nor/or), 29, 33, and 38 may indicate that Groups I and III derive from an earlier version, Group II from an authorial revision. Since these alternatives do not involve substantial changes of meaning it has seemed best to present only the Group II version here, emended in ll. 6, 16 (mists/mist), 36 (which/that), 45, 48 and 49. That 1633 follows Group II in three of these disagreements and Group I in seven others (it omits l. 45) suggests that its editor had access to both versions. On the basis of agreements in ll. 29, 36, 37, 38, 48 and 57, *VD* also infers three groups, but includes *S96* with Group I because of ll. 37 and 57, by ignoring the more substantial variant in l. 36 and the lesser agreement in l. 48. Only the two reorderings of ll. 29 and 38 are unlikely to have been arrived at by scribes independently, and Groups I and III agree in those against Group II.

MAN is the world, and death the oöean
To which God gives the lower parts of man.
 This sea environs all, and, though as yet
 God hath set marks and bounds 'twixt us and it,
 5 Yet doth it roar and gnaw, and still pretend,
 And breaks our banks whene'er it takes a friend.

Sources collated: *I: D, H49, C57, Lec; H40; II: TCC, TCD, L74, Dal; DC (45-end); Wed; III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *II*

Select variants:

Heading: *II: A Funeral* ~ ~ (on *Dob*) ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *III: Elegie Funerall upon* ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *Wed: Elegy on the Lady Markham I, 1633, 1635: An* ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *H40*

3 This] *The I, H40, Dal, Lut, O'Fbe*

6 banks *I, H40, TCC, III: bank TCD, L74, Dal, Wed, 1633, 1635*

1–2 The human microcosm is made of the four elements, of which the heavier, lower earth and water constitute the mortal parts, air and fire the spirit. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 107 (Whitsun 1629): 'The water of death overflows all', and *Antony and Cleopatra* 5. 2. 288–9.

3–4 This sea . . . bounds] *Job* 26. 10; cp. *BedfordNew* 46.

5 pretend] assert its claim.

6 breaks our banks] As the sea does in a tidal river like the then unprotected Thames. The singular reading seems improbable.

Then our land-waters (tears of passion) vent;
 Our waters then above our firmament
 (Tears which our soul doth for her sin let fall)
 10 Take all a brackish taste, and funeral,
 And e'en those tears which should wash sin are sin.
 We, after God's 'Noe', drown our world again.

9 sin] sins *H40, 1633, 1635* 11 those] these *I, H40, Dob, S96*

12 Noe] Noah *TCC: No III, 1635* our] the *TCC, Dal, Dob, 1633, 1635*

7–11 On the sinfulness of unbounded grief as a blinding passion, cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 70–2, where untainted tears of repentance 'because we are not such' are allowed. Explained by *Serm.* 8. 201 (5 April 1628; Gr): 'Rain water is better than River water; The water of Heaven, tears for offending thy God, are better than tears for worldly losses', and 4. 340–2 (28 Feb. 1623; Milgate partly):

There be good tears and bad tears, tears that wash away sin, and tears that are sin, . . . God made the Firmament, which he called Heaven, after it had divided the waters: After we have distinguished our tears, natural from spiritual, worldly from heavenly, then there is a Firmament established in us, . . . To mourn . . . immoderately for the death of any that is passed out of this world, is not the right use of tears. . . . Thy first tears must be to God for sin: The second and third may be to nature and civility, and such secular offices.

For another contrast between selfish and devout tears see *DivM3Sighs*. Here, the salt seawater of worldly love for the deceased contaminates the heavenly rainwater of repentance.

7 land-waters] floods. Cp. also *Serm.* 5. 360 (n. d.), on seeking favours directly from God: 'From a River, from a Cistern, a man may take more water at once, than he can from the first spring and fountainhead; But he cannot take the water so sincerely, so purely, so intemperately from the channel as from the fountain-head. Princes and great persons may raise their Dependants faster than God does his; But sudden riches come like a land-water, and bring much foulness with them.' **vent]** pour out.

8 waters . . . firmament] tears of higher origin (allegorising *Gen.* 1. 7).

9 her sin] the soul's.

11 The implicit blasphemy of sorrowing for those believed to 'rest from their labours . . . in joy and felicity' is pointed out in the *BCP* 'Burial of the Dead', citing further *1 Thess.* 4. 13–18. Cp. also *Serm.* 7. 269 (12 Dec. 1626): 'Inordinate lamentation implies a suspicion of a worse state in him that is gone; And if I do believe him to be in Heaven, deliberately, advisedly to wish him here, that is in Heaven, is an uncharitable desire.'

12 'Noe'] Taking God's promise, *Gen.* 9. 11, not to repeat the Flood as implicitly prohibiting anyone else's doing so (cp. *DivM7Little* 9). Though metre suggests it is the negative monosyllable, this spelling of 'No' in some MSS and *1633* tempts association with 'Noah' in its Latin form, though it was God not Noah who drowned the world in *Gen.* 7. 19–24. **drown our world]** Ourselves as microcosm. A favourite idea: cp. *Lucy* 24, *DivM7Little* 8.

- Nothing but man, of all envenomed things,
 Doth work upon itself with inborn stings.
 15 Tears are false spectacles: we cannot see,
 Through passion's mist, what we are, nor what she.
 In her this sea of death hath made no breach,
 But, as the tide doth wash the slimy beach
 And leaves embroidered works upon the sand,
 20 So is her flesh refined by Death's cold hand.
 As men of China after'n age's stay
 Do take up porcelain where they buried clay,

14 itself] it\self/ L74: it *Dal* with] within *Dal*: which L74

16 mist *I*, *H40*, *TCC*, *Wed*, *III*, 1633, 1635: mists *TCD*, *L74*, *Dal* we] they *I*
 nor] or *I*, *H40*, *III*, 1633, 1635 she] we *I*

19 embroidered] imbrothered *L74*, *Dal*

13–14 The human capacity for self-inflicted harm is a favourite topic of D.'s: cp. *BedfordWritten* 53, *BedfordTomb* 15–17, *Devotions* 12 Meditation, 23 Meditation (1987) pp. 63, 122. Milgate quotes D.'s following of Augustine in *Serm.* 1. 293: 'Miserable man! a Toad is a bag of Poison, and a Spider is a blister of Poison, and yet a Toad and a Spider cannot poison themselves; Man hath a dram of poison, original Sin, in an invisible corner, we know not where, and he cannot choose but poison himself and all his actions with that'.

15 spectacles] In use in England since c. 1300. D. perhaps refers to his own in *Serm.* 8. 259 (Whitsunday 1628): 'I thank . . . him that assists me with a spectacle when my sight grows old'.

16 mist/mists] Since it arises from one passion, grief, the singular seems more fitting, and moderates the irrelevant sibilance of the line in Group II's reading. **nor/or]** Scribal abbreviation, which slightly lessens the rhetorical force, seems more likely than its opposite.

18–19 For this image, D. did not have to look beyond London's tidal river with its particularly 'slimy' shores.

20–8 Cp. *Corona6Res* 9–11, *BedfordHonour* 22–4, *BedfordShe* 23–6, *BulstrodeRecant* 46–8, and notes.

21–2 A story perhaps invented by the Chinese to conceal a valuable trade-secret is retailed as fact by Panciroli (1599) 2. 65, saying that men buried a blend of gypsum, eggshells and lobster-shells in places disclosed only to their children (or their grandchildren) who then dug up the clay after eighty years to work it into vessels. His commentator Salmuth immediately dismisses the idea in the light of more recent and authoritative accounts, but for D.'s poetical purposes, fiction was more useful than truth, as in his other uses of Panciroli. For a full account in English see Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 2. 5. 7 (1646, 1650, 1672; 1981) pp. 135–7. Cp. the suspension of judgement in a letter to Goodyer dated 6 Aug. 1608 (*Letters* p. 118): 'As it is, you may accept it so, as we do many China manufactures, of which when we know no use, yet we satisfy our curiosity in considering them, because we knew not how, nor of what matter they were made.'

So at this grave, her limbeck, which refines
 The diamonds, rubies, sapphires, pearls, and mines
 25 Of which this flesh was, her soul shall inspire
 Flesh of such stuff as God, when his last fire
 Annuls this world, to recompense it, shall
 Make, and name then th'elixir of this all.
 They say when the sea gains it loseth too:
 30 If carnal Death (the younger brother) do
 Usurp the body, our soul, which subject is
 To th'elder Death by sin, is freed by this;
 They perish both, when they attempt the just,

24 mines] mine *I, H40* 28 then] them *I, H40, III*

29 when the sea [earth *TCC*] gains it] the sea, when it gains *I, H40, Wed, III, 1633, 1635* loseth] loses *Lut, O'F*

33 when they] who *I, H40*

23–5 This alchemy begins with materials already precious and therefore nearer the state of perfection, in preparation for the 'spiritual body' of the resurrection. Cp. *Resurrection* 9–16 and *BedfordTomb* 11–14, and see Duncan (1942). In *Serm.* 9. 136 (Christmas Day, ?1629), D. notes that 'Paracelsus would have undertaken to have made [man] in a Limbeck, in a Furnace', citing 'L. 1 *de rerum generatione*'.

23 limbeck] distillation vessel.

24 rubies, sapphires, pearls and mines] Usual materials in poetic blazons of physical beauty, e.g., Spenser, *Amoretti* 15. 5–12. **mines]** gold and silver.

25–6 her soul . . . Flesh] At the resurrection, when all shall assume a spiritual body, *1 Cor.* 15. 44. Cp. *BedfordHonour* 22–4, *BedfordShe* 23–6 and note, *BulstrodeRecant* 46–8, *Resurrection* 16, *SecAn* 501–3.

26–8 God . . . this all] The precious stones and metals of her flesh in l. 24 prefigure the materials of the New Jerusalem which will replace the present heaven and earth, *Rev.* 21. 10–21. By the 'recompense' for God's 'last fire' (*2 Pet.* 3. 10, 12), the 'elixir' with which, like alchemists using the 'soul' extracted from gold to transmute baser metals, God will transform the world, D. may refer to the 'pure river of water of life' of *Rev.* 22. 1. Cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 26 and note.

29 Common knowledge since ancient times, e.g., Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1. 14 (351a18–25), and easily observable around the coasts of England from Yorkshire to Dorset. Cp. *Serm.* 10. 67: 'the Sea gains in one place, what it loses in another' (Milgate), and Spenser *FQ* 5. 2. 39 (Lebens).

31–2 our soul . . . sin] For the second death see *Rev.* 2. 11, 21. 8, explained by Augustine, *Citie of God* 13. 2 (1610) p. 470: 'The death of the soul is when God leaveth it, and the death of the body is when the soul leaveth it'. It is termed the elder perhaps because senior in its power, which is over the soul and eternal, not temporary over the body. Cp. *Corona6Res* 7.

33 Cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 37–40. **when they/who]** The latter reading seems more like a first thought; Group II's emends the metre. **attempt]** assault, with a sexual connotation confirmed in l. 38.

- For graves our trophies are, and both Deaths dust.
 35 So, unobnoxious now, she'th buried both,
 For none to death sins that to sin is loath,
 Nor do they die which are not loath to die:
 So she hath this and that virginity.
 Grace was in her extremely diligent
 40 That kept her from sin, yet made her repent.
 Of what small spots pure white complains! Alas,
 How little poison breaks a crystal glass!
 She sinned but just enough to let us see
 That God's word must be true: 'All sinners be'.

34 Deaths] dead *I, H40, Dob, S96*

36 that . . . is *I, H40, III, 1633, 1635*; which . . . are *II* sin] death *I, H40*

37 do] did *I, H40, S96* 38 she hath] hath she *I, H40, III, 1633, 1635*

42 breaks] cracks *1633, 1635* 44–5 *om. 1633*

34 our trophies . . . dust] 'are monuments to our victory, and both Deaths themselves reduced to dust'. Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 54–5: 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?'

35 unobnoxious] invulnerable. Cp. the washing away in Ovid, *Met.* 14. 600–4, of all the mortal parts, *obnoxia morti*, of Aeneas.

36 The act of the will, a deliberate turning away from God, being essential to mortal sin: cp. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 72. 5, 1. 2ae. 78. 4. **to death]** mortally.

that . . . is/which . . . are] Group II's grammatical discord with the singular verb-form 'sins' in the previous clause seems too glaring and unnecessary to be authorial.

37 *Matt.* 10. 39 etc. Cp. *Serm.* 4. 53: 'it is a rebellious thing not to be content to die, . . . it is a seditious thing not to be content to die, . . . it is *Incivilis, inofficiosum*, not to be content to die, . . . to die too unwillingly, to murmur at God's purpose revealed by age, or by sickness, . . . to harbour a disobedient loathness all the way, . . . argues but an irreligious ignorance' (Milgate partly).

38 She has let neither carnal death ('that', the former) 'usurp the body', nor spiritual ('this', the latter) her soul, since she has been neither willing to sin nor unwilling to die. A more particular virginity may be hinted at in respect of the former, that of 'chaste widowhead' after sin has died in her, as in *Lit* 107–8. For this general moral sense of virginity, cp. *2 Cor.* 11. 2. **she hath/hath she]** Since the normal order occurs in *Anagram* 8, *FirAn* 39, *SecAn* 313, and *Jeremy* 28, Group I and III's inversion here seems, if D.'s, to be unique in his poems.

41 Proverbial: Tilley S781. D. himself enunciates Lady Markham's ideal in *Serm.* 6. 57: 'But that whiteness that preserves itself . . . from taking any spot, from coming within distance of a temptation, or of a suspicion, is that whiteness, which God means, when he says, "Thou art all fair my Love, and there is no spot in thee [*arg. S of S* 4. 7]."'

42 Another common misbelief disposed of by Browne 7. 17. 3 (1981) p. 596.

43–4 Cp. *BedfordWritten* 75–6.

44–5 Omitted from *1633* at a page division.

44 *Rom.* 3. 23.

- 45 So much did zeal her conscience rectify,
That extreme truth lacked little of a lie,
Making omissions acts, laying the touch
Of sin on things that sometimes may be such.
As Moses' cherubins, whose natures do

45 rectify *I*, *H40*, *Dob*, *S96*, *O'Fbe*: rarefy *II*, *Wed*, *Lut*, *O'Fae*, 1635: ratify *DC*
48 things] sins *TCC* that *I*, *H40*, *Dob*, *S96*, 1633, 1635: which *II*, *DC*, *Wed*,
Lut, *O'F*

49 natures *I*, *H40*, *Dal*, *III*, 1633, 1635: nature *TCC*, *TCD*, *L74*, *Wed*

45–8 A hint of criticism may be intended here: cp. *Serm.* 9. 263–4: ‘The over-tenderness of a bruised and a faint conscience may impute sin to itself, when it is discharged; And a seared and obdurate Conscience may impute none, when it abounds. If the Holy Ghost work, he rectifies both; . . . God shall suffer the Conscience thus rectified, to terrify itself with nothing’. Cp. also *Serm.* 2. 156 (1618): ‘When God hath provided that thy sins shall rise no more to thy condemnation at the last day, if thou raise them up here to the vexation of thy conscience, thou art a litigious man to thine own destruction.’

45 **zeal**] Though often used disparagingly of what was deemed to be excess or hypocrisy in religion (e.g., by Jonson in *Bartholomew Fair*'s *Zeal-of-the-Land Busy*), D. approves of it in *BedfordHonour* 40–2 (q. v. and note), and prays for it in *DivM7Little* 13–14, though in *Harington* 126 he fears ‘Zeal’s agues’, vividly evoked in *HSW3Vex*. Cp. *Serm.* 3. 336 on ‘a good and rectified zeal’, and his qualifications in *Serm.* 3. 173, 344; 4. 121–2, 261; 6. 319, 320; 8. 43, 120, 135, 261, 321, 363; 9. 77–8, 101; 10. 84. **rectify/rarefy**] Milgate argues for the ‘rarefy’ of Group II MSS as continuing in the alchemical register of ll. 23–8: *OED*, however, gives no English alchemical context for ‘rarefy’ or related words, but provides many for the reading of Group I and III MSS, ‘rectify’ (‘purify by repeated distillation’, as well as ‘correct’, i.e., make to understand rightly). D. is saying her conscience was strict, not vaporised like the rarefied water of *Huntingdon* 34. For those of the Reformed faith, conscience must be rectified by Scripture, reason, and faith (cp. *SecAn* 361–2). Later, however, D. the preacher insisted on conformity to the guidance of the Church, not just sincerity and assurance of the inner working of the Holy Ghost. In his sermons, he invokes this ‘rectified conscience’ at least thirty times (e.g., 4. 216, 275; 5. 226, 293; 6. 286; 7. 64, 136, 339–40, 342; 8. 120; 9. 102, 127, 263–4, 271, 327; 10. 95).

47 **making omissions acts**] For both sorts of sin forgiveness is sought in the General Confession at Morning and Evening Prayer, and D. later implies a similar strictness, particularly for knowing omissions of duty: ‘the justice of God is subtle, . . . and oftentimes punishes sins of Omission, with other sins, Actual sins’ (*Serm.* 5. 301). Cp. *WoodwardRWidowhead* 9 and note.

47–8 **laying . . . such**] Cp. the context-specific values allowed Lady Bedford in *BedfordNew* 41–2: ‘good and bad have not / One latitude in cloisters and in court’, with l. 45’s belated proviso ‘On this side sin’.

48 **that/which**] The Group I reading is supported by the apparently authentic occurrence in l. 36 in Groups I and III.

49–50 In *Exod.* 25. 20, God commands that the cherubs on the ark of the covenant should be represented as winged; in *Ps.* 18. 10 the omnipresent deity rides on a

- 50 Surpass all speed, by him are wingéd too,
 So would her soul, already[^]in Heav'n, seem then
 To climb by tears, the common stairs of men.
 How fit she was for God I am content
 To speak, that Death his vain haste may repent.
- 55 How fit for us, how even, and how sweet,
 How good in all her titles, and how meet
 To have reformed this forward heresy:
 'That women can no parts of friendship be',
 How moral, how divine, shall not be told,
- 60 Lest they that hear her virtues think her old,

57 this] that *Dob, Lut, O'F* forward] froward *TCC, Dobbe*

58 women] woman 1633

cherub, implying instantaneous relocation. On the flight of angels as quicker than thought, cp. *Harington* 81–4, and on its instantaneity Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 53. 3 (Milgate), and *Quaestiones quodlibetales* 11. 4.

49 natures do/nature do] Though in *Jeremy* 233–4 D. appears to have accepted lack of grammatical concord for the sake of his rhyme, the Group II MSS's singular, 'nature', is not necessitated by the sense. D. uses 'do' as the subjunctive form after 'though' and a plural subject in *BedfordWritten* 71, *Funeral Elegy* 76 and *Jeremy* 65, but not on its own to mean 'may'.

51 already[^]in Heav'n] Cp. *Serm.* 7. 340 (2 Feb. 1627): 'The pure in heart are blessed already, not only comparatively, that they are in a better way of Blessedness, than others are, but actually: in a present possession of it', 8. 108 (19 Nov. 1627), and *SecAn* 154: 'For they're in Heav'n on Earth, who Heav'n's works do'.

52 Cp. the application of Jacob's ladder (*Gen.* 28. 12) to the process of reconciliation with God after sin, on which the third rung is to 'overflow and make our selves drunk with tears', in *Serm.* 2. 186 (21 Feb. 1619). **tears/stairs]** possibly a full rhyme then.

54 vain haste] Death took her in the hope that she would not yet have developed the virtuousness of age of l. 60, but in vain, as there implied.

55 even] straightforward, equable, unwavering, steady, calm.

56 titles] 'claims' or 'ways in which she was entitled' (to be admired and admitted to Heaven; cp. *SecAn* 149–50), 'categories' (of virtue), 'roles' (of woman, wife and widow).

56–8 Cp. *BedfordShe* 1–10, *BulstrodeRecant* 63–4, and Montaigne's praise of his adopted daughter, Marie de Jars, at the end of his essay 'Of Presumption', *Essayes* 2. 17, Engl. J. Florio (another protégé of Lady Bedford; 1603; 1928) 2. 389: 'If childhood may presage any future success, her mind shall one day be capable of many notable things, and amongst other of the perfection of this thrice-sacred amity, whereunto we read not her sex could yet attain; the sincerity and solidity of her demeanours are therein already sufficient' (Gr.).

57 forward] presumptuous, extreme.

59–60 Here D. cleverly eschews the traditional but hardly variable catalogue of virtues (Lebens 129).

60 She was thirty years old when she died. Cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 49–50.

And lest we take Death's part, and make him glad
Of such a prey, and to his triumphs add.

62 triumphs] triumph *D*, *H49*, *H40*, *DC*, *Dal1*, 1633, 1635

An Elegy upon the Death of Mistress Bulstrode

Date and context. Cecilia Bulstrode, Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber, daughter of Edward Bulstrode of Hedgerley, Bucks, and elder sister of another Edward who was at this time studying at the Inner Temple, died at Lady Bedford's house, Twickenham Park, on Friday, 4 Aug. 1609, aged twenty-five, and was buried at the parish church two days later. There is an undated letter from D. to Goodyer (*Letters* pp. 215–16, Bald p. 177) presumably relating to her fatal illness: 'I fear earnestly that Mistress Bulstrode will not escape that sickness in which she labours at this time. . . . I could . . . impute all her sickness to her mind, but the history of her sickness makes me justly fear that she will scarce last so long as that you when you receive this letter may do her any good office in praying for her'. He specifies vomiting, 'a fever, the mother, and an extreme ill spleen.' It is further presumed (Bald p. 177 n. 3) that it is to Miss Bulstrode that D. refers in an undated letter to George Garrard (his fellow-lodger in London, who received from Jonson his 'Epitaph on Cecilia Bulstrode' (in *Poems* ed. Ian Donaldson, (Oxford 1975) p. 295): 'I have done nothing of that kind as your letter intimates in the memory of that good gentlewoman; if I had, I should not find any better use of it than to put it into your hands. You teach me what I owe her memory' (*Letters* p. 39). The number of commonplaces shared with the elegy on the death of Lady Markham four months earlier smacks of a poem written by request. (See A. L. Bennett, *SP* 51 (1954) 107–26). Memorial verses were also written by Sir Edward Herbert (1923) pp. 20–1, the Latin title alleging she died after an enfeebling illness and in a troubled state of mind; Sir John Roe (cousin of the Sir Thomas Roe mentioned in D.'s letter as 'so indulgent to his sorrow, as it had been an injury to have interrupted it with my unuseful company', and thence presumed to have been her current lover); and, probably, Lady Bedford. The Roe and Bedford

62 prey, triumphs] Cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 31, 67–8. **triumphs/triumph]** The singular in some MSS and 1633 blurs the point of ll. 30–4 and the 'vain haste' of l. 54: she has not afforded 'th'elder Death' a formal triumph since she is not his captive, so there is none to augment, though 'carnal Death' might be made to feel triumphant by excessive, worldly tears (l. 7) on the part of her friends. That the number of lines in both *Markham* and *BulstrodeLanguage* is sixty-two may be more than coincidental: it falls just short of sixty-three, 7×9 , the great climacteric number, made up of seven (frequently signifying perfection or completeness in the OT and *Rev.*), multiplied either by 3×3 (= 9), the number of those who bear witness in Heaven times those who bear witness on earth, *1 John* 5. 7–8, or simply by nine, the number of orders of angels. Thus numerologically speaking, sixty-two is appropriate to these relatively early deaths. Cp. the surpassing of sixty-three in *Name's* sixty-four lines.

elegies were printed by Grierson 1. 410–11, 422–3. Jonson's elegy contrasts with the attitude to Bulstrode expressed in his 'Epigram on the Court Pucelle' (*Underwood* no. 49; see note below on 62–4), and to coteries such as Lady Bedford's in *Epicaene's* Lady Haughty and her Collegiate Ladies.

Analogues. Thomas Pestell (see headnote to *HGJD*) may have been echoing this poem in 'An Elegy I made on Mr Francis Beaumont, Dying 1615–16 at Westminster' ll. 42–8:

Death, I acknowledge thee the supreme head
Over all persons: God has given thee sway
In thy two kingdoms of the earth and sea.
I knew thee mighty; but I thought thou wert
More wise and less malicious than thou art.
For, being re-advised, his death will show
To be a foolish and a spiteful blow.

Poems, ed. H. Buchan (1940) p. 72.

Beaumont's connection as himself an elegist with the Bedford circle (see headnote to *Markham*) might have led to his possessing a copy of *Bulstrode Recant* which Pestell might have seen (though no surviving MS listed in *IELM* 334–6 is there firmly dated before 1620). Beaumont's kinsman Sir Thomas was patron of Pestell's living of Coleorton, Leics, and dedicatee of his assize sermon *Morbis Epidemicus* (1615; Buchan pp. xxxi–xxxiii).

Text. The lines of transmission sometimes seem crossed (perhaps because different scribes can make the same errors), though there do emerge the broad groupings of I (here including *H40*, *DC*), II (including *L74*, *Dal*), and III, differentiated from Group I by the latter's 'but' in l. 74. All four Group II MSS preserve readings in ll. 5, 6, 10, 32 and 74 which seem too substantial for scribal invention, and, given their greater vigour, suggest authorial revision. The joint witness of Group II as a whole has therefore been accepted here, exemplified in what appear to be its most accurate members, *TCC* and *TCD* (by the same scribe), corrected in ll. 41, 61, 68 from others of its group, but from Groups I (whose most accurate member is *D*) and III (most accurate member, *Dob*) when they agree against II in a preferable reading.

DEATH, I recant, and say unsaid by me
What ere hath slipped that might diminish thee.

Sources collated: *Group I:* *C57*, *D*, *H49*, *Lec*, *H40*, *DC*; *Group II:* *L74*, *Dal*, *TCC*, *TCD*; *Group III:* *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *TCC/TCD*

Select variants:

Heading: *II:* Upon ~ ~ ~ *M~ B~ Lut*, *O'F:* An Elegy on *M~ B~ H40:* Elegy on *M~ B~ C57*, *D*, *H49*, *Lec*, *S96*, 1633, 1635: On *M~ B~ Dob* under heading *Elegyes:* Elegy *M~ B~ DC*

1–2 Seeming to contradict the Christian orthodoxy of *DivM11Death*.

2 **What ere]** The usual form in MSS and 1633, which could mean either 'What previously' or 'Whatever'. Either would suit *D.*'s disclaimer of authorship. **slipped]** slipped out (with a connotation of error, mistake, lapse).

- Spiritual treason, atheism 'tis, to say
 That any can thy summons disobey.
 5 Th'Earth's face is but thy table, and the meat
 Plants, cattle, men, dishèd for Death to eat.
 In a rude hunger now he millions draws
 Into his bloody[^]or plaguy[^]or starved jaws.
 Now he will seem to spare, and doth more waste,
 10 Eating the best fruit, well preserved to last.
 Now wantonly he spoils, and eats us not,
 But breaks off friends, and lets us piecemeal rot.
 Nor will this earth serve him: he sinks the deep

5 and the meat] thie [*marg. and*] meat *L74*: and thy meat *Dal*: there are set *I, III, 1633, 1635*: where are set *Lut, O'F*
 6 dishèd] dishes *I, Dob, 1633, 1635*
 10 fruit] ~s *TCC, Dal, Lut*: first *D, C57, Lec, H40, DC, Dob, S96, O'F, 1633, 1635*

3–4 Contradicted by *BulstrodeBedford*, the elegy ascribed by Grierson and Milgate to Lady Bedford, first printed in 1635 as 'Elegie on Mistris Boulstred' (though in two MSS entitled '... Lady Markham'), which begins 'Death, be not proud: thy hand gave not this blow', and praises the deceased with unreserved personal warmth.

3 atheism] Since to God belong 'the keys of hell and of death', *Rev.* 1. 18.

5–6 and the meat/there are set . . . dishèd/dishes] The Group II readings followed here are more vivid, with noun and active verb in place of passive verb and noun. Both 'set' and 'meat' would have rhymed with 'eat' in the pronunciation of the time.

6 dishèd] served up.

7–9 now . . . Now] at one time . . . At another time.

8 Alluding to Death's three fellow horsemen of the Apocalypse (*Rev.* 6. 2–8), the four being commonly interpreted as the 'sore judgements' of *Ezek.* 14. 21, 'the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence'. Cp. the less formulaic list of causes to which Death is made a slave in *DivM11Death* 9–10. There was a sharp rise in the number of plague burials in London in 1609: see Slack (1985) p. 146.

10 Eating . . . fruit/fruits/first] That death consumes the best first was a readily available idea, agreeing with the classical and Christian proverb (Tilley G251) concisely repeated in T. Ford, *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (1607; Fellowes p. 521): 'God takes them soonest whom he loveth best', and *DivM11Death* 7: 'And soonest our best men with death do go'. Nevertheless, the Group II version is supported in *H49*, suggesting that the reading 'first' in other Group I MSS may derive from a scribe's jumping to the conclusion that this is what D. meant. It is, of course, true in practice that fruit without blemish is better 'preserved to last'.

11 eats] consumes. The image is of a bite here, a bite there, spoiling and leaving to go bad, as when friends die we feel we have lost parts of ourselves, and are never the same again.

13 serve] be enough for. **sinks]** swims down into (a use not recorded in *OED*).

- Where harmless fish monastic silence keep,
 15 Who, were Death dead, by roes of living sand
 Might sponge that element and make it land.
 He rounds the air, and breaks the hymnic notes
 In birds' (Heaven's choristers) organic throats,
 Which, if they did not die, might seem to be
 20 A tenth rank in the heavenly hierarchy.
 O strong and long-lived Death! How cam'st thou in?
 And how without creation didst begin?
 Thou hast and shalt see dead, before thou di'st,

15 roes *I*, 1633, 1635: rows *II*, *III* (common alternative spelling)

14 harmless fish] D.'s choice of epithet is explained in *Metem* 281–90. **monastic silence]** According to the classical proverb, 'Mute as a fish'. See note on *Metem* 348, and cp. *WottonKisses* 57. Members of contemplative monastic orders especially, such as Cistercians of the Strict Observance and Carthusians, were severely restricted as to where and when they could speak, if not totally forbidden to. Cp. *Serm.* 3. 169 (?Nov. 1620) for a related comparison—'A Carthusian is but a man of fish, for one Element, to dwell still in a Pond, in his Cell alone'—and D.'s assertion of the harm monks caused: 'They occasion and they maintain suits from their Cloister; and there are the Courts of Justice noted to abound most with suits, where Monasteries abound most. . . . they give occasions of *armies*, they raise armies, they direct armies, they pay armies from their Cloister.' Renaissance ichthyographies contain memorable, sometimes fanciful portrayals of the monk-fish, *Squatina angelus*, which could have prompted D.'s association.

15 roes/rows] The second form, found in MSS of Groups II and III, was a current spelling of 'roes', not necessarily implying another meaning, so this is strictly a modernisation not emendation of copy-text. It seems probably accidental that Cecilia Bulstrode's lover was Sir Thomas Roe (also variously spelt). **living sand]** Referring to the granular texture of fish-roe. Cp. *Metem* 223: 'A female fish's sandy roe'.

16 sponge] absorb, as the roes accumulated and swelled like an enormous sponge, to form such sandbanks as notoriously appear in the English Channel, possibly with the secondary sense of 'expunge' like a mistake in writing which is then replaced.

17 rounds] circles like the bird of prey he is likened to below, l. 31. **hymnic notes]** songs of praise.

18 Heaven's choristers] A common comparison: cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 73. 4. **organic]** Not just anatomical organs, but voicing praise of God like church-organs.

20 Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite's enumeration of nine orders of angels in his 'Celestial Hierarchies', c. 500 CE, was accepted throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

21 strong] Directly recanting *DivM11Death* 1–2. **How . . . in?]** Conspicuously ignoring *Gen.* 2. 17, 3. 1–19, *1 Cor.* 15. 21, and *Rom.* 5. 12, 'by one man, sin entered the world, and death by sin', the last used by D. to answer the question, raised in *Wisd.* 1. 13, in *Serm.* 4. 54 (8 March 1622; Milgate).

23 before thou di'st] *Rev.* 20. 14. Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 26: 'The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death', on which D. in 1622 preached the sermon cited above.

- All the four monarchies and Antichrist.
 25 How could I think thee nothing, that see now,
 In all this all, nothing else is but thou?
 Our births and life, vices and virtues, be
 Wasteful consumptions, and degrees of thee.

27 life] lifes *Dal, Dob, S96*: lives *Lut, O'F, 1635* vices . . . virtues] virtues . . . vices
Lec, III

24 the four monarchies] *Dan.* 2. 31–44, 7. 2–27, interpreted by Christians (in, e.g., the marginal notes of the Geneva Bible, 1560 onward) as denoting the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and (anachronistically) Roman empires. **Antichrist]** Identified with the ‘man of sin’ of *2 Thess.* 2. 3–8, with ‘Babylon the Great, Mother of Harlots’, *Rev.* 17. 1–19. 3, and thence by militant Protestants (e.g., in the Geneva Bible’s notes) with the Papacy.

26 all this all] A current phrase: cp. Greville, *Caelica* 69, as well as D.’s *WoodwardRSlumber* 27 **this all]** the created world (termed in Greek τὸ πᾶν, ‘the all’), as in *Metem* 27, *Litany* 74, *Markham* 27–8, *SecAn* 5, strictly to be distinguished from the omnipresent deity of *2 Cor.* 2 (cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 28, in which God will be ‘all in all’) or the entire universe of ‘Heav’n, Earth, and Spheres’ of *Sidney* 23. **nothing else is]** D.’s habit of thinking in absolutes and hyperboles, in emotional extremes of ‘all’ or ‘nothing’, regardless of subject, is exemplified in this phrase’s recurrence in *Sun* 22.

27 births] Cp. Augustine 13. 10 (1610) p. 476: ‘Whether this mortal life be rather to be called death than life. For as soon as ever man enters this mortal body, he begins a perpetual journey unto death.’ Cp. *Serm.* 4. 52: ‘Doth not man die even in his birth? The breaking of prison is death, and what is our birth, but a breaking of prison?’ (Milgate). **life]** Cp. *Devotions* 12 Meditation and *Rom.* 8. 13: ‘if ye live after the flesh ye shall die’. **vices]** Paralleled with ‘births’ because, according to *Ps.* 51. 5, ‘I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin did my mother conceive me’, and *Eph.* 2. 3, we ‘were by nature the children of wrath’, although, despite elaborating vividly on these texts in *Serm.* 5. 171–2 (?Dec. 1618), D. concedes that ‘It is a degree of uncleanness, to fix our thoughts too earnestly upon the uncleanness of our conception, and of our birth’. Cp. *BedfordWritten* 53, 59–60, and notes thereon. **virtues]** which involve mortification: *Rom.* 8. 13, *Col.* 3. 5. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 63 (1618): ‘Sin makes the body of man miserable, and the remedy of sin, *mortification*, makes it miserable too’.

28 Wasteful consumptions] ‘fatal wasting diseases, gradual deaths’, also with the active sense of *Serm.* 2. 81 (1618): ‘we bring all with us into the world, that which carries us out of the world: a natural, unnatural consuming of that radical virtue which sustains our life.’ In *FirAn* 106–10 ‘that consumption’ is life-shortening sexual intercourse. D. likewise sees ‘consumptions’ as the results of ‘intemperances and licentiousness’ in *Devotions* 12 Meditation (1987) p. 63 (where he terms himself ‘mine own executioner’), and of ‘wantonness’ and ‘intemperance’ in *Serm.* 7. 363, 10. 79. Cp. also *FirAn* 155–8, *Serm.* 1. 257, and *Rom.* 7. 5. **degrees of thee]** In *Serm.* 4. 52, D. quotes *1 Cor.* 15. 31 and Jerome’s elaboration: ‘We die every day, and we die all the day long.’ Cp. Augustine 13. 10:

For there is none but is nearer death at the year’s end than he was at the beginning, tomorrow than today, today than yesterday, by and by than just

- For we, to live, our bellows wear, and breath,
 30 Nor are we mortal, dying, dead, but death.
 And though thou be'st, O mighty bird of prey,
 So much reclaimed of God that thou must lay
 All that thou kill'st at his feet, yet doth he
 Reserve but few, and leaves the most to thee.
 35 And of those few, now thou hast overthrown
 One whom thy blow makes not ours, nor thine own.
 She was more storeys high: hopeless to come
 To^her soul, thou'st offered at her lower room.
 Her soul and body was a king and court,
 40 But thou hast both of captain missed and fort.

32 of] by *I, III, 1633, 1635* 34 to] for *Lut, O'F, 1635*

35 now thou hast Σ : thou now hast *TCD* 36 nor Σ : not *TCC, TCD, L74*

now, and now than a little before; each part of time that we pass cuts off so much from our life, . . . And if each one begin to be in death as soon as his life begins to shorten, . . . then is every man in death as soon as ever he is conceived. For what else do all his days, hours and minutes declare, but that, they being done, the death wherein he lived is come to an end? . . . He is never in life as long as he is in that dying rather than living body.

Augustine's commentator, Vives, notes that he took much of these ideas from Seneca, whose *Moral Essays* 6, *To Marcia on Consolation* 10. 5, 11. 3–4, 21. 6, Milgate also cites.

29 our bellows wear] wear out our lungs. *Serm.* 4. 53: 'Death is in nature but *Expiratio*, a breathing out, and we do that every minute' (Milgate).

30 Three stages cannot be distinguished in us: death is ever-present. Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 31: 'I die daily'; the *BCP* funeral sentence, 'In the midst of life we are in death'; Seneca, *Moral Essays*, 'To Marcia on Consolation' 21. 6; and *Serm.* 4. 52: 'Says S. Jerome: "We die every day"; and we die all the day long, and, because we are not absolutely dead, we call that an eternity, an eternity of dying'.

31–3 Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 22–3. The image (as in *Diet* 35) is of a trained raptor called in. For God as falconer, cp. *Job* 39. 26–30.

31 prey] Cp. *Markham* 62.

32 reclaimed] tamed (by the Atonement). **of/by]** If Group II follows a revised authorial version, this variant may be presumed from their agreement to appear in it, though not obviously necessary. There may be an echo of the *GV* biblical phrase 'redeemed of the Lord', *Ps.* 107. 2, *Isa.* 51. 11, though that applied to his chosen people, not Death.

33–4 yet . . . but few] 'For many are called, but few are chosen'—*Matt.* 22. 14.

35–6 Cp. *DivM11Death* 3–4.

37–40 Cp. *Markham* 33.

38 offered at] aimed at, made an attempt on. **lower room]** earthly part.

40 of captain missed] failed to capture the commanding officer. The rank almost identifies her with her Saviour, 'the captain of their salvation', *Heb.* 2. 10. D. himself as the besieged (by the Devil) has no such virtue in *HolyS10Batter*.

As houses fall not though the King remove,
 Bodies of saints rest for their souls above.
 Death gets 'twixt souls and bodies such a place
 As sin insinuates 'twixt just men and grace:
 45 Both works a separation, no divorce.

41 As Σ : All *TCC*, *TCD* King] ~s 1635 42 rest] ~s *L74*, *Dal*
 43 souls] soul *TCC* bodies] body *TCC*
 45 works] work *H40*, *DC*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635: makes *C57*, *Lec*

42 Perhaps suggested by *Matt.* 27. 52: 'Many bodies of saints which slept arose' at the death of Jesus. **rest]** wait. For the idea of bodies awaiting the return of their souls cp. *Relic* 10–11.

44 **insinuates]** Scanned as three syllables: 'insinwates'.

45 **Both works/work/makes]** Cp. 'both was' in *BedfordShe* 20, where, however, the disagreement between plural pronoun and singular verb (also changed to plural in *H40*, *Lut*, *O'F*) deliberately emphasises the previous unity of souls in friendship. In *Jeremy* 233–4, 'Both good and evil from his mouth proceeds: / Why then grieves any man for his misdeeds?' the lack of concord was obviously accepted by D. for the sake of the rhyme. The occurrence of the singular verb-form in ~s in the best MSS of all three groups (*D*, *TCD*, *Dob*) indicates that their more accurate than average scribes accepted what they saw in their copy, more closely related to D.'s holograph(s). It is plausible that in his mind at the time of writing (close, of course, to *BedfordShe*) 'both' could function grammatically as well as lexically for 'each of them', 'both [death and sin]'. *C57* and *Lec*'s 'makes' is the verb preferred by D. in *Serm.* 7. 257: 'Man made the first divorce', but is not in the generally more accurate *D* and *H49*, so cannot have been in the Group I archetype. 'Work' is used transitively with 'breach' in *Litany* 184. **a separation, no divorce]** *Serm.* 7. 85, 90 (24 Feb. 1626) reveals the C. of E.'s anxiety that belief in predestination could produce despair and abandonment to sin: it

is sweetly and safely said by St Ambrose: 'As often as thy thoughts fall upon a fearfulness of a Divorce from thy God, establish thyself with that comfort of a Marriage to thy God', for the words of his Contracts are ['I shall marry you to me for ever']. There can be no *Divorce* imagined, if there were not a *Marriage*, and if there be a *Marriage* with *God* there can be no *Divorce*, for . . . he marries for ever. . . . Inordinate dejection of spirit, irreligious sadness, jealousy of the anger, distrustfulness of the mercy, diffidence in the promises of the *Gospel*—are these witnesses to be heard against *God*? . . . Of an eternal decree of thy *divorce* thy *conscience* . . . can be no *witness*, . . . Hath thy imaginary *Bill of divorce*, and everlasting separation from *GOD*, any *Seal* from him? . . . *Seals of Reprobation* at first, or of irrevocable *Separation* now, there are none from *GOD*: no *Calamity*, not *Temporal*, no, not *Spiritual*, no *Darkness* in the Understanding, no *Scruple* in the Conscience, no *Perplexity* in the resolution; not a *Sudden Death*, not a *Shameful Death*, not a *stupid*, not a *raging Death*, must be to thyself by the way, or may be to us, who may see thine End, an *Evidence*, a *Seal*, of *Eternal Reprobation* or of *final Separation*.

On separation from God by sin cp. also *Serm.* 2. 110–13 (quoting *Isa.* 59. 2). Articles 11 to 17 of the Church of England may be taken to mean that a man justified

- Her soul is gone to usher up her corse,
 Which shall be almost another soul, for there
 Bodies are purer than best souls are here.
 Because in her, her virtues did outgo
 50 Her years, wouldst thou, O emulous Death, do so?
 And kill her young, to thy loss? Must the cost
 Of beauty and wit, apt to do harm, be lost?
 What though thou found'st her proof 'gainst sins of youth?
 Oh, every age a diverse sin pursu'th.
 55 Thou shouldst have stayed, and taken better hold:
 Shortly, ambitious, covetous when old,

48 than Σ : \wedge ^{than} their *TCD*

by faith and baptism will inevitably sin, but that even mortal sins are not necessarily unpardonable, if followed by repentance. D. appears to contradict these lines of *Bulstrode Recant* with respect to death in *Serm.* 6. 71 (Easter Day 1624): 'Death is a divorce, and so is sin', 7. 103-4 (Easter Day 1626), 9. 207 (Easter Day 1630), and 10. 176 (n. d.), but refines the analogy in *Serm.* 7. 257 (12 Dec. 1626):

God married the Body and Soul in the Creation, and man divorced the Body and Soul by death through sin, in his fall. . . . God hath made the band of Marriage indissoluble but by death: farther than man can die, this divorce cannot fall upon man; as far as man is immortal, man is a married man still, still in possession of a soul and a body too. And man is for ever immortal in both: Immortal in his soul, by Preservation; and immortal in his body by Reparation in the Resurrection.

46-8 As in *Markham* 23-6, the soul will return at the Resurrection to reconstitute the body in finer material. Cp. *Bedford Honour* 22-4, *Markham* 25-8, *SecAn* 501-3.

46 **usher up]** precede and announce the impending arrival of. **corse]** corpse, body.

48 Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 44: 'There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.'

49-50 **her virtues . . . years]** Cp. *Markham* 60 for this classical commonplace.

50 **do so]** do the same, treating her as if she were old.

51 **the cost]** The second, eternal death of *Rev.* 20. 12-15 incurred by those tempted into damnable lechery, the 'whoremongers' of *Rev.* 21. 8.

52 **beauty . . . harm]** Cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 94, 'They that have power to hurt'.

53-8 Cp. the reworking in *Harington* 123-30.

53 **sins of youth]** Cp. D.'s confession in the previous year in *Litany* 22 to being 'Half wasted with youth's fires of pride and lust', and his later praise of the dead Lord Harington, *Harington* 194-5, for successfully fighting 'the heat / Of youth's desires, and colds of ignorance'.

54 Cp. *Serm.* 9. 344 (n. d.): ' . . . though every particular age bring a new sin with it, . . . '.

56-7 Seneca, *To Marcia* 22. 2, similarly consoles a mother with her son's avoidance of lust and gluttony, and Plutarch a father in *A Consolatory Oration Sent unto Apollonius* (120B), *Morals*, Engl. (1603) p. 530: 'Departed he is as from some

- She might have proved, and such devotion
 Might once have strayed to superstition.
 If all her virtues must have grown, yet might
 60 Abundant virtue have bred a proud delight.
 Had she persèvered just, there would have been
 Some that would sin, misthinking she did sin,
 Such as would call her friendship 'love', and feign
 To sociàbleness a name profane,
 65 Or sin by tempting, or, not daring that,

59 must] might III

61 been Σ: grown TCC, TCD: been [marg. grown] L74

banquet, before he is fallen into drunkenness and folly, which he could not have eschewed but it would have ensued upon old age'. Augustine 19. 8, Engl. (1610) p. 764, asserts that 'we had rather have them dead in body than in soul, . . . This maketh us give thanks for the death of our good friends, and though it make us sad a while, yet it giveth us more assurance of comfort ever after, because they have now escaped all those mischiefs which oftentimes seize upon the best.' Cp. the catalogue of maturer sins in *Harington* 123–6, and *Serm.* 5. 203 (Churching of the Countess of Bridgewater): 'Those sins which possess us most ordinarily, and most strongly . . . are *Licentiousness* in our youth, and *Covetousness* in our age, and *voluptuousness* in our middle time.' See also *Serm.* 2. 245 (18 April 1618): 'When thy heats of youth are not overcome, but burnt out, then thy middle age chooses ambition, and thy old age chooses covetousness' (Milgate). Cp. also *Serm.* 9. 249.

57–8 such devotion . . . superstition] Her strong inclination to worship might have led her to seek out further objects, such as the images and relics of Roman Catholicism. This was a live issue for D., who had visited Toby Mathew in prison in 1607–8 to try to reclaim him for the faith of his father, the Archbishop of York (Bald pp. 187–8), and wrote anxiously to Goodyer early in 1609 about the latter's appearance of wavering (*Letters* pp. 100–2).

58 once] at some future time.

59–60 She might have fallen into the sin of the Pharisee, *Luke* 18. 10–14.

61–6 The fluidly proliferating clauses contrast with the curtness and balance of most of the poem's syntax, enacting the unstable multiplicity of transgression.

61 been] 'bin' in MSS and 1633. TCC/TCD's 'grown' presumably resulted from scribal eyeslip to l. 59: apart from not rhyming, it is clearly inapposite.

62–4 Some . . . profane] Which had already happened: see Jonson's 'Epigram on the Court Pucelle', *Underwood* no. 49, terming her, because of her entertaining and emulating (male) wits, her free conversation, ostentation, and fine dressing, 'the Court Pucelle' or whore.

63–4 Cp. *Markham* 56–8, whose subject is also credited with demonstrating that not all warm relationships between men and women are sexual.

63 feign] give falsely.

64 profane] 'blaspheming her purity' or 'disrespectful of the sacredness of pure friendship', or 'sinful'.

65 tempting] trying to get her to sin. Cp. *Christ* 7–8.

By wishing, though they never told her what.
 Thus might'st thou've slain more souls, hadst thou not crossed
 Thyself, and, to triumph, thine army lost.
 Yet though these ways be lost, thou hast left one,
 70 Which is, immod'rate grief that she is gone.
 But we may scape that sin, yet weep as much:
 Our tears are due because we are not such.
 Some tears, that knot of friends, her death must cost,
 Because the chain is broke, though no link lost.

66 told] had *L74, Dal* 67 might'st] might *Dal, S96*

68 thine *I, 1633, 1635*; thy *II, III* 74 though] but *I, 1633*

66 By wishing] 'Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart'—*Matt.* 5. 28.

67 crossed] acted against.

68 Lured to strike prematurely by a mistaken belief in her sinfulness that would enable him to lead captive in procession one eminent soul, a king and commander (ll. 39–40), Death has lost the host of potential sins that might in time have brought the souls both of her and of lesser victims eternally within his grasp. **thine/thy]**

If D. had a preference for one or the other form before a vowel, it is hard to find evidence of it in his autograph MSS (*Carey* and thirty-eight mostly formal letters). Of the poems printed in his lifetime and so presumably from his own copies, *FirAn* has 'thy^intrinsic' (57) and 'thy anatomy' (60), *SecAn* 'thy issue' (43), 'thine own' (50), 'thine ague' (97), 'thine eyes' (109, 397) and 'thy^expansion' (180). Consequently, there is no more authority for the emendation of the copy-text here than euphony and the prevailing presence in the MSS of 'mine/thine arms' in *War* 31, *Cross* 18, *Weeping* 21, *Harington* 197. **triumph]** Cp. *Markham* 62.

70–2 immoderate . . . such] Cp. *Markham* 7–16 and note.

72 such] Either as she was, virtuous, or as she is, dead and in heaven.

73 Cp. *Serm.* 7. 269 (12 Dec. 1626): 'To lament a dead friend is natural, and civil; and he is the deader of the two, the verier carcass, that does not so.' **knot of friends]** Cicero, *Laelius on Friendship* 14 (51) defines love as the most estimable knot of friendship, *nodum amicitiae*. To 'Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; . . . weep with them that weep' is enjoined in *Rom.* 12. 10, 15. Milgate understands 'knot' as the group of friends themselves (the object of 'cost'), rather than a bond between friends (in apposition to 'tears'). Just possibly, there might be a play on Lady Bedford's family motto, *Firmo nodo*, 'By a firm knot, strong bond'.

74 chain] of friendship. **though/but]** Group I's 'but' seems consoling, Group II's 'though' almost ironic, noting the paradox of Christian mourning for those thought to be in Heaven (cp. Feste's words to Olivia in *Twelfth Night* 1. 5. 62–7).

Elegy on Mistress Bulstrode
[by Lucy, Countess of Bedford]

Date. After 4 Aug. 1609. Grierson 2. cxliv, supported by Bald p. 179, Gardner (1952, 1978) pp. xlvii–xlviii, and Milgate (1978) pp. 235–7, suggested tentatively that *H40*'s 'Elegie on the Lady Markham by C: L: of B.' was mistaken as to subject but correct in attribution, and that it was a riposte by Lady Bedford to D.'s first elegy on Cecilia Bulstrode, thus accounting for his two attempts. *H40* is the earlier source for the text, but gives no clue to association with other elegies by positioning, since they are scattered through a sequence including lyrics, a love-elegy and verse-epistles, on ff. 260–1 (*BulstrodeRecant*), 264v–5v (*Markham*), 269r–v (*BulstrodeBedford*), 284–5v (*BulstrodeLanguage*). Lady Bedford was known to write, though not for printed publication: John Davies of Hereford, *Muses Sacrifice*, 'Epistle Dedicatorie' l. 156 (1612), praises her and two other noblewomen in that 'you press the press with little you have made'.

Text. The earlier-copied text in *H40* degenerates in its final lines, but is otherwise usually at least as coherent as *Lut/O'F* and 1635. Although *Lut* as often gives no heading, the broken line between this poem and the preceding *BulstrodeRecant* is the scribe's usual way of marking separate poems. *O'F* and 1635 perhaps invented their headings.

- DEATH, be not proud! Thy hand gave not this blow:
Sin was her captive, whence thy power doth grow;
The executioner of wrath thou art,
But to destroy the just is not thy part.
5 Thy coming, terror, anguish, grief, denounce;
Her happy state, courage, ease, joys, pronounce.
From out the crystal palace of her breast
The clearer soul was called to endless rest
(Not by the thund'ring voice wherein God threatens,
10 But as with crownèd saints in Heav'n he treats),
And, waited on by angels, home was brought

Sources collated: *H40*; *Lut*, *O'F*; 1635

Base text: *H40*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: *Elegy on Mistris Boulstred* 1635: no heading *Lut*: Elegie *O'F*: ~ on the Lady Markham by C: L: of B. *H40*

2 grow] flow 1635 5–6 denounce . . . pronounce] ~s . . . ~s *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

6 joys] joy *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 9 wherein] wherewith *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

1 Death . . . proud] By thus quoting *DivM11Death*, Lady Bedford reproaches D. for retracting in *BulstrodeRecant* its pious confidence (and shows she had read at least one Holy Sonnet, supporting the notion that they were sent to—and may have been written for—her).

- To joy, what it through many dangers sought.
 The key of mercy gently did unlock
 The doors 'twixt Heaven and it, when life did knock.
 15 Nor boast the fairest frame was made thy prey
 Because to mortal eyes it did decay:
 A better witness than thou art assures
 That, though dissolvèd, it a space endures;
 No dram thereof shall loss or want sustain,
 20 When her blest soul inhabits it again.
 Go, then, to people cursed before they were:
 Their spoils in triumph of thy conquest bear.
 Glorify not thyself in our hot tears
 Our faces not for hers but our harms wears,
 25 The mourning liv'ry giv'n by grace, not thee,
 Which wills our souls in those streams washed should be,
 And on our hearts, her memory's best tomb,
 In this her epitaph doth write thy doom.
 Blind were those eyes saw not how bright did shine
 30 Through flesh's misty veil the beams divine;
 Deaf were the ears not charmed with that sweet sound
 Did in the spirit-instructed voice abound;
 Of flint the conscience did not yield and melt
 At what, in her last act, it saw, heard, felt.
 35 Weep not, nor grudge, then, to have lost her sight:
 Taught thus, our after-stay's but a short night;
 But by all souls not with corruption choked
 Let in high-raisèd notes that pow'r be[^]invoked.
 Calm the rough seas by which she sails to rest

12 what] that *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 sought] fought 1635

18 dissolvèd, it *ed.*: dissolu'd, it *H40*: dissolu'd, it yet *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

19 loss or want] want or loss *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 20 blest] best *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

22 spoils] souls *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 of] to *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

23 Glorify not] Glory not thou *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 our] these *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

24 Our faces *H40*, *O'Fbe*: Which our face *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 hers] her *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 harms] harm *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

26 those] these *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 27 memory's *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635: memory *H40*

30 the] those *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 31 with] by *Lut*

32 Did in the spirit-instructed] Which did in th' spirits instructed *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

34 saw, heard,] saw and *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 37 with] by *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

38 pow'r *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635: ~s *H40*

39 by which she sails to rest *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635: through which y^t sailed do rest *H40*

18 dissolvèd] If *H40*'s 'dissolu'd' is read as three syllables, *Lut*'s 'yet' is superfluous.

32 spirit] One syllable.

40 From sorrows here to[^]a kingdom ever blessed,
 And teach this hymn of her with joy, and sing:
 ‘The grave no conquest gets, Death hath no sting.’

41 teach . . . of her . . . and *Lut*, *O’F*, 1635: preach . . . which hers . . . did *H40*

Elegy upon the Death of Mistress Bulstrode

Date and context. Autumn 1609—. After the death of Cecilia Bulstrode on 4 Aug. 1609, if the heading in most MSS is right in naming her. *BulstrodeBedford* so directly counters the tenor of D.’s *BulstrodeRecant* that it is assumed he was under pressure to replace it. The apostrophe to Sorrow rather than Death as the agent of Miss Bulstrode’s decease is in tune with the opening line of Lady Bedford’s elegy, though not with her subsequent assertion that it was God’s summons to a beloved soul, an idea D. eventually turns to, however, in l. 39.

Text. *VD* makes clear that Groups II and III are separately descended from a probable common ancestor, and that what are here designated IIb and IIc are further away from that original than *TCC* and *TCD*. These two MSS between them give the text demanding least obvious correction, so have been adopted here, emended in l. 30 from IIc, III and 1633 and in l. 44 from 1633. *H40*, *S96* and the Scottish MSS, Dalhousie 1, Wedderburn, and Hawthornden, abound in separate omissions and errors.

L ANGUAGE, thou art too narrow, and too weak
 L To ease us now; great sorrow cannot speak;

Sources collated : *Group Ila*: *TCC*, *TCD*; *Ilb*: *L74*, *Dal*; *Ilc*: *H40*, *HN*, *Wed*; *III*: *S96*, *Lut*, *O’F*; 1633, 1635

Base text: *Ila*

Select variants:

Heading: Elegie upon the death of Mistress (*Mⁿ TCD*) Boulstred *Ila*: Another Elegie ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *Ilb*: A Funerall . . . *S96*: Another upon the same *Lut*: Another upon [of *O’Fbe*] the same *Mⁿ ~ O’F*: Elegie on *Mⁿ Boulstred H40*: Elegie. *Wed*, 1633: no heading *HN*: Death 1635

2 sorrow] ~s *Wed*, *III*, 1635

42 Following 1 *Cor.* 15. 55: ‘Death where is thy sting, grave where is thy victory?’ (*GV*).

2–4 great . . . affords] By eloquently rephrasing the proverbial inexpressibility of grief, D. implies his lack of feeling (insincerity will out) but also that Lady Bedford’s effusion is either poorly written or insincere. He may, of course, be warding off any more criticism of his inadequacy to the challenge of further mourning Cecilia Bulstrode’s death.

2 great . . . speak] Proverbial from Seneca, *Phaedra* 2. 2. (607), quoted by, e.g., Nashe, *Strange Newes* (1592; *Works* I. 314); Middleton, *Revenge’s Tragedy* (1607)

- If we could sigh out accents, and weep words,
 Grief wears and lessens, that tears breath affords.
 5 Sad hearts, the less they seem the more they are;
 So guiltiest men stand mutest at the bar:
 Not that they know not, feel not their estate,
 But èxtreme sense hath made them desperate.
 Sorrow, to whom we owe all that we be,
 10 Tyrant i'th' fifth and greatest monarchy,
 Was't that she did possess all hearts before,
 Thou hast killed her, to make thy empire more?
 Knew'st thou some would, that knew her not, lament,
 As in a deluge perish th'innocent?
 15 Was't not enough to have that palace won,

7 know not] ~ nor *Lut*

1. 4. 23; and Englished in Chapman, *Widow's Tears* (1605) 4. 1. [97–8]; Tilley S664 quotes, e.g., Spenser, *FQ* 1. 7. 41. 1; and *The Tragedy of Nero* (1607 sig. 14r): 'Great sorrow still is dumb.'

4 Again, proverbial: Tilley G447, quoting, e.g., Spenser, *FQ* 4. 12. 6 3: 'Grief may lessen, being told'. 'That grief is diminishing which allows a break in weeping' or '... allows mourning to speak'. Cp. *Macbeth* (1606) 4. 3. 211–12.

5 Cp. *Hamlet* 1. 2. 77–86.

6 Proverbially, 'Silence gives consent' (Tilley S446), a maxim of the law. Cp. D.'s 'Weakness invites, but silence feasts oppression' (*Metem* 250).

7 **estate**] condition.

8 **sense**] feeling.

9–28 If D. is literally saying that sorrow killed her, it would accord with the allegation in the title of Edward Herbert's elegy that she died 'not without disquiet of spirit and conscience', but undermine l. 35's 'Her soul was Paradise' (unless there is an implication of the Serpent's presence making it, as in *Twickenham* 8–9, 'True Paradise').

9 *Gen.* 3. 16: 'in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children' (Carey).

10 The reference may be, as Milgate notes, to the sorrows and tribulation forecast in *Matt.* 24. 8, 21. The actual ruler for the thousand years following the successive falls of the four ancient monarchies (see notes on *BulstrodeRecant* 24) was to be Christ. Rather than envisaging the Papacy as the predicted 'tyranny', a believer might consider the role of tyrant to be filled by apparently all-conquering Death, since, apart from the martyrs, 'the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished' (*Rev.* 20. 4–5).

11–12 'Did you intend to enlarge the number of your subjects by taking over all hers?'

11 **that**] because.

13 **knew her not, lament**] The punctuation is that of Group III MSS and 1633.

15–16 Reworking the image of *BulstrodeRecant* 39–42, though without the proviso there concerning the preservation of the form of the body, and with Sorrow

But thou must raze it too, that was undone?
 Hadst thou stayed there, and looked out at her eyes,
 All had adored thee that now from thee flies,
 For they let out more light than they took in;
 20 They told not when, but did the day begin.
 She was too sapphirine and clear for thee:
 Clay, flint, and jet now thy fit dwellings be.
 Alas, she was too pure; but not too weak:
 Whoe'er saw crystal ord'nance but would break?
 25 And if we be thy conquest, by her fall
 Thou'st lost thy end, for in her perish all;
 Or if we live, we live but to rebel:
 They know her better now, that knew her well.

21 for] to 1633 22 dwellings] dwelling *H40, HN, S96, Lut*

23 Alas] A lasse *L74: Alate Wed* 26 for in her] in her we *Lut, O'F, 1635*

28 They] That *III, 1635* that] who *Lut, O'F, 1635*

as the conqueror instead of Death. Only a disease (including mental ones such as sorrow) can capture a body without destroying it (ruin the palace without razing it); Death inevitably does both.

15, 59 palace, crystal] Perhaps deferential concessions to *BulstrodeBedford* 7's 'crystal palace'.

16 undone] decayed, ruined.

17–19 The eyes are figured as windows in the ruined palace occupied by its conqueror. Cp. *BulstrodeBedford* 29–30.

19–21 Cp. *S of S* 6. 10, *Measure for Measure* 4. 1. 3–4, and many others.

19 As in *Ecstasy* 7, D. dallies with the ancient theory of extramission, according to which vision was effected by the eye's sending out rays which were reflected back off the object.

20 'Her eyes did not just reflect daybreak, but caused it, in place of the sun.' Cp. *BedfordRefined* 13–20.

21 Cp. *BulstrodeBedford* 8: 'The clearer soul'. **sapphirine]** shining translucent blue, like the throne of God in *Ezek.* 1. 26, 10. 1. In medieval and Renaissance paintings the Virgin Mary was usually shown wearing blue.

24 D. may be recalling the unbreakable glass demonstrated by a Roman craftsman to Tiberius (who had him executed, to maintain employment), fully recounted by Panciroli and his commentator (1599) 1. 125–6. **ord'nance]** 'ordinance' in the original texts. Given the unlikelihood that the manufacture of cannon in quartz or glass had ever been contemplated, let alone carried out, the word here presumably denotes 'utensils' such as wine-glasses as in *Markham* 42 (cp. *OED* ordinance 4b). Milgate detects an allusion to alchemical apparatus.

25–6 The conqueror will have no subject people left: cp. *Prohibition* 13–15 (Milgate).

26 in her perish all] A hint of the hyperbole to be elaborated in the *Anniversaries*.

27–8 If we survive our grief, the result will be our resistance to domination by sorrow, her mourners knowing that she is in a better state now, having previously known that she was in a good state (ll. 33–6).

- If we should vapour out and pine and die,
 30 Since she first went, that were not misery.
 She changed our world with hers: now she is gone,
 Mirth and prosperity's oppression;
 For of all moral virtues she was all
 The ethics speak of virtues cardinal.
 35 Her soul was Paradise, the cherubin
 Set to keep it was grace that kept out sin;

29 and pine *TCD*, 1633, 1635: or ~ *TCC*, *Iib*, *Iic*, *III* and die] or ~ *Dal*, *Iic*, *Lut*, *O'F*

30 she *Iic*, *III*, 1633: the *Iia*, *L74* (*margin.*), *Dal* not] no *III*

34 The] That *III*, 1635

29 vapour out] evaporate our spirits.

30 she/the] If the latter reading in Group II were the original, it would have to mean that since death entered the world with the murder of Abel, it has been no pitiable thing to die and go to a better world.

31 with hers] Either 'with her microcosm of virtues' or 'for the one where she belonged'.

33-4 Either 'She exercised all moral virtues as absolutely as works on ethics (e.g., Plato, *Laws* I (631)) demand with respect to the four cardinal virtues (wisdom, temperance, justice, and fortitude)', or 'She showed all the wisdom, temperance, justice, and fortitude described in ethical works in her exercise of all the moral virtues', both knowing and daring to do what was right, as Lady Bedford is encouraged to in *BedfordHonour* 33. D. is enlarging on the praise of the deceased's cardinal virtues, long conventional in memorial verses: see A. L. Bennett, *SP* 51 (1954) 114-16. Cp. *Harington* 73.

33 moral virtues] Not so much the theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity, but more probably such excellences of character as those praised in Lady Danvers (Magdalen Herbert) in D.'s funeral sermon on her, 'those married couples of *moral virtues*, *Conversation* married with a *Retiredness*, *Facility* married with a *Reservedness*, *Alacrity* married with a *Thoughtfulness*, and *Largeness* married with a *Providence*' (*Serm.* 8. 90, I July 1627). Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* I. 13. 20 (1103a5-10), distinguishes moral virtues (to which he devotes Books 2-5) such as liberality and temperance from the intellectual such as wisdom, intelligence and prudence (Book 6). Cp. note on the probably misattributed *HuntingdonUnripe* 129.

34 speak] Possibly meaning 'require', 'demand' (cp. *OED* v. 11e). **virtues cardinal]** Defined by Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 2. 2. 61. 2 as prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude.

35 Her soul was Paradise] Cp. *BedfordWritten* 75, *Markham* 51.

35-6 the cherubin / Set to keep it] One of those in *Gen.* 3. 24. D. here uses 'cherubin' as a singular, as in *Funeral Elegy* 50. Cp. *BedfordRefined* 72, where it may be plural, and *Satyre* 5 61, *Markham* 49, where the addition of '~s' makes the plural obvious.

- She had no more than let in death, for we
 All reap consumption from one fruitful tree.
 God took her hence lest some of us should love
 40 Her, like that plant, him and his laws above,
 And when we tears, he mercy shed in this
 To raise our minds to Heav'n where now she is;
 Who if her virtues would have let her stay,
 We'd had a saint, have now a holy day.
 45 Her heart was that strange bush where sacred fire,
 Religion, did not consume, but inspire
 Such piety, so chaste use of God's day,
 That what we turn to feasts, she turned to pray,
 And did prefigure here in devout taste
 50 The rest of her high sabbath, which shall last.

40 that] the *Ilb* 44 have now 1633, 1635: now *MSS* (*O'Fbe*)

45 that] the *TCC*

48 turn] ~ed *TCCae*, *L74be*, *Dal*, *Ilc*, *S96*, *Lut* feasts] feast *Ilc*, *S96*, 1633, 1635

37–8 She was in any case too virtuous in herself to have let in the sin the cherubin were set to exclude, but not even divine grace keeps out the death which is the human lot since Eve: 'One woman at one blow then killed us all'—*FirAn* 106. Cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 21 and note.

38 consumption] Punning on man's consumption of the forbidden fruit (*Gen.* 2. 17, 3. 1–19) which entailed the consumption of his life by death (with a hint of the fatal disease tuberculosis). Cp. *BulstrodeLanguage* 28.

39–40 A return to the idea of Cecilia Bulstrode as potential cause of others' sin, as in *BulstrodeRecant* 61–6.

43–4 Who if . . . saint] Perhaps putting right offence caused to Lady Bedford by *BulstrodeRecant* 56–60, suggesting that Cecilia Bulstrode might have proved anything but a saint had she lived longer.

44 have now/now] If 1633's emendation is not accepted (and it may have been editorial conjecture), then 'We'd' should be expanded to 'We had', dropping the apostrophe supplied in 1633 but not the *MSS*. **holy day]** Spelt thus only in *Wed*, but this original sense has been all but lost in the modern understanding of 'holiday'.

45–6 that strange bush . . . consume] Out of which God spoke to Moses, giving him his mission, *Exod.* 3, *Acts* 7. 30–6.

48 She showed the strict Protestant attitude to the feasts of the church (Sundays and holy days) probably favoured by Lady Bedford, whose elegy, l. 21, tells Death to concentrate on those predestined to damnation: 'Go, then, to people cursed before they were'.

50 'The repose and the remainder of her heavenly rest, which shall be eternal'. Cp. *DivM12Wilt* 8: the 'sabbath's endless rest' of the Son and the elect soul.

sabbath] In Hebrew literally 'rest'; Group II and 1633 spell it 'Sabaoth', inappropriately, since that word means 'hosts, armies' (*Rom.* 9. 29, *James* 5. 4), and the reference here is clearly to an eternal version of the 'God's day' of l. 47, as applied to King James in D.'s first sermon to King Charles, 3 April 1625 (*Serm.* 6. 241), where it is spelt 'Sabboth'.

- Angels did hand her up, who next God dwell
 (For she was of that order whence most fell),
 Her body left with us, lest some had said
 She could not die, except they saw her dead.
 55 For from less virtue and less beauteousness
 The Gentiles framed them gods and goddesses.
 The rav'nous earth, that now woos her to be
 Earth too, will be *Lemnia*; and the tree
 That wraps that crystal in a wooden tomb
 60 Shall be took up spruce filled with diamond;
 And we, her sad-glad friends all bear a part
 Of grief, for all would waste a Stoic's heart.

53 body] ~'s III, 1635 54 except] unless L74 (*margin.* except), III

56 framed] formed IIc 58 *Lemnia*] a ~ 1633, O'Fae, 1635: *lacuna* in HN

59 tomb] tome O'F

61 And] While *Lut*, O'F sad-glad *ed.*: ~, ~ TCC: ~_^ ~ TCD, H40, HN, 1633,

1635: glad sad IIb, III all bear] each ~ S96: each ~s *Lut*, O'Fae in *original hand*

62 waste] break III, 1635

51 Angels . . . up] As they do the beggar in *Luke* 16. 22. Cp. *BulstrodeBedford* 11: 'waited on by angels'. **who next God dwell]** Specifically, seraphim, as in *Isa.* 6. 1–2 (cp. note on *BulstrodeRecant* 20), reinforcing the l. 21 association of the deceased with the sapphirine throne of God.

52 Normally, only the two lowest choirs, archangels and angels, had anything to do with Man. That most of the fallen angels were seraphim is a refinement of scholastic theology. Cp. Gregory on the cherub of *Ezek.* 28 (Milgate). In Milton's *Paradise Lost* 1. 128, Satan has 'led the embattled seraphim to war', though the rebel angels are variously designated here and there in the poem.

53–4 As the corpses of self-styled prophets or messiahs (or parts of them) were displayed by the authorities after execution (as in the case of Jan of Leiden in Münster in 1535, and William Hacket in London in 1591).

57 woos] The alternative spellings 'wooes' (e.g., HN, *Lut*, O'F) and 'woes' (e.g., H40, S96, 1633) do not necessarily indicate any doubt about the sense, since all three were current.

58 Lemnia] The reddish clay from the island of Lemnos was supposed in classical medicine to be a universal antidote, thus preserving the body. Here, it will be not only preserved but transformed into something more precious: the alchemists' *terra Lemnia* was supposed an essential ingredient in their attempts to transmute base metal into gold. 1633's insertion of the indefinite article makes no sense, and presumably shows that for the editor it was normal English usage to stress the first syllable.

60 spruce] (a) A fine casket from Prussia ('Spruceland') for valuables such as the 'diamond' her body will become. (b) 'Prussian fir', i.e., Norway spruce, *Picea abies*, one of the whitest of woods. Since it was not grown in England, D. was probably unaware of its evergreen habit, and so could not intend it to symbolise eternal life.

61–2 Paraphrased by Dryden, 'Eleonora' 357–8 (1692).

62 waste a Stoic's heart] devastate even one whose ideal was to be invulnerable to emotion.

Elegy on Prince Henry

Date and Context. Nov. 1612–1613. Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594–1612), died of a ‘putrid fever’, possibly typhoid, on 6 Nov. Though the Prince’s bowels were buried promptly, the rest of his corpse was not interred until 7 Dec. Meanwhile, J. Sylvester (describing himself as the Prince’s ‘first, worst and poet pensioner’) had written *Lachrymae lachrymarum*. or *The Distillation of Teares Shede for the untymely Death of The incomparable Prince Panaretus*, with elegies in English, Latin, French and Italian by one of the Prince’s musicians, Walter Quinn, entered in the Stationers’ Register on the 27th. The first and second editions, with title-page in white type on a black ground, rectos bordered with shrouded corpses and skeletons, and solid black versos throughout, were presumably printed immediately, and are dated 1612. D.’s contribution did not appear until the third edition, *Lachrymae Lachrymarum*, dated 1613, in an appended section of ‘Sundry Funeral Elegies . . . Composed by severall Authors’. Milgate points out that the printer’s apology ‘To the severall Authors of these surrepted Elegies’ (sigg. ‘C–D’ 3v) for unauthorised publication is probably a feint ‘designed to protect the reputation of the authors as gentleman amateurs’. To many readers, the poem has the marks of a product hastily bespoken, perhaps by Hall, one of the Prince’s chaplains and friend of Sylvester (see Snyder in DuBartas (1979) pp. 22–3, 30, and cp. Garrard’s solicitation of elegies for Cecilia Bulstrode—see Bald p. 178 and headnote to *BulstrodeRecant*): D. may have felt more like focussing his struggle for patronage on a live daughter and son-in-law in *Elizabeth* rather than a dead son in *Henry*, if either might please the King. Lines 32–4, 75 suggest the poem was written more with thought for the eyes of the living King than out of piety for the dead prince: D.’s presenting a copy of *Pseudo-Martyr* to Henry in 1610 (see D.’s formal letter in *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, ed. J. Hayward (1929) pp. 462–3) was now a lost investment, though self-confessedly prudent at the time. Less cynically, D. may have been given pause by inside information: the King wished to make the best of the approaching Palatinate marriage, so, according to A. Wilson (1653) p. 73, ‘commanding no man should appear in the Court in mourning: he would have nothing in his eye to bring so sad a message to his heart’. Chamberlain reports on 26 Nov. 1612 (1. 394) that ‘we hear that the King begins to digest his late loss, and seems to have no more feeling of so rude a blow’, but the Venetian Ambassador reported on 8 January that ‘his grief would suddenly come over him and he would burst out crying, “Henry is dead, Henry is dead”’ (Strong (1986) p. 220 from *CSPV 1610–13*, p. 472).

For a comprehensive assemblage of accounts of the character and activities of Henry, see Strong. See also E. C. Wilson, *Prince Henry and English Literature* (1946), and L. Parsons, *MLR* 47 (1952) 503–7. *Progresses . . . of King James I* 2. 469–90 reprints the accounts of Henry’s illness and death by Sir Charles Cornwallis in *Discourse . . . Written Anno 1626* (1641), and Chamberlain, *Letters*, 12 Nov. 1612 (with vivid details of symptoms, treatment, and autopsy), 19 Nov. 1612 (1. 388–9, 392); describes the mile-long funeral procession and ceremonies (*Progresses* 2. 493–504); and lists a selection of thirty-two tracts on the event (2. 504–12). E. C. Wilson pp. 123–71 also recounts the death and gives substantial samples from the elegies.

Heading The 1613 version is presumably Sylvester’s, sharing as it does the epithet ‘Incomparable’ with his title-page, and appearing above all the other poems added in 1613.

Analogues. In *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 6 (1906) 141–58, J. P. Edmonds describes forty-four publications of ‘Elegies and Other Tracts Issued on the Death of Henry, Prince of Wales, 1612’, including those by Brooke, Campion, Chapman, Davies of Hereford, Drummond, Henry Peacham jr, Sylvester, John Taylor the Water-poet, Webster, Wither, and the two universities. Sylvester’s 1613 additions (Quinn’s French and English were omitted) comprise two epitaphs by himself, a poem in Latin and English by Joseph Hall, with two more in English, and the ‘Sundry Funeral Elegies’ by gentlemen with most of whom D. was friendly or acquainted: George Garrard, Sir Peter Osborne (brother-in-law to Magdalen Herbert’s second husband, Sir John Danvers—Bald p. 269), Hugh Holland (with Latin epitaph), D. himself, Sir William Cornwallis, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Henry Goodyer, and Henry Burton (anti-papist Clerk of the Closet to the Prince), filling the volume out with Sylvester’s ‘Elegie-& Epistle Consolatorie’ on William Sidney (1590–1612), nephew of Sir Philip. Christopher Brooke and William Browne (another pensioner—Parsons p. 503) published *Two Elegies* separately. D.’s friend Henry King also wrote ‘An Elegy upon Prince Henry’s Death’ (printed in *Parnassus Biceps* (1656) in an early state, finally revised in his 1657 *Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, and Sonnets* (1965 p. 194) but reappearing in the miscellany *Prince d’Amour* (1660) in an intermediate state, attributed to ‘J. D.’). D.’s imitator John Davies of Hereford contributed ‘Muses Teares’ (1613). Yet another pensioner, J. Owen (Parsons p. 505), made three neat and forceful epigrams on the Prince’s death in *Epigrammatum ad Tres Mæcenates Libri Tres* (1612), 3. 101–3; Chapman (a Prince’s sewer—Parsons p. 506) produced *Epicede or Funerall Song* (1612), and G. Wither, *Prince Henries Obsequies* (1612); while Tourneur’s ‘Griefe’, Webster’s ‘Monumental Columnne’ and Heywood’s ‘Funerall Elegie’ appeared in *Three Elegies . . .* (1613). Less known works include R. Allyne, *Funerall Elegies upon the Most Lamentable Death of Prince Henry* (1613), and R. Niccols, *Three Sisters Teares. Shed at the Funerals of Henry, Prince of Wales* (1613). In Edinburgh there was published *Mausoleum: or, The Choisest Flowres of the Epitaphs, on the Death of Prince Henrie* (1613). Another elegy, beginning ‘Lo, where he shineth yonder’ occurs in MSS and *Wits Recreations* (1640). Ballads appeared by [R. Johnson?], ‘Good Shepherds Sorrow’ and John Taylor, ‘Great Britaine, All in Blacke’.

