Poetry and the Court in the Reign of Charles I

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D. Phil.

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Abstract of Thesis

The court poetry of the 1630s is usually seen as flattering and escapist. However, the court poets had more to do with each other than with the king and official policy. They wrote in the context of a social coterie underpinned by patronage relationships. They did not write directly to dissent from or support the king's policies, but they were members of his court, which he intended should be exemplary, representing the nation to itself and to the world. They found ways of representing the nation in their poetry by relating Britain to other legendary or semi-legendary worlds: Arcadia, Jerusalem and Rome. Their English Arcadia was a blessed island free from war, derived from the many classical myths of idyllic western islands. Court culture pictured an Arcadian England in gardens, portraits, and masques. The English Jerusalem was an island church where order and peace prevailed, and the material world became a medium for the spiritual. Rome differed from these two alternative worlds because it was a historical state, and could provide political parallels to England. The court poets, however, used it unhistorically to create a Roman England which borrowed the authority but not the history of its original.

There is a sharp break between 1630s court culture and the 1640s, when, although the court was dispersed and defeated, court poetry began to be published. The volumes of the 1640s attempted to replace the court. Their presentation was usually royalist, and they were designed to create a world which did not nostalgically evoke the past decade but which was an alternative world related to the troubles of the 1640s. This tendency is particularly strong in Lovelace and Herrick. Herrick's Hesperides (1648) was designed to suggest a garden, where art transforms nature, and in it real events were frozen by art to become part of a timeless, idealized England.

P O E T R Y

AND THE

C O V R T

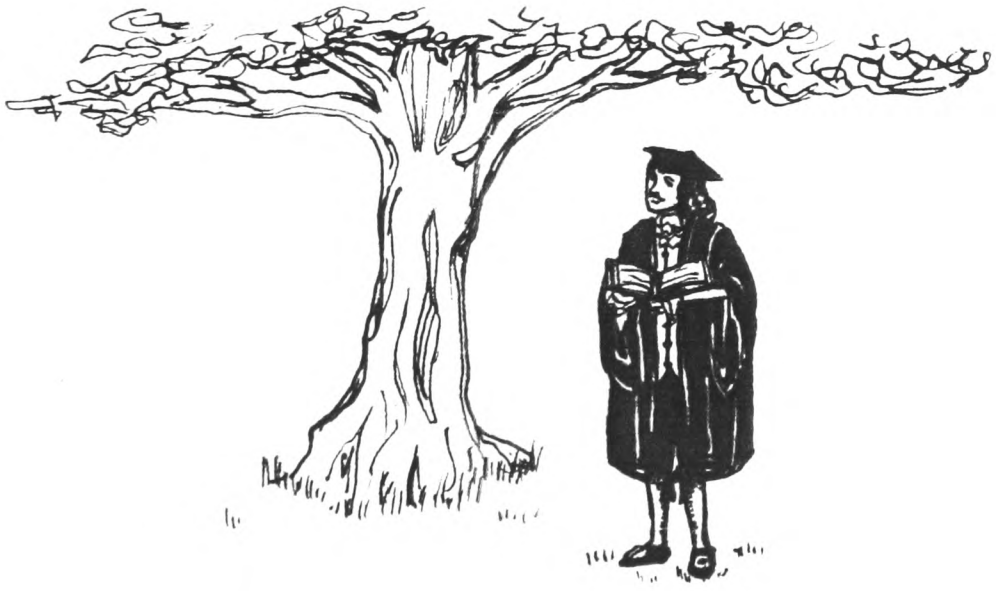
in the Reign of His Late MAIESTIE

KING CHARLES I.

By *Eliz. Thomson*, A.B., Magn: Aul: Univ: Oxon.

I read and sigh, and wish I were a Tree.

- HERBERT.



O X O N :

By the *Laserprinter* for the

Author, and not to be Sold at all,

but Given to the *Bodleian*.

MCMLXXXIX.

Introduction

In January 1643 Bishop John Bramhall preached in York Minster, in the presence of the Marquis of Newcastle, before a battle with the Scots. 'Let us yet hold together,' he urged his congregation, 'and every one in his own element contribute his uttermost endeavours to the advancement of the public welfare, without all sinister respects; and then I doubt not but we shall both survive this storm, and see sunshine and halcyonian days again in England.'[1] The English civil wars were the storm which disrupted the halcyon days of the 1630s: or, on another view, they were the storm created by gathering pressure during that halcyon and irresponsible decade of Charles I's personal rule. The interpretations have been much disputed, but the imagery is constant. The 1630s were halycon days to Marvell and Clarendon at the end of the wars, to Bramhall at their outset, and to many of the poets connected with Charles's court at the time, who did not have the benefit of hindsight.[2]

This thesis began from two images that appear over and over again in the court writing of the 1630s: the halcyon days (a period of preternatural peace amid storms), and the civil wilderness. They both suggested some degree of deliberate scene-painting. In the first case, this was because it is surprising and unusual to find a decade described at the time as a period of extraordinary blessedness; it indicates a self-consciousness in the court which might well affect

[1] Bramhall, Works (1845), v. 110. (All dates are Old Style with the year beginning on 1 January.)

[2] Marvell, 'Upon Appleton House', Poems, ed. H.M. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1971), p. 72. Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, ed. W.D. Macray (Oxford, 1888), i. 96.

the images it used of itself and of the country. The second image, of a civil wilderness, was a well- established oxymoron whose currency may have been due to its appearance at the end of Sidney's first description of his Arcadia: 'a show, as it were, of an accompanable solitariness and of a civil wildness.'[3] It sums up the marriage of art and nature, where nature has been tempered by art (as in a garden) and art does not wholly disguise nature. Herrick wrote of his ideal mistress,

> Be she shewing in her dresse,
> Like a civill Wilderness;
> That the curious may detect
> Order in a sweet neglect.[4]

It may also be said to sum up the co-existence, in the writings of a self-conscious court, of art and nature, sincerity and flattery, praise and criticism, celebration and propaganda. It is true that England, unlike continental Europe, was at peace in the 1630s, which is the major claim of the poets who write of halcyon days. It is also true, however, that they created alternative halcyon Englands which were part of the court's work of image-making. Classical, religious and idyllic worlds were brought together with the real England of the 1630s, which became, in the court's view, a British Rome, a new Eden, or an Arcadian England. In these alternative worlds art tempered reality. They were not exactly escapist but they undoubtedly contained fictions.

[3] Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, ed. V. Skretkowicz (Oxford, 1987), p. 11.

[4] 'What kind of Mistresse he would have', 232.1 (H-665). He is following Jonson, who used 'sweet neglect' and 'wild civility' in an identical context: Epicoene I.i. References to Herrick's poems give the page number in his Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford, 1956), followed by the number of the poem on the page, and then the poem's number in his Complete Poetry, ed. J.M. Patrick (New York, 1968).

I have mentioned the contrary pressures on the court poet of praise and criticism or sincerity and flattery. It is difficult not to be drawn into polarities in discussing the 1630s. The divisions of the civil wars can be misleadingly read back into the previous decade, when many of them did not exist. Some did, for instance the distinction between the court and the country. Zagorin and Stone described the court and the country parties, and revisionist historians have now begun to break down those barriers and find 'country' (that is, opposition) elements at court.[5] Since the whole government of the country was conducted by the court (no Parliament was called between 1629 and 1640), it is not surprising to find a wide spectrum of political opinion represented there. Kevin Sharpe protests against the polarised view that has made people assume that all court writing must be flattering to the authorities, but he falls himself into the assumption that poetry written by courtiers must, if it does not flatter, dissent. I have tried to avoid these polarities by approaching the royalist volumes of poetry published in the 1640s from the 1630s, as far as possible without hindsight. I have not directly addressed the question of whether the court poets flattered or criticised the king, because their characteristic tone is a self-dramatising one which pushes questions of truth or falsehood into the background. They converted the court into a semi-fictional world; they were always aware that they were acting a part in it.

Sharpe makes a good case for his suggestion that Carew and Davenant recommended moderation and the golden mean to Charles, and

[5] P. Zagorin, The Court and the Country (1969). Lawrence Stone, The Causes of the English Revolution (1972). Kevin Sharpe summarises the arguments in Criticism and Compliment (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 5-11.

took marriage as a metaphor for the integration of the king and the kingdom. On the other hand, there is nothing in these ideas which could have caused Charles much alarm.[6] The other reason not to describe Carew and Davenant, and their fellows, as poets of dissent is that to do so takes too little account of both the professional and the amateur nature of their poetry. They were amateur in that they were gentlemen who did not have to write for a living. (Davenant did, in fact, but he adopts the amateur attitude all the same.)[7] They were professional in that they wrote poems for specific occasions and people and for particular purposes. They wrote the words for songs, poems for the birthdays and festivals of their friends, verse that had to be fitted to its circumstances. It would be rash to assume that they are always expressing their own opinions. For example, both Carew and Townshend wrote court masques and disparaged masques elswhere - both, as it happens, in seduction poems. Carew's 'A Rapture', which was the foundation of his reputation (the fact that it was cut out of most copies of his Poems (1640) is a backhanded indication of this), begins by calling honour 'but a Masquer.'[8] Townshend calls his love to come to the country away from the court's deceits:

> Though most are masquers now-a-dayes,
> Wee'le followe Natures barefast wayes.[9]

Townshend's distinction between the court and the country raises

[6] See Blair Worden, reviewing Sharpe's Criticism and Compliment in the London Review of Books, 21 January 1988, pp. 6-9.

[7] I have not attempted to deal with the main field of the professional poet, the theatre. For a discussion of the relations between Caroline dramatists and the court, see Martin Butler, Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642 (Cambridge, 1984).

[8] Carew, Poems, ed. R. Dunlap (Oxford, 1949), p. 49.

[9] 'Hide not thy love', Poems and Masques, ed. C.C. Brown (Reading, 1983), p. 39.

another point. The contrast of values between the country and the court (leaving aside the political groups associated with the words) is a variable and complicated matter.David Norbrook has shown how during James's reign the country was used by some poets (notably Jonson) as an image of the king's peace, a place of ceremonies and sports, but by others (Drayton), in opposition, to recall the different political values that were attributed to the age of Queen Elizabeth.[10] L.S. Marcus has identified the country as the place where Charles's policies for a Merry England were to be acted out, stage-managed by the Laudian parson with a script from the Book of Sports.[11] Yet at the same time courtiers were using a rural landscape to symbolise freedom from the court's morals and manners, as Carew and Townshend do in the poems quoted above: there was never a consistent moral division between court and country.[12] The court was constantly going to the country or bringing it into the court. (It is worth remembering that quite often it was literally in the country, on hunting trips.) At all points, too, one is liable to encounter the literary *topos* of retirement in the country, a different but related idea.[13] I have been concerned here, however, less with what the court poets do in the country than with what they make of the nation.

In the reinterpretation of the 1630s, historians such as Sharpe and Smuts have been turning to literary criticism to help their case. I have not attempted, for my part, to write history; but this is a

[10] Norbrook, Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance (1984), pp. 208-9.
[11] L.S. Marcus, The Politics of Mirth (Chicago, 1986), pp. 17-18, 140-68.
[12] See R.M. Smuts, Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 74-5.
[13] See M.-S. Rostvig, The Happy Man (Oslo, 1962), i, and a large body of other criticism.

contextual study. The social circumstances of the 1630s and the publishing conditions of the 1640s have been my starting-points. 'Cavalier' experience, as Earl Miner says, was moulded in the first forty years of the seventeenth century and published in the next forty. He argues that the poets, finding the good life threatened by time, responded by going further in to the good life - 'to the good man, to integrity, and to the art of poetry as well as to that lost art, of being oneself.'[14] The question I have tried to answer is why publication began when it did - the pivotal point seems to be Davenant's Madagascar (1638) - and I shall argue for the importance of the volume itself as a retreat. Miner identifies two defences against time (both Horatian): the indestructible monument of art and the good life of integrity and self-sufficiency. The Cavalier volumes of the 1640s contained both. They created a portrait of their poets and a world (what I have called an alternative world) which replaced the vanished court, remodelled so that it became a moral as much as a social environment. The songs in Lovelace's Lucasta (1649) demonstrate this development perfectly, as the poet leaves his mistress to follow Honour.[15]

Part of the point of this study has been to take the twenty years it covers as a whole and investigate their character, rather than trace single ideas or individuals through the period. But it has become, in a way, a study of a particular tone of voice. The Cavalier poets were products of a self-conscious time: they mock their own conventions.

[14]Earl Miner, The Cavalier Mode (Princeton, 1971), pp. 149-50.
[15]See pp. 171-4 below.

Why so pale and wan, fond lover?
Prithee, why so pale?
Will, when looking well can't move her,
Looking ill prevail?[16]

Miner finds a transcendent vision in their writing, but it seems to me that their characteristic tone comes from a double vision. They are aware at the same time of the facts and of their attitude to the facts. The attitude produces the conventionally pale lover, the facts suggest Suckling's sardonically logical objections. A civil wilderness, where nature meets art, is the natural home for these poets. They celebrated their halcyon days in this self-conscious tone, converting their real world to an alternative world without forgetting the facts of the real world. Davenant is jerked back from his imaginary Madagascar, where he has just become a judge, when he remembers that judges get gout. It is a more civilized and unpretentious tone than might be expected from the court of an absolute monarch. Now and then, it produces a perfect fusion of perception and object: as, for instance, when in 'The comming of good luck' (100.2, H-247) Herrick takes temporary possession for his own purposes of the sunlight, but remembers, in 'degrees', that its advance is dictated by geometry and cosmology, not by his feelings.

So Good-luck came, and on my roofe did light,
Like noyse-lesse Snow; or as the dew of night:
Not all at once, but gently, as the trees
Are, by the Sun-beams, tickel'd by degrees.

The tone of voice these poets developed was by nature ironic, and difficult to capture. It ought not to be dismissed as light or trivial because it is elusive.

[16] Suckling, Works ed. T. Clayton, (Oxford, 1971), p. 64.

I. Poets, politics and patronage

The poets of the generation born from 1590 to 1610 were all, in a way, court poets. The court was at the centre of the patronage web and almost every sort of literary activity was directed towards it. Academic poets needed patronage in their careers, especially if they were trying to rise in the Church. Dramatists gravitated towards London where the theatres had the active interest and patronage of the king and queen. Even a professional writer of religious verse like George Wither, who had an established reputation and a popular audience, dedicated poems to the king.[1] Patronage was the key to most literary associations that were not actually based on personal friendship, and patronage led inevitably to the king, who was its ultimate source. Independent centres of poetical activity, for instance the universities, were still dependent on the king themselves. Their poetry and drama expresses gratitude and loyalty, their side of the client-patron relationship. So when Charles I visited Cambridge in 1632 a play was commissioned for his entertainment at Trinity College from Thomas Randolph, a fellow of Trinity. William Cartwright, a Student of Christ Church (he was at Westminster School with Randolph) wrote The Royal Slave for a similar occasion in Oxford in 1636. The academic anthologies for royal

[1] Wither dedicated Britain's Remembrancer (1628) and A Collection of Emblemes (1635) to Charles. Halelviah (1641), the sequel to Britain's Remembrancer, was dedicated to Parliament - Wither fought for Parliament in the 1640s. Francis Quarles, who took the royalist side, dedicated to Charles his collection of Divine Poems (1630), which reprinted his popular Old Testament paraphrases published separately in the 1620s.

[2] Randolph, Poems, ed. G. Thorn Drury (1929), introduction, p. xvii (the play was The Jealous Lovers). Cartwright, Plays and Poems, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Madison, 1951), pp. 12-3.

weddings, journeys, births and deaths have the same function.[2] Patronage drew academic poets into this sort of literary contact with the court, sometimes a perfunctory observance but sometimes more. In Cartwright's case the queen asked for a second performance of The Royal Slave later the same year. Even a much more local enterprise would look for court and royal connections. When Robert Dover began his Cotswold Games in the early years of the century, he looked for royal patronage and received it from James, by way of Endymion Porter (who lived in the neighbourhood). When a verse anthology praising the Games, Annalia Dubrensia, was published it included contributions from prestigious London poets near the court, Ben Jonson and William Davenant, among the Gloucestershire clergymen and Oxford academics who make up the bulk of the contributors.[3]

Most public literary activity had some sort of orientation towards the court, but some poets were nearer the centre than others. The court poets of Charles's reign were not in the same position as their predecessors under Elizabeth or James. In the Tudor court the distinction between the nobleman who wrote and the professional whose writing was an important part of his livelihood was well-marked. The official image of the monarchy that the professional was to express was equally well-defined. It was not carried to the point of reducing someone like Spenser to the role of a propagandist, but Elizabeth paid so much attention to image and propaganda that the court's expectations of its writers were clear. After the accession of James two factors altered the position of the court poet: the change in the character of the court, and the long dominance of Ben Jonson. James's

[3] Gervas Huxley, Endymion Porter (1959), pp. 129-32. Annalia Dubrensia (1636).

court had the character of a personal household and an atmosphere of familiarity. It also introduced regular masques, a large-scale opportunity for the court poet, which had the new characteristic of being intended for limited publication. Previously there had been only the sharp divide between the nobleman's poetry, circulated privately in manuscript, and the professional's, printed and published. Masques were by the court and for the court, the entertainment of nobles, but they were the talk of the town for weeks, their texts were published at the time of the performance, and anyone could come into the court (during James's reign) to watch them. They had the semi-public standing that was characteristic of the court itself under James. Ben Jonson, who wrote most of them, was a professional poet but very jealous of his status as a poet and very independent-minded. His position as masque-writer brought the poet into the royal household in a way that had been unknown in Elizabeth's reign.

Charles's court inherited characteristics from both James and Elizabeth. The members of the household, ranging from the great nobles of the Council to the young Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and including the poets and masque-writers, were more on a level with one another in the personal household of the king: Charles's court was like his father's in that it was not a public forum where people were openly in competition with one another. Charles himself, however, was more distant from most of his household than his father had been. It was a court that made images of itself, as Elizabeth's had, but these were not intended for public consumption. Charles paid little attention to the publication of portraits of himself, for instance, and there were very few of these in public circulation. There were, however, numerous

portraits and busts of the king and of the court to be found in the houses around which it moved and in other places where the king made personal appearances: Archbishop Laud presented a bust of Charles to Oxford University in 1636.[4] The official line was not given so strongly as under Elizabeth, but the unofficial consensus was probably stronger - the more so as the poets who aimed directly at court patronage and became closely connected with the court now found themselves writing from within the court, and for the semi-public audience of the masques, not from without and for the outside world. Charles's court set a higher social value on artistic talent than its predecessors had, so that poets and painters found themselves part of the court rather than merely its employees.[5]

The approaches to the court from outside are best seen in the career of Sir William Davenant, who was Jonson's successor as Laureate, as a principal masque-writer and in a way as the professional poet at court. The old distinction between the amateur and the professional persisted in Charles's court even in different social circumstances. Davenant always remained more a professional poet and dramatist than he was a courtier.[6] Though he wrote most of the 1630s masques, he remained on the fringes of the court, someone employed for his talents, like Inigo Jones, but not a courtier who

[4] See Judith Richards, '"His Nowe Majestie" and the English Monarchy: the Kingship of Charles I before 1640', Past and Present cxiii (1983), 70-96. Laud's bust is now in Duke Humfrey's Library in the Bodleian.

[5] See R.M. Smuts, Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 189. Smuts's distinction between poets who happened to be gentlemen (such as Carew) and gentlemen who wrote poetry (such as Suckling) seems over-nice.

[6] For Davenant's biography see his Shorter Poems, ed. A.M. Gibbs (Oxford, 1972), pp. xvii-xxxviii.

could write, like Thomas Carew. His real ambitions were probably realised when he became a playwright-manager with his own company, in the 1650s and afterwards. Davenant's social origins were low (he was an innkeeper's son) and he needed patronage; he was not of the court and he needed to advertise himself as a poet; so, more than his fellow-poets, he documents his relations with people at court, whether of patronage or friendship, by writing and publishing poems for them. His 1638 volume of poems, Madagascar, consists almost entirely of poems addressed to his friends, patrons, and friends acting as patrons; occasional poems, poems for weddings, consolatory poems, poems on the political situation.[7] Carew's Poems of 1640, by contrast, was published after his death, and contains occasional and non-occasional poems in roughly equal proportions; of the occasional verses, many were printed during his lifetime as commendatory verses for other books. Anything else of Carew's published before his death was either unauthorised or, like his masque Coelum Britannicum, anonymous.[8] But it was in Davenant's own interests not to be anonymous. The title-pages of his masques give not only his name but his status as 'her Majesty's Servant'.[9]

Davenant was born in 1606 in Oxford, where he had some education but not at the University. Probably soon after his father's death in 1622 he was made a page to the Duchess of Richmond, wife of Ludowick Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond (one of King James's Scottish

[7] Madagascar; with other Poems (1638). The few exceptions are mostly prologues and epilogues to plays.
[8] Thomas Carew, Poems (1640) and Poems, ed. R. Dunlap (Oxford, 1949), p. lix. Both Carew's 1640 volume and Madagascar had the same publisher, Thomas Walkley.
[9] Davenant, Shorter Poems, p. xxiv; S. Orgel and R. Strong, Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court (1973), ii. 599, 661.

favourites, and close to the centre of his court). She was a close friend of the Duchess of Buckingham. Davenant spent about two years in her household, and evidently the association persisted. In 1628 he wrote a poem for the Duchess of Buckingham on her husband's death, and as late as 1639 he was addressing the Duchess of Richmond's nephew James, who had succeeded to the title in 1624. While Davenant was in the Richmond household Endymion Porter was Master of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham, so it is possible that Davenant's later connection with Porter dates from this period. When the Duke of Richmond died in 1624 Davenant entered the service of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, who was at this time one of the King's more important councillors (and a family friend of Endymion Porter).[10] Greville's interests were in foreign affairs and war. He promoted an 'Elizabethan' policy of aggression towards the Habsburg powers and active support for English and Protestant interests in Europe. At this time Buckingham and Prince Charles, after their unsuccessful mission to Spain for the projected marriage of Charles and the Infanta, were thinking along the same lines, and Greville was on good terms with Buckingham, although they were not personally close.[11]

There were compelling reasons for British involvement in Europe. In 1618 war had broken out when the Elector Palatine was made King of Bohemia. He was defeated in Bohemia, lost the Palatinate, and took refuge in The Hague with his wife, Elizabeth, who was James I's daughter. The wars developed into the Thirty Years War, basically a conflict between France and the Hapsburg powers of Spain and Germany over the balance of power in Europe. It was also a religious war

[10] Huxley, Endymion Porter, p. 170.
[11] Joan Rees, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (1971), p. 36.

between Protestants and Catholics. Consequently there was a double pressure on James, and later on Charles, to intervene in support of the Palatinate and Protestant cause. James refused to abandon his policy of peace. After Charles's accession, he and Buckingham involved England in war with both France and Spain, very unsuccessfully. However, Buckingham was assassinated in 1628 and the 1629 Parliament would not vote money for war unless Charles surrendered his prerogative to deal with religion and foreign affairs. Charles therefore abandoned the wars, refused to call another parliament, and maintained a policy of peace and isolation throughout the 1630s.

In 1624 Davenant was 18, and probably acted as Greville's secretary. In that position he would have been influenced by Greville's political views. Davenant seems to have opposed the king's 'pro-Spanish' policy in the 1630s (a policy of peace, rejecting an alliance with France).[12] Davenant also takes Sir Philip Sidney as the epitome of chivalrous heroism in several poems. This was Greville's view of Sidney, whom he described in his Life as the ideal proponent of his 'Elizabethan' policy.[13] Whatever Davenant's theoretical commitment to a war policy, he seems to have fought in the expeditions of the late 1620s against France and Spain. A document of 1628 refers to him as an 'Ancient', or lieutenant, looking for promotion. Greville died that year, but before then Davenant's connection with him seems to have been less close. (There is a poem to him in Madagascar, but nothing on his death. Greville was stabbed by a disaffected servant a

[12] See Kevin Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 88-101.

[13] Davenant, Shorter Poems, p. xix. Fulke Greville, 'A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney' (usually called the Life of Sidney), Prose Works, ed. J. Gouws (Oxford, 1986), pp. 3-12, 49-54. See Appendix II below on Sidney's posthumous reputation.

few days after the death of Buckingham. His death received very little public attention: he knew few people in London by then, it was a private quarrel, and Buckingham's death overshadowed it.) Davenant was by that time associated with the Inns of Court, where he may have been sharing lodgings with Edward Hyde in 1628. In the next year six Inns of Court men wrote commendatory verses for his first published play. He had evidently been making a name for himself in this circle as a dramatist. According to Aubrey he attracted the attention of Endymion Porter and Henry Jermyn, both courtiers, by his plays. When he was ill with syphilis in the early 1630s Porter supported him, according to Davenant's poems to him, and after he recovered he made himself a place at court as a masque writer with the help of his own reputation as a dramatist and Porter's influence. His first masque, The Temple of Love, was performed at Shrovetide 1635, and Davenant is first described as the Queen's 'servant' on the title-page of its published version.[14]

By 1638 Davenant's position at court was well established. He was granted a royal pension (in effect the Laureateship) after Jonson's death in 1637. He was an established dramatist, writing for the King's Men at the Blackfriars and producing court masques. When a collection of his poems was published, again in 1638, it was dedicated to Endymion Porter, a Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles, and Henry Jermyn, one of the queen's closest favourites; it had commendatory verses from Porter and two of the foremost poets at court, Sir John Suckling and Thomas Carew (Sewer in Ordinary to the King); and its title-poem, 'Madagascar', which was addressed to Charles's nephew

[14] Davenant, The Temple of Love (1634).

Prince Rupert, was about the idea of conquering Madagascar which was temporarily gripping the imagination of court circles.[15]

From an origin beyond the court, and still maintaining a professional position outside it, Davenant had become one of a small group of poets and courtiers closely associated with the queen's court: Carew, Porter, Henry Jermyn, George Goring, George Digby, and Lord Holland, among others. Several of them, including Davenant, were involved in the First Army Plot in 1641, an attempt at a counter-coup against Parliament, aiming to seize the opposition leaders and re-establish control by military rule. It was one of the first of the occasions in the 1640s when the queen's desire to preserve power, though at a cost, was at odds with Charles's attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable. The existence of this closely-knit group based in the queen's court is important in the workings of court life, especially for the poets. It was a nucleus of personal relationships which became political under the pressure of circumstances at the end of the 1630s - the queen's understanding of politics being essentially in terms of personal power. Ten years earlier there had been a political event almost as traumatic as the events of the late 1630s, the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, Charles's favourite and principal minister. Buckingham controlled a huge network of patronage involving many poets, but there was not the same sort of nucleus of personal relationships as in Henrietta Maria's court: without it, there was no outpouring of poetical laments for Buckingham from the court poets.