R. Wallerstein, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic* (1950) pp. 59–68, 81–95 compares *Henry* with elegies by Drummond of Hawthornden, Giles Fletcher, the anonymous *Great Britains Mourning Garment* (1612), Herbert, Goodyer, Tourneur (the three ‘closest to Donne’s’), King, Webster, Chapman (‘grandiose and turgid’), Davies, Garrard (‘distinctly Donnian’) and others, reprinting in an appendix extracts from some and complete poems by Goodyer, Tourneur and Garrard. She also compares *Henry*’s structure to that of a typical D. sermon, with ‘text’ (l. 1), ‘divided’ (2–24), the divisions then being ‘proved’ (faith: 25–62; reason: 63–82), and concluding ‘application’, resolution of problem and prayer. Wallerstein contrasts D.’s use of the conventions in *Henry* with Milton’s in ‘Lycidas’ in *English Institute Essays* (1949) pp. 153–78.

Text. Though copy for 1613 was presumably at most one remove from authorial holograph, Grierson was demonstrably right in characterising it as ‘printed with some carelessness’: it is equalled in frequency of error only by *Lut.* where the MSS, 1633 and 1635 agree against it in ll. 8, 18, 19, 71, 73, 77, 82 and 83, their readings are more or less obviously to be preferred on grounds of meaning and rhetorical effect. The Group II MSS are slightly less erroneous than Group III. 1633’s freedom from the errors of 1613 and the MSS suggests it was set from independent copy, perhaps D.’s own, so it has been adopted as the base text here.

LOOK to me, Faith, and look to my faith, God;
LFor both my centres feel this period.
 Of weight one centre, one of greatness is;
 And reason is that centre, faith is this;
 5 For into our reason flow, and there do end,

Sources collated: *Group II: TCD, DC (ll. 1–87); Group III: Lut, O’F; 1613, 1633, 1635*

Base text: 1633

Select variants:

Heading: Elegy on the Untimely Death of the Incomparable Prince Henry 1613:

Elegy Prince Henry *TCD, DC*: Elegy on Prince Henry, since in print but out of print *Lut, O’F*

1 Compare Jonson’s parody in *Staple of News* 1. 1. 3 (1626): ‘Look to me, Wit, and look to my wit, Land’ (Milgate). Jonson had alleged to Drummond in 1619 ‘that Donne told him that he wrote that epitaph on Prince Henry . . . to match Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’. J. Kortemme in a German dissertation (1933) astutely attributes the poem’s obscurity to its clothing of medieval scholastic notions in baroque language (*VD* 6. 590), in exaggeration, contortion and compression. **Look to]** take care of, protect, guard. The Prince’s death is a blow to belief in Providence.

2–16 both my centres . . . one] D. may be identifying himself with Earth’s elliptical orbit which, as worked out by Kepler in *Astronomia nova* (1609) has two foci, one of them being the sun (see R. I. Scott, *N&Q* 204 (1959) 208–9), though multiple centres were already (all too) present in the Ptolemaic system. However, D.’s image is not consistent with this model: the double foci slip from being those of D.’s orbit round them to being the centres within him of two non-concentric circles or spheres of faith and reason (l. 7’s ‘equidistant’ implies a circle not an ellipse), matters of unreasoned belief merely seeming eccentric, subordinate to reason, until perceived to have a centre in faith. Then reason manages either to expand itself as a centre-point (with, by definition, no dimension) to merge almost with faith, or to stretch its circle of comprehension until it is almost coextensive and concentric with faith. I. A. Shapiro, *TLS* (1937) 492, sees in *SecAn* 189–206 an allusion to Tycho Brahe’s compromise system, with planets centred on a sun which orbited the earth, so D. may here be imagining the material sphere of natural reason revolving subordinately within the sphere of abstract belief. This accommodates l. 3’s macrocosm of Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 2. 14 (296b6–297a7), in which Earth is both the centre to which the heavier elements of earth and water sink as in l. 49 (‘weight’) and the centre of the whole universe (‘greatness’), which provides the figure for D.’s microcosmic self, to which his rational soul gives present life and his faith eternal.

2 feel this period] suffer from this end. A period as full stop, full point, is, like a centre, a point, which here initially threatens to obliterate both faith and reason.

4 Reason is the centre dealing with quantity, substance, material matters, faith with imagining the metaphysical. D. returns to the relative roles of reasonable and unreasoning belief already treated in *BedfordReason* 1–16 and worried about in *Litany* 62–3.

5–8 D. implies the contempt expressed in *Eccles.* 1. 9, 2. 11, 19: ‘There is no new thing under the sun’, ‘no profit under the sun’; ‘Wherein I have showed myself wise under the sun, this is also vanity’.

All that this natural world doth comprehend,
 Quotidian things, and equidistant hence,
 Shut in, for man, in one circumference.
 But for th'enormous greatnesses, which are
 10 So disproportioned and so angular,
 As is God's essence, place and providence,
 Where, how, when, what souls do, departed hence,
 These things (eccentric else) on faith do strike;
 Yet neither all, nor upon all alike,

8 man] men 1613 12 how, when] when, how *Lut*, *O'F*

5 flow] i.e., through the senses. Cp. *FirAn* 316. **end]** i.e., need no further exploration.

7 Quotidian] everyday, 'under the sun'.

7-8 equidistant . . . circumference] Everyday things are the sphere, therefore, of, centred on, reason. Since perception by the rational soul is not directly through the senses but is mediated by the imagination, all material knowledge is located there at the same distance from reason; see note on *SecAn* 292.

8 man/men] D. seems usually to have used the singular to denote humankind.

9-13 D. complicates the spiritual geometry of *SecAn* 436-9, making it first seem irregular, then finding a focus in faith.

10 disproportioned, angular] Terms for non-circularity and thence imperfection in *SecAn* 141-2, here meaning not fitting the circular geometry of the sphere of reason, being rather within the sphere of faith.

11 God's essence] Cp. *Essays* (1952) p. 20: 'As by the use of the compass men safely despatch Ulysses' dangerous ten years' travel in so many days, and have found out a new world richer than the old, so doth faith . . . direct and inform us in that great search of the discovery of God's essence and the New Jerusalem, which reason durst not attempt.' On Easter Day 1628 (*Serm.* 8. 231-2) D. asked:

Doth God never afford this . . . manifestation of himself in his essence to any in this life? . . . There are that say that it is . . . little less than an article of faith that it hath been done; and Aquinas denies it so absolutely as that his followers interpret him . . . that God by his absolute power cannot make a man, a remaining mortal man, and under the definition of a mortal man, capable of seeing his essence.

12 Despite the confident account in *SecAn* 179-219.

13 eccentric else] not centred in reason. To account for the non-circular motion of planets, both Ptolemy, *Almagest* 3. 3, and Copernicus posited three eccentres for each planetary orbit, the former on eccentres that revolved round the earth, the latter round the sun. The seven perplexing topics in ll. 11-12 are matched in number by the Sun, Moon and planets. **strike]** make a line (*OED* III), focus on, relate to. A twelfth-century definition of God, the first demand on faith, ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, defies geometry: 'An infinite sphere whose centre is everywhere, circumference nowhere.'

14 Not all 'th'enormous greatnesses' are entirely matters of faith, and they vary as to how far they are reasonable. 'Upon all' appears to mean 'on both centres in the same proportions'.

- 15 For reason, put to her best extension,
 Almost meets faith, and makes both centres one,
 And nothing ever came so near to this,
 As contemplation of that Prince we miss.
 For all that faith might credit mankind could,
 20 Reason still seconded that this Prince would.
 If then least moving of the centre make
 (More than if whole Hell belched) the world to shake,
 What must this do, centres distracted so,
 That we see not what to believe or know?
 25 Was it not well believed till now that he—
 Whose reputation was an ecstasy

18 that] the 1613 19 faith might] ~ could 1613

21 movings] moving 1613, MSS 22 world to shake] earth to quake *Lut*, *O'F*

15–16 A centre-point by definition has no extension (see note on *SecAn* 131–4), so to ‘make both one’ by ‘extension’, D. must now be envisaging reason as a circle stretched so as to be almost coextensive with faith. Cp. *Serm.* 1. 169 (21 April 1616) on their complementary roles: ‘We forbid no man the use of reason in matters of religion. . . . Mysteries are not the less believed and embraced by faith because they are presented and induced and apprehended by reason. But this must not enthrone, this must not exalt any man’s reason so far as that there should lie an appeal from God’s judgements to any man’s reason’ (Milgate).

16 meets] joins up with.

18 that] 1613’s ‘the’ is less specific. **miss]** lack.

19 might] 1613’s ‘could’ produces a weak repetition. **could]** could do.

20 seconded] corroborated, supported.

21–2 D. may refer to the argument against Copernican theory that for Earth not to be at the centre of the universe would destabilise it, as, in *FirAn* 207, he quips that Earth has been misled.

21 Cp. *Mourning* 9: ‘moving of th’earth’, referring to earthquakes.

22 More . . . belched] i.e., more than local earthquakes associated with volcanic activity, concerning which Pliny, following Aristotle, *Meteorology* 2. 8 (365a21–366b21), wrote in *HN* 2. 81 (192), 84 (198), Holland, 2. 79, 82 (1601) 1. 37, 38: ‘For mine own part, I suppose that without all doubt the winds are the cause thereof, . . . namely, when the blast is pent and hidden within the veins and hollow caves of the earth. . . . when the spirit enclosed within struggleth and stirreth to go forth at liberty. . . . These quakings and tremblings of the earth give over when the wind is once vented out’. Earth’s centre was the traditional location of Hell (see *FirAn* 295–8 and note). On volcanos, see note on *BedfordHonour* 18 (where Pliny’s original word is *eructet*, ‘belched’).

23 distracted] displaced, upset.

26–8 Henry’s secretiveness about policy (mentioned soon after he died in a eulogy by John Holles, Earl of Clare, quoted by Strong p. 8), allied to open aggressiveness of intention, so perplexed the Roman Catholic powers that though anxious they could make no move.

26 ecstasy] trance, mental awareness but physical paralysis.

On neighbour states, which knew not why to wake
 Till he discovered what ways he would take;
 For whom, what princes angled, when they tried,
 30 Met a torpedo, and were stupefied;
 And others' studies how he would be bent—
 Was his great father's greatest instrument
 And activ'st spirit to convey and tie
 This soul of peace through Christianity?
 35 Was it not well believed that he would make
 This general peace th'eternal overtake,
 And that his times might have stretched out so far
 As to touch those of which they emblems are?

32 Was] Were *Lut, O'Fbe* 34 through] to *Lut, O'F, 1635*

28 discovered] disclosed, revealed.

29 what princes angled] whatever rulers fished, i.e., tried to entice, inveigle into alliance.

30 torpedo] electric ray, cramp-fish, 'which, being touched, sendeth her venom along line and angle-rod till it seize on the finger and so mar a fisher for ever'—R. Harvey, *Plaine Percevaull* [1590] in *OED*. Cp. Pliny (following Aristotle, *History of Animals* 9. 37 (620b19–29)), 9. 32, Holland 9. 42 (1601) 1. 261: 'Why, the very cramp-fish torpedo . . . being herself not benumbed is able to astonish others. She lieth hid over head and ears within the mud unseen, ready to catch those fishes which, as they swim over her, be taken with a numbness as if they were dead.'

31 others' studies] to others a subject of (puzzling) study. **bent]** Either 'inclined' of his own accord, or perhaps 'steered, directed, influenced' by others.

32–4 An idea more pleasing to James, flattered that he had 'the blessed spirit of peace so abundantly in him as that by his counsels and his authority he should sheathe all the swords of Christendom again' (*Serm.* 1. 218, 24 March 1617; cp. 3. 80, 30 April 1620; 7. 166, 21 May 1626), than true of the Prince: see note below on 41–2. In the theory here applied to the body politic, 'spirits' intermediate in nature between soul and body joined the two. See further note on *Ecstasy* 61–4.

33 convey and tie] spread and secure.

34 through Christianity] throughout Christendom.

35–8 Henry was hailed in dedicatory verses of the anonymous (*NSTC* 24269), extreme anti-papal, *Fierie Tryall of Gods Saints* (1611) sig. A1v, as 'England's fair hope, born down to quell / the rage of Rome, that proud Babel, / which in its swelling-mad desires / to world's sole empire still aspires' (Strong p. 53). R. Abbot, *True Ancient Roman Catholike* (1611) sig. ¶51–v, hopes in his dedication 'that in that glorious revenge of the cause of almighty God, . . . God will strengthen your arm and give edge to your sword to strike through the loins of all them that are the supporters of that Antichristian and wicked state' (E. C. Wilson pp. 101–2). S. Lennard in the dedication of his translation of P. DuPlessis Mornay, *Mysterie of Iniquitie, that is to say, The Historie of the Papacie* (1612), begs leave 'to wish with Du Plessis that I may live to march over the Alps and to trail a pike before the walls of Rome under your Highness' standard. . . . let me humbly beseech your Highness, till my sword may do you service, to accept of the poor endeavours

For, to confirm this just belief that now
 40 The last days came, we saw Heav'n did allow,

of my unskilful pen, . . . The God of Heaven ever bless your Highness, and ever defend you from Antichrist and his bloody designments, that you may live . . . to the ruin of him and all his Antichristian rabble, Amen, Amen' (Strong p. 52). Within a week of Henry's death, Chamberlain reported to Carleton on 12 Nov. 1612 (l. 392), that

one [Lewis] Bayly, a chaplain to the Prince preached on Sunday last . . . that the Prince told him not a month before he died that religion lay a-bleeding, 'And no marvel,' said he [Bayly?], 'when divers Councillors hear Mass in the morning and then go on to a Court sermon and so to the [Privy] Council, and then tell their wives what passes, and they carry it to their Jesuits and confessors!' with other like stuff, for which he was called before my Lord of Canterbury, and (I hear) silenced.

Nevertheless, Chamberlain writes next week, 26 Nov. (l. 394) that Bayly 'was dismissed without disgrace, and walks the street' (and was made Bishop of Bangor in 1616). More persistent than any was a chaplain of his, Daniel Price, lamenting in his dedication of *Defence of Truth* (1610) sig. *2v:

The infection of Popery spreads too far: . . . The eyes and hearts and hopes of all the Protestant world be fixed upon your Highness, all expecting your gracious faithfulness and readiness in the extirpation of that man of sin. March valiantly herein, most gracious Prince.

In *Tears Shed over Abner: The Sermon Preached on the Sunday before the Prince his Funeral in St. James Chappell before the body* (1613) p. 25, Price declares that

always the olive garlands of peace be not so glorious as the laurel wreaths of victory, seeing peace only keepeth and often rusteth good spirits, but victory employeth and edgeth and increaseth them. The loss, then, of a soldier is much, but especially of an Abner, a princely soldier. Lament, then, for Abner: the father's candle is extinguished; Abner, the champion of Israel, is deceased. Nay, a greater than Abner is departed: Prince Solomon for wisdom, Prince Josias for piety, Prince Alexander for chivalry. To say no more, noble, holy, chaste, virtuous, gracious Prince Henry lieth dead before us.

For this urgent occasion, Price found useful words and ideas in D.'s *Anniversaries*. He reiterates his previous hopes of bloodshed in the memorial *Prince Henry his First Anniversary* (1613) and *Prince Henry his Second Anniversary* 7 (1614) p. 21, recalling 'Great Henry's disposition of warlike honour in the achieving of some princely adventure and giving life to that honourable though now lamentable estate of English martialists whose valiant service against Popish and Turkish enemies hath been sealed with their blood'. For other exhortations to anti-papal violence in Protestant visions of Henry finally defeating Antichrist (the Pope) in a war to end wars and bring about Christ's thousand-year kingdom on earth (*Rev.* 20. 1–6), see E. C. Wilson (1946) pp. 101–7, and Strong pp. 52–4, and on nostalgia for the Prince lasting as long as anti-Spanish feeling till 1624 and beyond, Wilson p. 171. **40 The last days]** Referring specifically to the prophecies of *Isa.* 2. 2 (cp. *Micah* 4. 1) and *Acts* 2. 17, the state of the world (including James's Court) seeming to ardent Christians to qualify as the accompanying degeneracy predicted in *2 Tim.* 3. 1–8, *2 Pet.* 3. 3–7.

That but from his aspèct and exercise
 In peaceful times rumours of war did rise.
 But now this faith is heresy: we must
 Still stay and vex our great-grandmother, dust.
 45 Oh, is God prodigal? Hath he spent his store

42] war] wars 1613, TCD, O'F, 1635 did] should 1613, Lut, O'F, 1635

41-2 Those in favour of military intervention against the Roman Catholic powers on the Continent had gathered round Henry: in paintings and engravings he was usually represented in a military context, as in the portrayal of him exercising at pike in Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612), of which another version was also sold separately (Drayton was subsidised by Henry: see Parsons pp. 504-5). E. C. Wilson pp. 137-8 quotes Wither, *Prince Henries Obsequies*:

Methought erewhile I saw Prince Henry's arms
 Advanced above the Capitol of Rome,
 . . .
 His very name with terror did annoy
 His foreign foes, so far as he was known.
 Hell drooped for fear, the Turkey Moon looked pale,
 Spain trembled, and the most tempestuous sea
 (Where Behemoth the Babylonish whale
 Keeps all his bloody and imperious plea)
 Was swoll'n with rage for fear he'd stop the tide
 Of her o'er-daring and insulting pride.

On these and Henry's militant Protestantism and military ambition, see Strong pp. 13-15, 66-85, plates 15, 16, 22, 23, 33, 42, 45, 50, 78. Since he was heir to the throne, his father's pacific policy might at any time have been replaced by his project for a 'vast European conflagration in which Catholicism and the Habsburgs would be defeated and Rome with its Antichrist Pope laid low' (Strong p. 84).

42 **rumours of war]** Portents of the Second Coming in *Matt.* 24. 6, *Mark* 13. 7, which read 'wars'. If the singular of 1633 etc. is D.'s original intention, scribes and the editor or compositor of 1613 may consciously or unconsciously have emended it to accord with the well-known biblical text. **war/wars . . . did/should]** The rejected readings produce a line with six sibilants, so *DC*, 1633 *et al.* may represent authorial preference.

44 **Still stay]** Both 'remain on earth longer to await the Second Coming', and 'not act'. **vex . . . dust]** As the Preacher frequently bemoans, 'I have seen all the works that are done under the sun, and behold: all is vanity and vexation of spirit!' (*Eccles.* 1. 14, etc.) **our great-grandmother, dust]** The material (the mother-, i.e., *mater*-element) out of which 'grandfather' Adam was formed, *Gen.* 2. 7. D. plays on the ability of Latin *avus* to mean either grandfather or ancestor. 45-8 The Lord was able to devise ten plagues on the Egyptians (*Exod.* 7-11), and many more for Job, but after more or less continuous visitation of the pestilence for the first nine years of James's reign, there were no plague-burials recorded in London in 1612 or 1613 (or, indeed, until the serious outbreak in 1625): see Slack p. 146.

Of plagues on us? And only now, when more
 Would ease us much, doth he grudge misery;
 And will not let's enjoy our curse, to die?
 As for the earth, thrown lowest down of all,
 50 'Twere an ambition to desire to fall,
 So God, in our desire to die, doth know
 Our plot for ease in being wretched so.
 Therefore we live, though such a life we have,
 As but so many mandrakes on his grave.
 55 What had his growth and generation done,
 When what we are his putrefaction
 Sustains in us, earth which griefs animate?

47 ease] eate *TCD*, *DC* us] as *MSS*, 1633*be*

48 will not let's] not let's *TCD*: lets us not *Lut*, *O'F*

51 doth] loth *TCD* 57 griefs animate] grief animates *O'Fbe* in same hand

47 us] Since the top of an *a* was often left open in the handwriting of the time, it would be easy for scribe and compositor to assume the common phrase 'as much' was intended here, but it lacks meaning without a preceding correlative.

48 will not let's] D.'s elliptic scansion again appears to have challenged scribes. **our curse]** *Gen.* 2. 17, 3. 17–19.

49 the earth . . . all] In the classical universe.

50 to fall] i.e., sink below the lowest condition of existence to become nothing.

51–2 Christian orthodoxy followed the line of many classical writers such as Martial, 10. 47. 13, Engl. by Jonson as 'Nor fear thy latest day nor wish therefor' (*Underwood* no. 90).

54 mandrakes . . . grave] Mere simulacra of men. 'There have been many ridiculous tales brought up of this plant, whether of old wives or some runagate [renegade] surgeons or physicomongers I know not, . . . that it is never or very seldom to be found growing naturally but under a gallows, where the matter that hath fallen from the dead body hath given it the shape of a man and the matter of a woman, . . . with many other such doltish dreams. . . . Besides many fables of loving matters, too full of scurrility to set forth,—Gerard 2. 60 (pp. 280–1). See Commentary on *Metem* 131–70.

55–7 'What might Henry's maturity and creative initiative have achieved, since even his rotting body sustains our base material, and suffering gives us life?' Cp. *Serm.* 3. 202 (preached to Lady Bedford, 7 Jan. 1621): 'Look to the earth, and we are not *like* that: we *are* earth itself: at our tables, we feed upon the dead'; and *Serm.* 8. 75 (1 July 1627), quoting Chrysostom:

If men were made of tears as they are made of the elements of tears, of the occasions of tears, of miseries, and if all men were resolved to tears as they must resolve to dust, all were not enough to lament their miserable condition who lay hold upon the miserable comforters of this world, upon their own merits, or upon the supererogations of other men, of which there are no promises, and cannot find that true promise which is applied in those examples of Job and Christ applicable to themselves.

- Nor hath our world now other soul than that.
 And could grief get so high as Heav'n, that choir,
 60 Forgetting this their new joy, would desire
 (With grief to see him) he had stayed below
 To rectify our errors they foreknow.
 Is th'other centre, reason, faster then?
 Where should we look for that, now we're not men?
 65 For if our reason be our connection
 Of causes, now to us there can be none;
 For as, if all the substances were spent,
 'Twere madness to enquire of accident,
 So is't to look for reason, he being gone,
 70 The only subject reason wrought upon.
 If Fate have such a chain, whose divers links

59 get so high] yet so sigh *TCD* 66 Of] With *1613, DC*

71 Fate] faith *1613* have] hath *Lut, O'F*

57 earth . . . animate] Cp. the alternative myth that man was made from clay that was tempered with tears. **animate]** Specifically 'provide a soul for'.

59 get so high as] affect even.

60 their new joy] at his arrival. Cp. *SecAn* 489.

61 With grief] Being sorry.

62 our errors they foreknow] With the supernatural powers ascribed (according to Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 57. 3) in *SecAn* 294–9.

63–70 D. makes play of reasoning that reason no longer exists, before taking refuge in another hyperbole in 77–80.

63 faster] more firmly centred.

64 'Since our soul is now merely grief, we lack the rational soul which completes humanity.'

65–6 our reason . . . causes] 'the function of reason is to perceive causal connection'.

66 Of/With] Scholastic obscurity was perhaps the cause of the change to the word commonly found after 'connect', which, however, produced nonsense. **to us]** in us.

68 accident] attribute of a substance; 'something which may either belong or not belong to one and the self-same thing'—Aristotle, *Topics* 1. 5 (102b6), assimilated in scholastic logic to *Categories* 4 (1b25–7): 'substance or quantity or qualification or a relative or where or when or being-in-a-position or having or doing or being-affected.' *OED* 6a notes that in scholastic theology the body and blood became the essence in the transubstantiation of the sacrament, while the material appearances were merely accidents, so D. might have had in mind some such analogy for the departure of Henry from the world, leaving the visible and apparently material but inessential and unimportant.

71 Fate/faith] No 'chain of faith' has been demonstrated, whereas the connected causes of 65–6 constitute 'such a chain as Fate employs', *SecAn* 143. As J. Sparrow, *London Mercury* 20 (1929) 93–7, pointed out, faith would not be disturbed by the occurrence of miracles in 73–4.

Industrious man discerneth, as he thinks,
 When miracle doth come, and so steal in
 A new link, man knows not where to begin,
 75 At a much deader fault must reason be,
 Death having broke off such a link as he.
 But now, for us, with busy proof to come,
 That we've no reason, would prove we had some;
 So would just lamentations. Therefore we
 80 May safelier say that we are dead than he.
 So, if our griefs we do not well declare,

73 come, and so] join, and to 1613 77 proof] proofs 1613

71–2 a chain . . . discerneth] a connection of cause and effect detected by reason, as in 65–6.

73 come/join] Another misreading in 1613: miracle by definition comes between, intervenes, interrupts, *disjoins* the links of natural cause and effect, as defined in *Huntingdon* 9–12's assertion that mild innocence in a woman is 'A miracle which reason scapes and sense, / For art and nature this in them withstood'; and *Serm.* 7. 300 (28 Jan. 1627): 'A miracle is a thing done against nature: when something in the course of nature resists that work, then that work is a miracle'. Cp. *Serm.* 6. 337 (Christmas Day 1625): 'says St Bernard . . . "If there were reason for it, it were no miracle"; . . . says St Augustine: "In things which are not subject to any faculty of ours, to be discerned by reason, there is a present exercise of our faith."' **steal in]** surreptitiously insert.

75 Reason must even more completely have lost track. **At . . . fault]** A phrase from hunting (favourite pastime of King James but not Henry: see Strong p. 15) for hounds' loss of a scent-trail.

77–82 An ingenious pretext for the lack of convincing emotion in the poem.

77 busy] officious, over-zealous.

78–9 T. G. Sherwood, *SEL* 13 (1973) 63, compares Augustine 11. 26 (1610) pp. 429–30: 'We both have a being, know it, and love both our being and knowledge. . . . If I err, I am, for he that hath no being cannot err, and therefore mine error proves my being'. 'Just lamentations' demonstrate reason because according to Augustine 11. 27 (p. 432) reason is an 'interior sense discerning just and unjust'. However, Sherwood asserts more controvertibly that D.'s speaker achieves 'a realization in "just lamentations"' of 'hope and faith in heavenly peace'. D. rather seems to be (extravagantly) denying such reconciliation to Henry's death.

79 just] judiciously reasoned.

79–80 therefore . . . he] According to *Eph.* 2. 5, Christians believed that by Christ's atonement God 'even when we were dead in sins hath quickened us', but conditionally on accepting redemption, *Coloss.* 3. 1, 3: 'If ye then be risen with Christ, . . . ye are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God.'

81 well declare] express convincingly.

We've double-excuse: he's not dead and we are.
 Yet I would not die yet; for though I be
 Too narrow to think him as he is he
 85 (Our souls' best baiting and mid-period

82 and we] we 1613 83 I would not] would not I 1613

82 and] Removed in 1613 to make the line scan, though the two syllables of 'he is' were so commonly elided into the one of 'he's' that no apostrophe was strictly necessary.

83–98 D.'s diversion from the normal course of funeral elegy to speculate on the dead youth's love-life may have arisen from the situation reported on 19 Aug. 1612 by Foscarini that 'Both the King and Queen think it desirable to marry the Prince as soon as possible, as his Highness has begun to show a leaning to a certain lady of the Court' (*CSPV*), and reflected in the second-hand (at least) gossip recorded by A. Wilson (1653) p. 56, sub anno 1612:

The Prince of Wales, now in his puberty, sent many loving glances, as ambassadors of his good respects, but this lady [Frances Howard, Countess of Essex], being taken with the growing fortunes of the Viscount Rochester, and grounding more hope upon him than the uncertain and hopeless love of the Prince, she cast her anchor there; which the Prince soon discovered, and slighted her accordingly. For dancing one time among the ladies, and her glove falling down, it was taken up and presented to him by one that thought he did him acceptable service; but the Prince refused to receive it, saying publicly he would not have it: 'It is stretched by another', meaning the Viscount.

Sir Simonds D'Ewes heard that Lady Essex 'prostituted herself to him, who reaped the first fruits' (*Autobiography and Correspondence*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (1845) 1. 90–1). See Lindley pp. 64–5. At this time, D. was currying favour with the Somerset faction: for Lady Essex's involvement and her favour with the King, see head-note to *Somerset*. So far as an official relationship for Prince Henry was concerned, D. probably knew well of the King's negotiations for a religiously diplomatic match with a Roman Catholic Princess, to further which Robert Peake in 1611–12 painted two full-length pictures of the Prince in armour, 'sent beyond seas' (Strong p. 114). In 1611 James indignantly rejected an offer from Philip III of Spain when it turned out to consist only of a younger, six-year-old daughter (two more desirable matches were made by Spain with France), and turned to Florence in hope of Medici money. When that fell through, negotiations with the wealthy and anti-papal (though Roman Catholic), anti-Habsburg Duke of Savoy became serious, and were conducted by D.'s friend Wotton in Turin, the Savoy capital, in early 1611 and the spring of 1612. They were almost concluded in October when the Prince fell ill, pleaded for delay, and died. According to rumour, he was set on a Protestant bride, whoever she might be: 'he had vowed that never idolater should come to his bed' (Strong pp. 80–4, 239; Chamberlain 1. 390).

84 Too narrow to think him] because deprived of reason.

85–6 The consideration of examples of goodness is halfway to meditating on the less accessible goodness of God.

85 baiting] stopping for refreshment. **mid-period]** half-way stop.

In her long journey of considering God),
 Yet (no dishonour) I can reach him thus,
 As he embraced the fires of love with us.
 Oh may I (since I live) but see or hear
 90 That she-intelligence which moved this sphere,
 I pardon fate my life: whoe'er thou be
 Which hast the noble conscience thou art she,
 I conjure thee by all the charms he spoke,
 By th'oaths which only you two never broke,
 95 By all the souls ye sighed, that if you see
 These lines, you wish I knew your history.
 So much as you two mutual heav'ns were here,
 I were an angel singing what you were.

87 can] may *TCD*, *Lut*, *O'F* 89 or] & *Lut*

92 Which] That *Lut*, *O'F* 95 ye] you *1613*, *MSS*

- 86 journey]** through this life, not that of the soul to Heaven after death.
87–8 As with Christ, his share of human frailty makes him approachable.
89 may I] if I can. **since I live]** 'and am, therefore, unable to conceive of, let alone see or hear Henry in Heaven'.
90 D. evokes the classical 'sphere-born harmonious sisters' (Milton, 'At a Solemn Music' 2) the nine inspiring Muses, derived from the eight Sirens of Plato, *Republic* 10 (617b). He reverses the association of the man with angelic intelligence but the woman with the inferior material sphere of *Air* 23–8, perhaps to flatter the surviving mistress, now involved with the King's prime favourite and Acting Secretary of State, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, later Earl of Somerset.
moved] Literally 'aroused emotion in', but also 'inspired' in a loftier respect.
91 life] i.e., 'for making me live on', a paradoxical reversal of the usual reproach of Fate, that it took life away.
92 conscience] awareness, knowledge.
93 charms] enchanting words.
94 i.e., they were unique as lovers in keeping faith.
95 souls ye sighed] The Petrarchan commonplace of *Sweetest* 25–6, *Expiration* 1–2.
96 you] you may. Not changing back to the singular of l. 93 has the result of imploring both of them to reveal the story of their affair. **history]** story.
97–8 Being Heavens to each other, they might raise him to their place as one of the heavenly host praising them. With this vicarious wish D. characteristically turns the end of a poem about another on himself, as in *WoodwardRWidowhead*, *WottonKisses*, *BedfordReason*, *SecAn*, *Carey*, *Salisbury*, *Huntingdon*, even hinting at his ambition for a Court career.

Obsequies to the Lord Harington, Brother to the Countess of Bedford

Date and Context. July–Aug. 1614. Sir John, second Baron Harington of Exton (baptised at Stepany 3 May 1592) died at Twickenham of smallpox on 27 Feb. 1614 aged twenty-one (having succeeded his father in the title the previous August), despite D.'s having written to Goodyer about three weeks before 'that my Lord Harington, of whom a few days since they were doubtful, is so well recovered that now they know all his disease to be the pox and measles mingled. This I heard yesterday, for I have not been there yet' (*Letters* p. 153). D. had perhaps not written *Harington* immediately because himself struck down by illness for several months until mid May (*Letters* pp. 168, 171, 299–300, 273; *Matthew*, pp. 311, 315). Three close verbal correspondences (lines 42–3, 93–8, 101) with a letter to Goodyer of early July 1614 (itself datable by other references) suggest that D. was by then thinking about or actually writing the poem. Were it already written, Goodyer, as go-between, would have seen the poem, so there would have been little point in repeating material to him. Bald p. 278 n. 3 observes that *Harington's* 'concluding statement that his Muse had "spoke her last" is hardly likely to have antedated the verse letter to the Countess of Salisbury', dated August 1614: on 20 Dec. 1614, D. wrote to Goodyer (*Letters* pp. 197–8): 'I would be just to my written words to my Lord Harington, to write nothing after that'.

The motive for the poem is revealed by the accompanying letter, characterized by Bald pp. 276, 280 as 'a begging-letter that was scarcely in the best of taste', Lady Bedford having inherited two thirds of Harington's estate. D.'s reward fell short of his expectations as he complained in a letter to Goodyer in March 1615:

I am almost sorry that an elegy should have been able to move her to so much compassion heretofore as to offer to pay my debts; and my greater wants now, and for so good a purpose, as to come disengaged into that profession [the Church], being plainly laid open to her, should work no farther but that she sent me £30 (which, in good faith, she excused with that which is in both parts true, that her present debts were burdensome, and that I could not doubt of her inclination upon all future emergent occasions to assist me. I confess to you, her former fashion towards me had given a better confidence (*Letters* p. 219).

Lady Bedford's response may have been restrained by perceiving D.'s qualifications of his panegyric, elucidated by T.-L. Pebworth, *JEGP* (1992) 17–42, a full treatment of the poem's social, political and personal contexts. The echoes of *SecAn* noted below (26, 31–2, 63–6, 228) are attributable to the common theme, but may also have been D.'s signal that he was giving of his best for his patron, even outgoing *SecAn* in the heightened extravagance of l. 26.

Harington's parents had been given charge of Princess Elizabeth in 1603, his sister Lucy was a close companion of her mother, Queen Anne, and he himself had been privately educated with the late Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, who called him '*Mon petit chevalier*'. Harington became, according to James I, 'master of the Prince's favour' (Strong (1986) p. 43). They had been portrayed together ten years previously in the painting attributed to Robert Peake now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reproduced by Milgate as Plate II (also Pebworth 21). On his visit to Venice he was accordingly announced to the Doge on 13 Jan. 1609 as 'the Prince's right eye' of whom 'the world holds that he will

one day govern the kingdom', by the ambassador, Henry Wotton, who wrote that 'He is learned in philosophy, has Latin and Greek to perfection, is handsome, well-made as any man could be, at least among us' (*CSPV* II. 215–16 quoted by Pebworth 27; *Life and Letters* I. 441 n., Milgate p. 197). In his funeral sermon, 'The Churches Lamentation for the Losse of the Godly' (1614) pp. 67–9, Richard Stock says 'For his learning, I must leave it to others to speak' because his subsequent panegyric of Harington's skill in languages ancient and modern, 'knowledge in the arts, specially in philosophy and the mathematics, . . . the theoretic of the art military and of navigation', and above all 'in heavenly knowledge and the mysteries of salvation', is drawn from 'The Life of John, Lord Harington, Baron of Exton' p. 113, by the namesake cousin Sir John Harington, translator of Ariosto, not printed until 1775 in *Nugae antiquae* 2. 112–20. Bald p. 276 quotes a regretful description by J. Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus*, Camden Soc. (1858) p. 39, of 'the most complete young gentleman of his age that this kingdom could afford for religion, learning, and courteous behaviour'. Like the Prince fiercely anti-Roman Catholic and militantly anti-Spain, there had been in the war-party that had surrounded Henry high hopes of Harington's continuing influence in national affairs.

Analogues. W. M. Lebars, *ELH* 39 (1972) 546, 555, puts Harington like other D. epicedes in the classical tradition of praise and consolation, with the meditation added on, while P. C. Kolin, *Southern Quarterly* 13 (1974) 65–82, perceives it as a meditation driven by eight questions (41–2, 101–4, 105–6, 129–30, 149–54, 155–60, 207–16, 223–4). I. I. Elimimian, *Classical and Modern Literature* 6 (1986) 127–36, analyses it into a seven-part classical oration: *exordium* (1–40), *narratio* (41–68), *divisio* (69–104), *confirmatio* (105–64), *confutatio* (165–206), *peroratio* (207–42), *digressio* (243–58).

Lady Bedford's followers were assiduous and prolific in their tributes: Sir Arthur Gorges (1557–1625), wrote 'Upon the Death of the Young Lord Harington' (*Poems* [108] ed. H. E. Sandison (1953) pp. 130–1)—later in 1614 he dedicated his translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* to Lady Bedford. The Haringtons' chaplain, Abraham Jackson, produced his 438-line 'Sorrowes Lenitive'; Thomas Roe's elegy 'on the late and last Lord Harington' was appended to Stock's funeral sermon, as were elegies and epitaphs by Francis Herring, 'I. P.' of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and Sir Edward Harwood. Herring, Fellow and Censor of the Royal College of Physicians, was an established poet and medical and court-writer. I. P. was presumably John Playfere or Playford, author of *Appello Evangelium for the true doctrine of the divine predestination* (publ. twenty years posthumously in 1652), Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, of which Harington had been a fellow-commoner (admitted 6 July 1607) and benefactor (J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I. 2. 358, I. 3. 371). His father, the first Lord Harington, was a nephew and executor of the foundress, and himself a benefactor (in effect, joint founder), as was Lady Bedford, giving books to the college library (G. M. Edwards, *Sidney Sussex College* (1899) pp. 12–23, 70, 107; C. W. Scott-Giles, *Sidney Sussex College* (1975) pp. 12–21, 38, 57, 134, 136). Harwood is marginally identified by Stock p. 97 as 'him whom he termed in his will, "his dear friend"'. They all praised Harington's political as well as religious zeal, whereas, Pebworth 31–2 argues, D. averts attention 'away from potentially controversial public issues to celebrate his private virtues of chastity and learning' and is silent about 'Harington's close association with the recently deceased Prince Henry'. Nevertheless, knowledge of political events in which D. was involved in 1614 (see note below on l. 190) enables a reader to see D. emphasising in ll. 101–2,

186–90, 219–23 Harington's potential as a politician and specifically (for James I congenially) as a peacemaker. In fact ll. 183–228 (nearly a fifth of the poem) throughout address Harington's failure to fulfil his promise as a public figure. P. C. Kolm, *SoQ* 13 (1974) 65–82, contrasts Milton's treatment in 'Lycidas' of such common elements as death of a promising young man, question-and-answer pattern, and apotheosis of the deceased.

Text. No one MS or group of MSS presents an entirely plausible text. The prefatory letter occurs only in three of the Group III MSS collated here and 1633; only the corrected state of 1633 and *O'F* make coherent sense of the last sentence, *O'F* by cancelling its original transcription of the incomplete version in *Lut*, and copying in the corrected state of 1633. Although the title-page of *O'F* says 'Finishd this 12 of October 1632', the rewriting leaves space unfilled, suggesting that more space than turned out to be needed was left at the original time of writing; most of the emendations throughout *O'F* evidently came from 1633. In the poem, *Lut* and *O'F* contain plausible variants at 63, 69, 75, 78, 84, 89, 110, 138, 257, but are arguably in error at 2, 5, 134, 169, 172, and by sharing the doubtful readings and errors of the other Group III MSS, *S96* and/or *Dob* at 39, 60, 66, 121, 130, 152, 200, 232, 243, 254, show common derivation. *Lut*'s and *O'F*'s variants may be due to a scribe who was not accurate but was too intelligent to make up nonsense. Group II, *TCD*, *DC* (109–end only), are neither coherent as a group nor clearly distinct from the others, *TCD* especially reading with Group III in readings that seem preferable to Group I's at 7, 48, 164, 165 and (with *DC*) 117, in dubious readings at 183 and (with *DC*) 129 and 247, and shares Group III errors at 34, 76, 196, and (with *DC*) 125 and 170. Group I is in likely error only at 117, with doubtful readings at 7, 48, 76, 164, 165, 241 and 247. 1633's source was, as often, closest to *C57* and *Lec*, the less reliable members of Group I, to which it adds errors at 35 and 198. In Group I, *H49* demands least emendation, and is therefore the base text here.

To the Countess of Bedford

MADAM,

I have learned by those laws wherein I am a little conversant that he which bestows any cost upon the dead, obliges him which is dead, but not the heir. I do not therefore send

Texts collated: *Dob*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633*bc*, 1633*ac*, 1635

Base text: 1633*ac*

Select variants:

Heading ~ ~ ~ ~ sister to the Lord Harrington *Lut*, *O'F*

Letter

Heading The explanatory addition 'sister . . . Harington' in *Lut/O'F* must have been intended for publication, since it would have been obtrusively unnecessary on the actual letter sent by D. or any copy kept by him.

5 this paper to your Ladyship that you should thank me for it
 or think that I thank you in it: your favours and benefits to
 me are so much above my merits, that they are even above
 my gratitude, if that were to be judged by words which must
 10 express it. But, Madam, since, your noble brother's fortune
 being yours, the evidences also concerning it are yours, so,
 his virtue being yours, the evidences concerning that belong
 also to you, of which by your acceptance this may be one piece,
 in which quality I humbly present it, and as a testimony how
 entirely your family possesseth

15 your Ladyship's most humble
 and thankful servant
 John Donne.

6 in it.] in it. ~~But since your~~ O'F
 9 noble] ~s 1633be fortune] fortunes Lut, O'F 10 being] is Dob
 10–12 concerning it . . . concerning that belong also to you 1633ae (it belong),
 1635 (virtues): concerning that belong to you, the evidence of his virtue &c Lut,
 rest of line and next blank: concerning ~~that~~ \it/ belong to you the evidence of his
~~virtue &c~~ it are yours; so his virtues being yours, the evidences concerning that
 belong also to you O'F: concerning that belong also to you Dob, 1633bc
 11–12 belong also to you] om. Lut 12 piece] part Lut, O'F
 16 thankful] faithful Lut, O'Fbe 17 John] Jo: Dob

9, 11 fortune/fortunes, virtue/virtues] Most MSS' 'it' and 'that' suggest the singular. It was her brother's 'fortune' in the sense of estate that Lady Bedford inherited, not his luck (rather bad). **evidences . . . concerning]** implying 'your right to possess'.

16 thankful/faithful] If the Dob/1633 reading is authentic, it suggests that D., having professed that he is not thanking Lady Bedford for all her past payments and efforts on his behalf in the letter, feels it prudent to show some gratitude so as to encourage reward for the substantial work he is presenting (illustrating La Rochefoucauld's maxim (298 in final rev. edn of 1678), that most such expressions indicate desire for further favours).

FAIR soul, which wast not only, ^as all souls be,
 Then when thou wast infused, harmony,
 But didst continue so; and now dost bear
 A part in God's great organ, this whole sphere:
 5 If looking up to God, or down to us,

Texts collated: *Group I: D, H49, C57, Lec; Group II: DC* (ll. 109–end), *TCD; Group III: Dob, S96, Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *H49*

Select variants:

Heading *I: ~ ~ ~ ~ Harringtons brother. To ~ ~ ~ ~ 1633, 1635: ~ on ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Ladie Lucie Countesse of Bedford S96, Dob: ~ upon ~ ~ ~ the last that died Lut, O'F: Elegie Lo: Harrington TCD*

Obsequies

1–2 Cp. *FirAn* 311–12 and note.

2 wast] The *Lut/O'F* use of 'wert' here might be for euphony: both forms occur often in D.'s poems. **infusèd]** i.e., by God, not generated by his parents. According to D.'s letter to Goodyer of 9 Oct. [1610?] (more fully quoted in the note on *BedfordWritten* 59–60), 'the opinion of infusion from God and a new creation . . . is now the more common opinion' (*Letters* p. 17). Preaching on 30 April 1615 D. was undecided: 'For our souls, . . . we know not, how they came into us; . . . if I ask a Philosopher, whether my soul came in, by propagation from my parents, or by an immediate infusion from God, perchance he cannot tell', but at Court exactly five years later asserted that 'the last soul, the perfect and immortal soul, that is immediately infused by God'. Ten years after that (perhaps exactly, though the date in the title is impossible), he dismissed as less important than its destination after death men's wrangling 'whether it comes in by Infusion by God, or by Propagation from parents,' and redeclares his uncertainty possibly soon after: 'No man knows how his soul came into him, . . .' (*Serm.* 1. 157 (30 April 1615); 3. 85 (30 April 1620); 9. 213–14 (Lent, to the King); 9. 247 (Whitsun [?1630])).

3 didst continue so] Both within himself and with his God. Cp. *Serm.* 10. 131 (at St Paul's, n. d.): 'What an Organ hath that man tuned, how hath he brought all things in the world to a Consort, and what a blessed Anthem doth he sing to that Organ, that is at peace with God!' (Milgate).

3–4 bear . . . sphere] Cp. D.'s preaching at Paul's Cross on 24 March 1617: 'Is the world a great and harmonious Organ, where all parts are played, and all play parts; and must thou only sit idle and hear it?' and to Privy Councillors 'and other honourable persons' at Whitehall, 19 April 1618: 'God does (as it were) play upon this Organ in his administration and providence by natural means and instruments' (*Serm.* 1. 207, 290; Milgate).

5–8 D. returns to the conditional query of *DivM1oFaith* 1–7 and note.

5–6 Used verbatim by Dryden, 'Eleonora' 342–3.

5 God] *Lut/O'F's* substitution of 'Heaven' for 'God' suggests religious distaste for naming the deity, but is illogical, since being in Heaven already, Harrington (hereafter 'L. H.') can hardly look 'up to' it.

- Thou find that any way is pervious
 'Twi'x Heav'n and Earth, and that men's actions do
 Come to your knowledge, and affections too,
 See, and with joy, me to that good degree
 10 Of goodness grown, that I can study thee,
 And, by those meditations refined,
 Can unapparel and enlarge my mind,
 And so can make by this soft ecstasy,
 This place a map of Heav'n, myself of thee.
 15 Thou seest me here at midnight: now all rest;
 Time's dead-low water; when all minds divest
 Tomorrow's business, when the labourers have
 Such rest in bed, that their last churchyard grave,
 Subject to change, will scarce be a type of this;
 20 Now when the client, whose last hearing is
 Tomorrow, sleeps; when the condemnèd man
 (Who when he opes his eyes, must shut them then
 Again by death), although sad watch he keep,
 Doth practise dying by a little sleep—
 25 Thou, at this midnight, seest me, and as soon
 As that sun rises to me, midnight's noon,

7 men's *TCD*, III, 1635: man's *I*, 1633

11 those] these *C57*, *Lec*, *Dobbe*, *S96*, 1633, 1635

6 find] *Lut's* and *O'F's* reading 'find'st' erases the quite proper subjunctive form. **pervious]** penetrable. *OED* credits *D.* with the first adaptations to English of the Latin *pervius*, 'allowing a way through'.

7 men's/man's] The copy-text's 'man's', though quite possible, does not accord with 'Deeds of good men', l. 39 (cp. *WoodwardRWidowhead* 12, 'Men's works').

8 your] A momentary lapse from the second person singular. **affections]** inclinations, motives.

11–12 R. *G. Collmer*, *Neophil* 45 (1961) 327, parallels the benefit of meditation claimed in *SecAn* 321–4.

12 unapparel] undress, i.e., stand outside the flesh. Cp. *Good Friday* 27–8.

13 soft ecstasy] impressionable, calm, pleasant, easy, unforced liberation of the rational soul.

17–19 D. combines *Eccles.* 5. 12: 'The sleep of a labouring man is sweet', with the long-current vernacular phrase 'a dead sleep' (*OED* 2b).

18–19 their last . . . this] He does not even dream of waking, whereas the soul expects the resurrection when, *1 Cor.* 15. 52, 'we shall be changed.'

23 sad . . . keep] 'he is determined to stay awake'.

24 practise . . . sleep] Cp. *Constancy* 10 and note.

26 that sun] Just as in *SecAn* 4 *D.* hyperbolically terms Elizabeth Drury 'the Sun's sun', so here he elevates *L. H.* to the role of God as Christ the Son, the 'better sun' (*Resurrection* 4), that he sees 'by rising set' (*Good Friday* 11), 'thy Sun'

- All the world grows transparent, and I see
 Through all, both church and state, in seeing thee.
 And I discern by favour of this light
 30 Myself, the hardest object of the sight.
 God is the glass; as thou, when thou dost see
 Him who sees all, seest all concerning thee,
 So, yet unglorified, I comprehend
 All, in these mirrors of thy ways and end.
 35 Though God be truly^our glass through which we see

34 these] those *TCD, Dob, Lut, O'F* ways] way *TCD, III*

35 truly^our] our true *1633, 1635*

(*Christ* 15), as if trying to give Lady Bedford something even better than the *Anniversaries* whose eulogy of another female for another patron had presumably offended her (see note on *SecAn*'s date and context). Cp. *Serm.* 4. 174, 6. 23, 9. 367 (25 Aug. 1622, 4 March 1625, n. d.): 'Man sees best in the light, but meditates best in the dark; for our sight of God, it is enough, that God gives the light of nature'; 'God sees us at midnight; he sees us, then, when we had rather he looked off. If we see him so, it is a blessed interview'; and 'The eye of the Lord upon me, makes midnight noon, and S. *Lucy's* Day S. *Barnaby's*; it makes *Capricorn Cancer*, and the Winter's the Summer's Solstice'.

28–30 Church, state and self, especially the last two, are by now characteristic topics of D.'s verse, whatever his ostensible subject.

30 the hardest] sc. 'to see'. Cp. *Negative* 15.

31 glass] mirror.

31–2 See note on *SecAn* 299.

34 these/those] Group I's 'these' leads into the explanation of men's deeds as glasses rather than referring back to the single mirror of God. **ways/way]** *TCD, III*'s 'way' would indicate L. H.'s life as a whole, while the plural matches his 'deeds', l. 42. **ways and end]** Christian life and death. D. was to preach in *Serm.* 3. 373–4 (25 Dec. 1621) that

God's light cast upon us, reflecteth upon *other men too*, from us; when God doth not only accept our works for *ourselves*, but employs those works of ours upon *other* men. . . . when our good works shall not only profit *us*, that *do* them, but *others* that *see* them done; and when we, by this light of *Repercussion*, of *Reflection*, shall be made *specula divinae gloriae, quae accipiunt et reddunt*, such looking-glasses as *receive* God's face upon ourselves, and *cast it upon others by a holy life, and exemplary conversation*.

35–6 Cp. *Serm.* 3. 111 ([?Easter Term 1620]):

Here, in this world, we see God *per speculum*, says the Apostle [1 *Cor.* 13. 12], by reflection, upon a glass; . . . As he that fears God, fears nothing else, so, he that sees God, sees everything else: when we see God *Sicuti est*, as he is, we shall see all things *Sicuti sunt*, as they are; for that's their Essence, as they conduce to his glory' (Milgate).

- All, since the being of all things is he,
 Yet are the trunks which do to us derive
 Things in proportion fit by pèrspective
 Deeds of good men: for by their living here
 40 Virtues indeed remote seem to be near.
 But where can I affirm, or where arrest
 My thoughts on his deeds? which shall I call best?
 For fluid virtue cannot be looked on,
 Nor can endure a contemplation;
 45 As bodies change, and as I do not wear
 Those spirits, humours, blood I did last year,

39 living] being *III*, 1635

Also *Serm.* 4. 175 (25 Aug. 1622): 'Being established in my foundation upon God, . . . I can see round about me, even to the *Horizon*, and beyond it, I can see *both Hemispheres* at once, God in this, and God in the next world too.'

35 truly~our/our true] The editor of 1633 perhaps tried to smooth out the rhythm and avoid elision. **glass]** telescope. D. jumps from sense to sense, from reflection to magnification.

37–40 Cp. *Serm.* 7. 238 (5 Nov. 1626): 'The glory of god shines through godly men' (Milgate); and *Serm.* 8. 231 (Easter Day 1628): 'Now, as for the sight of God here, our Theatre was the world, our *Medium* and glass was the creature, and our light was reason.' For D.'s possibly only second-hand knowledge through Wotton of Galileo's 'optical instrument (which both enlargeth and approximateth the object)', see note on *FirAn* 205–11. D. makes a similar comparison in *Tilman* 45–8.

37 trunks] telescopes.

37–8 derive . . . fit] convey things in their actual magnitude.

38 pèrspective] the art of optics. The preposition 'by' makes less likely the modern sense of 'relative magnitude according to distance'.

39 living/being] *III*'s reading misses the point: not mere existence but 'Deeds' show virtue.

41–100 D. lacks material for a traditional funeral elegy's account of virtuous deeds, and so fills this embarrassing gap with hypothesis and elaborate analogy. After six transitional lines (35–40), he turns away from L. H. for a third-person disquisition on the seamlessness of his virtue, and thereafter the beginning of the reproach of Harington's desertion.

41 affirm] securely base, found.

42–3 Cp. *Carey* 34–5 and note, and letter to Goodyer of the first half of July 1614 (1633 pp. 356–7): 'Virtue is even and continual and the same, and can therefore break nowhere, nor admit ends nor beginnings. It is not only not broken, but not tied together: he is not virtuous out of whose actions you can pick an excellent one. Vice and her fruits may be seen because they are thick bodies, but not virtue, which is all light'.

44 endure a contemplation] sustain unmovingly focussed consideration.

45–51 D. reapplies to virtue his commonplace analogy for physical beauty in *SecAn* 391–400 (see notes thereon).

- And, as if on a stream I fix mine eye,
 That drop on which I looked is presently
 Pushed with more waters from my sight, and gone,
 50 So in this sea of virtues, can no one
 Be[^]insisted on: virtues, as rivers, pass,
 Yet still remains that virtuous man there was;
 And as if man feed on man's flesh, and so
 Part of his body to another owe,
 55 Yet at the last two perfect bodies rise,
 Because God knows where every atom lies;
 So, if one knowledge were made of all those
 Who knew his minutes well, he might dispose
 His virtues into names, and ranks, but I
 60 Should injure nature, virtue[^]and destiny,
 Should I divide and discontinue so
 Virtue which did in one entireness grow.
 For as he that would say 'Spirits are framed

48 on which I looked *TCD, III*: which I looked on *I, 1633, 1635*

53 feed] ~s *C57, Lec, O'F, 1633* 60 virtue[^]and] virtue, *III* (virtue ~~and~~ *O'F*)

63 would] should *Lut, O'F, 1635*

48 on which I looked/which I looked on] *TCD, III*'s reading seems preferable where there is no enhancement by disrupting the metre.

53–6 Cp. *Serm. 6*. 156 (13 June 1624): 'That one man should be eaten by another man, and so become *both one man*, and then that for all this assimilation, and union, there should arise two men, at the Resurrection, *res incredibilis*, says [Augustine], "this resurrection is an incredible thing. . . [but] that all the world should so soon believe a thing so incredible, is more incredible, than the thing itself"; and more especially *Serm. 7*. 115 (Easter Day 1626): 'Where . . . men fed other men, God that knows . . . [where] lies . . . every atom, . . . shall recollect that dust, and then recompact that body' (more fully quoted in note on *DivM8Round* 2–4).

57 made of all those] assembled from all those people.

58 his minutes] all the instants of his life. **dispose]** place, order, sort.

60 virtue[^]and/virtue] *III*'s deletion of 'and' perhaps makes for greater rhetorical impact, but may rather derive from a scribe's desire for metrical regularity.

61 discontinue] dissect, anatomise.

62 Cp. note on 42–3 above.

63–6 All compounds, containing contraries, are subject to corruption. Though *D.* may be referring to angels and souls, which were simple forms uncompounded with matter and so indissoluble, according to Thomas Aquinas, *ST I. 50. 5, 52. 2, I. 75. 6* (cp. *SecAn* 124–5, 139–400), he is here more probably alluding to the more disputed nature of 'the spirits in a man which are the thin and active part of the blood, . . . of a kind of middle nature, between soul and body, . . . able to . . . unite and apply the faculties of the soul to the organs of the body, . . . spirits in us, which unite body and soul' (*Serm. 2*. 261–2, 16 June 1619). Cp. note on *Ecstasy* 61–4.

63 would] *Lut/O'F*'s variant 'should' was perhaps induced by ll. 60, 61.

- Of all the purest parts that can be named'
 65 Honours not spirits half so much as he
 Which says 'They have no parts, but simple be',
 So is't of virtue; for a point and one
 Are much entirer than a million.
 And had Fate meant to have his virtues told,
 70 It would have let him live to have been old,
 So then that virtue in season and then this
 We might have seen, and said that now he is
 Witty, now wise, now temperate, now just:
 In good short lives, virtues are fain to thrust,
 75 And to be sure betimes to get a place,
 When they would exercise, lack time and space.

66 Which] Who III 69 to have] t'have had *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

76 would exercise *TCD*, *Lut*, *O'F*: ~, ~ *Dob*, *S96*, 1633, 1635: ~ increase *I*
 time] room *TCD*, *III*

64 parts . . . named] For naming as an operation of division, cp. Milton's *Paradise Lost* 7. 535–6: 'no place / Is yet distinct by name' (Milgate).

66 Which/Who] Indifferently used by D., even within one poem, *Platonic* 6, 13, 15. **they have . . . simple be]** and are therefore incorruptible and everlasting.

67–8 a point . . . million] Cp. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 5. 6 (1016b1–3, 24–7):

In general, those things the thought of whose essence is indivisible, and cannot separate them in time or in place or in formula, are most of all one, . . . Everywhere the one is indivisible either in quantity or in kind. That which is indivisible in quantity and *qua* quantity is called a unit if it is not divisible in any dimension and is without position, a point if it is not divisible in any dimension and has position.

Cp. Plato, *Parmenides* 137d, on the indivisibility and infinity of the one.

68 entirer] less divided, less divisible.

69 to have] The addition in *Lut/O'F*, 't'have had', is unnecessary. **told]** enumerated.

73 The standard elegiac catalogue of the four cardinal virtues (cp. *BulstrodeLanguage* 33–4) is slightly modified with wit (i.e., prudence, intelligence) substituted for fortitude but including wisdom, temperance and justice. They are only four of the nine listed by Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1. 9 (1366b1). D. may be following the advice of Aristotle to a tragedian (1367b8–9): 'If the audience esteems a given quality, we must say that our hero has that quality'.

74 thrust] crowd in.

75 betimes] This form and *Lut/O'F*'s 'betime' were used indifferently in the period; the only use in D.'s poems.

76 exercise/increase . . . time/room] The *TCD* and Group III readings are more regular metrically, though harder, perhaps, to reconcile with the sense of the rest of the passage: if L. H. had had a long enough life he would not have had to be 'his own epitome'. 'Room' would make 'space' tautologous.

76, 78 lack] *Lut/O'F*'s synonym 'want' is possible, but presumably simply a variant from the Group III archetype.

- So was it in this person, forced to be
 For lack of time, his own epitome,
 So to exhibit in few years as much
 80 As all the long-breathed chronicles can touch.
 As when an angel down from Heav'n doth fly,
 Our quick thought cannot keep him company:
 We cannot think 'Now he is at the Sun,
 Now through the Moon, now he through th'air doth run',
 85 Yet when he's come, we know he did repair
 To all 'twixt Heav'n and Earth, Sun, Moon, and air,
 And as this angel in an instant knows,
 And yet we know, this sudden knowledge grows
 By quick amassing several forms of things,
 90 Which he successively to order brings;
 When they, whose slow-paced, lame thoughts cannot go
 So fast as he, think that he doth not so;

80 long-breathed] endowed with exceptional stamina, thence 'covering long periods of time'.

81-6 According to Thomas Aquinas *I. 53. 1*, an angel is capable both of 'contacts of various places successively' in continuous movement, 'And he can all at once quit the whole place and in the same instant apply himself to the whole of another place.' Cp. the reverse flight of the soul in *SecAn* 185-206 and note thereon.

84 he through] *Lut/O'F* regularise the metre by omitting 'he', and hence the elision.

85-6 we know . . . air] Cp. *Serm.* 8. 324 (25 Jan. 1629): 'Whereas an Angel itself cannot pass from East to West, from extreme to extreme, without touching upon the way between, the people will pass from extreme to extreme, without any middle opinion; last minute's murderer, is this minute's God'. **repair/To]** visit.

87-92 Cp. Thomas Aquinas *I. 58. 2, 3*:

By such knowledge as angels have of things through the Word, they know all things under one intelligible species, which is the divine essence. Therefore, as regards such knowledge, they know all things at once; . . . But by that knowledge wherewith the angels know things by innate species, they can at the one time know all things which can be comprised under one species, but not such as are under various species. . . . In the truths which they know naturally, they at once behold all things whatsoever that can be known in them.

Nevertheless, he denies in *I. 58. 4* that angels understand like humans by discursive reasoning or by composing and dividing. D. paradoxically asserts that angels both know totally 'in an instant' and also brings together and orders 'forms of things' (Aquinas's 'innate species' of things) 'successively'.

89 forms] 'Forms' is more appropriate to abstract ideas of his virtues than *Lut/O'F*'s 'shapes'.

Just as a perfect reader doth not dwell,
 On every syllable, nor stay to spell,
 95 Yet without doubt, he doth distinctly see,
 And lay together every A and B;
 So in short-lived good men's not understood
 Each several virtue but the compound good.
 For they all virtues' paths in that pace tread
 100 As angels go and know, and as men read.
 O why should then these men, these lumps of balm
 Sent hither this world's tempests to becalm,
 Before by deeds they are diffused and spread,
 And so make us alive, themselves be dead?
 105 O soul, O circle, why so quickly be
 Thy ends, thy birth and death closed up in thee?

102 this] the *C57, Lec, 1633, 1635* tempests] tempest *C57, Lec, III, 1633, 1635*

93–8 D. applies an analogy of learning to write evenly to learning virtue in the July 1614 letter to Goodyer quoted above (1633 p. 356):

As he hath not presently attained to write a good hand which hath equalled one excellent master in his *A*, another in his *B*, much less he which hath sought all the excellent masters and employed all his time to exceed in one letter, because not so much an excellency of any nor every one as an evenness and proportion and respect to one another gives the perfection, so is no man virtuous by particular example, not he which doth all actions to the pattern of the most valiant or liberal which histories afford, nor he which chooses from every one their best actions, and thereupon doth something like those.

95 **distinctly**] individually.

99 **in that pace**] at the same speed.

100 **As angels go and know**] Referring back to ll. 81–90.

101–162, 178–228, 236–8 D.'s prolonged and repeated reproach of L. H. for dying young contrasts with the consolation offered by Stock in concluding his 'Epistle Dedicatory' (sig. a5r): 'I may say as Ambrose of Abraham: "He died in a good age; for why? He persevered in his good resolutions even unto the end."'

101–2 **these men . . . becalm**] L. H.'s exemplary potential for peace-making, particularly relevant in 1614, is returned to in 186–90, 220–2.

101 **balm**] innate virtue and healing capacity, dependent on a natural balance, as D. wrote in the July 1614 letter to Goodyer (1633 p. 357): 'The later physicians say that when our natural inborn preservative is corrupted or wasted and must be restored by a like extracted from other bodies, the chief care is that the mummy have in it no excelling quality but an equally digested temper: and such is true virtue.' See further note on *BedfordReason* 21–2.

102 Cp. *FirAn* 57 for the idealisation of a person as the whole world's balm or balsam.

105 **circle**] because eternal.

Since one foot of thy compass still was placed
 In Heav'n, the other might securely've paced
 In the most large extent through every path
 110 Which the whole world or man, th'abridgement, hath.
 Thou knewst that though the tropic circles have
 (Yea, and those small ones which the poles engrave)
 All the same roundness, evenness, and all

111 knew'st] know'st *C57, Lec, III, 1633*

107–10 For D.'s first use of the common Renaissance figure of constancy and perfection and a particular source, see note on *Mourning* 25–36. Milgate (from F. P. Wilson, *Elizabethan and Jacobean* (1945) pp. 30, 133), compares Joseph Hall, *Epistles. Second Volume* (1608) p. 176: 'Charity and Faith make up one perfect pair of compasses, that can take the true latitude of a Christian heart: faith is the one foot, pitched in the centre unmovable, whiles charity walks about in a perfect circle of beneficence'; and Jonson's complimentary epistle to John Selden, ll. 29–34, prefixed to the latter's *Titles of Honour* (1614):

Stand forth, my object, then: you that have been
 Ever at home, yet have all countries seen;
 And, like a compass keeping one foot still
 Upon your centre, do your circle fill
 Of general knowledge: watched men, manners too,
 Heard what times past have said, seen what ours do.

The praise of integrity preserved during extensive worldly involvement could have been an appropriate stimulus to D. as he cast about for analogies. Cp. *Devotions*, Expost. 20: 'Though setting that foot of my compass upon thee [God], I have gone so far as to the consideration of myself, yet if I depart from thee, my centre is all unperfect.'

107 still] Both 'always' and 'unmovingly'.

108 Cp. *SecAn* 154: 'For they're in heaven on earth who heaven's works do' (Milgate).

110 man, th'abridgement] On Easter Monday 1622, D. goes beyond this: 'The properties, the qualities of every Creature, are in man; the Essence, the Existence of every Creature is for man; so man is every Creature. And therefore the Philosopher draws man into too narrow a table, when he says he is *Microcosmos*, an Abridgement of the world in little', but for a different purpose at Whitsun 1629 is happy to accept it: 'We shall consider these three terms in our Text, both in the *Macrocosm*, and the *Microcosm*, the Great and the Lesser world, man extended in the world, and the world contracted, and abridged into man' (*Serm.* 4. 104, 9. 93).

111–18 Circles of latitude, though perfect, diminish in circumference from Equator to Pole; only lines of longitude, all of the same length, serve to measure the height of the Sun. This elementary knowledge was available in many books from Ptolemy onwards, such as Blundeville, *Exercises* (1594, enl. 1597; see, e.g., note on *Storm* 14), or on a globe in D.'s study.

112 engrave] mark.

- The endlessness of th'equinoctial,
 115 Yet when we come to measure distances,
 How here, how there the Sun affected is,
 Where he doth faintly work, and where prevail,
 Only great circles then can be our scale:
 So, though thy circle to thyself express
 120 All, tending to thine endless happiness,
 And we by our good use of that may try
 Both how to live well young and how to die,
 Yet, since we must be old, and age endures
 His torrid zone at Court, and calentures

117 Where . . . where *II, III*: When . . . when *I, 1633, 1635*
 120 thine] thy *C57, Lec, TCD, III, 1633, 1635*: their *D, DC*
 121 that] it *III, 1633, 1635*

114 equinoctial] terrestrial equator. See Blundeville (1597) p. 143 (Milgate).

116 affected] disposed.

117 Where/When . . . where/when] Since D. is talking of place not time, the version in Groups II and III is the more appropriate.

118 great circles] those whose planes pass through the centre of the earth, the largest possible. **scale]** standard of measure.

119–20 L. H.'s circle, though small, is perfect and endless.

121–30 we . . . do] Stock in his 'Epistle Dedicatory' to Lady Bedford and her mother (sig. π*8v–a1r, a4v), dwells repetitively on this theme, finding backing both Christian and freethinking:

As Chrysostom saith of the Gentiles: 'They do not regard what things are uttered by us, but what are acted of us.' . . . the heathen man [Plutarch] saith that 'as they who dress themselves use glasses, so those who are to perform anything propound to themselves the examples of praiseworthy men'.

121 that/it] 'That' directs the attention back past 'happiness' to L. H.'s life, the 'circle', which is the pattern to be used. **try]** ascertain.

122 L. H. provided examples only of these.

123–30 In *BulstrodeRecant* 53–8, D. had praised the early death of Lady Bedford's friend Cecilia Bulstrode for saving her from the vices of age that the former's brother is now reproached for not confronting and curing. D.'s reworking of this motif perhaps acknowledges Lady Bedford's possible discontent with *BulstrodeRecant* (see headnote on date and context of *BulstrodeLanguage*).

123–8 Cp. *Serm.* 5. 281 (n. d.):

Our life is a warfare, our whole life; It is not only with lusts in our youth, and ambitions in our middle years, and indevotions in our age, but with agonies in our body, and temptations in our spirit upon our deathbed, that we are to fight; and he cannot be said to overcome, that fights not out the whole battle.

124 torrid zone] tropics. **calentures]** tropical fevers. Appropriate here because, according to J. Vigo, 'within, and chiefly about the heart, the patient thinketh that he burneth.' See note on *Calm* 23.

- 125 Of hot ambitions, irreligion's ice,
 Zeal's agues, and hydroptic avarice
 (Infirmities which need the scale of truth
 As well as lust and ignorance of youth),
 Why didst thou not for those give medicines too
- 130 And by thy doing tell us what to do?
 Though, as small pocket-clocks, whose every wheel

125 ambitions] ambition *II* irreligion's] irreligious *II, Dob, S96, Lut (?)*
 129 those] these *II, III, 1633, 1635* 130 tell] set *III, 1635*

125 irreligion's/irreligious] The similarity of *n* and *u* obviously misled scribes inattentive to the context.

126 Zeal's agues] Incorporating almost word for word the account in the cousin Harington's *Nugae antiquae* 2. 115–19; in the funeral sermon, Stock portrays L. H. at length as fulfilling the zealous Puritan ideal: though D. habitually uses 'zeal' with connotations of approval, he may have seen the young L. H.'s as extravagant. For Stock (p. 90, following *Nugae*), there was a not inconsiderable product 'of true godliness: . . . love to all religious persons, and specially to faithful and painful ministers'. **hydroptic]** unquenchably thirsty. The spelling with medial *-t-* is found in all sources collated. See note on *Perfume* 6.

128 lust and ignorance] L. H.'s triumph over these is alleged in *Nugae antiquae* 2. 114–15 (partly repeated in Stock's funeral sermon p. 73): he 'kept himself undefiled as Lot in the midst of Sodom. . . . He spent not his time in courting of ladies and amorously contemplating the beauties of women, which are bellows of lust and baits of uncleanness, but he preferred his books before their beauty; and, for his society, chose men of parts and learning for arts and arms.' Stock pp. 72–3 expatiates:

which was the more commendable in him because he was, as Jerome speaketh, *in lubrica aetate*, 'in a slippery age', in the flower of his youth, but yet more because he lived *in lubrico loco*, 'in a slippery place', the Court; most of all because he had been a traveller in those places [France and Italy] where are schools of uncleanness, . . . he ever kept his chastity, yea, he grew in the love of chastity and hatred of all uncleanness.

He thus implicitly rejects the tolerant relativism conceded to Lady Bedford by D. in *BedfordNew* 41–2.

129 those/these] 1633's urge to emend his Group I copy is understandable.

130 tell/set] The reverse error in *DC* at 154 suggests an easy confusion in some handwriting of the time.

131–48 The gist of this single sentence is that if while learning how to live we either are confused by the disagreement between the conflicting examples set by private individuals, 'pocket-clocks', and indiscriminately vary in direction, or because of that diversity disregard them completely, we may come to personal disaster, but that the aged and eminent, tower-clocks, have greater potential for damaging influence. The 'as . . . will, So . . . destruction' comparison is nested within the larger 131–48 contrast, 'Though . . . Yet . . . rely'. L. H. should have lived to be a pattern of excellence in the mature public man.

Doth each mismotion and distemper feel,
 Whose hand gets shaking palsies, and whose string
 (His sinews) slackens, and whose soul, the spring,
 135 Expires or languishes, whose pulse, the fly,

133 hand gets] hands gets *Lec*, S96: hands get *Lut*, O'F, 1633, 1635

131–40, 146 Private men's faults harm only themselves. D. applies to all, male and female, an analogy for unreliability in women initiated by *Love's Labour's Lost* 3. 1. 185–8, where Biron likens a woman to 'a German clock: / Still a-repairing, ever out of frame, / And never going aright; being a watch, / But being watched that it may still go right.' German clocks, however, were elaborate novelty items with automatic figures of people and animals. D. is rather alluding, like C. Heydon, *Defence of Judiciall Astrologie* (1603) pp. 143–4, to 'common watches, wherein the wheels, teeth, axletrees, spring, etc., be not perfectly wrought or not well set together, may breed error; and dry weather, or the spring new wound up, may cause the watch to go faster' (Milgate). Grosart quotes S. Marmion, *Antiquary* 1. 1 (1641) sig. B2r, in which a character says that having a watch 'helps much to discourse, for, while others confer notes together, we confer our watches, and spend good part of the day with talking of it'. A more complimentary account of the watch occurs in Campion's *Epigrammata* 1. 151 (1619; *Works*, ed. Davis (1969) pp. 416–17).

132 mismotion and distemper] jolting and extreme temperature (with a hint of 'bodily disorder', see note on *FirAn* 311–12).

133 hand/hands] The latter reading in a few of the less authoritative MSS and their derived printed editions is presumably mistaken. Until Robert Hooke's invention of the isochronous spring balance in 1659, and its manufacture from c. 1665 onwards, watches were too inaccurate for a minute hand to be useful. D. the preacher reworked the analogy:

God looks for nothing, nothing to be done in the way of exact recompense, but yet, as he that makes a Clock, bestows all that labour upon the several wheels, that thereby the Bell might give a sound, and that thereby the hand might give knowledge to others how the time passes; so this is the principal part of that thankfulness, which God requires from us: that we make open declarations of his mercies, to the winning and confirming of others. (*Serm.* 6. 42, [April–June 1623]).

Sir John Harington of Kelston, who provided the material for Stock's funeral sermon, had himself portrayed with a single-handed watch as an emblematic reminder of the passage of time on the title-page of his version of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591). See note on *Christ* 7–8. **string]** The connection between the going-spring barrel and the spirally grooved conical fusee barrel which compensated for the diminishing power of the unwinding spring. If made of catgut (and thus a fit comparison with 'His sinews'), rather than a metal chain, it would be prone to breaking or stretching. Cp. *Serm.* 7. 430 (6 May 1627): 'In a Watch, the string moves nothing, but yet, it conserves the regularity of the motion of all'.

134 slackens/slacken] An obvious error in *Lut/O'F*, mistaking 'sinews' for the subject.

135 pulse] Either the vibration felt as the fly revolves during striking, or the striking itself. **fly]** winged governor of the speed of the striking train.

- Either beats not, or beats unevenly,
 Whose voice, the bell, doth rattle or grow dumb
 Or idle, as men which to their last hours come,
 If these clocks be not wound, or be wound still,
 140 Or be not set, or set at every will,
 So youth be easiest to destruction
 If then we follow all, or follow none;
 Yet, as in great clocks which in steeples chime,
 Placed to inform whole towns to employ their time,
 145 An error doth more harm, being general,
 When small clocks' faults only on th'wearer fall,
 So work the faults of age, on which the eye
 Of children, servants, or the state rely.
 Why wouldst not thou then, which hadst such a soul,

138 men] men's III which] who III

141 be] is *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, 1633, 1635: runs *S96*

146 on the wearer *D*, *C57*, *Lec*, *DC*, *Dob*, *S96*, 1633, 1635: ~ ~ weares *H49*: ~ ~ wearers *Lut*, *O'F*: in the weather *TCD* (*corr. in another hand to wearer*)

136 beats] causes the striking.

137 D. bequeathed his 'striking clock which I ordinarily wear' to his wife's brother-in-law and overseer of his will, Sir Thomas Grymes (Bald p. 563 via Milgate). **rattle]** stutter, chatter, prattle. Alternatively, the bell losing its ringing-tone (through some other component or foreign body touching it, or a defect in the hammer) could sound like the breath in the throat of one dying.

138 idle] meaningless, incoherent, delirious. **men/men's] III's** possessive is right but unnecessary. **which/who]** Indifferent: cp. l. 66. **hours/hour]** Being rendered dumb by a stroke or the wanderings of delirium, or the death-rattle, can last more than the single 'hour' of *Lut/O'F*, whose copy simply fell into the common phrase.

139-42 The analogy of a watch not wound or set at all, or else continually rewound and reset, is applied especially to our younger years, when we follow others' examples indiscriminately, or arbitrarily 'follow none'. The contrast is made in respect of religious loyalties in *Satyre* 3 62-7. In Middleton's *Women Beware Women* (c. 1614-15 or c. 1621) 4. 1. 1-18, three different watches show three different times, so Bianca prefers to set hers by the sun, observing (with sexual implications): 'If I should set my watch as some girls do, / By ev'ry clock i'th town, 'twould ne'er go true; / And too much turning of the dial's point, / Or tamp'ring with the spring, might in small time / Spoil the whole work too.'

139 still] continually.

140 at every will] according to everyone's differing opinion.

141 be/is] The agreement across all three groups of MSS on the more difficult reading suggests that the reading of some Group I MSS and their derivative printed editions was a scribal emendation.

148 Stock recounts at length how L. H. made his household join in religious observances, e.g., 'He was a most religious observer of the sabbath in public and private duties, . . . he did not miss ordinarily twice a day to hear the word publicly: . . . he repeated with his servants before supper both the sermons, and writ them down in his night-book'.

- 150 A clock so true, as might the Sun control,
 And daily hadst from him who gave it thee
 Instructions such as it could never be
 Disordered, stay here as a general
 And great sundial, to have set us all?
 155 Oh why wouldst thou be any instrument
 To this unnatural course, or why consent
 To this not miracle but prodigy:
 That where the ebbs longer than flowings be,
 Virtue, whose flood did with thy youth begin,
 160 Should so much faster ebb out than flow in?

152 Instructions] Instruction *II* it could never] never yet could *III*
 158 where] when *C57, Lec, 1633* 159–61 did . . . her flood *om. I*

150 A blasphemous hyperbole, since God himself set ‘the greater light to rule the day’, giving the Sun its time, *Gen.* 1. 16. **control]** correct, regulate.

151 L. H.’s daily Bible-reading is praised by Harington/Stock.

152 as] that. **it could never/never yet could]** ‘It’ is needed to make clear that it is the soul/clock that could never be disordered, not the instructions (for which it went without saying). The scribe of the archetype of Group III presumably mistook ‘yt’ (= ‘it’) for ‘y’ (= ‘that’), as occasionally happened.

153–4 as a general . . . all] The dial as moral guide or analogy was a common image: cp. the title of A. de Guevara’s popular *Diall of Princes* (4 edns 1557–1619), and Webster’s *White Devil* (1612; ed. C. Leech (1960) 1. 2. 287–9): ‘The lives of princes should like dials move, / Whose regular example is so strong, / They make the times by them go right or wrong.’ See J. Lederer, *Essential Articles* p. 111, on an emblematic dictionary of 1653 in which the sundial is a type of the just man (Milgate). Sundials, whether high up on walls or on humbler pedestals, remained more than mere ornaments through the first half of the seventeenth century, since they were especially necessary for the setting of clocks and watches before the invention of the pendulum for the former by Christiaan Huygens in 1657 and the spring balance for the latter (see 133 above). In Dekker, *Honest Whore* 2 3. 1. 108–26 (1604–5; *Dramatic Works* 2. 168–9), two watches vary from each other and from ‘Heaven’s dial, the Sun’.