[15] The fourth contributor was William Habington, a poet (Castara, 1638) and an old friend of Davenant. He was a figure on the margin of the court literary establishment: he addressed a poem to Porter, wrote a masque (The Queen of Aragon) for Pembroke to present to the king and queen in 1640, and contributed to Jonsonus Virbius (1638).

There were, in fact, very few elegies for him from poets whose patron he had been. Their need for patronage meant, in some cases, that it was no longer profitable to write for the Buckingham interest; in other cases the official mourning for him did not overcome personal antipathy; in still others the poets concerned had known him personally and did write elegies. Because there was no nucleus of poets who knew Buckingham like the poets who were later associated with the queen, when Buckingham died the official mourning for him could not impose one single view on poets with different attitudes, loyalties, and associations.

Buckingham was stabbed in an inn in Portsmouth on 22 August, 1628, by a disaffected soldier, John Felton. Felton acted apparently on his own initiative and claimed to have killed the Duke for the sake of 'his God his Kinge and his Countrie'. He had been influenced by the charges made against Buckingham in Parliament, where a second attempt to impeach him had been under way.[16] The funeral took place on 18 September at night (probably to reduce the danger of public riots) in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey. Except for two members of his own family he was the first person to be buried there who was not of royal blood. After Buckingham was gone the political scene changed rapidly; the waters closed over his head and he had disappeared. His power had been almost entirely personal, a network of patronage founded on his unique access first to James I and then to Charles I. He was, moreover, at the time of his death a highly controversial figure. Even so it is extraordinary that there was no anthology of elegies; it was by then the usual response to the death of an eminent

[16] F.W. Fairholt (ed.), Poems and Songs Relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (Percy Society, 1850), p. xxi.

person. What makes this lack still more surprising is that Buckingham was Chancellor of Cambridge University when he was killed. Cambridge had produced anthologies for Prince Charles's return from Spain in 1624, his wedding in 1625, and his return from Scotland in 1633 (STC 4484, 4487, 4491): but there was none for Buckingham.

For the poets who had been his clients there was no longer any reason of patronage to write for him - no further advantage could be gained from it. Edmund Waller actually did write an elegy, and placed it at the beginning of his 1645 Poems. Waller had no particular connection with Buckingham. At the time of the Duke's death Waller, at the start of his career, was hovering about court looking for opportunities. This no doubt influenced the way he cast his elegy. It is in fact addressed to Charles and praises the way he received the news of Buckingham's death; from the patronage point of view, this was astute.[17] On the other hand Richard Corbett, who was a client of Buckingham's, wrote no elegy for him. In 1620 Corbett had been made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, through Buckingham. Eighteen months later he wrote 'A New-Yeares Gift to my Lorde Duke of Buckingham' (the title is a later addition - Buckingham was still a marquis), expressing gratitude and promising to adhere to his patron. He did so in the shape of two more poems, a verse letter to Charles and Buckingham in Spain (in 1623) and 'Against the Opposing the Duke in Parliament, 1628'.[18] In 1628 Corbett had just got the bishopric of

[17] Waller, 'Of His Majesty's receiving the news of the Duke of Buckingham's death', Poems, ed. G. Thorn Drury (1893), p. 11, and Poems 1645 (Menston, 1971), pp. 1-2. All the royal poems are grouped at the beginning of the 1645 volume.

[18] Corbett, Poems, ed. J.A.W. Bennett & H.R. Trevor-Roper (Oxford, 1955): p. 71; 'A Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, being with the Prince in Spaine', p. 76; p. 82.

Oxford, again through Buckingham. Ten days after he was installed in his see his patron was assassinated. No doubt if there had been an academic collection Corbett would have produced something for it, but as it was there was no further advantage in a connection with Buckingham, especially when he was so unpopular. Again, Robert Herrick wrote no elegy for Buckingham. Herrick was a client of his, probably through Endymion Porter (he frequently addresses Porter, who was apparently a friend). He was a chaplain on Buckingham's expedition to the Isle of Rhé[19] and it was after his death that Herrick accepted his living in Devon; this abandonment of his prospects of advancement in London seems to indicate that with Buckingham dead he saw Devon as his best chance. He included a poem to Buckingham in Hesperides, which was published twenty years after the assassination, but wrote no elegy - which is slightly more surprising than in Corbett's case, given his friendship with Porter.

There were other poets who had no reason at all to write elegies for Buckingham. Sir John Suckling had some connection with him - he was probably on the Rhe expedition - but the chief connection was that his uncle, Lionel Cranfield (Earl of Middlesex), who had risen in political life under Buckingham's favour, was abandoned by him in 1624 under pressure from Parliament and ousted from office. One of Suckling's juvenile religious poems, probably written shortly afterwards, mentions Buckingham as the type of the polished favourite pulling strings at Court.[20] Suckling wrote no elegy. Ben Jonson not only wrote no elegy for Buckingham but was suspected of having written

[19] Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford, 1956), p. xiv.

[20] Suckling, 'A Dreame', Works, ed. T. Clayton (Oxford, 1971), pp. 12-13.

a poem that praised the assassin. It was found in the house of Sir Robert Cotton (a friend of Arundel, who was no friend of Buckingham) and Jonson had to appear before the Attorney-General to testify that it was not his. Jonson was a client of Buckingham in that he was commissioned to write a masque (The Gipsies Metamorphosed) for him, but there is no evidence of any other connection, and, as Anne Barton points out, the masque is equivocal. It presents Buckingham and his family as gipsies, perhaps capable of cozening the king.[21]

The poets who did write elegies for Buckingham were William Davenant and Thomas Carew. It seems likely that both of them knew him or at least his family personally. Davenant had been in touch with Buckingham's circle through the Richmond household and may well have known Porter at the time of the assassination. He wrote two elegies: one was published in Madagascar, a consolatory poem to the bereaved Duchess; the other was not published at all, but exists in manuscript.[22] Carew also wrote two elegies, at least one of which is addressed to the Duchess. Both of them are written for the tomb of Buckingham and cast as long epitaphs.[23] Carew probably knew Buckingham. At the time of his death he was following the court hoping for preferment, according to Clarendon; a few months later he was sworn a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. He was a friend of

[21] Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford & P. Simpson (Oxford, 1925), i. 94 (the text of the poem is printed on pp. 243-4); Anne Barton, Ben Jonson, Dramatist (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 315-6.

[22] Davenant, 'Elizium' and 'An Elegy on the Duke of Buckingham's Death', Poems, pp. 22, 272.

[23] Carew, '*An other*. Siste Hospes...' and 'On the Duke of *Buckingham. Beatissimis Manibus charissimi viri Illustrissima Conjunx sic Parentavit.*', Poems, p. 57-8. The title of the latter announces that it is the monument offered as a memorial in tribute to Buckingham by his wife. The Duchess erected a tomb to her husband in Westminster Abbey in 1634.

Buckingham's brother Christopher Villiers, Earl of Anglesey, and acted as an intermediary in the negotiations for his marriage with Elizabeth Sheldon; he wrote several poems for the family.[24] Both Carew and Davenant were friends of the family.

After Buckingham's death the character of the court changed in a way that was important for the development of the queen's household. Until this point I have been referring to the court as if to a monolithic body, but it was in fact a collection of households and hierarchies. The two principal centres were the households of the king and queen (both in Whitehall: the queen had her own house at Greenwich, but in practice it was too far away). There were also all the smaller hierarchies of dependants of the attendants of the king and queen, their households in town and country, and the semi-royal households of the greater nobles which were less closely associated with the court. The Earl of Arundel, for instance, kept up a large household in keeping with his family dignity and his own demands for a staff for his antiquarian and art-collecting interests, but he had very little to do with the court. In the former category there was Endymion Porter, whose duties gave him rooms in the royal residences, and who also maintained a town house in the Strand (which was a meeting place for the wits) and a country estate in Gloucestershire. He was the way by which his London friends and his country neighbours approached the court. The court remained, however, primarily the king's household, to which everything else was subsidiary, and it was through his household that Charles aimed to set the tone for the court and the country at large.

24 Carew, Poems, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

James I had had a household that was informal and familiar, debauched and licentious, open to debate and wit; he had brought with him the atmosphere of the Scottish court together with a large number of Scottish courtiers; he had made innovations in the structures of the royal household based on Scottish and French practice. The change in style was evident from the beginning of Charles's reign.[25] The new court was to be formal, decent, and orderly. The usages of Elizabeth's court and even of Henry VIII's were revived. It was to observe decorum in all things not only as a good thing in itself but because the court was the model of behaviour for the country and had the responsibilities of this exemplary role. Charles himself had the same duties, as the model for his court, and took them seriously. He laid down fixed hours for his activities and so complete a system of ceremony that each courtier knew exactly where and when the king would dine, ride, be at prayers, hold audience, and what attendance he would require. In this way the king's life was extremely public. There was almost nothing he did alone; when he made an offering in church, it took a Groom of the Chamber, a Gentleman Usher and the senior nobleman present to get the coin to Charles to give to the priest. Moreover, the atmosphere of his court was not familiar. The king was not aloof or unfriendly to his courtiers, but they were never to forget his special status. Although the king lived publicly his courtiers had to keep a due distance and act with due reverence for his person. C.V. Wedgwood points out that Charles was the only contemporary European monarch who was still served on bended knee.[26] Ambassadors and envoys

[25] The best description of the atmosphere and style of the court is Kevin Sharpe, 'The image of virtue', in D. Starkey (ed.), The English Court (1987), pp. 226-260, on which I am mainly drawing here.

[26] C.V. Wedgwood, The King's Peace (1955), p. 61.

could not see him without a previous appointment. He used the arrangement of the Chamber he had inherited to make a series of rooms which grew more and more private, from the Withdrawing Room through the Presence and Privy Chambers to the Bedchamber. The number of people who had access to these rooms likewise grew smaller and smaller. The king's life was so ordered that it was almost impossible for him to meet something unexpected.

When the king was not in Whitehall he was not very much less isolated. Like his predecessors he went on progress in the summer, but unlike the progresses of other monarchs these trips were not occasions for his subjects either to see or to meet him.[27] Proclamations were regularly issued ordering them to stay at least twelve miles away from the court. Courtiers and ambassadors usually describe these progresses simply as hunting trips. They tended to keep to the same circuit in the home counties, staying mostly at royal residences for the hunting in royal parks. Charles saw very little of the rest of his kingdom, and his subjects saw little of him. He generally avoided spectacular public occasions. His coronation, for instance, was a disappointingly quiet and austere ceremony. He went to the Abbey by water, and there was no formal entry into London at all.[28] (The one exception, as Sharpe points out, was the annual Garter procession to Windsor, which Charles actually revived.)[29]

In the inner court, however, among those few who did have access to Charles, a different atmosphere prevailed. Among the Gentlemen of

[27] Judith Richards, '"His Nowe Majestie" and the English Monarchy', pp. 77-9.
[28] Wedgwood, The King's Peace, p. 71, p. 64.
[29] Sharpe, 'The image of virtue', p. 242.

the Bedchamber Charles's life became more relaxed and familiar. For their part they gained considerable authority simply because access to the king was so restricted, and as the intermediaries between Charles and the outside world they became important channels of patronage. They all had interests outside court, in financial enterprises and their estates at home; none of them spent all their time at court (a rota system operated).[30] Several of them were as much or more at home in the other London world of the town as they were at court. 'Town' was a new and fashionable development: a leisured society, partly people visiting London for pleasure, partly people attached to the court off duty.[31] At this embryonic stage of its development it had no settled location but consisted essentially in a social round, and its major centres were the playhouses. They provided the opportunity for informal social, political and literary contact; a stage, literally, for the poets; a place to find the news and comment of the day. It was a world whose atmosphere was the antithesis of the king's court - not decorous, not formal, not moving to prescribed patterns. Nonetheless it was full of courtiers. Again patronage is part of the reason. Endymion Porter, the archetypal courtier, was also - partly because of his position near the king - an important patron and a central figure in both court and town. His house in the Strand was one of the meeting places of the London wits.[32] Practically everybody in court circles knew Porter and most poets who had contacts with the court had made them through him. According to Anthony a Wood he was the 'great Patron of all ingenious men, especially of Poets'[33] and therefore the natural

[30] G.E. Aylmer, The King's Servants (1974), p. 152.
[31] Martin Butler, Theatre and Crisis (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 102-110.
[32] Gervas Huxley, Endymion Porter, p. 167.
[33] Anthony a Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (1691-2), ii. 1.

choice as dedicatee for Gervase Warmstrey, a young poet at Oxford who was publishing a patriotic poem on the state of England after the Rhé expedition.[34] Both Davenant and Herrick call Porter a 'patron of poets' in titles. Both of them compare him to the great classical patron, Maecenas, and address him as if they were his personal laureates. Davenant was attached to his household in the 1630s and probably lived there in that position.[35] It is evident from Davenant's poems that Porter was a friend of Henry Jermyn, who was one of the queen's favourites. He appears in the background in Suckling's 'A Sessions of the Poets'. In fact it would have been difficult to be in contact with the court and not know Endymion Porter. The royal household was enormous, running to more than a thousand, but the staff of the Privy Chamber - which was effectively what is meant by the court, the place of access to the king - was very small. In 1629 the Gentlemen Ushers, Grooms, Cupbearers, Carvers, Sewers and Esquires of the Body numbered 32.

All the poets of the court knew each other, and the closely-knit group that some of them formed has been mentioned: but not all of them belonged to it. There were different groupings even in the relatively small world of the court: there was certainly not a homogenous group of court poets. The case of Thomas May illuminates this point. May was later a Parliamentarian and the historian of the Parliament side, but in the early 1630s he was quite closely associated with the court and

34 Gervase Warmstrey, Virescit Vulnere Virtus. Englands Wound and Cure (1628). Warmstrey (1604-1641), who succeeded his father as registrar of the diocese of Worcester, was 24 in 1628, in which year he moved from Christ Church to the Middle Temple.

35 Herrick, 'To the Patron of Poets, Master *Endimion Porter*', 41.2 (H-117). The style of reference to Herrick's poems is explained above, p. 2. Davenant, 'To Endimion Porter', Poems, pp. 35-7.

much in favour with Charles. At this period May was working on his continuation of Lucan, which was dedicated to the king, and two historical poems about Henry II and Edward III (the subjects were Charles's suggestion). On the other hand May, who was one of the proteges of Jonson, contributed to Jonsonus Virbius, which indicates a position probably slightly apart from the poets who were actually courtiers. Lord Falkland's elegy, the first in the volume, predicts that among Jonson's elegists - indeed leading them - will be

> *Digby, Carew, Killigrew,* and Maine
> Godolphin, Waller, that inspired *Traine*.

Of these Digby, Carew and Killigrew did not in fact contribute. Thomas Carew was Sewer in ordinary to the king and Thomas Killigrew, a dramatist, was another courtier; Van Dyck painted their portrait together. Sir Kenelm Digby, another courtier, had urged Brian Duppa (the editor) to make the collection, and Davenant wrote a poem praising him for having done so: but neither contributed.[36] The elegists for Jonson are associated with the Inns of Court, or the universities, usually Oxford, or particularly the friends of Falkland who constituted the Great Tew circle. Falkland was one of the few 'sons' of Jonson who kept in touch with him in his last years when he was bedridden.[37] If it is true that Jonsonus Virbius and the circle it represents was not very much a court enterprise, it is still the case that someone of this circle like May was associated with someone very much of the court like Porter. Porter had literary interests, he was close to the king, and the king was the source of patronage. In 1631 May dedicated one of his classical tragedies, Antigone, to Porter.

[36] Davenant, 'To Doctor Duppa...', Poems, pp. 78-80.
[37] Kurt Weber, Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland (New York, 1940), pp. 63-4.

The society of Whitehall consisted of more than the king's household, however. There was also the queen's. Before Buckingham's death, Henrietta Maria had not been a figure of much significance in court life. She was ten years younger than Charles, and at first she was under the influence of her French household; the king dismissed it in 1626 and their relations improved, but he still paid her very little attention. When Buckingham was killed, however, the whole situation changed. After the initial period of shock Charles reacted by transferring his affections completely to his wife. She became pregnant for the first time, and the succession of royal children that followed naturally enhanced her importance. Like the Gentlemen of the Chamber, she was one of the few people close to the king; moreover, he was now quite likely to discuss political business with her. She gave her support to a French alliance in opposition to Spain (this was Richelieu's policy), and a party developed around her which included those who wanted intervention in support of the Protestant and Palatine cause in Europe.[38] In fact the queen had little political influence, as little as the Gentlemen. Charles tended not to allow his immediate household to exercise any factional pressure on his decisions. The 'queen's party' never made any headway against his settled policies.[39]

The queen's court in the 1630s has more often been described as a political faction than as a household. Kevin Sharpe, following this line, has recently argued that the poets associated with it (notably Davenant) expressed its dissent from the king's policies in their

[38] R.M. Smuts, 'The Puritan followers of Henrietta Maria in the 1630s', EHR xciii (1978), pp. 26-45.
[39] Sharpe, 'The image of virtue', p. 257, pp. 251-3.
[40] Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment, *passim*; see especially pp.

poetry.[40] It was also a household of 'lively young men', according to the papal envoy Panzani, who insisted that if his successor was to have any influence with the queen he should be young and handsome, and have the 'cavalier virtues'.[41] The two threads of liveliness and factionalism are sometimes inextricably intertwined in a household where the personal and the political influence of the queen were the same thing. With the doubtful exception of the papal envoy, the queen's 'lively young men' were not assuming a mask to further their cause, but were supporters, consistently enough, of a 'lively' foreign policy. Several of them, for example Suckling and Goring, went off to the wars on their own account for lack of any military opportunity in England. Suckling went abroad in 1631, when he was a young man attached to the court but without any official duties, to fight with the Marquis of Hamilton's troops reinforcing Gustavus Adolphus; he combined the expedition with some studies at Leiden. George Goring ran out of money (he was a notorious gambler) in 1633 and went abroad to live more cheaply. His father-in-law, the Earl of Cork, bought him a colonelcy in the Dutch service. He was wounded at the siege of Breda in 1637 and came home. Both Suckling and Goring, together with many of their fellows, were keen to seize the opportunity offered to them as soldiers by the Scottish wars of 1639 and 1640.

However, more weight needs to be given to the 'personal', non-political aspect of the queen's household. Like the king's, it was primarily a personal household, with its own officers and its own activities. Its atmosphere was more of the town than of the court, and

93-8 on Davenant.

[41]Dispatches of 26 April 1636 and 20 May 1635, P.R.O. Roman Transcipts; quoted in Smuts, 'The Puritan followers of Henrietta Maria', pp. 30-1.

its links with the town world were strong. The queen was an enthusiast for the theatre, bringing companies over from France, acting in masques at court, and attending performances at public theatres. Dramatists like Davenant and Aurelian Townshend gravitated to her court.[42] It was the natural home of the typical young courtier, who had followed the normal pattern, gone to university and one of the Inns of Court, attached himself to some diplomatic embassy, spent some years in the European capitals meeting similar young men,[43] and eventually went home and found a position at court. The queen's court was younger, more cosmopolitan, freer in atmosphere, and closer to the literary circles of the town. Carew and Suckling were typical young courtiers on the pattern described; Davenant's career has been detailed above; from different directions they gravitated to the queen's household and formed the closely-knit group already mentioned. They wrote poems to and for each other and also for courtiers of the queen's household such as Walter Montagu and Henry Jermyn, who were members of the same group.

Here Davenant's tendency to document his social connections in his public poetry provides useful evidence. In the poems and letters Suckling and Carew wrote to each other the personal aspect of the group is evident, but in Madagascar the intertwined strands of the personal, the public and the political can be seen. Two poems in particular pull together the threads: 'Madagascar' itself and

[42] See Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment, p. 157, for Townshend's court connections. His daughter had an affair with the Elector Palatine.

[43] When Charles and Buckingham went to Madrid there turned up in the capital, among others, Endymion Porter (who went with them in the first place), Wat Montagu (who acted as interpreter for them), and James Howell (who happened to be there on some mercantile business).

'Written, When Collonell Goring was beleev'd to be slaine, at the siege of Breda'.[44] 'Madagascar', written to Prince Rupert, celebrates the project for conquering and settling the island which probably had its origin in a move to distract his attention from European intervention (he was the brother of the younger Elector Palatine).[45] The heroic expedition is celebrated with all the authenticating details of poetic frenzy, as Davenant adopts the Horatian role.[46]

> Now give mee Wine! and let my fury rise,
> That what my travail'd Soul's immortall eies
> With joy, and wonder saw, I may reherse
> To curious Eares, in high, immortall verse!
> Two of this furious Squadron did advance...[47]

The two champions fight, there is a general battle which the English win (their opponents are probably the Dutch), and the poet goes on to celebrate the arts of peace as Rupert civilizes his *'Golden Isle'* (l. 332). Madagascar becomes a vehicle for another presentation of the good public life under the good ruler. But it is also a poem written for the inner circle. The two champions are revealed at the end to be *'Endimion* and *Arigo'* (l. 423) who are members of the court circle and the two to whom the whole volume has been dedicated. (Arigo is Italian for Harry, thus Henry Jermyn.) Moreover Davenant has another poetic role to counter-balance that of inspired frenzy. His vision ends when he realises, seeing his patrons in Madagascar, that he may be so preferred in this new society as to become a judge. The prospect

[44] Davenant, Poems, pp. 10-21, 69-73.

[45] See Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment, pp. 96-8, for an argument that Davenant makes Madagascar a pretext for what was really an exhortation to European intervention. Sharpe does not allow for the effect of Davenant's mock-heroic tone.

[46] Horace's poetic persona in the Odes, was a favourite model in the period - it pervades Herrick's Hesperides even to the frontispiece, a very Roman bust of the poet. The allusions to Maecenas (note 35 above) are part of the same role.

[47] Davenant, Poems, p. 13, ll. 119-23.

alarms him.

> When I perceiav'd that cares on wealth rely;
> That I was destin'd for authority,
> And early Gowts; my Soule in a strange fright
> From this rich Isle began her hasty flight...[48]

Davenant's semi-comic presentation of himself reinforces the sense that the poem, though it is about public matters, is written from within a coterie. It has the same semi-public character as a masque. The poem for Goring's supposed death likewise laments a public event through the voices of Endimion and Arigo, with the poet (who is wreathed and will immortalize their grief in verse - the Horatian role again) a third presence in the poem. It differs from 'Madagascar' in that it is straightforwardly a heroic poem - 'Madagascar' is touched with self-mocking suggestions of mock-heroic that are still more characteristic of the semi-public form.

Although the court poetry of the personal rule should not be dismissed out of hand as flattery, it is misleading to argue the contrary and see it as dissenting. A better term to replace 'court poets', for these members of the group of the queen's court, might be 'coterie poets'. Davenant's political emphases are different from the official royal policies of the time, but this is not so much dissent as the liberty of expression found in the privileged inner circle. The unflattering presentation of a courtier after the model of Donne's Satire 1 does not disappear among the court poets. It fits with the picture of a self-satirising coterie of wits. Suckling gives the role to Toby Mathew (another of the queen's courtiers) in 'The Wits':

> Toby Mathew (pox on 't! how came he there?)
> Was busily whispering some-body i'th'ear.

[48] Davenant, Poems, p. 21, ll. 431-4 ('perceiav'd' *sic*).

He used the same image in a letter to his uncle Lionel Cranfield urging him to return to public life now that the court has changed and 'the little word behind the back, and undoing whisper' is 'forgot'. Writing for the coterie, Suckling is free to undermine the public image of the court: its projection is not his affair, and he is not writing in a mode that aims to instruct outsiders about the character of the court.[49]

I began this introductory survey by suggesting that all poets were court poets. It is true that most poets were oriented towards the king, and that there was a clear group, or coterie, of poets at the queen's court. Radiating out along the spider's web of patronage there were poets in widely different groups with varying allegiances to the king, to public policy, to poetry, to learning, and to their own careers. The patronage relationship can never be discounted in the poetry of the time, even in the inner circle where there exists alongside it a personal relationship with the ultimate source of patronage, the sovereign. The old distinction between the professional poet and the amateur gentleman, who did not write for a living, still held, and for the most part the court poets behave as amateurs. Davenant was a professional, but his poems were not printed until 1638. Carew's and Suckling's appeared posthumously. The first important case of a gentleman of this circle having his poems printed in his lifetime was the appearance of Lovelace's Lucasta in 1649, and by then the court no longer existed.

Everything about their situation encouraged the poets of the

[49] Suckling, 'The Wits. A Sessions of the Poets', Works, pp. 71-6, 122. The letter dates from either 1631 or 1637.

court to be self-conscious. They were gentlemen amateurs within the court, but they also wrote masques (which were published at once); so that sometimes they were promoting an official mythology in a public and professional way, and at other times undermining it as members of the inner circle. Of all of them Davenant and Herrick were most affected by having to play two parts like this.[50] They both resort to the Horatian model of a public poet, and they both display a mock-heroic self-consciousness, Davenant in his occasional poems, Herrick when he writes about himself. It was a self-conscious court, saddled by Charles with the task of being the country's crowning glory.

Most of all, it was a self-conscious decade. Charles was pursuing an independent line in both foreign and domestic policy. He was taking no belligerent part in the wars of his European neighbours, and at home he had taken the unprecedented step of announcing that no more parliaments would be called.In this new situation, the poets of the court naturally began to be interested in possible identities and models for the court and the country. They related England to other places, ideal or normative places in the past, the future, or a timeless present. When they wrote about an Arcadian England it was not exactly escapism: they were giving the country a costume which might explain more clearly the part it was playing. In order to define their real world they constructed alternative worlds, of which the three most important ones were Arcadia, Jerusalem, and Rome.

50 Herrick's is a different sort of case: he was a court poet who was not at court.

II Alternative worlds in England

i. Arcadia

Arcadia is the country of pastoral. In its long literary history it has taken on many variations of character, but two features have been constant: its geographical position is obscure and its landscape is always the same. There are trees for shade and pleasant meadows where the shepherds who inhabit Arcadia lie at ease watching their flocks and singing. In addition there are brooks, springs, birdsong, gentle breezes, and other details of the idyllic place. Virgil set the landscape in Arcadia, a remote Greek province, because it was remote; furthermore he made it difficult to pin down. Sometimes his Arcadians seem to be in Sicily (where the earlier eclogues of Theocritus were set), and some of their concerns are those of contemporary Italy - the provision of land for veteran soldiers, the death of Julius Caesar, the achievements of his successor Augustus. The pastoral tradition thus came to include an important dualism. Pastoral was remote, idyllic and imprecise, and it was also a way of writing, under a literary disguise, about the specific present concerns of contemporary society.

As an idyllic place, a *locus amoenus*, Arcadia was one of many, all with similar characteristics - 'a cluster of trees, a grove with springs and lush meadows'.[1] Olympus, Parnassus and Helicon were the homes of gods and of the Muses. There were other places (described by Homer) where the gods walked on earth and might be encountered by mortals, and also in Homer there were the islands of Ogygia and Aiaia,

[1] E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (1953), p. 185.

where Calypso and Circe detained Odysseus.[2] Hesiod described the Elysian Fields (Elysium) and the very similar Islands of the Blessed, at the ends of the earth, on the edge of the Ocean. In these islands the heroes live after their lives on earth, not being subject to mortal death. The islands are under the rule of Saturn, who had ruled heaven during the Golden Age until he was ousted by Zeus. They still enjoy Golden Age conditions of great fertility, producing crops as sweet as honey.[3] Another paradisal place on the edge of the world was the garden of the Hesperides in the extreme west, on the edge of the Ocean beyond the Atlas mountains. The Hesperides were the guardians of the tree in the garden which bore golden apples; one of Hercules's twelve labours was to get past the dragon coiled round the tree and bring back an apple. The garden of the Hesperides has a certain generic similarity with the garden of Eden, where Eve encountered the serpent and ate the fruit (traditionally an apple) of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. (There were other Biblical paradises besides Eden, notably in the imagery of the Song of Solomon, which includes an enclosed garden. The New Jerusalem, Paradise restored, is a heavenly city with elements from the original garden; the tree of life grows at its centre and the river of life runs through its streets.)[4]

In the Renaissance the Hesperides were identified with the mythical islands in the Atlantic. The Dictionarium of Charles Stephanus gives a cross-reference from *'Elysii Campi'* to *'Atlanticae*

[2] E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp. 185-6.
[3] Hesiod, 'Works and Days', The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, tr. H.G. Evelyn-White (1967), ll. 166-173; Works and Days, ed. M.L. West (Oxford, 1978), p. 193.
[4] Revelation 22: 1-2.

Insulae'.

> The *Atlanticae* are two islands which they call the Blessed and the Fortunate... There, as Homer and other poets say, are the Elysian fields and the homes of the Blest. Pliny seems to call these islands the Hesperides.'[5]

There were also Celtic traditions of islands in the Western Ocean: the islands where the spirits of the dead were reputed to dwell (Britain was supposed to be one of these)[6] and the islands of the Earthly Paradise which Bran sailed to.

> Weeping and treachery are unknown in the pleasant familiar land; there is no fierce harsh sound there, but sweet music striking the ear.
> Without sorrow, without grief, without death, without any sickness, without weakness, that is the characteristic of Emhain; such a marvel is rare...
> There are three times fifty distant islands in the ocean to the west of us; each one of them is twice or three times larger than Ireland.[7]

All these paradisal places in all these different traditions have certain things in common. They are all described in very similar terms (naturally enough), and often details of one paradise are borrowed for another. Christian poets describing Paradise borrowed from Virgil's account of the Elysian Fields.[8] Access to these places is difficult or impossible for mortals. They are isolated in space and protected by walls, or by the sea; or they belong to a former age of the world, the Golden Age or the time before the Fall; or they are aspects inaccessible to mortals of real geographical places like Olympus or

[5] D.T. Starnes & E.W. Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill, 1955), p. 310. Charles Stephanus, Dictionarium Historicum ac Poeticum (Paris, 1553). There were many subsequent editions.
[6] J.W. Bennett, 'Britain Among the Fortunate Isles', SP liii (1956), p. 123.
[7] K.H. Jackson (ed.), A Celtic Miscellany (1971), pp. 173-5.
[8] E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 200.

Arcadia.

Besides its place in the *locus amoenus* tradition, pastoral (in the broad sense of writing about a country life) had other associations. There is what can be called the Virgilian strand of the tradition, in which pastoral is written with political reference. This use depends on the tension between the country and the city found in Virgil's Eclogues. His shepherds live a rural life, but they are affected by what happens in the city - especially by the actions of the emperor. This was a way of writing indirectly about the emperor which freed Virgil from the conventions of panegyric and allowed him to include other aspects of a political situation besides the laudatory. Thus, in the first eclogue, though one shepherd has been confirmed in his land by the emperor, the other has been expelled from his; and justice is done to his miseries as well as to Tityrus's gratitude. Later it became usual to read Virgil's Eclogues allegorically, going beyond his oblique references to contemporary events (such as this example) to find some correspondence for every detail in the poems. The idea of pastoral as a political code thus developed, and flourished in Renaissance Italy when pastoral became a vehicle for panegyric. Virgil's fourth eclogue, predicting the return of the Golden Age, became a precedent for numerous announcements of its renewal; the analogy between the ruler governing his people and the shepherd looking after his sheep was well-established; and by the late sixteenth century the pastoral world, as Sidney recreated it in the New Arcadia, could be at the same time the court in disguise and a

9 Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (New York, 1972), pp. 37-43. Helen Cooper, Pastoral (Ipswich, 1977), p. 83.

forum for political debate.[9]

In the 1630s it was commonplace for the court to portray itself in pastoral dress. Henrietta Maria brought with her from France a fashion for pastoral drama, in which courtly shepherds debated neo-Platonic theories of love at some length. In 1630 Robert Herrick wrote *'A Pastorall upon the birth of Prince* Charles', set to music by Nicholas Lanier and sung before the King. In it shepherds discuss the birth and go to see the baby, comparing themselves to the wise men who visited the infant Jesus. (A star was seen at noon on the day of Prince Charles's birth, leading Herrick and other writers to this comparison.) It is interesting that they make no reference to the Biblical shepherds: the comparison is between the wise men, with their *'Incense, Myrrhe,* and *Gold,...* with store of Spices (sweet)', and the present courtly 'shepherds'. Though the singers are people with court connections, they are not costumed as aristocratic wise men; and though they are supposed to be shepherds, they are not associated with the real shepherds of the Biblical story but with the 'Countrie pleasures' of pastoral. They are the shepherds of court pastoral, disguised noblemen. The point is strengthened by the analogy between the shepherd and the king:

> And I a Sheep-hook will bestow,
> To have his little King-ship know,
> As he is Prince, he's Shepherd too.[10]

Another strand of the tradition might be called Horatian. It depends on a contrast rather than a relation between the king and the

[10] 85.3, H-213. The style of reference to Herrick's poems is explained above, p. 2. William Cartwright's New Year poem to Brian Duppa (1638) is very similar: Plays and Poems, ed. G.B. Evans (Madison, Wisc., 1951), pp. 522-6.

country, and makes country life into an image of philosophic happiness, the opposite of *'fumum et opes strepitumque Romae'* (Horace, Odes iii. 29.12). One of the recurring themes of Horace's Odes is of the dream of the country that sustains Romans exhausted by city life. It is not a realistic country life, any more than court pastoral, but one where countrymen of impeccable integrity and no untoward ambition wish only for what is enough, and are content with their lot: in short, it is the moral opposite of the city, which is grasping, greedy, false and subject to foreign influences corrupting the old values. Horace uses the pastoral life partly in order to write about Rome. In the seventeenth century this tradition was based on a handful of classical poems (notably Horace's second epode, which was much translated) describing the life led by a good man, with a gentlemanly competence, on his small country estate, providing for his own moderate wants, free from irrational desires and from social pressures.[11] It is an Epicurean or a Stoic heaven, but the seventeenth-century descriptions of it do not often refer to Arcadia or Elysium to evoke this blessed state. Ben Jonson's descriptions of the perfect country household, which became the model for several poems by his followers, refer once or twice to Pan (the shepherds' god) and suggest that Penshurst enjoys a Golden Age plenty. Jonson's country house, however, is a concrete expression of an inner state. The bounty and happiness of Penshurst are firmly linked with the moral virtues of its owners. Jonson is not trying to evoke an elusive paradise. It is interesting, however, that Thomas Carew (a good Jonsonian), in one of his country-house poems, describes how the river surrounds

[11] See p. 116 below.

> This Island Mansion, which i' th' center plac'd,
> Is with a double Crystall heaven embrac'd,
> In which our watery constellations floate,
> Our Fishes, Swans, our Water-man and Boate,
> Envy'd by those above, which wish to slake
> Their starre-burnt limbes, in our refreshing lake,
> But they stick fast nayl'd to the barren Spheare,
> Whilst our encrease in fertile waters here
> Disport, and wander freely where they please
> Within the circuit of our narrow Seas.[12]

The emphasis on insularity and the protection of the waters is noticeable (Jonson is concerned to stress that his ideal balance is attainable, not cut off from the world) and the detail about the local stars, envied by the stars of heaven, is very similar to the central idea of Carew's masque, Coelum Britannicum - one of the best expressions of the prevailing 1630s idea that Britain itself was an islanded and idyllic nation, peculiarly blessed.

A third strand of the tradition drew on the association of Elysium, or the Hesperides, with terrestrial paradises where a life of unconstrained pleasure could be lived (such as Calypso's Ogygia and Circe's Aiaia, both symbolising the defeat or the surrender of the will).[13] It located this life of pleasure in the natural world of the country. Elysium, pictured as an idyllic country place, appears in seduction poems as a symbol of freedom from social laws and conventions, hypocrisy and false values. (In this, it resembles Horatian retirement in the country.) This Elysium, like the Golden Age, allows untroubled sexual licence, and becomes an argument for surrender:

> A Dragon kept the Golden Apples; true;
> But must your Breasts be therefore kept so too?...

[12] 'To my friend G.N. from Wrest' (ll. 79-88), Poems, ed. R. Dunlap (Oxford, 1949), pp. 86-9. Carew was writing after his return from the Scottish expedition of 1639.
[13] Homer, Odyssey, v. 43-97 and x. 210-243.

Where Nature knows no prohibition,
Shall Art prove Anti-Nature, and make one?[14]

Like Horatian retirement, this sort of Elysium is often set in opposition to the city or the court. Carew's '*A Rapture*' begins by inviting Celia to evade 'the Gyant, Honour', who is 'but a Masquer', and ends by showing legendary heroines of chastity such as Daphne and Laura enjoying themselves in his Elizium - quite contrary to the cult of chastity celebrated at the court.[15] In '*Love made in the first Age: To* Chloris' Lovelace commends his golden age as one of simple and straightforward language, unlike modern society (he is playing on the fact that Hebrew is written from right to left):

In the Nativity of time,
Chloris! it was not thought a Crime
In direct *Hebrew* for to woe.
Now wee make Love, as all on fire,
Ring Retrograde our lowd Desire,
And Court in *English* Backward too.[16]

Thomas Randolph pictures the country as an escape from the city, a place of old simplicity and of Elysian pleasure, combining Horatian retirement with sensual delight. Like Lovelace, Randolph condemns the meaningless talk of the city ('an Idiots praise') and prefers country language, which is straightforward.

More of my dayes
I will not spend to gaine an Idiots praise;
Or to make sport
For some slight Punie of the Innes of Court.
Then worthy *Stafford* say
How shall we spend the day,
With what delights
Shorten the nights?
When from this tumult we are got secure;
When mirth with all her freedome goes,
Yet shall no finger loose;

[14] William Cartwright, 'Beauty and Deniall', Plays and Poems, pp. 470-1.
[15] Carew, Poems, pp. 49-53.
[16] Lovelace, Poems, ed. C.H. Wilkinson (Oxford, 1930), pp. 146-8.

Where every word is thought,and every thought is pure.[17]

This image of the country was created to criticise the conventions and formality of the court. In the country there is no convoluted language, no courtly deceits and disguises. One of the courtly disguises was pastoral itself, when the court pretended it was the country. Carew and Randolph write about an Elysian countryside to criticise the court, not to praise it, but they choose the court's own medium for this criticism. It is a protest from within, not from without, and this modifies its force.

But in another way the court itself was Elysium. The most interesting thing about Caroline developments of the tradition is that they identify Arcadia or Elysium with Britain - and specifically with the Britain being ruled according to the royal policies of the 1630s. It is not that Charles I was applying policies suitable to an idyllic place of retirement (or the Fortunate Isles) to a real nation (the British Isles), and thus in the end provoking civil war. Most of the king's preoccupations in the 1630s, such as the problems of raising revenue and the reform of the Church, had very little to do with ideas of the Golden Age. But it is true that during Charles's reign a long-standing association of Britain with the Fortunate Islands and similar places was actively promoted at court. The 1630s were seen as a halcyon period at the time, as well as after the civil wars, when Marvell returned to the familiar image of a paradise and saw it as fallen:

> O Thou, that dear and happy Isle
> The Garden of the World ere while,
> Thou *Paradise* of four Seas,

[17] '*An Ode to M^r.* Anthony Stafford to hasten him into the Country', Poems, ed. G. Thorn Drury (1929), pp. 79-82.

> Which *Heaven* planted us to please,
> But, to exclude the World, did guard
> With watry if not flaming Sword;
> What luckless Apple did we tast,
> To make us Mortal, and The Wast?[18]

Moreover, this view of Britain in the 1630s was not simple escapism. The political implications that the association had developed made it, at the least, complicated escapism.

In classical literature Britain was regarded as a place apart, primarily because it was cut off from the land-mass of Europe. (Ancient geographers held that all the land of the world was clustered together and surrounded by uninterrupted ocean). The most famous reference was in Virgil's first eclogue, in which the Britons are said to be 'cut off completely from all the world' ('*et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*', Eclogues i. 66). William Camden quoted it on the first page of his Britannia (1586). Because of its position and its unexpectedly mild climate Britain became associated with the various mythical places in the West, such as the Garden of the Hesperides, the Fortunate Isles, and Ultima Thule (the end of the world, which Agricola's sailors said they had seen when they sailed round Britain).[19] There were numerous attempts to identify these mythical islands with real places. For a long time the Canaries were also known as the Fortunate Isles. There was a legend that Britain was inhabited by the spirits of the dead, which encouraged people to associate it with the Elysian Fields, where Saturn reigned. The sense that Britain had a special status, as an island, and paradisal associations, was nebulous but well-established. Camden noted the

[18] Marvell, '*Upon Appleton House*', st. xli, Poems, ed. H.M. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1971), p. 72.

[19] Tacitus, Agricola, x. 4.

traditions:

> Beyond the Iles of *Orkney* and above Britaine, the author of that ancient Commentary upon *Horace*, placeth the *Fortunate Ilands*, wherein as they write, none dwell but devout and just men, and the Grecians in their verses celebrate the pleasantnesse and fertility of the place, calling them the *Elysian fields*: But as touching these *Fortunate Isles*, take with you, if you please, another relation of that od fabulous Grecian, *Isacius Tzetzes* out of his notes upon *Lycophron: In the Ocean* (saith he) *is there a British Iland... Thither men say the soules of the dead are transported over... many men thinke these be the Ilands of blessed ghostes.*[20]

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth these ideas about Britain were seized on by the poets. They provided a prestigious identity and pedigree for Britain, as an island nation, when her political identity had to be asserted against the larger powers of continental Europe. They fitted naturally with the convention, borrowed from Italy, of celebrating a ruler's reign as the return of the Golden Age, and they also happened to offer a convenient fanciful etymology that derived 'Elizium' and 'Eliza' from the same root. The image of Britain cut off from the world is inverted to become, from the point of view of the Britons, an image of an island blessedly enjoying peace while the rest of the world is plunged in war. Events reinforced the image. The Spanish Armada failed to violate Britain's island security, being defeated by the seas. Geography as well as statesmanship kept England out of the continental religious wars. A sonnet by Samuel Daniel (written probably in the late 1580s, after the Armada) pictures Britain as the home of peace and of the Muses:

> Florish, faire, *Albion*, glorie of the North,
> *Neptune's* best darling held betweene his armes,
> Devided from the world as better worth,
> Kept for himselfe, defended from all harmes.

[20] William Camden, Britain, Or a Chorographicall Description, tr. Philemon Holland (1610), ii. 217. ('od', *sic*)

> Still let disarmed peace decke her and thee;
> And Muse-foe *Mars* abroade farre fostred bee.[21]

The famous description of England by Shakespeare's John of Gaunt (Richard II, II.i) likewise stresses peace, though not the Muses (he sees England's isolation as aggressive, not defensive, and calls it the 'seat of Mars'):

> This other Eden, demy Paradice,
> This fortresse built by Nature for her selfe
> Against infection and the hand of warre.

After King James's accession in 1603 the island of Britain was for the first time united under one monarch. James wanted to make it a single political unit by uniting the Parliaments of England and Scotland. Consequently it was important for official policy that Britain should be thought of as a unit. There was a renewal of interest in pre-Saxon history and the ancient British.[22] Meanwhile the image of Britain as a peaceful island set apart from the world continued to be useful, and it easily accommodated - indeed, helped - new ideas of a special British identity. Jonson brought it into a political context, justifying withdrawal from European affairs, in his masque The Fortunate Isles and their Union. Originally this had been meant for the homecoming of Prince Charles from his unsuccessful marriage negotiations in Spain, when it was to be performed as the Twelfth Night masque of 1624 (entitled Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion). In the event the Spanish and French ambassadors quarrelled over precedence and refused to attend together, possibly on purpose so as to avoid a still more difficult diplomatic situation,

[21] Samuel Daniel, sonnet 48 ('Drawne with th'attractive vertue of her eyes') in M. Evans (ed.), Elizabethan Sonnets (1977), p. 82.
[22] See p. 98 below.

and the masque was not performed. It was reworked, using substantially the same stage designs and machinery, as The Fortunate Isles, and performed in January 1625. The action of the masque shows the Isle of Macaria (a transliteration of the Greek, literally 'blessed') joining Britannia. The theme of union celebrates the newly-arranged French marriage, but the masque does not suggest that Britain is now united to the continent. Instead the real Britannia and the mythical blessed island are joined together in the ocean.

> That point of Reuolution being come
> When all the Fortunate Islands should be ioyn'd,
> MACARIA, one, and thought a Principall,
> That hetherto hath floted, as vncertaine
> Where she should fix her blessings, is to night
> Instructed to adhere to your BRITANNIA:
> That where the happie spirits live, hereafter
> Might be no question made.[23]

Britain's insular identity is reaffirmed.

Arcadia, as well as Elysium, had developed political implications in England. (The distinction between the two is not strong and sometimes disappears - Drayton's shepherds inhabit Elizium.) Pastoral had always been able to carry political meaning, but it was becoming possible for Britain to be presented as Arcadia in a political context, especially since the many pastoral pageants complimenting Queen Elizabeth and since Sidney's New Arcadia. Sidney began with an image of a completely harmonious countryside, perhaps echoing the sentiments of such pageants. The inhabitants of Arcadia are happy and the landscape is idyllic:

> There were hills which garnished their proud heights with stately trees; humble valleys whose base estate seemed comforted with refreshing of silver rivers; meadows enamelled

[23] Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford & P. Simpson (Oxford, 1941), vii. 722.

> with all sorts of eye-pleasing flowers; thickets, which, being lined with most pleasant shade, were witnessed so to by the cheerful deposition of many well-tuned birds; each pasture stored with sheep feeding with sober security, while the pretty lambs with bleating oratory craved the dams' comfort; here a shepherd's boy piping as though he should never be old; there a young shepherdess knitting and withal singing, and it seemed that her voice comforted her hands to work and her hands kept time to her voice's music. As for the houses of the country - for many houses came under their eye - they were all scattered, no two being one by the other, and yet not so far off that it barred mutual succour: a show, as it were, of an accompanable solitariness and of a civil wildness. [24]

The countryside is peaceful, the sheep are not threatened by predators, the scene combines nature with art and wilderness with civilization. Sidney's description became the classic picture of the ideal countryside. (The idea of 'civil wildness' was important to several later poets, especially Jonson and Herrick.) It is an image of a harmonious moral state. But as the action develops it becomes the scene for the upheavals of love, disguise, deceit, and considerable political disturbance. Sidney's Arcadia is not an unlocated landscape, any more than Britain is, and he makes clear the problems that arise when Basilius and the princes ignore their political responsibilities to the neighbouring states and the domestic population. It is not an allegorical work but it does create a deliberate tension between the idyllic place and the real state, contrary to the practice of those panegyrists who spoke of the real state as an idyllic place.

Drayton's pastorals of 1630, The Muses Elizium, also make Arcadian life the image of a moral state. In Elizium the nymphs and shepherds happily worship the Muses and hold poetical competitions. However, its neighbour Felicia has abandoned the Muses, its forests and groves have been cut down, and its sports have been abandoned. New

[24] Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, ed. V. Skretkowicz (Oxford, 1987), pp. 10-11.

and unsound fashions have corrupted it from its former happy state. Again, this is not allegorical. Neither Elizium nor Felicia definitely corresponds to England, but they both stand in some indefinite relation to it.[25] They are potentially England, or England in disguise, or alternative Englands, places which England might be. This sort of indefinite correspondence was itself a convenient political concept in the touchy atmosphere of 1630s England.

It was in the years of personal rule in the 1630s that the presentation of Britain as a happy island, Arcadian or Elysian, came into its own. It was a way of justifying peace as well as celebrating it; if Britain was Elysium it was not to be expected that she would be involved in the rough-and-tumble of historical time, or in other words the Thirty Years War (although the king's sister was deeply involved in it). One of the best-known apologies for official policy is Thomas Carew's poem to Aurelian Townshend, '*In answer of an Elegiacall Letter upon the death of the king of* Sweden...'[26] Townshend had asked him to write an elegy for Gustavus. Instead Carew argues that events in Europe have no relevance to those fortunate enough to be living in Britain under Charles.

> Then let the Germans feare if *Caesar* shall,
> Or the Vnited Princes, rise, and fall,
> But let us that in myrtle bowers sit
> Vnder secure shades, use the benefit
> Of peace and plenty, which the blessed hand
> Of our good King gives this obdurate Land,
> Let us of Revels sing...

Carew suggests that life in Britain is a sort of Elysian pastoral

[25] 'The Tenth Nimphall', Poems, ed. J. Buxton (1953), ii. 280-85. David Norbrook definitely identifies Elizium with Elizabeth's England, and Felicia with Charles's: see his Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance, (1984), pp. 247-8.

[26] Carew, Poems, pp. 74-77.

(sitting and singing in myrtle bowers), and goes on to say that Townshend was better employed when he was writing pastoral masques for the court:

> ...these are subjects proper to our clyme.
> Tourneyes, Masques, Theaters, better become
> Our *Halcyon* dayes.

'*Halcyon* dayes' itself is another Elysian image. The halcyon days are seven days of calm at sea in the middle of the winter storms, during which the kingfisher broods over her nest on the waves; it is another image of a place of preternatural peace in the middle of the ocean, breaking the ordinary sequence of time and the seasons.[27] Townshend himself had used 'halcyon' of Britain at the beginning of the same year (1632), in his masque Albion's Triumph. The final tableau (after the main dance) showed a landscape with a prospect of 'the King's palace of Whitehall and part of the city of London seen afar off.' Above this the heavens open to reveal the companions of Peace seated in clouds: they are Innocency, Justice, Religion, Concord and Affection to the Country. Peace descends to the stage - or to London - and Neptune, Plutus, Bellona and Cybele (representing sea-power, trade, defence and agriculture) enter. They ask

> Why should this isle above the rest
> Be made (great gods) the halcyon's nest?

The companions of Peace answer:

> Imperious Peace herself descends![28]

This begs the question - why should peace descend to London? - but the answer is implicit in 'imperious'. The question is finally answered in

[27] Ovid, Metamorphoses, xi. 741-8.
[28] S. Orgel & R. Strong, Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court (1973), p. 457.

the last chorus, which praises the king and queen as an emblem of marital peace ('Hymen's twin, the Mary-Charles'). It is under their tutelage that peace has descended on Britain. Townshend is explaining Britain's political relations with Europe in the same way as Carew, by using the image of the island cut off from the rest of the world, specially favoured in its climate and natural resources, and under the semi-divine guidance of the king.

Two years before Townshend employed this theme, Sir Richard Fanshawe wrote 'AN ODE Vpon occasion of His Majesties Proclamation in the yeare 1630 Commanding the Gentry to reside upon their Estates in the Country'. (This was one of a series of proclamations. The gentry were needed on their estates for the sake of good local administration; London was growing top-heavy.)[29] Fanshawe surveys the state of the world ('Now warre is all the world about') and the European wars, and then turns to consider the blessed state of Britain.

> Onely the Island which we sowe,
> (A world without the world) so farre
> From present wounds, it cannot showe
> An ancient skarre.
> White Peace (the beautiful'st of things)
> Seemes here her everlasting rest
> To fix, and spreads her downy wings
> Over the nest.
> As when great *Jove*, usurping Reigne,
> From the plagu'd world did her exile
> And ty'd her with a golden chaine
> To one blest Isle:
> Which in a sea of plenty swamme
> And Turtles sang on ev'ry bowgh,
> A safe retreat to all that came
> As ours is now.

Britain has everything. It is a world by itself. It is the abode of

[29] See I. Rivers, The Poetry of Conservatism (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 5-6.

peace, and Fanshawe compares it, in that respect, to the Fortunate Islands. But in Britain, he complains, people do not realise their good fortune. In the same way Carew described it as 'this obdurate Land', and Clarendon (writing after the 1640s) makes the same point:

> many wise men thought it a time wherein those two unsociable adjuncts which Nerva was deified for uniting, *imperium et libertas*, were as well reconciled as is possible.
>
> But all these blessings could but enable, not compel, us to be happy: we wanted that sense, acknowledgment, and value of our own happiness which all but we had, and took pains to make, when we could not find, ourselves miserable. There was in truth a strange absence of understanding in most, and a strange perverseness of understanding in the rest: the Court full of excess, idleness and luxury, and the country full of pride, mutiny, and discontent.[30]

Fanshawe says that people insist on living in 'walled Townes' as if they were expecting war. They ought rather to live in the country, where they would enjoy a life of peace and contentment, the image of the king's peace - such a life as will produce a Virgil (a pastoral Virgil, *'Tytirus'*, not an epic poet) to celebrate it:

> A *Tytirus*, that shall not cease
> Th'*Augustus* of our world to praise
> In equall verse, author of peace
> And *Halcyon* dayes.