155–6 instrument / To] instrumental in.

157 not miracle but prodigy] not a special intervention by God, yet an omen, portent.

158 A phenomenon well known to Londoners, whose passage up and down the Thames, crossing of it, and sailing into and out of the Port of London, depended much on its tides. Cp. W. Bourne’s *Treasure for Travellers* 5. 6 (1578) sig. 5C4r: ‘When it is in and hath taken his sway, then it cannot so soon reverse back until that the water is well descended or ebbed behind it to the seawards, as it doth manifestly appear by experience’ (Milgate).

159 flood] inflowing tide.

- Though her flood were blown in by thy first breath,
 All is at once sunk in the whirlpool death,
 Which word I would not name, but that I see
 Death, else a desert, grown a court by thee.
 165 Now I am sure, that if a man would have
 Good company, his entry is a grave.
 Methinks all cities, now, but anthills be,
 Where, when the sev'ral labourers I see
 For children, house, provision, taking pain,
 170 They're all but ants, carrying eggs, straw, and grain;

161 were] was *C57, Lec, 1633* 163 word] now *II*

164 grown *TCD, III, 1633, 1635*: is *I, DC*

165 am *TCD, III, 1635*: grow *I, DC, 1633* 170 and] or *II, III*

161 D. implies that L. H. became virtuous as soon as born, not waiting for baptism to wash away the original sin which arose on the conjunction of body and soul in his mother's womb.

162 the whirlpool death] The phrase *vorago mortis* is found in the twelfth century. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum ecclesiae*, 'Dominica in Septuagesima' (*PL* 172. 856) but could easily be fresh-coined. St Boniface, *Epistolae* 59 (*PL* 89. 759) says fornication can truly be called *laqueus mortis, et puteus inferni, et vorago perditionis*, 'the snare of death, the pit of Hell, and the whirlpool of perdition'. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 107 (Whitsun 1629): 'Death comes to us in the name, and notion of waters too, in the Scriptures. . . . The water of death overflows all'.

163 Which word] Possibly 'whirlpool', already associated with the fatal drawing power of the Court in *Metem* 327, but more probably 'Death', already mentioned more than once but which D. now proceeds to praise as he would the Court for 'Good company'.

164 Perhaps a reminiscence of *Richard II* 3. 2. 156–8: 'Within the hollow crown / That rounds the mortal temples of a king / Keeps Death his court'.

164–5 grown /is . . . am/grow] It is hard not to prefer the version in *TCD, III*, though the editor of *1633* failed to adopt it consistently. This is one of the few cases where the Group I reading may have been revised by D. himself.

166 entry] entrance and entrée; way, act, and right of entering.

167–70 The wisdom of the ant was proverbial from ancient times, e.g., *Prov.* 6. 6, Horace, *Sat.* 1. 1. 33–5, Jerome, *Vita Malchi Monachi* 7 (*PL* 23. 57), summed up by J. Guillim, *Display of Heraldrie* 3. 17 (1610) p. 152: 'By the *Emmet* or *Pismire* may be signified a man of great labour, wisdom, and providence in all his affairs'. For D., however, initiating a traditional but brief 'contempt of the world' section, the ant was a type of the lowest, least significant life, here that which does materially and socially useful work: see, e.g., *BedfordNew* 28, *FirAn* 190, *SecAn* 282; such prudence was despised by Jesus in *Matt.* 6. 19–34.

169 children, house, provision] Reordered in *Lut/O'F*, destroying the concord with the order of 'eggs, straw and grain', the ants' equivalents in the next line.

170 ants] Cp. D.'s reuse of the analogy in *Serm.* 1. 217 (24 March 1617) to describe the behaviour of the citizens on the death of Queen Elizabeth: 'Every one of you in the City were running up and down like Ants with their eggs bigger than themselves, every man with his bags, to seek where to hide them safely'

And churchyards are our cities, unto which
 The most repair that are in goodness rich.
 There is the best concourse and confluence,
 There are the holy suburbs, and from thence
 175 Begins God's city, New Jerusalem,
 Which doth extend her utmost gates to them;
 At that gate then, triumphant soul, dost thou

172 that] who *II, Dob, S96*: which *Lut, O'F*

(Milgate). **and/or]** The latter reading in Groups II and III would suggest individuals with (like the ants) single preoccupations, but most of the citizens of 167–8 would have shared all three.

171–5 cities . . . God's city] The suburbs containing Lincoln's Inn, the Strand, and Drury Lane, and the royal city of Westminster with York House, where D. lived before moving into St Paul's Deanery in 1622 (see Bald) saw a great influx of the wealthy in the autumn, as the 'best' society congregated for the season in town.

171–2 A traditional topos in funeral elegy where appropriate: cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 10, *DivM11Death* 7. The good prefer early death to indulgence in the fashionable pursuits of ambition, avarice and lust of 125–8.

172 that/who/which] *II, Dob* and *S96*'s 'who' is an unnecessary change, while 'which' in *Lut/O'F* jingles clumsily with 'rich'.

173 concourse and confluence] gathering, assembly, meeting.

174–5 Cp. *Serm.* 3. 288 ([?Trinity Term 1621]): 'Where we are now, is the suburb of the great City, the porch of the Triumphant Church, and the Grange, or Country house of the same Landlord, belonging to his heavenly Palace, in the heavenly Jerusalem' (Milgate).

175–6 New Jerusalem . . . gates] *Rev.* 21. 10–13.

176 utmost] outermost.

177–235 Ancient accounts of the laws of Roman triumphs are summarised by W. Segar, *Honor Military, and Civill* 3. 19–21 (1602) pp. 138–41, even more accessible than the Continental historians listed by Milgate, such as F. Biondo, *De Roma triumphante* (orig. *Triumphantis Romae libri*, 1472) in *Historiae ab inclinatione Romanorum* (1531, 1559), in whom he found all D.'s details except that in 230–5 of deference to the Senate. They are also collected in J. Rosinus, *Antiquitatum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum* 10. 29 (1613) p. 783, revised and augmented by Thomas Dempster, a violent but scholarly Roman Catholic Scotsman whom D. could have met in Paris, and a fellow-suitor of Somerset and Hay. W. M. Lebas, *RES* ns 23 (1972) 135–7, lists some of their original sources. D.'s application of the laws of triumph here to the soul is quite different from the passing conventional references to the triumph of Death in *Markham* 62, *BulstrodeRecant* 68.

177–8 Paul applies the Roman custom to Christ and obedient believers after death in *2 Cor.* 2. 14, followed by *Col.* 2. 15.

177 that gate] The *porta triumphalis*, Rosinus p. 784.1a, Dempster, 'Paralipomena' p. 809.2c; cp. Cicero, *In Pisonem* 23. 55; Suetonius, 'Octavius' 100. 2; Josephus, *De Bello Iudaico* 7. 130. According to Rosinus p. 783.1c, would-be triumphers had to wait outside until granted the honour by the Senate and people.

- Begin thy triumph. But, since laws allow
 That at the triumph day the people may
 180 All that they will 'gainst the triumph say,
 Let me here use that freedom, and express
 My grief, though not to make thy triumph less.
 By law, to triumph none admitted be
 Till they as magistrates get victory:
 185 Though then to thy force, all youth's foes did yield,
 Yet till fit time had brought thee to that field

183 triumph *TCD, III: triumphs I, DC, 1633, 1635*

186 that] the *II, S96*

178–80 since . . . say] Rosinus p. 783.1d–e notes that the consent of the people was needed, and Segar 3. 21 (p. 141) that often the soldiers 'uttered scoffs and jests against the triumpher! Such was the behaviour of Caesar's followers at his triumph', quoting, from Suetonius, 'Julius' 49. 4, 51 (as does Dempster p. 825.1b), the verses about Caesar's bisexuality. Cp. Livy 4. 53. 11, 5. 49. 7; Martial 1. 4. 3–4 (quoted by Lebas).

179–80 the people . . . say] Without the consent of the people there could be no triumph (Livy 4. 20. 2; Rosinus 28, p. 781.2c; 29, p. 783.1d). Moreover, the triumpher had to allow the citizens to curse him, according to Velleius Paterculus 2. 67. 4 (quoted by Lebas), while Livy, 38. 47. 1–2, records that the tribunes of the plebs were allowed their say (Milgate).

181 Let . . . freedom] As Pebworth 34 observes, D. goes against the stream of unreserved panegyric from Lady Bedford's other followers: he 'was reticent in enumerating the individual virtues of L. H. because they were virtues that had been put to the service of extreme Puritanism and of the anti-Spanish war party. . . . Harington's extreme and militant Puritanism precludes his being praised as a model for all men.' It is perhaps expecting too much thoroughness and consistency in D.'s analogy to perceive implicit self-identification with the people of the City of God.

183–4 By law . . . victory] Cp. Segar 3. 19 (p. 139): 'In that age [the earliest] also, it was unlawful for any man to triumph unless he were a Dictator, a Consul, or a Praetor' (supporting *TCD, III*'s 'triumph' against 'triumphs' in *I, DC, 1633, 1635*). See also Rosinus p. 783.1c, citing Plutarch, 'Pompey' 14. 1; Livy 28. 38. 4, 31. 20. 3; Valerius Maximus 2. 8. 5.

183 to . . . be] Repeated in 202. **admitted]** permitted.

186–91 Segar 3. 19 (p. 139) points out 'Another law or custom there was, that no captain might triumph until he had . . . delivered the country of his charge quiet into the hand of his successor.' Cp. Livy 26. 21. 4, 39. 29. 5. D. manages to praise L. H. as a public figure only with the hypothetical hope that he might have matured into a tolerant peacemaker. Cp. Stock p. 74: 'For his justice, he had no public place to show himself in: he was but coming upon the stage and God called him away, and suffered him not to manifest what he had gotten by his careful fitting himself for such a place.'

186–8 that field . . . victory] Since L. H. was already a member of the House of Lords, D. may be thinking specifically of the Privy Council.

To which thy rank in this state destined thee,
 That there thy counsels might get victory
 And so in that capacity remove
 190 All jealousies 'twixt prince and subjects' love,
 Thou couldst no title to this triumph have.
 Thou didst intrude on death, usurped'st a grave.
 Then (though victoriously) thou'dst fought as yet
 But with thine own affections, with the heat
 195 Of youth's desires, and colds of ignorance;
 But till thou shouldst successfully advance
 Thine arms 'gainst foreign enemies, which are
 Both envy and acclamations popular
 (For both these engines equally defeat,
 200 Though by a divers mine, those which are great),
 Till then thy war was but a civil war,

191 couldst] shouldst *S96, Lut, O'F*: could *Dobbe*: should *Dobae*
 192 usurped'st] usurp'st *C57, Lec, S96, 1633*: usurp *Lut, O'F, 1635*
 193 Then] When *S96, Dobbe*: That *C57, Lec, 1633* as yet *om. II, S96be*
 196 successfully] successively *Lec, TCD, III (O'Fbe)*: [space] fully *DC*
 198 acclamations] acclamation *1633, 1635* 200 which] that *III*

190 D. is writing in the year of the 'Addled Parliament', in which he was a select committee member: the Commons reached an impasse with the Lords and Crown over such matters as privileges, monopolies and James I's extravagant patronage of Scots favourites, and passed no legislation, so the King dissolved it on 7 June, sending two of D.'s friends to the Tower (Bald pp. 284–9). **jealousies]** apprehensions, resentments, mistrust.

192–5 Cp. *Serm.* 2. 359 (3 March 1620): 'It is not . . . that we should think to triumph if we had overcome the heat and intemperance of youth, but we must fight it out to our lives' end. And then we have the reward of this lesson: . . . "No man is crowned, except he fight according to his law" [2 *Tim.* 2. 5], that is, he persevere to the end.'

196–7, 201–2 Segar 3. 20 (p. 140): 'One other custom the Romans had, and was no ordinance or law, yet precisely observed, which is that whosoever in any civil war had gained victory (how notable soever) he should not be admitted to triumph, because men therein slain were citizens and no strangers [foreigners]'. Cp. Valerius Maximus 2. 8. 7, Dion Cassius 43. 42. 1–2; Rosinus p. 783.2c. The condition was grossly violated by Julius Caesar after his defeat of Pompey and his sons: see Plutarch, 'Caesar' 56. 4.

198 acclamations popular] In fact, L. H. had already received the rare distinction of a published equestrian portrait, reproduced by Pebworth 22.

199 engines] instruments of war.

200 a divers mine] different ways of undermining.

201 Cp. *Serm.* 4. 194 (15 Sept. 1622): 'In every man, there are two sides, two armies: the flesh fights against the Spirit. This is but a *Civil war*, nay it is but a *Rebellion*, indeed'.

- For which to triumph none admitted are;
 No more are they who, though with good success,
 In a defensive war their power express.
 205 Before men triumph, the dominion
 Must be enlarged, and not preserved alone.
 Why shouldst thou, then, whose battles were to win
 Thyself from those straits Nature put thee in,
 And to deliver up to God that state
 210 Of which he gave thee the vicariate
 (Which is thy soul and body) as entire
 As he, who takes endeavours, doth require,
 But didst not stay to enlarge his kingdom too,
 By making others what thou didst to do;
 215 Why shouldst thou triumph now, when Heav'n no more
 Hath got, by getting thee, than't had before?
 For Heav'n and thou, ev'n when thou livedst here,
 Of one another in possession were;
 But this from triumph most disables thee:
 220 That that place which is conquerèd must be
 Left safe from present war and likely doubt
 Of imminent commotions to break out.
 And hath he left us so? or can it be
 His territory was no more but he?
 225 No, we were all his charge: the diocese
 Of ev'ry exemplar man the whole world is,

202 triumph] ~s II 220 that place] the ~ II

222 imminent] eminent *Lec*, II commotions] conjunction *DC*: confusion *TCD*

224 but] than *C57*, *Lec*, 1633, 1635

203–6 Segar 3. 19 (138): 'It was likewise by law provided, and by custom also observed, that only for recovery of dominion no man should be permitted to triumph.' Cp. Rosinus pp. 783.2a–b; Valerius Maximus 2. 8. 4; Livy 36. 1. 3; Ammianus Marcellinus 16. 10. 1–2.

207–8 to win . . . thee in] To overcome the predicament of fallen human nature.
 210 vicariate] rule as his representative.

212 takes endeavours] accepts (best) efforts (as achievements).

217–18 Cp. l. 108.

219–22 See Segar above on 186–91.

221 doubt] fear.

223 hath he left us so?] Certainly not politically: see note above on 190.

224 'He had no responsibilities beyond himself?'

225–8 One more (brief) lapse into the third person, with the seven following lines indeterminate as D. turns back to L. H.

225–6 the diocese . . . world is] 'Exemplary people have a duty to care like a bishop for the morals of the whole world.' Cp. the passage in *Devotions*, Med. 17: 'No man is an island . . .'.

And he was joinèd in commission
 With tutelar angels, sent to everyone.
 But though this freedom to upbraid and chide
 230 Him who triumphed were lawful, it was tied
 With this: that it might never reference have
 Unto the Senate, who this triumph gave;
 Men might at Pompey jest, but they might not
 At that authority by which he got
 235 Leave to triumph before by age he might;
 So though, triumphant soul, I dare to write,
 Moved with a reverential anger, thus,
 That thou so early wouldst abandon us,
 Yet am I far from daring to dispute
 240 With that great sovereignty whose absolute

228 every] very 1635 229 this] thy II: their III

230 who triumphed] that ~ TCD: now triumphal DC

232 this] the III

239 am I] I am C57, *Lec*, 1633, 1635

227 joinèd in commission] was commissioned jointly.

228 tutelar angels . . . everyone] Thomas Aquinas 1. 113. 2, 4. See note on *SecAn* 239.

229–30 See above, 178–82.

231–2 it might . . . gave] In fact Segar 3. 19 (139) observes that ‘C. Marcius [Rutilus], by the base people . . . their commandment, also, without allowance of the *patritii*, did triumph’ (see Livy 7. 17; cp. 3. 63), though Polybius 6. 13 details the Senate’s absolute control of public expenditure, the judgement of political crimes, arbitration between citizens, protection of them and the state, and foreign policy. D. seems to be bolstering Stuart aspirations to absolute rule. There may be a blurred reminiscence of Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, said to have rejected the Senate’s grant of a triumph and been punished with exile (Valerius Maximus 2. 8. 3; Rosinus p. 786.1a).

233–5 Rosinus p. 783.1c and Segar, 3. 19 (139) record that ‘Gnaeus Pompeius, a gentleman Roman, before he was of age to be consul triumphed twice.’ In 81 BCE the Senate granted Pompey a triumph when only 24 (Livy, *Építome* 89), and again ten years later, still before he had held any great office of state. Cp. Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei* 21 (61); Valerius Maximus 8. 15. 8; Plutarch, ‘Pompey’ 14, 22. 1.

238 Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 113. 6, asserts that a guardian angel (see l. 228) may not be locally present, but is always watchful, even in Heaven, and is able to be present in an instant.

240–3 that great sovereignty . . . early triumphs] See note above on 233–5. Cp. the case of Germanicus in Tacitus, *Annals* 1. 55, 2. 41.

240–1 absolute Prerogative] A topical term: it was for attacking assertions of James I’s royal prerogative, in exercising which he claimed to be God on earth, through impositions and prodigious grants to favourites, that the Addled Parliament (see note above on 190) was dissolved, and D.’s friends were imprisoned. Cp. *Biathanatos* 1. 2. 2: ‘Prerogative is incomprehensible [i.e., unbounded], and overflows and transcends all law’ (Milgate).

- Prerogative hath thus dispensed for thee
 'Gainst nature's laws, which just impugners be
 Of early triumphs; And I (though with pain)
 Lessen our loss to magnify thy gain
 245 Of triumph, when I say it was more fit
 That all men should lack thee than thou lack it.
 Though then in our time be not sufferèd
 That testimony of love unto the dead,
 To die with them, and in their graves be hid,
 250 As Saxon wives, and French soldurii did;
 And though in no degree I can express,

241 for] with III, 1633, 1635 243 early] earthly III (O'Fbe): Caly DC

247 time] times II, III be] it be C57, Lec

250 soldurii] Soldurii Lut: Sildurii O'F: Soldarii Dobbe, 1633, 1635: Solarii S96: Soldiers DC

241–2 for thee / 'Gainst] on your behalf with (*OED* dispense *v.* 4d).

241 for/with] Though the source of Group III, 1633, 1635 might seem to have misunderstood the text to mean that the sovereign power exercised its prerogative against natural law to do away with or do without L. H., *OED* dispense *v.* 9a, 4d records the use of 'dispense with' to mean 'make an arrangement for someone to be exempted'.

242–3 nature's . . . triumphs] The young are naturally disadvantaged in overcoming temptations both by their greater vigour and by inexperience.

242 impugners] enemies.

250 Saxon wives] Actually the Slavonic Wendish women, living in the lands of the Saxons and Thuringians. D. slightly misrepresents the report by the seventh to eighth-century St Boniface (or Winfrid), *Epistolae* 62 (*PL* 89. 760), in a letter of 745 to the English King Ethelbald (successively corrupted by Rhenanus and Gregorius into the anachronistic 'Edoaldum' and 'Edoardum'), found in Beatus Rhenanus, *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres*, 1 (Basle 1531; 1551) p. 84, by P. Gregorius of Toulouse, *Syntagma iuris universi* 9. 5. 14 (1599) p. 162, that it was the custom with the Wends (called 'Winedi' by Boniface, who deemed them the foulest and most wicked sort of people; and 'Venedi', who lacked towns, by Rhenanus), for wives to refuse to outlive their dead husbands, and, after being killed, or in the most-praised cases, killing themselves, to be burnt on the marital pyres as constant and equal company. Rhenanus assimilates their practice to that of the Indian suttee he compares it with, saying they throw themselves alive onto the pyre. **soldurii]** vassals. Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 3. 22. 2, cited by Gregorius 14. 10. 14 (p. 255), whom D. had paraphrased thus in *Biathanatos* 1. 2. 3: 'In Caesar's time in France, for one who died naturally there died many by this devout violence. For he says there were some whom he calls *devotos* and *clientes* (the later laws called them *soldurios*), which, enjoying many benefits and commodities from men of higher rank, always, when the lord died, celebrated his funeral with their own.'

Grief in great Alexander's great excess,
 Who at his friend's death made whole towns divest
 Their walls and bulwarks which became them best:
 255 Do not, fair soul, this sacrifice refuse,
 That in thy grave I do inter my Muse,
 Who, by my grief, great as thy worth, being cast
 Behindhand, yet hath spoke, and spoke her last.

254 which] that III 257 Who] Which *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635

A Hymn to the Saints and Marquis of Hamilton

Date and Context. March 1625. James Hamilton (b. 1589), second marquis and head of Scotland's premier family after the Stuarts, died on 2 March, and James I exactly three weeks later, an event which D. might be expected to mention had it occurred before the despatch of his poem. The accompanying letter to their common friend shows that the initiative was not D.'s. Since Hamilton was a prominent opponent of Buckingham's policy towards France (at that time deferential), and had been a commissioner for the widely unpopular marriage

252–4 Alexander's . . . bulwarks] In displaced vengeance. According to Plutarch, *Alexander* 72. 2–3 (*Lives* p. 709), he

commanded all the hairs of his horse and mules to be presently shorn . . . and that all the battlements of the walls of cities also should be overthrown, and hung up poor Glaucus, his physician, upon a cross, and commanded that no minstrel should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his camp; . . . he went unto the wars as unto an hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the Cossaeians, whom he plucked up by the roots, and slew man, woman, and child; and this was called the sacrifice of Hephaestion's funerals.

Cp. Aelian, *Varia historia* 7. 8.

254 became] befitted (as protection of centres of power), or adorned. By D.'s time, artillery had rendered much apparent fortification such as towers and crenellated battlements on churches and houses merely emblematic of status or ornamental.

256–8 my Muse . . . her last] This truthfully signals D.'s final decision to enter holy orders, but, like the promise to reserve all his verses for Lady Bedford (see note on *BedfordDead* 11–16), was to be violated with *Sidney* and *Hamilton* as regards writing for patrons, the Latin poems for friends, *HerbertG* and *Andrews*, and more privately, perhaps, with the religious poems, *HSW1Since*, *Tilman*, *Germany*, *Sickness*, *Christ* and *Jeremy*. The vow was in any case to be less successful than he hoped in securing the payoff he was angling for.

258 Behindhand] About six months after the event, for which D. is apologising: see headnote on date.

negotiations for Charles and the Infanta of Spain (though neutral on the proposal in Council), D. may have felt cautious about being seen to celebrate this fellow Privy Councillor and honorary member of the Council of the Virginia Company (Bald p. 436), and though Hamilton had always stood high in the King's favour, the fifty-eight-year-old James I fell ominously ill on 5 March, leaving Buckingham supreme.

Of Hamilton's personality Chamberlain had written to Carleton on 27 Aug. 1617 (2. 98) that 'I have not heard a man generally better spoken of than that marquis, even by all the English [who generally disliked and resented the Scottish favourites], insomuch that he is every way held the gallantest gentleman of both the nations'. Of D.'s epicede, however, he wrote on 23 April 1625, 'I send you here certain verses of our Dean of Paul's upon the death of the Marquis of Hamilton, which, though they be reasonable witty and well done, yet I could wish a man of his years and place to give over versifying' (2. 613), justifying D.'s reluctance to accede to Hay's request.

Epistle

Text. *Lut* demands less emendation than Group II and the editions.

To Sir Robert Carr

SIR,

I presume you rather try what you can do in me, than what
I can do in verse: you knew my uttermost when it was at
best, and even then I did best when I had least truth for my

Sources collated: *Group II: TCC, TCD; Group III: Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635*

Base text: *Lut*

Select variants:

Placed before poem in *TCC, III, 1635*, after it in *TCD, 1633*

Heading: *III, 1635*: The letter that was sent with these verses *TCD*: Epistle *TCC*
3 knew] know *II, 1633, 1635*

Address] Carr or Ker had been one of D.'s two intermediaries with his namesake, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, Earl of Somerset, and was created Earl of Ancrum in 1633.

3-5 you knew . . . subject] Ker was probably one of the first to see *Somerset*, the idea of which D. mentioned dismissively to him (*Letters* p. 270); he could easily have read the published *Anniversaries*, and is conjectured by A. McColl to have been the recipient of the archetype of the Group II MSS in 1619 (Gardner *DP* p. lxxviii): he would thus be familiar with what were obviously the least sincere of D.'s poems. However, D. might also be trying to deflect criticism of his earlier work, as in the letter of 9 March-12 May 1619 accompanying a MS of *Biathanatos*, where D. asks Ker to tell any discreetly chosen reader 'that it is a book written by Jack Donne, not by Dr Donne', i.e., a paradox, self-consciously flouting orthodoxy (*Letters* p. 22).

5 subject. In this present case, there is so much truth as it defeats
 all poetry. Call, therefore, this paper by what name you will,
 and, if it be not worthy of him nor of you nor of me, smother
 it, and be that the sacrifice. If you had commanded me to
 have waited upon his corpse to Scotland, and preached there,
 10 I should have embraced the obligation with more alacrity. But
 I thank you that you would command that which I was loath
 to do, for even that hath given a tincture of merit to the obe-
 dience of

Your poor friend and servant,
 Jo. Donne.

5 subject] subjects 1633, 1635
 7 him . . . you] you . . . him 1633 nor of me] nor of any TCC: om. 1633
 smother] we will smother 1633 8 that the] it your 1633
 9 upon] on TCD, 1633, 1635 corpse] body II, O'F, 1633, 1635
 10 should] would 1633, 1635 the] your 1633 more] much 1633
 11 command that] command me that 1633, 1635 loath] loather 1633
 14 servant,] servant in Christ Jesus 1633, 1635
 15 Jo. Donne.] J. D. TCC: I. D. 1633, 1635: om. TCD

Hymn

Analogue. The inevitable topics of funeral elegy are present—lament, praise, consolation—but *Hamilton* is as conspicuously free of specific classical reference as D.'s sermons.

Text. TCD appears to give the least obviously erroneous text, corrected in ll. 10, 17, 23 and 36 from the other witnesses. Apparently a later addition to the manuscript, TCD's text is not in the hand of the usually reliable scribe of both it and TCC, but the latter seems exceptionally erratic from the heading onward, while *Lut* and *O'F* show their usual free scribal substitution, in l. 27 because of complete misunderstanding. The text of 1633 is akin to TCD's, and is followed by 1635 apart from its adoptions from *O'F* in ll. 12 and 25.

W HETHER that soul which now comes up to you
 Fill any former rank or make a new,

Sources collated: TCC, TCD, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1633, 1635

Base text: TCD

Select variants:

Heading: A] An 1633, 1635 and] ~ to TCC, 1633, 1635: ~ to the III Marquis of] Marquesse III, 1633, 1635

1 Whether] Whither 1633 that soul which] the soul that III

8–9 If . . . Scotland] After being ceremoniously transferred from Whitehall where he died in his house, 'Fisher's Folly', outside Bishopsgate, Hamilton's remains were taken home to Scotland for burial with his ancestors at Hamilton, Strathclyde.

1–8 Thomas Aquinas, ST 1. 50. 4, concludes that 'all the angels differ in species according to the diverse degrees of intellectual nature', that 'it is not possible for

Whether it take a name named there before,
 Or be a name itself, and order more
 5 Than was in heaven till now (for may not he
 Be so, if every several angel be
 A kind alone?) whatever order grow
 Greater by him in heaven, we do not so;
 One of your orders grows by his access,
 10 But, by his loss grow all our orders less:
 The name of father, master, friend, the name
 Of subject and of prince, in one are lame;

3 Whether] Whither 1633

10 his III, 1633, 1635: this II 12 are] is III, 1635

the angel and the soul to be of the same species' though 'there can be many souls of one species' (I. 75. 7), and that 'there are many souls of one species; while it is quite impossible for many angels to be of one species' (I. 76. 2. 1). Hamilton might or might not be distinguished as the only specimen of a new rank/name/order/kind/species.

9 The number either of orders or in an extant order is increased. **access]** accession, entry.

11 father] He left three daughters and two sons, James, his heir and first duke, and William, second duke, who remained loyal to the crown through the Civil Wars (unlike their covenanting mother, who had silver bullets cast with which to shoot James (*DNB*): D. omits any allusion to her). The Marquis's concern for his heir is suggested by Wilson's anecdote (see note below on ll. 20–1).

master] Of the lands of the Abbey of Arbroath, of his own household, and in his royal offices. **friend]** Most tested, perhaps, by his lifelong friendship with the Scots physician George Eglisam, a habitual accuser and boaster, which disposition bore posthumous fruit in the latter's pamphlet *The Forerunner of Revenge. Upon the Duke of Buckingham, for poysoning King James and the Marquis of Hamilton, and others* ('Frankfurt' [i.e., Netherlands?]) 1626). This was followed in 1642 by the anonymous *Strange Apparitions, or the Ghost of King James, With a late conference between the ghost of that good King, the Marquess Hamiltons, and George Eglisams, Doctor of Physick, unto which appeared the Ghost of the late Duke of Buckingham, concerning the death and poysoning of King James and the rest*.

12 subject] Regarded as one of his most loyal, Hamilton was specially commended to Charles, Prince of Wales, by James I when he thought he was dying in April 1619. 'When his death was reported to James, he was exceedingly affected; and feeling, perhaps, some symptoms of decay, he is reported to have said:—"If the branches be thus cut down, the stock cannot continue long." His saying proved prophetic!—J. Aikman, continuation of his translation of J. Buchanan, *History of Scotland* (1827) 3. 382. **prince]** As well as ranking second to James I himself in Scotland, he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in July 1621, in effect the voice of the King.

- Fair mirth is damped, and conversation black;
 The Household widowed, and the Garter slack;
 15 The Chapel wants an ear, Council a tongue;
 Story, a theme; and music lacks a song.
 Blest order that hath him, the loss of him
 Gangrened all orders here; all lost a limb.
 Never made body such haste to confess
 20 What a soul was: all former comeliness
 Fled in a minute when the soul was gone,
 And, having lost that beauty, would have none.

16 lacks] wants *III* 17 loss *TCC, III, 1633, 1635*: lack *TCD*

18 Gangrened] Gangred 1633 lost] lose *III*

14 the Household] He was appointed Lord Steward of the Household on 28 Feb. 1624. **the Garter]** He had been installed as a Knight of the Garter on 15 April 1623.

15 Chapel] The chapel in Whitehall Palace, where D. had preached regularly since 1616, most recently on 4 March, two days after Hamilton's death.

Council a tongue] The Privy Council, of which both he and D. were members, and to which he was appointed in Aug. 1617. He seems to have been a moderating influence on both Buckingham's enthusiasm for the Spanish Marriage and, when the project collapsed, on his keenness for war with Spain, and a firm opponent on other issues.

16 Story] history. Hamilton had taken a prominent part in British public affairs. **music . . . song]** Justifying the present hymn. Hamilton has become 'part both of the choir and song' (*FirAn* 10), God's 'music' (*Sickness* 3), and one of the company of Heaven. On a literal, secular level, D. was perhaps present when, on returning from the embassy of 1619, Doncaster entertained his company with 'a running ballet which the two Marquises [Hamilton and Buckingham] . . . have at several nights danced at the French Ambassador's', according to Doncaster's secretary, Sir Francis Nethersole (Goodyer's son-in-law, at whose marriage soon after to Lucy Goodyer, god-daughter and attendant of Lady Bedford, D. officiated and preached: *Bald* pp. 365–7).

18 In addition to the 'orders' of ll. 11–12, Hamilton was also Duke of Châtelherault, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, and Baron of Ennerdale. He would have been granted an English or Scots dukedom had the negotiations for the Spanish Marriage succeeded. **Gangrened]** mortified.

20–1 all . . . minute] Cp. A. Wilson (1653) p. 285:

The Marquis Hamilton died before our King, suspected to be poisoned, the symptoms being very presumptuous, his head and body swelling to an excessive greatness; the body all over being full of great blisters, with variety of colours; the hair of his head, eyebrows and beard came off, being touched, and brought the skin with them; and there was a great clamour of it about the Court, so that doctors were sent to view the body; but the matter was huddled up, and little spoken of it; only Doctor Eglissham, a Scotchman, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been the author of it. The Marquis's son had, a little before, married the Earl of Denbigh's

- So fell our monasteries, in an instant grown
 Not to less houses but to heaps of stone;
 25 So sent this body that fair form it wore,
 Unto the sphere of forms, and doth (before
 His soul shall fill up his sepulchral stone)
 Anticipate a resurrection;
 For, as in his fame now his soul is here,
 30 So, in the form thereof, his body's there;
 And if, fair soul, not with first innocents
 Thy station be, but with the penitents

23 So *TCC*, III, 1633, 1635: To *TCD* an] one 1633

25 this] his III, 1635 27 soul shall] body III

daughter, who was the Duke of Buckingham's niece, and yet this tie could not oblige a friendship betwixt them, because the Marquis was averse to the marriage. This distance, and other discontents, occasioned some tumorous discourses which reflected much upon the Duke, but they never broke out in this King's time, being bound up close (as it was thought) more by the Duke's power than his innocency.

20 former comeliness] According to Sir Philip Warwick, *Memoires of the Reigne of King Charles I* (1701) p. 102, 'He was a goodly, proper, and graceful gentleman, and generally esteemed as well by the English as beloved by the Scots. He fed his own greatness and pleasure more than busied himself in intrigues or designs at Court.'

23-4 A Londoner's view: during the Dissolution in the late 1530s many religious houses near habitations, especially in towns, were demolished, and the stone and timber re-used. (An effective method of bringing a whole cathedral-sized abbey or priory or convent church down at once was to replace the lowest accessible course of stonework with tarred wooden blocks and then set fire to them, as at Lewes Priory, Sussex.) However, some churches or parts of them were left standing for lay use, as at Norwich, Oxford, and Malmesbury, and occasionally larger ruins remained, especially in the remoter parts of the country sought out by the Cistercians such as Yorkshire, with its dozen or so examples of Shakespeare's 'Bare, ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang' (*Sonnets* 73), less musically pictured by the still-recusant D. of *Satyre* 2 60: 'Winds in our ruined abbeys roar'.

25-30 The 'sphere of forms' is Platonic wording for the location of souls in the presence of God, the soul being regarded as the formal cause of the material cause, the body. At the Resurrection, the soul will reunite with the body in its grave. Cp. *BedfordShe* 23-6, *Markham* 23-8 and notes and cross-references there.

31-2 One could be ranked with the Holy Innocents (*Matt.* 2. 16) among the martyrs (for whose position see *Litany* 82-90), as Hamilton might be if he had been poisoned for upholding a good cause. Otherwise he would merely be an inevitably sinful man saved by repentance. The early Christian church maintained an actual order of penitents, with strict rules of admission, practice and readmission to Communion: D. envisages penitents already, because of their repentance, admitted to Heaven, though, since 'in Christ shall all be made alive, But every man in his own order' (*1 Cor.* 15. 22-3), there is a ranking system.

(And who shall dare to ask then when I am
 Died scarlet in the blood of that pure Lamb,
 35 Whether that colour, which is scarlet then,
 Were black or white before in th'eyes of men?)
 When thou rememb'rest what sins thou didst find
 Amongst those many friends now left behind,
 And seest such sinners as they are, with thee
 40 Got thither by repentance, let it be
 Thy wish to wish all there, to wish them clean,
 Wish him a David, her a Magdalene.

36 in th'eyes III: in the eyes TCC: in eyes TCD, 1633, 1635

40 by] thy O'Fbe

33–6 As promised by *Ps.* 51. 7, *Rev.* 1. 5, 7. 14. Cp. *DivM5Black* 13–14.

40–2 An undisguised plea for personal salvation. D. shows his usual preoccupation with his violations of the Church's command regarding sex, to the exclusion of otherwise motivated transgressions. He widens his focus in *Serm.* 6. 327–8 (Whitsun ?1625, noted by E. Simpson) to include as successful penitents the drunken Noah, incestuous Lot, rebellious Moses, and impatient Job, Jeremiah and Jonah, but narrows down to the same couple: 'When I shall come to the next world, I shall find . . . *Mary Magdalene* that had been, I know not what sinner; and *David* that had been all; . . . that blood of Christ Jesus, which hath brought them thither, is offered to them that are here, who may be successors in their repentance, as they are in their sins.'

42 The reference is, of course, general, and addressed to the 'fair soul' of Hamilton: his wife Anne long outlived him. **David]** Who had Bathsheba's husband fatally exposed in battle to facilitate his adultery with her and subsequent marriage, but was shamed into repentance by Nathan the prophet, and punished by the death of the child of adultery (2 *Sam.* 11. 2–12. 25). With so many of his children of his irregular (though not adulterous or murderous) marriage dying, D. might have identified with David, as is suggested by the parallels between *DivM/HolyS* and the Penitential Psalms, then ascribed to David. **Magdalene]** Mary of Magdala (*Luke* 8. 2/*Mark* 16. 9; *Matt.* 27. 45–61, 28. 1–10/*Mark* 15. 33–16. 11/*Luke* 23. 44–24. 10/*John* 20. 1–18) was traditionally identified with the unnamed 'sinner' (i.e., prostitute) forgiven by Jesus (*Matt.* 26. 6–13/*Mark* 14. 3–9/*Luke* 7. 36–48). See further note on *HerbertMMary* 1–2.

THE ANNIVERSARIES

To the Praise of the Dead, and 'The Anatomy' [by Joseph Hall]

Date and Context. 1611 (see headnote to *FirAn*). Ben Jonson told Drummond (l. 149) that 'The Harbinger to the Progress' prefacing *SecAn* had been written by Joseph Hall, elegist, satirist, and former vicar (at Lady Drury's invitation) from 1601 to 1608 of Sir Robert Drury's parish church at Hawstead, Suffolk, where Elizabeth Drury was buried. Keynes, *Bibliography* (1973) p. 171 pointed out that the publisher of the first editions of the *Anniversaries*, Samuel Macham, had been born like Hall in Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leics, and had already published works by him. In the absence of any other claimant, these seem reasonably strong clues to the authorship of both prefatory poems.

Analogues. Prefixed commendatory verses were a well-established Renaissance tradition, parodied by D. and the circle he belonged to in *Coryat* etc.

Text. At the time of publication, Hall was a chaplain to Prince Henry and held the living of Waltham in Essex, so personal dealings with stationer and printer, including proof-correction, would have been relatively easy and probable: 1611 requires no substantive editorial correction in this poem. In l. 43, 1633 remedies the metrical damage done by 1621's omission of 'an' by supplying 'of', but presumably unauthoritatively, since the line becomes more awkward.

WELL died the world, that we might live to see
This world of wit in his 'Anatomy'.
No evil wants his good: so wilder heirs
Bedew their fathers' tombs with forcèd tears,
5 Whose state requites their loss; whiles thus we gain,
Well may we walk in blacks, but not complain.
Yet how can I consent the world is dead
While this muse lives, which in his spirit's stead
Seems to inform a world, and bids it be,
10 In spite of loss or frail mortality?
And thou, the subject of this well-born thought,
Thrice-noble maid, couldst not have found nor sought
A fitter time to yield to thy sad fate

Sources collated: 1611, 1612, 1612Er, 1621, 1625, 1633, 1635

Base text: 1611

3 **his]** its.

5 **state]** estate.

6 **blacks]** mourning-clothes.

8 **his]** the world's.

9 **inform]** Give form to, as the soul did the body: see note on *BedfordShe* 23–6.

- Than whiles this spirit lives, that can relate
 15 Thy worth so well to our last nephews' eyne
 That they shall wonder both at his and thine.
 Admirèd match! where strives in mutual grace
 The cunning pencil and the comely face;
 Which, hadst thou lived, had hid their fearful head
 20 For the bold pride of vulgar pens to touch.
 A task which thy fair goodness made too much
 And say that but enough those praises be
 Enough is us to praise them that praise thee,
 From th'angry checkings of thy modest red.
 25 Death bars reward and shame: when envy's gone,
 And gain, 'tis safe to give the dead their own.
 As then the wise Egyptians wont to lay
 More on their tombs than houses—these of clay,
 But those of brass or marble were—so we
 30 Give more unto thy ghost than unto thee.
 Yet what we give to thee, thou gav'st to us,
 And mayst but thank thyself for being thus;
 Yet what thou gav'st and wert, O happy maid,
 Thy grace professed all due where 'tis repaid.
 35 So these high songs that to thee suited been
 Serve but to sound thy maker's praise in thine,

Select variants:

34 where] were 1612–25 36 in] and 1633–5

14 this spirit] Donne.

15 nephews'] descendants'.

18 pencil] artist's paint-brush, i.e., [word-]painter's skill.

23 Enough is] It is enough for.

24 Her modest blushes would have inhibited such praise.

25–6 Cp. Ovid, *Amores* 1. 15. 39–40 (Manley).

27–9 the wise Egyptians . . . marble were] Manley cites Diodorus Siculus 1. 51, and three Renaissance writers on the Egyptian preference, though none sanctions the unauthentic 'brass or marble' more characteristic of Rome (Horace mentions both bronze and pyramids in the well-known *Odes* 3. 30. 1–2). D. picks up the idea in *Devotions* 7, Meditation (1624; 1987 p. 36).

27 wont] were accustomed.

28 clay] brick, as in Pliny's account of the pyramids, 36. 17 (81); Engl. 36. 12 (1601 2. 577).

32 thus] praised.

35 suited been] had been suited.

- Which thy dear soul as sweetly sings to him
 Amid the choir of saints and seraphim
 As any angel's tongue can sing of thee;
 40 The subjects differ, though the skill agree:
 For, as by infant years men judge of age,
 Thy early love, thy virtues, did presage
 What an high part thou bear'st in those best songs
 Whereto no burden nor no end belongs.
 45 Sing on, thou virgin soul, whose lossful gain
 Thy lovesick parents have bewailed in vain.
 Ne'er may thy name be in our songs forgot
 Till we shall sing thy ditty and thy note.

43 an high] high 1621–35 best] best of 1633–5

The First Anniversary: An Anatomy of the World

Wherein, by Occasion of the Untimely Death of
 Mistress Elizabeth Drury, the Frailty and the Decay
 of this Whole World is Represented.

Date and context. March–Oct. 1611. Line 39 says ‘Some months she hath been dead’, i.e., not yet a year from mid-December 1610, and ll. 447–51 imply that it is written for Elizabeth Drury’s ‘feast’, which probably refers to the Christian

37–9 The saints in *Rev.* and seraphim in *Isa.* attend solely to God, whereas in theological theory it was the function of angels, lowest of the nine choirs, to mediate between humans and God (cp. *Funeral Elegy* 49–51 and note). See *Luke* 20. 35–6 for the placing of the resurrected among the angels.

40 The subjects] her maker’s praise and her own.

43 high] distinguished, rather than high-pitched (see next note).

44 no burden] no separate bass-line (because the saints and angels presumably, as Christians are exhorted in *Rom.* 15. 6, ‘with one accord . . . with one mouth glorify the God and Father’, such complete agreement being taken to entail unison in music as well as unity in sentiment). Manley points out in addition that the duty of everlasting praise will not be burdensome.

48 ditty . . . note] words . . . tune.

Heading First published in 1611 as *An Anatomy of the World*. The heading *The First Anniversarie* was prefixed to the 1612 reprint with *The Second Anniversarie. Of the Progres of the Soule*. **Anatomy]** dissection. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 256 (n. d.): ‘As the body of man, and consequently health, is best understood and best advanced

feast of St Elizabeth on 5 Nov. rather than the anniversary of the girl's death. A brother-in-law of Ann Donne's elder sister Mary, Sir Arthur Throckmorton, recorded receiving a printed copy in Northamptonshire on 25 Nov. 1611 (Bald, *Life*, p. 244 n.; cp. p. 246 n. on the possible time-lag). D. had left for France with the Druries earlier that month, presumably agreeing to publication before he did so, and correcting proofs (the text is more accurately produced than that of *SecAn*). Since *SecAn* was published in the spring of 1612, this, too, could have been written well in advance, at any time between *Funeral Elegy* and November 1611. The death of a beloved only daughter may well symbolise the death of hope: Marotti (1986) pp. 228, 236f sees the *Anniversaries* as the culmination of a decade of disappointment for D. in his exclusion from public affairs, adducing expressions of the 'contempt of the world' theme in reacting to worldly rejection by Wyatt, Sidney, Greville and the Elizabethan poem 'My mind to me a kingdom is' (variously attributed to Sir Edward Dyer and Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford). Basing that contempt on the tradition of the world's decay would have appealed to D.'s literary agent, Joseph Hall, 'noted in the University for his ingenious maintaining . . . "The world groweth old"', according to Fuller (quoted by Bald, *Life*, p. 243). He might have played some part in the poem's genesis as well as its publication. However, their public dedication to Drury would plausibly have been part of the latter's self-promotion, and its theme congenial for his own more extreme resentment at not being entrusted with the role and position he demanded: see note on 300-4 below.

Analogues. J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices* (1561; 1581) pp. 425-6, cites ancient Greek precedents for Anniversaries in Thucydides, Plato and Aristides. He distinguishes them from epitaphs on the recently dead as omitting the grieving while repeating the praise, demonstration of the loss, consolation and exhortation, leading Manley to observe that *FirAn* is not an anniversary in Scaliger's generic sense, but an epitaph whose promise is fulfilled in a true example, *SecAn*, where the grief is omitted. W. M. Lebas, *ELH* 39 (1972) 549, quotes Ausonius, *Parentalia*, Verse Preface 6-7, a poetic enactment of the annual commemoration of dead family members (akin to the Christian All Souls') in the Ferialia on 18-21 Feb., recorded in Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 533-70. Paulinus of Nola (353/5-431) wrote annual poems, of which 15, from 395-409 CE, survive whole or in part (*PL* 61. 462-83, 490-615, 638-90; Eng. P. G. Walsh, *Ancient Christian Writers* vol. 40 (1975) pp. 73-105, 114-201, 254-367) to commemorate Felix (in whose protection he trusted in 401 CE while the Goths were laying Italy waste). Dante, *Vita nuova* 34 recounts his writing of an anniversary sonnet for Beatrice, placed in Heaven by God on that day a year previously. The custom's currency in England is suggested by Claudio's vow to the apparently dead Hero after hanging an epitaph on the tomb in *Much Ado about Nothing* 5. 3. 1-23 that 'Yearly will I do this rite', though seemingly placed in the pre-Reformation past by Puttenham 1. 24 (1589; 1936) p. 48, who notes that 'the lamenting of deaths was . . . by custom continued yearly'.

by Dissections, and Anatomies, when the hand and knife of the Surgeon hath passed upon every part of the body, and laid it open: so when the hand and sword of God hath pierced our soul, we are brought to a better knowledge of ourselves, than any degree of prosperity would have raised us to.'

OED adj. 1, quotes T. Blount, *Law Dictionary* (1670; 1691): 'Anniversary days were of old those days wherein the martyrdoms or deaths of saints were celebrated yearly in the Church, or the days whereon, at every year's end, men were wont to pray for the souls of their deceased friends, according to the continual custom of Roman Catholics.' As regards the latter, masses for the dead were and are performed annually, especially in November, the month containing the general commemoration of All Souls' Day. Though dismissed by reformers as lacking biblical authority, in *Judges* 11. 40 'the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite'. Developing R. Colie's view of them, in *Just so much Honor*, ed. A. P. Fiore (1971) pp. 189–218, as 'impressive examples of *genera mixta*, creating a new coherence out of the elements of several generic traditions', Lewalski (1973) pp. 6–106 argues that they are 'complex, mixed-genre works which weld together formal, thematic, and structural elements from various sources—the occasional poem of praise, the funeral elegy, the funeral sermon, the hymn, the anatomy, the Protestant meditation, to mention only the most important'. She finds analogues in the precepts for funeral-sermons given by A. Hyperius, *Practis of Preaching* (1577), and their fulfilment by various preachers in passages strikingly close to the *Anniversaries* in content and treatment (pp. 180–201). In fact, D. himself preached an anniversary sermon commemorating a benefactor (*Serm.* 10. 178–91, 1624 on). D.'s influence on Campion, Edward Herbert, Goodyer, Chapman, Jonson, Webster, Henry Burton, Cleveland, Richard Niccols, Tourneur, Heywood, John Davies, Drummond, Garrard and Milton is noted by D. Kay, *Melodious Tears* (1990).

D. himself in *FirAn* 460–8 claims an authoritative precedent for his poetic critique of the world in the Song of Moses (see *Deut.* 31. 16–22, 32. 1–47; Lewalski pp. 236–40), but also announces in the poem's particular title its participation in the contemporary sub-genre exemplified in the anonymous *Anatomie of Sinne* (1603), and R. Underwood's *New Anatomy: . . . the Body of Man . . . compared: 1. To a Household. 2. To a Cittie* (1605). Lewalski pp. 226–33 sees a general analogue of the *Anniversaries'* two-part structure in Thomas Rogers's *Anatomie of the Minde* (1576), which treats of two parts of the mind, 'of Perturbations . . . of that part of the mind of man that is void of reason' and 'of Moral virtues . . . of that parte of the mind, which is endued with reason'; and in the pairing of *The Anatomie of Sinne* with a *Geneologie of Virtue* in J. More's *Lively Anatomie of Death* (1596), which, moreover, provides a particular analogue 'thematically and structurally for the contrary perspectives on death developed in the two *Anniversary* poems' in its division into 'what it is by nature, and what by Christ.' With regard to *FirAn* in particular, general criticism of the world was by now traditional in anatomies such as P. Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses* (1595), and S. Grahame's *Anatomie of Humors* (Edinburgh 1609). For Lewalski 'The most interesting analogue . . . in the complaint mode is Robert Pricket's long poem in heroic couplets entitled *Times Anatomie . . . the poore mans plaint* (1606), in which "I have anatomised those evils which do afflict the world.'" In 'This rotten world . . . Love . . . Is turned to lust . . .', and the heavens are out of joint. In the general pessimism of the two poems, *PMLA* 90 (1975) 270–6 sees the influence of *Ecclesiastes*, via the commentary of J. Lorinus, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (Lyon 1606, Mainz 1608 etc.).

From such works may derive the rigidity of *FirAn*'s internal structure, whether the five-part meditation of Martz (1962) or the four-part anatomy of Lewalski (248): a ninety-line introduction followed by (1) ll. 91–190, the microcosm; (2) ll. 191–246, the macrocosm; (3) ll. 247–376, the microcosmic and macrocosmic worlds' beauty of proportion and colour; (4) ll. 377–434, the cosmos in

which there is disruption of Heaven and Earth. In each section, the analysis is followed by description of the contrary perfection in E. D. Each of these four parts of the argument is analysed by Lewalski into three subsections: (a) complaint, or denunciation of evils; (b) eulogy; (c) *contemptus mundi* moral. Lebas 550–1 details the arrangement of consolation, lament and panegyric as they relate to the classical tradition. For R. D. Jordan in *The Quiet Hero* (1989) p. 69, however, *FirAn* is ordered according to the Old Testament Pentateuch, and *SecAn*, concerned with time and the progress towards a Last Judgement, the New.

Lewalski pp. 309–35 notes emulation of the *Anniversaries* by J. Davies of Hereford, ‘A Funeral Elegie, on the death of . . . Elizabeth Dutton’, in his *Muses’ Sacrifice, or Divine Meditations* (1612) ff. 117v–18; borrowings and imitations in the royal chaplain Daniel Price’s *Lamentations for the death of the late illustrious Prince Henry* (1613) and sermons entitled *Prince Henry his first anniversary* and *Prince Henry his second anniversary* (Oxford 1613, 1614); and imitations in elegies on Prince Henry by D.’s friends Henry Goodyer and Edward Herbert. D.’s influence continued in Patrick Hannay’s *Two Elegies on . . . Queen Anne* (1619); William Drummond’s *Midnights Trance* (1619; expanded as *A Cypresse Grove* appended to *Floures of Sion* (1623); see R. Ellrodt, *English* 7 (1949) 228–31); Henry King’s *Anniverse. An Elegy* (1629–30; 1965 p. 197) on the sixth anniversary of the death of his wife, and his elegy on his brother in *Iusta Edouardo King* (Cambridge 1638); Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland’s three *Anniversaries* commemorating ‘my dearest (and almost only) friend, Sir Henry Moryson’ (1630 to 1633); and W. Habington, *Funerals of . . . George Talbot* (1635). *CH* p. 44 records a MS *Funerall Elegy on King James* (Trinity College Dublin MS F.4.20) by J[ames] B[arry], Recorder of Dublin, as repeatedly adapting D.’s lines and ideas. Predictably, the *Anniversaries* are glanced at in elegies on D. by Jasper Mayne and Endymion Porter, printed in 1633 pp. 393, 405. *CH* pp. 48, 61 detects phrases and ideas from the *Anniversaries* in *Iusta Edouardo King*, in the elegy by R. Brown as well as that by King, and in J. C.’s *Elegie, Upon . . . Katharine Philips* (1684). At the end of the century came acknowledged imitation by Dryden in ‘Eleonora’ (1692) and ‘Monument of a Fair Maiden Lady’ (1700; Lewalski pp. 348–55). Recipients of D.’s influence, e.g., Goodyer, Jonson, Tourneur, Heywood, John Davies, Drummond, are discussed in some detail by D. Kay, *Melodious Tears* (1990) pp. 163–6, 190–1, 201–2, 210, 217–18.

Text. D. had time before he left for France with Elizabeth’s father (see above on date and context) to oversee the printing of the first edition in the 1611 edition. The serial reprintings in 1612, 1621, 1625, 1633 and 1635 merely accumulated errors, with no sign of authorial intervention except, possibly, an errata-slip (1612*Er*) occurring in a sole copy of the first reprint, now in Cambridge University Library. This corrects some of the obvious printing-errors, and a few that would have been readily noticed only by someone familiar with the poem, while the alteration of ‘towers’ to ‘towns’ in l. 262 is debatable (see comment). Though 1612*Er* appears to make valid corrections in ll. 130, 217, 259 and 474, its authority is uncertain: since D. was travelling on the Continent in the spring of 1612 when 1612 appeared, Joseph Hall, with his long experience in publication, may have taken on the task, which is incompletely fulfilled with regard to minor errors. 1633 for the most part reproduces the degenerative errors of previous printings. The marginal section-headings may have been D.’s, but could just as well have been those of a close, intelligent reader such as Hall. 1635 omitted them from its cramped duodecimo pages.

WHEN that rich soul which to her heaven is gone, *The entry*
 Whom all they celebrate who know they've one *into the*
 (For who is sure he hath a soul, unless *work.*
 It see and judge and follow worthiness,
 5 And by deeds praise it? He who doth not this,
 May lodge an inmate soul, but 'tis not his),

Sources: 1611, 1612, 1612Er, 1621, 1625, 1633, 1635

Base text: 1611

Select variants:

Heading: The First Anniversary *added in 1612*

Marginal notes *added in 1612, om. 1635*

2 Whom] Who 1633 all they] all do 1621–1635

1 her heaven] She has succeeded to 'the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints' (*Ephes.* 1. 18), the kingdom of everlasting life, as promised by Jesus, *Matt.* 25. 34, and the Lamb on the throne, *Rev.* 21. 7–8, since she has kept the commandments, overcome temptation, and so is not to be numbered among 'the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable and murderers, and whomongers and sorcerers, and idolaters and all liars'; for 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption'—*1 Cor.* 15. 50. This uncontroversial making her one with God sets the tone for the hyperbolic apotheosis to follow.

2 celebrate] Both 'praise' and 'ritually commemorate'.

3 who . . . soul] Cp. *Letters* pp. 17–18 (9 Oct. 1610?): 'Our parents are as able as any other species is to give us a soul of growth and of sense, and to perform all vital and animal functions, and so . . . may produce a creature as wise and well disposed as any horse or elephant, of which degree many whom we see come far short. Nor hath God bound or declared himself that he will always create a soul for every embryon: there is yet, therefore, no opinion in philosophy nor divinity so well established as constrains us to believe both that the soul is immortal, and that every particular man hath such a soul. Which since, out of the great mercy of our God, we do constantly believe, I am ashamed that we do not also know it by searching farther.'

4 see and judge and follow] Manley points out the correspondence with 'as Saint *Bernard* calls it, "A trinity from the Trinity", in those *three faculties* of the soul, the *Understanding*, the *Will*, and the *Memory*'—*Serm.* 2. 72–3 (1618); cp. 3. 154, 5. 149, 9. 85–7.

4–5 follow . . . praise it] Cp. *Serm.* 10. 190 (1624 onward): 'This is truly to glorify God in his Saints: to sanctify ourselves in their examples; To celebrate them is to imitate them.'

6 Cp. D.'s contrasting use of the image in a letter to Goodyer (1633 p. 369): 'My vices are not infectious, nor wandering; they came not yesterday, nor mean to go away today: they inn not, but dwell in me.' Cp. *IgnatiusSoul*: 'My little, wandering, sportful soul, / Guest and companion of my body'; *Serm.* 2. 215 (?pre-April 1619): 'Thou hast a poor guest, an Inmate, a sojourner, within these mud walls, this corrupt body of thine: be merciful and compassionate to that Soul'; and *Serm.* 6. 350 (Milgate). **inmate]** non-resident, temporary.

When that queen ended here her progress' time,
 And, as to her standing house, to Heav'n did climb,
 Where, loath to make the saints attend her long,
 10 She's now a part both of the choir and song,
 This world in that great earthquake languishèd;
 For in a common bath of tears it bled,
 Which drew the strongest vital spirits out;
 But succoured then with a perplexed doubt

7 Evoking memories of Queen Elizabeth's frequent and magnificent progresses among her subjects: E. D. is being identified with the Queen of Heaven, as Jonson perceived, asserting to William Drummond of Hawthornden in 1619 'that he told Mr Donne, if it had been written of the Virgin Mary it had been something, to which he answered that he described the Idea of a Woman and not as she was' (*Jonson* I. 133).

8 **standing house**] permanent residence, as in *Serm.* 2. 221: 'The *Tabernacle* itself was but . . . a progress-house: but the Church is his standing-house: there are his offices fixed; there are his provisions which fat the Soul of Man . . . ; there work his seals, there beats his Mint: there is absolution, and pardon for past sins, there is grace for prevention of future in his Sacraments. But the Church is . . . his Court: he doth not only dwell there, but reign there'.

9 **attend**] await (in the French sense, involving expectation).

10 She is both singer and subject of praise (echoed by Hall in *Praise* 35–9).

11 **that great earthquake**] Recalling that at the death of Christ, *Matt.* 27. 51, the first of many such associations in the poem to evoke Christ as the type of E. D. Such personal typology was an orthodox practice, as in *Sickness* 24–5.

languishèd] Cp. *Isa.* 24. 4 (*AV*): 'The Earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth and fadeth away, the haughty people of the Earth do languish'. Augustine 15. 6 (1610 p. 537) 'Of the languors God's citizens endure in Earth as the punishment of sin during their pilgrimage . . .', begins: 'But the languor . . . is the first punishment of disobedience' [corrected by W. Crashaw in 1620 to 'the punishment of the first disobedience'], i.e., of the original sin. Cp. *Biathanatos* I. 1. 7 (1984 p. 41): 'The parent of all sin, which is hereditary Original Sin, . . . Aquinas [*ST* I. 2. 82. 1] calls "a languor and a faintness in our nature, and an indisposition proceeding from the dissolution of the harmony of original justice"'.
 12 Common mourning opened the 'wound' of l. 25. Seneca, committing suicide at Nero's order by opening veins, resorted to a warm bath to hasten his agonisingly protracted death—Tacitus, *Annals* 15. 64. **common bath**] Alluding to the hot baths at, e.g., Bath, as an analogy of the supposed universally enervating effect of her death. Cp. *Calm* 30.

13 Comparing the effect of repentance to the faintness experienced when emerging from a hot bath. **vital spirits**] Which held body and soul together: see *Serm.* 2. 261–2 (16 June 1619): 'The spirits in a man which are the thin and active part of the blood, and so are of a kind of middle nature between soul and body, those spirits are able to do, and they do the office, to unite and apply the faculties of the soul to the organs of the body'.

14–15 D.'s paradox resembles that of Adam's fall, celebrated in the Roman Missal hymn for Holy Saturday, *Exultet*, as *O felix culpa*, 'O happy fall!', where the loss of Paradise led to God's greater glory in Christ's incarnation. (See A. O. Lovejoy,

- 15 Whether the world did lose, or gain in this
 (Because, since now no other way there is
 But goodness, to see her, whom all would see,
 All must endeavour to be good as she).
 This great consumption to a fever turned,
 20 And so the world had fits: it joyed, it mourned;
 And as men think that agues physic are,
 And th'ague being spent, give over care,
 So thou, sick World, mistak'st thyself to be
 Well, when alas, thou'rt in a lethargy.

ELH 4 (1937) 161–79.) In the sermons (e.g., 2. 192, 7. 372), D. sanctions such Augustinian paradoxes as 'It is well for that man that falleth so, as that he may thereby look the better to his footing ever after', 'He shall be the better for sinning', with *Rom.* 8. 28: 'all things work together for good to them that love God'.

14 perplexed] Both 'complicated' and 'puzzling'.

16–18 'Everyone wants to see her, but can only do so by going to Heaven, and so must be good.'

17 goodness] i.e., earning Heaven.

19 consumption] A wasting disease, usually tuberculosis.

20 Cp. the spiritual ague of *HSW3Vex*.

21 Cp. *Biathanatos* 3. 3. 3 (1984 p. 119): 'in cramps . . . or in tetans . . . we may procure to ourself a fever to thaw them', and Sir A. Weldon, *Court and Character of King James* (1650) p. 171:

He now goes to his last hunting journey, I mean the last of the year, as well as of his life, which he ever ended in Lent, and was seized on by an ordinary tertian ague, which at the season, according to the proverb [Tilley A79], was 'physic for a king'; but it proved not so to him, and, poor King, what was but physic to any other, was made mortal to him: yet not the ague, as himself confessed to a servant of his, . . . he most earnestly looked and said, 'Ah, it is not the ague afflicteth me, but the black plaster and powder given me and laid to my stomach',

with the implication that Buckingham was responsible for his death. According to Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* 4. 57, fever removes convulsions or tetanus. Paré (Engl. 1634) p. 330, avers that convulsion caused by repletion is cured by 'sweating with the decoctions of guaiacum', though Allen, *Essential Articles* p. 104, argues that 'physicians were abandoning this remedy as early as the thirteenth century.' **agues]** fevers. **physic]** medicine.

24 lethargy] paralysis (with loss of speech in l. 30). Cp. *Serm.* 2. 239 (18 April 1619): 'Thy business is to remember: stay not for thy last sickness, which may be a Lethargy in which thou mayst forget thine own name, and his that gave thee the name of a Christian, Christ Jesus himself: thy business is to remember, and thy time is now'. In *Death's Duel*, 'the author's own funeral sermon', D. repeats this alarm: 'We use to comfort ourselves in the death of a friend, if it be testified that "He went away like a Lamb", that is, without any reluctance. But, God knows, that may be accompanied with a dangerous damp and stupefaction, and insensibility of his present state' (*Serm.* 10. 240, 25 Feb. 1631).

- 25 Her death did wound and tame thee then, and than
 Thou might'st have better spared the Sun, or Man.
 That wound was deep, but 'tis more misery,
 That thou hast lost thy sense and memory.
 'Twas heavy then to hear thy voice of moan,
- 30 But this is worse: that thou art speechless grown.
 Thou hast forgot thy name thou hadst; thou wast
 Nothing but she, and her thou hast o'erpassed.
 For, as a child kept from the font until
 A prince, expected long, come to fulfil
- 35 The ceremonies, thou unnamed hadst laid,
 Had not her coming thee her palace made:
 Her name defined thee, gave thee form and frame,
 And thou forget'st to celebrate thy name.
 Some months she hath been dead (but being dead,

25 than] then. The original spelling has been kept for the rhyme.

30 speechless] Cp. *Serm.* 5. 233 (n. d.): 'In the sinful consumption of the soul, a stupidity and indisposition to prayer must first be cured. . . . For, as in bodily, so in spiritual diseases, it is a desperate state, to be speechless.'

31 Thou . . . hadst] Again, an implicit parallel or even identity between E. D. and Christ is raised. Cp. note above on 24.

31-2 thou wast . . . o'erpast] Cp. *Serm.* 2. 83 (1618):

Dissolution and putrefaction is gone over thee alive; Thou hast overlived thine own death, and art become thine own ghost, and thine own hell; . . . and yet beyond all these, beyond the general miserable condition of man, and the highest of human miseries, sickness, and sickness over all the parts, and so over them all, as that it hath putrefied them all, there is another degree, . . . *Trouble*, 'There is no soundness in my flesh, nor rest in my bones' [*Ps.* 38. 3].

33-5 D. himself secured Lady Bedford as godmother for his daughter Lucy, christened on 8 August 1608, and the King occasionally stood godfather for children of the nobility.

35 thou unnamed hadst laid] No allusion to sanctification in Christ's name by baptism need be intended by this, since D. recognises that the giving of names to infants at the ceremony was merely incidental custom (*Serm.* 5. 164, n. d.)

37 'Because', as world-soul, 'she was the form that made it live'—*SecAn* 72. Cp. Aristotle, *On the Soul* 2. 2 (414a4-19), Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 76, 1. 90. 1 (Milgate). 'Names are to instruct us, and express natures and essences'—*Essays* 1. 2 (1952) p. 23. The name 'Elizabeth' meant in Hebrew 'God hath sworn', 'the oath of God', or 'the fullness of God': in *Luke* 1. 73, 76-7, Elizabeth's husband Zacharias sees 'the oath which he sware to our forefather Abraham' fulfilled in their son John the Baptist as 'prophet of the Highest' who will 'give knowledge of salvation unto his people'. E. D. has conspicuously not fulfilled womanhood by bearing children, so D. imagines this alternative world-mission.

39-40 being . . . determinèd] Since after the end of the world 'there should be time no longer'—*Rev.* 10. 6.

- 40 Measures of times are all determinèd),
 But long she'th been away, long, long, yet none
 Offers to tell us who it is that's gone.
 But as in states doubtful of future heirs,
 When sickness without remedy impairs
- 45 The present prince, they're loath it should be said
 'The Prince doth languish' or 'The Prince is dead',
 So mankind, feeling now a general thaw,
 A strong example gone, equal to law;
 The cèment which did faithfully compact
- 50 And glue all virtues now resolved and slacked,
 Thought it some blasphemy to say sh'was dead,
 Or that our weakness was discoverèd
 In that confession; therefore spoke no more
 Than tongues, the soul being gone, the loss deplorable.
- 55 But though it be too late to succour thee,
 Sick World, yea dead, yea putrefied, since she,
 Thy^intrinsic balm and thy preservative,

40 times] time 1635

40 determinèd] ended.

43–6 A state of affairs well known in England in the 1590s while Queen Elizabeth refused to settle the succession.

47 thaw] dissolution.

48 Under 'precedent' 2. b., *OED* quotes Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* 1. Intro. 3. 69 (1765): 'It is an established rule to abide by former precedents, when the same points come again in litigation.'

50 resolved] loosened, melted, undone.

54 'than a body after death laments its soul's departure.'

55–88 D. defines and elaborates four 'worlds' in *Serm.* 6. 322–7 (Whitsunday ?1625): 'This word *Mundus* . . . signifies commonly and primarily, the whole frame of the world; and more particularly all mankind; and oftentimes only wicked men; and sometimes only good men'. The first world is 'now subject to mutability and corruption'; the fourth comprises 'the Saints, the Elect'.

56 Sick . . . dead] 'The heaven and the earth, and all that the Poet would call Chaos, was not a deader lump before the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, than Mankind was, before the influence of Christ's coming wrought upon it'—*Serm.* 9. 147 (Christmas ?1629).

57 'We have not only by this Fall broke our arms, or our legs, but our necks: not ourselves, nor any other man can raise us. Everything hath in it, as Physicians use to call it, *Naturale Balsamum*, A natural Balsamum, which, if any wound or hurt which that creature hath received, be kept clean from extrinsic putrefaction, will heal of itself. We are so far from that natural Balsamum, as that we have a natural poison in us, Original Sin (*Serm.* 6. 116 [?1624]).

For this favourite Paracelsan idea see also *BedfordReason* 21–2 and note.

- Can never be renewed, thou never live,
 I (since no man can make thee live) will try,
 60 What we may gain by thy anatomy.
 Her death hath taught us dearly that thou art
 Corrupt and mortal in thy purest part.
 Let no man say, the world itself being dead,
 'Tis labour lost to have discoverèd
 65 The world's infirmities, since there is none
 Alive to study this dissection,
 For there's a kind of world remaining still: *What life*
 Though she which did inanimate and fill *the world*
 The world be gone, yet in this last, long night *hath still.*
 70 Her ghost doth walk, that is, a glimmering light,
 A faint weak love of virtue and of good
 Reflects from her on them which understood
 Her worth; and though she have shut in all day,
 The twilight of her memory doth stay;
 75 Which, from the carcass of the old world free,
 Creates a new world, and new creatures be

59 try] i.e., by way of experiment.

63–74 D. has to modify his absolute assertions of the world's death, made paradoxical by his and his readers' continuing existence.

64 discoverèd] exposed.

67–76 A similar metaphor is more condensed in *Fever* 7–10.

68 inanimate] give soul and life (apparently D.'s coinage, first known from *Pseudo-Martyr*, written in 1609).

73 shut in all day] taken all full light of religious illumination with her. For the Christian, however, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation', 'The Lord shall be to thee an everlasting light', and the Word is 'life, and the light is the life of men. . . the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world'—*Ps.* 27. 1, *Isa.* 60. 19, *John* 1. 4, 9.

75–8 from the carcass . . . practice is] The sense is not that she creates a new world from the carcass of the old, since (77–8) the material is 'her virtue', which, freed of the old fleshly encumbrances, is made a new creation by 'our practice', contrasting with the old world which was base matter animated by her. Now memory sees her, understanding and will effect change accordingly. D. adheres to the Aristotelian assignment of 'causes' in generation, by which the female provides the material, the male, form to the offspring. The 'new world' turns into many in l. 82, and it turns out in 95 onward that Original Sin will indeed persist in these 'weedless Paradises', which come complete with seducing Eves and weak-minded Adams.

75 carcass . . . world] Cp. *Fever* 9–10: 'if, when thou, the world's soul, goest, / It stay, 'tis but thy carcass then' (Milgate).

76 'The twilight of her memory' is the '*procreant* mode of the *efficient cause*'—Wiggins 57.

- Produced. The matter and the stuff of this
 Her virtue, and the form our practice is:
 And though to be thus elemented arm
 80 These creatures from home-born, intrinsic harm
 (For all assumed unto this dignity,
 So many weedless Paradises be,
 Which of themselves produce no ven'mous sin,
 Except some foreign serpent bring it in),
 85 Yet, because outward storms the strongest break,
 And strength itself by confidence grows weak,
 This new world may be safer, being told
 The dangers and diseases of the old: *The sicknesses
 of the world.*
 For with due temper men do then forgo
 90 Or covet things when they their true worth know.
 There is no health: physicians say that we
 At best enjoy but a neutrality. *Impossibility
 of health.*

79 though] thought 1621–1633

79 thus elemented] made of her virtue.

81 assumed] promoted.

82–4 Cp. *Twickenham* 8–9. D. makes clear that whether or not Adam's being put in the Garden of Eden 'to dress it and to keep it' (*Gen.* 2. 15) was really necessary (argued over by theologians: see Pererius 4. 128–34 (1601) pp. 190–2), Elizabeth's new creations are definitely perfect.

83–4 ven'mous sin . . . foreign serpent] Like that of *Gen.* 3. 1–5. Pererius, 6. 27 (1601) p. 280 agrees with John Chrysostom that all animals were peaceful and obedient before the Fall, and notes the consensus with Basil, *De paradiso* 3. 7 (*PG* 30. 67) that physical venom only appeared in snakes afterwards (Milgate). The serpent there was 'foreign' in being possessed by Satan, 'the Enemy'.

85 outward . . . break] Perhaps a reference to the standard schoolboy fare throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *Fables of Aesop* 4. 20 (Engl. 1634) p. 109; Avianus no. 16 (*Aesopica* no. 70, Engl. as *Aesop without Morals* (1961) p. 122). Proverbial since at least Chaucer's day, it is phrased thus by Burton 2. 3. 3. 1 (2. 158): 'Whenas the lofty oak is blown down, the silly reed may stand.'

89 due temper] appropriate moderation, proper attitude.

91–171 Ancient belief in the world's decay (contradicting the assertion of its immunity to age and illness by, e.g., Plato, *Timaeus* 33A) was enthusiastically endorsed by Christians such as Cyprian (cited below on 127–32 etc.), Cuffe [23] (1607) pp. 87–9—of which D. owned a copy (Milgate)—, Raleigh, *History of the World* Preface and 1. 5. 5 (1614), and Godfrey Goodman, *Fall of Man, Or, The Corruption of Nature* (1615). The reissuing of the latter's unsold sheets in 1616, 1618, and 1629 suggests it was not popular, but it provoked weighty refutation by George Hakewill, *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God. Or an Examination of the Common Error touching Natures Decay* (1627; substantially enl. edns 1630, 1635), which in turn was an important inspiration of Browne's *Pseudodoxia* (1646). Harris (1949) comprehensively surveys the tradition and its defeat by such as Bacon (see also, e.g., C. Webster, *Great Instauration* (1975)). While focussing principally on

And can there be worse sickness than to know
 That we are never well, nor can be so?
 95 We are born ruinous: poor mothers cry

Goodman and Hakewill, Harris's Chapter 4, pp. 93–104, quotes European predecessors of D. available in English during the preceding forty years, including Ursinus, Estienne, Daneau, Torquemada, Gascoigne, La Primaudaye, Du Bartas, Leroy and Lipsius (these last two, however, seeing change as cyclical, not all one way and terminal), and (pp. 123–9) discusses D.'s repetition in *Metem, Funeral Elegy, FirAn, Huntingdon* and *Serm.* M. Macklem, *Anatomy of the World: Relations between Natural and Moral Law from Donne to Pope 2* (1958) pp. 9–19, gives a clear, brief summary of traditional assumptions, astronomical discoveries, and hypotheses of the world's decay.

91–5 Cp. Du Bartas, Engl. J. Sylvester 1. 6. 995–8: 'The soul here lodged is like a man that dwells / In an ill air, annoyed with noisome smells, / In an old house open to wind and weather; / Never in health, not half an hour together.'

91–2 **physicians . . . neutrality**] Allen 327 found the question discussed by J. Fernel. See Wiggins 54:

Good and evil, sickness and health, are given by most logicians as examples of *immediate contraries* [i.e., between which there is no compromise or cohabitation]; 'yet some make good and evil to have a mean, called a thing indifferent. . . . And betwixt health and sickness, Galen maketh a mean estate' [Blundeville, *Logike* 1. 19 (1599) p. 44]. . . . Although [D.] acknowledges (91–2) Galen's definition of sickness and health as *mediate contraries*, he paradoxically reverts at once (93–4) to the other classification by a trick of definition based on the principle of *opposites by privation*: '. . . two contraries belonging to one self subject apt to receive the same, in the which subject when the one is wanting at such time as nature doth appoint, the other must needs be, as sight and blindness in the eye' [Blundeville *Logike* p. 44].

Cp. *Letters* p. 30 (?1609–11): 'Our condition and state in this [being a good Christian] is as infirm as in our bodies, where physicians consider only two degrees, sickness and neutrality; for there is no health in us.' Standard Christian doctrine, the phrase 'and there is no health in us' was repeated twice daily by all present in the *BCP* General Confession at Morning and Evening Prayer. It derives from the Penitential Psalm 38. 3, on which see *Serm.* 2. 79–80 (1618):

God created man in health, but health continued but a *few hours*, and sickness hath had the Dominion 6,000 years. . . . put all the miseries, that man is subject to, together, *sickness* is more than all. It is the *immediate sword* of God. *Phalaris* could invent a Bull; and others have invented Wheels and Racks; but no persecutor could ever invent a *sickness* or a way to inflict a *sickness* upon a condemned man: To a *galley* he can send him, and to the *gallows*, and command execution that hour; but to a *quartan fever*, or to a *gout*, he cannot condemn him. . . . And no sickness can be worse, than that which is intended here, for it is all over, . . . 'no health in any part'. This consideration arises not only from the Physicians' Rule, that the best state of Man's body is but a *Neutrality*, neither well nor ill, . . . a state of true and exquisite health, say they, no man hath.

D. repeats the last assertion in *Serm.* 5. 352 (n. d.).

95 **ruinous**] Literally, 'prone to falling headlong', as in the Latin root, *ruinosus*.

That children come not right nor orderly
 Except they headlong come and fall upon
 An ominous precipitation.
 How witty's ruin! How importunate
 100 Upon mankind! It laboured to frustrate
 Even God's purpose, and made woman, sent
 For man's relief, cause of his languishment.
 They were to good ends (and they are so still)
 But accessory, and principal in ill;
 105 For that first marriage was our funeral:
 One woman at one blow then killed us all,
 And singly, one by one, they kill us now.

95–8 poor . . . precipitation] i.e., a backward, 'breeches' birth is difficult and dangerous. Cp. *Serm.* 5. 171 (?Dec. 1618), 6. 333 (Christmas 1625): 'We call that a testimony of a right coming, if we come into the world *with our head forward*, in a headlong precipitation'; 'What miserable revolutions and changes, what down-falls, what break-necks, and precipitations may we justly think ourselves ordained to, if we consider, that in our coming into this world out of our mother's womb, we do not make account that a child comes right, except it come with the head forward, and thereby prefigure that headlong falling into calamities which it must suffer after!'

99–104 Wiggins 56 points out the two logical principles, 'Those things whose generation is good must needs be good', and 'That thing whereof the end is good or evil is also of itself good or evil' (Blundeville 4. 3, pp. 84, 91), which are 'wittily', i.e., paradoxically contradicted in the terms of criminal law.

99–100 How witty . . . mankind] Expanded on in *Serm.* 9. 257–8 (at St Paul's, undated):

The highest, the deepest, the weightiest sin; . . . a malicious, and a forcible opposition to God; . . . When not only the members of our bodies, but the faculties of our soul, our will and understanding are bent upon sin; when we do not only sin strongly, and hungerly, and thirstily (which appertain to the body), but we sin rationally, we find reasons . . . why we should sin: We sin wittily, we invent new sins, and we think it an ignorant, a dull, and an unsociable thing, not to sin; yea, we sin wisely, and make our sin, our way to preferment.

99 witty] clever, ingenious.

101–2 woman . . . relief] *Gen.* 2. 18.

102 languishment] sickness, weakness, suffering, sorrow, with a hint of exhaustion after sex. Cp. *Metem* 99–100.

103–4 to good ends . . . But accessory, and principal in ill] 'in good undertakings . . . only helpers, and chief instigators of bad' (legal terms).

106–7 Rephrasing *Metem* 91–4, and following the Apocryphal (though appointed to be read in the Church of England) *Eclus* 25. 24: 'Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die' (Milgate), taking 'man' to include 'woman' in the orthodox Pauline pronouncement of *Rom.* 5. 12 that 'by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned' (cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 21–2). Cp. *Serm.* 1. 200 (24 March

We do delightfully ourselves allow
 To that consumption, and, profusely blind,
 110 We kill ourselves to propagate our kind.
 And yet we do not that; we are not men:
 There is not now that mankind, which was then,
 Whenas the sun and man did seem to strive

1617): 'It is said truly that "as by one man sin entered, and death", so by one man entered life. It may be said that "by one woman sin entered and death" (and that rather than by the man; for [1 *Tim.* 2. 14], "Adam was not deceived, but the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression.")'

108–10 D. repeatedly voices this ancient fear (cp. *Metem* 204–10 and note with quotation from Cuffe 28, p. 106), with its serious implication of men's really as well as metaphorically 'dying' in repeated orgasm. Cp. *Serm.* 7. 260 (12 Dec. 1626): 'Though a man knew not, that every sin casts another shovel of Brimstone upon him in Hell, yet if he knew that every riotous feast cuts off a year, and every wanton night seven years of his seventy in this world, it were some degree towards perfection in knowledge.'

109 that consumption] The supposedly body-wasting activity of sexual intercourse, but cp. *Serm.* 2. 80 again: 'We are "Born in a Consumption", and as little as we are then, we grow less from that time.' **profusely]** literally 'pouring ourselves out', as in *Serm.* 5. 297 (n. d.) on the Penitential Psalm 51: 'We profuse and pour out even our own soul'.

112–46, 159, 196–204 The pessimism which seized on D. after his marriage, imprisonment and illness persisted through his life: cp. *Serm.* 6. 323 (Whitsunday 1625), asserting 'a sensible decay and age in the whole frame of the world, and every piece thereof. The seasons of the year irregular and distempered; the Sun fainter, and languishing; men less in stature, and shorter lived. No addition, but only every year, new sorts, new species of worms, and flies, and sicknesses, which argue more and more putrefaction of which they are engendered.' But though since the first century CE Christians had claimed that 'we know that it is the last time' (1 *John* 2. 18), D. was not a millenarian who preached the imminent end of the world, as he makes clear in *Serm.* 7. 138–9 (April 1626): 'In all the two thousand years of Nature, before the Law given by Moses, And the two thousand years of Law, before the Gospel given by Christ, And the two thousand of Grace, which are running now (of which last hour we have heard three quarters strike, more than fifteen hundred of this last two thousand spent) . . .'

112–20 The prodigious ages attributed to the legendary Hebrew patriarchs in the Pentateuch (e.g., 963 years for Methuselah) received elaborate justification from Augustine 15. 9–14 (1610 pp. 542–50). Pliny, *Natural History* 7. 48 (155; Engl. 1601) 1. 181 (followed by Cuffe), had dismissed similar Greek and Roman reports as proceeding 'from the ignorance of the times past and for want of knowledge how they made their account'—the sort of scrupulosity D. abuses in *Essays* 1. 1 (1952) p. 18, as 'The poor remedy of lunary and other planetary years, the silly and contemptible escape that some authors speak of running years, some of years expired and perfected, or that the account of days and months are neglected'.

112–14, 117–20 Quoted by Nathaniel Lee, 'Epistle Dedicatory', *Theodosius* (1680 sig. A2; *CH* p. 60, *Influence* p. 148).

113–15 i.e., to become sole tenant. J. Rastell, *Exposition of Certain difficult and obscure words, and, Termes of the Lawes of this Realme, Newly amended and Augmented*

(Joint tenants of the world) who should survive; *Shortness*
 115 When stag and raven and the long-lived tree, *of life.*

[by anon.], . . . *for the helpe of such young Students as are desirous to attaine to the knowledge of the same* (1609) f. 121r-v: 'Joint tenants be where two men come to any lands and tenements by one joint title. . . . And note well, if there be two or three joint tenants, and one hath issue and dieth, then he and ['ou' in the original law French] those joint tenants that overlive shall have the whole by the survivor [i.e., by right of survival].' Sir T. Littleton, *Littletons Tenures in English Lately Perused and Amended* 3. 3-4 (1604) ff. 57r-64v, has a more extended discussion of the complexities involved. Cp. *SecAn* 33-4 and note.

115 Cp. *Serm.* 9. 149 (Christmas Day ?1629): 'The natural man hath life more abundantly than any other creature (howsoever Oaks, and Crows, and Harts may be said to outlive him) because he hath a life after this life.' **stag and raven** 'Hesiodus [*Precepts of Chiron*, 3], . . . in his fabulous discourse as touching the age of man, saith, forsooth, that a crow liveth nine times as long as we, and the harts or stags four times as long as the crow, but the ravens thrice as long as they'—Pliny, 7. 48 (153; 1601) l. 180, followed by Cuffe [23] (1607) p. 87. Poets persisted with the legend despite its rejection by Aristotle, *History of Animals* 6. 29 (578b23). **long-lived tree** 'Lord of the woods, the long-surviving oak' (W. Cowper, *Task* 1. 113 (1784); cp. Virgil, *Aeneid* 4. 441-6). According to Pliny 16. 87-9 (237-9; Engl. 16. 44 (1601) l. 495), in the first century CE, 'There is an holm growing in the Vatican elder than Rome itself, . . . Hard by the city of Ilium, there be certain oaks also (as folk say) near unto the tomb of Ilus, which were then planted or set of acorns when Troy began to be called Ilium. . . . About Heraclia in Pontus . . . there stand two oaks, both set by the hands of Hercules.' Nevertheless, Pliny cites other long-lived trees, and among native English trees it is outlived by yew and lime, and equalled by sweet chestnut (see A. Lenington and E. Parker, *Ancient Trees* 1999, and Archie Miles, *Trees in Britain* 1999). Capable of surviving a thousand years if pollarded, the oak figures vegetable longevity in Jonson's ode 'To . . . Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H. Moryson' 67 [1629]. The famous thirteenth-century Herne the Hunter's Oak (see *Merry Wives of Windsor* 4. 4. 27-39, etc.) stood in Windsor Great Park, as still does the even older William the Conqueror's Oak. J. Evelyn, *Sylva, Or A Discourse of Forest-Trees* 29 (1664) p. 89, noted that 'It is commonly and very probably observed that a tree gains a new [ring] every year. In the body of a great oak on the New Forest, cut transversely even, where many of the trees are accounted to be some hundreds of years old, three and four hundred have been distinguished.' Dryden reworded a popular saying in *Palamon and Arcite* 3. 1060-1 (*Fables Ancient and Modern*, 1700): 'Three centuries he grows, and three he stays / Supreme in state, and in three more decays'. Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* 5. 3 (1983; 1984) p. 217, lists ten oaks venerated in England in D.'s time, and cites the assertion as late as 1670 by John Smith, *Englands Improvement Reviv'd* (p. 77): 'It is my opinion that there are oaks now living and growing from seed, or as suckers from the roots of trees, the next summer or spring after the Deluge; and I think I may truly say some were the production of the earth, and grew by the command of God at the first Creation, not destroyed by the Flood, and there be many reasons for this my opinion, . . .' going on to claim their exemption from the curse of the Fall and man's life-shortening intemperance. E. Roger, *La Terre Sainte* (1646) pp. 416-17 makes the same claim for cedars in Lebanon.

Compared with man, died in minority;
 When, if a slow-paced star had stol'n away
 From the observer's marking, he might stay
 Two or three hundred years to see't again,
 120 And then make up his observation plain;

116 minority] infancy (in the legal sense), under twenty-one, youth.

117–20 The 25,800-year nutation (oscillation) of the earth's axis (see note on 275–7) causes the stars visible above the horizon at a certain latitude to vary over that period. Cp. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 1. 106 (3. 9), Engl. T. Lodge, 1. 4 (1602; 1609) p. 8; followed by Cuffe [23] pp. 88–9:

God gave them long life to the end they should . . . conveniently practise those things which they had invented in astronomy and by geometry, the demonstrations whereof they never had attained except they had lived at the least six hundred years. For the great year [‘The period (variously reckoned) after which all the heavenly bodies were supposed to return to their original positions’—*OED*] is accomplished by that number of years; whereof all they bear me witness who (either Greeks or Barbarians) have written ancient histories.

120 make . . . plain] ‘satisfactorily complete his chronological series of observations of its position’.

121 This tradition had scriptural backing in *Gen.* 6. 4: ‘There were giants in the earth in those days’ before the Flood. Afterwards they were a rare marvel: ‘And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, . . . and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight’ (*Numb.* 13. 33), then extinct inhabitants of the land of Moab, the Emims (*Deut.* 2. 11), and eventually ‘only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; . . . nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it’ (*Deut.* 3. 11). Judaic legend was corroborated by classical, as collected by Pliny 7. 16 (73–4), Engl. 7. 18 (1601) 1. 164–5:

This is observed for an undoubted truth, that generally all men come short of the full stature in times past, and decrease still every day more than other, and seldom shall ye see the son taller than his father; for the ardent heat of the elementary fire (whereunto the world inclineth already now toward the latter end, as sometimes it stood much upon the watery clement) devoureth and consumeth that plentiful humour and moisture of natural seed that engendereth all things; and this appeareth more evidently by these examples following. In Crete it chanced that an hill clave asunder in an earthquake, and in the chink thereof was found a body standing 46 cubits high; some say it was the body of Orion, others of Otus. We find in chronicles and records of good credit that the body of Orestes, being taken up by direction from the oracles, was seven cubits long. And verily that great and famous poet Homer, who lived almost a thousand years ago, complained, and gave not over, that men's bodies were less of stature even then than in old time.

Cp. Augustine 15. 9 (1610) p. 543:

Their famous poet Virgil [*Aen.* 12. 899–900, replaying Homer, *Iliad* 5. 302–4] gives a testimony of a bounder-stone that a valiant man caught up in fight, and, running upon his foe, threw this at him: . . .

When, as the age was long, the size was great:
 Man's growth confessed and recompensed the meat;
 So spacious and large, that every soul
 Did a fair kingdom and large realm control,
 125 And when the very stature, thus erect,
 Did that soul a good way towards heaven direct.

It passed the power of twelve strong men to raise
 That stone from ground, as men go nowadays.

—intimating that men of elder times were of far larger bodies: how much more, then, before that famous deluge, in the world's infancy? This difference of growth is convinced out of old sepulchres which either ruins or ruins or some chance have opened, and wherein have been found bones of an incredible bigness. Upon the shore of Utica, I myself and many with me saw a man's axle-tooth [molar] of that bigness that if it had been cut into pieces would have made an hundred of ours. But I think it was some giant's tooth, for though the ancients' bodies exceeds [*sic*] ours, the giants exceeded them all.

His commentator Vives pp. 543–4 quotes Juvenal 15. 63–71 on Virgil and Homer, adds from the former's *Georgics* 1. 497 'And gaze on those huge bones within the tomb' (in fact merely a reference to those who fell at Philippi), and records that 'Upon Saint Christopher's Day we went to visit the chief church of our city [Louvain], and there was a tooth shown us as big as my fist, which, they say, was Saint Christopher's.' Vives further cites Cyprian (cited below on 127–32) and the angel Uriel in 2 *Esdras* 5. 48–55, on the aging womb of Mother Earth (partly quoted below on 204). Discoveries of ancient bones nowadays assigned to mastodons and the like kept reinforcing the belief through the Middle Ages and Renaissance: D. C. Allen, *MLN* 61 (1946) 257–60, records many such excavations. **121/2 great/meat** A full rhyme, since both sounded more like a lengthened modern 'get'.

122 confessed and recompensed the meat bore witness to the better quality of food in general, and in quantity matched growth to intake. According to Josephus, 1. 106 (3. 9; followed by Cuffe p. 88), they had 'a kind of nutriment agreeing with their natures, and proper to multiply their years'.

125–6 Assuming that the soul was in the brain, it was nearer the sky.

125 thus erect so made upright by the soul's dominance, according to the traditional distinction of heavenward-looking humans from other animals that look down at the earth, exemplified in the creation myth of Ovid, *Met.* 1. 84–6. D. continued to cherish the commonplace, in *Devotions* 3, Meditation: 'We attribute but one privilege and advantage to man's body above other moving creatures: that he is not as others, grovelling, but of an erect, of an upright form, naturally built and disposed to the contemplation of Heaven'; in *Serm.* 7. 243 (5 Nov. 1626): 'God hath given Man that form in nature, much more in grace, that he should be upright, and look up, and contemplate Heaven, and God there'; and *Essays* 1. 3 (1952 p. 30), and *Serm.* 3. 105 (?Easter Day 1620; Milgate). The popular belief is refuted by Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* 4. 1.

127–44 Quoted by M. Scott, *Philosophers Banquet*, Engl. and enl. W. B[asse?] (1614) pp. 124–5.

- Where is this mankind now? Who lives to age
 Fit to be made Methusalem his page?
 Alas, we scarce live long enough to try
- 130 Whether a new-made clock run right or lie.
 Old grandsires talk of yesterday with sorrow,
 And for our children we reserve tomorrow.
 So short is life, that every peasant strives
 In a torn house or field to have three lives.
- 135 And as in lasting so in length is man,
 Contracted to an inch, who was a span: *Smallness*
 For had a man at first in forests strayed *of stature.*
 Or shipwrecked in the sea, one would have laid
 A wager that an elephant or whale
- 140 That met him would not hastily assail
 A thing so equal to him; now, alas,
 The fairies and the pygmies well may pass

130 new 1611, 1612Er: true 1612–1635

127–32 Cp. *Serm.* 2. 202 (Easter [28 March 1619]), repeated in *Serm.* 6. 324:

Almost fourteen hundred years ago, S. *Cyprian* writing against *Demetrianus* [3–5, *PL* 4. 564–7], who imputed all the wars, and deaths, and unseason-
 ablenesses of that time, to the contempt, and irreligion of the Christians,
 that they were the cause of all those ills, because they would not worship
 their Gods, *Cyprian* imputes all those distempers to the age of the whole
 World; . . . says he, ‘We see Children born grey-headed; . . . Their hair is
 changed, before it be grown. . . . We do not die with age, but we are born old.

D. does not recognise that the conditions of his own time which he claims to
 be signs of decay are no worse than those of *Cyprian*’s.

128 Methusalem] ‘And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and
 nine years’—*Gen.* 5. 27.

134 torn] Possibly punning on ‘rent’/‘rented’. **three lives]** i.e., a lease valid
 for the longest life of three people named in it, who might be father, son and
 grandson.

135–41 so in length . . . equal to him] See note on 121.

136 i.e., humans were once nine times as tall. The rough norm of six feet equalled
 four cubits, the measure used by Pliny above, so D.’s convenient comparison approxi-
 mates to the Cretan prodigy.

142 pygmies] Vives on Augustine 15. 9 (1610) p. 544, quotes Juvenal 15. 63–71
 to the effect that now ‘earth brings nothing forth but pygmy men’, referring to
 the classical myth of the tiny people who battled with cranes in, e.g., Homer,
Iliad 3. 2–6, Pliny 7. 2 (26; 1601) 1. 156, and innumerable others, generally dis-
 missed by the learned from Strabo (c. 65 BCE–after 21 CE) 1. 2. 1 onwards (see
 Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 4. 11). Cp. the orthodox doubt in *Serm.* 9. 100–1 (Whitsun
 1629): ‘Natural men [i.e., natural historians such as Pliny] will write of lands of
 Pygmies, and of lands of Giants; and write of Phoenixes, and of Unicorns; But
 yet advisedly they do not believe (at least confidently they do not know) that
 there are such Giants, or such Pygmies, such Unicorns or Phoenixes in the world.’

- As credible, mankind decays so soon.
 We're scarce our fathers' shadows cast at noon;
 145 Only death adds t'our length; nor are we grown
 In stature to be men till we are none.
 But this were light, did our less volume hold
 All the old text; or had we changed to gold
 Their silver, or disposed into less glass
 150 Spirits of virtue, which then scattered was.
 But 'tis not so: we're not retired, but damped;
 And as our bodies so our minds are cramped:
 'Tis shrinking, not close weaving, that hath thus
 In mind and body both bedwarfèd us.
 155 We seem ambitious God's whole work t'undo:

153 close weaving 1633, 1635: close-weaning 1611–1625

144 i.e., when those ancestors' shadows were shortest.

145 **Only . . . length**] When we are laid out, we take up a greater extent than while we live, as the setting sun makes shadows longer.

145–6 **nor . . . none**] Only death allows humans to regain original perfection, when 'corruption shall put on incorruption', resurrected in a spiritual body—I Cor. 15. 35–53.

147 **were light**] would matter little. **volume**] punning on size and book.

148 **All the old text**] Adam's perfection in earthly knowledge was asserted by e.g., Pererius 5. 7 (1601) p. 239.

148–9 **had we . . . silver**] As well as the alchemical image, D. perhaps alludes to the succeeding ages of gold, silver, brass and iron, adapted from Hesiod, *Works and Days* 109–201, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 89–150, and Christianized to make that of the Patriarchs silver after the golden age of the Garden of Eden.

149–50 An image of distilling and condensing, with a pun on 'Spirits'.

149 **disposed**] put, concentrated, reduced.

150 **of virtue**] (1) of goodness; (2) powerful.

151 **not retired, but damped**] Either 'not withdrawn from the world into ourselves and concentrated, but chilled, dulled, deadened, stupefied', or, as P. A. Parrish, *Expl* 33 (1975) item 64, suggests, 're-tired . . .', modern 're-attired' (cp. the 'tiring-house' in theatres of D.'s time), i.e., changed in appearance as silver to gold. Absence of mention from *OED* of this sense is not conclusive: in later poems, D. was fond of words compounded with the prefix 're-': 'repassed' (*Resurrection* 1) provides *OED*'s first and only citation, and D. provides its first for 'reunion' (*FirAn* 220) and 're-reveal' (*Sidney* 34). Other examples are 'recompact' (*Name* 32), 'rebaptising' (*BedfordNew* 62), 're-create' (*Litany* 4), 'redoubles' (*Ecstasy* 40), 'rebegot' (*Lucy* 17), 'repolished' (*Funeral Elegy* 40).

154 **bedwarfèd**] diminished. D.'s coinage did not, according to *OED*, outlive the century.

155–60 On man's adding self-destructiveness to vulnerability, cp. *Serm.* 10. 198 (n. d.): 'Man is nothing but a receptacle of diseases in his body, of crosses in his estate, of immoderate griefs for those crosses in his mind, . . . Man carries the spawn and seed and eggs of affliction in his own flesh, and his own thoughts make haste to hatch them, and to bring them up. We make all our worms snakes, all our snakes vipers, all our vipers dragons, by our mumbling.'

Of nothing he made us, and we strive, too,
 To bring ourselves to nothing back; and we
 Do what we can to do't so soon as he.
 With new diseases on ourselves we war,

156–7 Imitated by Webster, *Duchess of Malfi* 3. 5. 156–7.

156 Of nothing . . . us] Though *Genesis* said man was formed from dust, the greater wonder of creation of the world from nothing was inferred by argument:

Truly it is not the power and victory of reason that evicts this world to be made of nothing, for neither this word *creare* enforces it, nor is it expressly said so in any Scripture. . . . Only it is once said *Ex nihilo fecit omnia Deus* [Vulgate], but in a book of no strait obligation [the apocryphal *2 Macc.* 7. 28] (if the matter needed authority), and it is also well translated by us 'Of things which were not' [AV]. But, therefore, we may spare divine authority, and ease our faith too, because it is present to our reason—*Essays* 1. 3 (1952) p. 28; see whole section, pp. 27–32.

Cp. *Serm.* 8. 283, 10. 134.

159–60 Cp. *Biathanatos*, 'The Conclusion' (written 1608; 1984) p. 145: 'Paracelsus [note: *De ulceribus* 8, in *Chirurgia Magna*, 1573] says of that foul contagious disease which then had invaded mankind in a few places [syphilis at the French siege of Naples in 1494], and since overflows in all, that for punishment for general licentiousness God first inflicted that disease, and when the disease would not reduce us, he sent a second worse affliction, which was ignorant and torturing physicians'. D. develops the joke in *Ignatius* (1969) p. 21, having Paracelsus, as both executive and trumpeter of the Devil, boast that it

was ever my principal purpose that no certain new art nor fixed rules might be established, but that all remedies might be dangerously drawn from my uncertain, ragged and unperfect experiments, in trial whereof how many men have been made carcasses! And falling upon those times which did abound with paradoxical and unusual diseases, of all which the pox, which then began to reign, was almost the centre and sink, I ever professed an assured and an easy cure thereof lest I should deter any from their licentiousness. And whereas almost all poisons are so disposed and conditioned by nature that they offend some of the senses, and so are easily discerned and avoided, I brought it to pass that that treacherous quality of theirs might be removed, and so they might safely be given without suspicion and yet perform their office as strongly.

Lucifer (p. 25) relegates him to governorship merely of 'that legion of homicide physicians'. Nevertheless, in *Serm.* 2. 76–7 D. quotes approvingly Paracelsus's dictum that a physician's theory must proceed from experience. J. Owen, *Epigrammatum ad Tres Mæcenates Libri Tres* 1 (1612) p. 36, likens doctor and illness to Scylla and Charybdis.

159 new diseases] Such as, also, the sweating-sickness first seen in Henry VII's army in the 1480s, and influenza in 1510. Milgate quotes G. Rondelet's opening observation that syphilis was generally acknowledged to be 'une nouvelle maladie' in his *Traicté de verole* (1576), of which Keynes, *Bibliography* (1973) pp. 272, 275, notes a copy bound with another work owned by D. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 62 (1618): 'we are not sure, that any old diseases mentioned in Physicians' books are worn out, but that every year produces *new*, of which they have no mention, we are sure.'

- 160 And with new physic, a worse engine far.
 Thus man, this world's vice-emperor, in whom
 All faculties, all graces are at home,
 And if in other creatures they appear,
 They're but man's ministers and legates there,
 165 To work on their rebellions and reduce
 Them to civility and to man's use;
 This man, whom God did woo, and loth t'attend
 Till man came up, did down to man descend;
 This man, so great that all that is, is his,
 170 Oh what a trifle and poor thing he is!
 If man were anything, he's nothing now:
 Help, or at least some time to waste, allow
 T'his other wants, yet when he did depart
 With her whom we lament, he lost his heart.

161 Thus] This 1635

160 The lethal effect of the old medicine had equally been satirised by, e.g., Juvenal 10. 221; Martial 6. 53, 8. 74, 10. 77, 11. 74. Cp. the enigmatic verse in *Eclues* 38. 15: 'He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hand of the physician'; the proverbs recorded in Erasmus *et al.*, *Adagia* (1629) p. 212, that 'Only doctors kill with impunity', and 'Doctors kill more than they cure'; Sir John Davies, 'The Physician', in *Poems* (1975) p. 226: 'The earth my faults doth hide' (an ancient observation); and Burton's quotation, 2. 4. 1. 1 (2. 210), from Cardan: 'More danger there is from the physician than from the disease' (Tilley P267a). **new physic]** e.g., mineral chemicals, such as the violently poisonous chloride of mercury, corrosive sublimate, used by Paracelsus to burn away syphilitic ulcers. Cp. the thankfulness of Jonson, *Epigrams* no. 13, 'To Doctor Empiric', 'that doubly am got free / From my disease's danger and from thee'. **engine]** weapon.

161 vice-emperor] *Gen.* 1. 28.

161-3 Aristotle, *On the Soul* 2. 2-3 (413a-415a), enumerates humans' addition of reason and imagination to the merely nutritive life of plants and the perception, desire, and movement of other animal species. Cp. *Somerset* 50-2, and *Serm.* 4. 104: 'The properties, the qualities of every Creature, are in man; the Essence, the Existence of every Creature is for man: so man is every Creature' (Milgate).

162 faculties] l. 4 and note.

166 man's use] *Gen.* 1. 29-30.

168 did . . . descend] In the incarnation as Christ.

169-70 Rejecting, e.g., *Ps.* 8. 4-8, and the glorification of human beings by such as Pico della Mirandola, in his oration on the dignity of man (see, e.g., *Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. E. Cassirer *et al.* (1948) pp. 223-54).

172-3 Help . . . wants] 'You may alleviate his other deficiencies, or at least allow them time to waste away too'.

173-4 he . . . heart] As in, e.g., *Blossom*, where, by contrast, the speaker is happy to live without it. D. offers three theological versions of a lost heart, the prepared, the established, and that delighting in good actions, to be replaced with a new heart from God, in *Serm.* 7. 113 (Easter 1626).

173 depart] part.

- 175 She, of whom th' ancients seemed to prophesy
 When they called virtues by the name of 'she';
 She in whom virtue was so much refined
 That for allay unto so pure a mind
 She took the weaker sex; she that could drive
- 180 The pois'nous tincture and the stain of Eve
 Out of her thoughts and deeds; and purify
 All by a true religious alchemy;
 She, she is dead; she's dead: when thou know'st this,
 Thou know'st how poor a trifling thing man is,
- 185 And learn'st thus much by our anatomy:
 The heart being perished, no part can be free,

181 thoughts] thought 1621–1633

175–6 In Greek and Latin, the words for the virtues (as usually for all abstractions) are grammatically of the feminine gender, and thus when personified in poetry or sculpture, given female characteristics.

178 allay] alloy, inferior addition.

179 the weaker sex] Christian orthodoxy, as in *1 Peter* 3. 7.

179–82 she that . . . alchemy] The image is of separation by distilling, one of D.'s favourite chemical analogies: cp. *Lucy* 13.

180 Cp. *Metem* 93: 'The mother poisoned the well-head'. **pois'nous tincture]** highly concentrated poison, noxious essence, lethal taint, i.e., Original Sin, as in *HerbE* 40. The irony is that in alchemy the tincture or elixir was supposed to convert baser metal to gold, cure all ills, and confer immortality. Cp. *SecAn* 163–8, 258 (Milgate). **stain of Eve]** See note on 106–7. 'Tincture' also meant 'tinting, colouring, dyeing', which contain a further layer of punning allusions to the female vanity of cosmetics and the fatality of Eve's act.

183, 237, 325, 369, 427 She, she is dead; she's dead] Browne, *Hydriotaphia: Urn-burial* 1, 4 (1658; 1964 pp. 94, 113), notes 'that mournful and treble calling out after Absalom' (King David's lament, *2 Sam.* 18. 33: 'O my son Absalom! My son, my son, Absalom! Would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!') and 'the last conclamation and triple valediction [*vale, vale, vale*] used by other nations', described by Servius commenting on Virgil's *Aen.* 2. 644. The association of the number three with death and the underworld was of very ancient origin: in Homer, *Iliad* 24. 16, Achilles drags the corpse of Hector three times round the burial-mound of Patroclus, as Aeneas and Tarchon thrice circle the funeral pyres in Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 188–90, on foot and then on horseback. In *Aen.* 6. 229, the priest thrice circles the mourners while purifying them. Cp. the threefold repetition of 'I saw him die' in Spenser's *Complaints*, 'The Ruins of Time' 190, 192 (1591).

185 Though treated as a vivid spectacle by the idly curious, the main pretext of the annual aftermath of a public execution at the College of Surgeons, public dissection, was educational, and books which adopted 'Anatomy' in their titles as an analogy of their undertaking usually claimed a didactic purpose.

186 Referring back to 174. Cp. *Serm.* 1. 192 (24 March 1617): 'the heart is that part that lives first and dies last' (expanded, citing Augustine, in 7. 283). **free]** unaffected.

- And that, except thou feed (not banquet) on
 The supernatural food, religion,
 Thy better growth grows witherèd and scant:
 190 Be more than man, or thou'rt less than an ant.
 Then, as mankind, so is the world's whole frame
 Quite out of joint—almost created lame,
 For before God had made up all the rest
 Corruption entered and depraved the best:
 195 It seized the angels, and then first of all
 The world did in her cradle take a fall,
 And turned her brains, and took a general maim,
 Wronging each joint of th'universal frame.
 The noblest part, man, felt it first, and then
 200 Both beasts and plants, cursed in the curse of man.

187–8 feed . . . food] 'consume as your main food'. The banquet in D.'s time was a separate light dessert of sweetmeats, fruit and wine after dinner, or a snack between meals, or a sweetmeat or a drinking-party. Cp. Augustine, *Confessions* 7. 10, and *Serm.* 6. 223 (4 March 1625): 'The end of all spiritual eating, is Assimilation too, That after all Hearing, and all Receiving, I may be made . . . the same spirit, that my God is'.

189 better growth] immortal soul. **witherèd]** Cp. *Serm.* 2. 291 (19 Dec. 1619): 'He that grows not in Religion, withers'.

190 Be more than man] Cp. *WoodwardR* *Widowhead* 16–18, and Grierson's explanatory quotations in the note of Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 2. 61. 1–2, distinguishing the merely human Cardinal Virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude from the superhuman Theological Virtues of faith, hope and love, and of Augustine 19. 25 (1610) p. 785. The limits of humanity in various senses were much debated: cp. *Macbeth*, 1. 7. 46–7, and Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 1. 5: 'As some men have sinned in the principles of humanity, and must answer for not being men, so others offend if they be not more; . . . A man should be something that men are not, and individual in somewhat beside his proper nature.' **less than an ant]** Commended in *Prov.* 6. 8, 30. 25 for its industry and prudence.

191–2 so is the . . . joint] Elaborated by P. Hannay, *Two Elegies on . . . Queene Anne* (1617) sig. A4r, who draws more generally on D.'s poem (*CH* pp. 41–2).

192 almost created lame] D. skirts the benevolent, omnipotent creator's responsibility for the world's disorder.

194–5 Corruption . . . angels] Specifically, according to Pererius 8. 35 (1601) p. 382, envy, falsehood, and murder. Cp. *Wotton* *Kisses* 39–40, *SecAn* 446 and note, *Serm.* 2. 170 (12 Feb. 1619), 8. 126 (Nov./Dec. 1627), 9. 372, 376 (n. d.).

194 best] angels (some of them).

196–200 God's curses, Gen. 3. 14–19, changed the world's peace and plenty into conflict, sorrow, pain, labour and death.

196–7 The world . . . brains] The world as baby accidentally brain-damaged may be a new vehicle for the metaphor; its tenor, of course, was not. As D. explains in *Serm.* 9. 372 (n. d.): 'the purest Understandings of all, The Angels, fell by their ascending'.

So did the world from the first hour decay, *Decay of*
 That evening was beginning of the day; *nature in*
 And now the springs and summers which we see *other parts.*
 Like sons of women after fifty be;

201 from the first hour] Pererius, I. 193 (1601) p. 84 ('48'), agrees with Augustine II. 9 (1610) p. 415, that

The Scriptures, speaking of the world's creation, speak not plainly of the angels, when or in what order they were created, but that they were created, the word 'Heaven' includeth, 'In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth', or, rather, in the word 'light', whereof I speak now, are there signified. . . . Wherefore, if the angels belong unto God's six days' work, they are that light called day, to commend whose unity it was called 'one day', not 'the first day'.

Pererius then explains, I. 197 (1610) p. 86, that the angels who fell must have done so immediately they were created, since any prior existence would have depended on grace, which would have prevented their sin, a problem which had been discussed by Thomas Aquinas, *ST* I. 63. 6. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 294 (19 Dec. 1619, revised): 'We know that light is God's eldest child, his first-born of all Creatures; and it is ordinarily received, that the Angels are twins with the light, made then when the light was made. And then the first act, that these Angels that fell, did, was an act of Pride. . . . So early, so primary a sin is Pride, as that it was the first act of the first of Creatures' (Manley).

202 'The light was darkening even as it was created', a paraphrase of the formulaic 'And the evening and the morning were the first day', whose division between day and night perplexed theologians, since sun and moon were not created until the fourth (*Gen.* I. 3-5, 14-19)—see Pererius I. 78-83 (1601) pp. 33-7. D.'s identification of the evening preceding the first morning with the angels' sin is that of Thomas Aquinas, *ST* I. 63. 6.

203-4 Echoing Cyprian a thousand years previously: see note above on 127-32. With a similar analogy, Du Bartas nevertheless took a more joyful view (I. 3. 591-8):

Though with the world's age her weak age decay,
 Though she become less fruitful every day
 (Much like a woman with oft-teeming worn
 Who, with the babes of her own body born
 Having almost stored a whole town with people,
 At length becomes barren and faint and feeble),
 Yet doth she yield matter enough to sing
 And praise the maker of so rich a thing.

204 'A woman commonly is past child-bearing after fifty years of her age'—Pliny 7. 14 (61; 1601 I. 163). Manley finds biblical support for the commonplace in 2 *Esd.* 5. 51-5:

He answered me, and said: 'Ask a woman that beareth children, and she shall tell thee. Say unto her: "Wherefore are not they whom thou hast now brought forth like those that were before, but less of stature?"
 'And she shall answer thee: "They that be born in the strength of youth are of one fashion, and they that are born in the time of age, when the womb faileth, are otherwise."

205 And new philosophy calls all in doubt:

Consider therefore also how that ye are less of stature than those that were before you, and so are they that come after you less than ye, as the creatures which now begin to be old, and have passed over the strength of youth' (*AV* Apocrypha).

205–11 new philosophy . . . new] As alleged evidence of D.'s interest in the astronomical theorems and discoveries of Kepler and Galileo, much has been made of these lines (a passage 'so often cited that now it has the taint of staleness'—Coffin (1937) p. 166), and of ll. 251–84, but their flippancy and superficiality suggest no more than the common topical awareness shown in *Ignatius* (1969) pp. 7, 13, 17. There D.'s narrator finds Copernicus in Hell 'busied to find, to deride, to detruide Ptolemy; . . . though I had never heard ill of his life', and has Lucifer say he has already 'attempted a new faction', but D. emphasises that this is a papal version of Hell, seen through 'Gregory's and Bede's spectacles', the papists having 'extended the name and the punishment of heresy almost to everything'. D. remained uncomprehending of the detailed mathematics which made new theory compelling, and seems no more concerned about it than Ignatius, who succeeds in keeping Copernicus out of the cabinet of Hell as a failed heretic:

But for you, what new thing have you invented by which our Lucifer gets anything? What cares he whether the Earth travel or stand still? Hath your raising up of the Earth into Heaven brought men to that confidence that they build new towers, or threaten God again [as in *Gen.* 11. 1–9]? Or do they out of this motion of the Earth conclude that there is no Hell, or deny the punishment of sin? Do not men believe? Do they not live just as they did before?

D. was not seriously affected by astronomical theories or observations, any more than Milton fifty years later (see *PL* 8. 1–197), to whom they were (191–2) 'things remote / From use, obscure and subtle', though in *Serm.* 9. 73 (April 1629) D. shows he has accepted at least one of Galileo's discoveries: 'The milky way . . . is all of so little stars, as have no name'. See I. A. Shapiro, 'John Donne the Astronomer', *TLS* (1937) 492, who furthermore quotes a letter by D.'s friend Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador to Venice, to Lord Salisbury, dated 13 Mar. 1610, that suggests that D. did not necessarily read Galileo himself:

I send herewith unto his Majesty the strangest piece of news (as I may justly call it) that he hath yet received from any part of the world; which is the annexed book (come abroad this very day) of the Mathematical Professor at Padua, who by the help of an optical instrument (which both enlargeth and approximateth the object) invented first in Flanders, and bettered by himself, hath discovered four new planets rolling about the sphere of Jupiter, besides many other unknown fixed stars; likewise the true cause of the *Via Lactea*, so long searched; and lastly, that the moon is not spherical, but ended with many prominences, . . . So as upon the whole subject he hath first overthrown all former astronomy—for we must have a new sphere to save the appearances—and next all astrology. (*Life and Letters* I. 486–7).

Wotton was back in London from March 1611 to March 1612 (I. 117, 120). D. refers in a letter of April 1612 to 'letters that I received from Sir H. Wotton yesterday from Amiens' (*Letters* p. 73; Wotton arrived in Amiens on 27 March/6 April 1612, some weeks after the Drury party left for Paris (Smith 2. 1); for

The element of fire is quite put out,

references to letters from Wotton in Venice in 1607 and 1608, see 1633 p. 360, *Letters* p. 144). Writing to Goodyer, D. makes an easy analogy: 'I often compare not you and me but the sphere in which your re[v]olutions are and my wheel, both, I hope, concentric to God: for methinks the new astronomy is thus applicable well, that we, which are a little Earth, should rather move towards God, than that he, which is fulfilling, should move towards us' (1633 p. 364). Cp. *Bedford Written* (July–Aug. 1610?) and note thereon for Milgate's quotation of *Serm.* 7. 271 (12 Dec. 1626), and other sermon references betraying D.'s uncomprehending conservatism. As T. S. Healy observes, *Ignatius* p. xxx, n. 4, 'The new astronomy provided him with images and conceits; it did not make a scientist out of him.' Cp. the extended diversion made out of the multiple controversies by the more open-minded (and far more widely read) Burton 2. 2. 3. 1 (2. 39–55), concluding:

In the meantime, the world is tossed in a blanket amongst them: they hoist the Earth up and down like a ball, make it stand and go at their pleasures; one saith the Sun stands, another he moves, a third comes in, taking them all at rebound, and, lest there should any paradox be wanting, he finds certain spots and clouds in the Sun by the help of glasses, . . . and so whilst these men contend about the Sun and Moon, . . . it is to be feared the Sun and Moon will hide themselves, . . . and send another message to Jupiter, . . . to make an end of all those curious controversies, and scatter them abroad.

One might well apply to D.'s lines the verdict of P. Cruttwell on *SecAn* 254–300, quoted in the note thereon.

206–8 Cp. D.'s jocose tone with that of the Philosopher as reported by Cuffe 12 (1608) p. 47:

The question is touching the world's immortality, whether, as it had a beginning of being, so it shall also have an end. Aristotle, when he first heard of their opinion who appointed an end unto the world, scoffingly burst out into these words: 'I was once afraid that my house either by force of tempest or by injury of time or lastly by some defect in the workmanship should have suddenly overwhelmed me, but now I have great cause to fear my own and my house's ruin because of those that in words go about to pull down the world.

206 element of fire] Because it was thought that naturally 'Fire ever doth aspire' (*Somerset* 219), Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1. 2. 2 (339a11–19, 354b24), supposed that its home-sphere enveloped those of earth, water and air. Beyond were the crystalline spheres carrying the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and the fixed stars. D. could be parodying the extravagant lament by Du Bartas, 1. 2. 963–98. D. uses the argument of 'some new philosophers' 'Against the popular opinion of the sphere or element of fire' neutrally in *Serm.* 7. 184 (21 May 1626) as an analogy for the superfluousness of the Roman Purgatory, and in *Serm.* 9. 230–1 (20 April 1630 [?]) considers that 'the Element of fire . . . may be, but is not, at least, is not so discernible, so demonstrable as the rest', repeating the argument against it. Cp. Burton (2. 47): 'Cardan [*De subtilitate*, 2], Tycho [*Progymnasmata*], and John Pena [Preface to Euclid, *Catoptrice*] manifestly confute by [absence of] refractions [of stellar light], and many other arguments, there is no such element of fire at all.' Coffin pp. 169–70 usefully summarises and translates the full argument from Kepler, *Dioptrice*, Preface (1611), which is verbal and visual, not mathematical, and so accessible to D. Cp. *SecAn* 193–4.

The Sun is lost, and th'Earth, and no man's wit
 Can well direct him where to look for it;
 And freely men confess that this world's spent,
 210 When in the planets and the firmament

207–8 D. shows lack of alarm in *Letters* p. 102 (?31 Jan. 1609): 'Copernicism in the mathematics hath carried Earth farther up from the stupid centre, and yet not honoured it nor advantaged it, because, for the necessity of appearances, it hath carried Heaven so much higher from it'. Cp. *Serm.* 6. 265 (Easter Day 1625): 'We wonder, and justly, that some late Philosophers have removed the whole Earth from the Centre, and carried it up, and placed it in one of the Spheres of Heaven'. For those who believed the Bible to be the word of an omniscient God, such ideas blasphemously contradicted *Ps.* 93. 2: 'He hath made the round world so sure that it cannot be moved.'

207 Plato, *Timaeus* 38, *Laws* 7 (822), had asserted that all heavenly bodies observed the perfect motion of a circle. With Copernicus demonstrating mathematically in *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543) that the Sun, rather than the Earth, must be the focus of planetary orbits, and Kepler in *Astronomia nova* (1609) formulating his 'First Law' of elliptical orbits, such simplicity was upset. But Copernicus's work had aroused little controversy until the 1590s because of the preface by Osiander proposing it simply as a mathematical hypothesis to explain appearances. To D., unable to grasp Kepler's mathematics or the implications of Galileo's reports in *Sidereus nuncius* (Venice, 1610) of the partial phases of Mars, heliocentrism could seem to have received no corroboration in its revival after seventy years. **no man's wit**] i.e., not D.'s, with his ignorance of the mathematics which solved the problems of the inaccuracies of prediction and increasingly complex makeshifts of medieval astronomy referred to in 251–77.

209–12 As Coffin p. 133 points out, D.'s seeing in the work of Kepler and Galileo an implicit confession of the world's decay and disintegration is an imputation inconsistent with their real attitude, which was one of awe and delight at their discoveries.

209 Milgate quotes (from a time when plague and a plot to poison the Queen made it more understandable), J. Dove's *Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the 3. of November 1594. Intreating of the Second Comming of Christ, and the Disdosing of Antichrist* [1594] sig. A3r: the world 'is not only in the staggering and declining age, but, which exceedeth dotage, at the very upshot, and like a sick man which lieth at death's door, ready to breathe out the last gasp.'

210–12 Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 1. 5–9, 3. 2, 4 (271b1–279b3, 301a5–7, 303a3–303b8) argued on theoretical grounds against the possibility of infinity and of plural worlds—'disorderly movement means in reality unnatural movement, since the order proper to perceptible things is their nature'—and against an atomic (i.e., divisible rather than continuous) structure of matter. From the fourteenth century onwards, some theologians had argued that assertions of impossibility placed restrictions on the Creator's omnipotence; in the fifteenth, Leonardo da Vinci and Nicolas of Cusa argued for the possibility of plural worlds, an argument continued by Giordano Bruno, whom, for his doubts about divine incarnation and the trinity, the Roman Church in 1600 had burnt alive. In *Sidereus nuncius* (1610) Galileo reported mountains and seas in the Moon like Earth's; in *Dissertatio cum 'Nuncio Sidereo'* (Prague (1610) f. 26; *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. M. Caspar (Munich 1938) 4. 305), Kepler argued that Jupiter's moons made it, too, like Earth, and therefore like the Moon inhabited. Burton (2. 52) infers from the discoveries about the solar system by Galileo and Kepler that

They seek so many new; they see that this
 Is crumbled out again t'his atomies.
 'Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone,
 All just supply, and all relation:
 215 Prince, subject, father, son, are things forgot,

the Earth and they be planets alike, inhabited alike, moved about the Sun, the common centre of the world, alike, and it may be those two green children which Nubrigensis speaks of in his time [the twelfth-century William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum* 1. 27, 'De viridibus pueris'] came from thence; . . . if the firmament be of such an incomparable bigness as these Copernical giants will have it, . . . so vast and full of innumerable stars, . . . If our world be small in respect, why may we not suppose a plurality of worlds, those infinite stars visible in the firmament to be so many suns, . . . to have likewise their subordinate planets, as the Sun hath his dancing still round him? . . . Why should not an infinite cause, as God is, produce infinite effects?

For disparagement of astronomers by D., cp. *Serm.* 3. 210 (16 Feb. 1621): 'If another man see, or think he sees more than I; if by the help of his Optic glasses, or perchance but by his imagination, he see a star or two more in any constellation than I do; yet, that star becomes none of the constellation; it adds no limb, no member to the constellation, that was perfect before'.

211–18 Rephrased for *Salisbury* 9–21.

211 so many new] Galileo reported in *Sidereus nuncius* that through his x30 telescope he had seen many hitherto unrecorded stars and the four largest moons of Jupiter, and that the Milky Way was not a continuum, but composed of innumerable individual stars. D. might also be glancing humorously at Hall's Menippean satire translated by J. Healey as *Discovery of a New World, Or a Description of the South Indies, by an English Mercury* (?1609). It took some time for either medieval thought or modern observation to penetrate (even partially) D.'s understanding: in *Serm.* 3. 225 (8 April 1621), he found in contemporary astronomy an analogy for sin and blasphemous pride:

As though this World were too little to satisfy man, men are come to discover or imagine new worlds, several worlds in every Planet; and as though our Fathers heretofore, and we ourselves too, had been but dull and ignorant sinners, we think it belongs to us to perfect old inventions, and to sin in another height and excellency, than former times did, as though sin had had but a minority, and an infancy till now. . . . there is . . . a spiritual pride above this temporal pride, one so much wiser than *Daniel*, as that he is as wise as the Holy Ghost.

In *Serm.* 9. 47 (April 1629) he acknowledged (in Aristotelean terms) 'that subtle men have, with some appearance of probability, imagined, that in that heaven, in those manifold Spheres of the Planets, and the Stars, there are many earths, many worlds, as big as this which we inhabit'.

212 atomies] atoms (not a statement of belief in atomic theory, merely a loose use for 'particles').

214 just supply] dutiful service, support.

215 Cp. *Micah* 7. 6, and Shakespeare's parody of this sort of lament in the mouth of Gloucester, *King Lear* 1. 2. 104–8.

- For every man alone thinks he hath got
 To be a phoenix, and that there can be
 None of that kind of which he is, but he.
 This is the world's condition now, and now
 220 She that should all parts to reunion bow,
 She that had all magnetic force alone
 To draw and fasten sundered parts in one;
 She whom wise Nature had invented then
 When she observed that every sort of men
 225 Did in their voyage in this world's sea stray,
 And needed a new compass for their way,
 She that was best and first original

217 there 1612Er: then 1611–1635

217 phoenix] Only one specimen of this legendary creature was said to exist at a time. In *Elizabeth* 18–29, D. attributes phoenixhood to the princess he is flattering.

220–2 Coffin pp. 84–7 suggested that these lines derived from reading W. Gilbert, *De magnete* (1600; Engl. S. P. Thompson 1900; 1958) pp. 75–6. D.'s analogy might have been prompted particularly by 2. 6 and 7, 'How magnetic pieces of iron and smaller loadstones conform themselves to a terrella and to the Earth itself, and by them are disposed', 'On the potency of the magnetic virtue, and on its nature capable of spreading out into an orb', with the diagram of the 'Orbis Virtutis', whose literal meaning, 'sphere of influence', may be taken to figure the power of E. D.'s virtue. D. cites Gilbert on an absurdity of Ptolemaic theory without agreeing with him in *Essays* 1. 4 (1952) p. 34.

220 reunion] D.'s adoption from French or Spanish in *Pseudo-Martyr* 3. 14 (1608; 1993 p. 42) is the first recorded in *OED* (Milgate). **bow]** cause to bend, turn.

221 magnetic] D.'s abbreviation of the current 'magetical' is first attributed by *OED* to Habington in 1634 (Milgate).

223 wise Nature] Cp. the cynical view of her female creation in general in *Community*, and her preference for sexual precocity in *Metem* 191–2.

224–6 While in real voyages navigators profited from the continually improving knowledge of the magnetic compass, exemplified by Gilbert with his (over-optimistic) proposal (5. 8) that the dip of the needle indicated latitude, on the sea of life men seemed to have lost their way (contentiously implying the inadequacy of Christianity).

225 world's sea] Cp. *WottonKisses* 53–5 on the risks of passivity or obscurity for the active man, rather than losing his way. Cp. *Sorrow* 14, D. C. Allen, *MLN* 76 (1961) 308–12 and E. M. Simpson, *RES* ns 16 (1965) 143–50 on D.'s fondness for Augustine's image of man as seafarer in, e.g., *Metem* 51–60, *Sickness* 9–20, *Christ* 14, *WottonKisses* 7, *Serm.* etc. (Milgate).

227–8 She . . . copies] Like an original portrait or manuscript. Having produced a similar compliment for Lady Bedford in *BedfordRefined* 55–6, it was perhaps its resale here that particularly provoked her resentment. D. apologetically reapplies it to her in *BedfordDead* 21–5.

- Of all fair copies, and the general
 Steward to Fate; she whose rich eyes and breast
 230 Gilt the West Indies and perfumed the East,
 Whose having breathed in this world, did bestow
 Spice on those isles, and bade them still smell so,
 And that rich Indie which doth gold inter,
 Is but as single money coined from her;
 235 She to whom this world must itself refer
 As suburbs or the microcosm of her:
 She, she is dead; she's dead: when thou know'st this,
 Thou know'st how lame a cripple this world is;
 And learn'st thus much by our anatomy:
 240 That this world's gen'ral sickness doth not lie
 In any humour or one certain part,
 But as thou saw'st it rotten at the heart,
 Thou seest a hectic fever hath got hold
 Of the whole substance, not to be controlled,
 245 And that thou hast but one way not t'admit
 The world's infection: to be none of it.
 For the world's subtlest, immaterial parts
 Feel this consuming wound and age's darts,
 For the world's beauty is decayed or gone—

228–9 **general . . . Fate**] distributing beauty and virtue.

230–4 Re-using the trade and plunder of East and West Indies as flattering comparisons: cp. *Sun* 16–18, *BedfordShe* 33–4, *Funeral Elegy* 6 and the repetition in *SecAn* 228.

233 'And America, possessed of gold-mines'.

234 **single money**] small change. The 'small copper coins' of *SecAn* 430, as in *Serm.* 3. 345: 'Hath he changed his blessings unto me in single money? Hath he made me rich by halfpence and farthings?'

236 **suburbs**] outskirts. **the microcosm of her**] Inverting the usual idea of man as microcosm, world as macrocosm.

242 Cp. 174, 186.

243–4 Cp. *Paré* 10. 32 (Engl. 1634) pp. 393, 396: 'There are three kinds, or rather degrees, of this fever. . . . The third and incurable is when it destroys the solid parts themselves. . . . There often happen very dangerous fluxes in a confirmed hectic fever which show the decay of all the faculties of the body and wasting of the corporeal substance' (Manley). D. re-uses the metaphor in *Serm.* 3. 364–5 (Christmas 1621): 'But when you feel *nothing*, whatsoever we say, your soul is in an *hectic fever*, wherein the distemper is not in any one humour, but in the whole substance; nay, your soul itself is become a carcass' (Milgate).

243 **hectic**] consumptive.

244 **controlled**] checked.

247 **subtlest, immaterial parts**] spirits. See note on 13 above.

- 250 Beauty, that's colour and proportion.
 We think the heavens enjoy their spherical, *Disformity*
 Their round proportion embracing all, *of parts.*
 But yet their various and perplexèd course,
 Observed in divers ages, doth enforce
- 255 Men to find out so many[^]eccentric parts,
 Such divers downright lines, such overthwarts,
 As disproportion that pure form. It tears
 The firmament in eight and forty shares,

250 'All bodily beauty is a good congruence in the members, joined with a pleasing colour'—Augustine 22. 19 (1610) p. 900. Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 6. 11, dismisses 'the common conceit of symmetry and of colour', arguing that 'the Moors are not excluded from beauty', and that ideals of beauty in noses, ornaments, eyes, skin and hair are 'determined by opinion, according as custom hath made it natural, or sympathy and conformity of minds shall make it seem agreeable . . . without a manifest and confessed degree of monstrosity.'

251–7 The insistence by Plato that the heavens were perfect, so that the celestial bodies must move in the perfect form, the circle, led to the invention of ever more complicated systems to accommodate increasingly accurate observations to circular motions: the Ptolemaic, with its epicycles, deferents, equants, eccentrics and ever-increasing number of spheres; the Copernican, centring Earth's orbit on a point which revolved on two further circles round the sun, Tycho Brahe's geoheliocentric theory, and Kepler's attempt to preserve Platonic spheres by inscribing them round the five regular solids, before he settled on the elliptical orbits that matched the observational data. D.'s discomfort with complex explanation is matched by Milton's obscurantist command in *Paradise Lost* 8. 70–84.

253 **perplexèd]** convoluted.

255 **eccentric parts]** orbits not centred on the supposed universal focus, the Earth.

256 **downright lines . . . overthwarts]** verticals . . . horizontals (of longitude and latitude on celestial maps, as in 278–80). D.'s choice of epithets connotes contradiction and conflict. E. L. Wiggins 52–3 points out the play on logical definitions as found, e.g., in Blundeville, *Logike* 1. 10 (1599) p. 31: 'According to the opinion of some, figure is compared to an image representing some lively thing, and form is said to be the due proportion and feature of the same.' The quality moreover 'comprehendeth the accidental figures and forms as well of natural as artificial things, . . . also it comprehendeth all geometrical figures, as well perfect as unperfect. . . . [Perfect] are enclosed within such bounds as nothing can be added or taken away from them without marring or altering the same, as a circle, . . . whereof some are . . . solid or whole bodies, . . . as round spheres'.

257 **disproportion that pure form]** disfigure the sphere.

258 **eight and forty shares]** T. Blundeville, *Exercises*, 'The First Book of the Spheare', 23 (1594) f. 157r: 'the ancient astronomers do divide all the fixed stars to them known into 48 images,' implicitly following Hipparchus and the second-century Ptolemy, *Almagest* 7. 5–8. 1. Unknown to D., twelve more constellations in the part of the southern sky invisible to the ancient Greeks had been described and named in 1598 by the Dutch navigators P. D. Keyser and F. de Houtman. 1611's spelling 'sheeres' allows an acoustic pun on the cutting-implement 'shears' (then pronounced as 'shares'), and visually on 'shires' (still often

And in those constellations there arise
 260 New stars, and old do vanish from our eyes,
 As though heav'n suffered earthquakes, peace or war,
 When new towers rise and old demolished are.
 They have impaled within a zodiac
 The free-born Sun, and keep twelve signs awake
 265 To watch his steps: the Goat and Crab control

259 those] these 1612–1635 there 1612Er: then 1611–1635

262 towers] towns 1612Er

pronounced 'sheers'). As Coffin p. 135 points out, D. is here lamenting not new astronomy but even the old.

259–60 in those constellations . . . New stars] Such as the supernovae of 1572 ('Tycho Brahe's') in Cassiopeia, 1600 in Cygnus, and 1604 in Serpentarius ('Kepler's'), enumerated by Burton (2. 48) as evidence for possible 'generation and corruption' in the heavens. D. took his knowledge, as usual, from a book, J. Kepler's *De stella nova* (1606; on D.'s own copy see G. Keynes, *Book Collector* 29 (1977) 29–35). His eye may have been particularly caught by the chapter-heading asserting that the material of the heavens was alterable, *De stella nova* 23 (1606) p. 112; *Werke* (1938) 1. 259. In *Biathanatos* 2. 6. 8 (written 1608), D. paraphrases one of the few passages in Kepler's technical work he would have understood, on the 'pertinacy which is imputed to Aristotle's followers who, defending the heavens to be unalterable because in so many ages nothing had been observed to have been altered, his scholars stubbornly maintain his proposition still, though by many experiences of new stars the reason which moved Aristotle seems now to be utterly defeated' (1606) p. 113; *Werke* 1. 260. Cp. the figurative use in *Bedford Written* (1610?) 67–8.

260 old do vanish] Tycho Brahe, according to Coffin p. 135, listed only 777 of Hipparchus' 1022 stars in his inventory. More strikingly, the new stars themselves vanished, Tycho Brahe's after sixteen months, Kepler's after twelve. The complexity so feared by D. in 209–12 was in this way actually reduced by the moderns (but appeared to confirm the decay of the world).

261 The eternal, unalterable nature of the heavens was asserted by Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 1. 3 (270a13–35).

262 towers/towns] Towers were far more frequently demolished by war and earthquake than whole towns. There was constant building and rebuilding of fortifications in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, again more conspicuous than the building of whole new towns. The original reading seems more likely to be associated with stars. The walled City of God described in *Rev.* 21. 10–12 has an angel at each of its twelve gates, traditionally depicted with the usual towered fortification, and angels were associated with stars. Heaven itself is termed a watch-tower in *SecAn* 294. On the other hand, D. does image 'a whole town/Clean undermined' that 'tumbled down' in *Metem* 394–5, and given their once imagined permanence, the rise and fall of stars was a prodigious event.

263–7 The imaginary circles of the Tropics of Capricorn (Goat) and Cancer (Crab) marked the Sun's maximum declination at the solstices of c. 23.5° S. and N. from the celestial equator when it entered those signs, humorously figured here as threatening the sun with their horns and claws.

- And fright him back, who else to either pole
 (Did not these tropics fetter him) might run:
 For his course is not round, nor can the Sun
 Perfect a circle, or maintain his way
 270 One inch direct; but where he rose today
 He comes no more, but with a cozening line
 Steals by that point, and so is serpentine;
 And, seeming weary with his reeling thus,
 He means to sleep, being now fall'n nearer us.
 275 So of the stars, which boast that they do run

273 with] of 1635

270–2 where . . . serpentine] The point of sunrise on the horizon changes daily, with a six-monthly undulation in a line connecting these successive points, the direction of movement reversing at the solstices. An almost diabolical deceitfulness is hinted at in 'serpentine'.

273 Like a drunk exhausted with staggering about.

274 now fall'n nearer us] The Sun appears to be in perigee (rather, as Kepler pointed out, Earth is in perihelion, i.e., nearest the Sun) c. 30 December. This, coinciding with its reduced height above the horizon, and the cold of winter, prompts D.'s image of weariness. On a longer timescale, estimates of the Sun's distance from Earth had decreased since Ptolemy's time, leading to the inference that the actual distance had decreased. Cp. Burton (2. 45): 'Some say the eccentricity of the Sun is come nearer to the Earth than in Ptolemy's time; the virtue, therefore, of all the vegetals is decayed, men grow less, etc.' Cp. also Hakewill (1630) p. 99 on the 'opinion of very many, and those very learned men, that the body of the Sun is drawn nearer the Earth by many degrees than it was in former ages', Melancthon attributing to this the world's decay (Manley). Hakewill strongly disagreed, as had J. C. Scaliger, *Exotericæ exercitationes* 99. 2 (1557) f. 142v. Cp. *Huntingdon* 17–18 and Spenser, *FQ* 5 Proem stanza 7 (Milgate).

275–7 D. is perhaps drawing on Gilbert, *De magnete* 6. 8–9 (1600; 1958 pp. 234–40), who, however, shows the orderly and systematic nature of the changes according to Copernican theory (D.'s problems stem from his obeisance to ancient authority). The results of the precession of the equinoxes (their earlier occurrence in each sidereal year) caused by the 25,800-year nutation of the earth's axis are more briefly explained by Robert Hues, *Tractatus de globis* 1. 2 (1594) pp. 10–11; (Engl. 1639) pp. 22–9:

Now, that both the colures [longitudinal lines through the celestial poles and equinoctial and solstitial points on the ecliptic and equator], as also the equinoctial points, have left the places where they were anciently found to be in the heavens, is a matter agreed upon by all those that have applied themselves to the observations of the celestial motions: only the doubt is, whether the fixed stars have gone forward unto the preceding signs, as Ptolemy would have it, or else whether the equinoctial and solstitial points have gone backward to the subsequent signs according to the series of the Zodiac, as Copernicus' opinion is (pp. 22–3). [Consequently] The first Star of Aries, which in the time of Meton the Athenian was in the very vernal

In circle still: none ends where he begun.
 All their proportion's lame, it sinks, it swells.
 For of meridians and parallels
 Man hath weaved out a net, and this net thrown
 280 Upon the heavens, and now they are his own.
 Loath to go up the hill, or labour thus
 To go to heaven, we make heaven come to us.
 We spur, we rein the stars, and in their race
 They're diversely content t'obey our pace.

284 pace 1611, 1612Er, 1635: peace 1612–1633

intersection, . . . in Timochares his time was behind it 2 degrees 24 minutes, in Hipparchus his time, 4 degrees, 40 minutes [from Ptolemy, *Almagest* 7. 3], . . . in Copernicus and Rheticus his time, 27 degrees 21 minutes (p. 28). [Moreover,] the fixed stars . . . have changed their declination [from the Pole] (p. 29).

Cp. Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 4. 13, drawing partly on his old tutor, Robert Hues:

We are to consider (what the ancients observed not) that the site of the fixed stars is alterable, and that since elder times they have suffered a large and considerable variation of their longitudes. (The longitude of a star, to speak plainly, is its distance from the first point of numeration toward the east.) Now, by motion of their motion from west to east, they have very much varied from this point: . . . insomuch that now the sign of Aries possesseth the place of Taurus, and Taurus that of Gemini.

277 Manley notes the lopsided relationship of planetary spheres eccentric to the Earth.

278–80 Referring to the appearance of the lines of longitude ('meridians') and latitude ('parallels') on celestial maps.

281–2 Cp. *Serm.* 2. 135 (1618): '*Quis ascendet*, says David [*Ps.* 24. 3], "Who shall ascend unto the hill of the Lord?" It is a painful clambering; up a hill. . . . it is a steep hill; and there is no walking up; but he must crawl, *hand and foot*.' In the frontispiece to the popular *Pinax* or *Table* of Cebe (often printed with Epictetus' *Enchiridion* or *Manual*), such as that by N. I. Visscher (Leiden 1640), the achievement of virtue is represented as a winding, difficult journey up a narrow path to a high peak. The emblem appears too in the frontispiece to G. Wither's *Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Cp. the image of the seat of Truth in *Satyre* 3 79–82.

281 labour] In Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 129, the Sibyl says of the return from the underworld, to which descent is easy, *hic labor est*.

283 The image is classical: see Tibullus 2. 1. 87–8, where Night harnesses her team and the stars follow after; 3. 4. 17 (by Lygdamus), and Ovid's plea to the horses of the night to run slowly, *Amores* 1. 13. 40, famously re-used by Marlowe in Faustus's final speech.

284 Perhaps alluding to the side-by-side use of the old and reformed calendars, then ten days apart. In *Ignatius* pp. 17–19, D. has Ignatius argue, against Copernicus's entitlement to promotion in Hell, that far more disruption has been caused by Pope Gregory XIII's calendar, 'by which both the peace of the Church

- 285 But keeps the Earth her round proportion still?
 Doth not a Tenerife or higher hill
 Rise so high like a rock that one might think
 The floating Moon would shipwreck there and sink?
 Seas are so deep that whales being struck today
 290 Perchance tomorrow scarce at middle way
 Of their wished journey's end, the bottom, die;
 And men, to sound depths, so much line untie
 As one might justly think that there would rise

286 Teneriffe] Tenarus 1633

and civil businesses have been egregiously troubled; nor hath Heaven itself escaped his violence, but hath ever since obeyed his appointments, so that S. Stephen, John the Baptist, and all the rest which have been commanded to work miracles at certain appointed days where their relics are preserved, do not now attend till the day come, as they were accustomed, but are awaked ten days sooner, and constrained by him to come down from Heaven to do that business.'

285–301 D. elaborates a conventional argument, as had Gilbert 1. 17, 6. 5 (1958) pp. 40, 228. Pererius 1. 101 (1601) pp. 47–8 rejects the assertion by some that before the Flood there were no hills or valleys.

286 Tenerife or higher hill] A stock argument: W. Cunningham, *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) defends the Earth's roundness against the objection of 'huge and high mountains and hills, of which some of them are supposed to be sixty miles in height, as the hill in th'Island Teneriffa' (Milgate). D. uses then disowns the common belief reported by J. H. van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into the Easte and West Indies* 1. 96 (1598) p. 176:

In the Island of Tenerife there is a hill called *Pico de Terraira*, which is thought to be the highest hill that ever was found, for it may easily be seen at the least threescore miles into the sea, before they come at it. . . . It is three days' journey to climb up into it, and on the top thereof it is flat, and when it is clear and fair weather, a man may from thence see all the islands round about it, although some of them are at the least 50 miles distant.

The volcanic peak of El Teide, rising over 12,000 feet (3,718 m.) above sea-level in only fifteen miles from the shore, particularly impressed seafarers, leading D. by association to the figure of the Moon (when less than half full shaped somewhat like a boat) being 'shipwrecked'.

288 Cp. *Ignatius* p. 81 of Galileo's 'new glasses' whereby 'he may draw the Moon, like a boat floating upon the water, as near the Earth as he will.'

292 so much line] The deepest sounding mentioned by L. J. Wagenaer, *Mariners Mirrour* [1588?] [p. 33], is '80 fathom . . . 14 or 15 leagues off Ushant', so the longest lead-line was perhaps not more than a hundred fathoms (600 feet or c. 183m). It was normal to be out of sounding-depth for most of an ocean voyage out of sight of land. Burton (2. 35) was later more moderate than D.: '32 stadiums, as the most received opinion is, or 4 miles, which the height of no mountain doth perpendicularly exceed, and is equal to the greatest depths of the sea, which is, as Scaliger holds, 1580 paces, *Exercitationes* 38 [(1557) p. 65]'

- At end thereof one of th'Antipodes.
 295 If under all a vault infernal be
 (Which sure is spacious, except that we
 Invent another torment: that there must
 Millions into a strait, hot room be thrust),
 Then solidness and roundness have no place.
 300 Are these but warts and pockholes in the face

294 Antipodes] 'whose feet are directly against ours', 'that are under our feet'—*Serm.* 4. 59 (8 March 1622), 7. 245 (5 Nov. 1626).

295–8 The location of Hell was a hot topic among Christians. In *Ignatius* pp. 7, 15, D. puts it in 'the bowels of the Earth', which is Lucifer's 'prison', but when preaching seriously with decanal authority to Lord Carlisle, *Serm.* 5. 265–6 [1622] he avers that 'the locality of Hell' is one of those 'things in which a man may go beyond his reason, and yet not meet with faith neither'; and 'that Hell is a certain and limited place, beginning here and ending there, and extending no farther, . . . neither opinion, that it is, or is not so, doth command our reason so, but that probable reasons may be brought on the other side; . . . when all is done, the Hell of Hells, the torment of torments is the everlasting absence of God, and the everlasting impossibility of returning to his presence.' In *Serm.* 7. 137 To the King (18 April 1626), D. recalls that 'one Author [S. Munster, *Cosmographia universalis* 1. 16 (1550) pp. 11–12 (Milgate)], who is afraid of admitting too great a hollowness in the Earth, lest then the Earth might not be said to be solid, pronounces that Hell cannot possibly be above three thousand miles in compass (and then one of the torments of Hell will be the throng, for their bodies must be there, in their dimensions, as well as their souls).' Burton (2. 40–1), after a humorous allusion to *Ignatius*, records that 'Lessius, lib. 13 *De moribus divinis*, cap. 24, will have this local Hell far less, one Dutch mile in diameter, all filled with fire and brimstone, because, as he there demonstrates, that space cubically multiplied will make a sphere able to hold eight hundred thousand millions of damned bodies, allowing each body six foot square, which will abundantly suffice, since it is certain, he says, that the damned will not amount to a hundred thousand million.'

300–4 Are these . . . awry] D. has to admit he has been exaggerating the size of mountains and oceans, and in return demands concession that in the world of human affairs disproportion reigns—a personal concern felt by him and his employer, Drury, pandered to again in 420–2: 'Sir Robert actively sought state employment, preferably an ambassadorship. By temperament, however, he was scarcely fitted for such a post, . . . quick-tempered and rather domineering . . . he lacked any considerable intellectual interests and had little subtlety of mind. Hence he never obtained the appointments which he sought, or succeeded in achieving the recognition to which he felt entitled' (Bald, *Life*, p. 238). Moreover, Bald records, *Drurys* pp. 53–5, 134, that Drury's loyalty was suspect: in 1605 he had obtained letters of recommendation from the King of Spain to the anti-Protestant forces in the Low Countries. Failing to gain favour with the English government after returning to England with D. in 1612, he offered to the Spanish ambassador to raise and lead 4,000 men on Spain's behalf in the winter of 1614–15, in effect against the Protestant league headed by King James's son-in-law, the Elector Palatine (see headnote to *Elizabeth*), but died on 2 April 1615.

300 but . . . pockholes] The results of the world's diseases. Milgate quotes *Essays* 1. 4 (1952) p. 36: 'The whole Earth, whose hills, though they erect their heads

Of th'Earth? Think so, but yet confess, in this
 The world's proportion disfigured is;
 That those two legs whereon it doth rely,
 Reward and punishment, are bent awry;
 305 And, oh, it can no more be questionèd
 That beauty's best, proportion, is dead,
 Since even grief itself, which now alone
 Is left us, is without proportion.
 She by whose lines proportion should be
 310 Examined, measure of all symmetry;
 Whom had that ancient seen, who thought souls made
 Of harmony, he would at next have said
 That harmony was she, and thence infer

*Disorder in
the world.*

beyond the country of meteors, and set their foot in one land and cast their shadow into another, are but as warts upon her face; and her vaults and caverns, the bed of the winds, and the secret streets and passages of all rivers, and Hell itself, though they afford it three thousand great miles [*marg.* Munster 1. 16], are but as so many wrinkles and pockholes.'

306–10 D. appears to license his own hyperboles by this death of proportion.

306 beauty's best, proportion] See note on 250 above.

311–12 that ancient . . . of harmony] Simmias in Plato, *Phaedo* 36 (85c–6d), refuted by Socrates in 41–3 (91c–5), and by Aristotle, *On the Soul* 1. 4 (407b27–408a30; cp. *Politica* 8. 5, 1340b18); Aristoxenus in Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 10. Cp. also Plato, *Timaeus* (34B–7C), on the world–soul, cited by Aristotle 1. 3 (406b26). It was also the view of Hippocrates, *Regimen* 1. 8, that the soul was composed of the elements of fire and water whose proportions should be in the harmonic ratios of fourth, fifth or octave. Galen, *De humoribus (Opera* 19. 491), thought that health seemed to be attributable to equality and symmetry of the four humours. Grierson infers from l. 321's 'elements and passions' and the 'elements and humours' of *SecAn* 135 that a physical sense predominates here. However, ll. 314–16 suggest the Pythagorean ideas found in Plato. Augustine 19. 13 (1610) p. 769 blends the two: 'The body's peace, therefore, is an orderly dispose of the parts thereof; the unreasonable soul's, a good temperature of the appetites thereof; the reasonable soul's peace a true harmony between the knowledge and the performance.' Cp. Cuffe 18 (1607) p. 76: 'The consent of all philosophers, and reason itself, hath set down this truth as undeniable: that man's life and the chief maintenance thereof consisteth principally if not wholly in the due and just proportionable temperature of the four first qualities, heat, cold, dryness, moisture; and till their disproportion, there is no danger of death or any growing sickness.'

312 at next] The last *OED* citation is for 1449 (Gr.).

313–15 Socrates, *Phaedo* 44 (95A), refers to Harmonia as a Theban goddess, perhaps humorously, since Simmias and Cebes, who argue for soul as harmony in the dialogue, came from Thebes, the human wife of whose founder, Cadmus, was called Harmonia.

- That souls were but resultances from her,
 315 And did from her into our bodies go,
 As to our eyes the forms from objects flow;
 She who, if those great Doctors truly said
 That th'Ark to man's proportions was made,
 Had been a type for that, as that might be
 320 A type of her in this, that contrary
 Both elements and passions lived at peace

318 proportions] proportion 1621-1635

314 resultances] distillations, products. Apart from one citation from c. 1440 in a different sense, D.'s uses in *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610) are *OED*'s earliest, presumably adapted from Spanish or medieval Latin.

316 Aristotle, *On the Soul* 2. 12 (424a17-19).

317-22 She could have been the model for the Ark's perfect human proportions, the Ark a model for her in its internal harmony.

317-18 Doctors . . . made] e.g., Augustine 15. 26 (1610) p. 566:

The dimensions of the length, depth and breadth of the Ark do signify man's body, in which the Saviour was prophesied to come, and did so: . . . Lay a man along and measure him, and you shall find his length from head to foot to contain his breadth from side to side six times, and his height from the earth whereon he lieth, ten times; whereupon the Ark was made three hundred cubits long, fifty broad, and thirty deep. And the door in the side was the wound that the soldier's spear made in our Saviour, for by this do all men go in unto him.

His commentator Vives notes, p. 567, that 'Ambrose also compares Noah's Ark to man's body, but in another manner, *Lib. de Noe et Arca* [6-9, 15 (13-30, 50), *PL* 14. 368-74, 384-5].'

319-22 that might . . . cease] Like Jerome, Cyprian, Origen 'and many others' (Vives, p. 567). Gregory developed the figuring of salvation by the Ark in *1 Peter* 3. 20-1 to symbolise the Church, containing all sorts of vicious people (Pererius 10. 84-93 (1601) p. 448). Augustine observes, 15. 27 (1610) p. 569, that the miscellaneous cohabitation in the Ark 'had a figuration concerning the Church: for the Gentiles have now so filled the Church with clean and unclean, and shall do so until the end'. D. had recently given control of the animal passions first place in *HerbertE* 1-2. Cp. Ambrose 6 (30; *PL* 14. 374), who wishes his readers to infer that they should subdue all irrational passions and the senses, flee greed and lust, etc., and D.'s *Serm.* 3. 184 (?Nov. 1620): 'In the *Ark* there were Lions, but the Lion shut his mouth, and clinched his paw (the Lion hurt nothing in the Ark), and in the Ark there were Vipers and Scorpions, but the Viper showed no teeth, nor the Scorpion no tail (the Viper bit none, the Scorpion stung none in the Ark)'. After describing the continuous interaction of the four elements, Du Bartas (1. 2. 53-152 (1979) 137-9) sees the conflict of elements as an essential process of life: 'Even such a war our body's peace maintains', and describes the effects of each humour.

320 type] a foreshadowing image. D. overtly makes the dead girl equivalent to Christ.

320-1 contrary . . . passions] 'both contrary elements and contrary passions'.

- In her, who caused all civil war to cease;
 She, after whom, what form soe'er we see
 Is discord and rude incongruity;
 325 She, she is dead; she's dead: when thou know'st this,
 Thou know'st how ugly[^]a monster this world is,
 And learn'st thus much by our anatomy:
 That here is nothing to enamour thee,
 And that not only faults in inward parts,
 330 Corruptions in our brains or in our hearts,
 Pois'ning the fountains whence our actions spring,
 Endanger us, but that if everything
 Be not done fitly[^]and in proportion,
 To satisfy wise and good lookers on
 335 (Since most men be such as most think they be),
 They're loathsome too by this deformity;
 For good and well must in our actions meet:

322 civil war] E. D.'s supposed internal peace obviously had no influence on the world: though the civil wars in France (where he is writing the poem) ended in 1598 some three years after her birth, the killing of King Henri IV by a religious schoolteacher in 1610, seven months before she died, raised fears of more sectarian war.

327–8 See *Serm.* 3. 48 (2 April 1620): 'Solomon [i.e., *Ecclesiastes*] shakes the world in pieces, he dissects it, and cuts it up before thee, that so thou mayst the better see, how poor a thing that particular is, whatsoever it be, that thou sets [*sic*] thy love upon in this world' (Milgate).

329–38 Manley compares this passage on the need not only for self-scrutiny but due attention to the opinions of others to *Serm.* 8. 323 (Conversion of St Paul, 1629):

A fair reputation, a good opinion of men, is, though not a foundation to build upon, yet a fair stone in the building, and such a stone, as every man is bound to provide himself of. For, for the most part, most men are such, as most men take them to be; . . . 'All the world never joined to deceive one man, nor was ever any one man able to deceive all the world.' . . . So well said by *Tacitus*, as it is pity *S. Augustine* said it not: 'They that neglect the good opinion of others, neglect those virtues that should produce that good opinion.' Therefore, *S. Jerome* protests to abhor . . . that vulgar, that street, that dunghill language, . . . 'As long as mine own conscience reproaches me of nothing, I care not what all the world says.' We must care what the world says, and study that they may say well of us. But when they do, though this be a fair stone in the wall, it is no foundation to build upon, for, 'They change their minds' [*Acts* 28. 6].

335 Cp. the almost verbatim repetition in *Essays* 1 Prayer (1952 p. 38), where D. asks that he should 'despise not others' thoughts of me' (Milgate).

337 'It is not enough to do good things: we must do them well, and do well to have done them.' Cp. the letter to Goodyer probably of Sept. 1608 (Bald, *Life* pp. 188–9) quoted on *BedfordRefined* 5–6: 'The Devil doth not only suffer but provoke us to some things naturally good, upon condition that we shall omit some

- Wicked is not much worse than indiscreet.
 But beauty's other, second element,
 340 Colour and lustre, now is as near spent,
 And had the world his just proportion,
 Were it a ring still, yet the stone is gone.
 As a compassionate turquoise, which doth tell,
 By looking pale, the wearer is not well,
 345 As gold falls sick being stung with mercury,

other more necessary and more obligatory. . . . herein we have the deceitful comfort of having done well' (*Letters* pp. 49–50).

338 The necessity of appearing good as well as being good is driven home in *BedfordHonour* 28–51 (on which many of the notes are relevant here). Cp. *Prov.* 3. 21–2 and *Serm.* 5. 174 (?Dec. 1618), explaining discretion as prudence and moral discernment, both quoted in note on *BedfordHonour* 34. One must have carefully chosen the good. Milgate quotes 'the mother of all virtues, *discretion*,' ascribed to Bernard, in *Serm.* 5. 199 (n. d.), and *Serm.* 4. 287 (Christmas 1622; see note on *BedfordHonour* 40–2).

339–40 beauty's . . . Colour] Referring back to its supposed elements in l. 250.

342 As A. Fleck points out, *N&Q* 247 (2002) 327–9, the image had been used by Petrarch, *Rime* 338. 11, lamenting his Laura, with whom likewise the Sun and all virtue have left the world physically and morally barren.