One of the companions of Peace in Albion's Triumph is Affection to the Country. His appearance - he holds a wreath of long grass - suggests that he represents affection for the countryside, rather than patriotism. The proscenium arch for Salmacida Spolia (1640) depicts him again, this time with a grasshopper. The grasshopper was an Anacreontic emblem of rural contentment, most familiar now from Lovelace's poem *'The Grasse-hopper'*. Lovelace was concerned with the

30 History of the Rebellion, ed. W.D. Macray (Oxford, 1888), i. 96.

threat of time to the good life, represented by the winter which turns the carefree grasshopper to 'green Ice'.[31] The emblem had political connotations as well. Thomas Stanley translated the original Anacreontic poem (xliii) in his Poems (1651) and added a note quoting from Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana. Under the tyranny of Domitian, Apollonius was talking to his fellow-philosopher Demetrius. Demetrius praised the grasshopper: 'O happy and truly wise; You sing the song the Muses taught you, subject to no censure or misconstruction; by them freed from the slavishnesse of hunger and humane envies: and dwelling in these bushy tenements (which they provided for you) celebrate their happinesse and your own.' Apollonius asked him why he did not celebrate the grasshopper in less guarded terms, since there was no law against it, and Demetrius replied: 'I did not this so much to shew their happinesse, as our own misery, They are allowed to sing, but we not to whisper our thoughts: Wisdome as a crime is laid to our charge.'[32] The winter of Lovelace's poem may allude to the political threat to the rural poetical ideal to which Stanley's note refers more explicitly. It is ironic that Affection to the Country and his grasshopper appeared in Salmacida Spolia, which was the last masque and the last gesture of 1630s court culture against the approaching winter.

In this way the identification of Britain and the Fortunate Islands became the basis for a court mythology that was expounded in masques and in some court poetry. During Charles's reign references to

[31] Lovelace, Poems, pp. 38-40.

[32] Stanley, Poems and Translations, ed. G.M. Crump (Oxford, 1962), pp. 23, 107. J.M. Edmunds (ed.), Elegy and Iambus... with the Anacreontea (1931), ii. 64-5. Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, vii. 11.

his kingdom as an Elysian or Arcadian place which enjoyed a peculiar happiness unknown to the rest of the world were very frequent. Most of the court poets made extensive use of an imagery of gardens, idyllic landscapes, and peaceful islands, in both political and non-political contexts. During the 1630s several of the courtiers were building new gardens at their houses - the Earl of Pembroke, for instance, at Wilton (where the court was often in residence), and Sir John Danvers at his house in Chelsea. The Elysian connection became an important aspect of the image the court created for itself. Arcadian Britain was a fiction, but it was not a purely literary one, being embodied in the court's surroundings, and it was very important to the sense of identity of a self-conscious court.

There were three main ways for the court to express its image of itself: in portraits of courtiers, the gardens designed for their houses, and the court masques. Van Dyck painted many members of the court in the 1630s (he settled in England in 1632 and was then based in London until his death in 1641). Courtiers were painted in their best clothes, very often in official robes or with a symbol of their office or occupation; sometimes they were in mythological or pastoral dress. Pastoral was popular with Van Dyck's sitters.[33] They were often painted against a background of classical sculpture, an urn on a pedestal or a pillar. Van Dyck's portrait of Thomas Killigrew and Thomas Carew (1638) shows them each holding a paper. Carew's may be a poem and Killigrew's is a picture of two female figures on pedestals, possibly a design for a monument to his wife and her sister the

33 D. Piper, Catalogue of Seventeenth-century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery 1625-1714 (Cambridge, 1963), pp. xiv-xvi.

Countess of Cleveland. Carew knew them and their brother John Crofts. The emblematic broken pillar in the background is in keeping with the portrait's theme.[34] Daniel Mytens painted Charles with the Crown Jewels and the Earl of Arundel standing in front of his famous statue gallery.[35] A portrait of Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, a chemist and the royal physician, has in the background a statue of Aesculapius and a lighthouse, probably alluding to the Pharos of Alexandria as a symbol of ancient science.[36] In the early 1640s William Dobson painted Endymion Porter in hunting dress, with a gun, a dead rabbit, a dog and a page. To his right is a bust of Apollo (perhaps a reference to the bust in the Apollo Tavern over Jonson's chair) and to his left a sculptured relief of the arts, Painting, Sculpture and Poetry with Minerva.[37]

After the civil wars had begun Dobson was with the court at Oxford, where he painted many of its members. There is a strong contrast between these portraits and those of the 1630s court. Most of Dobson's sitters are in armour with the crimson Royalist sash. A typical example is Richard Neville, who wears a breastplate and the sash. He has a pistol, a helmet and a dog (which may be a symbol of loyalty), and stands in front of a sculptured relief of a warrior. On his right in the distance there is a cavalry charge. The equivalent space in Dobson's portrait of Porter is occupied by a tree against the sunset.

[34] See Carew, Poems, pp. xliv-xlv, and the frontispiece.

[35] See pp. 193-4 below.

[36] D. Piper, Catalogue of Seventeenth-century Portraits, pp. 228-9.

[37] M. Rogers, William Dobson, 1611-46 (National Portrait Gallery, 1983), pp. 13, 33-4. Rogers thinks this portrait was painted in London before 1642.

The backgrounds of portraits suggest the peace of the 1630s, but there is another important point about them. It was a common compositional device to show the sitter indoors against a curtain drawn at one side, or a pillar, to show a landscape receding into the distance. The Mytens portrait of Arundel looks through the gallery to a distant prospect of hills and water. His portrait of Charles I shows the shore and the sea through a pillared balustrade, and the background (by van Steenwyck the Younger) to one of Henrietta Maria looks through a colonnade and a cloister to distant hills.[38] This is very different from Tudor court portraits, which generally have a background of flat colour, and very similar to the function of perspective in contemporary gardens and masque settings, where the eye is always being drawn through an opening, such as an arch, to a wider distant scene. Although the lines of perspective narrow to a central point, the scene itself suggests expansion as the eye moves from a room to a garden and through a narrow to a wide open space.[39]

The gardens that were designed for the Jacobean and Caroline courts were still visibly descended from the medieval garden, which was a walled enclosure with built-up banks of turf, fountains, trees, scented plants, and walks. It was artificial, but imitated nature, and formal, though it was designed for recreation. The classic description of the medieval garden is that in The Romance of the Rose. In that garden the allegory is acted out, but it does not itself represent experiences or states of mind. In the Renaissance that began to change.

[38] D. Piper, Catalogue of Seventeenth-century Portraits, pp. 61, 161.

[39] See J.D. Hunt, Garden and Grove (1986), pp. 119-120, on perspective in garden design.

Gardens began to fill up with classical allusions, first of all because they were places where statues could be displayed.[40] This fashion developed, in sixteenth-century Italy, in such a way that the antique statues incorporated fountains (the medieval garden had had simple cup-fountains), and the fountain-statues were incorporated in grottos which were tableaux of the mythological event to which the statue belonged. The fountain might also be developed to become part of a hydraulic system that showed figures permanently in action. For example, a statue of Diana might be incorporated into a grotto that showed Diana bathing with her nymphs surprised by Actaeon. These grottos were then to be read allegorically, so that Actaeon became a figure of ungoverned desire in a garden which might contain figures of other controlled or uncontrolled passions. The whole garden developed an allegorical programme.

This trend was affected by another, which began from the perception that the garden was the province of the architect and ought to be designed together with the house. The view of the garden as an architectural, rather than a botanical, creation brought the questions of what the garden was for and how it was to be looked at into greater prominence. It became a demonstration of art controlling nature, like the grottos on a larger scale. The element of water was taken up from the simple fountain or stream and used in extraordinary hydraulic tableaux because it offered a dynamic element: art could be seen in action controlling nature. William Strode's description of the extremes of invention in The Floating Island (1636) satirises these great gardens as attempts to overcome rather than co-operate with

40 See R. Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England (1979).

nature:

> Why have I not my Beds stuffd all with wind,
> Baths fill'd with Maydew, Flowers preserv'd till winter,
> As well as Snow till Summer: choisest Fruits
> Growing and ripe in midst of *January*?...
> Why not in drought an Artificial rain,
> Scattered by spowtes, to cheer my Paradise?...
> Consorts well play'd by water; Pictures taught
> By secret Organs both to move and speak:
> We spend our selves too much upon the Taylour;
> I rather would new mold new fashion Nature.[41]

In the sixteenth century, while these trends in garden design were developing in Italy, England was cut off from their influence, because it was virtually impossible for the non-diplomat to travel there. In England the great garden began as the royal garden. Its mere existence was an emblem of royal greatness and splendour, and it was filled with royal emblems and heraldic badges to drive the point home. During Elizabeth's reign the garden became a setting for the personal cult of the monarch, and the heraldic badges gave place to personal *imprese* (pillars, for example, which were one of Elizabeth's personal emblems). These made a background against which allegorical scenes welcoming and praising the monarch could be acted out. The Lady of May, Sidney's pastoral entertainment for Queen Elizabeth, was set in the gardens of Wanstead manor, and on a larger scale the gardens and lake of Kenilworth were designed as a stage for Leicester's great royal entertainment of 1575. The sixteenth-century English garden was a garden to be read, like the Italian ones, but it put a strong emphasis on a personal cult.

> Under James the route to Italy opened up and the new fashions in

[41] Strode, The Poetical Works, ed. B. Dobell (1907), pp. 185-6. The Floating Island was performed before the court in Oxford in 1636, and published in 1655.

garden design came in.[42] There were terraces, grottos, islands in lakes, huge stone giants, hydraulic displays, *parterres de broderie* and terraces to view all these from. Emblematic geometry and allegorical grottos developed into gardens which were laid out in their entirety according to a programme. The visitor to the garden at Wilton, for example, which was begun in 1632, walked from the house through *parterres* with emblems of chastity to a contrasting wilderness, made asymmetrical by a river, with statues of Flora and Bacchus - gods of excess and abundance. After this came an area concentrated on an antique statue of a gladiator, for chivalry. These gardens became contexts which reinterpreted the house and its owners; the Earl and Countess of Pembroke were to be seen as the inhabitants of gardens of chastity and chivalry. 1630s gardens were usually 'inhabited' places, because they were full of statues. Arundel kept part of his collection of marbles in his garden, so that Francis Bacon is supposed to have thought, when he saw it, that it was the general resurrection. Sir John Danvers had statues of shepherds and shepherdesses in his garden at Chelsea: John Aubrey noted their 'antique innocent simplicitie'.[43]

Gardens like this brought pastoral to life. They embodied, in three dimensions, the classical, mythological, Golden Age pastoral of the court. They were emblematic of the themes of the court masques. They showed the courtier an idyllic islanded space where nature was civilised by art: 'orchards, gardens, bowers, mounts, and arbours, artificial wildernesses, green thickets, arches, groves, lawns,

[42] Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England, pp. 148-80.
[43] J.D. Hunt, Garden and Grove, p. 128.
[44] Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), part 2, section 2, mem. 4.

rivulets, fountains, and such-like pleasant places.'[44] From these his eye was led by the designer's perspective to distant hills or water, exactly as in contemporary portraits. In its gardens and pictures the court's view of an Arcadian Britain was in some ways actually realised. As a symbol, and in fact, the garden was a place of 'security, property, ease, repose, and escape.'[45]

In masques the court was represented to itself, by itself. The court masques were performed to show the king or queen in a role that was not the same as their role in real life, and yet interpreted it. In this way the masque was an alternative world. It is not the same as a play because the everyday identity of the participants is as important as their fictional identity: any actor could play Hamlet but only Charles I could play Albanactus. In the course of the masque the fictional role of the masquer is superimposed on his ordinary self. In the same way the setting of the masque interacts with Britain. The king's realm, as well as the king, is given a part to play that interprets itself. When the court masques show an an Arcadian Britain they do not intend simple escapism. They are trying to educate perception by costuming their actors for their mythical Arcadian roles, in order to demonstrate the Arcadian character of real life.

The settings, which were designed by Inigo Jones, were an important part of Caroline masques. By the 1630s the court masque had a firm structure, developed by Ben Jonson, consisting of an introduction (to explain the plot, or invention), antimasque, masque, revels, and an epilogue. The antimasque is a foil to the masque dance, which presents the disguised masquers (the king or queen and their

[45] C. Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (1958), p. 349.

nobles) in their roles; they are merged with the rest of the court in the revels. In Jones's masques the epilogue took the form of a final tableau in which emblematic scenery played a large part and the symbolic meaning of the masque was summed up in songs. Scenery was also important in the masque itself; since the masquers did not speak, it had to do much of the work of conveying the meaning of antimasque and masque. Luminalia, for instance, used strong visual contrasts between Night (very dimly lit, with the dream-like City of Sleep) and the brightly-lit Garden of the Britanides to convey the symbolic message of the masque: the queen, embodying light, drives out darkness. Jones loaded every piece of scenery in his masques with significance, including the proscenium arch. The arch for Britannia Triumphans, a typical enough example, showed figures of Naval Victory and Right Government, the two themes of the masque, with the motto 'Virtutis Opus' (alluding to Virgil, Aeneid x. 468-9, 'sed famam extendere factis, hoc virtutis opus', 'to lengthen fame by deeds is the task of valour').[46] Probably the audience could not take all this in at the single performance, but it was described in some detail in the published versions, which were issued soon after the performances.[47]

Five of the 1630s masques include a role for Britain in one way or another. The first was Albion's Triumph, by Aurelian Townshend, the king's Twelfth Night masque for 1632. The occasion for the masque is that Albanactus is to celebrate a triumph from Albipolis, the chief city of Albion. Albanactus is Charles - the etymology is explained as

[46] S. Orgel & R. Strong, Inigo Jones, p. 662. The words for both Luminalia and Britannia Triumphans were by Davenant.

[47] The publisher for all the court masques after 1634, and one or two earlier ones, was Thomas Walkley. See p. 140 below.

'in Albania natus', born in Scotland. This is explained to the audience by Mercury in the first scene, which shows a Roman atrium. The atrium is a perspective scene of grand classical columns, suggesting an imperial palace. The next two scenes show a forum, where Albanactus's triumph is seen to pass in the distance, and an amphitheatre where two citizens discuss the triumph. It becomes clear that the setting for the masque is a Romano-British city - very Roman as to its buildings, but evoking pre-Saxon Britain in its names. Pre-Saxon Britain was important for the Stuart kings, as we have seen, because it was the last time that the country was a political whole (except for the far north). Britain was Roman then, and in the Renaissance, like other European countries, she used to claim the inheritance of Rome's authority. William Camden began his Britannia with an account of the myths of early Britain, such as the arrival of its Trojan founder Brute. Although he was sceptical about these stories, he provided a different sort of ancient authority for the country by quoting every possible reference to Britain in classical literature.[48] Before the arrival of Saxons, Normans, and continental influences, Britain was Celtic; in the Renaissance she took Celtic life and religion (the Druids) to symbolise her indigenous culture. (The Celts were migrants too, but that was either not known or ignored.) Albion's Triumph, then, represents Charles in both a Roman and a Celtic Britain. (The fourth scene shows a grove of trees leading to the Temple of Love. The temple is Roman, but groves were inseparably associated with druids.) The final tableau, described above, shows modern London and the court as the culmination of an imperial Roman and an indigenous British culture.

[48] Camden, Britain, Or a Chorographicall Description, pp. 34-88.

The next masque with a British setting was by Townshend's correspondent Carew: Coelum Britannicum, the King's Shrovetide masque for 1634. The first scene shows a 'great city of the ancient Romans or civilized Britons', but this time it is in ruins. Again Mercury descends to announce the action of the masque. Jupiter has decided to reform the heavens, and is going to set about it by replacing the constellations with the British court (already reformed by Charles). He summons the primitive Britons to witness the glory of their descendants. As in Albion's Triumph, Charles's Britain is shown as the heir of pre-Saxon Britain, the intervening centuries being ignored. The implication is that Charles has restored the civilisation and glory of Roman Britain, shown in ruins. (Charles and Inigo Jones were planning Palladian buildings for London at the time.) The primitive Britons appear in a scene of high mountains and rocky crags, where a hill rises out of the earth. Seated on this hill are the Genius of Great Britain (a young man with a cornucopia) and the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.[49] The kingdoms summon Druids and Rivers (musicians) and sing to the queen:

> These are th'Hesperian bowers, whose fair trees bear
> Rich golden fruit, and yet no dragon near.[50]

They summon forth the 'British Hercules', the king (it was one of Hercules's tasks to pick an apple from the Hesperides). On this the lower part of the hill reveals the masquers dressed as ancient heroes (in yellow with plumed helms), lighted by noblemen's sons 'apparelled after the old British fashion' (in white coats with round feathered

[49] The kings of England went on claiming France until well into the next century, but the kingdom of France does not appear. This is an emblem of the island, not of the monarchy.

[50] S. Orgel & R. Strong, Inigo Jones, p. 578. Carew, Poems, pp. 178-81.

caps). Their dance is followed by the stellification of the British nobles and the ascent of the Genius of Great Britain into the heavens. The chorus presents the masquers to the queen, after their dance, as legendary British heroes.

> We bring Prince Arthur, or the brave
> Saint George himself, great Queen, to you;
> You'll soon discern him; and we have
> A Guy, a Bevis, or some true
> Round Table knight as ever fought
> For lady, to each beauty brought.

After the revels (against a background of a garden and a villa) the final tableau shows a great cloud, covering the whole scene, out of which descend Religion, Truth, Wisdom, Concord, Government and Reputation. Above, Eternity and the fifteen British stars appear, 'And in the lower part was seen afar off the prospect of Windsor Castle, the famous seat of the most honourable Order of the Garter'.[51]

The masques of 1638, by Davenant, contrast modern Britain with fantasy scenes, instead of calling up ancient Britons. Appearing among the City of Sleep, a Giant's Tower, and a Horrid Hell, their scenes of Britain seem as if they must be realistic - though they are, of course, an angled presentation of the country. Britannia Triumphans, the King's Twelfth Night masque for 1638, begins with a scene of 'English houses of the old and newer forms intermixed with trees, and afar off a prospect of the city of London and the river Thames; which, being a principal part, might be taken for all of Great Britain'.[52] The audience saw a perspective view down a street (the 'newer forms' of houses have Dutch scrolled gables) to St. Paul's, across the river Thames. This scene which stands for 'all of Great Britain' thus gives

[51] See p. 153 below.
[52] S. Orgel & R. Strong, Inigo Jones, p. 662.

a prominent place to St. Paul's, a royalist symbol of the restoration of Church and State and of the reforms of Archbishop Laud.[53] The theme of the masque is reality and deceit, and the antimasques take place in fantasy scenes. The final tableau, however, returns the audience to modern Britain. It shows a sea scene with a ship in the distance and a rocky harbour on the right. In the foreground there is a large ship, probably supposed to be the Sovereign of the Seas (launched in 1637), which was, like St. Paul's, a symbol of the royal policies of the 1630s. It was paid for by Ship Money, one of the most extreme of Charles's devices to raise money without a Parliament. Ship Money was a tax on coastal counties in time of war or impending war; Charles levied it on inland counties as well, in a time of peace, and it was very greatly resented. In the masque, after songs which celebrate Britain's rule of the seas, a large fleet appears (perhaps the Ship Money fleet), tacks about, and enters the harbour. These two opening and closing scenes are a partisan view of modern Britain. The answering masque, Luminalia (the queen's Shrovetide masque for 1638), does not show Britain, but its action depends on the familiar identification of Britain with the Hesperides. The explanation of the action is so interesting in this context that it needs to be quoted at length.

> The subject of the main masque of light was thus introduced. The muses being long since drawn out of Greece by the fierce Thracians, their groves withered and all their springs dried up, and out of Italy by the barbarous Goths and Vandals, they wandered here and there indecently without their ornaments and instruments, the arch-flamens and flamens, their prophetic priests, being constrained either to live in disguises or hide their heads in caves; and in some places, whensoever they began to appear, they were, together with peace, driven out by war; and in the more civilised parts, where they hoped to have taken some rest, Envy and Avarice by clipping the wings of Fame drave

[53] See pp. 74-5 below.

> them into a perpetual storm, till by the divine minds of these incomparable pair, the muses and they were received into protection and established in this monarchy, to the encouragement and security of those well-born wits represented by the Prophetic Priests of the Britanides. The scene where this goddess of brightness was discovered was styled the garden of the Britanides, or muses of Great Britain, not inferior in beauty to that of the Hesperides, or that of Alcinous celebrated by Homer. The conclusion of all was an applause and confirmation of those deities of second causes by whose influence at this prefixed time the Britanides and their Prophetic Priests were to be established in this garden by the unanimous and magnificent virtues of the King and Queen's majesties' making this happy island a pattern to all nations, as Greece was amongst the ancients.[54]

It makes the political points associated with this theme: the Muses are driven out by war, but they flourish in a land that is at peace under good government. The scene in which the masquers appear is the Garden of the Britanides. No design has survived for it, but according to the description it showed 'a delicious prospect, wherein were rows of trees, fountains, statues, arbours, grottos, walks' - like the garden of a great house.

Salmacida Spolia (the king's and queen's Twelfth Night masque for 1640) was the last court masque. It acknowledges that the political situation was troubled. It was a presentation of reality, not a total fiction; it could not ignore the beginnings of civil war. The theme of the masque is discord and harmony in what a Fury describes as 'this over-lucky, too-much-happy isle'. The Fury, Discord, has been trying to disturb the country, but she is defeated by the 'secret wisdom' embodied in Philogenes (Charles).[55] The masque itself largely withdraws from enacting this theme, which is confined to the prologue except for an antimasque of three furies. All the other antimasques (there are twenty) are supposed to represent 'honest pleasures and

[54] S. Orgel & R. Strong, Inigo Jones, p. 706.
[55] Ibid., p. 730.

recreations, which have ever been peculiar to this nation'. (They include a quack doctor, three foreign pedants, a farmer, a shepherd and a country gentleman, four antique cavaliers and a magical sister of the Rosicross.)[56] The masquers' entry is treated simply as an opportunity for splendour, as the antimasques were for the grotesque. The settings also draw back from identifying Britain. Neither the landscape nor the city scene is made specifically English (in fact the landscape includes vineyards and the city's architecture is classical). It is a weak masque, and possibly it reflects a lack of confidence at court more than the troubled state of the country which it set out to address.

Possibly, however, Salmacida Spolia was unusually well aware of trouble. Elsewhere in royalist circles the Arcadian vision of Britain was still used. James Howell's odd but popular Dendrologia, a sort of history *a clef*, was first published in the same year, 1640. In it all the European countries are spoken of as forests, each province is a grove, the inhabitants are shrubs or plants, and the monarch is the typical tree. Thus the King of Spain is called the Olive, and the King of England the Oak. Under these names Howell recounts European and British history from James's accession to the Scottish wars of 1639 and 1640. He begins with descriptions of each country, in which all the familiar Arcadian characteristics of Britain are restated.

> There is a goodly *Forrest, Druina* by name, anciently called the *White Forrest,* wherein the royall *Oake* rules in chiefe... It was ordained by Heaven, that *She* should be principally protected by *Neptune,* who with a flying guard of brave winged Coursers doth engarrison her so strongly that, lying safe in his bosome, she may be said to be
> - - *Media insuperabilis Unda.*[57]

[56] S. Orgel & R. Strong, Inigo Jones, p. 731.
[57] James Howell, Dendrologia. Dodona's Grove, or the Vocall

Britain is protected by the sea and set apart from the world; and she has her own religion, dating from pre-Saxon times. In this case it is Christianity, not druidism.

> And now methinkes I am arrived in a *little new world*, so selfe sufficient that she seemes as it were to thrust away from her all the world besides, as being a *substantive that can stand by it selfe*.
>
> This is she upon whom the beames of true piety did shine in the very infancy, for no sooner had the *Roman* Eagles beene there displaid, but the *standard* of the crosse appeard...[58]

Conditions in this island are described in paradisal terms. Her sheep 'feed securely upon the luxurious honysuckled earth'. Howell mentions the reconstruction of St. Paul's and the building of the Sovereign of the Seas, the two great symbols of Charles's policies. He stresses the extraordinary peace of Britain compared to her neighbours:

> And now that all the neighbouring Forrests, which had been formerly *shaken*, and *riven* with the thunderbolts of war, did admire and envie the sweete peace and serenity of *Druina*, her Royall *Oke* being onely
>
> - - *Medijs tranquillus in undis;*
>
> Behold an unhappy *mist* did rise to the North in *Cardenia*, (and *Cardenia is knowne to bee much subject to mists,*)[59]

(Cardenia is Scotland, called after the thistle). This mist represents the Scottish wars of 1639 and 1640, whipped up, according to Howell, by 'obstreperous Sermocinators'. They ended the court's Arcadian decade.

Until the Scottish wars, however, the happy island of Britain was celebrated by the court as much as it was remembered later with the benefit of hindsight. The Arcadian court culture of the 1630s had taken the image of the blessed island and associated it with islanded

Forrest (1640), p. 5.

[58]Ibid., p. 39. Constantine was proclaimed emperor in Britain, and his mother Helen was born there. See Dendrologia, p. 75.

[59]Ibid., p. 213.

and ordered environments: the timeless pastoral world, the emblematic garden, the masque in which ordinary life was reworked as if in a ceremonious dance. It was an 'artificial wilderness', a place where nature and art met. Sidney's Arcadia was an inhabited landscape, 'a show... of an accompanable solitarinesse and of a civil wildness.' Herrick uses the phrase of sleep governed by music.

> Bind up his senses with your numbers, so,
> As to entrance his paine, or cure his woe.
> Fall gently, gently, and a while him keep
> Lost in the civill Wildernesse of sleep.[60]

In the 1630s this image of ordered nature was expressed in gardens, portraits, and above all masques. After the Scottish wars it was of necessity confined to books.

[60] *'To Musick, to becalme a sweet-sick-youth.'*, 99.3 (H-244).

II Alternative worlds in England

ii. Jerusalem

The Arcadian vision of Britain depended on the idea of a blessed island separate from the rest of the world. This idea was also present in religious writing, but there the common paradisal image was a Biblical one instead of the Golden Age features of Arcadia: 'they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid.'[1] Like the Arcadian references, this image was common before the 1630s, and it was applied to that decade afterwards by people looking back to a time of peace. It appears in Cranmer's speech at the end of Henry VIII, prophesying the blessings of Elizabeth's reign:

> In her dayes, Euery Man shall eate in safety,
> Vnder his owne Vine what he plants; and sing
> The merry Songs of Peace to all his Neighbours.[2]

Izaak Walton used it in the 1640s to recall an idyllic time of peace for Britain's shepherds. The shepherds, in this context - the preface to Francis Quarles's The Shepheards Oracles (1646) - are ministers of religion.

> I... may not, cannot expresse what musicke the Gods and Wood-nymphs made within... this holy day: which began in harmelesse mirth, and (for Bacchus and his gang were absent) ended in love and peace, which *Pan* (for only he can doe it) continue in *Arcadia; and restore to the disturbed island of* Britannia, *and grant that each honest Shepheard may again sit under his own Vine and Fig-tree, and feed his own flock, and with love enjoy the fruits of peace, and be more thankfull.*[3]

[1] Micah 4: 4; also I Kings 4: 25 and II Kings 18: 31-2.
[2] Shakespeare, Henry VIII V. v. 33-5.
[3] Quarles, Complete Works, ed. A.B. Grosart (Edinburgh, 1880-1), iii. 202.