343–4 A. Baccius, *De gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis* 30 (1603) pp. 168–9, asserts that if one wearing a turquoise suffers a fall from a horse or the like, it sometimes, as if moved by fellow-feeling, breaks or loses much of its colour. W. Gabelchoverus's comment (Baccius, pp. 169–70) adds more of the same, citing F. Rueus (La Rue), *De gemmis aliquot* 2. 18 (1547, thereafter usually appended to other works, such as (with L. Lemnius, *De plantis sacris*), F. Vallès, *De sacra philosophia*; (1592) pp. 227–8), who claimed to know personally of a turquoise that lost its outstanding lustre after the illness and death of its owner and the grief of his heir. To these testimonies Manley adds that of A. B. de Boodt, *Gemmarum et lapidum historia* 2. 116 (1609 pp. 135–6) concerning his own changeable stone, though after a long circumstantial account he attributes the property to natural causes, of which D. shows no awareness, his term 'compassionate' rather echoing Baccius's 'compassione'. Cp. Jonson, *Sejanus* 1. 1. 37–8 (Milgate). Sullivan 1614:1a (1993) p. 75 notes the initiation of a chain of quotation and misquotation of these lines in M. Scott, *Philosophers Banquet*, Engl. and enl. W. B[asse?] (1614) p. 204. Sir F. Kynaston expands and partly repeats D.'s words in 'To Cynthia, on a Kiss' 29–34 in *Cynthiades*, printed with 'Leoline and Sydonis' (1642; in *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, ed. G. Saintsbury (1906) 2. 161). Saintsbury notes there also the paraphrase by E. Benlowes, *Theophila* 5. 92 (274–5) (1652; *Minor Poets* 1. 374). Milgate detects a misquotation by J. Swan, *Speculum mundi* (1635) p. 296.

343 compassionate] Three syllables.

345 Mercury combines with gold as an amalgam: a small proportion added to a gold object changes its surface, a larger amount crystallises it. Milgate derives 'stung' from the alchemical term *serpens mercurialis*, notes Pliny's assertion, 33. 32 (1601) 2. 473, that it is 'the bane and poison of all things whatsoever', and quotes Scaliger, *Exercitationes* 88 (1557) f. 134r–v, to the effect that mercury poisons gold.

All the world's parts of such complexion be.
 When nature was most busy, the first week,
 Swaddling the newborn earth, God seemed to like
 That she should sport herself sometimes and play,
 350 To mingle[^]and vary colours every day;
 And then, as though she could not make enow,
 Himself his various rainbow did allow.
 Sight is the noblest sense of any one,
 Yet sight hath only colour to feed on,
 355 And colour is decayed: Summer's robe grows
 Dusky, and like an oft-dyed garment shows.
 Our blushing red which used in cheeks to spread
 Is inward sunk, and only[^]our souls are red.
 Perchance the world might have recoverèd,
 360 If she whom we lament had not been dead;
 But she, in whom all white and red and blue
 (Beauty's ingredients) voluntary grew

347 the first week: *Gen.* 1.

348 **Swaddling**] i.e., giving its first clothing of vegetation.

352 *Gen.* 9. 13. Pererius 14. 72 (1601) p. 525 rehearses the arguments as to whether the rainbow was newly created after the Flood or just given its significance then, the usual assumption followed by D. in *Essays* 2. 2 (1952) p. 89.

353 A commonplace since Plato, *Timaeus* 47, quite differently applied in *Serm.* 8. 221 (Easter 1628). Cp. Thomas Aquinas 1. 67. 1 (Milgate).

354 For Aristotle, *On the Soul* 2. 7 (418a27–b3), colour, as the opposite of transparency, is a condition of visibility. Cp. *Biathanatos* 3. 1. 1: 'Only colour is the object of sight' (Milgate).

355–6 **summer's . . . Dusky**] Harking back to the assertion of 203–4. The analogy is used to describe the sorrowing duchess by Webster, *Duchess of Malfi* 5. 2. 111–12.

357–8 Humans have decayed both physically and morally, the colour of healthy cheeks metaphorically transferred to guilty souls. Cp. *DivM5Black* 12–14, *Serm.* 9. 64–6 (April 1629):

He made us all of earth, and of red earth. Our earth was red, even when it was in God's hands: a redness that amounts to a shamefastness, to a blushing at our own infirmities, is imprinted in us, by God's hand. . . . But that redness, which we have contracted from blood shed by ourselves, the blood of our own souls, by sin, was not upon us, when we were in the hands of God. . . . We are not as accessaries, and God as principal in this soul-murder: God forbid. . . . We have dyed ourselves in sins, as red as Scarlet: we have drowned ourselves in such a Red Sea.

Cp. *Serm.* 2. 200 (Easter Day 1619): 'Adam, which is another name of man, . . . signifies nothing but *red earth*'.

361 **blue**] Perhaps her eyes, but, as well as a red and white complexion, blue veins were conventionally praised, e.g., in Marlowe, *Hero and Leander* 757–8; Shakespeare, *Lucrece* 407.

- As in an unvexed Paradise; from whom
 Did all things' verdure and their lustre come;
 365 Whose composition was miraculous,
 Being all colour, all diaphanous
 (For air and fire but thick, gross bodies were,
 And liveliest stones but drowsy^and pale to her),
 She, she is dead; she's dead: when thou know'st this,
 370 Thou know'st how wan a ghost this our world is:
 And learn'st thus much by our anatomy:
 That it should more affright than pleasure thee;
 And that, since all fair colour then did sink,
 'Tis now but wicked vanity to think
 375 To colour vicious deeds with good pretence,
 Or with bought colours to illude men's sense.
 Nor in ought more this world's decay appears *Weakness*
 Than that her influence the heav'n forbears, *in the*
 Or that the elements do not feel this: *want of*
 380 The father or the mother barren is. *correspondence*

363 unvexed Paradise] i.e., before temptation, sin and the Fall.

365 miraculous] being at the same time transparent and coloured, mutually exclusive attributes, according to Aristotle, cited above.

366 diaphanous] For this compliment already paid to Lady Bedford, cp. *Funeral Elegy* 61 and note.

367 Cp. *Air* 23–8.

368 The line puts E. D. above even Lady Markham, *Markham* 24–5. **liveliest stones]** diamonds. **drowsy]** dull.

375 Using the figure of the denunciation of Scribes and Pharisees as 'whited sepulchres', *Matt.* 23. 27–8.

376 Alluding to the use of cosmetics, as in *Phryne*. **illude]** trick, deceive.

378–86 Expanding the assertions of 203–4, based not on real events in 1610–11 but on the literary model of Cyprian's 'unseasonablenesses of that time': see note on 127–32. The bad summers with consequent crop-failures of 1595–7 did not recur until 1629–30. D. re-uses the traditional image of paternal sky fertilising mother earth (cp. Lucretius 2. 991–8), as in *Tilman* 51–2. Cp. Du Bartas' account of the Creation, 1. 2. 378–80: 'The lusty Heaven with Earth doth company, / And with a fruitful seed which lends all life / With-childs each moment his own lawful wife' (Gr.). Cp. also J. Dove, *Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse* [1594] sigg. C7–8, including the phrases 'our mother the earth . . . is barren and dead', as well as usual instances of the decay-of-the-world topic, and (on 203) S. à Geveren, *Of the Ende of this World, and Seconde Commyng of Christ*, Engl. T. Rogers (1577) f. 7v: 'We plainly perceive all things daily to wax worse and worse, and decrease in their virtue. The air is oftentimes corrupt, sometime with untimely showers, sometime with unprofitable dryness, now with too much cold, now with extreme heat. The fruitfulness of the field is not such as it hath been aforetime' (Milgate).

378 forbears] suffers the lack of (*OED* 4), does not exert (*OED* 7).

The clouds conceive not rain, or do not pour, *of Heaven*
 In the due birth time, down the balmy show'r; *and Earth.*
 Th'air doth not motherly sit on the earth
 To hatch her seasons and give all things birth;
 385 Springtimes were common cradles, but are tombs;
 And false conceptions fill the general wombs;
 Th'air shows such meteors as none can see
 Not only what they mean but what they be;
 Earth such new worms as would have troubled much

381–2 In Bible history, Yahweh interfered with the weather as punishment: see, e.g., *Exod.* 9. 18–26, *Deut.* 11. 16–17, *1 Sam.* 12. 18, *1 Kings* 8. 35–6, 17. 1–18. 45.

382 balmy show'r] Milgate sees *Lucy* 6 as making probable a suggestion here of the healing 'balm' of l. 57.

387–8 Th'air . . . be] Books of wonders such as C. Lycosthenes' *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (1557) show that 'freak' weather events were perennial throughout recorded history. Burton (2. 46) asks 'Who can give reason of this diversity of meteors, that it should rain stones, frogs, mice, etc.? . . . Are these and such creatures, corn, wood, stones, worms, wool, blood, etc. lifted up into the middle region by the sunbeams, . . . or there engendered? . . . others suppose they are immediately from God, or prodigies raised by art and illusions of spirits.' 'Meteors' denotes all atmospheric phenomena, including parhelia, but the most notable were comets, which, to salve the idea that the stars above the moon were unchanging, were argued by Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1. 7 (344a15–21), to be generated in the upper atmosphere. Debate over comets' nature and significance was not new: Edward Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687* Appendix 1 (1994) p. 734, lists medieval treatises published in 1518 and 1519 debating whether meteors heralded the death of rulers, bad weather or other adversity. But D. is perhaps prompted both by the 'new stars' of *Bedford Written* 68, *Funeral Elegy* 68, and above, 260, and by a recently reprinted book, Tycho Brahe's *De mundi aetherii recentioribus phaenomenis* (Uraniborg 1588, Prague 1603, Frankfurt 1610), whose observations placed comets such as that of 1577 above the moon. Grant 10. 3. 3 (pp. 216, 219 n. 107, 212), cites the open-minded suspension of judgement by C. Clavius (mentioned in *Ignatius* 17 for his reform of the calendar), *In Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacro Bosco* 1 (1593 p. 211), and the defence of incorruptibility by Galileo in the 1590s (referring to his *Early Notebooks*, ed. W. A. Wallace, 1997 pp. 93–102) and by other Jesuits, who in 1598 attributed novae and comets above the moon to the miraculous power of God. For Du Bartas 1. 2. 671–6, 867–74, the comet of 1577—'There, with long, bloody hair, a blazing star / Threatens the world with famine, plague and war: / To princes, death; to kingdoms, many crosses; / To all estates, inevitable losses; / To herdmen, rot; to ploughmen, hapless seasons; / To sailors, storms; to cities, civil treasons'—was a warning to France in particular. Religious writers preferred religious explanations, philosophers natural: see Heninger (1960) pp. 23–8.

389 new worms] Perhaps D. is thinking of the reptiles in the 'New' World hitherto unknown to Europeans reported by, e.g., Job Hortop, *Travailes of an English Man* (1591) 10, 12, reprinted in Hakluyt (1598–1600; 1903–5. 9. 449, 450): 'In our way up the hill to Placencia, we found a monstrous venomous worm

- 390 Th'Egyptian mages to have made more such.
 What artist now dares boast that he can bring
 Heaven hither, or constellate anything
 So as the influence of those stars may be
 Imprisoned in an herb or charm or tree,

with two heads [cp., however, Aristotle, *Generation of Animals* 4. 4 (770a24)]; his body was as big as a man's arm, and a yard long. Our Master, Robert Barret, did cut him in sunder with his sword, and it made it as black as if it were coloured with ink.' At Santa Martha, 'two of our company killed a monstrous adder, going towards his cave with a cony [rabbit] in his mouth. His body was as big as any man's thigh, and seven foot long; upon his tail he had sixteen knots, every one as big as a great walnut, which, they say, do show his age. His colour was green and yellow. They opened him, and found two conies in his belly.' 'But if ever there were anything beyond credit, it is the relation of Volateran in his twelfth book of the New-found Lands, wherein he writeth that there are serpents of a mile long, which at one certain time of the year come abroad out of their holes and dens of habitation, and destroy both the herds and herdmen if they find them.'—Topsell (1608) p. 13. As Manley notes, D. had the authority of Ovid, *Met.* 1. 434–40, and Scaliger, *Exercitationes* 200 (1557) f. 269v, that they were bred from the corruption of earth.

390 Th'Egyptian mages] Who in *Exod.* 7. 10–12 turned their staves into snakes to match Aaron's, which, however, swallowed theirs. **mages]** magicians.

391–5 Such as M. Ficino, *De vita celestis comparanda*, 26 (1489), quoted and explained by F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964) pp. 45–8, 67, 73, 78; cp. W. Shumaker, *Occult Sciences in the Renaissance* (1972) pp. 123–7. According to Ficino, beneficent astral influences, such as the Jovial, Solar, and Venereal, could be drawn down and so reinforced in those earthly creatures already linked to them by spiritual sympathy. D. finds testimony to the sharing of celestial virtue with men by animals, plants and minerals in P. Pomponatius, *De naturalium effectuum causis, sive de incantationibus* 4, in *Opera* (1567) pp. 44–5, so that 'what virtue soever the heavens infuse into any creature, man, who is all, is capable of, and, being born when that virtue is exalted, may receive a like impression,' adding (presumably from Paracelsus) 'or may give it to a word or character made at that instant, if he can understand the time'. D. uses the belief to poetical purpose in *Name* 31–42, on which see note for reference to Paracelsus. The dismissal here in *FirAn* is supported by, e.g., B. Pererius, *De Magia, de observatione somniorum, et De divinatione astrologica, libri tres. Adversus fallaces & superstitiosas artes* 1. 9 (1591; 1598) p. 52, denouncing claims to induce virtues of celestial bodies in images, figures, rings, seals, statues and other such things as vain, far removed from not only Christian truth and piety but also philosophical reason and discipline. Cp. M. Del Rio, *Disquisitiones Magicae* (1599–1600); Yates p. 159, citing D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Bruno to Campanella* (1958) pp. 178–85, and on Ficino 15–23.

391 artist] skilled practitioner.

392 constellate] infuse with the power of a star. Milgate cites an earlier use of the verb by Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron Walden* (1596; *Works* 3. 83).

394 herb] *Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, 1. 20–7 (eleven known edns in England 1560–1637; ed. M. R. Best and F. H. Brightman (Oxford 1973) pp. 18–24), details

395 And do by touch all which those stars could do?
 The art is lost, and correspondence too,
 For heaven gives little, and the earth takes less,
 And man least knows their trade and purposes.
 If this commèrce 'twixt heaven and earth were not
 400 Embarrèd, and all this traffic quite forgot,

'seven herbs that have great virtues, . . . and they have these virtues of the influence of the planets.' Examples of the claims are for Saturn's daffodil that 'if men possessed with evil spirits, or mad men, bear it in a clean napkin, they be delivered from their disease. And it suffereth not a devil in the house'; for the Sun's polygonum, 'If any man drink the juice of it, it maketh him to do often the act of generation'; that the herb of the Moon 'is good to them that have the swine pox'; that the plantain of Mars 'is good against evil customs of man's stones [testicles], and rotten and filthy boils, . . . Also the juice of it is good to them that be sick of the perilous flux, with excoriation or razing of the bowels'; that Mercury's cinquefoil 'putteth away also the toothache. . . . Moreover, if any man will ask anything of a king or prince, it giveth him abundance of eloquence if he hath it with him, and he shall obtain it that he desireth. It is also good to have the juice of it for the grief of the stone and the sickness which letteth a man that cannot piss'; that Jupiter's henbane 'is profitable . . . to them that desire to be loved of women, . . . for it maketh the bearers pleasant and delectable'; that Venus's vervain heals 'swelling of the tewel or fundament proceeding of an inflammation which growth in the fundament, and the haemorrhoids. . . . It is also of great strength in venereal pastimes'. **charm]** Later termed a talisman. For example, Paracelsus, *Archidoxis magicae* 7 (*Opera* 1658 2. 702–5, 709, 715–18), prescribes metal seals of the twelve zodiacal constellations and the seven planets (charms with sets of numbers inscribed in a grid on a disc), the latter set to bring the following: Saturn (lead), easy birth; Jupiter (tin), love, favour, business success; Mars (iron), victory in fight; the Sun (gold), the favour of rulers; Venus (copper), love by both sexes, repelling envy and hate; Mercury (mercury coagulated with lead), ability in philosophy and all natural arts, memory, vision of God in sleep; the Moon (silver), protection against many diseases, thieves and predators, and help in pilgrimage and agriculture. On Agrippa's astrological charms, see Shumaker 143–4. After summarising the similar account by Cardan, *De subtilitate* 18 (1553 514), Scot records that the same author, *De rerum varietate* 16. 91 (1557 613–15), 'showed fully that art and the folly thereof and the manner of those terrible, prodigious and deceitful figures of the planets with their characters etc.: he saith that those were deceitful inventions devised by cozeners, and had no virtue indeed nor truth in them.' Cp. the reference to curing diseases by charm in *Biathanatos*, Conclusion, citing Paracelsus, *Chirurgia magna* 1. 2. 8. **tree]** Astrological use of trees had the backing of traditional associations, e.g., the oak, most famously the oracular oak of Zeus at Dodona (Homer, *Odyssey* 14. 327–8), with the god Jupiter, frequently conducting his lightning to earth, and thence with the planet. Pliny, *Natural History* 12. 2 (3), notes the dedication of the oak to Jupiter, bay to Apollo, olive to Minerva, myrtle to Venus, and poplar to Hercules.

396 correspondence] interchange (between Earth and Heaven).

400 Embarrèd] stopped, prohibited.

- She, for whose loss we have lamented thus,
 Would work more fully and pow'rfully on us:
 Since herbs and roots by dying lose not all,
 But they, yea ashes too, are med'cinal,
 405 Death could not quench her virtue so, but that
 It would be (if not followed) wondered at;
 And all the world would be one dying swan,
 To sing her funeral praise, and vanish then.
 But as some serpents' poison hurteth not
 410 Except it be from the live serpent shot,
 So doth her virtue need her here to fit
 That unto us, she working more than it.
 But she, in whom to such maturity
 Virtue was grown, past growth, that it must die;
 415 She, from whose influence all impressions came,

415 impressions] impression 1612–1635

404 ashes . . . med'cinal] Commonly recommended, e.g., by J. Fernel, *Therapeutices universalis seu medendi rationis libri vii* 6. 8 (1577; 1592) p. 156), especially for remedies from twiggy material and holm-oak and the cabbage family, as wonderfully effective in ointments against swellings, pains in the joints, bruises, etc. Cp. Gerard 2. 395 (p. 878): 'Galen saith that being burnt and laid upon moist ulcers, [dill] cureth them, especially those in the secret parts, and likewise those *sub praeputio* [under the foreskin], though they be old and of long continuance.'

405 Death . . . virtue] According to Pliny 28. 10 (44), Engl. 28. 4 (1601) 2. 301, 'Aeschines, a physician of Athens, was wont to cure squinsies, the inflammations of the amygdals, the infirmities of the uvula, and all cancerous sores, with the ashes of a man or woman's body burnt' (by false etymology Holland inferring 'excrementorum' to mean 'remains from cremation' instead of 'excrements', i.e., excretions). **virtue]** Both 'goodness' and 'power'.

407 dying swan] Said by the ancients, e.g., Aristotle, *History of Animals* 9. 12 (615b2–5), Plato, *Phaedo* (84E–85B), Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 30 (73), Ovid, *Heroides* 7, *Metamorphosis* 14. 430, to sing only as it died. Pliny 10. 32 (Holland 10. 23 (1601) 1. 282), did not believe them.

409–10 some serpents' . . . shot] Pliny 29. 18 (65; Engl. 29. 4 (1601) 2. 356; also cited by Topsell p. 62), asserts of the most poisonous snake he knows, the asp, that 'Their venom if it enter once so far that it come to blood or do but touch a green wound, there is no remedy but present death; . . . Otherwise, let the same be taken in drink, to what quantity soever, it is harmless and doth no hurt at all'. Grierson notes the same vehicle for an analogy in a letter of perhaps 1608–9: 'as some poisons and some medicines hurt not nor profit except the creature in which they reside contribute their lively activity and vigour' (*Letters* p. 107), and Manley quotes *Pseudo-Martyr* 4. 35 (1610; 1993) 114: 'For there are divers poisons which cannot work except they be ejaculated from the creature itself that possesseth it, and that his personal and present, lively malignity concur to it and give it vigour'.

414 growth] the growing stage.

- But by receivers' impotencies lame;
 Who, though she could not transubstantiate
 All states to gold, yet gilded every state,
 So that some princes have some temperance,
 420 Some counsellors some purpose to advance
 The common profit, and some people have
 Some stay, no more than kings should give to crave,
 Some women have some taciturnity,
 Some nunneries some grains of chastity;
 425 She that did thus much, and much more could do,
 But that our age was iron, and rusty too,
 She, she is dead; she's dead: when thou know'st this,
 Thou know'st how dry a cinder this world is,
 And learn'st thus much by our anatomy:
 430 That 'tis in vain to dew or mollify
 It with thy tears, or sweat, or blood: nothing
 Is worth our travail, grief, or perishing,
 But those rich joys which did possess her heart,
 Of which she's now partaker and a part.

417–18 Cp. the similar eulogy of *Carey* 31–2, *Huntingdon* 25–6.

417 **transubstantiate**] change all the substance of. Cp. *Twickenham* 6, *Huntingdon* 25–6. Though the term is best known from its particular religious use for the conversion of the elements of the Roman Mass into the body and blood of Christ, the general sense of 'transubstantiation' was also current, the alchemical in, e.g., Thomas Norton of Bristol's 1477 *Ordinal of Alchemy*, first printed in English in E. Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652)—*OED*.

418 **All states**] all parts of society (monarchs, nobles, commoners, women).

419 **some princes . . . temperance**] Though James was notoriously intemperate with alcohol, he made a point of restraint in international politics.

420–1 **Some counsellors . . . profit**] The personal greed and ambition of James's courtiers were notorious: D.'s one-time patron Egerton was exceptional in keeping a reputation for integrity and dutifulness to the end of his life.

421–2 'show some restraint in asking only what it is appropriate for kings to give'.

423 Echoing his unserious refutation of another derogatory commonplace in *Paradoxes*: 'That it is possible to find some virtue in some women'.

424 Defying the popular image created by, e.g., J. Bale in *The Actes of Englysh Votaryes*, . . . *their Unchast Practyses* (4 edns 1546–60).

426 Even the last and worst age of the world (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 176–201, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 141–50) is further decayed. Cp. note on 148–9 and *Satyre* 5 35–7.

433–4 She is now one of the 'partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust'—2 *Peter* 1. 4, the first phrase being 'words of which *Luther* says, that both Testaments afford none equal to them' (*Serm.* 8. 236, Easter Day 1628), and so cited at least eighteen times in his sermons.

- 435 But as in cutting up a man that's dead, *Conclusion.*
 The body will not last out, to have read
 On every part, and therefore men direct
 Their speech to parts that are of most effect,
 So the world's carcass would not last if I
 440 Were punctual in this anatomy;
 Nor smells it well to hearers, if one tell
 Them their disease, who fain would think they're well.
 Here therefore be the end: and, blessed maid,
 Of whom is meant whatever hath been said
 445 Or shall be spoken well by any tongue;
 Whose name refines coarse lines and makes prose song,
 Accept this tribute, and his first year's rent
 Who till his dark, short taper's end be spent,
 As oft as thy feast sees this widowed earth,
 450 Will yearly celebrate thy second birth,
 That is, thy death; for though the soul of man
 Be got when man is made, 'tis born but then

435–8 in cutting . . . effect] A traditional order was observed, exposing and lecturing on the soft organs on the first day. Allen (1943) 329 quotes J. de Vigo, *Most Excellent Workes of Chirurgerye* (1543; enl. edn 1586) sig. A1v:

And when the body is laid upon the table, they make four elections or choosings thereof. The first is of members nutritive, for they be more apt to receive putrefactions or rottings than other. The second election is of members spiritual, as of the heart, of the panicles or thin skins of the lungs. The third election is of the members animal, that is to say, of the head and his parts. The fourth, of the extremities of the body, as of the arms, the legs, and their parts.

Cp. *Coryat* 53–4.

436 have read] have the anatomy lecture read.

440 Were punctual] Dwelt on every point.

446 Bathetically, after defining, giving form and frame to the whole world in ll. 31–8.

447 first year's rent] The first-year's revenue of an ecclesiastical benefice was paid to the Crown from 1535 until 1704 (an arrangement finally abolished in 1926), though D. presumably figures a normal tenant-landlord contract.

448 His life is a dim remnant of the weakest sort of light.

448–50 A promise obviously not kept by D.

449 thy feast] Her name-day, i.e., the ecclesiastical feast of St Elizabeth, 5 Nov.

451–2 the soul . . . made] For D.'s Aristotelian belief in the successive animation of three souls, see note on *Bedford Honour* 37–9.

452–3 'tis born . . . die] Preaching on 2 Nov. 1617, D. resorts to Symmachus' pre-Vulgate Latin rendering of the Hebrew of *Job* 14. 14 as 'until my holy nativity shall come' (*AV* 'till my change come'), which D. interprets as 'Till I be born again: the change, the death of such men, is a better birth' (a sense different from

- When man doth die; our body's as the womb,
 And, as a midwife, death directs it home.
 455 And you her creatures, whom she works upon,
 And have your last and best concoction
 From her example and her virtue, if you,
 In reverence to her, do think it due
 That no one should her praises thus rehearse,
 460 As matter fit for chronicle not verse,
 Vouchsafe to call to mind that God did make
 A last and lasting'st piece a song: he spake
 To Moses to deliver unto all
 That song because he knew they would let fall
 465 The Law, the Prophets, and the History,
 But keep the song still in their memory:
 Such an opinion (in due measure) made
 Me this great office boldly to invade;

the spiritual regeneration of *John* 3. 3–7, *1 Peter* 1. 23). On Easter Day 1619, preaching to the Lords while the King was dangerously ill, D. reminded them that 'the Primitive Church . . . called the Martyrs' days, wherein they suffered, *Natalitia Martyrum*, their birthdays; . . . Their death was a birth to them into another life, into the glory of God' (*Serm.* 1. 231, 2. 200). Thus he implicitly canonises E. D. and the King.

453 our body's as the womb] Elsewhere (*Anniversary* 23), D. makes bodies graves, but, as in *Funeral Elegy* 1–8, 59–60, *SecAn* 221–47, he here contrives an analogy less offensive to a grieving father.

455–68 you . . . invade] D. claims a redemptive mission: E. D.'s exemplary virtue could not work on people if unknown. Cp. the caution in *Serm.* 1. 272 (12 April 1618): 'In those men, in whom he hath begun a regeneration, by his first grace, his grace proceeds not, without a co-operation of those men. . . . Come not to . . . such an extenuation of thyself, as to think, that grace works upon thee, as the Sun does upon gold, or precious stones, to purify them to that concoction, without any sense in themselves.'

456 concoction] transmutation into a perfect state.

460 i.e., too good for verse. Cp. the contrary in *Canonization* 31–2 (Gr.), and the letter accompanying *Hamilton*: 'You knew my uttermost when it was best, and even then, I did best when I had least truth for my subject. In this present case there is so much truth as it defeats all poetry' (Milgate).

461–6 The Song of Moses embodies praise of the Lord, a history of his dealings with his people, reproach of their infidelity, and threats of bloody revenge, embodied in a song so that it should be 'in their mouths' (cp. *Serm.* 2. 171 (12 Feb. 1619): 'for that Song, he says there, he was sure they would remember'). See *Deut.* 31. 16–22, 32. 1–47. D.'s account here is delivered at greater length in *Essays* 2. 2 (1952) p. 92, more briefly in *Biathanatos* 3. 2. 3 (1984 p. 111).

462 last] i.e., Moses's final task commanded by the Lord, *Deut.* 31. 14–19.

467 in due measure] Both 'proportionate to the relative importance of E. D.'s death and the occasion of the Song of Moses' and 'in appropriate verse'.

Nor could incomprehens'bleness deter
 470 Me from thus trying to imprison her,
 Which when I saw that a strict grave could do,
 I saw not why verse might not do so too.
 Verse hath a middle nature: Heaven keeps souls,
 The grave keeps bodies, verse the fame enrols.

474 fame 1612Er, 1635: same 1611–1633

A Funeral Elegy

Date and Context. Dec. 1610–1611. Elizabeth Drury was buried in the church at Hawstead, Essex, on 17 December 1610. She was the sole surviving daughter of the wealthy Sir Robert Drury and Anne Bacon (sister of Francis). The presumption that this poem was the first of D.'s responses to her death is supported by its sharing of material with the 1609 Markham and Bulstrode elegies, with less striking hints of the strategy of the more ambitious *FirAn*. D. knew Hawstead directly through his sister Anne, who in 1591 had married one William Lyly, a member from 1583 to 1590 of the staff of the English ambassador in France, Sir Edward Stafford, a maternal uncle of Sir Robert Drury. Lyly probably owed his post to Drury's father, Sir William, at whose deathbed in France (after a duel) he was present in 1589, and settled at Hawstead, where the incumbent, Hall, found him 'a dangerous opposite to the success of my ministry, a witty and bold atheist, . . . who by reason of his travels and abilities of discourse and behaviour, had so deeply insinuated himself into my patron, Sir Robert Drury, that there was small hopes (during his entireness) for me to work any good upon that noble patron of mine'. Apart from further military service in France from 1596 to 1598, Lyly was in Hawstead in subsequent years. To the Christian Hall's satisfaction, Lyly died of the plague in London (whither he had gone to seek employment from the new king, James I) in 1603. Hall would have known Anne Lyly as a parishioner, so may have met D. visiting her, and then introduced him to the Drurys or himself suggested the elegy. Hall was among the 'dear friends and benefactors' to whom (according to Walton) D. sent copies of his cross-and-anchor seal towards the end of his life. Drury's wealth made him a good prospect as a patron, and he duly proposed that D. should travel with him to France as his secretary. Bald, *Drurys* p. 86, observes that 'Donne's first reference to Drury's invitation . . . in an

469 incomprehens'bleness] limitless nature. Otherwise, an attribute of the divine: 'For the incomprehensibleness of God, the understanding of man, hath a limited, a determined latitude: . . . I can comprehend . . . created nature, but for . . . God himself, the understanding of man cannot comprehend'—*Serm.* 9. 134 (Christmas Day ?1629). Cp. *Job* 37. 5: 'Great things doth he, which we cannot comprehend', and *Rom.* 11. 33–4: 'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?' **470** Cp. *Fool* 11: 'Grief brought to numbers cannot be so fierce, / For he tames it that fetters it in verse.'

undated Latin letter to Sir Henry Goodyer . . . which was included in [the 1633 *Poems*] . . . reveals his uncertainty and . . . suggests a hesitation to identify himself too closely with Drury, of whose reputation [as self-willed, quarrelsome and violent] he must have been aware'. Necessity won, and there exist letters from the Drurys in France in D.'s style and in his writing. (Bald, *Drurys* pp. 70–83, 86, 90, 101).

Analogues. For the genre, in which D. was by 1611 well practised, see note on *Markham*. Here he departs from the threefold structure, devoting the whole poem to panegyric. Amongst his imitators, T. Pestell, *Elegy on the Truly Noble Katherine, Countess of Chesterfield, 1636*, enlists 'glorious Drury, Donne's immortal maid' in his commemoration (*Poems*, ed. H. Buchan (1940) p. 12).

Text. Printed after the longer *Anatomy of the World* (1611). This text presumably predates all extant MSS, so is the basis for that presented here, later editions exhibiting only unauthoritative variants. Manley notes that 'All editions before 1633 indent every other line to give the impression of elegiac couplets', i.e., of the alternating hexameter and pentameter of classical elegiacs. Although misrepresenting the actually equal number of feet in the lines, this layout may well, given D.'s direct connection with the publication of the poem, have been intended by him, and so is adopted here.

T'IS lost, to trust a tomb with such a guest,
 Or to confine her in a marble chest.
 Alas, what's marble, jet, or porphyry,
 Prized with the chrysolite of either eye,
 5 Or with those pearls and rubies which she was?
 Join the two Indies in one tomb, 'tis glass,

Sources collated: 1611, 1612, 1621, 1625, 1633, 1635 Base text: 1611

Select variants:

1 lost] losse 1635

1–21 D. invokes the literary tradition of devaluing physical monuments, appears then to reverse the commonplace by depreciating even written commemorations, but returns to allowing them a temporal value as he begins the main conceit of the *Anniversaries*, the ruin of the world by Elizabeth Drury's death. A conclusion is reached in the last line of *FirAn*.

1 lost] [labour] wasted.

3–6 This well-tried comparison of the body with expensive minerals (cp. *BedfordShe* 33–4, *Markham* 24–5, *BulstrodeLanguage* 21–4, 59–60) is more precisely structured than its predecessors, with, as Shawcross points out, parallel triplets. However, the pure green chrysolite (of her eyes?) is not as exactly matched by black jet as are the white marble and red porphyry by the pearls and rubies of her teeth and lips (in the terms of the conventional blazon of the female body, e.g., Sidney's *Old Arcadia* 3 (Ringler (1962) no. 62), 'What tongue can her perfections tell').

4 Prized] compared in price.

5–6 those pearls . . . Indies] Cp. again Sidney, *A & S* 32. 10–12, and Spenser, *Amoretti* 15. 3 (1595), *Sun* 17, *BedfordShe* 34, *FirAn* 229–34, and *SecAn* 228.

- And so is all to her materials,
 Though every inch were ten Escurials.
 Yet, she's demolished: can we keep her then
 10 In works of hands or of the wits of men?
 Can these memorials, rags of paper, give
 Life to that name, by which name they must live?
 Sickly, alas, short-lived, aborted be
 Those carcass verses whose soul is not she.
 15 And can she, who no longer would be she,
 Being such a tabernacle, stoop to be
 In paper wrapped? Or, when she would not lie
 In such a house, dwell in an elegy?
 But 'tis no matter: we may well allow
 20 Verse to live so long as the world will now,
 For her death wounded it: the world contains
 Princes for arms, and counsellors for brains,
 Lawyers for tongues, divines for hearts, and more,
 The rich for stomachs, and for backs the poor,
 25 The officers for hands, merchants for feet
 By which remote and distant countries meet;

13 aborted] Abortive 1635 18 a] an 1635

6 The fabled wealth of America and the East is mere imitation or fake. In Platonic terms, she is the universal 'form' or 'idea' of goodness, all visible manifestations of it being only imperfect representations.

8 Escurials] Referring to the sumptuous palace-monastery-mausoleum of Philip II of Spain, to which Lady Bedford is likewise (but less hyperbolically) compared in *BedfordRefined* 48. Hugh Holland deemed at the end of his elegy on the death of Prince Henry in 1612 that 'his tomb should be another Escorial'.

10 works of hands . . . of men] In many places in the Bible God is deemed superior to 'the work of men's hands', i.e., idols, but the specific echo seems to be of *2 Cor.* 5. 1: 'If our earthly house of this tabernacle [the body; cp. l. 16] were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'

11 rags of paper] As humans return to dust, so will paper to the rags of which it was then usually made. Cp. *HerbertMPaper* 3-4.

16 tabernacle] Used by its nature ('a transitory, and moveable Temple'—*Serm.* 2. 217) to figure the human body ('the temple of the Holy Ghost'—*1 Cor.* 6. 19) in *2 Cor.* 5. 1, *2 Pet.* 1. 13-14, and *Serm.* 2. 83.

18 house] body.

19-33 The first sketch of the predominant theme of the *Anniversaries*.

21-5 The ancient commonplace of the body politic, as in, e.g., *Coriolanus* 1. 1. 95-159.

23 and more] i.e., souls.

- But those fine spirits which do tune and set
 This organ, are those pieces which beget
 Wonder and love: and these were she, and she
 30 Being spent, the world must needs decrepitate be.
 For, since Death will proceed to triumph still,
 He can find nothing after her to kill,
 Except the world itself, so great as she.
 Thus brave and confident may Nature be:
 35 Death cannot give her such another blow
 Because she cannot such another show.
 But must we say she's dead? May't not be said
 That, as a sundered clock is piecemeal laid,
 Not to be lost, but by the maker's hand
 40 Repolished, without error then to stand;
 Or as the Afric Niger stream enwombs

30 1625 repeats marginal note from FirAn 135 33 as] om. 1625: was 1633, 1635

27–9 The physical as well as musical sense of ‘organ’ evokes the idea of the ‘spirits’ as linking soul and body (see notes on *Ecstasy* 61–4) and thence Elizabeth Drury as the spirit of the world, whose departure leaves it dead.

28 This organ] The world. Cp. *Harington* 4, and *Serm.* 10. 131: ‘What an organ hath that man tuned, how hath he brought all things in the world to a consort, and what a blessed anthem doth he sing to that organ, that is at peace with God!’ **pieces]** parts [of the world].

29 Wonder and love] Glossed in *Book* 28–9: ‘all divinity / Is love or wonder’ (Milgate). Cp. the (ironic) *Anagram* 25.

31 Death . . . triumph] Cp. *Markham* 62, *BulstrodeRecant* 68.

38–40 D.’s image of a dismantled clock here and in *Elizabeth* 73–5 (1612–13), and his detailed reference to the components of a ‘pocket-clock’ and their malfunction in *Harington* 131–40 (1614), suggest a peak of interest, perhaps due to acquiring one, but the use of a clock as a poetic analogy was not new: Du Bartas, Engl. J. Sylvester (friend of Hall), 1. 4. 327–32, prompted perhaps by an actual astronomical clock, likens the universe to ‘a clock well tended’, detailing some of its parts.

41–4 Contemporary maps of Africa in publications by, e.g., Mercator, Hondius, Ortelius, and Blaeu, drew on various traditions regarding the Niger: Ptolemy, followed in Mercator’s earlier map, said it rose in the west and flowed east, sometimes underground, into the Nile. Others relied on Leo Africanus (‘al-Hasan ibn-Muhammad al-Wazzan), Engl. J. Pory as *Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600), who at the beginning of Book I (p. 3) reports that ‘Our cosmographers affirm that the said river of Niger is derived out of Nilus, which they imagine for some certain space to be swallowed up of the earth, and yet at last to burst forth in to such a lake as is before mentioned.’ A third version depicted the Niger rising south of the equator, flowing north, and disappearing under mountains for sixty miles, before debouching into Lake Chad and, thence augmented, turning westward to reach the Atlantic as what is now called the Senegal river.

- Itself into the earth, and after comes
 (Having first made a natural bridge, to pass
 For many leagues) far greater than it was,—
 45 May't not be said that her grave shall restore
 Her, greater, purer, firmer than before?
 Heav'n may say this, and joy in't, but can we
 Who live, and lack her, here this vantage see?
 What is't to us, alas, if there have been
 50 An angel made a throne or cherubin?
 We lose by't; and, as aged men are glad,
 Being tasteless grown, to joy in joys they had,
 So now the sick, starved world must feed upon
 This joy: that we had her who now is gone.
 55 Rejoice then, Nature and this world, that you,
 Fearing the last fire's hastening to subdue
 Your force and vigour, ere it were near gone
 Wisely bestowed and laid it all on one—
 One whose clear body was so pure and thin

45–6 Cp. *Markham* 23–5.

49–50 For the comparison of the deceased to a denizen of Heaven while still on earth, see also *Markham* 49–52, *Bulstrode Language* 35–6. D. imagines promotion on the Court model in Heaven: an angel was in the ninth and lowest choir, and acted as a messenger to humans, but cherubim and thrones were in the second and third choirs respectively, and their attention turned solely towards God. Manley cites Thomas Aquinas, *ST I. 112. 2, I. 113. 3*.

55–7 There was a general belief among Christians, conflating Rabbinical prophecy, the inferred chronology of the Bible, and glosses on certain texts, that the world's span of 6,000 years was nearly finished, and that all things were already greatly decayed since the Fall inaugurated their degeneration from pristine perfection. See Harris (1949).

56 last fire] As in *Markham* 26–7.

59–61 The compliment already paid in *Bedford Honour* 25–31, further re-used by Dryden in 'The Monument of a Fair Maiden Lady' ll. 15–18. Cp. *FirAn* 365–6, *SecAn* 244–6. When D. is being theologically serious, he considers in *Serm.* 3. 354–5 (Christmas 1621) that even in the case of Christ's Transfiguration (*Luke* 9. 29)

This was not a glorifying of the body, and making it through-light; . . . no one man, not Christ (considered but as man) was . . . all light, no cloud. . . . Every man . . . hath still within him a dark vapour of Original Sin, and the cloud of human flesh without him. Nay, not only no man . . . but no one act of the most perfect and religious man in the world, though that act employ but half a minute in the doing thereof, can be . . . true light, all light, so perfect light as that it may serve another or thyself for a lanthorn to his or thy feet, . . . No man hath . . . true light, through light.

59 thin] fine, like porcelain (cp. *Markham* 20–2).

- 60 Because it need disguise no thought within:
 'Twas but a through-light scarf her mind t'enrol,
 Or exhalation breathed out from her soul;
 One whom all men who durst no more admired,
 And whom whoe'er had worth enough desired
 65 As, when a temple's built, saints emulate
 To which of them it shall be consecrate.
 But as when Heav'n looks on us with new eyes,
 Those new stars every artist exercise,
 What place they should assign to them they doubt,
 70 Argue and agree not till those stars go out,
 So the world studied whose this piece should be
 Till she can be nobody's else, nor she,
 But, like a lamp of balsamum desired

64 worth] worke 1633

61 through-light] translucent, as were the fashionable scarves of gauze. She was devoid of hypocrisy. **enrol]** enfold, possibly blending into the sense 'record, emblazon, celebrate' like an inscribed scarf on an emblematic figure or a scroll of honour.

63-4 Alluding to E. D.'s position as potential wife only for a man possessed of 'worth enough' to match her father's station, which bore as much weight in the gentry's marriage negotiations as the man's moral worth (D. had been disqualified on both counts in his father-in-law's eyes). Line 71 suggests there had been much anticipatory speculation as to whom she might marry.

65 emulate] compete. Again, a vision of courtly ambition in Heaven.

67-70 Presumably alluding to controversies over Tycho Brahe's supernova in Cassiopeia of 1572-4 and Kepler's in Ophiucus of 1604-5 (there was another brief and less striking one in Cygnus in 1600, but 'eyes' suggests a pair). Cp. most relevantly the reference to two new stars in *Bedford Written* 68. Cp. *FirAn* 259-60, *Elizabeth* 39-40, *Huntingdon* 5-16, and Coffin (1937) pp. 124-30, who exaggerates D.'s scientific credentials (Milgate).

68 artist] expert in the art of astronomy.

69 What place] Whether above or below the moon, amongst the planets or the fixed stars.

71 piece] 'exemplary being' (*OED* 8c), and/or abbreviation of the idiomatic phrase 'piece of work', 'creation' (as in *Hamlet* 2. 2. 305), or even 'precious coin' whose ownership when found is disputed.

72 Till no longer the property of her father or of a husband, nor her complete human self, since to be the latter the union of body and soul was essential.

73-4 If burnt to provide light rather than used medicinally, the gum of the balsam-tree quickly gives up all its fragrance, 'expires'. Cp *Serm.* 9. 152 (Christmas 1629?): 'Constantine ordained that upon this day the Church should burn no oil but balsamum in her lamps' (Gr.), and the similar extravagance attributed to the different religious enthusiasm of an earlier emperor in the *Historia Augusta*, 'Elagabalus' 24. 1 (Manley). Dryden re-uses the analogy in his panegyric elegy on a countess of Abingdon, 'Eleonora' ll. 301-4. Cp. the image of good men as 'lumps of balm' in *Harington* 101-4.

- Rather t'adorn than last, she soon expired,
 75 Clothed in her virgin white integrity—
 For marriage, though it do not stain, doth dye.
 To scape th'infirmities which wait upon
 Woman, she went away before sh'was one;
 And, the world's busy noise to overcome,
 80 Took so much death as served for opium.
 For though she could not, nor could choose to die,
 She'th yielded to too long an ecstasy.
 He which, not knowing her sad history,
 Should come to read the Book of Destiny,
 85 How fair and chaste, humble and high she'd been,
 Much promised, much performed, at not fifteen,
 And, measuring future things by things before,
 Should turn the leaf to read, and read no more,
 Would think that either Destiny mistook,
 90 Or that some leaves were torn out of the Book.
 But 'tis not so: Fate did but usher her
 To years of reason's use, and then infer

76 it doe] it doth 1633, 1635 83 sad] said 1612–1633

75 white integrity] Which all are said to lack in *WottonKisses* 41–2. Cp. *SecAn* 114 and *Rev.* 19. 8 on the bride of Christ (*RhV*): 'And it was given to her that she clothe herself [should be arrayed *GV*, *AV*] with silk glittering and white. For the silk are [*sic*] the justifications of saints'.

76 Later, in *SecAn* 461–2, she is portrayed as married to Christ. Dryden adapts the line in 'The Monument of a Fair Maiden Lady' l. 20 (Gr.).

77–8 Cp. avoiding the sins of age in *BulstrodeRecant* 56–60.

80 opium] As a sleeping-draught, to block the world's distractions.

81 She 'could not die eternally, being virtuous; and her virtue would make it impossible for her to wish to die' (Milgate).

82 too long an ecstasy] her soul remaining outside the body too long in religious contemplation. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 210 (Easter Day 1619): 'The contemplation of God and Heaven is a kind of burial and sepulchre and rest of the soul; and in this death of rapture and ecstasy, in this death of the contemplation of my interest in my Saviour, I shall find myself and all my sins interred'. Here the ecstasy is approved of, but see note on *Ecstasy* 29 for D.'s disapproval of this refuge from active life.

84 Book of Destiny] Cp. *BedfordRefined* 53 and note.

85 fair and chaste] Seen as a supreme achievement in *SecAn* 363–4.

89 Destiny] A Christian can only imagine personified Destiny (like Nature) as an agent of God (cp. *Metem* 31), but D. would not have liked to impute fallibility to his deity.

92 infer] transfer [control of].

- Her destiny t'herself; which liberty
 She took but for thus much: thus much to die.
- 95 Her modesty not suff'ring her to be
 Fellow-commissioner with Destiny,
 She did no more but die. If after her
 Any shall live which dare true good prefer,
 Every such person is her delegate
- 100 T'accomplish that which should have been her fate:
 They shall make up that book, and shall have thanks
 Of Fate and her for filling up their blanks;
 For future virtuous deeds are legacies
 Which from the gift of her example rise,
- 105 And 'tis in Heaven part of spiritual mirth
 To see how well the good play her on earth.

FINIS

FINIS *om.* 1633, 1635

93–7 which liberty . . . no more but die] As in l. 81, D. has to tread carefully in attributing to her willingness to die while not imputing any culpable active intention.

94 thus . . . die] to suffer bodily death, but not to imperil her soul.

95–6 to be . . . Destiny] i.e., to change the course of the world.

101 that book] of Destiny, ll. 83–90.

103–4 The analogy is between a continuing series of good deeds and the recurrent income from a capital legacy, as in charitable bequests.

105–6 in Heaven . . . earth] Christianising and desexualising the laughter in Heaven of Homer's deities at the sight of the adulterous Aphrodite and Ares caught in Hephaestion's net, betrayed by the telltale Sun, *Odyssey* 8. 326–7. Cp. *HolyS8Why*, *Harington* 1–30.

106 how well the good play her] All good people are no more than impersonators of her, the archetype of goodness, mere actors, according to the Elizabethan commonplace, on the stage of the world. Being seen to act well is a necessary sign of goodness: 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your father which is in heaven'—*Matt.* 5. 16. Cp. *BedfordHonour* 32 and note, *FirAn* 332–7, and *Serm.* 3. 218 (16 Feb. 1621): 'Says the apostle [1 *Cor.* 4. 9], "We are made a spectacle to men and angels". The word is there *theatrum*, and so S. Jerome reads it, and therefore let us be careful to play those parts well which even the angels desire to see well acted. Let him that finds himself the honester man by thinking so, . . . think that so far as conduces to . . . the joy of the angels themselves, . . . the angels do see men's particular actions.' See also *DivM10Faithful* 1–7 and note.

The Harbinger to the Progress [by Joseph Hall]

Date and Context. Early 1612, presumably written when Hall received *SecAn* for publication. Jonson attributed *Harbinger* to Hall, 'Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden' (*Jonson* 1. 149).

Analogues. See headnote to *Praise*.

Text. 1612's reading in l. 23 is presumably correct, making good sense but, as a less common usage, easily misconstrued by the compositor of 1621. In l. 27, 1612*Er* was unknown to the latter, who made a superficially plausible correction of 1612's obvious nonsense. The spelling in 1612*Er* presumably represents that in the printer's copy, and shows why the error occurred.

TWO souls move here, and mine (a third) must move
Paces of admiration and of love.
Thy soul, dear virgin, whose this tribute is,
Moved from this mortal sphere to lively bliss;
5 And yet moves still, and still aspires to see
The world's last day, thy glory's full degree.
Like as those stars which thou o'er-lookest far
Are in their place, and yet still movèd are,
No soul (whiles with the luggage of this clay
10 It cloggèd is) can follow thee half way
Or see thy flight, which doth our thoughts outgo
So fast that now the lightning moves but slow.
But now thou art as high in Heaven flown
As Heav'n's from us, what soul besides thine own
15 Can tell thy joys, or say he can relate
Thy glorious journals in that blessed state?

Sources collated: 1612 and *Errata*, 1621, 1625, 1633, 1635

Base text: 1612

Select variants:

15 relate 1621–35: re-relate 1612

Heading When the Court made a progress, the Knight Harbinger and his assistants went ahead to arrange accommodation, as Shakespeare's *Macbeth* takes on himself to do for Duncan (1. 4. 45).

7–8 In Ptolemaic astronomy, the stars were fixed in a sphere which wheeled about the Earth, moving also relative to the outermost sphere.

9 luggage of this clay] the impeding burden of the body.

16 journals] accounts of day-to-day existence (implying, as does the idea of accidental joys increasing in *SecAn* 382, that though in Heaven, she is not yet outside time in eternity).

- I envy thee, rich soul, I envy thee,
 Although I cannot yet thy glory see;
 And thou, great spirit, which hers followed hast
 20 So fast as none can follow thine so fast,
 So far as none can follow thine so far
 (And if this flesh did not the passage bar
 Hadst raught her), let me wonder at thy flight
 Which long agone hadst lost the vulgar sight,
 25 And now mak'st proud the better eyes, that they
 Can see thee lessened in thine aery way;
 So while thou mak'st her soul's high progress known
 Thou mak'st a noble progress of thine own.
 From this world's carcase having mounted high
 30 To that pure life of immortality;
 Since thine aspiring thoughts themselves so raise
 That more may not beseem a creature's praise,
 Yet still thou vow'st her more; and every year
 Mak'st a new progress, while thou wand'rest here.
 35 Still upwards mount, and let thy Maker's praise
 Honour thy Laura and adorn thy lays.
 And since thy Muse her head in Heaven shrouds,
 Oh let her never stoop below the clouds;
 And if those glorious sainted souls may know
 40 Or what we do, or what we sing below,
 Those acts, those songs shall still content them best
 Which praise those awful Powers that make them blest.

23 raught] caught 1621–35

27 soul's high (soules Hy) 1612Er. soules by 1612: soule by 1621–35

35 upwards] upward 1621–35

19–20 Adapting D.'s image of the speaker's own soul in *SecAn* 185–210.

23 **raught]** reached. This strong form of the past tense was current from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, being supplanted by the weak form from the sixteenth onwards (*OED*).

26 **lessened]** diminished by distance.

29–30 Marking the transition from the subject of *FirAn* to that of *SecAn*.

36 **Laura]** equivalent of Petrarch's object of devotion, whose death he mourned for ten years in *Rime sparse* 267–365.

37–8 An exhortation to D. henceforth to confine himself to religious verse.

39–40 Cp. notes on *DivM10Faith* and *SecAn* and, e.g., Aquinas 1. 89. 8.

42 **those awful Powers]** the awesome Trinity.

The Second Anniversary: Of the Progress of the Soul

Wherein by Occasion of the Religious Death
of Mistress Elizabeth Drury the Incommodities
of the Soul in this Life and her Exaltation in the
Next are Contemplated.

Date and Context. Nov. 1611–Jan. 1612. Begun and probably finished at Amiens: ll. 3–6 claim a year has passed since the death of Elizabeth Drury in early Dec. 1610; ll. 511–13 locate the writer in a Roman Catholic country, presumably France, ‘where misdevotion frames / A thousand prayers to saints whose very names / The ancient church knew not’. The echo of this Protestant censure in the opening lines of *Carey*, Jan–Feb. 1612, suggest not merely that *SecAn* was finished by the last week of April when the Drury party set out for Frankfurt, but that it was completed at Amiens before the move to Paris in early March 1612 (Bald, *Life* pp. 244–50). The last two lines echo a prescribed Evening Prayer reading for 19 Nov., hinting at an even earlier date, if Drury was meant to recognise it. Since the second anniversary of the girl’s death would fall in Dec. 1612, D. indeed paid this ‘second year’s true rent’ in advance (Bald (1959) pp. 92–3), though not of her name day on 5 Nov., the feast of St Elizabeth. *SecAn* was promptly published with a reprint of *FirAn*, with Hall’s prefatory poems. Sir Arthur Throckmorton received a printed copy, price sixpence, on 10 May o. s. 1612 (Keynes (1973) p. 172), but D. already knew of responses by jealous patronesses by 13 April os 1612, when he wrote to Henry Goodyer from Paris (*Letters* pp. 74–5):

I hear from England of many censures of my book of Mistress Drury: if any of those censures do but pardon me my descent in printing anything in verse (which if they do, they are more charitable than myself, for I do not pardon myself, but confess that I did it against my conscience, that is, against my own opinion that I should not have done so) I doubt not but they will soon give over that other part of the indictment, which is, that I have said so much; for nobody can imagine that I, who never saw her, could have any other purpose in that than that when I had received so very good testimony of her worthiness, and was gone down to print verses, it became me to say not what I was sure was just truth, but the best that I could conceive. For that had been a new weakness in me: to have praised anybody in printed verses that had not been capable of the best that I could conceive; for that had been a new weakness in me, to have praised anybody in printed verses that had not been capable of the best praise that I could give.

After this self-exculpation, which, despite its tortuosity, repeats and clarifies his offence by betraying the exaggerated fictionality of his other poems of praise, he concludes hopefully (p. 76) with ‘the remembrance of my humblest services to my Lady Bedford’. The next day D. repeated these professions and excuses almost word for word to another regular correspondent and go-between with titled

Heading Published in 1612 with *The First Anniversarie. An Anatomie of the World* with separate title-page as *The Second Anniversarie. Of the Progres of the Soule*.

patronesses, George Garrard (a co-lodger with D. in the Strand, and also a follower of Lady Bedford: see headnote to *BulstrodeRecant*), adding that 'if any of those ladies think that Mistress Drury was not so, let that lady make herself fit for all the those [*sic*] praises in the book, and it shall be hers' (*Letters* p. 255), again, perhaps defiantly, aggravating offence with the condition's imputation against the protesters' virtue. It was presumably reaction by Lady Bedford to these poems (perhaps specifically the resale in ll. 77, 127–36, 162–7, 401–3, 407–9, 498–506, of compliments paid to her in *BedfordReason*, *BedfordWritten*, *BedfordHonour*) that prompted the abject but abortive *BedfordDead*, after which D. transferred his poetic attentions to Goodyer's new patroness, Lady Huntingdon, and Garrard's, Lady Salisbury.

Analogues. From the classical tradition, the occasional echoes of Seneca, *To Marcia on consolation*, hint that that comfort for a bereaved parent was in D.'s mind, though the topics may be said to belong to the subject. The construction of the poem, its interleaving of lament, consolation, and panegyric, are clearly set forth by W. M. Lebars, *ELH* 39 (1972) 551–2. Respecting the Christian tradition, Lewalski (1973) pp. 270–5 disagrees with Martz's finding of origins in Ignatian and Salesian meditation, claiming that the meditative element as well as the celebratory derives from the Psalms, which for D. (*Serm.* 2. 49, 50, 75–8; 5. 270, 288–9, 338; 9. 251, 350) contained prayer, praise, contemplation, instruction, and song, and to which as 'hymns' he explicitly relates the *Anniversaries* (*SecAn* 37, 43). For structural analogies these critics have looked immediately to *FirAn*, Martz seeing a forty-four-line introduction and seven sections; Lewalski an eighty-four-line introduction analogous to the ninety-line introduction to *FirAn*, and then six sections: (1) ll. 85–156, Meditation on death urged (three parts only); (2) ll. 157–250, Liberation by death; (3) ll. 251–320, Exchange of earthly ignorance for heavenly knowledge; (4) ll. 321–82, Exchange of corrupt society here for the perfect society of heaven; (5) ll. 383–470, Exchange of delusory joys for the true, essential joy of the vision of God; (6) ll. 471–510, Contrast between the transience and reversibility of all improvements in our condition on Earth and the permanence and continued growth of all our perfections in Heaven. In each section there is a four-part argument: (a) Limitations on the elect soul in the world; (b) Contrast with its exaltation in glory; (c) E. D.'s transcendence of nature on Earth; (d) Exhortation to the speaker's own soul to desire perfection through death in emulation of her. Finally comes the Conclusion, ll. 511–18. Lewalski pp. 284–303 perceives in the wholeness of the two parts of the *Anniversaries* an implicit contradiction of D.'s promise of repeated yearly tributes at the end of *FirAn*.

Text. As with *FirAn*, the base text is that first printed, in this case 1612, which, however, whether because of less well prepared copy or a less competent compositor, required more correction than *FirAn* in 1611. The errata (1612*Er*) are plausible in ll. 10, 67, 119, 137, 197, 232, 292, 314, 338, 353, 380, 398 and 477, but dubitable in l. 48. None of its corrections was adopted before 1633, which even so failed in ll. 119, 137 (incomplete), 232, 292, 314, 338 (though realising correction was necessary, but guessing), and 380. 1621 corrected l. 153, 1633 made further corrections of the 1612 text in ll. 28, 300, 423 and 435 (and of its 1625 copy in 42, 323), but also continued the errors of 1621 and 1625, and introduced some of its own (ll. 140, 177, 224, 369, 416, miscorrecting 1625 in ll. 96, 308, 338, 482). 1635 usually follows 1633, making minor corrections in ll. 292 and 380, its cramped duodecimo format as usual excluding the marginal notes. Since D. was in France, it is likely that proofs were corrected by the printer's reader and, perhaps, Hall.

NOTHING could make me sooner to confess *The entrance*
 That this world had an everlastingness
 Than to consider that a year is run
 Since both this lower world's and the Sun's sun,
 5 The lustre and the vigour of this All,
 Did set. 'Twere blasphemy to say 'did fall';
 But as a ship which hath struck sail doth run
 By force of that force which before it won;
 Or as sometimes in a beheaded man,
 10 Though at those two red seas which freely ran,
 One from the trunk, another from the head,
 His soul be sailed to her eternal bed,

Sources collated: 1612 and *Errata*, 1621, 1625, 1633, 1635

Base text: 1612

Select variants:

All marginal notes om. 1635

1 Marginal note om. 1625, 1633

10 Though 1612*Er*, 1633, 1635: Through 1612–1625 12 be| he 1621–1633

1–6 Nothing . . . set] Since the material world has not perished although according to *FirAn* its soul perished at E. D.'s death, D. pretends to be willing to embrace the Aristotelean doctrine of its eternal duration, *De caelo* 1. 10–12. 1 (279b4–284b5), directly contradicted by Christian doctrine from *Matt.* 24. 35 ('Heaven and Earth shall pass away') onward, vividly envisioned in *Rev.* 21. 1–22. 5.

4 sun] Elsewhere a figure for Christ (*CoronaAsc* 2, *Resurrection* 4, *Good Friday* 11, *Christ* 15), as well as for a desired woman (*ListerBlest*) and John Harington (*Harington* 26).

5 this All] the universe. Cp. *Markham* 28, *BulstrodeRecant* 26, *Sidney* 23.

6 'Twere blasphemy . . . fall] Because *FirAn* proclaimed E. D. as the one woman who redeemed the fall of the first, but also echoing *FirAn* 51.

7 struck] furred, lowered.

9–15 Though Grierson compares this anonymous beheading with Lucretius 3. 654–6, the real thing was from time to time in England inflicted on treasonous aristocrats: D. perhaps specifically remembered that of the Earl of Essex in 1601, in which affair he was concerned as a secretary of the Lord Keeper (Bald, *Life* pp. 111–13). By a concatenation of texts, it is implicitly linked with the execution of Christ: the Red Sea which saved the Israelites from their Egyptian pursuers (*Exod.* 14) was made a type of baptism (1 *Cor.* 10. 1–6) which saved Christian souls (*Mark* 16. 16) by washing away sins (*Acts* 22. 16), and thence became a type of Christ's blood which did the same (*Rev.* 1. 5; cp. *Germany* 3) in 'the great washing, in the blood of Christ', 'the Metaphorical Baptism, the Baptism of blood'—*Serm.* 5. 174, 7. 205 (?Dec. 1618, 21 June 1626).

12 His soul be sailed] A favourite trope from *Metem* 57 to *Sickness* 9–20, *Christ* 14. **eternal bed]** D. here varies his dilemma (see 85–9, 185–206 below) between a soul's sleeping till the Day of Judgement and immediate translation to Heaven or Hell with this image of everlasting oblivion.

- His eyes will twinkle, and his tongue will roll
 As though he beckoned and called back his soul,
 15 He grasps his hands, and he pulls up his feet,
 And seems to reach and to step forth to meet
 His soul; when all these motions which we saw
 Are but as ice which crackles at a thaw;
 Or as a lute which in moist weather rings
 20 Her knell alone by cracking of her strings:
 So struggles this dead world, now she is gone.
 For there is motion in corruption:
 As some days are at the Creation named
 Before the sun, the which framed days, was framed,
 25 So after this sun's set some show appears
 And orderly vicissitude of years.
 Yet a new Deluge, and of Lethe flood,
 Hath drowned us all: all have forgot all good,

28 drowned us 1633, 1635: drown'us 1612–1625

19–20 Unless the gut strings were slackened while it was not being played, humidity would expand the wooden body and overstretch them. *CH* p. 82 records an allusion to these lines in an anonymous elegy in BL MS Harl. 6918.

22 Either because 'that *body* . . . now, whilst I speak, is mouldering, and crumbling into less, and less dust, and so hath some *motion*', *Serm.* 8. 92 (1 July 1627), or in that it seethes with life supposed to be spontaneously generated, as in Aristotle, *History of animals* 5. 31 (556b22), *Generation of Animals* 1. 1, 16 (715a24, 721a8). According to Pliny 10. 86 (188), 11. 23 (70), 11. 39 (114), Engl. 10. 66, 11. 20, 33 (1601) 1. 305, 322, 329:

I have heard many a man say that the marrow of a man's backbone will breed to a snake . . . [and bees may be] engendered by laying the fresh paunches of oxen or kine newly killed, with the dung, garbage, and all, within a dunghill, there to putrefy . . . like as dead horses will breed wasps and hornets, and asses' carrion turn to be beetle-flies, by a certain metamorphosis which Nature maketh from one creature to another; . . . Also there have been seen in dead carrions many worms.

Ovid, *Met.* 15. 370–5, adds scorpions from dead crabs, and frogs from slime.

23–4 To the puzzlement of theologians: see note on *FirAn* 202.

26 **vicissitude**] succession.

27 **Deluge**] Noah's Flood, which drowned those of whom the writer disapproved, *Gen.* 7. 17–23. **of Lethe flood**] with power to make us forget, as in *DivMgPois'nous* 11. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 96, 110 (1618) on *Ps.* 38. 4, 'mine iniquities are gone over my head':

David had, we have too many sins, to swim above water, and too great sins to get above water again, when we are sunk; . . . our *memory* is drowned: we have forgot that there belongs a repentance to our sins, perchance forgot that there is such a sin in us; forgot that those actions are sins, forgot that we have done those actions; and forgot that there is a law, even in our own hearts, by which we might try, whether our actions were sins, or no.

- Forgetting her, the main reserve of all.
 30 Yet in this deluge gross and general,
 Thou seest me strive for life: my life shall be
 To be hereafter praised for praising thee,
 Immortal maid, who, though thou wouldst refuse
 The name of mother, be unto my Muse
 35 A father, since her chaste ambition is
 Yearly to bring forth such a child as this.
 These hymns may work on future wits, and so
 May great-grandchildren of thy praises grow.
 And so, though not revive, embalm and spice
 40 The world, which else would putrefy with vice.
 For thus man may extend thy progeny

29 reserve] store, stock, supply (predating all *OED*'s citations as a noun).

30 general] Insisted on by Augustine 15. 27 (Engl. 1610) p. 567 against those (unnamed) advocating an allegorical interpretation on the grounds that a flood higher than all mountain peaks was impossible. Pererius 12. 66 (1601) p. 487 supports him against those who implied that destruction of the whole world by a general flood or fire was impossible, e.g., Plato, *Timaeus* 33a, who asserted the divinely willed freedom of the world from age and decay, and Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1. 14 (352a32–352b2) who recorded that the Greek equivalent of Noah's Flood, Deucalion's, mainly affected Greek lands, in particular the country round Dodona and the Achelöus, a river which frequently changed course. More agreeably to Christians, the fullest account, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 160–347, has Zeus, outraged by the sins of the age of bronze, eliminating all the human race except Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha, whose boat found only the peaks of Olympus above water. The flood of Ogyges, King of Thebes (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 10. 10 (PG 21. 813–16); Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* 6. 41) was likewise local to Boeotia or Attica. The dispute appears merely semantic, from muddled meanings of 'world' as universe, Earth, or human race.

33–4 though . . . mother] Stressed in *Funeral Elegy* 74–8. For similar plays on his Muse see *Bellz*, *Derby*, *WoodwardRWidowhead* 1–3.

35–6 Sir Robert's usefulness to D. ceased (see headnote on date and context of *Elizabeth*) before this promise might have been kept. In the normal way of life then, D.'s real wife endured annual pregnancies till she died.

37, 43 These hymns] Though the main focus of *FirAn* was on the decay of the world, D. claims both Anniversaries as poems of praise and celebration. Cp. the discussion of genre by Lewalski (1973) *passim*, e.g., pp. 7–16, 266–7, where *FirAn* is claimed to be a different sort of song, and in the headnote on analogues. Manley hears a pun on 'hims', males which will fertilise 'future wits', quoting *Serm.* 3. 347 (n. d.): 'If when we have begot you in Christ, by our preaching, you also beget others by your holy life and conversation, you have added another generation unto us'.

37 wits] minds, understandings.

- Until man do but vanish and not die:
 These hymns, thy issue, may increase so long
 As till God's great *Venite* change the song.
 45 Thirst for that time, O my insatiate soul, *A just*
 And serve thy thirst with God's safe-sealing bowl. *disestimation*
 Be thirsty still, and drink still till thou go *of this world.*

42 vanish] banish 1625 43 thy] they 1621, 1625

46 safe-sealing 1633: safe-fealing 1612–1625, 1635

42 As D. explains in *Serm.* 2. 204 (Easter Day 1619): 'It may be those Men, whom Christ shall find upon the earth alive, at his return to Judge the World [*Luke* 9. 27] . . . shall but be changed, and not die. . . . Saint Paul says [*1 Cor.* 15. 51], . . . "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed"' (Manley). Cp. *Serm.* 1. 232 (2. Nov. 1617): 'Those whom the last day shall surprise upon earth . . . "shall be changed."' He is later concerned to clarify the implications, e.g., in *Serm.* 4. 75–6 (?21 April 1622): 'we shall die, and be alive again, before another could consider that we were dead; but yet this shall not be done in an absolute instant; some succession of time, though undiscernible there is'; and *Serm.* 10. 238 (his last, *Deaths Duell*, 25 Feb. 1631): 'In an instant we shall have a *dissolution*, and in the *same instant* a *redintegration*, a *recompacting* of *body* and *soul*, and that shall be truly a death and truly a resurrection, but no sleeping, no corruption.' Previous biblical characters had indeed vanished straight into Heaven: Enoch (*Gen.* 5. 22, 24, *Heb.* 11. 5), Elijah (*2 Kings* 2. 11) and Jesus (*Mark* 16. 19, *Luke* 24. 51—'he vanished out of their sight'—, *Acts* 1. 9).

44 *Venite*] 'Come', as in the picturing of the Last Judgement in *Matt.* 25. 34: 'Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand: "Come, . . . inherit the kingdom prepared for you"', and in *Rev.* 11. 12, where the two witnesses killed by 'the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit' (v. 7) 'heard a great voice from Heaven saying unto them "Come up hither!"; and they ascended up to Heaven in a cloud'. In the liturgy, the *Venite* was actually a 'song', *Ps.* 95, 'Oh come, let us sing unto the Lord', prescribed for Morning Prayer.

45–8 Cp. *HSW1* Since 8: 'A holy thirsty dropsy melts me yet.' D. employs an analogy familiar from the Bible, e.g., *Ps.* 42. 2 (*BCP*): 'My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God: when shall I come to appear before the presence of God?' 63. 1, 143. 6. Jesus asserted, 'Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst, but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life'; 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, . . . out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water' (*John* 4. 14, 7. 37–8). And when souls 'go', they will not 'thirst any more, . . . for the Lamb . . . shall lead them unto living fountains of waters' (*Rev.* 7. 16–17).

46 **safe-sealing**] guaranteeing salvation. 1633's emendation of its predecessors is obviously correct, 1612's error deriving understandably from misreading long *s* as *f*. Manley quotes *Serm.* 2. 255 (16 June 1619): 'a sacrament is strictly taken to be a seal of grace'. **bowl**] literally, the Communion cup, commemorating 'my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins' (*Matt.* 26. 28, *BCP* Communion Prayer of Consecration).

47 **drink still till thou go**] In contrast to a real social occasion, the temperate man 'restraining his ebriety unto hilarity, . . . what may be conceived between

- To th'only health, to be hydroptic so.
 Forget this rotten world, and unto thee
 50 Let thine own times as an old story be.
 Be not concerned: study not why nor when,
 Do not so much as not believe a man.
 For though to err be worst, to try truths forth
 Is far more business than this world is worth.
 55 The world is but a carcass; thou art fed
 By it but as a worm that carcass bred;
 And why shouldst thou, poor worm, consider more,
 When this world will grow better than before,
 Than those thy fellow worms do think upon
 60 That carcass's last resurrection?
 Forget this world, and scarce think of it so,
 As of old clothes cast off a year ago.

48 hydroptic] Hydriopique 1612Er

Joseph and his brethren when the text [*Gen.* 43. 34] expresseth they were merry or drank largely; . . . alleviation of spirits—Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 5. 22. 18, though perhaps D. revealed himself in writing that 'I would no more hear again what I write in an officious letter than what I said at a drunken supper' (*Letters* p. 182).

48 hydroptic] insatiable. Though 1612Er's 'Hydriopique' was strictly correct, it was probably Hall's independent emendation: see note on *Perfume* 6.

49 this rotten world] Condensing *FirAn* 240–2.

50 old story] Though this could mean 'history', that would rather provide a stimulus to studying why and when: to regard present times as an 'old story' in the modern sense, a remote fiction, would make such enquiry seem less important.

51–4 This advocacy of passive credulity concerning the past and the causes of the present may be seen as a contrast with the strenuous truth-seeking of *Satyre* 3 72–88, but even there it is not material truth that is desired. In both poems error may result from effort, 'to run wrong', 'to err, be worst'.

52 i.e., only the Word of God, Holy Scripture, is important.

53 try . . . forth] test, search out . . . unhesitatingly, continually, thoroughly.

54 business] work, trouble, also 'busyness'.

55 The world . . . carcass] Repeating *FirAn* 75, 439.

56 As above, l. 22. 'bred' may apply either way: cp. *Job* 17. 14: 'I have said to corruption, "Thou art my father", to the worm, "Thou art my mother and my sister".'

57 poor worm] The traditional figure, as in *Job* 25. 4–6: 'How then can man be justified with God? Or how can he be clean that is born of woman? . . . yea, the stars are not pure in his sight: how much less man, that is a worm? And the son of man, which is a worm?' **more]** further, any more. A pun on his wife's name would be inappropriate here.

- To be thus stupid is alacrity:
 Men thus lethargic have best memory.
 65 Look upward; that's toward her whose happy state
 We now lament not but congratulate.
 She to whom all this world was but a stage
 Where all sat hearkening how her youthful age
 Should be employed, because in all she did,
 70 Some figure of the golden times was hid;
 Who could not lack whate'er this world could give,
 Because she was the form that made it live;
 Nor could complain that this world was unfit

67 was 1612Er, 1633, 1635: twas 1612–1625

63 Cp. 1 Cor. 3. 18–19: 'If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise, for the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.' **alacrity**] Of which the worldly counterpart also (dismissed in 49–54 above) was in D.'s thoughts in a letter to Goodyer possibly of autumn 1612 (*Letters* pp. 45–47):

This balm of our lives, this alacrity, which dignifies even our service to God, this gallant enemy of dejection and sadness, . . . must be sought and preserved diligently. . . . They which place this alacrity only in a good conscience deal somewhat too roundly with us, for when we ask the way they show us the town afar off. . . . It is true that this conscience is the resultance of all other particular actions: it is our triumph and banquet in the haven; but I would come towards that also (as mariners say), with a merry wind. . . . This alacrity is not had by a general charity and equanimity to all mankind, . . . but the various and abundant grace of it is good company, in which no rank, no number, no quality but ill, and such a degree of that as may corrupt and poison the good, is exempt.

64 lethargic] in the root sense (cp. 27 above), 'forgetful, oblivious'.

65 Look upward] Man's distinguishing role: see note on *FirAn* 125.

66 congratulate] rejoice in with [her].

67 this world . . . stage] A hackneyed topos: see note on *Fatal*.

70 If she were Astraea, she might bring back the justice of the classical Golden Age to the world (conventional praise of Queen Elizabeth: see F. A. Yates, *Astraea* (1975)). Cp. *FirAn* 425–6 and note on ll. 148–9 there. **figure**] emblem. Wiggins 52–3 points out that this was the usage of some logicians: see, e.g., Blundeville, *Logike* I. 10 (1599) p. 31: 'according to the opinion of some, figure is compared to an image representing some lively thing'.

71 Because, as an inhabitant of the Garden of Eden, God had given her the whole Earth (*Gen.* I. 28–30).

72 form] In the scholastic sense, the formal cause, giving it form, and also, as efficient and final causes, giving the world, which is only material cause or substance, life and purpose: see notes on *BedfordShe* 23–6 and *FirAn* 37.

73–4 Astraea had left the earth because the fraud, violence and greed of the Age of Iron had displaced all *pietas*—regard for people and land, moderation, fairness,

- To be stayed in then when she was in it;
 75 She that first tried indifferent desires
 By virtue, and virtue by religious fires;
 She to whose person Paradise adhered
 As courts to princes; she whose eyes ensphered
 Starlight enough t'have made the South control
 80 (Had she been there) the starful Northern Pole—
 She, she is gone. She's gone: when thou knowst this,
 What fragmentary rubbish this world is
 Thou knowst, and that it is not worth a thought;
 He honours it too much that thinks it nought.
 85 Think then, my soul, that Death is but a groom *Contemplation*
 Which brings a taper to the outward room, *of our state*
 Whence thou spy'st first a little glimmering light, *in our*
 And after brings it nearer to thy sight: *deathbed.*

honesty, loyalty, love of family: see Ovid, *Met.* 1. 149–50. D. claims that as her reincarnation E. D. would have made and thence found the world fit 'To be stayed in' again.

75–6 tried . . . virtue] tested desires that are neither right nor wrong (cp. *BedfordNew* 41–5) by the fires of virtue, i.e., rejected every desire that was not positively virtuous, as in the 'religious alchemy' of *FirAn* 179–82. Cp. *1 Cor.* 3. 13: 'The fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is' (Milgate).

76 virtue . . . fires] Virtue itself had to be of the order of religious zeal.

77–8 She . . . courts to princes] Cp. *Somerset* 40–1.

77 See 154 below. Cp. her ability to make others into 'weedless paradises', herself 'an unvexed paradise' of beauty, *FirAn* 74–84, 363. D. had previously applied the compliment in *Markham* 51, *BulstrodeLanguage* 35, *BedfordWritten* 75.

78–9 she whose eyes . . . Starlight] D. re-uses this usual compliment in *Somerset* 25.

78 ensphered] held as the stars were held in the Ptolemaic system. First citation in *OED* (Milgate).

79–80 'We know that there are more stars under the Northern than under the Southern Pole'—*Devotions* 13 Meditation (Manley). Cp. Blundeville, quoted in note on *FirAn* 258, continuing 'they place in the north part of the firmament 21 images, and in the south part thereof 15 images.' The point is briefly made by Pererius 2. 34 (1601) p. 99 (Milgate). The modern list of constellations contains eighty-eight in all.

79 control] match, duplicate (D. recalls the etymological origin of the word).

82 fragmentary] Because the 'form that made it live' (l. 72) is gone. Earliest use cited by *OED*, recurring in letter of 30 Aug. 1621 (*Letters* p. 158, misread before printing as 1611). **rubbidge]** rubbish. The form and pronunciation are perhaps D.'s own, recurring in *Sem.* 9. 214 (20 April 1630?): 'Can this Anatomy, this Skeleton, these ruins, this rubbish of *Job* speak? It can, it does'.

85–185 The repeated command to his soul to 'think' is compatible with the poem's hostility to reason since it predominantly means 'imagine'. R. A. McCabe, compares *SecAn* in *Joseph Hall* (Oxford 1982) p. 212, with the *Arte of Divine Meditation*.

- For such approaches doth Heav'n make in death.
 90 Think thyself lab'ring now with broken breath,
 And think those broken and soft notes to be
 Division, and thy happiest harmony.
 Think thee laid on thy death-bed, loose and slack;
 And think that but unbinding of a pack
 95 To take one precious thing, thy soul, from thence.
 Think thyself parched with fever's violence:
 Anger thine ague more by calling it
 Thy physic; chide the slackness of the fit.
 Think that thou hear'st thy knell, and think no more
 100 But that, as bells called thee to church before,
 So this to the Triumphant Church calls thee.
 Think Satan's sergeants round about thee be,

96 parched] pach'd 1625; patch'd 1633, 1635

85–8 Cp. *Sickness* 1–5; *Serm.* 4. 63 (Easter Day 1622): 'Mourn not intemperately for the dead, as they do . . . which have no hope of seeing them again, who are gone. For we know, that they which are gone, are gone but into another room of the same house (this world and the next do but make up God a house)'; and 7. 340 (2 Feb. 1627): 'This world and the next world, are not, to the pure in heart, two houses, but two rooms, a Gallery to pass through, and a Lodging to rest in, in the same House, which are both under one roof, Christ Jesus' (Milgate).

85 groom] servant (reversing the usual image of death as conqueror, he acts as an usher, l. 156).

91 broken . . . notes] Perhaps hinting at the basic notes of a melody split into figures around them, the 'division' of the next line, grace notes, appoggiaturas (though 'broken music' was that which had been separated into parts for a consort).

92 Division] His death-rattle will signify separation of soul and body, but also be a delightful, intricate descant, cleverly varying the basic melody, the beginning of a heavenly song. **happiest]** Two syllables.

97–8 Anger . . . physic] As in *FirAn* 21.

98 slackness] gentleness.

99 knell] the passing-bell rung from the local church-tower while one was dying or immediately afterwards. Cp. *WottonVenice* 16.

100–1 Cp. *Devotions* 16 Expostulation: 'We enter into the Triumphant Church by the sound of bells (for we enter when we die)', which goes on to point out that the church bell 'was intended for the assembling of us in the Militant, and associating of us in the Triumphant Church' (Milgate). Cp. also the relating of them in *Serm.* 6. 165 (13 June 1624): 'Here in the *militant Church*, you stand, but you stand in the *porch*, there, in the *triumphant*, you shall stand . . . in the *Quire*, and the *Altar*'; and 7. 340 (Candlemas Day 1627) as 'this the *Porch*, and that the *Chancel* of the same Church'.

101 Triumphant Church] communion of saints in Heaven.

102 Satan's sergeants] Cp. *Hamlet* 5. 2. 288–9: 'This fell sergeant, Death, / Is strict in his arrest'. **sergeants]** Here, officers arresting for debt, bailiffs, appearing in a different role in 372 below.

- And think that but for legacies they thrust:
 Give one thy pride, t'another give thy lust;
 105 Give them those sins which they gave thee before,
 And trust th'immaculate blood to wash thy score.
 Think thy friends weeping round, and think that they
 Weep but because they go not yet thy way.
 Think that they close thine eyes, and think in this
 110 That they confess much in the world amiss
 Who dare not trust a dead man's eye with that
 Which they from God and angels cover not.
 Think that they shroud thee up, and think from thence
 They reinvest thee in white innocence.
 115 Think that thy body rots, and (if so low,
 Thy soul exalted so, thy thoughts can go)
 Think thee a prince, who of themselves create
 Worms which insensibly devour their state.
 Think that they bury thee, and think that rite
 120 Lays thee to sleep but a St Lucy's night.

119 rite 1612Er: right 1612–1635

103–5 Minor devils seeking his soul are made less fearful by imagining them as mere legacy-hunters like those in Roman comedy and Jonson's *Volpone* (for whose publication in 1607 D. had written a commendatory poem), to whom the dying man can well spare his sins. Cp. the legacies to those in no need of them in *Will*.

105 Grosart compares the 'virtuous deeds' vicariously bequeathed by E. D. in *Funeral Elegy* 103–4.

106 Rev. 1. 5. Cp. *DivM5Black* 13. **score**] debt (as in *Satyre* 4 45), particularly as in a tavern (*OED* 10), where the chalk-marks are wiped off the slate when the debt is paid (an image from the street-life setting of 102). 'Score' might also be read as a wound inflicted on Christ by the soul's sin or on itself as in *Litany* 139.

114 reinvest . . . innocence] clothe thee again in 'our souls' . . . first white', *WoodwardRWidowhead* 13. Cp. E. D.'s 'virgin white integrity', *Funeral Elegy* 75.

116 Thy soul] 'When thy soul is' (a Latinate ablative absolute construction, often favoured by D. for its compression of sense).

117 of themselves] There is a hint here of rulers producing parasites out of their own faults, as in the case of Herod, *Acts* 12. 23: 'The angel of the Lord smote him because he gave not God the glory, and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.'

118 For 'worms of the commonwealth' *OED* quotes R. Greene's *Notable Discovery of Coosenage: The Art of Conny-catching* 1 (1591; *Works* 10. 30). **insensibly**] both blindly and unperceived by the ruler. **state**] wealth and standing.

120 Implying that on death the soul sleeps till the Resurrection, and thus inconsistent with 185–218 below. **Saint Lucy's night**] A long sleep, implicit in the proverb 'Lucy-light: the shortest day and the longest night' (Tilley L585; applicable only in the northern hemisphere); despite the night's length at the winter

- Think these things cheerfully; and if thou be
 Drowsy or slack, remember then that she,
 She whose complexion was so even made
 That which of her ingredients should invade
 125 The other three, no fear, no art could guess,
 So far were all removed from more or less;
 But as in Mithridate, or just perfumes,
 Where all good things being met, no one presumes
 To govern or to triumph on the rest,
 130 Only because all were, no part was best.
 And as, though all do know that quantities

solstice, it is succeeded by increasing light as the Sun rises higher in the sky. The eve and early part of Lucy's feast-day, 13 Dec. old style, could be the longest night of the year, since the winter solstice then fell on 12 Dec. (Milgate). Cp. *Ps.* 90. 4: 'For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday, seeing that is past as a watch in the night' (Gr.). See further notes on *Lucy*.
122 that she] that girl. As an annotator in a mid-seventeenth-century MS noted, the long interjection of 123-46 delays the main verb until 147 (*VD*). The rhetorical device aims to create the feeling that E. D.'s excellencies break in irresistibly on sober narrative.

123-42 Cp. *FirAn* 309-24, *Carey* 13-33.

123 complexion] blend of the four humours. See note on *FirAn* 311-12.

124-5 which . . . three] thereby causing illness and death. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* I. 75. 6, expresses the belief that all compounds of contraries are subject to corruption (Manley). Cp. *Morrow* 19: 'Whatever dies was not mixed equally' (Gr.).

125 no fear, no art] On the part of parents and physicians respectively (Manley).

127-8 in Mithridate . . . met] Cp. *Serm.* 2. 256 (16 June 1619): 'It is truly and properly said, that there are more ingredients, more simples, more means of restoring in one dram of treacle or mithridate, than in an ounce of any particular syrup, in which there may be three or four, in the other perchance so many hundred' (Gr.). This apothecaries' compound was sold as a universal antidote. Cp. *BedfordReason* 27 and note thereon.

127 just] perfectly blended.

131-4 though . . . a point] Euclid, *Elements of Geometrie*, Engl. H. Billingsley, I. 1-3 (1570) f. 1r-v:

1. 'A sign or point is that which hath no part': . . . a point, although it pertain to quantity, and hath his being in quantity, yet is it no quantity, for it cannot be divided. . . . 2. 'A line is length without breadth': There pertain to quantities three dimensions, length, breadth, and thickness or depth; and by these are all quantities measured and made known. There are also, according to these three dimensions, three kinds of continual quantities: a line, a superficies or plane, and a body. The first kind, a line, is here defined in these words: A line is length without breadth. A point, for that it is no quantity, nor hath any parts into which it may be divided, but remaineth indivisible, hath not, nor can have any of these three dimensions. It neither hath length, breadth, nor thickness. But to a line, which is the first kind of quantity, is attributed the first dimension, namely length, and only that: for

- Are made of lines, and lines from points arise,
 None can these lines or quantities unjoint
 And say this is a line, or this a point,
 135 So though the elements and humours were
 In her, one could not say, this governs there,
 Whose even constitution might have won
 Any disease to venture on the Sun
 Rather than her: and make a spirit fear
 140 That he to disuniting subject were;
 To whose proportions if we would compare
 Cubes, they're unstable; circles, angular.
 She who was such a chain as Fate employs
 To bring mankind all fortunes it enjoys,
 145 So fast, so even wrought, as one would think

137 won 1612Er (wonne), 1633 (woon), 1635 (wonne): wome 1612–1625
 140 to] too 1633, 1635

it hath neither breadth nor thickness, but is conceived to be drawn in length only, and by it, it may be divided into parts as many as ye list, equal or unequal. . . . 3. 'The ends or limits of a line are points': . . . But a point is no part of quantity or of a line, neither is a line composed of points, . . . For things indivisible, being never so many added together, can never make a thing divisible [i.e., you cannot say how many points there are in a line, nor how many lines there are in a plane, nor how many planes there are in a solid].

135 Cp. *FirAn* 321–2.

137–8 Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 1. 2–3 (268b11–270b31), argued that the celestial bodies above the Moon such as the Sun were composed of an incorruptible fifth element.

137 won] persuaded.

138 venture on] dare attack.

139–40 make a spirit . . . to disuniting subject] Angels and souls were supposed to be simple forms uncompounded with matter and so indissoluble, according to Plato, *Phaedo* 78b, followed by Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 50. 5, 52. 2, 75. 6.

142 Cubes . . . unstable] They were the very emblem of constancy for, e.g., Augustine 15. 26 (1610) p. 566: 'for cast a cube . . . which way you will, it will ever stand firm.' circles, angular] Even these symbols of perfection (*Satyre* 4 208), 'poor types of God' (*BedfordHonour* 46), would be less perfect than E. D.'s 'even constitution', an idea slightly developed in 508 below.

143–4 such a chain . . . fortunes] The golden chain linking Heaven to Earth in Homer, *Iliad* 8. 18–27, reinterpreted by Neoplatonists and Christians as the causal and hierarchical linkage down through the universe. See further Fowler's note on Milton, *Paradise Lost* 2. 1051, and A. O. Lovejoy, *Great Chain of Being* (1936). The figure is expanded for *Henry* 171–6.

144 fortunes it enjoys] events it experiences (not necessarily welcome).

No accident could threaten any link;
 She, she embraced a sickness, gave it meat,
 The purest blood and breath that e'er it ate;
 And hath taught us, that though a good man hath
 150 Title to Heav'n, and plead it by his faith,
 And though he may pretend a conquest since
 Heav'n was content to suffer violence,
 Yea, though he plead a long possession too
 (For they're in Heav'n on Earth who Heav'n's works do),
 155 Though he had right and power and place before,
 Yet Death must usher, and unlock the door.
 Think further on thyself, my soul, and think *Incommodities*
 How thou at first wast made but in a sink. *of the soul*
 Think that it argued some infirmity, *in the body.*

153 a long 1621–1635: along 1612 157–9 *Marginal note om.* 1625, 1633

146 accident] (a) chance event; (b) mishap (impossible in the chain of necessity).

147 meat] food.

149–56 The good man's legal right depends on his being conducted to the judge by the usher. For expression of religious doctrine in legal terms, cp. *DivM4Part*, but also esp. 1 *Peter* 1. 4–5: 'an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for you who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation', and the frequent use of such concepts as 'covenant' throughout the Bible. Cp. the pre-Christian pessimism of *Eccles.* 9. 2: 'All things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked'. Cp. *Rom.* 5. 1–2 (*Milgate*).

151 pretend] claim a right by.

151–2 since . . . violence] In *Matt.* 11. 12, Jesus characterises his saving ministry thus: 'From the days of John the Baptist until now, the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force', explained in *Serm.* 2. 220 (?pre-18 April 1619): 'that is, every earnest, and zealous, and spiritually valiant Man, may take hold of it' (*Manley*). The good man is commanded in *Ephes.* 6. 11–17 to 'stand against the wiles of the Devil, . . . wrestle . . . against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, . . . to withstand in the evil day, . . . to quench the fiery darts of the wicked'.

153 Relying on the maxim that 'Possession is eleven [out of twelve] points of the law', expressed in, e.g., R. Carew, *Survey of Cornwall* (1602) f. 38v, i.e., that to continue in possession is far easier than to dispossess.

154 Cp. *Markham* 51 and note, *Somerset* 40, and 77 above.

155 Summing up the triple legal claim of 149–54.

156 Picking up the image of 85–8: a Groom of the Chamber would usher the petitioner into the presence of the King. Cp. *BulstrodeRecant* 46 (where her soul is the usher). **the door]** of Heaven, as in *Luke* 13. 24–5, *Rev.* 3. 7, even Christ himself (*John* 10. 9).

158 a sink] 'fig. A receptacle . . . of vice, corruption'—*OED*, i.e., his mother's womb. See note below on 169–72, which revive the primary meaning of cesspit.

159 infirmity] deficiency, lowering of standards.

- 160 That those two souls which then thou found'st in me,
 Thou fed'st upon, and drew'st into thee both
 My second soul of sense and first of growth.
 Think but how poor thou wast, how òbnoxious,
 Whom a small lump of flesh could poison thus:
- 165 This curded milk, this poor unlittered whelp
 My body, could, beyond escape or help,
 Infect thee with Orig'nal Sin, and thou
 Couldst neither then refuse, nor leave it now.

160–2 D. follows the basic classification of Aristotle, *On the Soul* 2. 2–3 (see note on *Bedford Honour* 37–9), and the derived doctrine of Thomas Aquinas 1. 76. 3 that the rational soul contained the sensitive and vegetative souls. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 358 (3 March 1620): 'At our inanimation in our Mother's womb, our immortal soul when it comes, swallows up the other souls of vegetation, and of sense, which were in us before'. D. reformulates these lines in *Salisbury* 52–4.

163–8 As in *Bedford Written* 59–60, D. is controverting the orthodox teaching of Augustine 14. 3 (1610) p. 499 that Original Sin not the fleshly body corrupted the soul. See note there for several instances of D.'s opinion in 1610, and for quotation of Augustine. D. provides a more positive anatomy of man in *Serm.* 1. 273–4 (12 April 1618):

Especially let [every one of us] consider, what he was when he lay smothered up in . . . that leavened lump of *Adam*, where he was wrapped up in damnation. And then let him consider forward again, that God in his decree severed him out, in that lump, and ordained him to a particular salvation; . . . infused an immortal soul into him; . . . took him by the hand; . . . let a man stand thus, and ruminate, and spell over God's several blessings to him, syllable by syllable.

He came to conform with Augustine's more sophisticated view in *Serm.* 5. 172 (?Dec. 1618):

That flesh in our mother's womb which we are, having no sin in itself (for that *mass of flesh* could not be damned, if there never came a soul into it), and that *soul*, which comes into that flesh from God, having no sin in it neither (for God creates nothing infected with sin, neither should that soul be damned, if it came not into that body)—the *body* being without sin, and the *soul* being without sin, yet in the first minute, that this body and soul meet, and are united, we become in that instant, guilty of *Adam's* sin, committed *six thousand years* before.

163 òbnoxious] liable to harm, vulnerable (the sense of its Latin root). Milgate suggests pronunciation as four syllables, presumably eliding 'how': 'how^obnoxious', but since this usage is the earliest cited in *OED*, D. may not have decided how to stress it.

164 Cp. also *Serm.* 4. 148 (Midsummer Day 1622): 'Man was soured in the lump, poisoned in the fountain, withered in the root, in the loins of *Adam*'.

165 curded milk] *Job* 10. 10 (implicitly reproaching his creator). unlittered whelp] unborn pup.

Think that no stubborn, sullen anchorite
 170 Which, fixed t'a pillar or a grave, doth sit

169–72 Christian orthodoxy regarding the flesh as essentially unclean (perhaps reinforced by awareness of the accompaniments of his wife's annual deliveries): cp. *Serm.* 5. 171–2 (?Dec. 1618):

Our Mothers 'conceived us in sin' [*arg. Psalm* 51. 5]; and being wrapped up in uncleanness there, 'Can any Man bring a clean thing out of filthiness?' [*arg. Job* 14. 4] . . . And as in the bringing forth, and bringing up, of the best, and most precious, and most delicate plants, Men employ most *dung*, so the greatest persons, where the spirit and grace of God, doth not ally that intemperance, which naturally arises, out of abundance, and provocation, and out of vanity, and ambitious glory, in outward ostentations, there is *more dung*, more uncleanness, more sin in the conception, and birth of their children, than of meaner and poorer parents.

Cp. *Serm.* 10. 233 (*Deaths Duell*, 1631):

This deliverance from that death, the death of the womb, is an entrance, a delivering over to another death, the manifold deaths of this world. We have a winding-sheet in our Mother's womb, which grows with us from our conception, and we come into the world, wound up in that winding-sheet, for we come to seek a grave.

Nevertheless, according to *Rom.* 8. 5–6, 'They that are after the flesh so mind the things of the flesh, . . . to be carnally minded is death', and D. momentarily restrains himself:

It is a degree of uncleanness, to fix our thoughts too earnestly upon the uncleanness of our conception, and of our birth; . . . we come into this world, as the Egyptians went out of it, swallowed, and smothered in a red sea, . . . weak, and bloody infants at our birth. . . . And therefore if there be any, any anywhere, of that generation, that are 'pure in their own eyes, and yet are not washed from their filthiness', as *Solomon* speaks [*arg. Prov.* 30. 12], *Erucesce vas stercorum* ['Blush for shame, you pot of turds'], says good *Saint Bernard*, If it be a vessel of gold, it is but a vessel of excrements; if it be a bed of curious plants, it is but a bed of dung; as their tombs hereafter shall be but glorious covers of rotten carcasses, so their bodies are now, but pampered covers of rotten souls. . . . we are *conceived in sin*, first, and then we are *born 'the children of wrath'* [*Eph.* 2. 3].

Manley quotes in the original French part of a passage from Paré, *Workes* 24. 12, 'Of the Natural Excrements . . . that the Child or Infant, Being in the Womb, excludeth' (Engl. 1634) pp. 898–9.

169 anchorite] religious recluse.

170 fixed t'a pillar] The first and most famous of whom was the fifth-century Syrian Simeon, therefore called Stylites, vividly evoked in Tennyson's dramatic monologue (*Poems* 1842). Theodoret, *Historia religiosa* 26 (*PG* 82. 1472–3) relates that he first chained himself to a rock to stop him straying far from his cell, then, to escape the flock of visitors, took to a pillar, increasing its height successively from six to twelve to twenty-two to thirty-six cubits so as to get closer to Heaven and escape earthly conversation. Two imitators adopted his name as well as his

Bedded and bathed in all his ordures, dwells
 So foully as our souls i'their first-built cells.
 Think in how poor a prison thou didst lie
 After, enabled but to suck and cry.

- 175 Think, when 'twas grown to most, 'twas a poor inn,
 A province packed up in two yards of skin,
 And that usurped or threatened with the rage

177 the] a 1633, 1635

prominent position in secluded exposure. **grave]** Perhaps alluding to Baradatos, who lived doubled up in a box under a rock—Theodoret 27 (*PG* 82. 1485). In medieval England, according to R. M. Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites of England* (1913) pp. 73 ff.: 'Enclosed persons were usually attached to some church in order that they might derive some spiritual advantages from it, and at the same time confer spiritual benefits upon the parish. Being a holy place, it was suitable for a dedicated person, and it was also a frequented spot for one who lived partly upon alms. The churchyard not only stood for a wilderness, but seemed a fitting habitation for one, as it were, dead to the world.' Their cells might then become their actual graves. Julian of Norwich thus lived in the graveyard of St Julian's Church (destroyed by German bombs in 1942). The analogy is drawn in Plato, *Gorgias* 493a (cp. *Phaedrus* 250), quoted and translated by Walkington 2 (1607) f. 11r: 'Our body is the very grave of the soul'.

172 first-built cells] Cp. *CoronazAnnum* 6, and *Essays* 1. Prayer (1952 p. 38): 'the prison of our mother's womb'.

173–83 Think . . . flies] The Platonic-Christian interpretation of *Ps.* 142. 9 (*BCP*) 'Bring my soul [Hebrew "life"] out of prison', and D.'s view of the body in *Metem* 67, 241, *BedfordWritten* 59, enlarged on in *Serm.* 7. 298 (Christmas Day 1626): 'My body is my prison'. Cp. Walkington ff. 10v–11r: 'Plato . . . weighing with himself that thraldom the soul was in, being in the body, and how it was affected and (as it were) infected with the contagion thereof, in his *Phaedrus*, as I remember [*Phaedo* 82d–e], disputing of the ideas of the mind, said that our bodies were the prisons and bridewells of our souls, wherein they lay as manacled and fettered in gyves.' For other references see note on *Ecstasy* 68.

175–8 The inevitability of sickness, sin, age and death were traditional topics of consolation: cp. Seneca, *To Marcia on consolation* 11. 3–5, in the *Moral Essays*; *BulstrodeRecant* 27–8, 49–68; and the prolonged depreciation of life in *FirAn*.

175 a poor inn] i.e., an involuntary overnight stopping-place. Cp. Walkington f. 12r: 'Plotin the great Platonist, he blushed often that his soul did harbour in so base an inn as his body was, so Porphyry affirms in his life, because (as he said in another place) his soul must needs be affected with the contagious qualities incident unto his body.' Cp. Cicero, *De senectute* 23. 84: 'I depart from this life as from an inn, not as from a home; for nature gave us a port of call to pause at, not to live in'; and Seneca, *To Marcia* 21. 1: 'Born to the briefest span, soon obliged to move out for another occupier, we look on this as an inn.' Cp. note on *FirAn* 6.

177 usurped] Presumably, rule of the 'province' of the body is usurped by the Devil, as in *DivM2Due* 9, *HolyS10Batter* 5–10, though the *AV*'s only use of the verb is 1 *Tim.* 2. 12: 'I suffer not a woman . . . to usurp authority over the man'.

- Of sicknesses or their true mother, age.
 But think that death hath now enfranchised thee: *Her liberty*
 180 Thou hast thy[^]expansion, now, and liberty. *by death.*
 Think that a rusty piece discharged is flown
 In pieces, and the bullet is his own,
 And freely flies. This to thy soul allow:
 Think thy shell broke, think thy soul hatched but now,
 185 And think this slow-paced soul, which late did cleave

178 sicknesses . . . age] Cp. the proverbs 'Age breeds aches', and that derived from Terence, *Phormio* 575: 'Old age is itself a disease' (Tilley A66, A73); D.'s use of proverbs is discussed by J. A. Thomas, *BRMLA* 25 (1971) 112–21. Cp. also D.'s *Serm.* 7. 298:

If this prison be burnt down by continual fevers, or blown down with continual vapours, would any man be so in love with that ground upon which that prison stood, as to desire rather to stay there, than to go home? Our prisons are fallen, our bodies are dead to many former uses: our palate dead in a tastelessness; our stomach dead in an indigestibleness; our feet dead in a lameness, and our invention in a dullness, and our memory in a forgetfulness; and yet, as a man that should love the ground, where his prison stood, we love this clay, that was a body in the days of our youth, and but our prison then, when it was at best; we abhor the graves of our bodies; and the body, which in the best vigour thereof, was but the grave of the soul, we over-love.

Cp. *Serm.* 10. 241–2, quoted below on ll. 249–50.

179–89 Seneca 23. 1–2, 24. 5 similarly consoles Marcia that at death the soul, hitherto in chains, bursts free and (if virtuous) flies easily up through the universe.

179–80 Cp. *Rom.* 8. 21.

179 enfranchised] freed.

181–3 Cp. D.'s use of ballistic imagery in *Dissolution* 22–4.

181 piece] fire-arm. **flown]** burst.

182 his own] '~ ~ master'.

184 Cp. P de Mornay, *Discourse of Life and Death* (1592) sig. D4r: 'This body, such as now it is, is but the bark and shell of the soul, which must necessarily be broken if we will be hatched, if we will indeed live and see the light.' Cp. Sir John Davies, '*Nosce Teipsum*' 1857–60 (1599; Milgate), where the image precedes a more appreciative account than D.'s of the triple soul and of birth into a world where 'He finds flowers to smell and fruits to taste'. J. P. Baumgartner, *RES* 33 (1982) 296–8, compares Philo Judaeus, *On the Virtues*, 'On Humanity' 76 (387–8; Loeb (1939) 8. 208–9).

185–206 Here D. expresses belief in the soul's immediate appearance in the presence of God, in agreement with Mornay: 'We believe . . . that death is but a separation of the body and soul, and that the soul returns to his happy abode, there to joy in God, . . . that at the last day it shall again take the body'. In *Devotions* 18 Meditation (1624) D. prefers the charitable comment on a dead neighbour, 'He is gone to everlasting rest and joy and glory: I owe him a good opinion'. Cp. the closely related prebend sermon of 29 Jan. 1626 (*Serm.* 7. 71): 'My soul, as soon as it is out of my body, is in Heaven, and does not stay for the possession

- T'a body^and went but by the body's leave
 Twenty perchance or thirty mile a day,
 Dispatches in a minute all the way
 'Twixt Heav'n and Earth: she stays not in the air,
 190 To look what meteors there themselves prepare;
 She carries no desire to know nor sense
 Whether th'air's middle region be intense;
 For th'element of fire, she doth not know
 Whether she passed by such a place or no;
 195 She baits not at the Moon, nor cares to try
 Whether in that new world men live and die;
 Venus retards her not, t'enquire how she
 Can (being one star) Hesper and Vesper be;

197 retards 1612Er, 1633, 1635: recards 1612-1625

of Heaven, nor for the fruition of the sight of God, till it be ascended through air and fire, and Moon, and Sun, and Planets, and Firmament, to that place which we conceive to be Heaven, but without the thousandth part of a minute's stop.' On Easter Day 1627 (*Serm.* 7. 383) D. was less willing to pronounce on the progress of the soul:

Little know we, how little a way a soul hath to go to Heaven, when it departs from the body; Whether it must pass locally, through Moon, and Sun, and Firmament (and if all that must be done, all that may be done, in less time than I have proposed the doubt in), or whether that soul find new light in the same room, and be not carried into any other, but that the glory of Heaven be diffused over all, I know not, I dispute not, I enquire not.

D. reverses the progress for a hypothetical angel in *Harington* 81-6.

186 went] walked.

188 Dispatches] Moves swiftly.

189 stays] stops.

190 meteors] atmospheric phenomena, including weather, but also all appearances in the sky other than the planets and fixed stars.

192 intense] because 'that which we imagine to be the middle region of the air, is the coldest of all' (*Serm.* 6. 308, May 1625), in sharp opposition to the hot air below and above. See note on *Storm* 14. Cp. Milton, *Paradise Lost* 1. 516.

193-6 Avoiding the questions raised in *FirAn* 206, 210-12.

195 baits] stops for refreshment. **try]** ascertain.

198 Hesper and Vesper be] Appearing in the evening both before and after sunset. Catullus 62. 1, 20 etc. uses the names interchangeably, and *Eous* for Venus as morning star (62. 35), also called Lucifer. D. presumably (like Marlowe, *Hero and Leander* 813) thought Hesper a name of the morning star. His puzzlement would not have beset Copernicans, and ancient knowledge is clearly summarised by Pliny 2. 6 (36), Holland 2. 8 (1601) 1. 6:

He that charmed Argus' eyes, sweet Mercury,
 200 Works not on her, who now is grown all eye;
 Who if she meet the body of the Sun
 Goes through, not staying till his course be run;
 Who finds in Mars his camp no corps of guard,
 Nor is by Jove, nor by his father barred;
 205 But ere she can consider how she went,
 At once is at and through the firmament.
 And as these stars were but so many beads
 Strung on one string, speed undistinguished leads
 Her through those spheres as through the beads, a string,
 210 Whose quick succession makes it still one thing:

Beneath the Sun a goodly fair star there is called Venus, which goeth her compass wandering this way and that by turns, and by the very names that it hath testifieth her emulation of Sun and Moon. For all the while that she preventeth the morning, and riseth oriental before, she taketh the name of Lucifer (or Day-star) as a second Sun hastening the day. Contrariwise, when she shineth from the west, occidental, drawing out the daylight at length and supplying the place of the Moon, she is named Vesper. This nature of her Pythagoras of Samos first found out about the 42 Olympias [612–609 BCE], . . . And hereupon cometh so great diversity and ambiguity of the names thereof, whiles some have called it Juno, others Isis, and othersome the Mother of the Gods.

A younger D. handled the topic with relish in *Problem 11* (Peters, *Paradoxes* pp. 35–6): 'It may be because of the divers names of her affections she assumes divers names to herself, for her affections have more names than any vice, *scilicet* pollution, fornication, adultery, lay incest, church incest, rape, sodomy, mastupration, masturbation, and a thousand others.'

197–204 The Roman gods identified with the planets have no power over the soul. I. A. Shapiro, *TLS* (1937) 492, points out that D.'s having it pass Mercury after Venus indicates that he now subscribed to Tycho Brahe's theory that planets other than Earth circled the Sun, as Copernicus inferred, but that the Sun still circled Earth with its Moon, as in Ptolemaic theory. But, as Manley points out, E. D. is supposed to be indifferent to astronomical questions anyway.

199 Mercury lulled all Argus's hundred eyes to sleep with his flute and magic wand. See, e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 1. 625–716.

200 all eye] Direct, immortal perception (see notes below on 292, 299), out-doing even Argus. Cp. the emblem of omniscient Providence, frequent on title-pages, e.g., that of W. Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), reproduced in M. Corbett and R. Lightbown, *Comely Frontispiece* (1979) p. 128.

203 Mars . . . guard] The supposed God of War has no troops, nor guard-house (where all new visitors to a palace might be taken) to interrupt her progress.

204 Jove] Jupiter (father of Mars). **his father]** Saturn (who fathered Jupiter).

206 the firmament] The eighth sphere of the Ptolemaic system, containing the fixed stars. Beyond it is Heaven.

208–9 undistinguished . . . spheres] takes her through the separate spheres as a continuum.

As doth the pith, which, lest our bodies slack,
 Strings fast the little bones of neck and back;
 So by the soul doth death string Heaven and Earth,
 For when our soul enjoys this her third birth,
 215 (Creation gave her one, a second, grace)
 Heaven is as near and present to her face,
 As colours are and objects in a room
 Where darkness was before, when tapers come.
 This must, my soul, thy long-short progress be:
 220 T'advance these thoughts, remember then that she,
 She whose fair body no such prison was
 But that a soul might well be pleased to pass

211–14 As the soul is the communication-link between Heaven and Earth, so the spinal cord connects brain and body. (The image is still valid even though D. wrongly thinks it substantially 'strings fast' the vertebrae.) Cp. *Funeral* 9–11 (on which see note), *Metem* 501–4.

211 pith] spinal cord.

214–15 Manley compares *Serm.* 6. 134–5 (Trinity Sunday 1624): 'There are in this man, this Christian, . . . says S. Gregory, three births: . . . of our natural mother; . . . of our spiritual Mother, the Church, by Baptism; and . . . of the general Mother of us all, when the earth shall be delivered, not of twins, but of millions, when she shall empty herself of all her children, in the Resurrection. And these three Nativities our saviour Christ Jesus had.' See also *Serm.* 8. 232 (Easter Day 1628): 'God gave me the light of Nature, when I quickened in my mother's womb by receiving a reasonable soul; and God gave me the light of faith, when I quickened in my second mother's womb, the Church, by receiving my baptism; but in my third day, when my mortality shall put on immortality, he shall give me the light of glory, by which I shall see himself.' As Milgate points out, E. D.'s third birth does not have to wait for the universal resurrection.

214 her third birth] D. has amended his theology since *FirAn* 450–1, where it was her second, and even since 120 above, where the soul is expected to sleep until the general resurrection. Here he assumes that the soul on death is immediately in the presence of God. See note on *DivM6Play* 7 on his oscillation between doctrines between 1608 and 1619. In the present instance he may have chosen the option more consoling to the bereaved parents.

215 a second, grace] Cp., e.g., the prayers in the *BCP* Order of Baptism: 'Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that he may be born again,' 'and grant that this child . . . may receive the fulness of thy grace', according to *John* 3. 3–5.

216–17 Cp. *Serm.* 7. 383, quoted above on 185–206, and the image of 85–9.

219 long-short] long in distance, short in duration.

220 advance] promote.

221–46 A long parenthesis, with what is to be remembered not commanded until 247.

221–2 D. is yoking two different views presented by Plato in *Phaedrus* 250–1, that of body as living tomb, a shell in which we are imprisoned, and body as capable of expressing divine beauty if its form is beautiful. Such beauty may make the gazer's own soul regrow its wings. See above, 173, and below, 435.

- An age in her; she whose rich beauty lent
 Mintage to others' beauties, for they went
 225 But for so much as they were like to her;
 She, in whose body (if we dare prefer
 This low world to so high a mark as she)
 The western treasure, eastern spicery,
 Europe and Afric and the unknown rest
 230 Were easily found, or what in them was best;
 And when we've made this large discovery
 Of all in her some one part, there will be
 Twenty such parts whose plenty and riches is
 Enough to make twenty such worlds as this;
 235 She whom had they known who did first betroth

224 others'] other 1633, 1635 232 there 1612Er. then 1612-1635

223-4 lent/Mintage] As an original die does to innumerable coins. Cp. *Image* 4, *Weeping* 3-4, *FirAn* 234, below 369-70, 521, and *Tilman* 13-18.

224-5 went/But for so much] only had value in so far.

226-7 prefer . . . to] raise to a level, compare with.

228 D.'s fifth use of his all-inclusive Indies compliment, as in *FirAn* 230-4. The wording here is closely echoed in *Serm.* 6. 231 (4 March 1625): 'the Western Hemisphere, the land of Gold, and Treasure, and the Eastern Hemisphere, the land of Spices and Perfumes'.

229 unknown rest] The ancients, e.g., Pliny 2. 68 (172), Holland's Engl. (1601) 1. 33, assumed that the world was divided north to south by continuous ocean, cutting off a continent between Europe and Asia (the site of America), and east to west by an uncrossable equatorial torrid zone beyond which there was a habitable zone as in the northern hemisphere. Renaissance circumnavigations of the globe restricted the possible area for completely unvisited land to the region of Australia and Antarctica, sketched in maps which included the southern hemisphere and on globes as a continuous landmass termed *Terra australis incognita*.

232 her some one part] just one part of her.

233 riches is] *OED s.v.* riches 2, quotes the treatment of this noun as singular up to 1667.

235-8 they . . . dignities] Cp. A. Victorelli, *De angelorum custodia* (Padua 1605) ff. 101v-104r. Manley notes that D. cites this edition of Victorelli in making ironic use of the doctrine against the Pope in *Pseudo-Martyr* 9. 3 (1610) pp. 248-9: 'They afford a particular tutelar angel to every college and corporation [f. 133r], and to the race of flies and of fleas and of ants [f. 16r]; . . . to every infidel kingdom [f. 133r], yea, to Antichrist [121r], yea to Hell itself [121r, 17r]'. However, Victorelli declined to assert the belief as a necessary dogma of faith. In a letter to Goodyer after April 1612 (*Letters* p. 43), D. asserts that 'It is . . . imperfect which is taught by that religion [Roman Catholicism] . . . that all mankind hath one protecting angel, all Christians one other, all English one other, all of one corporation and every civil coagulation or society one other, and every man one other.' Such corporate assignments derived from literal interpretation of 'the angels of the seven churches', *Rev.* 1. 20: to D. in *Serm.* 8. 358-9 (Easter Day 1629) it was

The tutelar angels, and assigned one both
 To nations, cities, and to companies,
 To functions, offices, and dignities,
 And to each several man, to him and him,
 240 They would have giv'n her one for every limb;
 She, of whose soul if we may say 'twas gold,
 Her body was th'electrum, and did hold

evident that S. Jerome himself [on *Micah* 6. 1], thought and taught, That those good Angels whom God appoints for the tuition of certain men, and certain places, in this world, shall give an account at the day of Judgement, . . . As also, those words in the beginning of the Revelation [*Rev.* 2–3], which S. John is commanded by Christ, 'to write to the Angels of certain Churches,' that Father, S. Jerome, interprets not only of figurative and Metaphorical Angels, the Bishops of those Churches, but literally of the Angels of Heaven.

Even Protestants such as J. G. Stuckius, in his meditation *De angelis angelicoque praesidio atque custodia* (1595) f. 4r claimed them for such champions of the Reformation as Henri IV of France, Elizabeth of England, James VI of Scotland, Maurice of Nassau, and the cities of Zurich and Geneva.

236 tutelar] guardian.

239 to each . . . man] Victorelli (1605) ff. 99r–101v, with the same caution as above. Deriving both from classical (e.g., Plato, *Phaedo* 108b) and biblical (e.g., *Psalms* 91. 11–12, *Matt.* 18. 10, *Acts* 12. 15) sources, these ideas were established in the Church by the twelfth-century Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium* 2. 31, and Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 113. 4. After the unqualified assumption of *Harington* 228, and *Serm.* 8. 53 (Trinity Sunday, 1627): 'That Angel, which God hath given to protect thee, is not weary of his office, for all thy perverseness', D. suspends belief in *Serm.* 8. 105 (19 Nov. 1627): 'We know that . . . there may be one *Angel* for every man; but whether there be so, or no, because not only amongst the Fathers, but even in the *Reformed* Churches, in both sub-divisions, *Lutheran*, and *Calvinist*, great men deny it, and as great affirm it, we know not'. Cp. *Serm.* 3. 153–4 (Trinity Sunday 1620): 'We bind you not to a necessity of believing that every man hath a particular Angel to assist him (enjoy your Christian liberty in that, and think in that point so as you shall find your devotion most exalted, by thinking that it is, or is not so), yet know, that you do all that you do, in the presence of God's Angels'; and *Serm.* 3. 218 (16 Feb. 1621): 'Let him that finds himself to be the honestest man by thinking so, think . . . that he hath a particular tutelar Angel: it will do him no harm to think so'. It was orthodox to believe in the angels' general mission to man: cp. the Collect for the feast of St Michael and All Angels, praying that they may 'succour and defend us in earth' (*BCP*).

242 electrum] A more precious alloy known to the ancients, described by Pliny 33. 23 (80–1), Holland 33. 4 (1601) 2. 469–70:

There is an artificial electrum made, namely, by intermingling gold with silver . . . This white gold also hath been of great account, time out of mind, as may appear by the testimony of the poet Homer [*Odyssey* 4. 73], who writeth that the palace of Prince Menelaus glittered with gold, electrum, silver and ivory. At Lindos (a city within the Island of the Rhodians) there is the temple of Minerva wherein Lady Helena did dedicate unto that goddess a cup made of electrum, and, as the story saith, moreover, it was

- Many degrees of that; we understood
 Her by her sight; her pure, and eloquent blood
 245 Spoke in her cheeks, and so distinctly wrought,
 That one might almost say, her body thought;
 She, she, thus richly and largely housed, is gone,
 And chides us slow-paced snails who crawl upon
 Our prisons' prison, Earth, nor think us well
 250 Longer than whilst we bear our brittle shell.
 But 'twere but little to have changed our room, *Her ignorance*
 If, as we were in this our living tomb *in this*

251 *Marginal note om. 1633*

framed and wrought just to the proportion and bigness of one of her own paps. This property hath electrum naturally: to shine by candlelight more clear and bright than silver. This singularity and proper virtue it hath besides (if it be natural) to discover and show any poison.

D. probably also read the comment of H. Salmuth on G. Panciroli 33 (1599) 1. 122, a work D. cites and draws on elsewhere, e.g., *BedfordRefined* 44–5. Cp. *Serm.* 3. 300 (1621): 'Neither was he [Christ] *Tertullian's Electrum*, a third metal made of two other metals, but a person so made of God and Man, as that, in that person, God and Man, are in their natures still distinguished.' Here at least D. keeps E. D. firmly in the human category as a (temporarily) separable mixture.

243 degrees] grades, i.e., the lustre of the artificial alloy, the ability to discover poison of the natural alloy, and, perhaps, the powers of the vegetable electrum, amber, to attract visually and electrostatically, to enshrine virtue as it figures a beautiful body containing and revealing a virtuous soul in *BedfordHonour* 22–7, and to protect against and cure disease and poisoning, as in Pliny 37. 12 (47–8, 50–1), Engl. Holland 37. 3 (1601) 2. 608–9.

244 her sight] the sight of her. **her . . . blood]** Which was that of her parents, esp. Sir Robert.

247 largely] 'magnificently', but also 'freely, unrestrainedly': her 'fair body no such prison was' (221), nor was she confined to Earth, 'Our prisons' prison'.

249 our prisons' prison, earth] Cp. *Essays* 1. 4 (1952) p. 34: 'This Earth . . . is man's prison and palace'. Cp. the quotation of Plato, *Phaedo* 80d, cited by D. (via Gregory of Nazianzus) in *Serm.* 8. 71 (1 July 1627) for Socrates' view, 'who, when he lay a condemned man in prison, then in that prison, taught his disciples, that the body of man was a worse prison, than that, he lay condemned in'.

249–50 On this love of life, cp. note on 178 above, and D.'s final claim in *Serm.* 10. 241–2 (25 Feb. 1631): 'Whether the *gate of my prison be opened with an oiled key* (by a gentle and *preparing sickness*), or the gate be *hewn down by a violent death*, or the gate be *burnt down by a raging and frantic fever, a gate into heaven I shall have*'.

250 shell] Singular for the sake of the rhyme, presumably; the plural *prisons'* con-cords with 248's *snails*. Plato, *Phaedrus* 250, likens the imprisoning body to a shell.

251 room] dwelling (continuing the image of 85–8, 156, 216–17).

252 this our living tomb] Plato, *Phaedrus* 250. Cp. *Rom.* 7. 24: 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' On the body as the tomb of the soul, Milgate cites also Plato, *Gorgias* 493, and compares *Anniversary* 20 (on which see note for D. on his body as grave and prison). Elsewhere, D. chooses to picture bodies as, e.g., 'Caskets of souls, temples and palaces' (*BedfordWritten* 56).

Oppressed with ignorance, we still were so: *life and*
 Poor soul, in this thy flesh what dost thou know? *knowledge*
 255 Thou know'st thyself so little as thou know'st not *in the next.*
 How thou didst die nor how thou wast begot.

254–300 ‘Flippantly sophisticated . . . This review of the age’s intellectual problems has little serious weight behind it; the spirit it betrays is . . . dry contempt: these matters are just not worth bothering about’—P. Cruttwell, *Shakespearean Moment* (1960) pp. 89–90. Despair of reliable knowledge was notably expressed during what D. regarded as his own ‘last age’ in the ‘negative way’ of Nicholas of Cusa, *De docta ignorantia* (1440), the devout scepticism of H. C. Agrippa, *Of the Vanitie of Artes and Sciences*, Engl. J. Sanford (1569; Latin 1526), and the philosophical scepticism of such as F. Sanches, *Quod nihil scitur* (1581), his cousin Montaigne’s *Apology for Raimond Sebond in Essais* 2. 12 (1580; Engl. J. Florio by 1595, publ. 1603), and P. Charron, *Of Wisdome* (1601; Engl. P. Lennard [1608?]). See *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. C. B. Schmitt and Q. Skinner (1988) pp. 673–4, 678–84. In the sermon quoted below on 293–4, D. shows that his own ignorance was a result of subservience to ancient authority, above all, Aristotle, Galen, Ptolemy and the Bible.

254 **Poor soul**] Cp. the beginning of Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 146 (1609): ‘Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth’ (whose last line perhaps inspired that of *DivM11Death*).

255 **Thou . . . little**] Cp. *Serm.* 8. 107 (19 Nov. 1627): ‘How little we know ourselves, which is the end of all knowledge!’ Milgate quotes also from Montaigne, and from *Serm.* 9. 256 (n. d.): ‘In that he gave no name to himself, it may be by some perhaps argued, that he understood himself less than he did other creatures’ (though it seems from the text, *Gen.* 2. 19, that he had already been named).

256 **how thou didst die**] Pererius 4. 157–9 (1601) pp. 199–200, summarises six interpretations of the threat that ‘in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die’ that tried to reconcile it with the statement that ‘all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years’ after he had done so (*Gen.* 2. 17. 5. 5), citing, e.g., Augustine 13. 23 (1610) pp. 489, 491: ‘By their just exclusion from the Tree of Life, the necessity of death entered upon them . . . we may not think that Adam had a spiritual body ere he fell, and in his fall was made a natural one’. Thence arose the question, Pererius 4. 160–5, pp. 200–1, whether the threatened death was of soul or of body, citing, e.g., Augustine 13. 12 (1610) p. 478: ‘If, therefore, it be asked what death God threatened man withal upon the transgression and breach of obedience, whether it were bodily or spiritual, or that second death, we answer, “It was all”’. Finally arose the question how death could be both natural and a punishment, explained thus by Augustine 13. 15 (1610) p. 480: ‘In this was the first death felt, that is, the departure of the soul from God. . . . Wherefore all Christians holding the catholic faith believe that the bodily death lieth upon mankind by no law of nature, as if God had made man for to die, but as a due punishment for sin’. Vives comments:

Augustine often averreth directly that man had not died had he not sinned, nor had a body subject to death or disease: the Tree of Life should have made him immortal. And S. Thomas Aquinas, the best school divine, holds so also. But Scotus, either for faction or will, denies it all, making man in his first state subject to diseases, yet that he should be taken up to Heaven ere he died; but if he were left on Earth, he should die at length, for the Tree of Life could not eternize him, but only prolong his life.

Thou neither know'st how thou at first cam'st in
 Nor how thou took'st the poison of man's sin.
 Nor dost thou (though thou know'st that thou art so)
 260 By what way thou art made immortal know.
 Thou art too narrow, wretch, to comprehend
 Even thyself: yea, though thou wouldst but bend
 To know thy body. Have not all souls thought
 For many ages that our body's wrought

257 Cp. *Serm.* 5. 349 (n. d.): 'S. *Augustine* cannot conceive any interim, any distance, between the creating of the soul, and the infusing of the soul into the body, but eases himself upon that, *Creando infundit*, and *infundendo creat*, "The Creation is the Infusion, and the Infusion is the Creation"'. See also notes on *Ecstasy* 62 and *Bedford Written* 59–60 for D.'s undecided position.

258 See quotation from *Serm.* 5. 172 in note on 163–7 above.

259–60 His religion's dependence on unsupported belief is regretted by D. in a letter of 9 Oct. ?1610 (*Letters* p. 18): 'There is yet therefore no opinion in philosophy or divinity so well established as constrains us to believe both that the soul is immortal and that every particular man hath such a soul, which since out of the great mercy of our God we do constantly believe, I am ashamed we do not also know it by searching farther'. As public apologist, in *Serm.* 8. 97–8 (19 Nov. 1627), he was later not so diffident:

Of the Immortality of the *soul*, there is not an express *article* of the *Creed*: for, that last article of 'The life everlasting', is rather, . . . what the soul shall suffer, or what the soul shall enjoy, being presumed to be *Immortal*, than that it is said to be *Immortal* in that article; That article may, and does presuppose an Immortality, but it does not constitute an Immortality in our soul, . . . There are so many evidences of the immortality of the soul, even to a natural man's *reason*, that it required not an Article of the Creed, to fix this notion of the Immortality of the soul. But the Resurrection of the *Body* is discernible by no other light, but that of *Faith*, nor could be fixed by any less assurance than an *Article* of the *Creed*.

Manley quotes the classic statement of the soul's immortality as an article of faith by P. Pomponazzi, *De immortalitate animae* (1516; 1534) pp. 144–5. As examples of the controversy (apart from classics such as Plato's *Phaedo* etc. and treatises by the Church Fathers), the Bodleian Library catalogue lists seventeen titles containing the words *de immortalitate animae* printed between 1516 and 1602. In England it was manifested in Bishop J. Woolton, *Treatise of the Immortalitie of the Soule* (1576), and the anthology translated and edited by J. Jackson, *The soule is Immortal; or, Certaine Discourses Defending the Immortalitie of the Soule; against the Limmes of Sathan* (1611).

261 **narrow]** limited.

262 **bend]** apply thyself, turn thy mind.

263–8 **Have not . . . even lay]** In place of the three principles of matter, form and privation of Aristotle, *Physics* 1. 7 (190b28–191a21), Paracelsus asserted the three principles (not identical with the substances) of salt (earth, incombustible, non-volatile), mercury (air, fusible and volatile) and sulphur (fire, inflammable) as the immediate constituents of things, while themselves being ultimately composed of the traditional four Aristotelean elements of earth, water, air and fire.

- 265 Of air and fire and other elements?
 And now they think of new ingredients:
 And one soul thinks one, and another way
 Another thinks, and 'tis an even lay.
 Know'st thou but how the stone doth enter in
- 270 The bladder's cave, and never break the skin?
 Know'st thou how blood which to the heart doth flow

See, e.g., E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (1957; 1968) pp. 174–5. Cp. note on *FirAn* 311–12, and the letter quoted above on 259–60 (*Letters* pp. 14–15):

Galen . . . taught them the qualities of the four elements, and arrested them upon this: that all differences of qualities proceeded from them. And after (not much before our time), men, perceiving that all effects in physic could not be derived from these beggarly and impotent properties of the elements, and that therefore they were driven often to that miserable refuge of specific form and of antipathy and sympathy, we see the world hath turned upon new principles, which are attributed to Paracelsus but, indeed, too much to his honour [since they originated in the fifteenth century with one Basilius Valentinus].

In his personal concern with illness, D. might have tried the mystifying and unhelpful J. Du Chesne (Quercetanus), *Practise of Chymicall, and Hermeticall Physicke*, Engl. T. Tymme (1605).

268 lay] bet.

269–74 For these physiological queries, cp. *Eccles.* 11. 5: 'As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child, even so thou knowest not the works of God who maketh all.'

269–70 D. was not sufficiently familiar even with Galen to recall his account of the passage of sand and stones from kidneys to bladder and thence out in the urine: see *On the Natural Faculties* 1. 13 (31), expanded by, e.g., Paré, 17. 34, Engl. *Workes* (1634) p. 664:

The stones which are in the bladder have for the most part had their first original in the reins or kidneys, to wit, falling down from thence by the ureters into the bladder. . . . the thinner portion of the urine floweth forth, but that which is more feculent and muddy being stayed behind, groweth as by scale upon scale, by addition and collection of new matter into a stony mass. And as a wick dipped oftentimes by the chandler into melted tallow by the copious adhesion of the tallowy substance presently becomes a large candle, thus the more gross and viscid faeces of the urine stay as it were at the bars of the gathered gravel, and by their continual appulse are at length wrought and fashioned into a true stone.

The stone was conspicuous in D.'s time not only for its agony but for its commonness, afflicting, e.g., Francis Bacon and William Harvey, while 'cutting for the stone' through the perineum had been practised since ancient times. See H. Ellis, *History of Bladder Stone* (1969) pp. 1–25, 66–71.

271–2 The discoverer of the pulmonary circulation, R. Colombo, *De re anatomica* (1559) p. 177, had made irrefutably clear that blood passed from the right ventricle of the heart to the left via the lungs. Thus the problem should have been

- Doth from one ventricle to th'other go?
 And for the putrid stuff which thou dost spit,
 Know'st thou how thy lungs have attracted it?
 275 There are no passages, so that there is
 (For ought thou know'st) piercing of substances.
 And of those many opinions which men raise
 Of nails and hairs, dost thou know which to praise?
 What hope have we to know ourselves, when we

long dead, but survived with those who clung to Galen's assertion, *Natural Faculties* 3. 15 (207–8), that some extra thin blood passed directly between the ventricles through perforations in the pits of the septum, although physiologists and anatomists such as A. Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica* 6. 15 (2nd edn 1555) p. 746, were quite unable to find any such perforations. D. preferred to rest in the ancient article of faith rather than succumb to material evidence only half a century old.

274 attracted] Traditional terminology: Galen, *De symptomatum differentiis* 4 (ed. Kühn 7. 63), specifies attraction, retention, alteration and excretion as the principal faculties of the body.

276 piercing of substances] According to Grierson (Supplementary Notes, 2. 273), a reference to a theoretical dispute between Stoics, who asserted the interpenetration of elements in a compound, and Peripatetics, who insisted that only mixtures were possible, in which qualities might be blended but substances retained their separate identities, since two bodies could not occupy the same space at the same time.

277–8 A problem addressed by Galen, *De anatomicis administrationibus* 2. 11, and thence Vesalius 1. 34 (1555) p. 182, alluding to disputes as to whether nails were a concretion of bones, nerves, skin or flesh, who, says Allen (1943) 333, 'after reviewing the whole controversy, says that all one can do is define what they are.' The opinions cited in, e.g., Colombo 13. 2 (1559) p. 255, are synthesised by Paré 5. 2 (1634) p. 160: 'The hair is nothing else than an excrement generated and formed of the more gross and terrene portion of the superfluities of the third concoction, which could not be wasted by insensible transpiration. The benefit of it is that, consuming the gross and fuliginous or sooty excrements of the brain, it becomes a cover and ornament for the head.'

279 What hope . . . ourselves] The force and the difficulty of the Greek commonplace are noted by, e.g., Plutarch, *Consolatory Oration Sent unto Apollonius* 30 (116C–D), Engl. Holland (1603) p. 526:

Two precepts there are written in the Temple of Apollo at Delphos which of all others be most necessary for man's life: the one is 'Know thyself', and the other 'Too much of nothing'; for of these twain depend all other lessons, . . . Ion the poet speaking of these sentences saith thus:

Know thyself, a word but short,
 Implies a work not quickly done:
 Of all the gods and heavenly sort
 None skills thereof but heavenly Jove alone.

It is quoted also by Seneca, *To Marcia* 11. 3. Cp. *Negative* I. 15. D. gives a Christian application in *Serm.* 6. 285–6 (26 April 1625):

280 Know not the least things which for our use be?
 We see in authors, too stiff to recant,

That which we are to look upon, is especially *ourselves*, but it is *ourselves*, enlarged and extended into the *next world*; for till we see, what we shall be then, we are but *short-sighted*. Wouldst thou say, thou knew'st a man, because thou hadst seen him in *his Cradle*? No more canst thou be said, to have known thyself, because thou knowest the titles, and additions, which thou hast received in this world; for all those things which we have here, are but *swaddling-clouts*, and all our *motions*, and preferments, from place, to place, are but the *rocking of a cradle*. The first thing that Christ says to his spouse in the Canticles [S. of S. 1. 8], is, 'If thou know not thyself' (for so all the Ancients read it, and so the Original bears it), 'If thou know not thyself, O thou fairest of women': she might know that she was the fairest of women, and yet not know herself; Thou mayst know, that thou art the happiest of men, in this world, and yet not know thyself. All this life is but a *Preface*, or but an *Index and Repertory* to the book of *life*; There, at that book begins thy study.

Cp. *Serm.* 9. 257 (n. d.): 'No study is so necessary as to know ourselves; no Schoolmaster is so diligent, so vigilant, so assiduous, as Adversity'.

279–80 we/Know not . . . be! D. echoes the Apocryphal 2 *Esdras* 4. 10, 11: 'Thine own things and such as are grown up with thee canst thou not know: how should thy vessel then be able to comprehend the way of the Highest, and, the world being now outwardly corrupted, to understand the corruption that is evident in my sight?' and *Wisdom* 9. 16: 'Hardly we guess aright at things that are upon Earth, and with labour do we find the things that are before us: but the things that are in Heaven, who hath searched out?' Cp. *Serm.* 7. 260 (12 Dec. 1626): 'And how imperfect is all our knowledge! What one thing do we know perfectly?' Also 8. 255 (Whit Sunday 1628): 'And yet, here in this world, knowledge is but as the earth, and ignorance as the Sea: there is more sea than earth, more ignorance than knowledge; . . . What Anatomist knows the body of man thoroughly, or what Casuist the soul? What Politician knows the distemper of the State thoroughly; or what Master, the disorders of his own family?'

281–300 In the obscurantist spirit of *Eccles.* 1. 18: 'He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow'; 12. 12: 'Of making many books there is no end'; and of 1 *Cor.* 8. 1–2: 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth. If any man think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know', D. dismisses all application of experience and conceptual ability to natural and human history as 'sense and fantasy'.

281–2 U. Aldrovandus, *De animalibus insectis* 5. 1 (1602) raises the problem of why ants perish by oil, and their different treatment of wheat and barley. His chapter on the ant occupies thirty folio pages on praise, synonyms, genus and species, description, place, copulation, birth, generation, food, harm done by them to people and plants, presages, auguries, prodigies, application of its name to other creatures, cognomina, antipathies, histories, and mystical, moral, hieroglyphical, epigrammatic, emblematic, fabulous, medicinal, nutritional, proverbial, decorative and mythical uses. Cp. *Essays* 1 (1952) p. 14: 'Man, who (like his own eye) sees all but himself, in his opinion, but so dimly that there are marked an hundred differences in men's writings concerning an ant'. D. was shamelessly dismissive in *Serm.* 4. 89–90 (Easter Monday 1622): 'When I do not know, and care not

A hundred controversies of an ant;
 And yet one watches, starves, freezes, and sweats,
 To know but catechisms and alphabets
 285 Of unconcerning things, matters of fact:

whether I know or no, what so contemptible a Creature as an Ant is made of, . . . I shall have but one answer from *Moses* . . . that a Cloud is as nobly born, as the Sun in the Heavens; and a beggar, as nobly, as the King upon Earth'. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 237 (Whitsunday [?1630]): 'Every Ant that he sees, asks him, "Where had I this providence, and industry?"' It may be inferred from Keynes, *Bibliography* L23, L112, L192 (1973 pp. 265, 271, 277), that D. may at least have looked over a copy of J. Wilde, *De fornica* (Hamburg 1615), if pencil-marks in it are his.

281 stiff] stubbornly opinionated.

283–7 Cp. *Serm.* 9. 235: 'To amass and gather together particulars, as they have fallen out in former times, and in our times, and thereby to judge of future occurrences by former precedents (which is the wisdom of Statesmen, and of civil contemplation, to build up a body of knowledge, from reading stories, or observing actions), . . . this wisdom *Solomon* calls "vanity, and vexation";' referring to *Eccles.* 1. 13–14, 17–18; 2. 13–17:

And I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven: this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith. I have seen all the works that are done under the Sun, and behold: all is vanity and vexation of spirit. . . . And I gave my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly; I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit, for in much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow. . . . Then I saw that wisdom excelleth folly as far as light excelleth darkness: the wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness. And I myself perceived also that one event happeneth to them all: then said I in my heart, 'As it happeneth to the fool so it happeneth even to me, and why was I then more wise?' Then I said in my heart that this also is vanity. For there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever, seeing that that which now is, in the days to come shall all be forgotten. And how dieth the wise man? As the fool.

Cp. *Litany* 239–41.

283 watches] stays up late.

284 catechisms and alphabets] elements, first principles, rudiments.

285 In *Serm.* 6. 215 (30 Jan. 1625), D. quotes *Jeremiah* 51. 17, 'Every man that trusts in his own wit, is a fool', and goes on to assert that 'A sober and temperate abstinence from the immoderate study, and curious knowledges of this world, this holy simplicity of the soul, is not a darkness, a dimness, a stupidity in the understanding contracted by living in a corner; it is not an idle retiring into a Monastery or into a Village, or a Country solitude; it is not a lazy affectation of ignorance: not darkness, but a greater light, must make us blind.' Cp. the warnings in *Coloss.* 2. 8 and *1 Tim.* 6. 20 against 'the rudiments of the world' and 'the profane and vain babblings of science falsely so called'. **unconcerning]** irrelevant. First *OED* citation.

How others on our stage their parts did act;
 What Caesar did, yea, and what Cic'ro said.
 Why grass is green, or why our blood is red,
 Are mysteries which none have reached unto.
 290 In this low form, poor soul, what wilt thou do?
 When wilt thou shake off this pedàntery
 Of being taught by sense and fantasy?

292 taught 1612Er, 1633, 1635; thought 1612–1625

286 our stage] this world.

287 What Caesar did] Perhaps a jibe at Sir Clement Edmondès's *Observations upon the Five First Bookes of Caesars Commentaries* (1600, 1601, 1604, 1609). **what Cic'ro said]** Commentaries on Cicero's orations proliferated along with the innumerable editions produced for the educational market: in 1607 appeared T. Draxe's *Calliepeia: Or a Rich Storehouse of Proper, Choise and Elegant Latine Words and Phrases, Collected for the Most Part out of All Tullies Works*, corr. and enl. 1613.

288 Why . . . green] Echoed by Raleigh, *History of the World*, Preface (1614) sig. D2v–3r:

But man, to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the grass under his feet why it should be green rather than red, or of any other colour; . . . that hath so short a time in this world as he no sooner begins to learn than to die; . . . that is ignorant of the essence of his own soul; . . . Man, I say, that is but an idiot in the next cause of his own life and in the cause of all the actions of his life, will, notwithstanding, examine the art of God in creating the world.

290–2 The image is of a soul in school, a junior in a beginner's class, as in 284, 301. D. himself does not get beyond the first leaf of Euclid's *Elements of Geometrie* in 131–4.

291 pedàntery] elementary learning. First *OED* citation, stressed on the second syllable and retaining the syllabic *e* of its French original *pédanterie*.

292 taught by sense and fantasy] Aristotle, *On the Soul* 3. 3 (427b7–429a9) declares that supposition is impossible without both perception and the (unreliable) imagination, followed by Thomas Aquinas 1. 84. 7, who goes on to say that

The proper object of the angelic intellect, which is entirely separate from a body, is an intelligible substance separate from a body. Whereas the proper object of the human intellect, which is united to a body, is the quiddity or nature existing in corporeal matter; and it is through these natures of invisible things that it rises to a certain knowledge of things invisible. Now it belongs to such a nature to exist in some individual, and this cannot be apart from corporeal matter; . . . Now we apprehend the individual through the sense and the imagination. And, therefore, for the intellect to understand actually its proper object, it must of necessity turn to the phantasms in order to perceive the universal nature existing in the individual.

See note below on 299. Cp. also *Serm.* 7. 334 (2 Feb. 1627), in which D. rejects the Roman claim that mystics such as Philip of Neri may become so pure as to be 'abstracted . . . from apprehending anything by those lazy degrees of the senses, and the fantasy, . . . such . . . as that they shall know all by immediate

Thou look'st through spectacles: small things seem great
 Below; but up into the watchtow'r get,
 295 And see all things despoiled of fallacies:

Revelation; . . . shall be in possession of that very Beatifical vision, which is the state of glory in Heaven' (Milgate).

293–4 Thou . . . Below] Cp. Mornay, *Discourse* (1592) sig. D4r: 'We look but through false spectacles', and another deprecatory use of the figure in *Serm.* 7. 260 (12 Dec. 1626): 'Young men mend not their sight by using old men's Spectacles; and yet we look upon Nature, but with *Aristotle's* Spectacles, and upon the body of man, but with *Galen's*, and upon the frame of the world, but with *Ptolemy's* Spectacles.'

293 spectacles] Used in England since the Middle Ages: see note on *Markham* 15.

294 up . . . get] The watch-tower likewise was a long-standing emblem of the rational soul apprehending divine truth, following *Hab.* 2. 1. For Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, *On the Imagination*, Engl. H. Caplan (1930) p. 85, soul transcends flesh in the 'lofty watch-tower of the intellect'. Cp. Walkington's translation of verses, f. 16':

When our imprisoned soul, once more being free,
 Gins scale the turret of eternity
 From whence it once was raught, and captive ta'en
 By this usurping tyrant corpse, our bane,
 Which subjugates her unto sottish will,
 And schools her under passion's want of skill,
 Then shall our souls, now choked with fenny [musty] care,
 With angels frolic in a purer air.

In Sir John Davies, '*Nosce Teipsum*' 970–1 (1599), however, the eyes already 'Stand as one watchman, spy or sentinel, / Being placed aloft within the head's high tower', continuing (977–80): 'Yet their best object and their noblest use / Hereafter in another world will be, / When God in them shall heavenly light infuse, / That face to face they may their Maker see.' According to R. Krueger and R. Nemser (Davies, *Poems* p. 343), Davies took his elementary physiology here from P. de La Primaudaye, *Second Part of the French Academie* (Engl. 1594) p. 68. D., however, is applying to Heaven, rather than the mind or the body, *Isa.* 21. 5–6: 'Watch in the watchtower, . . . for thus hath the Lord said unto me, "Go, set a watchman, let him declare what he seeth."'

295–300 Expanding the thesis of *1 Cor.* 13. 9–12: 'For we know in part, and we prophesy in part, but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. . . . For now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know even as I am known', on which D. was to preach a whole sermon on Easter Day 1628 (*Serm.* 8. 219–36; see e.g., 220, 233). Cp. *Serm.* 3. 111–12 (?Easter Term 1620): 'We shall see all things . . . as they are; . . . We shall be no more deluded with outward appearances: for . . . there will be no delusory thing to be seen. . . . I shall see nothing but God, and what is in him'. Cp. Plutarch, *De consolatione ad Apollonium* 13 (108B), *Morals* (Engl. 1603) p. 517: 'If ever we would clearly and purely know anything, we ought to be sequestered and delivered from this body, and by the eyes only of the mind contemplate and view things as they be' (Milgate).

295 despoiled of fallacies] stripped of deception and misbelief.

Thou shalt not peep through lattices of eyes,
 Nor hear through labyrinths of ears, nor learn
 By circuit or collections to discern:
 In Heaven thou straight know'st all concerning it,

296–8 Cp. *Serm.* 4. 128 (Easter Monday 1622):

We shall not pass from Author, to Author, as in a Grammar School, nor from Art to Art, as in an University; but, as that General which Knighted his whole Army, God shall Create us all Doctors in a minute. That great Library, those infinite Volumes of the Books of Creatures, shall be taken away, quite away: no more Nature. Those reverend Manuscripts, written with God's own hand, the Scriptures themselves, shall be taken away, quite away: no more preaching, no more reading of Scriptures. And that great Schoolmistress, Experience, and Observation shall be removed: no new thing to be done. And in an instant I shall know more than they all could reveal unto me: I shall know, not only as I know already, that a Beehive, that an Anthill is the same book in *Decimosexto*, as a Kingdom is in *Folio*, That a Flower that lives but a day, is an abridgement of that King, that lives out his threescore and ten years; but I shall know too, that all these Ants, and Bees, and Flowers, and Kings and Kingdoms, howsoever they may be Examples, and Comparisons to one another, yet they are all as nothing, less than nothing, infinitely less than nothing, to that which shall then be the subject of my knowledge, for it is 'the knowledge of the glory of God' [2 *Cor.* 4. 6].

296 lattices] windows with crossed glazing-bars closely spaced. Cp. Walkington, f. 111–v: 'Our soul in the body . . . sees as through a lattice window.' The Geneva Bible glosses *S. of S.* 2. 9, 'He standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, showing himself through the lattice', thus: 'So that we cannot have full knowledge of him in this life', and D. applies the text in *Serm.* 2. 111 (1618) to the perception of Christ from the divided Church. Davies, '*Nosce teipsum*' 984 terms the eyes 'casements'. The lattice-structure of insects' eyes to be seen through the microscope was, however, first described and illustrated by R. Hooke, *Micrographia* 39 (1665) pp. 175–6 and pl. 24. Aptly, for a poem so hostile to bodily pleasure, *OED* quotes nine sixteenth to eighteenth-century examples of the word characterising an alehouse or brothel, but Walkington goes on: 'Being freed from this prison, and having once flitted from this ruinous tenement, this mud-walled cottage, it is a Lynceus, . . . an all-eyed Argus, . . . a high-soaring eagle'.

297 labyrinths of ears] See note on *Satyre* 2 58. The best-known labyrinth was that of Knossos in Crete, where dwelt the monstrous offspring of Pasiphaë and a beloved bull, the Minotaur, who every year devoured seven boys and seven girls from Athens (see, e.g., Plutarch, *Theseus* 15–19; Apollodorus, *Library* 3. 1. 4, 15. 8; Ovid, *Met.* 8. 131–76). This and the conventional use of a labyrinth to figure 'inextricable error' (Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 27)—as when D. in *Serm.* 8. 332 (25 Jan. 1629) calls an atheist 'Poor intricate soul! Riddling, perplexed, labyrinthical soul!'—again resonate appropriately for this poem.

298 circuits or collections] inferences.

299–302 'The universal University, Heaven itself' (*Serm.* 9. 277 (n. d.)) is the ultimate educational institution in contrast to the elementary school of 290–1.

299 Cp. 1 *Cor.* 13. 12, and *Serm.* 9. 256 (n. d.): 'It is a lamentable perverseness

- 300 And what concerns it not shalt straight forget.
 There thou (but in no other school) mayst be,
 Perchance, as learned and as full as she,
 She who all libraries had throughly read
 At home in her own thoughts, and practisèd
 305 So much good as would make as many more;
 She whose example they must all implore,
 Who would or do or think well, and confess
 That aye the virtuous actions they express
 Are but a new and worse edition
 310 Of her some one thought or one action;
 She who in th'art of knowing Heaven was grown
 Here upon earth to such perfection
 That she hath ever since to Heaven she came
 (In a far fairer print) but read the same;

300 shalt 1633, 1635: shall 1612–1625 308 aye] are 1625: all 1633, 1635
 314 print 1612Er, 1635: point 1612–1633

in us, that we are so contentiously busy, in enquiring into the Nature, and Essence, and Attributes of God, things which are reserved to our end, when we shall know all at once, and without study, all that, of which our lives' study can teach us nothing.' On angels' full and direct knowledge see Thomas Aquinas, *ST* I. 58. 3: 'In the truths which they know naturally, they at once behold all things whatsoever that can be known in them.' (The corollary is, 1a. 54. 5, that they have no imagination.) In 1. 62. 5, he reminds readers that 'they that shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, . . . are equal unto the angels' (*Luke* 20. 35–6). True knowledge of the planets' courses, of Nature's mysteries and celestial causes, is expected too by Seneca, *To Marcia* 25. 2.

300 Cp. *Serm.* 5. 276 (n. d.): 'I may have as much knowledge, as is presently necessary for my salvation, and yet have a restless and unsatisfied desire, to search into unprofitable curiosities, unrevealed mysteries, and inextricable perplexities'; and *Serm.* 9. 134 (Christmas Day 1629): 'Curious men busy themselves so much upon speculative subtleties, as that they desert, and abandon the solid foundations of Religion'. **shalt]** 'Shalt was commonly elided to *shall* before the consonant cluster *str*'—Manley, so 1633's emendation is grammatically permissible but probably unauthoritative.

301–20 Believing all truth to be found in books, one of D.'s favourite compliments is the addressee as book of wisdom: cp. *BedfordRefined* 51–6, *BedfordShe* 43–4, *HerbertE* 48. D. was to deploy it again in *Salisbury* 69–74. In 504–6, E. D. becomes a manuscript, implicitly even more valued by D. because older (*Andrews* 2).

302 full] complete and perfect. Cp. note on 507 below.

303–5 Cp. *Serm.* 3. 365 (Christmas Day 1621): 'By this light of *Faith*, . . . he hath a whole *Bible*, and an abundant Library in his own heart'.

307 or . . . or] either . . . or.

308 aye] always. Characteristically corrupted from *aye* in 1612, 1621 to *are* in 1625 and miscorrected to *all* in 1633.

- 315 She, she, not satisfied with all this weight
 (For so much knowledge as would over-freight
 Another, did but ballast her) is gone
 As well t'enjoy as get perfection,
 And calls us after her, in that she took
 320 (Taking herself) our best and worthiest book.
 Return not, my soul, from this ecstasy *Of our company*
 And meditation of what thou shalt be, *in this*
 To earthly thoughts, till it to thee appear *life, and in*
 With whom thy conversation must be there: *the next.*
- 325 With whom wilt thou converse? what station
 Canst thou choose out, free from infection,
 That will nor give thee theirs nor drink in thine?
 Shalt thou not find a spongy, slack divine
 Drink and suck in th'instructions of great men,
 330 And for the Word of God vent them again?
 Are there not some Courts (and then, no things be
 So like as Courts) which in this let us see

323 earthly] early 1625 327 nor give] not give 1625–1635

316–18 D. uses the same figure for religious knowledge here as he does for bodily attractiveness in *Air* 15–18.

316 **over-freight**] overload.

317 **ballast her**] give her stability with its weight.

324 **conversation**] familiar company, association, exchange of ideas. **there**] on Earth.

325 **converse**] mix, associate. **station**] position in society.

328–30 The clerical parasite gulps the orders of the powerful like a beer-swiller, and regurgitates them, rather as D. might be thought to have done later in some of his sermons, such as that of 15 Sept. 1622 (*Serm.* 4. 178–209) in which he vehemently supported the King's *Directions to Preachers* (*Letters* pp. 231–2), which, however, did coincide with his own authoritarian views. See Bald, *Life* pp. 433–5. Here in *SecAn* is a hint of D.'s persisting doubts about a career in the Church, despite his preoccupation with religion. Cp. *Satyre* 5 56–62.

328 **spongy**] parasitic (*OED* quotes Marston, *Antonio and Mellida* 4. 1. 55–6 (1602): 'Blown up with the flattering puffs / Of spongy sycophants'), keen to soak up benefits. **slack**] indifferent to religious demands, of lax moral conscience.

330 **for**] as. **vent**] emit like wind or urine, uncritically utter (perhaps with subsidiary hint of separate verb, 'sell').

331–2 **no things . . . as courts**] i.e., they are all alike, undermining the tactful 'some'. Cp. *Serm.* 3. 123 (?Easter Term 1620): 'No things are liker one another, than *Court* and *Court*, the same ambitions, the same underminings in one Court as in another' (Manley).

332 **in this**] Presumably in the specific matter of courtly corruption of ecclesiastics by patronage, rather than courts' own decay, since they had always attracted the power-hungry and unscrupulous. In both the Roman and Anglican Churches the entanglement of religious and secular power and wealth were notorious: see, e.g., the headnote on the context of *Somerset* and the plays of Webster etc.

- That wits and tongues of libellers are weak,
 Because they do more ill than these can speak?
 335 The poison's gone through all: poisons affect
 Chiefly the chiefest parts, but some, effect
 In nails and hairs, yea, excrements, will show:
 So will the pois'n of sin in the most low.
 Up, up, my drowsy soul, where thy new ear
 340 Shall in the angels' songs no discord hear;
 Where thou shalt see the blessed mother-maid

338 will 1612Er: wise 1612–1625: lies 1633, 1635

333 libellers] satirists. All writings criticising establishment figures were termed 'libel', and in 1605 the Star Chamber case *De libellis famosis* established the ruling that truth was no defence. See Penry Williams, *Tudor Regime* 11 (1979; repr. 1981) p. 391. Cp. *Satyre* 4 120, *Bracelet* 101.

335–6 poisons affect . . . chiefest parts] J. Cardan, *De venenis* 1. 15, appended to *In septem Aphorismorum Hippocratis commentaria* (Basle 1564) pp. 896–7, describes the effects of animal bites and stings on brain, heart and liver (Milgate).

337 Milgate quotes Cardan 2. 13 (968) on nails turning black and hair falling out after death by poisoning, citing Galen 6. **excrements]** While this could include 'nails and hairs' (see note above on 277–8, and *Serm.* 4. 160, repeated in 8. 177), T. Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1565) sig. 2X3r, defines *excrementum* as 'phlegm, choler, melancholy, urine, sweat, snivel, spittle, milk, ordure' (i.e., anything excreted by the body), and Galen 6. 5 (ed. Kühn 8. 423) notes some poisons' visible effect on semen and menses.

338 will] Another usual chain of corruption, 1612Er's correction of 1612's *wise* to *will* was not made in 1621, 1625; the editor of 1633 saw correction was needed but misguessed *lyes*. **pois'n of sin]** Cp. the opinion of the Lord in *Deut.* 32. 32–3: 'For their vine is of the vine of Sodom and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter; their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps.' **most low]** Those at the other end of the social scale from divines and courts: the poor and weak may be as sinful as the rich and powerful.

339–58 angels, mother-maid, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, virgins] The slightly modified order of the Roman Litany of the Saints followed in *Litany* 37–117 is here further adapted: D. reverses BVM and angels (perhaps to reduce the odour of Mariolatry so prominent in France in general and Amiens no less in particular), omits the confessors (except, perhaps, by implication: see note on 356) and stops short of the doctors he had relocated, giving his sequence a more Protestant beginning, and ending appropriately with the virgins.

339 new ear] no longer the labyrinth of 297, just as E. D. had 'grown all eye' in 200.

340 the angels' songs] *Rev.* 15. 2–4.

341–4 i.e., the BVM is elevated to Heaven for exemplary obedience, sexual virtue and faith in Christ ('One claim for innocence', *Litany* 40) rather than merely in right of being born without sin (immaculately conceived) and the 'Mother of God'. The Feast of the Immaculate Conception on 8 Dec. authorised by the fifteenth-century Pope Sixtus IV (presumably conspicuously observed in Amiens

in 1611) was opposed even within the Roman Church by those D. regarded as authorities, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 3. 27. 1. 3, and Bernard of Cluny, but re-enforced by the Council of Trent which explicitly excepted the BVM in its declaration on Original Sin. In *Serm.* 1. 307 (19 April 1618), D. denies that she was 'so clean a woman as had no sin at all, none contracted from her Parents, no original sin; . . . she was not without sin; for then why should she have died? For even a natural death in all that come by generation, is of sin'. In the *BCP*, only the Feasts of the Annunciation and Purification were fully solemnized with proper collects, epistles and gospels, de-emphasising the Roman and Greek semi-deification and invocation rejected by Luther and subsequent reformers.

342 that which men have said] 'What a spiritual dominion, in the prayers, and worship of the people, what a temporal dominion in the possessions of the world had the Virgin *Mary*, Queen of Heaven, and Queen of Earth too! She was made joint-purchaser of the Church with her Son, and had as much of the worship thereof as he, though she paid her fine in milk, and he in blood'—*Serm.* 9. 53 (April 1629). Cp. *Serm.* 3. 263 (Trinity Sunday ?1621): 'When they will pray the Virgin *Mary* to assist her Son, nay, to command her Son [see Heylyn below], and make her a Chancellor to mitigate his common Law, truly they come too near making more Gods than one.' See also *Serm.* 6. 183 (Christmas Day 1624). D.'s outrage may have found exemplary provocation in the choir stalls of Amiens Cathedral where among more than 4,000 carved figures, the sequence of Old Testament scenes is matched not by the New Testament but the life of *Mary* as mythologized in, e.g., *Voragine*, with *Jesus* only appearing in an accessory function. In *Full Relation of Two Journeys* 4. 3 (1656) sig. Z4r–v, P. Heylyn describes the glorious statues and shrines of the Virgin (much depleted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) which he saw in 1626, expressing outrage at what he saw in France in general and Amiens in particular (where, according to M. A. Goze, *Nouvelle description de la cathédrale d'Amiens* (Amiens 1847) 2. 46, one of the magnificent silver statues of the BVM in the treasury had been given by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford and chamberlain to Henry VIII):

Considering the honours done to her and those to her son, . . . you would have imagined that *Mary* and not *Jesus* had been our saviour. For one *Pater noster* the people are enjoined ten *Ave Marias*, and to recompense one pilgrimage to Christ's sepulchre at Jerusalem, you shall hear two hundred undertaken to Our Lady of Loretto; and whereas in their calendar they have dedicated only four festivals to our Saviour, which are those of his birth, circumcision, resurrection, and ascension (all which the English Church also observeth), for the Virgin's sake they have more than doubled the number. Thus do they solemnize the feasts of her purification and annunciation at the times which we also do; of her visitation of Elizabeth in July, of her dedication and assumption in August, of her nativity in September, of her presentation in November, and of her conception in the womb of her mother in December. To her have they appropriated set forms of prayers prescribed in the two books called one *Officium* and the other *Rosaria beatae Mariae virginis*, whereas her son must be contented with those orisons which are in the common Mass Book. Her shrines and images are more glorious and magnificent than those of her son, and in her chapel are more vows paid than before the crucifix. But I cannot blame the vulgar when the great masters of their souls are thus also besotted. . . . In one of their Councils, Christ's name is quite forgotten, and the name of Our Lady put in the place of it. . . . but most horrible is that of one of their writers (I am loath to say

- Joy in not being that which men have said;
 Where she's exalted more for being good
 Than for her interest of motherhood;
 345 Up to those Patriarchs, which did longer sit
 Expecting Christ than they've enjoyed him yet;
 Up to those Prophets, which now gladly see
 Their prophesies grown to be history;
 Up to th'Apostles, who did bravely run
 350 All the Sun's course with more light than the Sun;

it was Bernard): *Beata virgo monstra te esse matrem, iube filium* ['Blessed Virgin, show you are a mother: order your son'] . . . : which [Thomas] Harding, in his *Confutation of the Apology* [*Confutation of a Booke Intituled 'An Apologie of the Church of England'* [by J. Jewel 1562] 1565], endeavouring to make good, would needs have it to be only an excess of mind, or a spiritual sport and dalliance. But from all such sports and dalliances, no less than from the plague, pestilence and famine, Good Lord deliver us.