Both images, the Arcadian island and the island church, laid great stress on peace. The image of the Arcadian island made it harder to remember Britain's connections with Europe; the image of the island church made it easier to deny British involvement in European religious struggles because it meant that the British church was thought of as a self-contained body. In the early years of the European war (in 1621), when James I was under pressure from Buckingham and Prince Charles to intervene abroad, William Laud preached before the court on the king's birthday and took as his text verses from Psalm 122, 'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; let them prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and properity within thy palaces.' His sermon advanced Laud in the king's favour and supported James in his policy of peace. James ordered it to be printed.[4] Laud preached again on a text from the same psalm at the opening of Parliament in February 1626, when Charles's reign was just beginning (the text may have been chosen by Charles): 'Jerusalem is builded as a city, that is at unity in itself.'[5] He began the sermon by explaining the image of Jerusalem.

> Jerusalem stands here in the letter for the city, and in type and figure for the State, and the Church of Christ. My text looks upon both; and upon the duty which the Jews did then, and which we now do, owe to both. The 'Temple', the type of the Church, that is for God's service. No temple but for that. The 'city', the type of the State, that is for the people's peace. No happy State but in that.[6]

Thinking of Britain as Jerusalem meant that it must be at peace in itself as well as with its neighbours. Laud's sermon to Parliament

[4] Laud, Works, ed. W. Scot & J. Bliss (Oxford, 1847-60), i. 3-29. C. Carlton, Archbishop William Laud (1987), p. 26.
[5] Laud, Works, i. 63-90.
[6] Ibid., pp. 63-4.

stressed the importance of unity between Church and state, symbolised by Jerusalem which was the capital city and the site of the Temple. The image had other associations: the Biblical Jerusalem was not only the old city, which was captured and humiliated when Israel sinned, but also the promised New Jerusalem, the heavenly city of the Revelation of St John. The New Jerusalem, a symbol of the Church, was to be realised on earth under certain conditions, and in the Biblical contexts one of the most important of these was, again, peace. Both Laud's sermons on Psalm 122 argue from the idea of Britain as Jerusalem's successor to the importance of peace between church and state, between the king and his people, and unity regarding means and ends in the whole commonwealth.

As well as the idea of the heavenly city, a British Jerusalem was part of the older tradition of an English Israel. Milton, writing about England in 1641, referred to the covenant and the release from captivity, landmarks in Israel's history:

> O thou that... of thy *free grace* didst motion *Peace*, and termes of Cov'nant with us, & having first welnigh freed us from *Antichristian* thraldome, didst build up this *Britannick Empire* to a glorious and enviable heighth with all her Daughter Ilands about her, stay us in this felicitie...[7]

Israel's history was a pattern for Britain's: Milton is just about to refer to the '*Spanish Armado*' as evidence of God's protective care for his people the British. Milton was not being innovatory. The view of Britain as the heir of Israel was already well established, largely by John Foxe's Book of Martyrs (Actes and Monuments, first published in 1563). Like the parallel with Jerusalem, this tradition produced an

[7] John Milton, 'Of Reformation', Complete Prose Works (1953), i. 614.

exclusive view of Britain. In the Old Testament, only Israel among all the nations was the chosen people of God. The English had succeeded to this position of unique privilege. Only the British Church could be Jerusalem. It was separate from all other churches.

> Blessed be God, whose love it was
> To double-moat thee with his grace,
> And none but thee.

Nothing else, but only Herbert's 'British Church', is a true embodiment of God's purposes.[8] The English were a chosen people with a unique inheritance in their church. Herbert describes it as moated, encircled by water, as the whole island of Britain was surrounded and cut off from Europe. Britain itself was an island church. At the same time, within the island, there were various movements to make the church, Laud's 'Temple', more self-contained, more peaceful, and more orderly.

Laud, who preached on Jerusalem before James and Charles, became Bishop of London in 1628 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He had a passion for order, like Charles, and embarked with him on a disruptive programme of reform to achieve it in the church. As an institution the church needed a good deal of reform: some of Laud's objectives indicate how much it was in disarray. He wanted to improve its economic position, guard its property, and restore its buildings. Other reforms were aimed at establishing a firm central control over the church by making the hierarchy work as a bureaucratic chain of control. Bishops were to reside in their dioceses and visit the parishes regularly. They reported annually to the archbishop. All

8 George Herbert, 'The British Church', Works, ed. F.E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941), p. 109.

churches were to adhere to the Book of Common Prayer without alterations or omissions. Laud tried to extend this even to churches outside England, such as those attached to mercenary regiments in Holland, and he was angry when the Bishop of Dunblane was reported to have omitted parts of the English Prayer Book services in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood.[9] The independence from Canterbury of the Scottish bishops was only technical under Charles and Laud, who were working vigourously for conformity. Laud also tried to eliminate alien churches of French and Walloon refugees, which had been given permission to hold their own services in England; he ordered that only those born abroad could attend, and their children born in England must join the English Church.[10] Laud's church was to function efficiently as a centralised administrative organisation which was relatively free of interference from outside. Although he worked closely with the king (who was, after all, the church's Supreme Governor), he resented any encroachment by secular courts on what he regarded as church territory.

It was Laud's aim to make the Church of England a self-contained and well-integrated body - not so much an island, perhaps, as a good Government department. But it was more than a department of government; it was part of the fabric of the nation. The image of Jerusalem united the secular city with the religious heaven. Laud's British Jerusalem must do the same by uniting church and state. 'The Church can have no being but in the commonwealth... and the Commonwealth can have no blessed and happy being but by the church.'[11]

[9] Carlton, Archbishop William Laud, pp. 157-8.
[10] Ibid., p. 88.
[11] Sermon of June 1621, Works i. 6. H.R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud (1965), p. 5.

This unity was not only theoretical. It was to be achieved by the enforcement of conformity with the king's orders for the church throughout the country. Laud revived the practice of holding a visitation of all the dioceses in his province in 1634 (it was much resented), and sent out lists of questions to his bishops which covered every possible detail and asked, more generally, 'whether are his Majesty's instructions in all things duly observed?'[12] Laud tended to concentrate on material details as an outward sign of conformity. All churches were to have the communion table at the east end, they were all to be furnished with good cloths and plate, and they were to be kept in good material repair because it was an essential corollary of a good spiritual state. Laud said in a speech at the trial of three Puritans, 'For my own part, I take myself bound to worship with body as well as in soul, whenever I come where God is worshipped.'[13]

When such importance was attached to material details they easily became symbols of Laud's policy. One of the most important of these was the refurbishment of St Paul's Cathedral, because its decay and disorder represented the need for reform in the church and the building itself was important enough to represent the Church of England as a whole. The roof and spire of St Paul's had been damaged by lightning in the 1560s and the building was a meeting-place and a thoroughfare for all sorts of people. In 1631 a royal commission was set up to restore it. Inigo Jones designed a portico for the west front in a Palladian style based on Il Gesu, the Jesuits' mother

[12] Visitation Articles for the diocese of Winchester. P.E. More & F.L. Cross, Anglicanism (1935), pp. 702-15.

[13] Speech in Star Chamber, 14 June 1637. P.E. More & F.L. Cross, Anglicanism, p. 607.

[14] Carlton, Archbishop William Laud, p. 94.

church in Rome.[14] More than anything else, the restoration of St Paul's identified Laudian reform specifically with the court. (The reforms were, of course, already associated with the king, who supported them. It was the court as a social group, rather than the court as the government, that became associated with St Paul's.) Inigo Jones was the court's architect and neo-classicism was the style of its new houses. Jones's design was based on a Catholic church, and Roman Catholicism was gaining ground at court. The conversion of several noblewomen under the influence of Henrietta Maria's priests had caused concern to their husbands and considerable annoyance to Laud. Laud was not sympathetic to the Roman church, although popular opinion held that he was a closet Roman Catholic himself and that Arminianism was Romanism in disguise. Arminianism was a doctrine of modified Calvinism to which Laud held; it had gained ground in the Church of England very rapidly in the 1620s and 1630s, disrupting the older doctrinal consensus.[15] Laud's temple, St Paul's (which looked like a classical temple when Jones's portico was in place), was supposed to be a symbol of order, renewal, and decorum, but it was also a symbol of how disruptive his reforms were and how closely they were associated with the court, which was ecclesiastically suspect to the rest of the country.

The High Church of Charles's reign was not entirely Laudian. The Laudian clergy represented its political wing, but there were other elements which disapproved of his use of the church courts to assert

[15] How disruptive Arminianism was is a debated point. See N. Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in C. Russell (ed.), The Origins of the English Civil War (1973), 119-143; P. White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present ci (1983), 34-54; P.G. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', Past and Present cxiv (1987), 32-76.

an overbearing authority that was seen as going beyond the proper work of the Church. They were, however, just as interested in the material embodiment of the New Jerusalem in a beautified church. Nicholas Ferrar created two temples himself in the 1630s while Laud was restoring the great national symbol of St Paul's. One was the community of Little Gidding, and the other was his edition of George Herbert's poetry, The Temple (1633). They also shared Laud's aim of establishing 'decency' in churches, suitable behaviour and surroundings for worship. Decency was not simply a matter of tidying up, out of concern for appearances. Its aim was the perfect integration of appearance and reality, matter and spirit, so that the visible and material Church became fully a vehicle for the invisible Church - became what it was supposed to be, the Body of Christ. It is this aim which lies behind Herbert's explanation to his Bemerton parishioners of how they should conduct themselves in church:

> A Christian congregation calling... upon God with one heart and one voice, and in one reverent posture, looks as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.[16]

It looks like Jerusalem and it is becoming Jerusalem. On this view the Church, as well as dispensing the sacraments, is a sacrament itself.

The community of Little Gidding was founded in 1626 by Nicholas Ferrar and consisted of himself, his mother, the families of his brother and sister, and in course of time three elderly widows, three single men who acted as schoolmasters, and a number of boys who were there for their education. The basis of the community's life was the daily use of the Prayer Book offices. With these, and with hourly

16 Izaak Walton, 'Life of Herbert', The Complete Angler & The Lives (1901), p. 403.

psalms and readings and a nightly vigil, it kept up a continuous round of prayer, keeping to the Prayer Book or Scripture (except for a few hymns). The community life was strictly guarded. There were many visitors, but they were never asked to stay in the community. Even King Charles, who visited them in the early 1630s, in March 1642 and in May 1646, when he was in flight from Parliamentary forces, stayed near by but not in the community. It did not become a semi-collegiate retreat for Christian intellectuals, like Great Tew and some other country houses, in spite of the interest aroused by the community's intellectual activities. (They made a concordance of the four Gospels; this was the reason for Charles's first visit.)

Apart from the round of prayer, the Little Gidding community spent its time in providing the necessities of the household and in the repair and refurnishing of the church. It took five years to restore the church and its attached buildings; when they arrived it had been used for some years as a barn. In the neighbouring parish of Leighton Bromswold the church was so ruinous that the congregation was using the Great Hall of the Duke of Lennox for services. Nicholas Ferrar was offered the prebend of Leighton Bromswold by its incumbent, George Herbert, but he refused it and persuaded Herbert to repair that church as well, which was done under the direction of John Ferrar. Izaak Walton described Leighton Bromswold after its restoration as 'a costly mosaic'.[17] 'Decency' was an elastic concept that stretched to include the relative austerity of the Ferrar-Herbert group, the practical measures of Laud (whose Visitation Articles stipulated that schools were not to be held in churches, otherwise the windows would

[17] Walton, 'Life of Herbert', p. 386.

be broken) the replacement of wooden altar vessels with silver, the addition of music, painted windows, and altar cloths, and the restoration, by liturgists like Bishop Cosin, of practices that were by now definitely confined to the Roman church, such as the use of incense and candles. 'Decency' might allow anything that arguably enhanced the respect and receptiveness of the congregation for the service and added to the 'beauty of holiness'. At one end of the spectrum it justified visual ornaments such as candles and windows: at the Little Gidding end it was decidedly verbal, aimed at enhancing the effect of the word preached. The church at Little Gidding was painted inside with texts.[18] George Herbert described how a church should be kept in A Priest to the Temple: the parson must see that it is in good repair, and kept clean, decorated for festivals, equipped with the right books and with a Communion cloth and vessels, and painted with texts.

> And all this he doth, not as out of necessity, or as putting a holiness in the things, but as desiring to keep the middle way between superstition, and slovenlinesse, and as following the Apostles two great and admirable Rules in things of this nature: The first whereof is, *Let all things be done decently and in order:* The second, *Let all things be done to edification*, I *Cor.* 14.[19]

The point is to strike the right balance between the material object and its significance. The result is edification, a word more familiar in a puritan context.[20]

Little Gidding had other characteristics that made it more austere and 'puritan' than it seemed to its puritan opponents. It was

[18] Others were similarly decorated; see Marcus Whiffen, Stuart and Georgian Churches (1947), pp. 1-13.
[19] Herbert, Works, p. 246.
[20] See C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (1964), pp. 74, 174.

a lay community (Ferrar was a deacon but never took priest's orders) and therefore depended on the ministry of the local parish priest, much as any other devout household would have done. It was not a completely enclosed self-sufficent ecclesiastical community. As a lay household which used the Prayer Book offices it was not actually unique.[21] It always preserved its character as a family household (another effect of its discouragement of visitors). The sustaining principle of the community was not a rule, as it is for a religious order, but its coherence as a household.[22] In this it is similar in character to the puritan idea, mentioned above, of a godly household under a covenant, although any such likeness probably would have been strongly repudiated at the time. Little Gidding was unique in that it withdrew from the outside world, but its life was more like that of other devout households, puritan and high church, than that of a religious order. At Little Gidding they withdrew from the world to the round of prayer, whereas a puritan household combined devotional exercises with active life in the world. On the other hand the members of Ferrar's community did not withdraw as individuals from life in the world to the contemplative life. They retained the sort of commitments that were renounced by monks, notably family life. At Little Gidding, they created a secluded miniature model of what active life might ideally be, combining work with prayer. They did not aim at the contemplative life.

George Herbert was not a member of Little Gidding, but he was a friend of the community and his poems were edited for publication by

[21] G.W. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition (1941), p. 62.

[22] Thomas Docherty points out that its troubles were also those of a household - family disputes. On Modern Authority (Brighton, 1987), pp. 64-7.

Nicholas Ferrar.[23] Their title, The Temple, suggests an attempt to embody the Church in poetry parallel to Little Gidding's attempt to embody it in ordinary life. (It is not clear whether it was Ferrar or Herbert who called the collection The Temple.) From the outside, Little Gidding looks like a secluded monastic community leading the contemplative life. From the outside, Herbert's poems look like poetry about God, praising God, in line with their epigraph: 'In his temple doth every man speak of his honour' (Ps. 29). From the inside, however, Little Gidding looks like a model of the ideal active life. Inside Herbert's volume the reader finds not contemplation but secular and material details - the black and white stones of the church floor, flowers that wither, hair that turns white with age, a meal, the terms of a tenancy. The peculiarly effective quality of Herbert's images is that they are neither contemplative nor allegorical, but emblematic. He looks at them as well as through them; he leaves them in place. His images are like his own church windows:

> Doctrine and life, colours and light, in one
> When they combine and mingle, bring
> A strong regard and aw: but speech alone
> Doth vanish like a flaring thing,
> And in the eare, not conscience ring.[24]

The effect depends on the glass as well as the light, the secular analogy as well as the religious significance. In 'Redemption', which is placed very early in the volume, this emblematic mode is established. The placing is important: it comes after the basic ethical instruction of 'The Church-porch' (much of which is not specifically Christian), and after the poems of the Passion, the

[23] The Temple. Sacred poems and private ejaculations (Cambridge: T. Buck & R. Daniel, 1633). STC 13183. There were seven editions before 1649.

[24] 'The Windows', Works, p. 67.

centre of Christianity; 'Redemption' is the point at which the volume turns to individual Christian experience, what it is like, how it is lived in the Church year that follows. 'Good Friday' (the preceding poem) means redemption for the individual, and 'Redemption' goes straight out - outside the Church - to secular experience.

> Having been tenant long to a rich Lord,
> Not thriving, I resolved to be bold,
> And make a suit unto him, to afford
> A new small-rented lease, and cancell th' old.[25]

It is not quite allegory, because the meaning is always present - the key is given as well as the story. 'In heaven at his manour I him sought' - 'heaven' gives it away. But the religious implications of the story are left to be inferred:

> At length I heard a ragged noise and mirth
> Of theeves and murderers: there I him espied,
> Who straight, *Your suit is granted*, said, & died.

The effect of this technique is twofold. Its staggering understatement forces the reader to confront the sheer mystery of God. Herbert continually shows language failing.

> Then for thy passion - I will do for that -
> Alas, my God, I know not what.[26]

'Speech alone' vanishes in God's presence. 'Prayer', the act of communication with God, goes beyond articulate images, however dramatic or beautiful they are - the 'Christ-side-piercing spear', 'Church-bels beyond the starres heard': all that can be said in the end is that it is 'something understood'.[27] 'Jordan (II)' abandons the attempt to adorn the subject with language, finding nothing adequate

[25] 'Redemption', Works, p. 40.
[26] 'The Thanksgiving', Works, p. 35.
[27] 'Prayer (I)', Works, p. 51.

'to clothe the sunne'. It ends by resorting again to plain statement (what I called understatement earlier), which, emerging from a difficult context, is charged with the force of the inexpressible.

> But while I bustled, I might heare a friend
> Whisper, *How wide is all this long pretence!*
> *There is in love a sweetnesse readie penn'd:*
> *Copie out onely that, and save expense.*[28]

The point at which language fails is the point where the only response is to accept. This is the second effect of Herbert's technique: the analogy, the image, is not discarded once its meaning has been seen, any more than the window needs to be broken to let through the light. It is left in place, and has to be, because it offers a way of accepting. When the speaker cannot speak, he can only participate. In 'Love (III)' his attempts to explain, to atone, to retain some control of his own salvation, are defeated by the preventing humility of Christ. He must find the humility to accept it.

> Let my shame
> Go where it doth deserve.
> And know you not, sayes Love, who bore the blame?
> My deare, then I will serve.
> You must sit down, sayes Love, and taste my meat:
> So I did sit and eat.

The analogies of ordinary experience ('Love (III)' is about a meal) have to be left in place because it is through ordinary experience that the supernatural is mediated. Herbert makes this point himself in A Priest to the Temple, describing techniques of catechising.

> Thirdly, when the answerer sticks, an illustrating the thing by something else, which he knows, making what he knows to serve him in that which he knows not: As, when the Parson once

[28] 'Jordan (II)', Works, p. 102.
[29] 'Love (III)', Works, p. 188.

> demanded after other questions about man's misery; since man is so miserable, what is to be done? And the answerer could not tell; He asked him again, what he would do, if he were in a ditch? This familiar illustration made the answer so plaine, that he was even ashamed of his ignorance; for he could not but say, he would hast out of it as fast as he could.[30]

The Christian reads the world like an emblem, but, having read it, he does not stop living in it. There is in Herbert's poetry the same sacramental balance between the material object and its significance as there is in the life of Little Gidding, and the result is also the same, edification. He has shown that God is beyond words, and in so doing he has shown what Christianity is like. Inside The Temple we find the world, and within the world again we find the action of God, as in a temple. Calling Herbert's poems The Temple is not far different from calling Britain a halcyon's nest (in Albion's Triumph): it is costuming the ordinary world in what is felt to be its real meaning.[31]

The High Church held that the Church was catholic, universal, and extended beyond the boundaries in space and time of the Reformation, but they expressed their sense of the nature of the Church within the physical limits of individual buildings and ordinary active life. The mainstream of the Church of England held that their church, in its reformed state, was specially favoured and set apart by God; and they too expressed this in images for the Church of a limited and identifiable place.

The cult of Britain as a blessed island and the Foxean myth of England as an elect nation come together to make an image of an island Church. The island of Great Britain becomes a garden, a sacred garden,

[30] Herbert, Works, pp. 256-7.
[31] See pp. 49-50 above.

a new Paradise; the Church. This was the view of the group which looked for the New Jerusalem in the nation. It represented the majority of the contemporary Church of England, and the middle ground; its chief concern was the health of the national church. People who saw the Church in this way did not want to separate it from the world, either in Britain or in the smaller models of the godly commonwealth that they created in the American colonies. Their aim was the integration of religious and secular life (though secular life tended to come off worse). They were mostly Calvinist, out of sympathy with their Archbishops, and whatever their theological views they were puritan in temperament. They were opposed to unnecessary ceremonial and interested in verbal media for expounding the gospel. They believed strongly in an interventionist God, and were deeply conscious of their role and duties as his instruments. Their sense of Providential guidance often led on to apocalyptical expectations, and they saw their national church as another way, possibly the way, towards the final fulfilment of the Gospel in the coming of the New Jerusalem.

Though this group was in the majority in the 1630s, it was not in favour. Much of the attention of those who opposed Charles's religious policies was therefore turned to the colonies. If England's destiny was to fulfil Israel's role as the godly commonwealth, and if it was impossible to do this at home, then perhaps it could be done in America. The American colonies had always been described in paradisal terms, for example by Michael Drayton,[32] and it was widely held that

[32] 'To the Virginian Voyage', Poems, ed. J. Buxton (1953), i. 123-5.
[33] C. Webster, The Great Instauration, p. 44.

the American colonies might be the seat of the New Jerusalem.[33] George Herbert's 'The Church Militant' describes the westward movement of true religion, away from Britain -

> Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,
> Readie to passe to the *American* strand.[34]

- and sees this as a movement right round the globe to where religion began, in the east. This movement to the west is going towards the completion of history.

> When they have accomplished the round,
> And met in th'east their first and ancient sound,
> Judgement may meet them both & search them round.

It is not surprising that the image of the island church appears in connection with the colonies. The writers who use it, Waller and Marvell, make it an image of a church occurring naturally among the rocks. Waller claims that the Bermudas are naturally sacred.

> The lofty Cedar which to Heaven aspires,
> The Prince of Trees is fewel for their fires:
> The smoak by which their loaded spits do turn
> For incense, might on sacred Altars burn.[35]

Marvell's 'Bermudas' picks up the same details about ambergris and cedars. His Bermudas represent the perfect integration of the natural and the divine worlds. Religion has arrived on the shores of these islands like the precious pearls that cover them. There is no need for the colonists to build a church. The island is naturally a church.

[34] 'The Church Militant', Works, p. 196. According to Izaak Walton the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, who licensed The Temple for publication, objected to these lines, but Nicholas Ferrar insisted on including them. Ferrar himself had family connections with the Virginia Company. He chose it in preference to an academic career and worked for it from 1618 until it collapsed in 1623.

[35] 'The Battle of the Summer Islands', Poems, ed. G. Thorn Drury (1893), p. 66.

> He cast (of which we rather boast)
> The Gospels Pearl upon our Coast,
> And in these Rocks for us did frame
> A Temple, where to sound his Name.[36]

At home, however, the image of a blessed island church was more difficult to justify. By the 1630s the myth of England as the elect nation, which was largely the creation of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, had become associated with the half-legendary memory of the reign of Elizabeth.[37] England had been united at home in both church and state under a 'godly prince' who opposed the power of Spain and the Pope and gave assistance to continental Protestants. Foxean history plays, dramatising the struggle between the godly prince and wicked prelates and papists, were still being acted in the 1630s.[38] People were looking back to Elizabeth's reign with nostalgia for this ideal integrity of church, nation and ruler. The diarist John Chamberlain recorded the opinion of Members of Parliament in 1625:

> that all goes backward since this connivence in religion came in, both in our wealth, valor, honor, and reputation, and that yt is visiblie seen that God blesses nothing we take in hand, whereas in Quene Elizabeths time who stoode firme in Gods cause all thinges did flourish.[39]

They looked forward to a time when the promise of Elizabeth's reign would be fulfilled. In the present, with a foreign policy that tended to favour Spain and did not assist continental Protestants, and a king

[36] 'Bermudas', Poems, ed. H.M. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1971), pp. 17-18. Christopher Hill suggests that Marvell's Bermudan 'garden-island' is an idealized England. See Puritanism and Revolution (1958), p. 359.

[37] See R.M. Smuts, Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 21-2, 29.

[38] Martin Butler, Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642 (Cambridge, 1984), p. 200.

[39] John Chamberlain, Letters, ed. N.E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), ii. 626.

who was not acting as a 'godly prince' on the puritan model should in his care of the church, the sense of the special destiny of England was not abandoned. It was often expressed by comparing England to Israel (a type of the Church as well as the original elect nation) and in the Old Testament history of Israel there were many precedents for backsliding. This myth of England was not, however, the property of one party only. Its role in opposition is well known: what is interesting for the understanding of court writing is that it is also used by puritan loyalists.

The Paul's Cross sermons were the voice of popular nationalist religion. They were also the voice of official policy, and were sometimes used deliberately to shape public opinion. Their typical theme, since the reign of Elizabeth (and perhaps earlier), was the security of the nation, warning of the dangers of complacency as well as giving thanks for special blessings. As there were new occasions for thanksgiving for deliverance - the Armada, the Gunpowder Plot - the theme was strengthened. The anniversaries of these events were celebrated annually, and there were other national holy days (royal birthdays and accession days - the accession of Elizabeth was still being celebrated well into the seventeenth century) which had to some extent replaced the old church calendar. The celebration of such days encouraged the special identification of England, as a nation, with her Church - the national cult. The Paul's Cross pulpit, where the preachers spoke as the ministers of the ecclesiastical arm of the national commonwealth, was particularly associated with sermons to mark such days. They were preached in the centre of the City of London, quite often in the presence of the City dignitaries, and they

address all the estates of the realm.

John Jones, curate and lecturer at St Michael's, Bassishaw, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross on 7 August 1630 which was published in 1633 under the title Londons Looking Backe to Ierusalem. In it he traced - without overt political reference - exactly this pattern of England's blessings and her present sinfulness and warns of judgment to come. His argument is based on the customary parallel between England and Israel. London, Jerusalem's successor, is to take warning by Jerusalem's fate. It is liable to the same destruction unless it mends its ways. Jones describes the places that have been especially chosen by God. Solomon's Temple is one:

> The walls of *Salomons* Temple were carved round about with figures of Cherubims, and palme trees, and open flowers within and without. The palme trees and flowers, did type out the Saints (that grow up like palme-trees in the house of God)...[40]

This garden imagery of trees and flowers is then taken up again as Jones goes back to the first chosen place (and the first garden), Eden:

> The first *Adam* was placed in Paradise that hee might dresse and keepe it: so (saith *Bernard*) is the second *Adam* in his Church, which is a Paradise, or garden of delight, to defend and keepe it.[41]

The Temple, a forerunner of the Church, is described as being like a walled garden, and the Church itself is related to Paradise, the original walled garden. Jones goes on to draw the relation of England to Israel into this picture. That England succeeds to Israel as the people of God is a well-established idea which he does not have to

[40] John Jones, Londons Looking Backe to Ierusalem, p. 16. The marginal reference is to 1 Kings 6.29.