343–4 Cp. Augustine, *De sancta virginitate* 1. 3 (PL 40. 398) on Jesus's earthly family deriving merit not from being physically related but only from obedience of his doctrine and imitation of him: Mary was more blessed in receiving the faith of Christ than in conceiving the flesh of Christ, as the latter said in *Luke* 11. 27–8: 'A certain woman of the company lifted up her voice and said unto him: "Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked!" But he said: "Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it"' (Gr.).

345–6 those Patriarchs . . . yet] Jehovah created the expectation in his everlasting covenant with Abraham in *Gen.* 17. 19, recalled in *Micah* 7. 20: 'Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob and the mercy to Abraham which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old', which Mary's *Magnificat*, *Luke* 1. 55, interprets the birth of Jesus as fulfilling. The Patriarchs were specifically Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in *Gen.* 12–50, but D. could include their antediluvian ancestors and the sons of Jacob, patriarchs of the Twelve Tribes, who were probably all dead by c. 1635 BCE, according to the figures in *Gen.* and *Exod.* (Joseph, youngest but one of Jacob's sons, died relatively young at 110, c. 1664 BCE, and was perhaps outlived by Levi, who died at 137, *Exod.* 6. 16). 'We reckon that from Adam unto Christ are 3974 years, 6 months and 10 days', says the conventional chronology appended to the Geneva Bible (1560) sig. 3L3r–v, a figure increased to 4004 in J. Ussher's definitive *Annales veteris et novi testamenti* (1650–4) Engl. as *Annals of the World* (1658).

347–8 What originated as comments on contemporary situations claiming to be divinely inspired (mainly from *Isa.* but also notably the *Pss* ascribed to David) were often alleged in the Gospels (mostly in *Matt.* and *John*) and *Acts* as foretelling the actions and predicaments of Jesus and his followers. The more fervent Protestants believed that *Dan.* and *Rev.* were being fulfilled in their own times, with the Pope of Rome as Antichrist.

349–50 th'Apostles . . . course] They took the Gospel to the whole world. In *Luke* identical with the twelve disciples (as made up after the death of Judas), so in *Litany* 73 D. makes them God's 'illustrious zodiac', which, conversely, is the course run by the Sun. Cp. 2 *Tim.* 4. 7.

Up to those Martyrs, who did calmly bleed,
 Oil to th'Apostles' lamps, dew to their seed;
 Up to those Virgins, who thought that almost
 They made joint tenants with the Holy Ghost,
 355 If they to any should his temple give;
 Up, up, for in that squadron there doth live
 She who hath carried thither new degrees
 (As to their number) to their dignities;
 She who, being to herself a state, enjoyed

353 thought 1612*Er*, 1633, 1635: thoughts 1612–1625

351–2 Cp. *Biathanatos* 1. 3. 2: 'the blood of the martyrs . . . [is] the seed of the Church', a traditional rendering of Tertullian, *Apology* 50. 13, repeated in *Pseudo-Martyr* 2. 11, *Serm.* 1. 157, 162 (30 April 1615), 5. 188 (n. d.).

353–4 Cp. the reminder 'that we acknowledge the Church to be the house *only* of God, and that we admit no Saint, no Martyr, to be a *Joint tenant* with him'—*Serm.* 2. 219 (1619).

354 **made joint tenants**] gave equal right of occupation ('occupy', moreover, acquired a predominantly sexual sense: see *OED* 8). Cp. *FirAn* 114.

355 By allowing men to enter their bodies, they would be violating Paul's demand in *1 Cor.* 6. 18–20: 'Flee fornication. . . He that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. What? Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, . . . and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price'.

356 **that squadron**] Cp. *Litany* 92: 'A virgin squadron of white Confessors'. Like them, E. D. was notably holy, but also a virgin, though not a martyred Virgin, so forming a new sub-class of saint.

357–8 Later, as a senior churchman, D. might have found matter here to censure: cp. *Serm.* 7. 128–9 (18 [?16] April 1626):

That there are degrees of Glory in the Saints in Heaven, scarce any ever denied. Heaven is a Kingdom, and Christ a King, and a popular parity agrees not with that State, with a Monarchy. . . . No one of the Fathers, whom I have observed to touch upon this point, did ever deny this difference of degrees of Glory. . . . In the Reformation . . . one man (for I never found more than that one, one *Schoufeldius*) denies it . . . But that frame, and that scale of these degrees, which they have set up in the Roman Church, we do deny. . . . their enormous super-edifications, . . . their incommodious upper buildings. . . . Many things, which in the sincerity of their beginning, and institution, were pious, and conduced to the exaltation of Devotion, by their additions are become impious, and destroy Devotion so far, as to divert it upon a wrong object.

357 **new degrees**] a re-ranking.

359–75 E. D.'s sovereignty over herself was a traditional Platonic topos, as in Dante, *Purgatorio* 27. 142: *io te sopra te coronò e mitriò*, 'I make you king and bishop of yourself'. Cp. *Serm.* 4. 216 (13 Oct. 1622): 'Every Christian is a state, a commonwealth to *himself*, and in him, the *Scripture* is his *law*, and the *conscience* is his *Judge*' (Milgate on 374).

- 360 All royalties which any state employed;
 For she made wars and triumphed: reason still
 Did not o'erthrow but rectify her will;
 And she made peace, for no peace is like this:
 That beauty and chastity together kiss;
- 365 She did high justice, for she crucified
 Every first motion of rebellious pride;
 And she gave pardons and was liberal:
 For, only herself except, she pardoned all;
 She coined in this: that her impressions gave
- 370 To all our actions all the worth they have;
 She gave protections: the thoughts of her breast
 Satan's rude officers could ne'er arrest.
 As these prerogatives, being met in one,
 Made her a sovereign state, religion
- 375 Made her a Church; and these two made her all.

369 impressions] impression 1633, 1635

360 royalties] sovereign powers. Her exercise of five such is detailed in 361–75: these (and four more that E. D. too obviously lacked) are listed by J. Bodin, *Six Bookes of a Commonweale*, Engl. R. Knolles 1. 10 (1606) pp. 162–3.

361–2 reason . . . will] Because her will, what she wanted, was never unreasonable, her reason's only function was to direct, not thwart it.

363–4 Defying the proverb 'Beauty and chastity seldom meet' (Tilley B163), she calls forth the secular poet's stock compliment (cp. *Carey* 42) given biblical dress, i.e., that of *Ps.* 85. 10: 'Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' Manley notes *Problem* 8, 'Why are the Fairest Falsest?'

365–6 she crucified . . . pride] Cp. *Gal.* 5. 24.

369–70 As the stamp of a monarch's head (such as Queen Elizabeth's) gave value even to the 'small copper coins' of 430 below.

369 coined] On D.'s delight in monetary images, see note on *FirAn* 234.

371 protections] Manley glosses from J. Cowell, *Interpreter* (1607) sig. 3F4v: "'Protection" in the special signification is used for an exemption or an immunity given by the King to a person against suits in law, . . . which I take to be a branch of his prerogative.' D.'s friend Goodyer, a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, secured such protection from his creditors for himself and his sureties, periodically renewed (Bald, *Life* p. 164).

371–2 the thoughts . . . arrest] She never sinned even in thoughts. Even imagining the death of king, queen or heir was deemed capital treason: see note on *Curse* 17–18.

374–5 religion . . . Church] D. uses the analogy less optimistically in *Serm.* 4. 194 (15 Sept. 1622): "'Every man is a little world," says the *Philosopher*; Every man is a little *Church* too; and in every man, there are two sides, two armies: the flesh fights against the Spirit. This is but a *Civil War*, nay it is but a *Rebellion* indeed; and yet it can never be absolutely quenched.'

- She who was all this All, and could not fall
 To worse by company (for she was still
 More antidote than all the world was ill),
 She, she doth leave it, and by death survive
 380 All this in Heaven; whither who doth not strive
 The more because she's there, he doth not know
 That accidental joys in Heaven do grow.
 But pause, my soul and study, ere thou fall *Of essential*
 On accidental joys, th'essential. *joy in this*
 385 Still, before accessaries do abide *life and in*
 A trial, must the principal be tried; *the next.*
 And what essential joy canst thou expect
 Here upon Earth, what permanent effect
 Of transitory causes? Dost thou love
 390 Beauty (and beauty worthiest is to move)?
 Poor cozened cozener! That she and that thou

380 whither 1612Er, 1635; whether 1612–1633

376 all this All] E. D. is now elevated to equal the Universe in the phrase of l. 5, if not God: Shawcross quotes *1 Cor.* 15. 28: '. . . then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all'.
382–4 accidental . . . essential] Cp. *Serm.* 7. 417–18 (6 May 1627) on 'those glorious Saints who shall rise from the dust, and fall no more, but, as they arise at once to the fulness of *Essential* joy, so arise daily in *accidental* [*sic*] joys'. Manley quotes the concise explanation in *Serm.* 3. 339 (n. d.):

The blessedness of Heaven itself, Salvation, and the fruits of Paradise . . . have yet got no other name in the subtlety of the Schools, nor in the fulness of the Scriptures, but to be called the joys of Heaven. Essential blessedness is called so: 'Enter into thy master's joy' [*Matt.* 25. 21], that is, into the Kingdom of Heaven; and accidental happiness added to that essential happiness is called so too: 'There is joy in Heaven at the conversion of a sinner' [*Luke* 15. 7, 10].

383–4 fall/On] turn attention to.

385–6 i.e., the main issue must be settled first. Manley glosses from Cowell sig. A4r, s.v. 'Accessory': 'The law of England is that so long as the principal is not attained, the accessory may not be dealt with.'

386 tried] Playing (as Milgate points out) on the senses of arraigning criminals and of proving, experiencing the essential joy.

390 beauty . . . move] Cp. Plato, *Symposium* 197b: 'From the love of the beautiful has sprung every good in Heaven and Earth' (tr. B. Jowett). **worthiest]** two syllables.

391 cozened cozener] deceived deceiver.

391–400 That she . . . inconstancy] The closing pages of Montaigne's *Apology for Raimond Sebond* (see note above on ll. 294–300) comprise substantial quotation of Plutarch's *E at Delphi* and other works, on the continuous change of identity from embryo to infant to boy to youth to man to old man to decrepit old man: 'Epicharmus avoucheth that who erewhile borrowed any money doth

Which did begin to love, are neither now:
 You are both fluid, changed since yesterday.
 Next day repairs (but ill) last day's decay.
 395 Nor are (although the river keep the name)
 Yesterday's waters and today's the same.
 So flows her face and thine eyes: neither now
 That saint nor pilgrim which your loving vow
 Concerned, remains, but whilst you think you be
 400 Constant, you're hourly in inconstancy.
 Honour may have pretence unto our love
 Because that God did live so long above
 Without this honour, and then loved it so
 That he at last made creatures to bestow
 405 Honour on him—not that he needed it,
 But that to his hands man might grow more fit.

398 vow 1612Er, 1633, 1635: row 1612–1625

not now owe it, and that he who yesternight was bidden to dinner this day, cometh today unbidden, since they are no more themselves, but are become others; and that one mortal substance could not twice be found in one self state. . . . Yesterday endeth in this day, and today shall die in tomorrow', and our identity with it (Florio 350, 351). D.'s reapplication to lovers here and in *Constancy 5* (as an excuse for inconstancy) is characteristic.

395–6 A commonplace originating with Heraclitus, quoted in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 15. 20 (PG 21. 1349–50), and Plato, *Cratylus* 402a; summarised by Plutarch 18 (392B), rendered by Montaigne/Florio 350 as: 'Heraclitus averreth that no man ever entered twice into one same river', and Holland's Plutarch (1603) p. 1361: 'As Heraclitus was wont to say, a man cannot possibly enter twice into one and the same river: no more is he able to find any mortal substance twice in one and the same estate.' Cp. *Harington* 47–52, where virtue alone endures.

397–9 neither now/That saint . . . Concerned] neither beloved nor lover, as in the conventional religion of love in *BrookeC* 3, *Canonization*, and *Go* 20. Cp. the joint love-sonnet of *Romeo and Juliet* 1. 5. 92–105, where he is pilgrim and she saint.

400 Varied in a religious application in *HSW3Vex* 2–3.

401 pretence] claim.

401–5 Cp. *BedfordHonour* 2–3 and note thereon. Manley quotes *Essays* 2. 1. (1952) p. 54. D. is not above a circular or self-contradictory argument for religious purposes.

406 Manley cites *Serm.* 7. 108 (Easter Day 1626): 'Man was made so, as that he might be better'. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 123 (1618): 'That better estate, is a reward of our willing obedience to God, in such things, as we might have disobeyed him in.' Milgate refers to Aquinas 1. 102. 4. The manual image was a favourite in the Bible; cp. *Serm.* 9. 132 (Christmas Day 1629): 'So in the Prophet [*Isa.* 45. 9]; so in the Apostle [*Rom.* 9. 21], God is our Potter.' 'As the potter treadeth clay' (*Isa.* 41. 25) to make it easily worked for his purpose, so God made man abase himself to train him in fitness for Heaven.

But since all honours from inferiors flow
 (For they do give it: princes do but show
 Whom they would have so honoured) and that this
 410 On such opinions and capacities
 Is built as rise and fall to more and less,
 Alas, 'tis but a casual happiness.
 Hath ever any man t'himself assigned
 This or that happiness t'arrest his mind,
 415 But that another man which takes a worse
 Think him a fool for having ta'en that course?
 They who did labour Babel's tower t'erect

416 Think] Thinks 1633, 1635

407–9 since . . . honoured] D. makes this paradoxical point also in *Bedford Honour* 7–9.

409 that this] since honour.

410 opinions and capacities] reputations and degrees of intelligence.

412 casual] chance, passing, contingent. Containing the senses of fortuitous and non-essential, the term is repeated in ll. 473, 478, 482, 484, 485.

414 arrest his mind] fix his mind on.

415 takes a worse] chooses a morally inferior means to happiness.

416 Think] In the subjunctive mood: 'might think' (Milgate).

417–22 Gen. 11. 4: 'Let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach unto Heaven'. Cp. Augustine 16. 4 (1610) pp. 577–8: 'But what intended man's vain presumption herein? Admit they could have exceeded all the mountains with their building's height, could they ever have gotten above the element of air?' Pererius 16. 32 (1601) p. 589 quotes Philo Judaeus, *De confusione linguarum* 2 (5), saying that if the whole Earth were made into a column it would fall far short of the Heavens. Ptolemy, *Almagest* 5. 13, 15, calculated geometrically that the mean distance from the Earth even of the Moon was fifty-nine Earth-radii (only slightly less than modern measurements), that of the Sun 1210 (a large under-estimate), while his averral in 1. 6 that the Earth has the ratio of a point to the distance of the sphere of the 'fixed stars' (beyond which Christians thought Heaven lay), implies (see quotation from Euclid in note on 131–4 above) that that distance is infinite. Manley quotes *Serm.* 8. 322–3 (25 Jan. 1629):

Men have considered usefully the incongruity of building the Tower of Babel, in this: that to have erected a Tower that should have carried that height that they intended in that, the whole body of the Earth, the whole Globe, and substance thereof, would not have served for a basis, for a foundation to that Tower. If all the timber of all the forests in the world, all the quarries of stones, all the mines of Lead and Iron had been laid together, nay if all the earth and sea had been petrified, and made one stone, all would not have served for a basis, for a foundation of that Tower; from whence then must they have had their materials for all the superedifications? So to establish a trust, a confidence, such an acquiescence as a man may rely upon, all this world affords not a basis, a foundation; for everything in this world is fluid, and transitory, and sandy, and all dependence, all assurance built upon this world, is but a building upon sand; all will change.

Might have considered that for that effect
 All this whole solid Earth could not allow
 420 Nor furnish forth materials enow;
 And that this centre to raise such a place
 Was far too little to have been the base:
 No more affords this world foundation
 T'erec true joy, were all the means in one.
 425 But as the heathen made them several gods
 Of all God's benefits and all his rods
 (For as the wine and corn and onions are

421 this] his 1621–1635 423 world 1633, 1635: worlds 1612–1625

Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 7. 6 (2nd edn 1650) assumes that since the project really alarmed God, it was realistic but expressed in poetic hyperbole: 'Probable it is that what they attempted was feasible, otherwise they had been amply fooled in the fruitless success of their labours, nor needed God to have hindered them, saying "Nothing will be restrained from them which they begin to do."'

421–2 Pliny 2. 68 (174), Holland (1601) 1. 33, repeats the perception of the ancient Greek Aristarchus, 2, and Ptolemy, *Almagest* 1. 7, concerning 'this little prick of the world (for surely the earth is nothing else in comparison of the whole)'.

421 **this centre]** the Earth, in Ptolemaic theory. Termed thus in *Troilus and Cressida* 1. 3. 85 (Gr.).

425–30 A favourite theme: see *Serm.* 5. 325 (n. d.):

The Gentiles . . . broke God in pieces, and changed God into single money [small change], and made a fragmentary God of every Power, and attribute in God, of every blessing from God, nay of every malediction, and judgement of God. A clap of thunder made a *Jupiter*, a tempest at sea made a *Neptune*, an earthquake made a *Pluto*; *Fear* came to be a God, and a *Fever* came to be a God; Everything that they were in love with, or afraid of, came to be canonized, and made a God amongst them.

Cp. also *Serm.* 6. 153, 8. 329 (13 June 1624, 25 Jan. 1629).

426 **rods]** scourges, afflictions, as in *Job* 9. 34, 21. 9, *Ps.* 89. 32, *Isa.* 10. 5, *Lam.* 3. 1.

427–8 For Dionysus/Liber/Bacchus (wine), Demeter/Ceres, Segetia *et al.* (grain), Febris (agues) see, e.g., Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 3. 16 (41), 25 (63), and also, for Febris, Pliny, 2. 5 (16), Holland 2. 7 (1601) 1. 3. Ares/Mars of course represented war. Pliny loc. cit., and 19. 32 (101), Holland 19. 6 (1601) 2. 20, notes that the Egyptians 'use to swear by garlic and onions . . . as if they were no less than some gods', for which they were mocked by Juvenal 15. 9. Manley cites among others Tertullian, *Ad nationes* (PL 1. 600, 606), and *Essays* 1. 2 (1952) p. 22: 'Have they furthered or eased thee . . . who, not able to consider whole and infinite God, have made a particular God, not only of every power of God, but of every benefit? . . . Out of this proceeded *Dea febris* and *Dea fraus* and *Tenebrae* [according to Cicero 3. 17 (44), 25 (63)] and Onions and Garlic. For the Egyptians, most abundant in idolatry, were from thence said to have gods grow in their gardens.' T. T. Tashiro, *JHI* 30 (1969) 571, suggests that the substitution

- Gods unto them, so agues be, and war),
 And as, by changing that whole precious gold
 430 To such small copper coins, they lost the old,
 And lost their only God, who ever must
 Be sought alone, and not in such a thrust:
 So much mankind true happiness mistakes;
 No joy enjoys that man that many makes.
 435 Then, soul, to thy first pitch work up again:
 Know that all lines which circles do contain,

429 that] the 1625 435 up 1633, 1635: upon 1612–1625

of onions (Juvenal's example of superstition—his 'onions required an educated audience') for the traditional grouping, of corn and wine with oil, is a satirical glance at the Roman Catholic doctrines of the Eucharist, with its transubstantiated wine and bread, the priesthood, anointed at ordination with oil, and remission of sins through Extreme Unction. Cp. *Serm.* 3, 83 (30 April 1620): 'The Romans canonized . . . Paleness and Fevers, and made them gods, . . . Sickness is a sword of God's'. Perhaps Cicero arose in D.'s mind by appropriate association: in *Nature of the Gods* 1. 4 (9) the former reveals that he turned to philosophy as consolation for the death of his daughter.

432 thrust] press, throng, crowd.

434 For praise of Christians' only lasting joy, see *Serm.* 10, 212–28 (?1623). Cp. the opinion of Aristotle, *Ethics* 10. 6 (6) (1176b27–8) that happiness is not to be found in amusements, and *Matt.* 2. 24–33, 13. 45–6.

435 The soul is likened to a hawk, or perhaps a peregrine (pilgrim) falcon, circling up on thermals to achieve the height ('pitch') from which to stoop on its target (*OED sb²* 18b): cp. *Psalm* 111. 1: 'How say ye to my soul, "Flee as a bird to your mountain"?' The winged soul is a figure elaborately developed by Plato, *Phaedrus* 246, 248b–9d. According to his theory of reincarnation, the soul may fall from the company of the gods, even to the sub-human level of a beast, and so have to work itself up again through nine levels, from the lowest of the low, the tyrant, up to sophist or demagogue, to manual labourer, to mimetic artist (such as a poet), to prophet or priest, to gymnast or doctor, to politician, businessman or financier, to lawful king or warlike ruler, at last to the supreme winged mind of the musical or loving or lover of beauty or philosopher. On Drury's taking hawks with him to France, see Bald, *Life* p. 245 and (1959) p. 86. **first pitch]** original height in God's favour in Paradise. 'Pitch' in the general sense of 'place' is applied in one *OED* quotation (*sb²* 10) to the focus from which a pair of compasses inscribes a circle: so rare and incidental a use might just have prompted D.'s next analogy, developed in *Harington* 105–10. **work up]** climb (predating *OED*'s citation of Milton 1667 *s.v.* work 40c).

436–8 'Know that all diameters of a circle go through its centre once but touch its circumference twice'—a Ptolemaic image, with thoughts and prayers as lines, the universe as circle, Earth as centre, and Heaven, origin and destination of the soul, as circumference. E. B. Gilman, *Curious Perspective* (1978) p. 187, adds a connotation from Browne, *Hydriotaphia* 5 (1658): 'Circles and right "straight" lines limit and close all bodies, and the mortal, right-lined circle must conclude

- For once that they the centre touch, do touch
 Twice the circumference, and be thou such:
 Double on Heav'n thy thoughts on Earth employed:
 440 All will not serve: only who have enjoyed
 The sight of God in fullness can think it,
 For it is both the object and the wit.
 This is essential joy: where neither he
 Can suffer diminution, nor we.
 445 'Tis such a full and such a filling good,
 Had th'angels once looked on him, they had stood.

and shut up all', explained by Browne in the margin as referring to 'θ, the character of death'. The Greek letter theta, initial of *thanatos*, death, was inscribed by Greek judges on their ballots as a vote for sentence of death.

438 be thou such] To make its image as circle (*Annunciation* 3–4, *Harington* 105–10) apt, the soul should demonstrate the preceding axioms.

439 'Think twice as often of Heaven as of Earth.' Manley suggests a second layer of meaning, involving the Hermetic definition of God as a circle whose centre is everywhere, circumference nowhere (see note on *Annunciation* 4), though that would remove the need for the soul to stir from the centre.

440 All . . . serve] Even all will not be enough. 'When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say: "We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do"'—*Luke* 17. 10.

440–1 who . . . fulness] *Ps.* 16. 11. Cp. *Serm.* 10. 228: 'The first thing that the seeing of God shall produce in us, is Joy. The measure of our seeing of God is the measure of Joy. See him here in his Blessings, and you shall joy in those blessings here; and when you come to see him *Sicuti est* ["as he is"], in his Essence, then you shall have this Joy in Essence, and in fulness; of which, God of his goodness give us such an earnest here, as may bind to us that inheritance hereafter.'

441–2 According to Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 12. 9 (1074b14–1075a4), divine thought and what it thinks of are the same (Milgate). Consequently, according to Thomas Aquinas 1. 12. 4 (quoted by Manley), the inferior intellect of a creature can share the uncreated being's knowledge of itself only if by divine grace it comes to be united with the divine intellect. Thus God is both the ultimate object of knowledge and the source of the knowledge by which he is known (Gr.). Cp. 1 *Cor.* 13. 12: 'Then shall I know even as also I am known'.

442 the object and the wit] what is perceived and the means of perceiving it.

446 'The angels became blessed by turning to the good'; 'The angel was beatified instantly after the first act of charity'; 'As all were created in grace, all merited in their first instant. But some of them at once placed an impediment to their beatitude, . . . and consequently they were deprived of the beatitude which they had merited'; 'The devil sinned at once after the first instant of his creation'—Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1. 62. 1, 5; 63. 5–6. Cp. *Serm.* 3. 254 (30 May 1621): 'The Angels fell in love, when there was no object presented, before anything was created; when there was nothing but God and themselves, they fell in love with themselves, and neglected God, and so fell. . . . for ever' (Milgate). See also note on *FirAn* 201. **once]** Strictly speaking, 'at once'.

- To fill the place of one of them, or more,
 She whom we celebrate is gone before.
 She who had here so much essential joy
 450 As no chance could distract, much less destroy;
 Who with God's presence was acquainted so
 (Hearing and speaking to him) as to know
 His face in any natural stone or tree
 Better than when in images they be;
 455 Who kept, by diligent devotion,
 God's image in such reparation
 Within her heart, that what decay was grown
 Was her first parents' fault and not her own;
 Who being solicited to any act,

447 Cp. Augustine's idea, 22. 1 (1610) p. 877, of God 'gathering so many unto this grace as should supply the places of the fallen angels, and so preserve (and perhaps augment) the number of the heavenly inhabitants.' Jesus promised, *Luke* 20. 35–6, that 'they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, . . . are equal unto the angels'. Milgate (on Hall's *Praise* 38) quotes Thomas Aquinas 1. 108. 8. Pererius, 4. 169 (1601) p. 202, agreed. Cp. *Serm.* 2. 342: 'God had taken it into his purpose to people Heaven again, depopulated in the fall of Angels, by the substitution of man in their places'. **or more**] E. D. may be worth two or more fallen angels put together. Cp. *Serm.* 4. 184–5 (15 Sept. 1622): 'God does much with few: . . . those *Armies of Martyrs*, those flocks of *Lambs*, innocent children, those *Fathers*, the Fathers of the Church, and *Mothers*, holy Matrons, and daughters, blessed *Virgins*, and learned and laborious *Doctors*; these seven thousand have filled up the places of the fallen *Angels*, and repleted that Kingdom'.

448 **gone before**] Cp. Cyprian, *De mortalitate* 20 (*PL* 4. 618): *sciamus non eos amitti sed praemitti, recedentes praecedere*, 'we know that they are not lost but sent before; the departing go before'.

449–50 In contrast to the 'casual' happiness of 412 above. Cp. *FirAn* 431–4.

449 **essential joy**] i.e., Paradise within.

450 **distract**] put off track, divert, spoil (*OED v.* senses 2–4).

451–3 D. presumably intended that hearing and speaking to God should be understood as separate from seeing him in the stones and trees of his creation, the Book of Nature.

453 **tree**] Which sometimes had significance, as, e.g., the Tree of Life in *Rev.* 2. 7, 22. 2.

454 Cp. the contempt for 'gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see nor hear nor eat nor smell', in *Deut.* 4. 28 etc.

455–8 The preservation of inner divine beauty contrasts with the decay of physical beauty in 394 above.

456 **reparation**] good condition.

458 **her first parents' fault**] The original sin of Adam and Eve, because of which, according to tradition, God cursed humans and all else in the world with decay and death.

- 460 Still heard God pleading his safe precontract;
 Who by a faithful confidence was here
 Betrothed to God, and now is married there;
 Whose twilights were more clear than our midday;
 Who dreamt devoutlier than most use to pray;
 465 Who, being here filled with grace, yet strove to be
 Both where more grace and more capacity
 At once is given: she to Heaven is gone,
 Who made this world in some proportion
 A heaven, and here became unto us all
 470 Joy (as our joys admit) essential.
 But could this low world joys essential touch, *Of accidental*
 Heaven's accidental joys would pass them much. *joys in*
 How poor and lame must then our casual be? *both places.*

460 pleading] maintaining, formally alleging. Transitive senses are all legal, not emotional. **precontract]** betrothal, engagement to be married. Stressed on the first syllable and more strongly on the third. That this was not to any earthly male, a possibility hinted at in the possibly sexual 'solicited', would reassure a father who, like D.'s own unwilling father-in-law, dreaded the seduction, entanglement or elopement of a daughter through whose marriage he hoped to make a powerful and wealthy connection. The next lines make unlikely any reference to predestination.

461–2 On Christ as the betrothed of souls in the Church on Earth and husband of souls in Heaven see *Serm.* 3. 249–55 (30 May 1621) on *Hosea* 2. 19. Cp. the fear of betrothal to the Devil in *HolyS10Batter* 10.

463 On E. D. as source of light cp. *FirAn* 73–4.

464 Cp. *Serm.* 2. 227 (?pre-18 April 1619): 'When they close their eyes in meditation of God, even their dreams are services to him; . . . says Saint *Ambrose*: "They dream that they sing psalms"; and they do more than dream it, they do sing'. Manley quotes *Serm.* 8. 53 (Trinity Sunday 1627): 'Those Saints of God who have their Heaven upon earth, do praise him in the night, according to . . . that of S. *Basil* . . . : "Holy men do praise God, and pray to God in their sleep, and in their dreams"'. Cp. also 10. 220 (n. d.): 'Even the sleep of the righteous is a service to God, and their very Dreams are Prayers and Meditations'. D. undermines such praise in 8. 327 (25 Jan. 1629): 'The fancy is the seat, the scene, the theatre of dreams.' **devoutlier]** with more exclusive attention to God. **use to]** usually, customarily, are accustomed to.

466–7 where more . . . given] Explained in 440–1 and note.

470 as our joys admit] insofar as we are capable of essential joy. 'She was all we could know of Heaven.'

471 'But even if essential joys could affect this low world'.

472 See above, 382–4 and note, and below, 487–92.

473 Y. Nagoya, *Aichi Kenritsu Daigaku Gaikogugo Gakubu Kiyo* (1979) pp. 80–1 (according to *VD*), notes that D. is less discouraging in *Serm.* 10. 214, 220 (n. d.):

- If thy prince will his subjects to call thee
 475 'My Lord', and this do swell thee, thou art then,
 By being a greater, grown to be less man.
 When no physician of redress can speak,
 A joyful casual violence may break
 A dangerous apostem in thy breast,
 480 And whilst thou joy'st in this, the dangerous rest,
 The bag may rise up and so strangle thee.
 What aye was casual, may ever be:
 What should the nature change, or make the same
 Certain, which was but casual when it came?
 485 All casual joy doth loud and plainly say,
 Only by coming, that it can away.
 Only in Heaven joy's strength is never spent,
 And accidental things are permanent.

476 a greater] greater 1625–1635

477 redress 1612Er, 1633, 1635: Reders 1612–1625

482 aye *Milgate*: eie 1612: eye 1621, 1625: e'r 1633, 1635

Man passes not from the miseries of this life, to the joys of Heaven, but by joy in this life too; for he that feels no joy here, shall find none hereafter. . . . But . . . because it is always, it must be in him who is always, yesterday and today, and the same for ever, Joy in God, Joy in the Holy Ghost, . . . of which Joy, though there be a preparatory, and inchoative participation and possession in this life, yet the consummation [is] reserved to our entrance into our Master's Joy; not only the Joy which he gives, that's here, but the Joy which he is, that's only there, . . . Rejoice when God giveth you the good things of this world; . . . There is a joy required for Temporal things; for he that is not joyful in a benefit, is not thankful.

474–6 Emphasising again the assertion of 407–9 and *Bedford Honour* that honour comes from below (perhaps an attempt at self-consolation for not yet having the public distinction for which D. strove long and hard: cp. Marotti (1986) p. 244).

475 **swell thee]** i.e., with pride.

477–81 'When an incurable abscess (apostem) in the respiratory system is fortunately broken by accidental laughter, its cavity-lining (bag) may lodge in the wind-pipe and choke you.'

480 **rest]** remainder.

482 **aye was casual]** was always temporary.

483 **What]** Meaning either 'Why should Nature change itself, or make . . . ?' (*OED* s.v. what III. adv. †19), or 'What should change the nature, or make . . . ?'

486 **Only]** Just, Merely. **away]** go away.

487–96 D. imagines another focus for the hope of constant and irreversible increase in the joys of love in *Spring* 28: in Heaven, accidental joy is added to with the arrival of every new member and with every day nearer the resurrection of the body.

- Joy of a soul's arrival ne'er decays,
 490 For that soul ever joys and ever stays.
 Joy that their last great consummation
 Approaches in the resurrection,
 When earthly bodies more celestial
 Shall be than angels were, for they could fall—
 495 This kind of joy doth every day admit
 Degrees of growth, but none of losing it.
 In this fresh joy, 'tis no small part that she,
 She in whose goodness he that names degree
 Doth injure her ('tis loss to be called best,
 500 There where the stuff is not such as the rest);
 She who left such a body[^]as even she
 Only in Heaven could learn how it can be
 Made better, for she rather was two souls,
 Or like to full, on-both-sides-written rolls,
 505 Where eyes might read upon the outward skin
 As strong records for God as minds within;

501 even] ever 1625

489 Joy . . . arrival] An example of an accidental joy. See *Luke* 15. 7, 10 for the extra rejoicing in Heaven at the repentance of a sinner.

491–2 The first consummation might be seen as Jesus's death on the Cross, signalled by his dying words in the Vulgate version of *John* 19. 30. *Consummatum est*, which obtained for the faithful 'the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting' (Apostles' Creed) on Judgement Day, asserted to be the 'consummation' foretold in *Dan.* 9. 27.

493–4 Enlarging on *1 Cor.* 15. 40–4, which merely compares humans' 'celestial bodies and bodies terrestrial, . . . natural body, and . . . spiritual body', and *Ps.* 8. 5, in which man has been made 'a little lower than the angels'.

498–506 Similar compliments are paid to Lady Bedford in *BedfordHonour* 21–7.

498–500 i.e., being different in kind, she is above comparison.

501–3 Cp. also *Markham* 25–8, *BulstrodeRecant* 46–8 for this extension of 221–46 above.

503 made better] *1 Cor.* 15. 48–9.

504–6 From being a book of virtue and religion in 301–20, E. D. has become the even more venerable manuscript, to furnish yet another analogy for her beauty as 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace' (the definition of a sacrament in the *BCP* Catechism).

504 full, on-both-sides-written] Normally the roll would be inscribed only on the inside, to protect the contents, but need might arise to run over onto the outside instead of starting a new one. (Milgate notes a later example with D.'s name, listing the ecclesiastical Court of High Commission.) **rolls]** Legal and official records were kept in this form until long after D.'s time.

506 records] attestations, evidences.

She who, by making full perfection grow,
 Pieces a circle, and still keeps it so,
 Longed for, and longing for't, to Heaven is gone,
 510 Where she receives and gives addition.
 Here in a place where mis-devotion frames *Conclusion.*
 A thousand prayers to saints whose very names
 The ancient Church knew not, Heaven knows not yet,

507 A submerged comparison to Jesus Christ who in the *BCP* Communion Prayer of Consecration is acknowledged to have made by his death on the cross 'a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world'.

508 Pieces a circle] i.e., repairs, adds to what is already 'perfect and complete in all the will of God' (*Coloss.* 4. 12). She thus doubly surpasses the Sun of *FirAn* 268–9, which cannot manage an ordinarily perfect circle, and even God. Cp. above 142 and note.

509 Longed for] Cp. Dante, *La vita nuova* 19, on the angels' praying God to bring Beatrice to Heaven (Gr.). The ancient Greek proverb that an early death shows divine favour is offered thus to Apollonius by Plutarch 34 (119E), Engl. Holland (1603) p. 530: 'To whom the gods vouchsafe their love and grace, / He lives not long, but soon hath run his race', even better known, perhaps, from Plautus, *Bacchides* 4. 7. 18.

510 addition] title, status (*OED* 4, 5), as well as increase in number. Quantitatively, she acquires the title and position of saint, adding her own special rank, according to l. 356, and enlarges their company. Qualitatively, her apprehension of celestial bliss while still on earth (449–55) is fulfilled, and (as in 489) her arrival increases the joy of the blessed already in Heaven.

511–13 Cp. Article 22 of the Church of England: 'The Romish doctrine concerning . . . invocation of saints is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture' (*BCP*). The south choir-screen of Amiens Cathedral, with its colourful depiction of the life of St Firmin, including the miraculous discovery of his relics by St Salve, could have reinforced D.'s consciousness of a proliferation of cults, as could the side-chapels of Saints Lambert and Eloi (Eligius), and, surrounding the West, St Christopher, and South Transept doorways, representations of Saints Firmin, Denis, Ulphe, Euloge, Firmin le Confesseur, Honoré, Berchund, Salve, Geoffroy, Lambert, Fuscien, Victorice, Crépin, Crépinien, Quentin, etc., and the discovery of the relics of the martyrs Fuscien, Victorice, and Gentien by Saint Lupicin (Goze, cited above on l. 342, l. 10–11, 17, 19, 23, 27; 2. 13). Heylyn, *Relation*, sig. 2Ar–v found there that 'In this Church, . . . besides the High Altar in the middle of the Choir, there are divers others in the private closets, which are destinate to the mumbling of their Low Masses. Of these there are in number twenty-four, . . . pretty neat places, and it is pity they should be abused to such idolatries.' Cp. *Serm.* 4. 311 (2 Feb. ?1623): 'I know not where to find S. *Petronilla* when I have an ague, nor S. *Apollonia*, when I have the toothache, nor S. *Liberius*, when I have the stone: I know not whether they can hear me in Heaven, or no. . . . I know not whether they be in Heaven or no: . . . I know not whether those Saints were ever upon earth or no.'

511 Here] In France. **frames]** contrives.

- And where what laws of poetry admit,
 515 Laws of religion have at least the same,
 Immortal maid, I might invoke thy name.
 Could any saint provoke that appetite,
 Thou here shouldst make me a French convertite.
 But thou wouldst not, nor wouldst thou be content
 520 To take this for my second year's true rent,
 Did this coin bear any other stamp than his
 That gave thee power to do, me to say this:
 Since his will is that to posterity

514–15 licences, i.e., for invocation of muses, gods and mistresses in poetry, of saints under Roman Catholicism. Cp. *Serm.* 9. 322 (n. d.): 'We know not that such as we pray to, are Saints; nay, we know not whether they ever were at all. . . . For they worship Images of those that never were; *Christophers*, and other symbolical, and emblematical Saints, which never lived here, but were, and are yet nothing.'

517–18 If invoking any saint were permissible, he would be converted to the practice.

518 convertite] There may be a submerged sexual joke to match the tone of 33–6: the word is first known in English from its appearance in the Roman Catholic Thomas Harding's *Confutation of a Booke Intituled 'An Apologie of the Church of England'* [by J. Jewel (1562)] [1565] f. 163v, quoted in J. Jewel, *Defence of the Apologie* 4, *Works* (1609) p. 344, on facilities for dealing with prostitutes in Rome: 'If they turn and repent, there are houses called the monasteries of the convertites, and special provision and discipline for them, where they are taught how to bewail their unchaste life so sinfully passed over.' If E. D. could provoke such an appetite, D. would become a prostitute. In addition, Milgate notes that in French *converti* was applied to beggars who made a show of religious conversion in order to obtain money. *DivM* and *HolyS* show that D. was well able to bewail his 'unchaste life' (without instruction), and probably to obtain money from patrons with effusions of piety.

519 But thou wouldst not] because a devout Protestant.

519–26 nor . . . authority is his] The authorisation may be understood as divine; in reality, it was that of her human father, and the coin passed in the other direction equally material.

520 D. might have justified his seemingly premature tribute in the terms used of Magdalen Herbert, Lady Danvers in *Serm.* 8. 85 (1 July 1627): 'Thou . . . hast been going into *dust*, now, almost a Month of *days*, almost a *Lunary year*, and dost deserve such *Anniversaries*, such quick returns of *Periods*, and a *Commemoration*, in every *such year*, in every *Month*'. The word 'year's' occurs aptly in this 520th line (cp. note on *Metem* 520), but D. might well not have counted lines in a non-stanzaic poem of this length.

521 In the monetary image, D.'s poetic payment is in coin authorised by the imprint of the King of Heaven, disowning the sort of motive evident in his love-poems, where 'To love and grief' of a different sort 'tribute of verse belongs' (*Fool* 17). Cp. *Image* 1–5. **stamp]** imprint, image.

Thou shouldst for life and death a pattern be,
 525 And that the world should notice have of this,
 The purpose, and th'authority is his;
 Thou art the proclamation, and I am
 The trumpet at whose voice the people came.

FINIS

FINIS om. 1633, 1635

524 for life . . . pattern] Christ-like, but not necessarily blasphemously. According to Protestants' personal typology, the good Christian aimed to be able to say with Paul, 'I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless, I live. Yet not I but Christ liveth in me, and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God' (*Gal.* 2. 20); 'for this cause I obtained mercy: that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long suffering for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him' (*1 Tim.* 1. 16); and to follow the exhortation 'speak thou the things which become sound doctrine: . . . in all things showing thyself a pattern of good works' (*Tit.* 2. 1, 7). Cp. *Serm.* 9. 318–19 (n. d.): 'It is an unexpressible comfort to have been God's instrument, for the conversion of others . . . by a holy and exemplar life'.

525–8 The image is of God as monarch, E. D. as reader of a royal proclamation (her own example), and D. as herald.

527–8 D. adopts for his claim to be glorifying God the precedent of *Eccles.* 50. 16–17: 'Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard for a remembrance before the most high. Then all the people together hasted and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty, the most High.' This was part of the first lesson at Evening Prayer in the *BCP* lectionary for 19 Nov., which might well have been read to the Drury household at large, or, if not, by D. on his own. In the former case, he might have expected his patron to recognise it. Proclamation and trumpeter were familiar in D.'s England from royal occasions.

528 I am/The trumpet] For D.'s self-image of preacher as trumpet, cp. *Serm.* 2. 166–70 (12 Feb. 1619) and *Isa.* 58. 1.

A PROBABLE ATTRIBUTION

Ignatius Loyolae ἀποθέωσις

Date and Context. 1622–31. The founder and first general of the Society of Jesus (1491–1556) was canonised by Pope Gregory XV in 1622. Apart from *Ignatius his Conclave*, D's prose satire of 1611, he expressed lifelong hostility towards the Society of Jesus and its founder, e.g., *Serm.* 9. 53 (April 1629): 'And if God oppose not these new usurpers of the world, posterity will soon see Saint Ignatius worth all the Trinity in possessions and endowments, as that sumptuous and splendid foundation of his first temple in Rome may well create a conjecture and suspicion'; and *Serm.* 9. 130 (21 Nov. 1629):

And yet the farmers of Heaven and Hell, the merchants of souls, the Roman Church, make this blessedness but an under-degree, but a kind of apprenticeship; after they have beatified, declared a man to be blessed in the fruition of God in Heaven, if that man in that inferior state do good service to that Church, that they see much profit will rise by the devotion and concurrence of men to the worship of that person, then they will proceed to a canonization; and so he that in his novitiate and years of probation was but Blessed Ignatius, and Blessed Xavier, is lately [both in 1622] become Saint Xavier, and Saint Ignatius.

Text. *Ignatius* p. 174 from P. G. Stanwood, *TLS* 3425 (19 Oct. 1967) 984, transcribing Durham Cathedral Library MS 27. 4. The poem is ascribed there to 'Dr. Dun. Deane of Paules': though Beal notes that 'Donne's authorship is not certain' (*IELM* p. 380), and the Latin has been judged 'indifferent', Healy finds the attribution 'highly probable', not least for 'internal reasons': e.g., the dramatisation. Also Donnean is the pleasure the poem demonstrates in the solution of a problem. There is no independent corroboration of authorship. However, after his ordination D. wrote verses in Latin on religious or academic subjects, e.g., *HerbertG, Andrews*, of which there is not even one MS known. A transcription of this poem is also to be found among William Camden's papers, Bodleian MS Smith 17, p. 192.

Translation:

The Apotheosis of Ignatius Loyola

Previously execrated, now embarking on sainthood,
Loyola exults among the élite of Heaven.

But he complains from the late and marginal position
Among red-letter feasts where he finds himself that there is no place left.

- 5 He lights on a solution: presuming greatly to act as Recorder: with
Germanus struck out, it is, quite without authority, to have substituted a
half-breed.

Hence a fierce quarrel arises, for the new occupant does not wish to leave,
Nor the first to give way, nor will either share.

- 10 What is the Holy Father to do now? He, who binds and looses all,
Untangles this knot too with rare dexterity:

'Stay still together', he says, 'and be quiet in your stall,
Like Simon and Jude, whom a single day contains.

Otherwise, Ignatius may wait for every fourth year's
Feast of the Purification, and occupy the intercalary day.'

QUI sacer ante fuit, sanctus nunc incipit esse,
Loyola, et in divis annumeratus ovat.

Sed queritur plenis a tergo et margine fastis
in minio quo stet non superesse locum.

5 Repperit: expuncto multum Librarius audax
Germano, haud veritūst substituisse nothum.

Lis hinc orta ferox, neque enim novus hospes abire,
cedere nec primus, nec simul esse volunt.

10 Quid Pater hinc Sanctus? Qui vincit et omnia solvit,
Solvit et hunc nodum cum dexteritate nova:

‘State simul’, dixit, ‘stabuloque quiescite vestro
Ut Simon et Iudas, quos tenet una dies.

‘Sin minus exspectet quartani Ignatius anni
Februa, conflatum possideatque diem.’

1 sacer] A word of opposed meanings, on which D. plays: admirers could think of Ignatius as ‘holy’, opponents such as D., ‘execrable **nunc]** Comparison with the ‘lately’ of the 21 Nov. 1629 sermon quoted in the headnote emphasises that this word does not guarantee a date for the poem close to 1622.

6 Germano] Germanus of Auxerre, fifth-century bishop with whom Ignatius now shares 31 July as feast-day. **nothum]** Cp. the half-breed generated by the Ignatian wolf in *Metem* 404–50.

9 Pater . . . Sanctus] Pope Gregory XV.

11 stabuloque] *Stabulum* was also used, by, e.g., Cicero and Suetonius, to denote a brothel.

12 Simon et Iudas] Commemorated together on 28 Oct. (the latter ‘not Iscariot’, *John* 14. 22, but Judas brother of James son of Alphaeus, *Luke* 6. 16).

13 quartani] Leap Year with its extra day is likened to recurring fever, supposed also to be characterised by excess, a surplus of the hot, dry humour.

14 Februa] The Feast of the Purification of Mary, mother of Jesus, *Luke* 2. 21–39, celebrated on 2 Feb. (Candlemas). Closeness to *febris*, ‘fever’, reinforces the suggestion in the previous line. **conflatum . . . diem]** 29 Feb. was inserted by the Romans, and so was also reckoned in the Julian Calendar, then still adhered to in Protestant countries.

DUBIA

Some of the poems printed as Donne's
in seventeenth-century editions but
probably or definitely wrongly

Sappho to Philaenis

Date and Context. 1590s? 1609-? The heroic epistle was most thoroughly exploited in English by Drayton, *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1597, enl. 1598; Gr.), but Churchyard's *Shore's Wife* in the 1563 *Mirror for Magistrates*, Daniel's 'Complaint of Rosamond', published with *Delia* in 1592, Lodge's 'Tragical Complaynt of Elstred', with *Phyllis*, 1593, Drayton's *Peirs Gaveston* 1594, and Shakespeare's 'Lover's Complaint', printed with his *Sonnets* in 1609, are very close in genre, and allow of a wider period for *Sappho's* composition. However, half a dozen or so possible echoes of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* suggest that the author was an absorbent reader of the 1609 publication, with its related focus on same-sex love. D. in 1609 was writing elegies on Lady Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode, Divine Meditations, and verse-epistles to Lady Bedford: the content of *Sappho* makes it unlikely, therefore, to be his, as does its lack of poetic sophistication and sharp-minded wit. The frequent end-stopping makes *Sappho* unlike D.'s work, even pedestrian, as does the absence of any wit or unexpected reversal. The unparticularity of such phrases as 'mighty, amazing beauty' is also uncharacteristic. All references to same-sex lovemaking in D.'s undoubted poems, e.g., *Fatal* 38-41, are hostile: *Sappho* however, is made to concede only that the implicit narcissism of her passion (ll. 51-6) is a 'loving madness'—heterosexual love was similarly disparaged. The references to 'gods' in ll. 15-18 as real living entities are also unlike D.'s more detached references (except for *Perfume* 65, and even that is in the past tense), though it may be argued that the poet is speaking as a classical persona. *Sappho* is not found in *W* or the Group I MSS supposed by Gardner *ESS* p. xxxii to contain the poems which were circulated as a distinct book of elegies. However, its inclusion in three MS traditions of D. collections shows widespread early belief in his authorship, and D. might have thought it so utterly paradoxical that one woman could gain sexual pleasure from another that this constituted sufficient 'wit' for his usual ironic love-elegy. He and his contemporaries may have judged the self-parody self-evident, as in the hyperbole of, e.g., *Bracelet*, *Perfume*, *Pupil*, *Bed*, *Autummal*. R. Ellrodt, *Etudes anglaises* 20 (1967) 285-6, produces examples of Donnean usages which could as well argue imitation by an emulator as D.'s authorship—if they were specific to D., and some, such as emphatic use and repetition of 'all', occur in, e.g., Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, and employ a standard rhetorical technique.

Analogues. Though counted among D.'s love-elegies by some modern editors, *Sappho's* obvious predecessor is a heroic epistle, Ovid's *Heroides* 15, 'Sappho to Phaon'. Nevertheless, *Sappho* says there that she is writing in elegiacs rather than her usual lyric form because she must weep for love, and elegy is appropriate for such lamentation. Whereas in Ovid Phaon is the last and greatest love of *Sappho's* life, the present poem has her revert to love of her own sex—the sort of cynicism to be expected in an elegy by D. or many another male. Such irony is hinted by the name of the addressee: Martial's main epigram to Philaenis, 7. 67,

Heading Philaenis] Best known to readers would have been the butch, promiscuous, athletic, dipsomaniac lesbian, who also likes sodomising boys (though how is not explained), abused by Martial 7. 67, 70 (*Sappho* is mentioned in 7. 69 as lover and poet). There and here Philaenis is a type, signalled by the fact that her name was derived from the Greek feminine of 'beloved'. D. C. Allen, *ELN* 1 (1964) 188-91, argues that the author here follows a sixteenth-century commentator on Martial in compounding Philaenis from more widely acceptable girls of that name in classical literature.

has a very different tone from Ovid's epistle. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (1954) pp. 546–7 compares Drayton's *Muses Elizium* (1630) 'First Nymphal' for similarity of theme.

Text. VD distinguishes three lines of descent from the original of the full sixty-four-line version, here distinguished as follows: DC; II: TCC, TCD; III: Lut, O'F. The complete omission from l. 30 of 'of thy' by Lut, but its inclusion then subsequent deletion in O'F render it improbable that in this poem O'F was in the first instance copied from Lut. The Dolau Cothi MS demands correction less than the other groups, in ll. 36, 37 and 48, so has been adopted as the base text.

WHERE is that holy fire which verse is said
 To have? Is that enchanting force decayed?
 Verse, that draws Nature's works from Nature's law,
 Thee, her best work, to her work cannot draw.
 5 Have my tears quenched my old poetic fire?
 Why quenched they not as well that of desire?
 Thoughts, my mind's creatures, often are with thee,
 But I, their maker, want their liberty.
 Only thine image in my heart doth sit,
 10 But that is wax, and fires environ it.
 My fires have driven, thine have drawn it hence;
 And I am robbed of picture, heart, and sense.
 Dwells with me still mine irksome memory,

Sources collated: DC; Group II: TCC, TCD; Group III: Lut, O'F; 1633, 1635

Base text: DC

Select variants:

Title DC, II, III, 1633, 1635

3 works] work III 10 fires environ] fire environs III

1–2 that holy . . . have] Horace, *Epistles* 2. 1. 54, Tacitus, *Dialogue on Oratory* 4. 2.

2–3 that enchanting. . . law] magic employing incantation. The view of same-sex love as 'unnatural' betrays the poem as unsympathetic to its subject. Witchcraft and male homosexuality were subject to similar persecution, an attitude exemplified in H. Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* 1612 48: '*Crimina gravissima*': 'These be those crimes abhorred of God and man / Which Justice should correct with laws severe: / In Ganymede, the foul Sodomitan; / Within the cock, vile incest doth appear; / Witchcraft and murder, by that cup and wand.' Lesbianism was, nevertheless, less savagely regarded, being mocked merely as fruitless and feminine. 3 Gardner takes this to refer to spells, Smith to the power of Orpheus the arch-poet to subdue natural objects to the power of his verse (Ovid, *Met.* 10. 86–105, 143–4). draws] entices. from] away from. Nature's law] Cp. *Exchange* 11, *Metem* 480.

8 want] lack.

9–12 R. Ellrodt 285–6 argues that the wax figure's also appearing in *Image* argues common authorship: it could as easily be imitation, or an independent use of the commonplace, as in Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 32. 13–14, 45. 5–12; Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 24.

9–10 The waxen image revives the hint of witchcraft in ll. 2–3.

- Which both to keep and lose grieves equally.
 15 That tells me how fair thou art: th'art so fair
 As gods, when gods to thee I do compare,
 Are graced thereby; and, to make blind men see
 What things gods are, I say they're like to thee.
 For, if we justly call each silly man
 20 A little world, what shall we call thee then?
 Thou art not soft and clear and straight and fair
 As down, as stars, cedars and lilies are,
 But thy right hand and cheek and eye only
 Are like thy other hand and cheek and eye.
 25 Such was my Phao awhile, but shall be never
 As thou wast, art and, oh, mayst be for ever.
 Here lovers swear in their idolatry
 That I am such; but grief discolours me.
 And yet I grieve the less, lest grief remove
 30 My beauty, and make me unworthy of thy love.
 Plays some soft boy with thee? Oh there wants yet

15 me how *ed.*: me how *TCD*: me how Σ so] as *III*

20 A little] Another *Lut*, *O'Fbe* 22 down] ~s *Lut*, *O'F* cedars] as ~ *II*

26 wast] wert *III* be forever *ed.*: be ever *DC*, *II*, 1633 : thou be ever *III*, 1635

30 of thy *om.* *Lut*, *O'Fae*

15–17 Allen 189 thinks these words recall Sappho 31. 1, or Catullus 51. 1, but they in fact compare a male lover's good fortune to the gods' in sitting opposite the beloved, not her beauty.

16 As] that.

19–20 if . . . world] As in *DivM7Little* 1.

19 silly man] human being, however simple.

21–6 According to one way of reading these lines, Philaenis is merely symmetrical, no more soft, radiant, stately or white than the boatman Phao, significant if Martial's Philaenis is evoked, covered in sand and mud, muscular and hard-drinking, so that l. 61's 'mighty' has literal application. Such a reading makes ironic the conventional red and white of ll. 59–60, and l. 61's 'amazing beauty' a minority taste.

25 Such . . . awhile] Phaon (mentioned by Martial 10. 35. 18), had supreme beauty bestowed on him by Aphrodite as her fare for being rowed across the strait by one who till then was kind but ordinary (see pseudo-Palaephatos, *De incredibilibus*, in the Loeb *Greek Lyric* (1990) 1. 192). For love of him, legend says, Sappho leapt from a cliff, and Ovid's *Heroides* 15 is conceived as her last plea. Sappho does not desire only her own sex, nor does either poem make her do so, but such is the irrationality aroused in some readers by even the partial appearance of same-sex love in a poem that it makes it exclusively, not just predominantly, 'lesbian'.

27 lovers . . . idolatry] Cp. *DivM3Sighs* 5, *HolyS9Present* 9.

31 wants] is lacking.

- A mutual feeling which should sweeten it.
 His chin a thorny-hairy unevenness
 Doth threaten, and some daily change possess.
 35 Thy body is a natural Paradise,
 In whose self, unmanured, all pleasure lies,
 Nor needs perfection: why shouldst thou then
 Admit the tillage of a harsh, rough man?
 Men leave behind them that which their sin shows,
 40 And are as thieves traced which rob when it snows.
 But of our dalliance no more signs there are
 Than fishes leave in streams or birds in air.
 And between us all sweetness may be had:
 All, all that Nature yields or art can add.
 45 My two lips, eyes, thighs, differ from thy two
 But so as thine from one another do,
 And, oh, no more: the likeness being such,
 Why should they not alike in all parts touch?
 Hand to strange hand, lip to lip none denies:
 50 Why should they breast to breast, or thighs to thighs?
 Likeness begets such strange self-flattery,

32 which] that III 36 pleasure III, 1633, 1635: ~s DC, II

37 needs III, 1633, 1635: need DC, II

48 Why Σ: Which DC, TCD 50 they] thy II, Lut, O'Fbe

32 mutual] Pronounced as two syllables.

36 unmanured] unimproved by hand, in a state of nature, without cosmetic aid.

37 perfection] i.e., 'completion' by a man, as in the refrain of *Lincoln*: see note on *Lincoln* 12. The pseudo-Aristotelean book quoted there also appears in Marston, *Antonio's Revenge* 3. 4. 12–13 (printed 1602): 'I have read Aristotle's *Problems*, which saith that woman receives perfection by the man.' The use of this commonplace cannot be evidence of D.'s authorship, as Ellrodt, 285–6, claims.

38 tillage] The usual analogy of the woman's body with potentially fertile land: cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 3. 5–6: 'For where is she so fair whose unearned womb / Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry?'

39–40] Just as thieves leave tracks in snow, so men deposit semen, and leave white clues.

39 their sin] The traditional Judaeo-Christian attitude to all sex: cp. *Ps.* 51. 5: 'Behold: I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me' (*BCP*).

41–2 But . . . streams] Cp. *WottonKisses* 55–6.

43–4 all . . . All, all] Cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 19. 9, 92. 14, and Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 31 (in which the word occurs seven times), 37. 6, 40. 1, 62. 1, 2, 8, 75. 14, 109. 10, 12, 14.

50 thighs to thighs] Cp. Tibullus 1. 8. 26.

51–8] Cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 62, 'Sin of self-love possesseth all mine eye', where not tears but his real reflection intervenes to save him from the 'iniquity' of 'Self so self-loving'. For the confusion of identities, cp., e.g., D.'s *Legacy* 9–12, and

- That touching myself, all seems done to thee:
 Myself I[^]embrace, and mine own hands I kiss,
 And amorously thank myself for this.
 55 Me, in my glass, I call thee; but, alas,
 When I would kiss, tears dim mine eyes and glass.
 O cure this loving madness, and restore
 Me to me: thee, my half, my all, my more.
 So may thy cheeks' red outwear scarlet dye,
 60 And their white, whiteness of the Galaxy;
 So may thy mighty[^]amazing beauty move
 Envy[^]in all women, and in all men, love;
 And so be change and sickness far from thee
 As thou by coming near keep'st them from me.

53 mine] my *III* 56 mine eyes] my sight *III*
 58 thee] she 1633 60 Galaxy] Gallery *II*

The Expostulation by Nicholas Hare?

Date and context. 1603–1609? Line 52's reference to the King's dogs provides an earliest possible date. In the latter year, the reference to the Thames freezing over would have been topical (but also in 1620: see note on ll. 29–30). Printed in the posthumous *Workes* of Jonson in 1640, the elegy had already appeared in 1633 and 1635. That Jonson, possessive of authorial rights, did not protest is not very significant unless evidence can be produced that he read 1633: he made clear to Drummond in 1619 that he thought all D.'s best things written by 1598 (*Jonson* I. 135). The poem is probably by neither, but rather a victim of the anciently established scribal habit of attaching famous names to their work, as even D.'s son did when he published the *Letters* (see I. A. Shapiro, *RES* 7 (1931) 291–301; R. E. Bennett, *PQ* 19 (1940) 75–6, *PMLA* 56 (1941) 120–40). Line 52 makes clear that the poem is written after the accession of James I, whose addiction to hunting soon became known (cp. note on l. 7 of *Sun*). D.'s circumstances after

Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 39. 1–8. It was an ancient Pythagorean saying and Renaissance commonplace that a beloved friend was another self, e.g., Marlowe, *Edward II* I. 1. 142.

58 my all] Cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 109. 14. **more]** Cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 40. 4.

59–61 See note above on ll. 21–6.

59 Cp. Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella* 102. 1–6, Spenser, *Epith.* 226–8.

60 A traditional compliment: cp. Drayton, *Ideas Mirroure* 48. 10 (1594). **Galaxy]** Milky Way.

62 The poem concludes in strictly heterosexual orthodoxy.

Heading Presumably derived from the contents of the poem by the editor of 1635 (Gardner).

his marriage make a poem on this topic unlikely, and the rather juvenile curse analogous to *Bracelet* does not seem the work of the mature poet of *Canonization* and *Sun*. A. W. Pitts, *Essays in Honor of Esmond Linworth Marilla*, ed. T. A. Kirby & W. J. Oliver (1970) pp. 49–50, shows that the first twenty-two lines are constructed almost entirely from proverbs, a pedestrian method of composition from a commonplace-book that is not characteristic of D. Pitts rightly observes that to take away the proverbs would substantially remove this section of the poem. The detailed echoes of classical writers ('a mosaic of borrowings from Catullus'—J. Lindsay *TLS* (19 Feb. 1931) 135) are not usual with D., as Leishman points out, p. 66. D. Greenblatt, *Centrum* 1 (1973) 87–104, argues that metrical analysis shows D. did not write *Expostulation*. The stylistic weaknesses also remarkable in *Parting* again militate against D.'s authorship, while the repetition of the motif and of the rhymed plural 'blisses' from *Parting* 47 in ll. 16–17, suggest a single author of the two poems. In *O'F* is written in a seventeenth-century hand 'Quere if Donnes or S^r Tho: Rowes'. Although someone else replies 'D': Donnes printed in all The Ed^{ns}.', this is unenlightening, since 1633 simply printed what it found in its Group II copy and was followed by subsequent editions. Sir Thomas Roe had an affair with Cecilia Bulstrode, a fellow-attender of plays and masques at Court (ll. 61–2), and plagued by malicious gossip (ll. 33–8), who died unmarried at the age of 25 in Aug. 1609 (see headnote to *BulstrodeRecant*). Walton Poole's 'If shadows be a picture's excellence' (printed by Grierson, i. 460; see E. Wolf, *PMLA* 63 (1948) 831–57; and M. Crum, *First-line Index of English Poetry 1500–1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, no. 945 (1969) i. 432) was likewise variously attributed to Donne, Jonson and Corbet. It is plausibly argued that *Expostulation* was by Nicholas Hare of the Inner Temple (1582?–1622). For Hare's other poems, see J. Carey, *RES* n.s. 44 (1960) 373–81.

Analogues. The classical sources, which are hardly transmuted, as is D.'s wont, and far more densely laid under contribution in an unenterprising way, are detailed in the commentary by Herford and Simpson in Vol. 11 of their edition of Jonson. In 1655 'Philomusus' [S. Sheppard], *Marrow of Complements* (41–2), included ll. 1–11, 13–21, 27–30, 39, 42–4, without attribution, in a specimen love-letter (E. W. Sullivan, *JDJ* 8 (1989) 1–16).

Text. Though *VD* suggests that the least corrupt text is found in *TCD* (the leaf on which ll. 1–30 were written has disappeared, so for these it is necessary to rely on *TCD*'s copy N), the most coherent text is found in *III*, though its superior readings may not be those of the author. The paragraphing follows that in Gardner.

To make the doubt clear that 'No woman's true',
Was it my fate to prove it strong in you?

Texts collated: *H40*; *II*: *N* (1–30), *TCD* (31–70), *L74*, *Dal*; *III*: *Dob*, *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*; 1633, 1635, 1640 (Jonson's *Underwoods* pp. 204–6, *STC* 14754)

Base text: *III*

Select variants:

Heading *O'Fae*, 1635

2 strong] full 1640

I make . . . clear] prove the fear justified. **'No . . . true'**] Cp. Ovid, *Art of Love* i. 269–70, 343, and the proverb, Tilley W681, quoted in *1 Henry VI* 5. 5. 35: 'She is a woman, therefore to be won.'

- Thought I but one had breathèd purest air,
 And must she needs be 'False because she's fair'?
- 5 Is it your beauty's mark or of your youth
 Or your perfection, not to study truth?
 Or think you Heav'n is deaf and hath no eyes,
 Or those it hath 'smile at your perjuries'?
- Are vows so cheap with women, or the matter
- 10 Whereof they're made, that they are 'writ in water',
 And blown away with wind? Or doth their breath,
 'Both hot and cold at once', make life and death?
 Who could have thought so many accents sweet
 Formed into words, so many sighs should meet
- 15 As from our hearts, so many oaths, and tears
 Sprinkled among (all sweetened by our fears
 And the divine impression of stol'n kisses
 That sealed the rest) should now prove empty blisses?
 Did you draw bonds to forfeit? Sign to break?
- 20 Or must we read you quite from what you speak,

3 purest] the purer 1640 5 Is it] It is 1640

7 and hath] or ~ H40, II, 1633, 1635, 1640

8 it O'Fae, 1633, 1635: she H40, II, III, 1640 12 make] threat 1640

14 Formed into] Tuned to our 1640 15 As] Blown 1640

16 sweetened] sweeter H40, II, 1633, 1640 18 should] could 1640

4 'False . . . fair'] Proverbial: cp. Tilley F3, 'Fair face foul heart', quoting, e.g., *Antony and Cleopatra* 2. 6. 104: 'There is never a fair woman has a true face'. Cp. D. himself, *Go* 17–18: 'Nowhere / Lives a woman true and fair', and *Problem 8* (7 in *Juvenilia* 1633), 'Why are the Fairest Falsest?'

5–6 Proverbial: cp. Tilley B163, quoting, e.g., Florio, 1591 193: 'Beauty and honesty seldom agree'.

8 'smile . . . perjuries'] Ovid, *Art of Love* 1. 633 (Gardner); proverbial in English, Tilley J82, quoting, e.g., J. Day, *Humour out of Breath* 4. 1 (1608) sig. F2v: 'Jove himself sits and smiles At lovers' perjuries.' See also note on *Deity* 16.

10–11 'writ in water' . . . wind] Cp. Catullus, 70. 3–4, and Ovid, *Amores* 2. 16. 45–6, whence proverbial in English: Tilley W86, quotes, e.g., *Troilus and Cressida* 3. 2. 198: 'As false / As air, as water, wind, or sandy earth'; *Winter's Tale* 1. 2. 131: 'False . . . as wind, as waters'. For the phrase 'write in water', Tilley W114 quotes Erasmus, and, e.g., Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster* 5. 3. 82–3 (performed 1609; *Dramatic Works* 1. 469): 'All your better deeds shall be in water writ.'

12 'Both . . . cold'] Proverbial: cp. Tilley M1258.

13–18 Proverbial: cp. Tilley L513, L570.

16–17 sweetened . . . stol'n kisses] Proverbial: cp. *Parting* 47–8 and note.

18 blisses] Cp. *Parting* 47.

19 break] 'become bankrupt', as in *Merchant of Venice* 1. 3. 134, 3. 1. 107.

20 Cp. Ovid, *Art of Love* 1. 485, 674, and the proverb in Tilley W672, citing Greene, *Never too Late to Mend* (1590; *Works* 8. 90): 'A woman's heart and her tongue are not relatives.' **read . . . from]** 'interpret you quite contrarily to'.

- And find the truth out the wrong way? Or must
 He first desire you false would wish you just?
 Oh I profane! Though most of women be
 This kind of beast, my thoughts shall except thee,
 25 My dearest lovèd. Froward jealousy
 With circumstance might urge thy^hinconstancy:
 Sooner I'll think the sun will cease to cheer
 The teeming earth, and that forget to bear;
 Sooner that rivers will run back, or Thames
 30 With ribs of ice in June will bind his streams;
 Or Nature, by whose strength the world endures,
 Would change her course, before you alter yours.
 But oh, that treacherous breast to whom weak you
 Did trust our counsels; and we both may rue
 35 Having his falsehood found too late: 'twas he

24 This kind of beast] The common monster 1640 thoughts] thought *H40, II, 1633*: love 1640

25 lovèd] love *II, O'Fae, 1633, 1635, 1640* Froward] Though froward *Nae* (Though above line in another hand), *O'Fae, 1633, 1635*: however *H40, 1640*

26 thy^hinconstancy] th^hinconstancy *Dob, Lut, O'Fbe*: the contrary 1640

27, 29 will] would 1640 30 will] would *H40, II, 1633, 1640*

21–2 must . . . just?] 'Must he want you to act inconsistently with your normal unfairness?' (apparently an imitation of D.'s *Constancy* 11–13). Cp. also Tilley W650, quoting Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy* 3. 5. 4–5: 'That they are most forbidden, they will soonest attempt.' Cp. also *Metem* 87.

23 Though] *N* and *O'F* (as often elsewhere) were evidently corrected from the printed text's regularizing of the metre. *VD*'s only (implied) MS authority for the word is an extract in the Welden MS (Folger MS V.a.164), a mid-seventeenth-century miscellany (*IELM* pp. 255–6), presumably transcribed from an edition. The emendation is obviously not beyond the skills of an editor or even compositor.

25 froward] bad-tempered.

26 with circumstance] judging only from peripheral facts, not direct evidence.

27–32 The conventional catalogue of impossibilities (cp. *Parting* 97–100).

27–9 Sooner I'll . . . back] Cp. Propertius 2. 15. 31–3.

29–30 Sooner that . . . streams] Cp. Propertius 1. 15. 29–30.

29 Sooner that . . . back] Cp. Propertius 3. 19. 6, Ovid, *Tristia* 1. 8. 1.

29–30 Thames . . . streams] R. Whyte wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury on 26 Jan. 1608 that the Thames was 'so hardly frozen that it is made a beaten highway to all places of the City' (*Illustrations of British History*, ed. E. Lodge (1838) 3. 224–5). A fuller account is given in Howes's continuation of Stow's *Abridgement* (1618 pp. 495–6) than in the augmented *Annales* (1631 p. '891'); and by Chamberlain on 8 Jan. 1608 (*Letters* 1. 253). In the *Annales* (1631) p. 1034, Howe notes that again from the last week of November to the first week of December 1620 'the Thames was frozen all over'.

- That made me cast you guilty, and you me,
 Whilst the black wretch betrayed each simple word
 We spake, unto the cunning of a third.
 Cursed may he be that so our love hath slain,
 40 And wander on the earth wretched as Cain;
 Wretched as he, and not deserve least pity:
 In plaguing him, let misery be witty:
 Let all eyes shun him, and he shun each eye,
 Till he be noisome as his infamy.
- 45 May he without remorse deny God thrice,
 And not be trusted more on his soul's price;
 And after all self-torment, when he dies
 May wolves tear out his heart, vultures his eyes,
 Swine eat his bowels, and his falsèr tongue,
 50 That uttered all, be to some raven flung;
 And let his carrion corse be[^]a longer feast
 To the King's dogs than any other beast.
- Now I have cursed; let us our love revive:
 In me the flame was never more alive.
- 55 I could begin again to court and praise,
 And in that pleasure lengthen the short days

37 the] he *H40, II, 1633, 1635, 1640* 38 cunning] coming *1640*
 40 on the earth wretched] wretched on the earth *H40, 1640* 45 he] be *1640*
 53 I have] have I *H40, TCD, 1633, 1635* revive] receive *1640*

36 cast] pronounce.

38 third] third party.

39–52 For the long-established genre see the headnote on analogues of *Curse*, which, with *Bracelet* 91–110 and *Perfume* 57–72, is D.'s main exercise in it.

40 *Genesis* 4. 12–14.

42 let . . . witty] Cp. *FirAn* 99: 'How witty's ruin!'

45 Peter denied three times that he was associated with Jesus, but repented: *Mark* 14. 66–72, etc.

46 on . . . price] i.e., when he swears 'May I be damned if . . .'

47–52 Imitating Catullus 108. 4–6; vultures and wolves also feature (along with dogs) in Ovid, *Ibis* 169–72 (Gardner).

52 the King's dogs] The King's craze for hunting was known widely in England as soon as he acceded to its throne in March 1603. Cp. *Sun* 7.

53–64 Compare this abject attitude with D.'s arrogance and wit in, e.g., *Jealousy*, *Change* and *Blossom*.

54 Cp. *Parting* 11–14, 35–6.

- Of my life's lease, like painters, that do take
 Not in made works delight, but whilst they make.
 I could renew those times when first I saw
 60 Love in your eyes: that gave my tongue the law
 To like what you liked, and at masques and plays
 Commend the selfsame actor the same ways;
 Ask how you did, and often, with intent
 Of being officious, be impertinent.
 65 All which were such soft pastimes as in these
 Love was as subtly caught as a disease.
 But being got it is a treasure sweet,
 Which to defend is harder than to get,
 And ought not be profaned on either part,
 70 For though 'tis got by chance, 'tis kept by art.

58 Not . . . works delight] Delight, not . . . work *H40, II, 1633, 1635, 1640*
 whilst] whiles *H40, TCD, L74, 1633, 1635*: what *Lut marg.*

60 eyes Σ: eye *TCD before extra space 61 and* or *1640*

62 actor] actors *H40, II, 1633, 1635, 1640*

64 be] grow *1640 65 soft*] sort *TCDae*: lost *1640*

57–8 like painters . . . make] The comparison (with regard to unerotic friendships) is made by L. A. Seneca, *Epistles* 9. 7 (W. D. Briggs, *MP* 15 (1917) 291).

59–64 Cp. Ovid, *Amores* 3. 2. 1–42 (Gr.), *Art of Love* 1. 146–162, 2. 197–216.

60 Love in your eyes] Echoing *Recusant* 40: 'Death in thy cheeks and darkness in thine eye', but changing D.'s habitual second person singular possessive.

61–4 These recommendations of Ovid, *Art of Love* 1. 139–62, were, according to S. Gosson, *S[el]hoole of Abuse* (1579), f. 17r–v, all too thoroughly adopted in Elizabethan London:

Ovid chargeth his pilgrims . . . to like every thing that pleaseth them; . . . In our assemblies at plays at London, you shall see . . . such care for their garments that they be not trod on, such eyes to their laps that no chips light on them, such pillows to their backs that they take no hurt, such masquing in their ears I know not what, such giving them pippins to pass the time, such playing at foot-saunt [cent-foot was a card-game] without cards, such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sports are ended, that it is a right comedy to mark their behaviour, to watch their conceits, as the cat for the mouse.

61–2 Cp. Jonson, *Epicaene* 4. 1 (acted Dec. 1609–Jan. 1610): 'Like what she likes, praise whom she praises'.

64 officious] dutiful. **impertinent]** presumptuous.

67–70 Cp. Ovid, *Art of Love* 2. 13–14.

70 Tilley F615 quotes Cotgrave, 2X5v, *s.v. Heur*: 'Good fortune quickly slips from such as heed it not.'

His Parting from her

Attribution, Date and Context. The poem does not appear in the *W* or Group I collections of D.'s work (which Gardner *ESS* p. xxxii reasonably regards as together representing a book of elegies that circulated as such) or in Group II MSS. The other main collections indicate uncertainty about authorship. The miscellany *H40* (containing poems by Harington, Wotton, Campion, Jonson, Beaumont and others) includes *Parting* but without attribution on ff. 238v–40 among poems by Jonson and others, before its continuous collection of D.'s poems which runs from f. 256 to f. 298. In other miscellanies, such as *M16*, *RP31*, *P*, *TCD2*, *Parting* occurs in isolation among poems by other authors such as Francis Beaumont and Owen Felltham. *S96*, however, places *Parting* between *Progress* and *Jealousy*, though it includes the misattributed *Expostulation* with equal confidence between *Comparison* and *BulstrodeLanguage*, while omitting *Pupil*. *Lut* and *O'F* place *Parting* towards the end of their run of elegies (*Lut* omits *Comparison*), following it with the spurious *Citizen*, *Expostulation* (omitted by *O'F*), *Julia*, and *Self-Love*, concluding, however, with the authentic *Bracelet*. *Parting* did not appear in 1633 (perhaps because it is omitted from the Group I and II MSS which it used as copy), and in 1635 appeared in a shortened forty-two-line version. This shorter version appears with various attributions in many less authoritative MSS. *Parting* was first printed in a full but degenerate version in 1669.

Gardner rejects the poem as D.'s on stylistic grounds. Among all D.'s uses of the word 'friend', he only twice (*Metem* 208, *Blossom* 39) uses it of a sexual partner, but it is thus used in *Parting* in ll. 30, 67 and 83. The collocation 'my dear' occurs nowhere in D.'s accepted work: he uses 'dear' alone as an appellation. The most eloquent passage in the poem (69–82) begins with declamation, pads out with a weak phrase, 'to my sense shall run', and routinely goes through the traditional *topoi* of the four elements and the four seasons. Gardner rightly picks on 'And then thyself into our flame didst turn' (38): the writer seems desperate to contrive infilling that will complete the rhyme. The weak rhyming of ll. 5–6, 'do it'/'to it' (probably meant to be read metrically as 'do't'/'to't', but then chiming with 'boot'), not seen anywhere in D.'s unquestioned work, would be appropriate in a humorous context but not in melodrama about Hell and magic. Likewise, that of ll. 77–8, stressed syllable rhyming with unstressed extra syllable in 'spring'/'beginning' makes an apparently sincere sentiment ludicrous: D. indulges in such licence in *Bracelet* 59–60 in derision, but cp. *Satyre* 1 7–8. *Storm* 55–6, *Litany* 209–11, *BedfordHonour* 13–15. (Gardner directs to P. Simpson, *MLR* 38 (1943).) Lines 41–52 repeat motifs from *Jealousy* 19–20, 31–2. Lines 63–4 are a sudden awkward retraction, transference, and therefore undermining, of the accusation of ll. 29–56. Line 68 seems self-contradictory: how can 'strokes' not cause 'harms', since they end the physical love celebrated in ll. 35–48, and the 'golden harvests' of l. 80? If the poem is D.'s, it was written before he acquired the standards and skills shown even in the earliest love-elegies and lyrics, which could account for its sporadic survival in manuscript, and absence from the

Texts collated: *I*: *H40*, *M16*, *RP31*; *II*: *P*, *TCD2*; *III*: *S96*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1635 (printing only lines 1–4, 45–56, 67–82, 95–104), 1669

Base text: *RP31*

Select variants:

Heading 1635

circulated collection of elegies represented in the Westmoreland manuscript and Group I. It is perfectly possible, since none of the MSS in which *Parting* appears are dated by *IELM* before the 1620s, that it is by one of D.'s many readers, admirers, and imitators.

Five Oxford miscellanies, great-great-grandchildren of the Group III archetype (the Leare MS, BL Add. 30982; Folger V.a.97 and 170 (both Christ Church); Folger V.a.245; and the Sparrow MS), ascribe it to the famous witty poet Richard Corbett, from 1599 to 1628 Student then Dean of Christ Church, 'on his wife's departure', an occasion rendered impossible by l. 42's reference to the woman's jealous husband (Corbett was his wife's first and only). The Thomas Smyth MS, another Christ Church miscellany (Folger V.a.103), names D. in its title; the Skipwith MS (BL Add. 25707, a miscellany in numerous hands) subscribes D.'s initials. Though miscellany evidence is thus contradictory and weak, it shows that the poem, though misapplied, was known in Oxford. Early in one line of descent, Bodleian MS Malone 16, pp. 30–3, bears the significant subscription of *Parting* 'ex incerto auctore'.

Gardner (*ESS* xlv) remarks incontrovertibly that 'in an age of amateur poets circulating their poems in manuscript, waifs and strays tend to be fathered on poets of known fame. We need positive reasons for ascribing a poem to Donne, not the merely negative reason that we cannot propose another author. . . . I see no reason to question the possibility of an unknown writer, perhaps the mysterious "Sir Francis Wriothlesley", having written a poem as good in parts as "His Parting from Her".' Gardner is alluding to the earliest attribution in the lines of descent inferred by *VD* (apart from that implied by its inclusion among D.'s elegies (along with *Expostulation*) in the archetype of Group III). The attribution (or merely name of the source of the writer's copy) is found in *TCD2*, another miscellany containing Oxford poems, but a member of the earliest extant generation of MSS (putatively, like MS Malone 16 and S96, only a grandchild of the lost original), subscribing the poem (lacking the last 10 lines, which were presumably on a succeeding leaf in an earlier copy, now lost) 'S^r Fran: Wryothlesse'.

No such knight or baronet is to be found in either W. A. Shaw, *Knights of England* (1906), or G. E. Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage* pp. 100–9. Nevertheless, the scribe is obviously not yielding to the usual temptation to father a stray on a well-known name. 'Francis' was a comparatively rare Christian name in England, and is so among the hundreds of knights listed by Shaw between 1590 and 1630. It was thus probably too distinctive to be corrupted in transmission, unlike surnames, which received a wide variety of spellings—ambiguities compounded by non-phonetic pronunciation, e.g., of Wriothlesley as Risley. Surnames are inherently more varied and numerous, and the more subject to further variation in manuscript. By this hypothesis, a prime candidate for authorship on grounds of age and literary competence is Sir Francis Wortley (1591–1652), who matriculated from Magdalen College, Oxford, on 17 Feb. 1609, and was knighted 15 Jan. 1611 (Shaw). He went on to become an MP and royalist. He was a friend of Jonson's, and contributed to the memorial volume *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638). In 1646, while imprisoned in the Tower and stripped of his estates, he published his *Characters and Elegies*—not, however, containing youthful work such as Ovidian love-elegies, but poems on royalists killed in the Civil War. Since he wrote poems in his later years, he presumably did so as an undergraduate, and therefore circulated them at Oxford.

Analogues. Written in couplets, this is what had become a stock Ovidian love-elegy.

Text. The poem appears in several dozen MSS. *VD* deduces transmission from a lost original through three lost exemplars, resulting in the next generation in I: the Bodleian's Malone 16, and a lost exemplar; II: the second part of *TCD* (ll. 1–94, in a miscellany associated with Oxford, dated by *IELM* c. 1630s), and a lost exemplar; and III: *S96*, and at least two lost exemplars; and in the next generation, descending from the lost exemplars, in I: the miscellanies *H40* and Bodleian Rawl. Poet. 31, II: the Phillipps and Osborn miscellanies (both omit ll. 77–8), and III: *Lut* and *O'F*, these latter eventually resulting in the text excerpted in 1635, and, through a previous divergence in the descent, in a by then very corrupt complete version in 1669. Requiring emendation from the consensus among other Groups in ll. 5, 9, 15, 24, 32, 34, 37, 42 (twice), 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 58, 76, 77, 78, 87, 89, and 94 (twice), *RP31* has been adopted as the base text, being the least corrupted, with citations in the critical apparatus from earlier exemplars of other lines of descent and from the printed editions. Though *VD* chooses *H40* as its base text, it requires slightly more correction than *RP31*, and has no greater authority as to the canon of D.'s poems outside its section of them on ff. 256–98. The lines have been indented where the speaker turns to another addressee, Love (13), Fortune (65), the woman (83).

SINCE she must go and I must mourn, come night:
 Environ me with darkness whilst I write.
 Shadow that hell unto me which alone
 I am to suffer when my love is gone.
 5 Alas, the darkest magic cannot do it:
 Thou and great Hell to boot are shadows to it.
 Should Cynthia quit thee, Venus and each star,
 It would not form one thought dark as mine are.
 I could lend them obscurity now, and say
 10 Out of myself there should be no more day,
 Such is already my felt want of sight,
 Did not the fires within me force a light.
 O Love, that fire and darkness should be mixed,
 Or to thy triumphs so strange torments fixed!
 15 Is it because thyself art blind that we,
 Thy martyrs, must no more each other see?

2 whilst] while *III* 4 love] dear *M16*: soul 1635 5–44 om. 1635
 5 the *M16*, *II*, 1669: thee *III*: thy *H40*, *RP31* 6 Thou and] And that 1669
 9 them *M16*, *II*, *III*, 1669: thee *H40*, *RP31* 11 felt want] self-want 1669
 12 fires] fire *P*, 1669 14 so] such 1669
 15 Is it] Is't *III*, 1669: It is *P* thyself] thou ~ *III*, 1669

3 Shadow] prefigure.

6 to it] compared with it.

7 Cynthia] the Moon. **Venus]** The conspicuous herald of sunrise.

10 Out of] outside.

- Or tak'st thou pride to break us on the wheel,
 And view old Chaos in the pains we feel?
 Or have we left undone some mutual rite
 20 Through holy fear, that merits thy despite?
 No no, the fault was mine: impute it me,
 Or rather to conspiring Destiny,
 Which, since I loved for form before, decreed
 That I should suffer when I loved indeed.
 25 And therefore now, sooner than I can say
 I saw the golden fruit, 'tis rapt away.
 Or as I'd watched one drop in a vast stream,
 And I left wealthy only in a dream.
 Yet Love, th'art blinder than thyself in this,
 30 To vex my dove-like friend for mine amiss,
 And where my own glad truth might expiate
 Thy wrath, to make her fortune run my fate.
 So blinded Justice doth, when fav'rites fall,
 Strike them, their house, their friends, their followers all.
 35 Wast not enough that thou didst dart thy fires
 Into our bloods, inflaming our desires,

17 on the] on thy *H40*, 1669; in the *P* 18 pains] pain *III*

20 That thus with parting thou seekst us to spite? 1669

21 was] is *II*, 1669 it me] to me *M16*: it to ~ *TCD2*, *S96*, 1669

23 loved for form] ~ for me *II*, 1669

24 loved *M16*, *II*, *III*, 1669: love *H40*, *RP31*

25 now, sooner] sooner now 1669 26 golden] gold *III* 'tis] is *M16*: it is *III*

27 a] the 1669 30 mine] my 1669

31 my] mine *TCD2*, *Lut*: *om.* 1669 own glad] one sad 1669 might] may *III*, 1669

34 them, *M16*, *II*, *III*, 1669: then *H40*: thou *RP31* followers] favourites *III*, 1669

36 bloods] hearts *S96*: blood *P*, *Lut*, *O'F* inflaming *II*, *III*, 1669: informing *I*

17 break . . . wheel] Referring to a means of torturing to death: 'bind us on a wheel, and break our limbs by beating'.

23–4 Cp. Ovid, *Art of Love* 1. 615–16.

23 loved for form] professed love out of politeness.

26 Perhaps merged allusions to the legends of the Hesperides and Tantalus, Ovid, *Met.* 4. 638, 459. **rapte]** snatched.

27–8 Again seemingly a telescoping of myths about two kings of Phrygia, Tantalus and Midas, Ovid, *Met.* 4. 458–9, 11. 102–30, to confused effect.

30 amiss] acting out of order, referring back to ll. 21–4.

31 glad truth] willing sincerity.

32 run] share (*OED* run *v.* 39 a).

34 house] family.

- And mad'st us sigh and glow, and pant and burn,
 And then thyself into our flame didst turn?
 Wast not enough that thou didst hazard us
 40 To paths in love so dark, so dangerous,
 And those so ambushed round with household spies,
 And over all thy husband's tow'ring eyes,
 That flamed with oily sweat of jealousy?
 Yet went we not still on with constancy?
 45 Have we not kept our guards, like spy on spy,
 Had correspondence when the foe stood by?
 Stol'n (more to sweeten them) our many blisses
 Of meetings, conference, embracements, kisses,
 Shadowed with negligence our most respects,
 50 Varied our language through all dialects
 Of becks, winks, looks, and often under boards

37 glow, and pant *II, III*: blow, ~ ~ *M16, 1669*: pant, and glow *H40, RP31*

38 flame] ~s *1669* 40 dark, so] ~ and *1669*

41 those] these *H40, II*

42 thy *M16, TCD2, III, 1669*: the *H40, RP31, P* husband's tow'ring *P, III*: ~
 tow'ring *TCD2, 1669*: tow'ring husband's *M16, H40*: loured husband's *RP31*

43 That flamed] Inflamed *1669* oily] th'ugly *1669* 44 with] in *1669*

45 we not kept our] not we ~ ~ *H40*: we for this kept *1635, 1669* on] and *M16, P*: o'er *1635*

46 correspondence *M16, II, III, 1635*: correspondency *H40, RP31* when] whilst
1635, 1669

48 embracements *H40, M16, II, III, 1635, 1669*: embracement *RP31*

49 most] best *1669* 50 our *M16, II, III, 1635, 1669*: thy *H40, RP31*

41–52 Cp. *Jealousy* 19–20, 31–2.

42 **thy/the]** Though found in only two groups of manuscripts rather than all, 'the' is consistent with the present address to Cupid. **tow'ring]** Perhaps alluding to falconry, where a bird that towers is positioned to strike, so 'hawk-like'. Gardner considers it 'more appropriately applied to the husband himself, who watches as from a tower while his "household spies" set ambushes. The whole passage is couched in military terms which make a hawking metaphor seem unlikely.' 47–8 Cp. Ovid, *Amores* I. 4. 47–8.

47 **Stol'n . . . sweeten them]** Echoing *Prov.* 9. 17: 'Stolen waters are sweet' (see also Tilley *W131*; cp. B626, F779, P423), but more probably Ovid, *Amores* 2. 19. 3, *Art of Love* I. 275, 348. Cp. *Expostulation* 16–17.

49 **Shadowed]** disguised. **most respects]** most intense regards.

50–2 Cp. Ovid, *Amores* I. 4. 16–28, 2. 5. 15–20.

50, 53 **our/thy]** *H40* and *RP31* alter the reading testified to by Group consensus to specify that it is the language of Love, rather than of the lovers, of which 'becks, winks, looks' and footsie are dialects, and that it is to the universal art of love, as Ovid called it, that the practices alluded to in ll. 45–9 belong.

51 **becks]** mute signs, nods. **boards]** the table.

- Spoke dialogues with our feet far from our words?
 Have we proved all these secrets of our art—
 Yea, thy pale colours—inward as thy heart,
 55 And after all this passèd purgatory,
 Must sad divorce make us the vulgar story?
 First let our eyes be riveted quite through
 Our turning brains, and both our lips grow to.
 Let our arms clasp like ivy, and our fear
 60 Freeze us together, that we may stick here,
 Till Fortune that would rive us with the deed
 Strain his eyes open, and it make them bleed,
 For Love it cannot be, whom hitherto
 I have accused, would such a mischief do,
 65 And Fortune, th'art not worth my least exclaim,
 And plague enough thou hast in thine own shame.
 Do thy great worst: my friend and I have arms,

52 Spoke *M16, II, III, 1635, 1669*: Speak *H40, RP31* our words] words *M16, 1635*

53 these *H40, M16, P, S96*: the *RP31, TCD2, Lut, O'F, 1635, 1669* our *M16, II, III, 1635, 1669*: thy *H40, RP31*

54 colours—inward as thy] ~ inwards ~ ~ *S96*: inwards, as thy panting *M16*: inwards, and thy panting *1635, 1669* 55 this *M16, II, III, 1635, 1669*: the *H40, RP31*

56 Must] Shall *III 57–66 om. 1635* 58 to *1669*: too *M16, H40, II, S96*: two *RP31, Lut, O'F*

61 rive] reave *P*: ruin *1669* 62 his *II, III, 1669*: her *I* it] yet *Lut, O'F, 1669*

64 would] should *III, 1669*

65 And Fortune] Fortune *TCD2*: O ~ *III, 1669*

66 hast] hadst *M16*: art *H40* thine] thy *1669* shame] name *1669*

67 Do thy great] Fortune, do thy *1635*

52 far] quite different.

53 proved] put to the test.

54 thy pale colours] Love's art includes lovers' not betraying their passion by blushing. **inward]** hidden.

55 this passèd purgatory] surviving all this torment (as a prelude to the Heaven of consummation).

56 vulgar story] common gossip.

57–8 First . . . brains] A clumsy imitation of *Ecstasy* 7–8.

58 turning] infatuated (*OED* turn *v.* 45). **to]** together.

59 Traditional: cp. e.g., Catullus 61. 34–5 (ironically, here, an epithalamion).

61 rive us] tear us apart.

62 The reading of most groups of the MSS, and therefore presumably of a lost common ancestor, makes this a bloodthirsty curse on the husband, wishing him to realise his wife's preference for another, and suffer the stabs of jealousy. Group I's reading directs the curse at Fortune.

65 exclaim] exclamation, protest.

- Though not against thy strokes, against thy harms.
 Rend us asunder: thou canst ne'er divide
 70 Our bodies so but still our souls are tied,
 And we can love by letters still and gifts
 And thoughts and dreams: 'Love never wanteth shifts.'
 I will not look upon the quick'ning sun
 But straight her beauty to my sense shall run.
 75 The air shall note her soft, the fire most pure,
 Water suggest her clear, and the Earth sure.
 Times shall not lose our passages: the Spring
 Shall tell how fresh our love was in beginning;
 The Summer how it ripened in the ear;
 80 And Autumn what our golden harvests were;
 The Winter I'll not think on, to spite thee,
 But count it a lost season: so shall she.
 And (dearest friend) since we must part, drown night
 With hope of day: burdens well borne are light.
 85 Though cold and darkness longer hang somewhere,
 Yet Phoebus equally lights all the sphere,

69 Rend us asunder] ~ ~ in sunder *P*, 1669; Rent us in sunder *S96*: Bend us, in sunder 1635 thou canst ne'er] ~ shalt ~ *TCD2*: ~ ~ not *III*, 1635, 1669; and thou mayst *P*

70 still] that 1635, 1669

76 Water] ~s *III*, 1635, 1669 and the *H40*, *M16*, *P*, *III*, 1635, 1669; the *RP31*, *TCD2*

77-8 *om. P* 77 Times *H40*, *M16*, *TCD2*: Time *RP31*, *III*, 1635, 1669

78 Shall tell *om.* 1635, 1669 in *H40*, *M16*, *II*, *Lut*, *O'F*, 1669; in the *RP31*, *S96*, 1635

79 ripened in] inripened 1669 ear] year 1635, 1669 83-94 *om.* 1635

85 Though] The *III*, 1669

72 'Love . . . shifts'] Proverbial: 'Love will find a way'—Tilley L531. **shifts]** resources.

73 quick'ning] rising, life-giving.

75-82 Routine padding with catalogues of the four elements and four seasons.

76 clear] beautiful. *OED* cites as its last use H. Lyte sr in his translation of R. Dodoens, *Nieuwe Herball*, 6. 1 (1578) p. 656: 'The clear and pleasant Venus'. **the Earth sure]** Cp. *Ps.* 93. 2: 'He hath made the round world so sure that it cannot be moved' (*BCP*).

77 Times] seasons. **lose our passages]** omit mention of our relations (*OED* 13b).

81 Winter will symbolize Fortune's success in separating the lovers. **thee]** Fortune.

85 somewhere] in some places.

86 Phoebus] the Sun. **sphere]** universe (*Patrides*).

- And what he cannot in like portion pay,
 The world enjoys in mass, and so we may.
 Be then your fairest self, and let no woe
 90 Win on your health, your youth, your beauty: so,
 Declare yourself base Fortune's enemy
 No less by your contempt than constancy,
 That I may grow enamoured on your mind
 When mine own thoughts I there reflected find;
 95 For this to comfort of my dear I vow:
 My deeds shall still be what my words are now;
 The Poles shall move to teach me ere I start,
 And when I change my love, I'll change my heart.
 Nay, if I wax but cold in my desire,
 100 Think Heav'n hath motion lost and the world fire.
 Much more I could, but 'Many words have made
 That oft suspected which men would persuade.'
 Take therefore all in this: I love so true
 As I will never look for less in you.

87 he] we 1669 portion *M16, II, III, 1669*: portions *H40, RP31*

88 enjoys *II, III, 1669*: yet joys *I*

89 your fairest] y^t ~ *P*: ever your *III, 1669* no *P, III, 1669*: not *M16, RP31*: me *H40, TCD2*

92 by] be *II, Lut, O'F, 1669* constancy] her inconstancy 1669 93 on] of *P, III*

94 mine *H40, M16, II, III*: in my *RP31*: my 1669 there reflected *H40, M16, II, III*: them ~ *RP31*: here neglected 1669 95–104 *om. TCD2*

102 would] could *P*: most 1669

87 in . . . pay] share out equally.

88 in mass] as a whole.

90 Win on] prevail over.

95 my dear] Not a Donnean usage elsewhere.

97–100 The traditional catalogue of impossibilities is used also in *Expostulation* 27–32. It is given a cynical twist by D. in *Go*.

97 Poles] points defining the axis of the classical universe. **start]** flinch.

100 i.e., that the world has come to an end.

101–2 'Many . . . persuade'] Proverbial: see Tilley W828, quoting Ling (1608 f. 144r): 'Where many words are spoken, truth is held in suspicion', citing J. Stobaeus, *Loci communes* 59 (1581) p. 230, who says the words of truth are the simplest.

Julia (author unknown)

Date and Context. 1602–32. The period of composition is limited by l. 14's 'mastix' and the date of *O'F*, 12 Oct. 1632. An early annotator of a copy of 1639 ('now at Harvard'—*VD*) wrote that *Julia* was 'not licensed nor Dr Donne's' (G. Williamson, *TLS* (18 Aug. 1932) 581), and twentieth-century editors and scholars agreed.

Analogues. The name perhaps alludes to that of certain classical women: Martial 11. 104. 17–18 says that one Julia used to let her husband Pompey bugger her; Juvenal 2. 29–33 denounces the (productive) affair of the Emperor Domitian with his niece, another Julia. Grierson quotes, via *OED*, a passage that S. Holland, *Zara* (1656; 1719) p. 76), obviously derived from ll. 13–14.

Text. *Julia* occurs in only a handful of collections and miscellanies, of which *Lut* and *O'F* are the most reliable witnesses, and agree substantially throughout. It was first printed in 1635.

Hark news, O Envy! Thou shalt hear descried
My Julia, who as yet was ne'er envied.
 To vomit gall in slander, swell her veins
 With calumny that Hell itself disdains,
 5 Is her continual practice; does her best
 To tear opinion e'en out of the breast
 Of dearest friends; and (which is worse than vild)
 Sticks jealousy in wedlock: her own child
 Scapes not the showers of envy. To repeat
 10 The monstrous fashions how, were[^]alive to eat
 Dear reputation. Would to God she were

Sources collated: *Group III: Lut, O'F; 1635*

Base text: *Group III*

1 Envy] Personified by Ovid, *Met.* 2. 768–805, and by Spenser, *FQ* 1. 4. 30–2 as a man, but as a woman in 5. 12. 28–39, though later a commonplace figure in the early Jacobean period, used politically to stigmatise any discontent with the regime. **descried]** made known, revealed, denounced.

2 My Julia] Perhaps implying that she is the speaker's wife.

3–7 To vomit . . . friends] Julia is like Spenser's Detraction, 'neighbour next' to Envy in 5. 12. 33–6.

6 opinion] good reputation.

7 dearest friends] Presumably not Julia's but the victim's. **vild]** vile.

8–9 Sticks . . . envy] She may have taunted her husband that her child was not his, in order to spoil any consolation he might have salvaged from their marriage.

11 reputation] i.e., of the slandered parent(s).

- But half so loath to act vice as to hear
 My mild reproof. Lived Mantuan now again,
 That female-mastix, to limn with his pen
 15 This she-chimaera that hath eyes of fire,
 Burning with anger—anger feeds desire—
 Tongued like the night crow, whose ill-boding cries
 Give out for nothing but new injuries;
 Her breath like to the juice in Tenarus,
 20 That blasts the springs though ne'er so prosperous;

13 Lived] sc. 'Would that'. **Mantuan]** Battista Spagn(u)oli of Mantua, late fifteenth-century Carmelite Latin poet, who abused women in his fourth eclogue, *Alphus: De natura mulierum*, as, e.g., servile, cruel and proud. The eclogues were generally studied in schools: there were at least fifteen English editions between 1523 and 1606; they were Englished by G. Turberville (1567, 1572, 1594). *Alphus* was denounced as misogynist by, e.g., R. Greene, *Mamillia* (1583; *Life and Works* 2. 106–7). Cp. Nashe, *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589; *Works* 1. 12).

14 female-mastix] scourge of women. The Greek suffix was popularised in 1602 as part of a title, Dekker's *Satiromastix*, and was used through the first eight decades of the century in compounds of which the first element denoted the victim of the verbal scourging. **limn . . . pen]** draw in words.

15 she-chimaera] Alluding to the fire-breathing monster of Lycia (Ovid, *Met.* 9. 647–8), with the head and breast of a lioness (voracious and unfeeling), the body of a goat (denoting the lechery of ll. 11–12), and the tail of a serpent (with a sting in it—*Rev.* 9. 10).

17 night-crow] Sometimes an owl with its hooting taken as an omen, but distinguished as, perhaps, the nightjar in 3 *Henry VI* 5. 6. 44–5: 'The owl shrieked at thy birth: an evil sign; The night-crow cried, a boding luckless time.'

18 Give out for] proclaim; 'for' seems redundant.

19–20 the juice . . . springs] Greene (1583; *Works* p. 107) continues: 'Though Euripides in his tragedies doth greatly exclaim against that sex, yet it was in his choler, and he inferred a general by a particular, which is absurd. He had an evil wife: what then? Because the hill Canaros hath a fountain runs deadly poison, is all water nought?' The reference might be to sulphurous springs in the Canary Islands, e.g., those round Fuencaliente on La Palma. Secretary-hand capital C and T and even G could occasionally be confused. Grierson and later commentators (not noticing the reference in Greene) refer to 'the jaws of Taenarum, the lofty portals of Dis, the grove that is murky with black terror, and . . . way to the land of the dead, with its fearful king and hearts no human prayer can soften' (Virgil, *Georgics* 4. 467–70, Engl. H. R. Fairclough and G. P. Goold; disbelieved by those unpoetic travellers Strabo 8 (363) and Pausanias 3. 25. 4–8). The writer of this elegy could have assumed there would be fatal subterranean sulphurous exhalations, as at Avernus (Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 237–42), though these are nowhere recorded. Smith implicitly assumes that the writer confused Heracles' entrance for his Twelfth and last Labour to the underworld through Taenarum (Apollodorus 2. 5. 12) and his exit dragging Cerberus to the upper world through Acone on the Black Sea, where the hell-hound's furious slaver gave rise to the aconite with its deadly juice (Ovid 7. 408–19) which might poison springs of water. *HK1* (not collated here) reads 'Aire of' for 'iuyce in', presumably inferring that nothing grew in the sunless gorge even in the mildest Springs because of the climate. In the 1633 *FirAn*

- Her hands, I know not how, used more to spill
 The food of others than herself to fill,
 But oh, her mind, that Orcus, which includes
 Legions of mischiefs, countless multitudes
 25 Of formless curses, projects unmade up,
 Abuses yet unfashioned, thoughts corrupt,
 Misshapen cavils, palpable untruths,
 Inevitable errors, self-accusing loathes—
 These, like those atoms swarming in the sun,
 30 Throng in her bosom for creation.
 I blush to give half her due, but this say:
 No poison's half so bad as Julia.

Select variants:

24 mischiefs] mischief 1635 31 give] give her 1635 but this] yet 1635

A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife (author unknown)

Date and Context. Autumn 1609. News-topics raised in ll. 21–7 exclude matters of great import in March to May 1610, such as the death of the extraordinarily wealthy Sir John Spencer and apparent running mad of his heir, the plantation of Ulster, the siege of Juliers and assassination of Henri IV. Though there could have been a satirical intention to show that the citizen's awareness and concern were limited to the City, the satire is directed against the Court with which D. identified himself, and focuses on immediate City concerns, in which D. shows no interest in his letters of the period (apart from his bid to become secretary of the Virginia Company, he was in no position to invest), so there is no internal

286, 'Tenusus' appears in place of 'Teneriffe', whose peak is referred to there. However, there is presumably a mere mistranscription there. In Harington's *Ariosto*, *Orlando Furioso* 33. 20 (1591) p. 269, 'Tanarus' refers to the modern R. Tanaro, a tributary of the Po in Northern Italy.

20 blasts] blights.

23 Orcus] A Latin name for Hades, the classical underworld, abode of the three Furies (Ovid, *Met.* 4. 432–511, 14. 116–26).

28 self-accusing loathes] unjustified hatreds.

29 atoms] specks of dust, motes, seen in rays of sunlight against a shaded background.

31 1635's emendation to make the line metrical is understandable by any reader, but without manuscript authority.

Heading Obviously made up from ll. 9 and 11 by the editor of 1635 or the source MS.

reason to attribute the poem to him. It keeps dubious company in *Lut*, *O'F*, coming between *Parting* and *Expostulation*, and between *Julia* and *Expostulation* in 1635.

Analogues. The poem pretends to be a love-elegy, but is a political poem: a third (ll. 34–57) is given over to the City's complaints about the Court through the voice of a citizen with whom the speaker says he disagrees, but does not refute.

Text. The subgroup *Lut* and *O'F* appear to give the least corrupt text. They disagree in l. 10 only, the former agreeing with *Dob*, the latter with the first printed text, 1635. This presumably derives, however, from a MS closer to *Dob*, with which it agrees at least eight times against the other two.

ISING no harm, good sooth, to any wight,
To lord or fool, cuckold, beggar or knight,

Sources collated: *Group III: Dob, Lut, O'F; 1635* Base text: *Lut*
Selective collation: Heading 1635

1–10 Irony is evident from the start in the juxtapositions.

1 The 'literary' language of the line, jarring with the tone of the rest of the poem, immediately casts doubt on its profession of non-satirical intent. **good sooth]** truly. **wight]** person. Cp. Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 'Prologue' 70–3: 'He nevere yet no vileynye ne sayde / In al his life unto no maner wight. / He was a veray, parfit gentle knight.' We are to hear not a knight's but a merchant's tale, not aimed at his wife like Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale* of January and May (though it might well be, since the wife in the present poem is flighty and ll. 35–6, 39–40 and 71 hint that her husband's best days are past), but at courtiers.

2 **lord or fool]** It was obvious that intelligence was not required to inherit or even be awarded a title—'no damned merit in it', as a member of the House of Lords put it appreciatively. **cuckold]** Glancing at a favourite target of scorn, e.g., in D.'s *Jealousy*. **beggar or knight]** On 13 May 1603, six weeks after his accession, it was reckoned that 'The number of knights made since the King entered Berwick is nigh on 240.' On 17 July 'It is now commanded by the King that all who hold land, tenements or hereditaments to the value of £40 annually shall come to receive the honour of knighthood, or shall compound with the commissioners in sums of money to be determined.' On 24 July, 'Yesterday not less than 300 gentlemen were knighted by His Majesty in the garden at Whitehall. Today was performed the solemnity of the Knights of the Bath . . . being in number sixty.' See, e.g., *True Narrative of the Entertainment of his Royal Majesty* (1603) and the rest of James's first year in *Progresses of James I* 1. 58–93, 111–12, 114–20, 155–6, 167, 191–2, 200–2, 205–27, 234, 321–3; and *Jacobean Journal*, pp. 20, 27, 47, 49, 55–6. Philip Gawdy reported on 7 Aug. 1603 after one round of dubbing, 'a scum of such as it would make a man sick to think of them. I have heard of your countries of Norfolk and Suffolk taxed that there were sheep-reeves, yeomen's sons knighted: I can assure you there are other countries that are not behind in that, and divers pedlars' sons of London here received the same order. Amongst the rest, Thimblethorpe the attorney, that was called Nimblechops, full of the pox, was knighted for seven pounds ten shillings. . . . I know one knight from Suffolk that followed the Court so long for a knighthood as, whether for

- To peace-teaching lawyer, proctor or brave
 Reformèd, or reducèd captain, knave,
 5 Officer, juggler, or justice of the peace,
 Juror or judge. I touch no fat sow's grease.
 I am no libeller, nor will be any,
 But, like a trueman, swear there are too many.

4 knave] or knave *Dob* 5 the peace] peace *Dob*
 8 swear] say 1635 are] be *Dob*

want of good lodging or shift of raiment, he and his men were most wonderfully lousy; and yet (paying well for it) in the end he is made a lousy knight. Of these kind of knights there are many jests bred, as that, . . . two walking espied one afar off. The one demanded what he should be. The other answered, he seemed to be a gentleman. "No, I warrant you," says the other, "I think he is but a knight" (Gawdy pp. 134–6). James's new creations are contrasted with their predecessors in fact and fiction: H. P[arrot], *Epigrams* (1608) sig. C2r, mocks 'this rabblement of new-made knights', and Jonson's Sir Epicure Mammon dreams of giving his cook for making merely 'an exquisite and poignant sauce' enough money to buy a knighthood (*Alchemist* 2. 2. 85–7).

3–4 proctor . . . Reformèd] Implying that attorneys are no better than street-bullies in another form.

3 Self-contradictory, since all three thrive on disputes. **proctor]** solicitor. There may, however, be a specific reference to one Sir Stephen Proctor, a rich and fanatical Calvinist, widely hated for his extortions under a commission for collecting and receiving fines on penal statutes. His Yorkshire neighbours 'twice tried to assassinate him, wrecked his lead-works and destroyed his coal mine' (M. Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* 5 (1983) p. 197). For taking bread, beer, bedding and bribes, he was made to submit to the House of Commons in March 1610, which sent him to the Tower on 15 May, and on 23 July he was excepted by name from the King's general pardon (*Parliamentary Debates in 1610*, ed. S. R. Gardiner (Camden Soc. 81 (1862) pp. 124–5); E. R. Foster, ed., *Proceedings in Parliament 1610* (1966) 2. 361, 374–5; *Journals of the House of Commons 1547–1628* (1803) 1. 426; T. E. Tomlins, ed., *Statutes of the Realm, Anno VII Jacobi Regis* 24 (1610; 1819) 1206. **brave]** boaster or bully who likes picking quarrels.

4 reducèd] half-pay, retired. **captain, knave]** Captains were said to recruit men to get them killed, but still collect their pay. Cp. D.'s *Satyre* 1 17–18. Many fraudulently claimed the rank: cp. 2 *Henry IV* 2. 4. 135–44.

5 Officer] A petty officer of justice, exercising power of arrest. **juggler]** fraudster, con-man.

6 fat sow's grease] 'To grease a fat sow in the arse' was proverbial for bribing the already well off (Tilley S682). Here it implies that arrest, prosecution, conviction, and sentencing were all subject to corruption.

7 libeller] Any written criticism of social superiors, whether true or not, was deemed a libel.

8 trueman] An honest fellow, but perhaps meant ironically of one who was so only by profession, 'A knight of the post, . . . a fellow that will swear you anything for twelve pence' (Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592; *Works* 1. 164).

- I fear no *Ore tenus* for my tale,
 10 Nor Court nor Councillor shall red or pale.
 A citizen and his wife, the other day,
 Both riding on one horse upon the way
 I overtook, the wench a pretty peat,
 And by her eye well-fitting for the feat.
 15 I saw the lecherous citizen turn back
 His head, and on his wife's lips seal a smack,
 Whence, apprehending that the man was kind,
 Riding before to kiss his wife behind,
 To get acquaintance with him, I began
 20 To sort discourse fit for so fine a man.
 I asked the number of the plaguy bill,
 Whether the custom-farmers held out still,
 Of the Virginian plot, and whether Ward

9 no] not 1635 10 Court] Count O'F, 1635 shall] will look *Dob*, 1635
 16 lips] lip 1635 seal] steal 1635 21 plaguy] Plaguing 1635
 22 Whether] Asked if 1635

9 *Ore tenus*] summons by, e.g., Star Chamber or the Privy Council, to give oral evidence or explanation.

10 Belied by the citizen's justified complaints. **red**] blush.

13 peat] girl.

14 feat] sexual act.

16 smack] kiss.

17–18 Perhaps alluding to a proverb (Tilley K107) 'After kissing comes more kindness.'

17 kind] i.e., doting.

21 plaguy bill] Cp. D.'s *Canonization* 15, where, however, the reference is probably to the plague of 1603–4. The numbers of plague-victims reported weekly peaked in Sept. 1607, then in Sept.–Nov. 1608, then again Aug.–Oct. 1609 (F. P. Wilson (1963) pp. 186–7). Courts were suspended and Parliament prorogued in 1609 (A. Patterson in *Soliciting Interpretation*, ed. E. D. Harvey and K. E. Maus (1990) p. 45). It again became alarming in Aug. 1610 for several months, then after 1611 practically disappeared until the severe epidemic of 1625.

22 From 1604 the collection of customs was farmed out to syndicates, which became rich enough to lend money to the Crown in addition to their fees (see R. Ashton, *Crown and the Money Market* (1960) pp. 34–5, 88). They pressed merchants hard for their charges. On 19 Feb. 1610 it was proposed in the House of Commons that the grant should be revoked. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton, 31 Dec. 1612: 'The King . . . gave hearing to a controversy 'twixt the farmers of the customs and the Lord Mayor, who was there present, . . . but . . . they went away acquitted' (*Letters* 1, 399).

23 Virginian plot] Virginia scheme. James granted the Virginia Company a new charter on 23 May 1609, and a fleet of nine ships left a week later. Another expedition left in Feb. 1610. The Court and City invested large sums in the venture, which proved precarious for decades to come.

- The traffic of the Midland Seas had marred;
 25 Whether the Britain's Burse did fill apace,
 And likely were to give th'Exchange disgrace;
 Of new-built Aldgate and the Moorfield's crosses,
 Of store of bankrupts and rich merchants' losses,
 I urgèd him to speak. But he, as mute
 30 As an old courtier worn to his last suit,
 Replies with only yeas and nays. At last,
 To hit his element, my theme I cast
 On tradesmen's gains: that set his tongue a-going.

24 Midland] Iland 1635 25 Britain's] Britain *Dob*, 1635
 27 Moorfields] Moorfield *Dob*, 1635 28 rich] poor *Dob*, 1635
 29 as] was *Dob* 31 only yeas] yeas *Dob* 32 hit] fit 1635

23-4 whether Ward . . . marred] A royal proclamation of 8 Jan. 1609 sought the arrest of John Ward (fl. 1603-15), a notorious pirate, well known through two editions in 1609 (licensed 2 June) of *Newses from Sea, of two Notorious Pyrats Ward the Englishman and Danseker the Dutchman* (entered in the Stationers' Register 2 June), listing six ships taken by Ward; and A. Barker, *A True and Certain Report of . . . Capitaine Ward and Danseker* (1609; entered 24 Oct.)

24 Midland] Mediterranean.

25-6 On 7 July 1608 Chamberlain wrote to Carleton that 'The new burse at Durham House goes up apace, whereat the citizens, and especially the Exchange men, begin to grumble, foreseeing that it will be very prejudicial, and mar their market, and thereupon have made a petition to the Lord Mayor' (*Letters* I. 259). 'The beautiful building in the Strand near Durham House was begun the tenth of June last past and was fully furnished in November following. . . upon the tenth of April this present year 1609, many of the upper shops were nobly furnished with wares' (Howes, continuation of Stow, *Abridgement* (1618) p. 504).

26 th'Exchange] the Royal Exchange. As Salisbury pointed out, it had encountered the same objections when founded by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1566.

27 new-built Aldgate] Cp. Howes, *Abridgement* p. 497: 'The tenth of March [1608] was laid the first stone for the new building of Aldgate, but not finished till the end of the next year.' **Moorfield's crosses]** Grierson thinks these are the 'new and pleasant walks on the north side of the city, anciently called Moorfield, which field, until the third year of King James, was a most noisome and offensive place, being a general laystall [dumping-ground for dung and rubbish], a rotten moorish ground, whereof it took first the name. This field for many years was environed and crossed with deep, stinking ditches and noisome common sewers' but was transformed into 'that fair, sweet and pleasant condition as now it is' (Howes, continuation of Stow, *Annales* (1631) p. 1021).

28 store of bankrupts] Chamberlain to Carleton, 31 Dec. 1612 (*Letters* I. 399): 'We have many bankrupts daily, and as many protections, which doth marvelously hinder all manner of commerce'.

30 old courtier] suitor who has long made repeated but fruitless petition.

33 gains] profits.

- ‘Alas, good sir,’ quoth he, ‘there is no doing
 35 In Court nor City now.’ She smiled, and I,
 And, in my conscience, both gave him the lie
 In one met thought. But he went on apace,
 And at the present times with such a face
 He railed as frayed me, for he gave no praise
 40 To any but my Lord of Essex’ days;
 Called those the age of action. ‘True,’ quoth he,
 ‘There’s now as great an itch of bravery
 And heats of taking up, but cold good done,
 For, put to push of pay, away they run.
 45 Your only city trades of hope now are
 Bawd, tavern-keeper, whore and scrivener.
 The much of privileged King’s-man, and the store

38 times] time 1635 40 my] to my *Dob*

41 those] that 1635 age] days *Dob* he] I 1635

43 heats] heat *Dob*, 1635 good done] lay down 1635

44 pay] pike *O’Fbe* 45 Your] Our *Dob*, 1635

46 Bawd, tavern-keeper, whore and scrivener] ~s, ~s, ~s ~ ~s 1635

47 much *blank in Dob* King’s-man] kinsman *Dob*: kinsmen 1635 the store] store
Dob, 1635

34–7 There is no doing . . . thought] He means profitable commercial transactions, they privately think of sexual.

38 with . . . face] so openly.

39 frayed] frightened.

40 my Lord of Essex’ days] In which merchants could make good profits from the fitting-out of naval and military expeditions (which Britain now recognized it could not afford). Essex had been executed for treason on 25 Feb. 1601.

42–4 The concern of these lines is not political but with large purchases and the due settlement of bills.

42 bravery] making a fine show. Cp. Ling (1608) f. 153v: ‘Bravery is a riotous excess, either in apparel or other ornament; it is also a part of pride, and contrary to decency and comeliness.’

43 heats . . . up] eagerness to borrow.

44 push of pay] the point of payment. The phrase is perhaps made on the analogy of ‘push of pike’, the military term for the hand-to-hand fighting many of these extravagant courtiers professed to admire, and whose practice by the Prince of Wales was celebrated, and publicised by a plate in Drayton’s *Poly-Olbiion* (1612), of which a version was also sold separately.

46 Money is to be made only out of sex, drink, litigation and lending. scrivener] 1. Notary, who drew up and copied legal documents; 2. Money-lender.

47 The much . . . King’s-man] Presumably referring to the grants of monopolies to favoured courtiers and/or to the great amount taken from suppliers by the Royal Household below market prices under the iniquitous system of purveyance, a City grievance attacked in the House of Commons in 1604, whose subsequent *Apology and Satisfaction* claimed that the purveyors had ‘rummaged and ransacked since your majesty’s coming in far more than under any of your majesty’s royal progenitors’.

- Of fresh protections make the rest all poor.
 In the first state of their creation
 50 Though many stoutly stand, yet proves not one
 A righteous paymaster.' Thus ran he on
 In a continued rage. So void of reason
 Seemed his harsh talk, I sweat for fear of treason.
 And, troth, how could I less, when in the prayer
 55 For the protection of the wise Lord Mayor
 And his wise brethren's worships when one pray'th,
 He swore that none could say 'Amen' with faith?
 To get him off from what I glowed to hear,
 In happy time an angel did appear,
 60 The bright sign of a loved and well-tried inn,
 Where many a citizen with their wives have been
 Well used and often: here I prayed him stay
 To take some due refreshment by the way.
 Look how he looked who hid his gold, his hope,
 65 And at return found nothing but a rope,

48 make] makes *Dob* 58 him off] him 1635 what] that *Dob*
 61 a citizen] citizens *Dob*, 1635 have] had *Dob*, 1635
 64 who] that *Dobbe*, 1635 his gold] the ~ 1635

48 protections] from arrest for debt. These were granted by the King to courtiers such as D.'s friend Goodyer, who lived under them from 1606 for perhaps the last twenty years of his life (Bald p. 164). See quotation from Chamberlain above, l. 28.

49–50 In the first . . . stand] A hit at those newly made knights or nobles who stood on their merely titular dignity, and rejected any question of their probity.

52 void of reason] A very faint protest against so many City grievances, well known to be justifiable.

55 The name of the Lord Mayor for Oct. 1610–1611 was Sir William Craven: the ironic epithet 'wise' may suggest that the City's acceptance of Court impositions was craven folly.

56 wise . . . worships] the aldermen. The repetition of 'wise' confirms the irony. **58 glowed]** stared with astonishment.

59–62 In happy . . . often] There is no indication that they have gone outside the City, so this is probably not the Angel at Islington. It was a popular inn-sign: J. Stow, *Survey of London* (1603); ed. H. B. Wheatley (rev. 1956 etc.) pp. 182, 232) mentions such in Lombard St and Old Jewry.

62 used] As well as meaning 'treated' this may have a sexual implication, as the speaker resumes his guise of erotic adventurer.

64–5 The story was widely popular: it first occurs in *Anthologia Planudea* 1. 82 (ed. H. Stephanus, 1566), now *Greek Anthology* 9. 44, 45: 'A man who found gold left a noose, but the man who had left the gold, not finding it, hanged himself with the noose'. It had been imitated in English by Wyatt, *Epigrams* 14 (publ. as 'Against Hoarders of Money' in Tottel's collection *Songes and Sonettes* (1557) sig. K3r; 10 edns 1557–87. A school text, J. Stockwood, *Progymnasmatia scholasticum* (1597) pp. 176–7, gives it with twelve Latin translations.

So he on me; refused, and made away,
 Though, willing, she pleaded a weary day.
 I found my miss, shook hands, yet prayed him tell,
 To hold acquaintance still, where he did dwell.
 70 He barely named the street, promised the wine,
 But his kind wife gave me the very sign.

66 on] at 1635 67 day] stay 1635 68 shook] struck 1635 yet] and 1635
 70 promised] & ~ *Dob*

Sir Walter Aston to the Countess of Huntingdon

Date and Context. 1605–1620. Lady Huntingdon became Countess in 1605, when Henry Hastings inherited the earldom, and d. 20 Jan. 1633. All three MSS attribute this poem to Sir Walter Aston (1584–1639) KB, bart., created Lord Forfar 1627, a patron of Drayton in succession to Lady Bedford, sent to Spain as ambassador in 1620. When he married secretly in 1600, he was still a rich ward of Sir Edward Coke, Attorney General, who thereupon had Aston's wife committed to the Fleet Prison for a year, and the marriage annulled, by the Court of High Commission (*DNB*; Bald pp. 132–3). Since he was not knighted until 1603, and Elizabeth Stanley, a daughter of the forceful Countess of Derby, was married on 15 Jan. 1601, this is unlikely to have been a sincere amatory poem if by Aston (Grierson 2. cxxxix suggests 'that it was not an actual letter to the Countess but an imaginary one', not even being by Aston, but alluding to a notorious affair. However, no evidence of the latter has been found). That the poem appears in 1635 and editions derived from it is no stronger authority for attributing it to D. than is 1635's printing of *Julia* and *Citizen*: the publisher John Marriott had to encourage the public to buy a replacement for 1633 by supplying more poems supposedly by D.: of those, fewer than half are accepted as authentic. The poem on the frontispiece by the credulous Izaak Walton suggest he may have had something to do with 1635. D. A. Larson, *HLQ* 55 (1992) 635–41, suggests on MS evidence that Aston's son and daughter were enthusiastic about D.'s poems, and that D. himself probably knew Sir Walter: this would account for 'That unripe side of earth' being left among D.'s papers, and so assumed to be his own composition. Milgate *SEVL* pp. 293–4 devotes an appendix to arguing for D.'s authorship, alleging that 'some care, at least, was taken in *O'F* (on which the compiler of 1635 depended heavily) and the manuscript that lay behind it, *Lut*, to ascertain the authorship of doubtful poems'. This is a self-defeating argument, however, since *HuntingdonUnripe* is not in *Lut* or *O'F*, and there is no evidence of such scrupulosity in the compiler of 1635. Milgate concedes that 'In a century when

67 willing] not only to take alimentary refreshment, perhaps, but also sexual.
68 found my miss] 1. realised my mistake; 2. found a mistress.
70 promised] i.e., 'barely promised'.
71 very sign] 1. Exact address of his shop; 2. Sexual invitation.

any educated gentleman was likely to produce at least one good poem, it would be rash to say that Sir Walter Aston was incapable of writing this verse letter', though family papers, ed. A. Clifford as *Tixall Poetry* (1813) and *Tixall Letters* (1815) 'offer no evidence that he wrote poetry'. The recipient of numerous dedications and verse-tributes from Drayton might have tried his own hand when young at imitating a master of the genre. To write a poem to the Countess simply about his attitude to love, which is what this is in ll. 21–36, 57–76, was not D.'s style at the time this poem seems to be written: born in 1587, Lady Huntingdon was perhaps not old or grand enough, till about 1605, when she reached eighteen and her husband became earl, to be addressed as madam, whereas the often take-me-or-leave-me tone is that of poems which D. wrote in the 1590s.

Analogues. The genre was of course common.

Text. Printed as D.'s in 1635, the poem appears in three earlier MSS: the Osborn MS (*O*), the Phillipps MS (*P*), and, in the third hand of the miscellany, *TCD2*, bound with *TCD*, dated by *IELM* to 1623, 1622–33, and the 1630s respectively (*IELM* 252–3, 257). *O*, as reported by Shawcross, usually reads with *P*. In all three MSS it is ascribed to Sir Walter As(h)ton.

THAT unripe side of earth, that heavy clime
 That gives us man up now like Adam's time
 Before he ate (man's shape what would it be
 Knew they not yet, and feared beasts' company),
 5 So naked at this day as though men there
 From Paradise so great a distance were
 As yet the news could not arrivèd be

Sources collated: *TCD2*, *P*, 1635

Base text: *P*

Select variants:

Heading: *TCD2*: ~ wal: Ashton . . . *P*: To the Countess of Huntingdon 1635

3 what] that *TCD2*, 1635 would it] it yet would *TCD2*: would yet 1635

4 they *TCD2*, 1635: the *P* yet] it *TCD2*, 1635

5 men] man *TCD2*, 1635

1–10 The lack of a finite verb led Milgate to hypothesise that it was 'presumably because of the loss of some lines before the Countess allowed any copy to be taken'.

1 unripe side] Supposing the Americas to be the antipodes of England, and immature, undeveloped compared with Europe. **heavy]** oppressive.

2 like Adam's time] naked, *Gen.* 2. 25, and before the Law. Cp. *Treatise of Brazil* in Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (1625–6; 1906) 16. 422: 'All of them go naked, as well men as women, and have no kind of apparel, and are nothing ashamed' (Milgate).

3 Before he ate] i.e., the Forbidden Fruit, *Gen.* 3. 1–6.

4 Knew . . . yet] *Gen.* 3. 7. **feared beasts' company]** *Gen.* 3. 15, or it could mean that the current inhabitants of America were afraid to wear skins like Adam and Eve in *Gen.* 3. 21, and so be mistaken for beasts.

- Of Adam's tasting the forbidden tree;
 Deprived of that free state which they were in,
 10 And wanting the reward, yet bear the sin.
 But, as from extreme heights who downward looks
 Sees men at children's shapes, rivers at brooks,
 And loseth younger forms, so, to the eye,
 These, madam, that without your distance lie,
 15 Must either mist or nothing seem to be,
 Who are at home but wit's mere *atomi*.
 But I, that can behold them move and stay,
 Have found myself to you just their midway,
 And now must pity them, for, as they do
 20 Seem sick to me, just so must I to you.
 Yet neither will I vex your eyes to see
 A sighing ode or cross-armed elegy.
 I come not to call pity from your heart,
 Like some white-livered dotard, that would part

11 downward] inward *TCD2* 13 the] your *TCD2*, 1635

14 that without] that *TCD2* 17 that] who 1635

21 neither] never *TCD2* 22 or] nor 1635

10 the reward] Redemption by Christ. **the sin]** Adam and Eve's, for which they are cursed, *Gen.* 3. 16–19. Milgate quotes Purchas p. 419: 'This people hath not any knowledge of their Creator . . .'. Cp. *1 Cor.* 15. 21–2.

12 at] i.e., reduced to.

13 loseth] i.e., loses to view.

13, 84 younger, youngest] smaller, smallest. 'Young' is never used in this sense by D.

14 without your distance] beyond your range of vision. Not used thus in poems undoubtedly by D., where 'without' occurs only in its privative not its locational sense.

16 at home] in their place. **wit's mere atomi]** mere theoretical particles. *atomi]* Used by D. only in the anglicised form, 'atomies', *Ecstasy* 47, *FirAn* 212.

20 sick] made thin by illness.

22 cross-armed] lovesick, discontented, melancholic. From *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 2. 1. 16–19 (late 1580s) to the 'Inamorato with folded hand' on the title-page to Burton's 4th 1632 edn (1989 lxii–lxiii), Babb says (1951) p. 157, "'cross arms" are, in fact, "the lover's sign"'. Cp. the Lothian portrait of D. (frontispiece to vol. 1). Babb pp. 75–9, 89, 119n., 121, 157–83 *passim*, cites many further examples of malcontents and lovers with folded arms, e.g., Nashe, *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594; *Works* 2. 300); Sir William Cornwallis, *Essayes*, 5, 'Of Love' (1600) sig. D7r; John Davies of Hereford, *Scourge of Folly*, Epigr. 83 (1611; *Works* 2. 3. 17); and Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie* 8 'A Discontented Man' (1628; ed. P. Bliss and S. T. Irwin [1897] p. 19).

24 white-livered] The liver was supposed to be the seat of love as well as maker of youthful blood. *OED* quotes Hall's application to a coward.

- 25 Else from his slippery soul with a faint groan,
 And finally (without your smile) were gone.
 I cannot feel the tempest of a frown:
 I may be raised by love, but not thrown down.
 Though I can pity those sigh twice a day,
 30 I hate that thing whispers itself away.
 Yet, since all love's a fever, who to trees
 Doth talk doth yet in love's cold ague freeze.
 'Tis love, but with such fatal weakness made
 That it destroys itself with its own shade.
 35 Who first looked sad, grieved, pined, and showed his pain,
 Was he that first taught women to disdain.
 As all things were one nothing, dull and weak,
 Until the raw, disordered heap did break,
 And several desires led parts away,
 40 Water declined with earth, the air did stay,
 Fire rose, and, each from other once untied,
 Themselves unprisoned were and purified:
 So was love first in vast confusion hid,
 An unripe willingness which nothing did,
 45 A thirst, an appetite which had no ease,

26 finally] faithfully *TCD2*, 1635 your smile] you smiled 1635
 29 sigh *TCD2*, 1635: ~t P 30 whispers 1635: whispered P: vapours *TCD2*
 31 love's a] love is *TCD2*, 1635 32 ague *TCD2*, 1635: fever P
 36 women] woman *TCD2*
 38 the] this *TCD2*, 1635 heap *TCD2*, 1635: shape P
 41 once] but *TCD2*, 1635

25–6 An imprecision about death not found in D.: here the body is said, carelessly, to leave the soul.

26 **without]** unless. See note on l. 14.

30 The alternative reading in *TCD2* may reject D.'s celebration of such love in *Expiration* 1–2.

31–2 **who to trees/Doth talk]** i.e., restricts him or herself like the 'love-shaked' Orlando of *As You Like It* 3. 2: 'Hang there, my verse, in witness of my love, . . . these trees shall be my books, And in their barks my thoughts I'll character . . . carve on every tree'.

32 **love's cold ague]** Likening love to malarial fever with its alternate feelings of too hot and too cold. Cp. *HSW3Vex* 6–7: 'As my profane love . . . As riddlingly distempered, cold and hot'.

34 **shade]** shadow.

37–42 An Ovidian rather than Hebraic version of creation: see *Met.* 1. 5–30.

38 **disordered heap]** Cp. the 'blind heap' of Ovid 1. 24, and 'confused heap' of Chaos in Du Bartas, *Divine Weeks and Works* 1. 1. 248, 454 (1979) 1. 118, 124.

40 **declined]** went to a lower position.

- That found a want, but knew not what would please.
 What pretty innocence in those days moved!
 Man ignorantly walked with her he loved;
 Both sighed, and interchanged a speaking eye;
 50 Both trembled and were sick, but knew not why.
 That natural fearfulness that struck man dumb
 Might well, those times considered, man become.
 As all discoverers who first assay
 Find but the place, after, the nearest way,
 55 So passion is to woman's love: about—
 Nay, farther off than when we first set out.
 It is not love that sues or doth contend:
 Love either conquers or but meets a friend.
 Man's better part consists of purer fire,
 60 And finds itself allowed ere it desire.
 Love is wise here: keeps home, gives reason sway,
 And journeys not till it finds summer way.
 A weather-beaten lover but once known
 Is sport for every girl to practise on.
 65 Who strives through women's scorns women to know

46 knew *TCD2, 1635*: know *P* 48 with] by *TCD2, 1635*

49 sighed *TCD2, 1635*: fight *P* interchanged *TCD2, 1635*: interchange *P*

50 but] both *1635* 51 man *TCD2, 1635*: men *P*

53 who] whose *TCD2, 1635* 54 Find] ~s *TCD2, 1635*

55 passion *TCD2, 1635*: ~s *P*

57 sues] su'th *TCD2, 1635* or *TCD2, 1635*: and *P*

65 women's scorns women] woman's scorns women *1635*: woman's scorn woman *TCD2*

49 interchanged] Though this may seem a Donnean word, D. does not use it, and *OED*'s first quotation of the verb is from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* 3. 1368.

53 assay] attempt.

55 about] Apparently meaning something like 'in the neighbourhood, only approximating to'.

57 sues . . . contend] begs for peace or fights on.

59 better part] rational soul. **purer fire]** Milton, *Maske presented at Ludlow Castle* 111 (1634), puts the phrase in the mouth of one similarly arrogant about sex, Comus.

62 summer way] i.e., easier passage, as the roads are dry and the weather more clement. Milgate hears a reference to the thawing of sea-ice allowing a ship to proceed.

63–4 The literal predicament foreseen and provided against in *Picture*, but here the lover has suffered the wintry storms of amorous rejections.

64 girl] presexual female child, not, as now, any woman of sexual age.

- Is lost, and seeks his shadow to outgo.
 It must be sickness, after once disdain,
 Though he be called aloud, to look again.
 Let others sigh and grieve; one cunning slight
 70 Shall freeze my love to crystal in a night,
 I can love first, and (if I win) love still,
 And cannot be removed, unless she will.
 It is her fault if I unsure remain:
 She only can untie and bind again.
 75 The honesties of love with ease I do,
 But am no porter for a tedious woo.
 But, madam, I now think on you, and here
 Where we are at our heights you but appear;
 We are but clouds you rise from, our noon ray
 80 But a foul shadow, not your break of day.
 You are at first hand all that's fair and bright,
 And others' good reflects but back your light.
 You are all perfectness, so curious hit
 That youngest flatteries do scandal it.
 85 For what is more doth what you are restrain,
 And what's beyond is down the hill again.

67 once] one *TCD2*, 1635

69 others *TCD2*, 1635; other *P* sigh] sin 1635 slight] sleight 1635

74 and] I *TCD2*, 1635

77 I now] now I *TCD2*

78 heights] height *TCD2*

81 bright] right *TCD2*, 1635

83 all] a 1635 perfectness *TCD2*, 1635; perfections *P* curious] ~ly *TCD2*

84 youngest] the quaintest *TCD2* flatteries 1635; flatterers *P*, *TCD2* do] *om.*
TCD2

86 what's] though *TCD2*, 1635 is] it *TCD2*

70 freeze . . . crystal] Cp. the common misbelief 'That crystal is nothing else but ice strongly congealed' disposed of by Browne, *Pseudodoxia* 2. 1 (1646).

74 She is like Peter and the rest of the disciples, to whom Jesus gave the power to bind and loose on Earth and in Heaven, *Matt.* 16. 19, 18. 18.

76 am no porter] i.e., (1) will not attend at door, or (2) cannot bear. **woo**] wooing, courting. *OED*'s first citation as a noun is from 1937.

83 curious hit] only accurately represented with great skill.

84 'The slightest flatteries are slanders.' See note on l. 13.

85 'Exaggeration is limiting.'

86 down the hill] derogatory, over the top.

- We have no next way to you, we cross to't:
 You are the straight line, thing praised, attribute;
 Each good in you's a light, so many[^]a shade
 90 You make, and in them are your motions made.
 These are your pictures to the life. From far
 We see you move, and here your zanies are,
 So that no fountain-good there is doth grow
 In you but our dim actions faintly show.
 95 Then find I, if man's noblest part be love,
 Your purest lustre must that shadow move.
 The soul with body is a Heaven combined
 With Earth, and for man's ease is nearer joined.
 Where thoughts, the stars of soul, we understand,
 100 We guess not their large natures but command;
 And love in you that bounty is of light,
 That gives to all, and yet is infinite;
 Whose heat doth force us thither to intend,
 But soul we find too earthly to ascend
 105 Till slow access hath made it wholly pure,

87 to't] toot *TCD2*

88 line *TCD2*, 1635: lace *P* praised] prayd *Pbe?*

89 you's *TCD2*, 1635: God's *P* 90 them are *TCD2*, 1635: them *P*

91 These] Those *TCD2*

92 zanies *TCD2*, 1635: fames *P* 96 that *TCD2*, 1635: the *P*

98 With Earth, and] And *TCD2* is] but *TCD2*, 1635 nearer *TCD2*, 1635:
 never *O* (*Shawcross*): ever *P*

99 thoughts, *TCD2*, 1635: through *O*, *P* 102 is *TCD2*, 1635: hath *P*

103 force us *TCD2*, 1635: force *O*, *P* thither] hither *TCD2*

104 soul] ~s *TCD2* 105 wholly 1635: holy *P*, *TCD2*

87 next] nearest. **cross]** move immediately from non-perfection to perfection.

88 As a line is either straight or not, with no intermediate quality, so she is absolutely good.

89–92 Each good . . . move] See note on *Salisbury* 72.

90 motions] puppet (*OED* 13b).

92 zanies] mimics, imitators. The fairground clown who entertains with his clumsy imitations is suggested by Plato's image of a puppet-show in ll. 89–92.

93–4 'We inadequately emulate your goodness.'

99–100 'As with the stars, we do not know in detail all about them, but grasp their power.' D. does not show this belief in the influence of the stars: *Name* 33–6 plays with the art which at best he says in *FirAn* 391–6 is lost.

101–6 The gradual acclimatisation to viewing the Sun directly of Plato, *Republic* 7 (516).

103 intend] mean to climb.

105 access] approach.

- Able immortal clearness to endure.
 Who dare aspire this journey with a stain,
 Hath weight will force him headlong back again.
 No more can impure man retain and move
 110 In that pure region of a worthy love
 Than earthly substance can unforced aspire,
 And leave his nature, to converse with fire:
 Such may have eyes and hands, may sigh and speak,
 But like swoll'n bubbles, when they're highest, break.
 115 Though far-removèd northern isles scarce find
 The Sun's comfort, others think him too kind.
 There is an equal distance from her eye:
 Men perish too far off, and burn too nigh.
 But as th'air takes all sunbeams equal bright
 120 From the first rays to his last opposite,
 So able men, blessed with a virtuous love,
 Remote or near or howsoe'er they move,
 Their virtue breaks all clouds that might annoy:
 There is no emptiness, but all is joy.
 125 He much profanes whom violent heats do move
 To style his wand'ring rage of passion 'love':
 Love, that imparts in everything delight,
 Is feigned which only tempts man's appetite.

107 dares] dare 1635 108 weight 1635: ~s TCD2: wights P
 109 impure TCD2, 1635: unpure P
 113 indented 1635 eyes . . . hands *Pae in same hand*, TCD2: eye . . . hand *Pbe?*,
 1635 and speak TCD2: may ~ P, 1635
 114 highest] high'st they 1635
 115 not indented 1635, TCD2, P Though TCD2, *Pae*, 1635: Through *Pbe*
 removèd TCD2, 1635: remoteness P isles TCD2: fleets 1635, P
 119 th'air] air TCD2, 1635 takes *Pae in same hand*, TCD2, 1635: take *Pbe?* all]
 the TCD2, 1635
 120 first rays 1635: rays first TCD2: rise first P
 121 men] man TCD2, 1635 123 Their] There TCD2, 1635
 125 violent] TCD2: valiant 1635
 127 that TCD2, 1635: it P imparts] imports TCD2
 128 feigned which only tempts man's] thought the mansion of sweet TCD2:
 fancied *rest blank* 1635

106 clearness] brightness, splendour, beauty, purity.

109 impure man retain] anyone continue to possess any impurity.

111 unforced] unless reinforced.

119 th'air . . . bright] Milgate quotes Kepler, *Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena* (Frankfurt 1604) p. 22, on the Sun illuminating the air on every side equally.

126 wand'ring . . . passion] promiscuous lust.

127–8 Because delight contains satisfaction, whereas appetite implies a lack.

Why love among the virtues is not known
 130 Is, that love is them all contract in one.

130 'cause *TCD2*: that *P*, 1635 contract in] contracted *TCD2*, 1635

The Token

Of the MSS collated for other poems, only *S96*, *O'F* contain this poem. It was first printed in 1649. Neither of the MSS contains any clue to date or authorship. Gardner (*ESS* p. xlviii) regards its attribution as dubious because it does not appear in MSS of Groups I and II. The poem certainly lacks the delight in paradox found in most of D.'s love-lyrics. It shows none of his usual fluency, and sometimes has to resort to awkward obscurity merely to make up rhymes.

SEND me some token, that my hope may live
 And that my easeless thoughts may sleep and rest.
 Send me some honey to make sweet my hive,
 That in my passion I may hope the best.
 5 I beg no riband wrought with thine own hands,
 To knit our love in the fantastic strain

Sources collated: *S96*, *O'F*; 1649

Base text: *O'F*

Select variants:

Heading *ed.*: Sonnet. The Token. 1649: Sonnet *O'F*: Ad Lesbiam *S96*
 1 token] ~s 1649 2 And] Or *S96*, 1649 4 passion *S96*: ~s *O'F*, 1649
 5 no] nor 1649 6 love] ~s 1649

129 the virtues] In, e.g., Aristotle, *Ethics* 3. 6–5. 11 (1115a6–1138b14), courage, temperance, liberality, magnificence, pride, the mean between ambition and being unambitious, good temper, the mean between boastfulness and mock-modesty, ready wit, tact, justice distributive, rectificatory and political, and equity. In medieval philosophy, the four cardinal, i.e., fundamental, essential, natural virtues were forethought, moderation, courage and justice. Most Elizabethan grammar-school boys were perhaps made more familiar with the discussion of what is worthy of the community's praise in Cicero, *De officiis* 1. 15 (46–9), where he defines the four cardinal or basic virtues as perspicacity and skill, fairness and keeping faith, greatness of spirit, and a sense of proportion and restraint. Cp. note on *BulstrodeLanguage* 33.

130 love . . . one] Perhaps a reminiscence of *DivM4* 13–14: 'Thy law's abridgement and thy last command / Is all but love', and its source, *Matt.* 22. 34–40, etc. Love is one of the three theological virtues, the others being hope and faith, 1 *Cor.* 13 concluding its celebration: 'the chiefest of these is love' (*GV*). **contract]** condensed, epitomized, rolled into.

- Of new-touched youth; nor ring to show the stands
 Of our affection: that as that's round and plain,
 So should our love meet in simplicity.
- 10 No, nor the coral which thy wrist enfolds,
 Laced up together with congruity,
 To show our thoughts should rest in the same holds.
 No, nor thy picture, though more gracious
 And more desired because best like the best;
- 15 Nor witty lines, which are more copious
 Within the writings which thou hast addressed.
 Send me nor this nor that t'increase my store,
 But swear thou think'st I love thee, and no more.

9 love] ~s 1649 10 coral] ~s S96, 1649 wrists enfolds] wrist enfold 1649
 11 with] in 1649 12 holds] hold 1649 13 more] most 1649
 14 more] most 1649 because best like the] 'cause 'tis like thee 1649
 15 more] most 1649 17 store] score 1649

Variety

by Nicholas Hare

Date and Context. ?–1625. By Nicholas Hare of the Middle Temple (–1622), Clerk of the Court of Wards and admirer of D. (Bald pp. 457–8), according to a verbal communication reporting that this attribution occurs in two BL MSS of earlier derivation than the Cave MS, which was begun in 1620; Nedham copied it in 1625 (*IELM* p. 253). (For Hare's other poems, see J. Carey, *RES* n.s. 44 (1960) 373–8, and *The Expostulation*, above.) Cave subscribes it 'Ioh. Donn.', followed by Nedham. Arguments about attribution have been conducted on a relatively subjective level, though Gardner notes pertinently that the tone is 'easy, natural, good-tempered', lacking 'the satiric edge that he gives to even his gayest songs'. The similarities of theme (but not of treatment) to poems more widely accepted in MSS to be D.'s would be relevant only if D. were the only competent male poet alive at the time and concerned with women.

Analogues. These obviously include D.'s *Change, Indifferent, Usury and Confined*, but many other poems were written in this period, idealising free love. Cp. the Paradox, 'Defence of Woman's Inconstancy', printed in the *Juvenilia* (1633), but by Peters pp. 51–4 among Dubia.

7 stands] assumptions?

12 rest . . . holds] continue to rely on the same positions of strength (*OED* hold *sb.*¹ 7).

14 desired] Presumably scanned in 1649 as three syllables.

16 addressed] sent (i.e., 'to me').

Text. The Cave MS (once owned by John Cave of Lincoln College, Oxford, MA 28 Jan. 1619, died 1657) followed by *VD* supplies seven corrections of the first printed text in 1650 which contributes only three corrections of *Cave*, but since the differences are so few, 1650 only has been transcribed and the testimony of *VD* regarding MS readings accepted. The Nedham MS was copied from *Cave* (by John Nedham of Lincoln College) so is of no independent authority, but is included for the curiosity of its agreeing twice with 1650 against *Cave*. The other four MSS collated for *VD* vary more or less widely from *Cave* and 1650, but a conjectural emendation found in *HK2* (the Haslewood-Kingborough MS. Part 2) is included for interest. The paragraphing of the present text shows the changes of addressee between woman and reader.

THE heavens rejoice in motion: why should I
 Abjure my so-much-loved variety,
 And not with many youth and love divide?
 Pleasure is none if not diversified:
 5 The Sun that, sitting in the chair of light,
 Sheds flame into what else soe'er seems bright,
 Is not contented at one sign to inn,
 But ends his year, and with a new begins.
 All things do willingly in change delight,
 10 The fruitful mother of our appetite:

Sources collated: *Cave*, *Nedham*, *HK2*, 1650

Base text: 1650 Paragraphing supplied.

Select variants:

Heading *Grierson*

3 love *Cave*: loved 1650

6 what else soe'er seems *ed.*: what else soever doth seem *Cave*, *Nedham*, 1650:

whatever else seems *HK2*

9 things *Cave*: thinge 1650

2 my so-much-loved variety] Valued as consolation for the world's unpredictability by Browne, *Christian Morals* 1. 25: 'for the novelizing spirit of man lives by variety and the new faces of things'.

6 The line had an extra foot in the originals of the best MSS and 1650. The emendation here presumes that for the author it went without saying that 'soever' was pronounced as two syllables as usual in verse, and so omitted the abbreviation; a copyist then supplied 'doth' thinking that the line needed to be made iambic. *HK2*'s emendation is obviously unauthorial, since the MS produces a variant in almost every line, but shows what a scribe felt impelled to do. *VD* records other unauthoritative but non-metrical versions in MSS.

7 sign] i.e., of the zodiac, with a joking reference to inn-signs. **inn]** stay.

8 Moving in December from Sagittarius to Capricorn if the solar year was reckoned from the winter solstice, in March from Pisces to Aries if reckoned from the vernal equinox.

9–10 Cp. the proverb, Tilley C230, quoting, e.g., G. Wilkins, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (1607) sig. A3v: 'Change of pasture makes fat calves.'

- Rivers the clearer and more pleasing are
 Where their fair spreading streams run wide and far,
 And a dead lake, that no strange bank doth greet,
 Corrupts itself and what doth live in it.
- 15 Let no man tell me such a one is fair,
 And worthy all alone my love to share.
 Nature in her hath done the libr'al part
 Of a kind mistress, and employed her art
 To make her lovable, and I aver
- 20 Him not humane that would turn back from her:
 I love her well, and would, if need were, die
 To do her service. But follows it that I
 Must serve her only when I may have choice?
 The law is hard, and shall not have my voice.
- 25 The last I saw in all extremes is fair,
 And holds me in the sunbeams of her hair;
 Her nymph-like features such agreements have
 That I could venture with her to the grave.
 Another's brown: I like her not the worse:
- 30 Her tongue is soft, and takes me with discourse.
 Others, for that they well-descended are,
 Do in my love obtain as large a share,
 And, though they be not fair, 'tis much with me
 To win their love only for their degree.
- 35 And though I fail of my requirèd ends,

12 far *Cave*: clear 1650 13 bank *Gardner*: ~s *HK2*: bark Σ
 19 aver *Cave*: ever 1650 31 are *Cave*: were 1650

11–14 Cp. *Change* 31–5.

13 **dead**] still, stagnant. **bank/banks/bark**] *Gardner*'s emendation presumes the writer is imitating *Change*.

20 **humane**] human.

21 **die**] the usual allusion to orgasm.

22, 23 **service, serve**] again, a sexual double meaning, anticipating *OED*'s 1822 quotation for the noun, though the verb is current in 1577: see note on *Recusant* 8–9.

25–30 Perhaps imitating *D.*'s *Indifferent* 1: 'I can love both fair and brown', but each may be directly indebted to Ovid, *Amores* 2. 4. 39–43, and possibly Propertius 2. 25. 41–2.

25 **extremes**] excellent qualities.

27 **agreements**] agreeable qualities.

30 **takes**] captivates.

34 **degree**] status.

- Th'attempt is glorious, and itself commends.
 How happy were our sires in ancient times
 Who held plurality of loves no crime!
 With them, it was accounted charity
 40 To stir up race of all indifferently:
 Kindred were not exempted from the bands,
 Which with the Persian still in usage stands.
 Women were then no sooner asked than won,
 And what they did was honest and well done.
 45 But since this title 'honour' hath been used,
 Our weak credulity hath been abused;
 The golden laws of nature are repealed
 Which our first fathers in such rev'rence held.
 Our liberty reversed and charter's gone,
 50 And we made servants to Opinion—
 A monster in no certain shape attired,
 And whose orig'nal is as much desired;
 Formless at first, but growing on it fashions,

41 Kindred *Cave*: ~s *Nedham*, 1650

45 title *Cave*: little 1650 48 Which 1650: With *Cave*

52 as much *Cave*: much 1650 53 it *Cave*: its *Nedham*, 1650

37–49 The usual lament for a supposed Golden Age of sexual freedom. Cp., e.g., D. in *Metem* 201–3 and note.

37–8 Referring to the patriarchs of *Genesis*.

39 **charity**] i.e., a religious virtue.

40 **stir up race of]** breed from.

41–2 Accounts of contemporary customs in a now Muslim Persia, W. Parry, *New and Large Discourse of the Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley* (1601) sigg. d2r–3v, and J. Cartwright, *Preachers Travels . . . With the Authors Returne by the way of Persia* (1611) p. 63, make no mention of the practice. Cp. however Catullus 90. Such customs are ascribed to Persian Magi by ancient sources in S. Purchas, *His Pilgrimage* 4. 5. (1613) p. 312: 'Strabo tells that they used carnal company with their mothers. . . . Diogenes Laertius relateth that . . . to lie with their own mothers or daughters they accounted lawful.' In later editions (e.g., the 4th, 4. 6 (1626) p. 371), he says that 'Otho Heurnius Indicus c. 20' 'made Zoroaster author of incestuous copulation of all sorts.'

41 **the bands]** marriage.

45 **honour]** A stock target: cp. D.'s *Damp* 12: 'th'enchantress Honour'.

50 Proverbial: cp. the end of D.'s *Metem* 519–20: 'There's nothing simply good nor ill alone: / Of every quality, comparison / The only measure is, and judge, opinion'; and Tilley O68, quoting, e.g., Marston, *What you will* 1. 1. 18–19 (1607) sig. A4r: 'All that exists Takes valuation from opinion, A giddy minion now.'

51–2 'Changeable and of uncertain origin.'

53 **growing . . . fashions]** accumulating customs.

- And doth prescribe manners and laws to nations.
 55 Here Love received immedicable harms,
 And was despoilèd of his daring arms:
 A greater want than is his daring eyes,
 He lost those awful wings with which he flies,
 His sinewy bow, and those immortal darts
 60 Wherewith he's wont to bruise resisting hearts.
 Only some few, strong in themselves and free,
 Retain the seeds of ancient liberty,
 Following that part of love, although depressed,
 And make a throne for him within their breast,
 65 In spite of modern censures him avowing
 Their sovereign, all service him allowing.
 Amongst which troop although I am the least,
 Yet, equal in perfection with the best,
 I glory in subjection of his hand,
 70 Nor ever did decline his least command;
 For, in whatever form the message came,
 My heart did open and receive the flame;
 But Time will in his course a point descry
 When I this lovèd service must deny,
 75 For our allegiance temporary is:
 With firmer age returns our liberties.
 What time in years and judgement we reposed
 Shall not so eas'ly be to change disposed,
 Nor to the art of several eyes obeying,
 80 But beauty with true worth securely weighing,
 Which, being found assembled in some one,
 We'll leave her ever, and love her alone.

72 flame *Cave*: same 1650

55 **immedicable**] irremediable.

57 Cupid was blind, but functioned nevertheless.

58–9 **wings, bow, darts**] The traditional attributes of the classical Cupid.

63 **part**] party. **depressed**] subjugated, brought low, disparaged, oppressed.

69 **of**] by.

77 **What time**] At which time. **reposed**] resting.

76 **returns**] gives back.

80 **securely**] confidently, without misgiving. **weighing**] giving due consideration, valuing.

82 **leave her**] abandon allegiance to variety. **her alone**] only her who combines 'beauty with true worth'.

Self-Love

Date and Context. Late sixteenth century–earlier seventeenth century.

Analogues. A commonplace song.

Text. Of the most important MSS, present in only *Lut*, *O’F*, but seemingly included in John Donne jr or the bookseller’s claim on the title-page that to 1650 ‘is added divers copies under his own hand never before in print’, where it follows the also questionably ascribed *Variety*, like which it appears in the Cave and Nedham MSS (see Beal).

H E that cannot choose but love,
 And strives against it still,
 Never shall my fancy move,
 For he loves against his will;
 5 Nor he which is all his own,
 And can all pleasure choose:
 When I’m caught, he can be gone,
 And when he list, refuse;
 Nor he that loves none but fair,
 10 For such by all are sought;
 Nor he that can for foulness care,
 For his judgement’s naught;
 Nor he that hath wit, for he
 Will make me^hhis jest or slave;
 15 Nor a fool, for when
 He can neither want nor crave;
 Nor he that still his mistress pays,
 For she is thralld therefore;
 Nor he that pays not, for he says
 20 Within, she’s worth no more.

Sources collated: *Lut*, *O’F*; 1650

Base text: *Lut*

Select variants:

Heading *Chambers 1896*: Elegy *Lut*, *O’F*: none 1650

6 can all] cannot 1650 11 foulness] foul ones 1650

12 judgement’s] judgement then is 1650

15 when] when others, . . . 1650

16 want nor crave] blank space 1650 17 pays] prays 1650

Heading Chambers.

8 list] wants.

Is there then no kind of men
Whom I may freely love?
I'll vent that humour, then,
E'en in mine own self-love.

22 love] prove *O'F*, 1650

24 E'en in] In *O'F*, 1650

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