[41] Ibid., p. 17. The second Adam, traditionally, is Christ.

prove to his listeners.

> Here is the place where God doth set his name, settle his worship and ordinances, as once he did in Shiloh, and afterward at Ierusalem. Israel and England, though they lie in a divers climate, may bee said right Parallels; not in a Cosmographicall, but in Theologicall respects... They were Alphabetarij and Abecedarij, young beginners, learning their A B C under the tutorship of the law: but to us the Gospel is given... England is the place of Gods worship, therefore the peculiar place of God.[42]

England has succeeded to the position Israel held under the Law, as the only enlightened nation, though she now has the Gospel as well. Her special spiritual blessings are reflected in temporal blessings. In inheriting the role of Israel England also becomes the modern type of the Church, an island full of sin (in his peroration Jones urges his listeners to 'weed these nettles out of the garden of your hearts') but ecclesiastically self-sufficient. The Church is like a garden; it is the present embodiment of the original garden, Paradise. The elect nation lives in a garden walled in by the sea, the island of the blest. The climate is good, the winter is not too cold (according to Jones) and the summer is not too hot. The nation is at peace and we may all follow our own callings in tranquillity. Anyone who has travelled as close to home as the Belgian provinces has seen the horrors of war, but in England 'peace is within our wals, and prosperity within our Palaces'. (Jones is quoting Psalm 122, the same psalm Herbert alluded to in comparing a congregation to Jerusalem.)

> Wee may sit and sing under our owne fig-trees, and drinke the wine of our owne vineyeards. As in situation, so in felicity, our beloved Isle is wholly disioyned from all the world.[43]

Britain is the peculiar place of God and it is walled off from the

[42] John Jones, Londons Looking Backe to Ierusalem, pp. 26-7.

[43] Ibid, p. 38.

world. The marginal note to this passage in the printed version of Jones's sermon is not a Scriptural reference, but *'Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos'*.[44]

Jones is expressing an attitude that is quite different from the earlier puritan commitment, exemplified by figures like Sir Philip Sidney, to involvement in European Protestantism. He regards war as a judgment for sin, a visitation of God, not a crusade. His attitude to war is shared by another Paul's Cross preacher of the early part of Charles's reign, John Grent, whose sermon The Burthen of Tyre was published in 1627. Grent's text is similar, a warning to a city, this time Tyre, of a coming judgment. He begins by apologising for speaking of war in a time of peace (ignoring the wars abroad).

> Best suteable vnto these *Halcyonian* days would bee the Olive leafe of peace in the Doues mouth, and to men lull'd asleepe in *Securities* lapp welcome soft Pillowes sewen vnder their elbowes.[45]

But, like Jones, he warns that these blessings are not a guaranteed possession, but only to be kept if the people of England repent, amend their ways, and remain sensible of God's mercy towards them. Both preachers stress the point of England's security very strongly; they dwell on the defence of the sea, and point out how England, as an island, is apart from the unhappy state of Europe. At the same time they wish to show that it is not after all unassailable. The Lord can punish it - Grent recalls famines and plagues and Jones recent defeats - and is greatly provoked to do so by the sins of its inhabitants. Grent turns the image of the peaceful island around and warns

> Dreame not of secure possessing the *Fortunate Islands*, nor

[44] Virgil, Ecloques i. 66. See p. 43 above.
[45] Grent, The Bvrthen of Tyre (1627), pp. 1-2.

> of being begirt with the Sea, and hemmed in with watry walles from all danger; Think not by heaping togeather thicke clay, and therwith building your nest on high; you shall escape wrath and iudgement to come.[46]

The two preachers are at great pains to show that in spite of England's physical security there is danger of a judgment, but this is rather because they are so conscious of the peace and safety of these halycon days than because they fear an external threat from Europe. Nor are they aware of a neglected responsibility to their Protestant co-religionists abroad. They are as insular, literally, as the writers of court masques, and they use the same imagery of halcyon days and fortunate islands.

Francis Quarles was another puritan royalist and a popular religious poet. He had a puritan upbringing in Essex, and went to the Palatinate in 1613 with the wedding journey of Princess Elizabeth. There he met his father's patron, Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, to whom he dedicated his first published work. In the late 1620s he was a secretary to Archbishop Ussher. He remained loyal to Charles in the 1640s, and was employed to write tracts defending him, even for employing Roman Catholics in the royalist armies. Most of his writing before 1640 consists of paraphrases of books of the Old Testament: there are versions of Jonah, Esther, Job, and Samson. He also published Sion's Elegies (1624) and Sions Sonets (1625), versions of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the Song of Solomon, and Solomons Recantations (written in the 1630s, published posthumously in 1645), a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes. Quarles's choice of the Sion books to translate was made against the background of the identification of England and Israel and the common comparison of King James to Solomon.

[46] Grent, The Bvrthen of Tyre, p. 8.

In all three books Quarles treats the city of Jerusalem as 'the type of the Catholic Church' and uses gardens as an image for the Church.[47]

Quarles's paraphrases are reasonably faithful to his original. He tends to expand the similes he finds in the text, and to introduce New Testament and sometimes even classical references: Scylla and Charybdis, for example, appear unexpectedly in the Lamentations of Jeremiah.[48] In the same work he describes the people who are oppressing Israel as 'noysome Weedes' choking the good plants, a reference to the New Testament parable of the sower. This garden imagery is used in the same way as Jones uses it for England. The Nazarites, who were formerly the flowers of the land, are like 'with'red Weedes, and blasted Hemlock'. God is urged to 'clense thy Garden'. Quarles inserts an apostrophe to Israel very like Jones's to England:

> Thy fast Crowne
> Had ne're beene spurn'd from thy Emperiall brow,
> Plentie had nurs'd thy soul, thy peacefull plough
> Had fill'd thy fruitfull Quarters with encrease,
> Hadst thou but knowne thy selfe, and loued peace.

A verse describing the swiftness of the persecutors of Israel becomes a wish for a prosperous wind that will take us to 'the Ile of peace'.[49] The companion piece, Sions Sonets, is a version of the Song of Solomon. Here Quarles has more garden imagery to work from, but even so he expands what there is. The verse 'A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed' is enlarged to draw out the parallel with Eden: 'my loue is like a Paradise', its

47 Quarles, Complete Works, ii. 103.
48 'Sion's Elegies', Complete Works, ii. 99-117; chapter 2, v. 5.
49 'Sion's Elegies', 1.22; 4.8; 4.13; 4.19. Nothing I have quoted has a basis in the text Quarles is paraphrasing.

fruits are more precious than '*Eden's* tempting Apple'. In the light and warmth of the Sun, identified in the margin as the 'Sonne of righteousnesse', the enclosed garden will grow and flourish. Quarles's version is in effect an interpretation of the original. The marginal explanations of the allegory, which no contemporary version lacks (George Wither's is a good example of a straight paraphrase with notes) are incorporated into the text. The apocalyptical allusions to the coming of Christ are expanded in the same way.

Dealing with Biblical material, Quarles expands and interprets it, mostly by reading the Old Testament in the light of the New. His description of the 'Heauen on Earth' departs from his text, but it is all scripturally based. Instead of a straightforward paraphrase he creates a voice for the Church that can draw on the whole of his sources at once, from the beginning in Eden to the end at the Apocalypse (as he does in the passage above to interpret the allegory). The image of the church as a garden provides a continuity from Eden to the present-day Church and forward to to the establishment of the New Jerusalem. Instead of an image of an insular walled-in garden, Quarles uses it to provide flexibility and mobility. It becomes a method that allows him to describe the Church in time, not in a timeless seclusion, subject to ills and full of weeds but still the same garden that was originally created.

Quarles uses the pastoral convention in the same way in The Shepheards Oracles, (published in 1646 but written in the 1630s) which describe the contemporary state of the English Church. He does not withdraw into Arcadia in order to get away from the troubles of the world, but so that he can write about them with greater flexibility.

In any case Quarles's Arcadia is a very open disguise for England. The god of Arcadia is Pan (who stands for Christ), and there is a king who is Pan's Vice-gerent and lives in a city called Troynovant. The shepherds who live in Arcadia are evidently ministers of the church, and have names like Nullifidius, Orthodoxus, and Schismaticus. Although Quarles's Arcadia is derived from Sidney's (his borrowing of Troynovant from Spenser is another claim on the militant Protestant tradition),[50] it is England in disguise, not a fictional alternative state in its own right. It is clear from the outset that Quarles's Arcadia is actually inhabited by British shepherds. In the first eclogue, a dialogue between Britannus and Gallio (a Huguenot refugee), the conventional description of Britain - set apart from the world, blessedly moderate and temperate - is put into the mouth of Gallio, the foreigner. Britannus himself is less enthusiastic, and in the succeeding eclogues shepherds appear who are far from ideal (Nullifidius, Pseudo-catholicus, and others), so that the initial description is further undermined. The first eclogue provides an unequivocal picture of the ideal pastoral country and the good shepherd, but it is clear that the British shepherds do not conform to the picture. When Gallio is describing the 'halcyon daies' of his own land and its downfall (the good shepherds were corrupted by the world's luxuries and now neglect their sheep) Britannus suspects him of aiming his remarks at some 'that beare the Crook / In our blest Island'.[51] An ironic perspective has been established on this Arcadian life.

In the succeeding eclogues, as the shepherds dispute with each

[50] See p. 98 below.

[51] 'The Shepheards Oracles', Complete Works, iii. 203-6.

other, Quarles's mainstream puritan position is defined by the repudiation of extremes on either side. Pseudo-Catholicus and other Roman Catholics are exposed as treacherous casuists. Schismaticus, who wants to emigrate to New England and rule the roost there, describes his new food for his sheep; it turns out to be Opinion. Anarchus appears to demonstrate the fanaticism of the separatists. Arminius appears, a nervous young man (he stutters) in the service of a rich shepherd. He is persuaded of better, more sober views by Philamnus (lover of souls). Quarles's pastoral convention has enabled him to suggest that the shepherds' condition is not in fact ideal. However, they are still Arcadians, so it is potentially ideal - if the unsound shepherds, not true Arcadians, can be defeated in argument, repudiated, and excluded. The pastoral convention gives him the same flexibility as the garden image: it can be purified without being turned into something other than itself. The church is not to be separated from the world, but the world is to be included in the church: the image for the church must therefore be something that can expand and include (and be disciplined) without altering its essential nature.

The idea of the blessed and peaceful garden-island is still strong in Quarles, although he examines the accessibility of the ideal closely. In the tenth eclogue, an account of the triumphs and death of Gustavus Adolphus, it is used again. The shepherds Orthodoxus and Catholicus, after describing Gustavus and their hopes that this is the final struggle to usher in the millennium, reflect on their own peculiarly happy state:

> But, O, what hap! what happinesse have wee,
> The last, and dregs of Ages, thus to see

> These hopefull Times; nay more, to sit beneath,
> Beneath our quiet Vines, and think of death
> By leisure, when Spring-tides of blood o'rewhelms
> The interrupted peace of forain Realms![52]

(Quoted in isolation from the whole passage this sounds as if it must be ironical: but it is not.) They have not deserved this happiness, but it is granted because of the virtue of 'our pious Prince' (Charles, not Pan).

The similarity between Quarles's and Thomas Carew's response to Gustavus's death is very striking.

> But let us that in myrtle bowers sit
> Vnder secure shades, use the benefit
> Of peace and plenty, which the blessed hand
> Of our good King gives this obdurate Land.[53]

Carew's poem has been taken as an example of the insular blindness of Caroline court culture. P.W. Thomas calls it 'frank and pusillanimous hedonism'.[54] But Quarles, who had very little to do with the court, uses the same image in the same context, the death of the great Protestant hero Gustavus.

Quarles qualified the image of the blessed island-church, and Aurelian Townshend (in the poem Carew was answering) altered it. Townshend calls on Carew to join in Gustavus's funeral procession to Parnassus. Mourned by the elements of the whole hemisphere, Gustavus is to be borne up the hill, accompanied by swans, with his sword before the hearse like the fiery sword that expelled Adam and Eve from Paradise. (There is no room here for the notion of an earthly Eden.)

[52] 'The Shepheards Oracles', Complete Works, iii. 231.
[53] Carew, Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, (Oxford, 1949), pp. 74-77. See p. 48 above.
[54] P.W. Thomas, 'Two Cultures? Court and Country under Charles I', in C. Russell (ed.), The Origins of the English Civil War, (1973), p. 179.

He is to rest on the top and be reborn in his fame, which the Muses will nurse. Parnassus is a place out of and above this world, a hill which other princes strive to climb. It may be reached by divinely inspired poetry, but it is not mediated by, or embodied in, the material world. Though writers like Quarles and Townshend question the simple identification of England with paradise, they do not abandon the common image of the 1630s, the halcyon place. Even Townshend's Parnassus is another version of it, with an important emphasis on its inaccessibility. Carew's attitude cannot be dismissed as the hedonism of the court. Carew does not accept Gustavus as a hero: he was a hero to the Protestant cause. The mainstream of the English church, supporting that cause, saw itself as heir to the unique national destiny of Israel, called on to fight for the establishment of true religion. But the images it used for itself in the 1630s were images of embodiment and enclosure; of Carew's paradisal blessedness and peace; of a nation not on pilgrimage, but in paradise.

II Alternative worlds in England

iii. Rome

Arcadia was timeless, and Jerusalem lay in the future. Rome was an alternative world which was important because it was in the past. It was historical and definite. The mere name of Rome (or of a Roman institution such as the Senate) appearing in an English context could suggest the well-established theory that the power, prestige and global dominance of the Roman empire had, after its fall, been transferred westward (the *translatio imperii*), first to the Holy Roman Empire, then to other competing European nations, Britain among them. References to Rome, then, could be asserting Britain's claim on this inheritance, and if they were it was because of Rome's history. It was not a new claim; it had been revived by the Tudors in their emphasis on pre-Saxon Britain. (They wanted people to think of their dynasty as native to Britain, in contrast to the French Plantagenets.) A Trojan ancestor of the British, Brutus, was found to parallel the Trojan ancestor of the Romans, Aeneas. Spenser was following this line when he called London Troynovant in the Faerie Queene, and Jonson and Dekker used it again in their triumphal arches for James VI and I's Entry into London in 1604.[1]

The Roman inheritance, and pre-Saxon Britain, were important to James as well as to his predecessors because he wanted full political unity for his two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and they offered a sort of precedent for this. Besides, his accession was celebrated for its peaceful establishment of the realm (after anxieties about

[1] Spenser, Faerie Queene III. ix. 44-6. Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford & P. Simpson (Oxford, 1941), vii. 92.

Elizabeth's heir). One of the arches of the Entry represented the temple of Janus, whose gates were shut only in time of peace; after James's procession had passed through it the gates were closed. Another theme was the unification of the realm, and a third was the return of the Golden Age.[2] A focal point for all of them was found in a new Roman parallel, identifying James with the emperor Augustus. Peace, unity and the Golden Age are commonplaces in the poems of Horace and Virgil that praise Augustus Caesar. In this instance the parallel with Rome has political implications beyond the basic ones of prestige and dominance borrowed from the *translatio imperii*.

Any reference to Rome in a British context could be simply borrowing its prestige. Most references, however, such as the comparison of James with Augustus, had unavoidable political implications. Indeed, one of the reasons for the frequency of Roman reference is that Roman history offered parallels for almost every political situation: monarchy, tyrannicide, the republic, civil war, and empire. Classical Rome was a model both of public virtue and of corrupt tyranny. (Contemporary or Christian Rome is not often mentioned except in religious writing, and then it is rarely connected with the classical city.) Sometimes the political implications of a reference were left unexplored, as in the casual use of a Roman word for an English institution. Parliament was very often called the 'Senate'. Sometimes, however, the implications were made explicit and explosive. In a speech in the Commons in 1626 Sir John Eliot compared the Duke of Buckingham, whom the Commons were trying to impeach, to Sejanus, Tiberius's favourite and minister. According to Tacitus,

[2] H. Erskine-Hill, The Augustan Idea (1983), pp. 123-33; G. Parry, The Golden Age Restor'd (Manchester, 1981), ch. 1.

Sejanus finally fell from power because he was suspected of conspiring to seize the principate and dethrone Tiberius. Tacitus wrote as an adherent of the old Republic and its virtues, which were lost under the corrupt and tyrannical rule of emperors like Tiberius. Charles responded to this comparison by saying that if Buckingham was Sejanus then Eliot must intend him for Tiberius, and Eliot was imprisoned in the Tower.[3]

The Horatian model for the poet was also politically weighted. Horace wrote political odes in praise of peace, unity, and Augustus. Jonson, James I's court poet, chose to model himself on Horace; he called himself Horace in Poetaster (1601), in which, incidentally, Horace and Virgil are recognised by the end of the play as the wise counsellors of Augustus. Horace created, in the Odes, a public voice for himself as a prophetic bard, and Jonson's successors adopted this voice. Davenant describes his inspiration in Horatian terms, and Herrick calls Endymion Porter a Maecenas (Horace's patron).[4] On the other hand, Augustus had established himself as Rome's rightful ruler by force of arms. When Marvell wrote in praise of Charles's successor, Cromwell, who could be said to have done the same in England, he chose the form of the Horatian political ode. The Roman parallel was flexible enough to offer a model for praise of Cromwell as well as of Charles: but on the other hand, when Marvell wrote of Cromwell in a form that had been much used to praise the monarch, he put Cromwell in an unexpected and perhaps equivocal light. A Roman comparison could influence the way people looked at contemporary events, and distort their presentation. Allusions to Rome were not made just for the sake

[3] P. Burke, 'Tacitism', in T. Dorey (ed.), Tacitus (1969), p. 161.
[4] See p. 25 above.

of Rome's prestige. They are a way of describing and making sense of events in England.

Some of the most telling allusions are found in incidental details of translations. There are several instances of this in John Ogilby's translation of Virgil's Eclogues.[5] The first eclogue is a dialogue between two shepherds about the suffering caused by the confiscation of farms in Italy for the settlement of soldiers who had been fighting in the civil wars. The word Ogilby uses for these confiscations is 'sequestration'. It was a politically loaded word: throughout the later 1640s Parliament had been appropriating - 'sequestrating' - the property of royalists who were dead or exiled. Ogilby's translation finds a precedent for the sufferings of the royalists in Virgil's shepherds. (It was, of course, commonplace for the Eclogues to be read as a disguised account of the historical events of Virgil's time, so that it would be quite possible, by extension, to read a topical allusion of this sort into Ogilby's translation. In any case, in the court culture of the time, shepherds in pastoral were almost always nobles in reality. It is especially interesting that the displaced royalists should be associated with the poetical shepherds.)[6] The fifth Eclogue laments the death of a shepherd, Daphnis, and foretells his apotheosis. It was traditionally taken to mean the assassination of Julius Caesar and his deification in Augustus's reign. Ogilby makes this identification explicit, calling Daphnis the murdered Caesar. Because he strengthens this point, the possible reference to Charles's execution becomes unavoidable. (Court poets quite often called the king Caesar.) Again,

[5] Works of Publius Virgilius Maro, tr. John Ogilby (1649).

[6] See p. 178 below.

the topical allusion enlists the authority of Virgil on the royalist side, since it suggests that Charles's death was an assassination, not a legal execution.

More general allusions could have the same interpretative effect, whichever side they were supposed to support. Thomas May was a Parliamentarian in the 1640s; he wrote histories justifying Parliament's part in the civil wars. According to his opponents, he had gone over to the Parliamentary side out of spite after he failed to get the Laureateship in 1637. They accused him of political bias, and more particularly of giving a distorted and prejudiced account of English events by finding Roman parallels for them. The Duchess of Newcastle called civil war historians 'parasites' who 'never missed to exalt highly the merits of the chief commanders of the then prevailing side, comparing some of them to Moses, and some others to all the great and most famous heroes, both Greeks and Romans.'[7] The poem 'Tom May's Death' (he died in 1650) accused May of a gratuitous and ignorant application of Roman parallels to English politics:

> Transferring old *Rome* hither in your talk,
> As *Bethlem's* House did to *Loretto* walk.
> Foul Architect that hadst not eye to see
> How ill the measures of these States agree.[8]

May's popular translation of Lucan had contributed to the fashion for a Roman political vocabulary, of which 'Tom May's Death' also complains. Roman parallels were used indiscriminately by conceited young politicians:

> Go seek the novice Statesmen, and obtrude

[7] Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, ed. C.H. Firth (1906), p. xlii.
[8] Marvell, Poems, ed. H.M. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1971), i. 94-7. The authorship of the poem is uncertain.

> On them some Romane cast similitude,
> Tell them of Liberty, the Stories fine
> Until you all grow Consuls in your wine;
> Or thou *Dictator* of the glass bestow
> On him the *Cato*, this the *Cicero*.

The spokesman for the poem's denunciation of May is Ben Jonson, who is supposed to be a representative of the true classicism that is being debased by May and his like.

The court poets in the 1630s used their classical models to make sense of their relations with the monarch. The position of the poets who were in close contact with the king was very similar to that of their Augustan predecessors. (The one context in which Charles is called Augustus, and more frequently his Gentleman-in-Waiting Endymion Porter is called Maecenas, is that of poetical patronage.) Both the Latin and the English poets were closely associated with the monarch, but not actually personal friends. Their very position gave political resonances to what they chose to write about, but they avoided turning their poetry into a simple political statement by resorting to techniques of ambiguity, indefiniteness, and implication. They did this particularly when they were praising the monarch. In this latter area both Latin and English poets had to deal with the semi-divine or quasi-divine status of their ruler.[9] However, the court poets were not intellectually or physically confined to Whitehall. They display an awareness of the similarity between their situation and that of the Augustan poets, but the attitudes to Rome in circles beyond the court also influenced their use of the Roman theme. At least fifty-seven Roman history plays were produced in the late sixteenth and early

[9] Griffin, 'Augustus and the Poets', in F. Millar & E. Segal (eds.), Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects (Oxford, 1984), pp. 189-218.

[10] For an account of Roman history plays, see M. Butler, 'Romans

seventeenth centuries, of which forty survive.[10] In printed literature the period coincides with a reaction against the earlier Renaissance domination of Cicero. One of the forms this took was the emergence into widespread popularity of Tacitus.

Tacitus became fashionable. He was the most popular ancient historian (judging by edition statistics) both in the original and in translation in the early seventeenth century. He was extensively commented on and quoted. Epigrams and political systems were sifted out of his histories. Several of the Roman history plays are based on Tacitean material, notably Jonson's Sejanus, which gives marginal references to its sources in the quarto edition (published in 1605).[11] Peter Burke identifies four major areas in which the fashion for Tacitus was influential: literary style, historiography, morals and politics. The common factor in the last three is an interest in causes and motives for actions, which encouraged the tendency to extract maxims and apophthegms from his narratives and then to build these up into a general analysis of politics. The first area, literary style, similarly concentrates on his epigrammatic, sometimes cryptic, manner: it was the perfect medium for concise generalisations about politics and ethics, itself condensing the Ciceronian period to packed brief sentences. Maxims and epigrams became the most widespread and popular manifestations of Tacitism. The fashion for Tacitism and a general liking for maxims coincided, and epigrams whose source is Tacitus

in Britain: The Roman Actor and the Early Stuart Classical Play', in D. Howard (ed.), Philip Massinger: A Critical Reassessment (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 139-70, and D.R. Woolf, 'Change and Continuity in English Historical Thought' (Oxford D.Phil thesis, 1983), chapter VI.

[11] P. Burke, 'Tacitism', p. 158.

[12] Ibid., 'Tacitism', pp. 166-7.

appear in contexts far removed from the original.[12] The second half of Herrick's Hesperides is peppered with very short poems, of one or two couplets, which translate an observation of Tacitus or one of his characters. Usually the translation is exact but very often the maxim is adapted to be applied specifically to a king or a monarch. For example, where Tacitus wrote '*locus*' Herrick renders it as 'Throne':

> *'Tis never, or but seldome knowne,*
> *Power and Peace to keep one Throne.*

Tacitus's '*Satis cito incipi victoriam ratus ubi provisum foret ne vincerentur*', ('thinking it was soon enough to begin to conquer when they had made provision against defeat'), becomes

> *That Prince takes soone enough the Victors roome,*
> *Who first provides, not to be overcome.*

What was a brief explanation in the course of Tacitus's narrative becomes a generalised maxim which is presented as advice for a Prince.[13]

This use of Tacitus's works is a large-scale manifestation of a general tendency: classical borrowing was motivated by practical usefulness. There are numerous other cases. The only edition of Caesar's Commentaries published in England under James or Charles (original or translated) was edited and presented as a manual of warfare, The Complete Captain (Cambridge, 1640. STC 4338). Classical authors were valued for their practical applications to contemporary life: as Tacitus contained useful material on politics, so Polybius did on military affairs and Plutarch on education. Peter Burke

13 Tacitus, Histories ii. 25, and Herrick, 264.2 (H-788); Tacitus, Annals iv. 4, and Herrick, 109.1 (H-268). The style of reference to Herrick's poems is explained above, p. 2.

identifies the changes that brought these authors into fashion as 'a shift from virtue to prudence, from eloquence to truth': prudence and truth were qualities that were useful, not decorative.[14] Interest in the Roman theme, beyond immediate court circles, tended to be concentrated in the events of first-century imperial Rome, partly because it was Tacitus's period. Augustus was not condemned, but he appears not to have been a figure of much interest. For the most part, Roman references draw on the civil wars before his reign or the Tacitean period of his successors, skirting round Augustus himself. The conflicts of the Roman civil wars and the questions of personal power and its justification raised in the reigns of the first emperors were of practical relevance to seventeenth-century England; interest in these periods is as practical as smaller-scale borrowings from classical authors. Similarly, the writers who did draw on the Augustan period were those who found themselves in a situation to which the Augustan writers were immediately relevant - that is, the court poets.

Before the 1640s, Thomas May was a writer whose career followed the pattern of those who needed court patronage. He trained as a lawyer and was one of the circle of London wits, a 'son' of Ben Jonson, and a friend of Thomas Carew as early as 1622. (Carew wrote commendatory verses for his play The Heir.) He was probably a client of the Duke of Buckingham; another play, Antigone, was dedicated to Endymion Porter in 1631. In the 1630s he was in close contact with the court and the king took an interest in his work.[15] He was not, however, close to what might be called court ideology. Besides

[14] P. Burke, 'A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450-1700', History and Theory v (1966), p. 151.

[15] See p. 26 above.

classical tragedies and other plays, he published translations of Martial, Virgil's Georgics, and Lucan's Pharsalia. He also wrote an ending for the Pharsalia, first in English and then in Latin.[16] With the exception of the Georgics, the writers May translated were working in the first century, the post-Augustan age described by their younger contemporary Tacitus. Both Martial and Lucan wrote in the context of an uneasy relationship with an autocratic emperor. Lucan took part in a conspiracy against Nero and was ordered to commit suicide as a result. Lucan's epic is about the pre-Augustan age, the civil wars before the death of Julius Caesar which were the beginning of the end of the Republic.

May's Martial was dedicated to Lord Holland, who had just succeeded Buckingham as Chancellor of Cambridge (May's university). In the dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Holland May compares his dedication of his translation to Martial's presentation of some epigrams to Pliny, 'a noble Roman of happy employment under Traian the Emperour'. The poet, the patron and the monarch reappear at the conclusion of the epistle, the patron being Maecenas and the king 'our good, and great Augustus' - that is, Charles.[17] The equation of the relations of Stuart poets to the king with the classic Augustan model of 'royal' patronage was part of the image of court poetry which May's concentration on the pre- and post-Augustan eras seemed to contradict. But the first-century author, Martial, is framed by references to Augustus and Trajan, who reigned at the beginning and end of the

[16] Selected Epigrams of Martial (1629). Virgil's Georgics (1628). Lucan's Pharsalia: or the civill warres of Rome (1627). The first three books had been published in 1626. A Continuation of Lucan's Historicall Poem till the Death of Julius Caesar (1630), and the Latin version, Supplementum Lucani (Leyden, 1640).

[17] May, Selected Epigrams of Martial, sig. $A4^{v}$-$A5^{v}$.

century (the one long before Martial was born, the other after he had retired to Spain). They were both good emperors, and were later thought of as quasi-Christian. Augustus prepared the way for Christ, and Trajan, as a wholly good man, was saved retrospectively by the prayers of Pope Gregory the Great.[18] Martial, notoriously the poet who flattered the tyrant Domitian, is thus presented in a context of good emperors, and since the epigrams always address the emperor as 'Caesar', not by name, the sting is taken out of his reputation. May's Martial is thus made suitable for the Stuart court.

May's selection of epigrams begins with the *Liber Spectaculorum*, a collection written for games held by Titus, full of references to Caesar's benevolence and generosity to his people and his city. The arrangement of May's volume is then a miscellaneous selection from all the books, followed by a larger selection in numerical order. Both groups include epigrams flattering Caesar, including, in the first group, a poem (XI.6) assuring him of the approval of all the old Roman heroes: Camillus, Fabritius, Brutus, Sulla, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Crassus, and even Cato. Some of these are the heroes who appear in Lucan, whom May had translated two years previously, as touchstones for the old Roman Republican virtues so notably ignored by emperors like Nero and Domitian. May himself used them for this purpose in his continuation of Lucan, published in 1630. Again, Martial is presented in a way that is designed to make his compliments to Caesar as acceptable as possible. The heroes of the old Roman virtues support Caesar's claims and are praised directly themselves, while the

[18] The story of Trajan's release from hell through Gregory's prayers goes back to early lives of Gregory. Cf. Langland, Piers Plowman (B-text), ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (1987), xi. 141-157, and see Schmidt's note.

historical context of Martial's poems is suppressed and replaced by references to Augustus and Trajan. On the other hand May goes out of his way to attack a superficial learning that drags in classical references indiscriminately, for vanity, or without regard to their real meaning. His preface defends translation against those who, objecting to it, themselves distort the truth.

> Those (as I take it) are such pretty Schollers as have rather strived to get some skill in the Latine or Greeke tongues, than to furnish themselves with the substance of Art, which is contained in those tongues; and wanting so much reall Learning as may commend them to the world, would faine bee applauded for the shadow of it. [$A2^{r}$-$A2^{v}$]

May's defence of translation is grounded on the assertion that the substance of classical learning is more important and more useful than an impressive gloss of Latin. Given this attitude, it is the more interesting that May should have chosen, in the early years of Charles's reign, to translate Lucan. Lucan's subject is the civil wars; it involves, for him, the virtues of the old Republic, the corruption of the morals of his period, when the Republic was breaking up, and the true nature of *Romanitas*. Moreover, he is presented by May unequivocally as a historical poet. In May's terms, his poem is valuable because of its substance.

The Pharsalia was one of the most popular of May's translations. It was praised highly by Ben Jonson, who wrote commendatory verses for it. In the translation nothing major is added or omitted, though the metrical demands of verse translation produce some minor variations. May does not exaggerate Lucan's favourable presentation of his heroes. In fact he tends to translate Lucan's epithet for Cato, *durus*, as 'sowre', and once uses 'sowre Cato' as a typical epithet and name in

the epic style where the Latin text has only *vir* (C4^{r} and C5^{r}). But his translation supports Lucan's attitude, attacking those who profit from war, condemning the empire, and praising heroes like Cato for their older Roman virtues.

> These were his manners, this sowre *Cato's* sect,
> To keepe a meane, hold fast the end, and make
> Nature his guide, dye for his Countrey's sake...
> His best attire rough gownes, such as of old
> Was Roman weare. [C5^{r}]

The nostalgic 'of old' is May's addition. 'Gown' is his normal translation of 'toga'. May translates 'Caesar' as 'proud *Caesar*' in a speech of Brutus's (C3^{r}) and later adds an explanatory note about the names given to the emperors.

> Then beganne all those names of flattery, which they afterward vsed to their Emperours, as *Diuus*, Euer *Augustus*, Father of his countrey, Founder of peace, Lord, and the like.

Three years later May's continuation of the epic appeared (Lucan left it unfinished). Partly as a result of the success of the translation, the continuation was dedicated to the king. There are two versions, the English Continuation and the Latin Supplementum, published ten years later; almost certainly the Continuation was written first. In it, May continues the story of Caesar's affair with Cleopatra, the regrouping of the Pompeian armies after Pharsalia, their defeats in Africa, the death of Cato, the defeat of Pompey's sons in Spain, the conspiracy against Caesar and his assassination. Following Lucan's lead, May is highly critical of Egyptian luxury and immorality. Lucan turned Cato into a Stoic hero. When he is first introduced Lucan pauses in the narrative to describe the perfect Stoic. May makes Cato's death a description of the perfect Stoic

suicide. He gives approving emphasis to the fact that Cato had never disguised his intentions, being a man of complete integrity

> whom no feare had taught
> How to dissemble. [F2^{v}]

Unlike Lucan, however, May makes the contest of the civil wars clearly one between monarchy and liberty. In Lucan the issue is less clear, largely because in his opinion both Pompey and Caesar were to blame for fighting each other at all. Pompey gains some approval from Lucan because he is at least nominally defending the Senate, and this sympathy grows as it becomes clear that Pompey is destined to fail. After his death, May is able to present the remnants of his party unequivocally as defenders of the liberty of the Republic, fighting to

> set free
> Subiected Rome from *Caesar's* Tyrannie [C8^{v}]

Cato benefits from this black-and-white presentation. He is no longer 'sowre' but 'sage' and 'the soule of Roman libertie' (E1^{r} and D3^{v}). The conspirators against Caesar are not treated as heroes; their motives are discussed realistically - Brutus, for instance, is torn between his objections to the loss of liberty and his personal gratitude to Caesar. The assassination, however, is seen as the act of the State rather than the personal act of the conspirators. The Argument to Book VII says that Caesar is 'by the Senate slaine' (I5^{r}) and his death, in the last lines of the poem, is put in a context of justice and outraged law:

> he, who never vanquished
> By open warre, with blood and slaughter strew'd
> So many lands, with his owne blood embrew'd
> The seat of wronged Iustice, and fell downe
> A sacrifice t'appease th'offended gowne. [K7^{r}]

The toga is used by both May and Lucan as the symbol of the legal Roman state in time of peace. By Lucan's time the toga was no longer usually worn; since the time of Augustus it had been falling into disuse, so that it had become a symbol of the old days and the traditional virtues of the Republic.

In spite of this republicanism, the young Augustus is given a favourable presentation by May. He appears first in connection with Caesarion, the child of Caesar and Cleopatra, whom Augustus later had murdered for reasons of state. May calls this murder 'parricidall' about two hundred lines after he has called Caesar's prosecution of the civil war 'parricidall' ($C6^{v}$ and $C5^{v}$): but the crime is said to be a blot on Augustus's 'rich triumphs'. His next appearance is in Book VI, when an eagle appears over the army and settles on his tent. The soothsayers interpret it as a good omen and it provokes a long authorial digression praising his future 'happy Monarchy', his peaceful rule over the whole world, and his encouragement of the arts. This sudden enthusiasm for monarchy is unexpected. Lucan's prologue to his epic suggests that the civil wars were fought so that eventually the emperor, Nero, could reign. Lucan describes the emperor's ultimate apotheosis, whereas May concentrates on the benefits of the reign in a way that draws more on Virgil's prophetic visions of the reign of Augustus.[19] Whatever the precedents for it, May omitted the whole passage from the later Supplementum. Its presence in the Continuation may have been for the benefit of that work's sponsor, King Charles.

There are other differences between the Supplementum and the

[19] Virgil, Aeneid vi. 756-805.

[20] See R.T. Bruere, 'The Latin and English versions of Thomas May's Supplementum Lucani', CP xliv (1949), 145-63.

English version, which have been summarised by R.T. Bruere.[20] In the later version May makes cuts for brevity and to remove unnecessary passages. He expands and rearranges material to clarify motives and improve the dramatic realism of the action. The political (and moral) polarisations are made clearer: Cleopatra is less sympathetic, and Caesar more tyrannical. The political motive for Cato's suicide is stressed. Cato's symbolic significance in Lucan is as the incarnation of traditional austerity. He kills himself because he cannot bear to survive the Republic or to live under Caesar's rule. In the Continuation his suicide had been presented as the final assertion of freedom of the Stoic wise man, but in the Supplementum Cato's role as a Stoic is only secondary to his political role and the account of his death is altered accordingly. The personal motives of Caesar's assassins, such as envy or revenge, are omitted. Minor linguistic points support the general impression of a politicisation of the work: for example, in the Supplementum the Roman people abandon their liberty, whereas in the 1630 version they abandoned

> that unsafe prerogative
> Their liberty.

In the ten years between 1630 and 1640, the years of Charles's personal rule, the word 'prerogative' had acquired new connotations, and the value of liberty had come to be seen in starker terms.

However topical the Pharsalia was, May did not translate Lucan in the 1620s because he anticipated civil war in the 1640s. The interest of Lucan's poem for this period is that it is a long debate on the nature of *Romanitas*. It is full of figures who represent forces in the change from old Rome to new: Caesar personifies the new ambition,

Pompey, the failure of extra-constitutional attempts to save the Republic, Cleopatra, Eastern seductions, Scipio, Roman military virtues, and Cato, total commitment to the liberty of Rome and the public good. In his continuation May develops these characterisations and later alters them to make the new Rome seem more tyrannical, the loss of the old more devastating and final. *Romanitas* is always something which no longer exists, like the age of chivalry. In Lucan it is associated with the legendary past and heroes like Curio and Camillus. Although some people in the present are destroying it and others mourning it, nobody is really fighting for it. Pompey is fighting for himself against Caesar. His soldiers are spoken of as noble and great when they commit suicide rather than live in the new Rome, but they do not restore the old.

Awareness of Rome's greatness as something that is lost is by no means confined to Lucan and Thomas May. It is a commonplace for the Augustan authors, especially Virgil and Horace. When they praise the new regime they do so by relating it to the legendary past. In the Georgics Virgil described the great epic he ld write about Augustus's triumphs; it would be like a temple to Caesar with sculptures of defeated Britons and Parthians (representing the extreme ends of the world) and of his victories over Antony.[21] But when Virgil wrote his epic it was about Rome's earliest origins, not about Augustus (except indirectly). Horace's Odes are continually contrasting modern Romans with republican heroes (like Regulus in iii. 5) and praising the older unluxurious life. The same attitude is carried over to Renaissance uses of the Roman theme. European nations

[21] Virgil, Georgics iii. 12-39.

did not see themselves precisely as new Romes - Rome's moral status was too ambiguous for straight reincarnation. According to the doctrine of *translatio imperii* the power and authority of Rome moved westwards to the newer European nations: but the ancestors that France, Britain, and other countries found for themselves were Trojan, like the founders of Rome. They did not wish to see themselves as Rome reincarnated, but Rome refounded. Rome itself always remained something in the past, in two senses: the Roman virtues were something lost to the present day, and Rome herself had been subject to historical change. May's attitude is typical.

Rome was a lost world, but the appeal to Rome, paradoxically, was to an image of stability and permanence. Rome connoted authority. This attitude may owe something to the fact that Latin had been for centuries, and was still, a permanent and international language which was therefore regarded as superior to the passing, local vernaculars. Roman political parallels were a way of interpreting English events, particularly in the 1640s, but they were also a way of justifying the state of England in the 1630s and investing it with the authority of Rome. If England could be said to be like Rome, then Charles's personal rule would be given a model that could defend it against the well-founded accusations that he was departing from the traditions of English government. This use of the Roman theme ignores the historical view of Rome as a city subject to change and corruption, and replaces it with an unhistorical understanding of Rome as a city out of time and almost legendary, with a special relation to England. This unhistorical understanding is found in the court poets. Not only do they anglicize Rome, calling Roman things by English names, but they

also call English things by Roman names, Romanizing England.

Anglicizing Rome was fairly usual. There was, for instance, the school textbook of Roman life written by Thomas Godwin, Romanae Historiae Anthologia (Oxford, 1614). It was enormously popular, and the enlarged edition of 1623 was reprinted once every two or three years until the 1650s. Godwin's subtitle explains his intention: 'An English exposition of the Romane antiquities, wherein many Romane and English offices are paralleld, and divers obscure Phrases explained.' His method is simply to find the best English parallel, regardless of delicate nuances. Thus the Senate house becomes the 'Priuy-counsel-chamber', the rostra 'a goodly faire edifice in manner of the body of a Cathedrall Church', men who were deified (as distinct from the major gods) 'Gods canonized', and the sacred dance of the priests of Mars a 'mauriske'.[22] Godwin's method is also used by poets who are translating or imitating classical poems.

Two particularly good examples of the implications this method could have for the meaning of Rome are the translations by Thomas Randolph and Richard Fanshawe of Horace's second epode. The original is a description of country life which stresses its contentment and freedom from care, qualities which more than compensate for its lack of luxuries. It ends with a sudden twist as the whole speech recommending country life turns out to have been uttered by a city usurer, Alphius, who has no real intention of following his own advice. It was a *locus classicus* for the theme of the happy life.[23] Ben Jonson translated it between 1612 and 1618 (it was not published

[22] Thomas Godwin, Romanae Historiae Anthologia (Oxford, 1623), i. sect. 1.5; i. 1.13; ii. 1.1; ii. 2.9.

[23] See M.-S. Rostvig, The Happy Man (Oslo, 1962), i. 29 ff.

until 1641, but Randolph, whose ties with Jonson were close, is quite likely to have seen it). Jonson's version is a straight translation without anglicisation: on the contrary, he sometimes seems to be transliterating in order to retain a suggestion of the Latin, as when he translates 'queruntur', a word for the soft singing of birds in a context of idyllic peace, as 'quarrell' (l. 26). Sir John Beaumont published another version in 1629. Like Jonson's, it is a straight translation.[24]

Thomas Randolph's translation cannot be dated but was probably written in the early 1630s.[25] He replaces the Italian features of Horace's country life with English ones, so that an ilex-tree turns into an oak, wine into beer, and olives to apples. Where there is no close equivalent for something in English, as for cranes or fishes of the Ionian sea, Randolph leaves it out. He also removes references to the Roman gods: Priapus, Silvanus, Jove, and Terminus all disappear. Finally, he ignores Horace's ironical ending, and replaces it with a prayer (not explicitly Christian, but there is now no pagan reference to suggest otherwise):

> Lord grant me but enough; I aske no more
> Then will serve mine, and helpe the poore.

Randolph has lifted Horace's subject out of its context, losing its complexities and its undercurrents, but retaining its 'Roman' label. He has related a description of English country life to a classic statement of what the good life is and got rid of the ambiguities with

[24] 'The Vnder-wood' lxxxv, Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford & P. Simpson (Oxford, 1947), viii. 289-91. Beaumont, Shorter Poems, ed. R.D. Sell (Abo, 1974), pp. 92-4.

[25] Randolph, Poems, ed. G. Thorn Drury (1929), pp. 49-51. Randolph died in 1635.

which Horace's version of the good life is always surrounded - here, obviously, the ending twist. Fanshawe's version of the epode was written sometime in the 1640s. He also transforms the Roman countryside into an English one: the ilex-tree is again an oak, the crane becomes a woodcock, and the Ionian pheasant a quail. Fanshawe alters the ending along the same lines, though not as radically as Randolph. The slaves gathered round the Lares are made plough-boys round a hearth, and the usurer is also English:

> All this the Us'rer ALPHEUS having sed,
> Resolv'd (*what else*?) a Country Life to lead;
> At *Michaelmas* calls all his Moneys in:
> But at *Our Lady* puts them out agin.[26]

Both Fanshawe and Randolph's do the same thing in translating Martial's epigram on the happy life (x: 47). One of the characteristics Martial gives it is '*toga rara*', the formal toga being worn rarely. Randolph, translating, avoids the word 'toga' altogether: it is unsuitable for an English context, and it had complicating connotations of the old Roman virtues (Martial is using it nostalgically). Instead he simplifies the whole point by rendering it as 'warme clothes'. Fanshawe, more correctly but still avoiding the toga, translates the phrase as 'City *seldome*.'[27]

This development of the Roman theme avoids its historical complexities by ignoring them. When it is carried further and applied to England's standing in relation to Rome, it also reinterprets the idea of a revival or rebirth of Rome. In his commendatory poem for the Cotswold Games Randolph denies that they are merely a revival of the

[26] Selected Parts of Horace, tr. Fanshawe (1652), pp. 62-4.
[27] Randolph, Poems, p. 88. Guarini, Il Pastor Fido, tr. Fanshawe (1648), p. 297.

old Greek games, an attempt to resurrect a dead custom. *'Daphnis* is dead, and *Pan* hath broke his Reed.' Pan broke his pipes when Christ was born, signifying the death of his power, the beginning of the new order to which England belongs. The Cotswold Games, started both in emulation of ancient games and to keep up the indigenous sports of the countryside, are like their ancient models, but essentially they are an English institution with the authority and the permanence of a classical one. Randolph is not suggesting that England has revived Rome, but that classical Rome is replaced by his classical England. He concludes with a proposal to make Dover a saint in the English pastoral world (a Christian world, not a pagan) of the 'Shepheards Calendar'.[28] This attitude is carried even further in William Cartwright's commendatory poem for Sir Francis Kynaston's translation of Troilus into Latin rhyme royal.[29] Cartwright praises him, not for making an English poem classical, but for making a classical language English (that is, for writing Latin poetry in metre). Latin, he says, is thus

> Growne Brittaine yet, and owes one change to vs.[30]

The court poets consistently describe English things as if they were Roman. Thomas Carew, for instance, wrote verses for the arrival of King James at Saxham, the home of Sir John Crofts (his son, also John, was a friend of Carew's), on a visit in the early 1620s.[31] It

[28] Randolph, Poems, pp. 118-123.

[29] *'Si non sit amor, Di! quid est quod sentis?'* Sir Francis Kynaston, Amorum Troili et Creseidae (Oxford, 1635). See G. Saintsbury (ed.), Minor Poets of the Caroline Period (Oxford, 1906), ii. 64-5.

[30] William Cartwright, Plays and Poems, ed. G.B. Evans (Madison, 1951), p. 497.

[31] Carew, *'To the King at his entrance into* Saxham, *by Master* Io. Crofts', Poems, ed. R. Dunlap (Oxford, 1949), pp. 30-1.

was a common practice in Caroline court circles to commission verses (often set to music) to welcome an important visitor, or by extension to herald a special day, or to say farewell. (New Year poems for patrons, of which many survive, fall into this category.) The younger John Crofts was to recite the verses at the King's entry into the house. Despite its early date the whole occasion is typical of the later Caroline court. It takes place among people who were on familiar terms, but they pause to take note of the formal nature of the occasion - an entrance - and turn it into a piece of minor ceremonial. Thus Carew's starting-point is the generic nature of the occasion, which happens to be the same as the classical genre of the *prosphonetikon*, the welcome to a traveller who has arrived at the place where the person addressing him is. Instead of imitating any one classical model, Carew draws elements from several: the sacrifice in thanksgiving for the safe return and the meal to welcome the traveller and celebrate his homecoming.[32] These provide him with a way of making the apologies usual in the circumstances for the poverty of the entertainment that the household of Saxham can offer its guest. He begins from the assumption that on this occasion there ought to be a sacrifice ('pious rites') which is due to the king 'as to our houshold Gods'. Each element of these rites - the sacrifice, the incense, the altar, the blood - Carew explains is not actually available, but each has its equivalent in what is present. Thus each heart is an altar burning with love and loyalty, and although there is no beast to sacrifice there is one to be killed for the supper.

> By making the assumption that there should be a sacrifice, Carew

[32] See Francis Cairns, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 18-23.

enables himself to do two things. In the first place he can then describe normal English things as if they were Roman: the beast for supper is turned into a substitute for a sacrificial animal. Secondly, he gains access to a way of complimenting the monarch which would be startling if it were approached more directly. He is able to borrow the Augustan idea of the monarch's quasi-divine status. Throughout the poem there is a deliberate ambiguity about James's status. The sacrifice is actually made to him, not to the household gods; on the other hand the sacrifice is only metaphorical. Instead of incense the household offers thankfulness,

> By which is payd the All we owe
> To gods above, or men below.

Which category James belongs to is left unclear. It is clear enough in James's own political philosophy, on which Carew is drawing. The idea that the king is like a god was stated by James in a speech to Parliament in 1610: 'The state of Monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon his throne, but even by God himself they are called gods.' In another poem for James, Carew draws on the idea, from the same speech, that the king is the head of the body politic.[33] In its conclusion the poem welcoming James to Saxham apologises again for the poor entertainment, and pleads that the Saxham household has done its best:

> Should *Jove* descend, they could no more. [46]

James is not quite Jove, but there is some ambiguity about it. Carew reinforces it by suggesting in these lines the story of Baucis and

[33] Speech to Parliament, 21 March 1610, abridged in J.R. Tanner (ed.), Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I (Cambridge, 1960), p. 15. Carew, *'Vpon the Kings sicknesse'*, Poems, pp. 35-6.

Philemon, who gave Jupiter and Mercury, when they were in disguise, the best entertainment they could. The divine aspect of the king, perhaps, is somehow disguised. In order to suggest that there is something divine about the person of the king, who is appointed by God (the argument is familiar in the field of Stuart theories of kingship) Carew draws on the ambiguities of the divinity that was attributed to the Roman Emperors. They were gods at some times and not at others (after death but not in life) and in some places but not others (in the provinces but not in Rome). Carew is treating the English king as if he were supposed to be a Roman emperor, and therefore describing him with the ambiguous references to his divine status that were used by the Augustan poets. The Roman fiction provides him with an established method for dealing with the idea of divinity in the monarch.

A New Year poem for a patron was also a customary offering. Carew wrote them for several people. At the New Year of 1631 he wrote one for King Charles, '*A New-years gift. To the King*'.[34] In 1630 there had been two peace treaties, with Spain and with France, and an heir to the throne had been born. Carew adopts a Roman vocabulary to describe this English year. This approach provides him with a set of images associated with peace, specifically with triumphant peace, and, as before, with a way of suggesting the special status of the king. The poem is ostensibly addressed to the Roman god of the New Year, Janus, who is asked to see this day as a culmination of all the days of peace that there have been since time began: days crowned with laurels and trophies, 'happie auspitious dayes', days marked with a white stone.

34 Carew, Poems, pp. 89-90.

(All three distinguishing marks, the white stone, the good auspices and the laurel crowns, are Roman details.)[35] Charles is to be crowned

> with peacefull Olive bowes
> And conquering Bayes.

In the second part of the poem Charles appears as a Roman general celebrating a triumph, garlanded, in procession, with his loyal people rejoicing and his rebels beheaded. The doors of the temple of Janus are shut, as in time of peace. It was one of the achievements of Augustus to establish peace; before his reign the gates stood open all the years of the civil war. There is another allusion to Augustus in the mention of the king's 'God-like off-spring', 'budding starres', which associates the star that appeared over London at the birth of Prince Charles in 1630 with the divine child prophesied for Augustus's reign in Virgil's fourth Eclogue. Carew's major point is to convey that Charles is a successful, divinely favoured, triumphant and peace-making monarch. By comparing him with Augustus he can suggest all this and also imply that the peace treaties are significant and permanent, like the peace of Augustus. They are to be seen as a turning-point in English foreign policy, just as the principate of Octavian was after the civil wars. This peace has been prepared for since time began, just as Octavian's reign, according to the 'providential' interpretation of history, had been prepared for so that the world would be at peace when Christ was born. (Here again the presence, in the background, of the Fourth Eclogue, with its many

[35] The use of a white stone to mark the calendar was associated with a Thracian custom of measuring the happiness of life by collecting white stones and black ones for happy and unhappy days. See R.G.M. Nisbet & M. Hubbard, A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book One (Oxford, 1970), p. 403; Horace, Odes i. 36; Catullus, cvii.6. Carew is probably quoting Catullus, who wrote *'o lucem candidiore nota'*: his phrase is actually 'whiter stone'.

possible interpretations, is useful for Carew.) This peace is to signal the end of English involvement in continental wars - the poem ends not with a final celebratory statement but with an exhortation to Janus:

> But *Byfront*, open thou no more,
> In his blest raigne the Temple dore. [33-4]

If there are to be no more wars then there can be no English involvement in the wars in Europe, which is to say that the Palatinate is to be left to look after itself and the Protestant cause to any other champions who may emerge. Carew's Roman vocabulary excludes such implications of his message of peace as these: it displaces them by its suggestion of a world role for England as the new Rome. Like Rome, England is the centre of the world, her boundaries are the limits of the civilized world, and beyond them there are only the barbarians quarrelling among themselves. Carew described the English idyll in Roman terms: it has myrtle bowers, pastoral pipes, and olive boughs.[36]

Carew's use of Rome is usually related to the king. Herrick's classicizing in Hesperides pervades the whole book. Herrick himself appears in the frontispiece to Hesperides as a very Roman bust on a pedestal. He continually refers to household gods and sacrifices, and does not explain, as Carew does, that these are not really happening. The rites he describes in his epithalamia - for the weddings of named English people - are a mixture of traditional English and classical: Hymen is invoked, crowned with marjoram and carrying a torch (112.3, H-283). Other epithalamia had also mixed classical and Christian

[36] Carew, *'In answer of an Elegiacall Letter...'*, Poems, pp. 74-77. See p. 48 above.

rites. Spenser's 'Epithalamion' uses classical elements in describing the scene of the wedding and the celebrations after the ceremony, but the ceremony itself is explicitly Christian. Jonson's 'Epithalamion for Hierome Weston and Frances Stuart' separates classical and Christian references in the same way. (Davenant wrote a poem for the bridegroom's father on the same occasion: it does not describe the wedding ceremonies, and Davenant refers to himself as '*Apollo's* Priest' with a robe, a rod and a wreath.) Herrick begins his epithalamion when the bride is leaving the church, but he allows it to appear that the wedding has been conducted according to pagan ceremonial.[37] Another wedding poem in Hesperides includes prayers to Lucina (the goddess of childbirth) and injunctions to the bride to be a good wife on the Roman model, devoting herself to spinning (220.3, H-633). Sometimes Herrick goes out of his way to Romanize English material. The English rustics of '*The Hock-Cart*, or *Harvest Home*' (101.1, H-250) manage to harvest wine and oil in the English countryside. One of the epigrams (106.1, H-261) describes a man doing penance in church as a candidate (in white) standing in 'the *Holy-Forum*': a Roman candidate was a candidate for office and the word had no connotation of a penitential rite. In a poem in Noble Numbers (380.6, N-152)) Herrick transliterates a biblical reference from the Vulgate, *in foro... in vineam* (Matthew xx 3-4), as 'I'th *Forum* here, or *Vineyard*.' The 1611 Bible translates it as 'market-place', which is the basic meaning of '*forum*' in any case.

[37] 'Epithalamion', Minor Poems, ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1960), pp. 421-34. 'Epithalamion for Hierome Weston and Frances Stuart', Ben Jonson, viii. 252-8. Davenant, 'To the Earle of Portland, Lord Treasurer; on the mariage of his Sonne', Poems, ed. A.M. Gibbs (Oxford, 1972), pp. 45-6.

Herrick does not allow any complexity in Rome's political history to appear. His Rome is not a forum for political debate. Figures like Cato and Brutus, who are heroes of *Romanitas* in Lucan, appear in Hesperides, but they are treated non-politically. Herrick lifts them straight out of his source (Martial) and treats them in the same way: he addresses them as figures of the present day well-known for their great austerity who will nevertheless not be offended by Herrick's poems (6.2, H-4; 7.3, H-8; 301.1, H-962). The Cato is in fact a different Cato, an ancestor of the one in Lucan, and it is not clear which Brutus is referred to.[38] They keep their significance as representatives of Roman virtue, but their historical context has been lost. With its loss has gone the sense that even in their lifetime they represented an older, vanishing Rome. Herrick's Rome exists out of time, and does not suffer decay and change as the real Rome did. Constitutionally there is only one Rome in Hesperides, the Empire (Herrick never uses the word 'republic'), but the volume includes elements from both the republic and the empire.

Herrick's aim is to combine Rome and England into the world represented in the Hesperides. The temporal contrast between the old Rome and the new is replaced by contrasts between civilization and things that are rude or wild, and between 'antient honesty' and modern weakness. The sense of an inevitable decline from good to bad in the temporal process is not present. In these contrasts he takes Rome not as a historical parallel but as an extra-historical touchstone for

[38] Herrick is referring to Cato the Censor, of the 2nd century B.C., famous for his opposition to Greek influence and his maintenance of the traditional Roman virtues. His great-grandson Cato Uticensis, who appears in Lucan's poem, fought for Pompey against Caesar - reluctantly, according to Lucan, but because Pompey was at least nominally defending the Republic.

what is good. Anything that is good may be Roman; it may be the traditional country life or the civilization of the city, it may be compared to the Senate and the City or to a figure of the new Rome like Sulla. (Sulla was not an exemplary figure in every respect, but the point of comparison is exceptional good fortune.) Herrick does not ignore the concept of *Romanitas*. His references to Rome are frequent at every level, ranging from a comparison between an English person and a Roman hero to a passing allusion to the household gods. They are often reinforced with a deliberately latinate vocabulary.[39] Using Rome not as a historical city, but as a source of images, ideas and institutions whose worth is guaranteed by reputation and antiquity, Herrick in effect refurnishes his England as Rome. The concept of a lost *Romanitas* is not ignored but bypassed: Rome has been brought into the present.

Hesperides does make moral contrasts between the past and the present, but the context for them is usually the praise of someone for his incarnation of the older virtues. Representatives of old virtue live contemporaneously with modern decline. Sir Lewis Pemberton, a Northamptonshire landowner (possibly a family friend of Herrick), is one of these. He represents the virtues of 'the old Race of mankind': generosity, hospitality, friendship, and moderation. '*A Panegyrick to Sir* Lewis Pemberton' (146.1, H-377) praises him as the model of traditional hospitality, whose contrary is modern churlishness. Pemberton brings the past to life in the present:

> Thou do'st redeeme those times; and what was lost

[39] One pair of poems about the defence of Exeter, 251.5 (H-745) and 254.3 (H-756), includes 'progermination', 'circumflankt', 'renovation' and 'preternaturall'. Hesperides is the first instance given in OED for the first two.

Of antient honesty, may boast
It keeps a growth in thee.

After Pemberton's status as equal in worth to the past has been firmly established, he is compared to a Roman Tribune. His status does not depend on the comparison, although it is enhanced by it and given connotations of care for the public good. His household is an English one, but it is protected by *'Genius'* and *'Larre'*: it is a household in a world made of elements drawn from England and Rome.

The city, in Hesperides, also belongs to this Roman England. Its moral status is usually unquestioned because it is contrasted so strongly with the country, and the country is a rough, wild, rocky place of exile. The city is a place of civilization. In two poems (171.4, H-456, and 242.1, H-713) Herrick describes his return to the city as a resumption of active Roman citizenship. The first begins

Come, leave this loathed Country-life, and then
Grow up to be a Roman *Citizen*.

The city is civil: a 'smoother Sphere' where 'mild Men' live who speak a 'gliding tongue'. It is the exact opposite of the country. In 242.1 he celebrates his return to the cosmopolitan centre of things.

O *Place*! O *People*! Manners! fram'd to please
All *Nations, Customs, Kindreds, Languages*!
I am a free-born *Roman*; suffer then
That I amongst you live a Citizen.

Among the inhabitants of the city there are more representatives of the old virtues, such as Herrick's kinsman Sir Thomas Soame (176.1, H-466). Sir Thomas was knighted in 1641, and was an alderman. He is called a *'Patrician'* and a 'Senatour'; he wears a Roman toga, a civic crown (a Roman military decoration, originally) and a golden chain. His chain of office and these Roman insignia have been conflated to

make him one image, drawing on both sources, of the man of integrity in public life.

Herrick creates a gallery of heroes in Hesperides comparable to the heroes of *Romanitas* in Lucan except that they are identifiable English people of the present day. Pemberton and Soame are two of them; others include Herrick's friends and relations, patrons (Endimion Porter, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Marquis of Dorchester, who is '*Ultimus Heroum*', the greatest of the illustrious), Ben Jonson, John Selden, connections of the Porter circle of poets and young royal officials in London, such as John Warre (for whom Randolph wrote an elegy), and John Crofts, the friend of Thomas Carew. These poems praising Herrick's contemporaries are designed to be part of a volume in which a world was to be represented, one of whose important elements was the inheritance of Rome. Herrick is thus able to make allusions to Rome without encountering political or historical questions. He can state explicitly of John Selden exactly what Carew goes to great lengths to suggest indirectly of the king: 'a *Selden*, that's a Demi-god' (142.5, H-365). His book has become a world itself, independent of the historical world in which the real England and Rome exist. In the world of Hesperides the king is also both Roman and English. Herrick does not use the Augustan technique of ambiguity in praising him: there is enough distance from the historical England within Hesperides already. The king who heals the evil (a practice with its roots in medieval kingship, described with numerous references to incidents of healing in the Gospels) is addressed as 'Adored *Cesar*!' (61.2, H-161). When he has captured the city of Leicester the goddess of Victory, in a white stole, hovers about his

head (271.1, H-823).

Marvell complained of Thomas May's parallels between Rome and England because they produced a confused hybrid, or an inferior continuation of the Roman original.

> Foul Architect that hadst not eye to see
> How ill the measures of these States agree.
> And who by *Romes* example *England* lay,
> Those but to *Lucan* do continue *May*.[40]

May's Rome was part of a political parallel between two states, and therefore it was historical. However, unhistorical references to Rome, like Herrick's, were politically much more powerful. It frees itself from historical consistency and continuity, in the same way as Charles used the royal prerogative during the 1630s to free himself from the constraints of tradition embodied in the common law. Herrick could ignore, as May could not, the lessons of history: his recreation of a depoliticised Rome in England is far more charged with political implication than May's translation.

Sir Richard Fanshawe's poems and translations in Il Pastor Fido (1648) complete the circle by picturing a Roman England, like Carew's or Herrick's, and recommending it to look to Rome for a political parallel, thus, as it were, continuing May to Lucan, finding Roman examples for England. One of Fanshawe's poems, in fact, 'Maius Lucanizans' ('May Lucanizing') praises May's translation of the Pharsalia, his continuation of it and his translation of that back into Latin ('Romae Romana remittis'). After complimenting him on this achievement, Fanshawe surveys the content of May's continuation and praises him particularly for ending with the decisive victory of

[40] Marvell, Poems, i. 94-7.

Augustus. He ends 'Hinc suspende Tubas' (addressing May):

> Hang up the trumpets here. Here recognise your sweet choruses in the company of Virgil and Horace. Let the noble victor listen to the song of his pacified world, and let all our olive wreaths be changed for ivy. Let the poet, his task completed, enjoy grateful leisure under his rule.[41]

They exchange olive for ivy to prepare for a drinking session to celebrate the peace. Fanshawe has moved effortlessly from praise of May's republican poem to praise of the emperor in the same classical terms (olive, ivy, and blessed leisure) that Carew and others adopted to praise Charles.

Fanshawe had been a junior diplomat in Madrid and was trying to gain a court office when the wars disrupted his career. He joined Charles in Oxford and became secretary of war to the Prince of Wales about 1644, accompanying him to Cornwall and the Channel Islands in the next two years. (Prince Charles was fourteen in 1644. Fanshawe's position was partly that of a tutor.) His volume is dedicated to the Prince. It begins with his translation of Guarini's Pastor Fido, which was originally written to recommend a peace-making marriage to another prince (also Charles). Fanshawe adapts the application to his own pupil. He does not seem to have any specific marriage in mind, but he borrows Guarini's message that there is hope for the troubled country in the person of the young prince. In his own poem, *'Presented* TO HIS HIGHNESSE *In the the West*, Ann. Dom. 1646' (*sic*) he prophesies that

this *Prince's* Starrs

[41] Il Pastor Fido (1648), p. 249. The original (slightly emended) is:

Hic suspende Tubas. Hic cum *Nasone Maronem,*
Et Flaccum, dulcesq; choros agnosce *Tuorum.*
Egregius *Victor* pacato carmine Mundo
Auscultat, totamque *Hederis* indulget *Olivam.*
Emeritus vates agat otia grata sub illo.

Promise an end to all our *Civill Warrs*.

He personifies Britain in classical terms, calling on her to

> *Raise* thy dejected head, bind up thy hair
> With peacefull Olive.[42]

This Romanised Britain introduces a miscellaneous selection of Fanshawe's poems and translations. His 'ODE... Commanding the Gentry to Reside upon their Estates in the Country' describes Britain as a blessed island in classical terms.[43] It is followed by Latin and English versions of poems on the Escorial (Fanshawe had been a diplomat in Madrid) and on Charles's ship the Sovereign of the Seas. 'On the *Loves* of DIDO and AENEAS' translates part of Aeneid iv into Spenserian sonnets (an interesting counterpart to Kynaston).

The world evoked by Fanshawe's miscellany is both royalist and classicist. Towards the end of the collection, in 'On the Earle of *Straffords* Tryall',[44] its classicism becomes more politicised. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, had been one of Charles's most important ministers and worked with Laud in their policy of reform (called 'Thorough'). He was also one of the most resented figures of the government, and when Parliament was recalled he was tried and executed. Fanshawe compares him at his trial to Julius Caesar, supposing Caesar had been tried by the Senate before his murder (which was one of May's subjects). 'Thus had great *Julius* spoke, and lookt', eloquent enough to move even Cato to love and pity. But Strafford is to be preferred even to Caesar, because he asked the king to agree to his execution in the hope of averting civil war. This supreme nobility

[42] Il Pastor Fido, p. 219.
[43] Ibid, pp. 225-9. See pp. 50-1 above.
[44] Ibid., pp. 298-9.

is too much for itself:

> So fell great *Rome* her selfe, opprest at length
> By the united *Worlds*, and her *owne* strength.

This is an ominous note for the British Rome, with an ominous echo of Horace: '*vis consili expers mole ruit sua*', 'Uncounceld force with his own weight / Is crusht'.[45] The poem on Strafford is followed by 'Two Odes out of *Horace*, relating unto the Civill Warres of *Rome*' (III. xxiv and Epode 16). It is clear that the context for these is the English civil wars that followed Strafford's death. The first includes an anachronistic detail of vocabulary that is very relevant to the English wars: translating 'quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt' ('of what use are empty laws without principles?'), Fanshawe's version reads

> For what doe our Lawes stand,
> If punishment weed not the Land?
> What serves vaine Preaching for,
> Which cannot cure our lives?

'Preaching' is his own addition.[46] Epode 16 ends with a call to good men to set sail for the happy isles, such isles as Britain was in the earlier 'ODE...':

> When *Jove* with brasse the Golden-Age infected,
> These Iles he for the pure extracted.
> Now Iron raignes, I like a statue stand,
> To point *Good Men* to a *Good Land*.[47]

How was Britain to follow his directions and return to the blessed times she had enjoyed in the 1630s? For an answer Fanshawe continues to look to the Roman parallel, and ends the book with 'A Summary

[45] Horace, Odes iii. 4.65. Fanshawe's translation: Selected Parts of Horace (1652), p. 33.
[46] Il Pastor Fido, p. 301.
[47] Ibid., p. 303 (misnumbered 203).

Discourse of the Civill Warres of *Rome*, extracted out of the best Latine writers in Prose and Verse. To the Prince His Highnesse, upon occasion of the preceding Odes.' This is, as the title says, a very brief history of the period from the Gracchi to the battle of Actium, after which 'the Commonwealth... *being now quite tired out with civill Warres, submitted her selfe to the just and peacefull Scepter of the most Noble Augustus.*' Fanshawe ends his history, and the volume, with Virgil's description of the destiny of Rome (Aeneid vi. 847-53), applied in this case particularly to Augustus. 'Which I paraphrase to your Highnesse thus:'

> *Others may breathing Mettals softer grave,*
> *Plead Causes better, and poore Clients save*
> *From their oppressours: with an Instrument*
> *They may mete out the spacious Firmament,*
> *And count the rising starres with greater skill,*
> *Reyne the proud Steed, and breake him of his will.*
> *Better their* Sword, *and better use their Pen.*
> Breton remember thou to governe men,
> (Be this thy trade) And to establish Peace,
> To spare the humble, and the proud depresse.[48]

In this translation Fanshawe is still evoking a British Rome. He substitutes 'Breton' for 'Romane', and, less obviously, his last line sounds more like the Christian Magnificat ('he hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek') than the original, 'parcere subiectis et debellare superbos', 'to spare those who have been humbled and to tame in war the proud'.

However, there is no Augustus for Fanshawe's British Rome. Augustus in his volume is the classical emperor and the traditional '*Mirrour of Princes*',[49] but he is not the king of England. The king, by 1648, had lost his authority, and it was not possible to borrow it

[48] Il Pastor Fido, p. 312.
[49] Ibid., p. 311.

again from a Roman gloss. Of the alternative worlds of the 1630s Rome was perhaps the closest to real political life, but it was not in the end a substitute for it: Fanshawe cannot exclude the fact of Rome's fall from his poem on Strafford, and although he writes of an alternative world his dedication to Prince Charles recognises the disappearance of the old reality. (Herrick's Hesperides, published in the same year, was also dedicated to the Prince.)

The 1630s alternative worlds, Rome, Jerusalem and Arcadia, were not self-sufficient fictions. They were ways of writing about contemporary England, which is why the element of historicity is so important in them. The English Arcadia was not left an indefinite place but located in a real island and turned into a historical state. The English Jerusalem was, variously, London, or New England, or the Church of England. The English Rome had to be made unhistorical, paradoxically, because of its relevance to contemporary English politics. But in the 1640s the situation in England changed irrevocably when the court disappeared, and this semi-fictional mode had to change with it; there was no longer a real court to wear these costumes. The volumes of the 1640s were to develop into self-sufficient fictional worlds in their own right.

III Alternative worlds in publication

i. Collections of the 1640s

There was little leisure for courtiers to write poetry in the 1640s. Most of them fought in the Scottish wars, including Davenant, Carew and Suckling (whose troops were distinguished for their dashing uniforms). Some of them were involved in the First Army Plot of 1641.[1] In 1642 the civil wars began and the court, in November, moved to Oxford, where it remained until 1646. In September 1643 the English Parliament allied itself with the Scots by adopting the Solemn League and Covenant, and in January 1644 the Scottish army entered England. The Royalist troops were now harder pressed. After a series of indecisive battles in 1644 the Parliamentary army was remodelled and won the decisive battle of Naseby in June 1645. The Prince of Wales and others of the royal household joined the queen in France. Charles fled to the Scots (who were royalist, although presbyterian) in May 1646, and Oxford surrendered in July. From then on Charles and his advisers negotiated with Parliament for the most favourable final settlement. There was no more fighting until 1648, when the royalists planned uprisings across the country supported by a Scottish invasion and an assault from across the Channel led by the Prince of Wales. This failed; Charles's chance of restoration had now gone, and he was tried on the charges of treason and making war on his people. He was executed on 30 January 1649.

From 1642 onwards the court had gone from London and the playhouses were closed. Some poets had depended on these for their

[1] See p. 16 above.

livelihood; Parliament had nothing against them personally, but they had to find other occupations. James Shirley, for instance, enlisted under the Earl of Newcastle after the theatres were closed in 1642. When Newcastle went abroad in 1644 Shirley went to live quietly in London. He was a friend of Thomas Stanley, who was there living the same sort of life, the patron of a small circle of writers and artists. John Hall, who was still at Cambridge in 1646, dedicated his Poems (1646) to Stanley. Poets who were more closely in touch with the court were either in Oxford or abroad, to represent the king's interests or in exile. Edmund Waller, for instance, was banished to France after the discovery, in 1643, of the plot named after him. (It was a plan to capture the City of London for Charles and thus effectively immobilise Parliament.)[2] Of the major figures of the 1630s, Carew had died in 1640 and Suckling probably in 1641, after the Army Plot was discovered and he had fled to France. Davenant had also gone to France, but he returned to fight for the king and was knighted at the siege of Gloucester. He spent the later part of the decade in the queen's service, mostly in France. William Cartwright died in Oxford in 1643 of camp-fever, and the king wore mourning for him. Endymion Porter was also at the Oxford court until 1645. After it was dispersed he went to Brussels, compounded with Parliament for his estates in 1648, returned to England and died the next year. Robert Herrick was comparatively unaffected by the wars, unless he took some part in the West Country campaigns (he writes about them). He was not ejected from his living until 1647, and after that stayed in London until the Restoration.

[2]See Waller, Poems, ed. G. Thorn-Drury, p. xli.

The Oxford court kept up its usual routine as far as possible. The King was lodged in Christ Church, the Queen in Merton, and the nobles and courtiers in other colleges. The town was half a court and half a camp. It was full of troops, so that there was always trouble about drunken brawling in the streets, and most of the University Schools were being used as stores for the army. But civilian court life went on, though in the circumstances it must have lost the decorous atmosphere of Charles's Whitehall. There was a Master of the Revels, and festivals such as Christmas were kept with feasting. William Dobson painted many of the courtiers in Oxford. Most of his sitters wear armour, often with the crimson Royalist sash.[3] In March 1645 Oxford was in danger of siege, and Clarendon records a proposal to move the court to Bristol - partly on the grounds that the city, 'by the multitude of ladies and persons of quality who resided there, would not probably endure such an attack of the enemy as the situation of the place and the good fortifications which enclosed it might very well bear.' But the proposal was dropped, because the courtiers would have been most reluctant to leave their 'excellent accommodation' in the colleges.[4] Oxford was finally surrendered in July 1646, after the King had fled to the Scots. The court was then dispersed completely: its members were abroad, or at military headquarters, or in retreat in friendly country houses, or in London living quietly, or in prison.

However, it was in the 1640s that the court poetry of the previous decade was published.[5] While the court still existed court

[3] M. Rogers, William Dobson, 1611-46 (National Portrait Gallery, 1983).
[4] Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, ed. W.D. Macray (Oxford, 1888), iii. 525.
[5] Appendix I gives a chronology of these editions.

poetry could be circulated in manuscript: when there was no court it did not disappear, but was published in print. Sometimes the poet's own involvement with an edition can be shown. In other cases the poems were collected and printed after their author's death by his friends and the bookseller, or the bookseller might print a manuscript collection without authorisation. It seems odd that there should be such a stream of volumes of apparently irrelevant poetry during the troubles of the 1640s, and it raises the question of whether the poetry was, in fact, irrelevant, or whether it might not have been a politically committed act to publish it at all. The publication of this poetry was in itself a departure from the Cavalier amateur tradition, but it played some part in creating the Cavalier image. The circumstances of publication, the presentation of these volumes, the arrangement of their contents, and their degree of conformity to the conventional form for editions of poetry are all matters of importance in answering these questions.

I took Davenant's Madagascar as a key to the network of poetry in the court of the 1630s, and it is an equally good starting-point for the publications of the 1640s. It comes first, chronologically; it appeared in 1638, the year when the first troubles began in Scotland. (It is difficult to draw a sharp line between the two decades. The 1640s, for the purposes of this study, may be taken to start at any point between 1638, when the National Covenant was signed in Scotland, and 1642, when Charles raised his standard at Nottingham.) Like many of its successors, Madagascar followed Jonson's 'The Forrest' and Jonson's classical models in being presented as a collection of informal poems to friends on various occasions. As such it did not

claim any obvious thematic unity, but it did assert its own values of spontaneity and informality - the Cavalier persona of the 'amateur' poet. (In this respect it was not following Jonson, who was a professional.) Like Jonson and his models, Davenant included poems to the monarch and poems on the public affairs of the state. The volume was published by Thomas Walkley, who also published several other court poets and most of the court masques. He was succeeded as a 'court' publisher by Humphrey Moseley, who took over several court poets from Walkley, including Davenant (he published the second edition of Madagascar in 1648), and gathered more for his own list. Moseley's importance in royalist publishing will become evident in the course of this survey.

Jonson's two collections of poetry, 'Epigrammes' and 'The Forrest' ('Underwoods' was not published until 1640) were the chief models for Davenant's collection. Jonson's own models were Horace's lyrics and epistles, Martial's epigrams, and Statius's Silvae. The last two gave him titles and patterns for the two 1616 collections, while Horace is a more pervasive stylistic influence as well as another model for the arrangement of a collection. Horace's volumes of Odes are a collection of lyrics in various metres on a wide range of subjects. Their arrangement is largely miscellaneous but the longer serious 'political' odes, on the moral and political state of the Roman people under Augustus, are usually grouped together at the beginning and end of each book. A lot of the other odes are love-poems. The poems in Statius's Silvae, written about a century later, are not lyrics but almost all hexameters, and not love-poems but poems to friends: epithalamia, consolations and elegies, poems of

greeting and farewell, and descriptions of the great houses of his friends and patrons. They were published, the first three books together and the fourth later, as collections of occasional poetry. (Statius lays great stress on the speed with which he wrote them in the prefatory letter to book I.) In the preface to book IV Statius points out how each collection begins with poems in praise of the emperor, Domitian. Apart from this the arrangement is, like Horace's, miscellaneous.[6] Statius's title is taken from a word for raw material waiting to be worked into shape and he goes out of his way to emphasise that his poems are unpolished, unplanned, occasional, and thrown together in a hurry. Martial, a contemporary of Statius, wrote twelve books of epigrams, each of which is simply a collection of short witty poems. It was a very popular genre in the early seventeenth century, partly because of the reaction against sonnets. Jonson's 'Epigrammes' (supposed to be the first of several books) borrowed the form and imitated some of Martial's introductory poems to his own book.

Statius's works were edited several times in the sixteenth century, and Horace's, which were a school text, were very frequently republished. Apart from the complete works, the publishing history of Horace shows an emphasis (after 1625) on his lyrics. There were four editions of Sir Thomas Hawkins's selection and translation of the Odes between 1625 and 1638;[7] in 1638 there appeared H. Rider's translation of the complete Odes and Epodes; in 1644 the Latin texts of the same works were published, and in 1649 the Odes and Satires, both in

[6] Statius, Silvae IV, ed. K.M. Coleman (Oxford, 1988), p. xvi.

[7] Hawkins was a friend and correspondent of James Howell and a contributor to Jonsonus Virbius. In the 1630s he translated many works, mostly Roman Catholic.

small-format portable editions. In the early 1650s two more collections were published, Horace, the Best of Lyrick Poets (1652), translated by Barten Holyday, and All Horace his Lyrics (1653). Holyday's Horace is a fascinating collection. It is a very small octavo volume containing, as Holyday explains, the 'morall, and serious *Odes*', not 'his wanton and looser straines of *Poesie*'.[8] Holyday included most of the Roman odes and the moralizing ones, four of the epodes, his own verse paraphrase of Matthew 24: 29-31 ('On the day of judgement') and an elegy for Sir Philip Sidney.[9] He also translated Persius's satires. He puts a very strong emphasis on the lyric and moral character of Horace's poetry. Martial's epigrams were also widely read in Latin, and Thomas May's translation of a selection was published in 1629.

'The Forrest' is a more interesting model for the collections of the 1640s than 'Epigrammes' (though most poets did write epigrams) because, although it is a miscellaneous collection of occasional poems, they are presented and chosen in such a way as to convey an image of the poet who wrote them. This is a point that Jonson takes from Statius, whose presence in his own Silvae is asserted in two ways. The prefatory letter to each book describes how the poems were written: it is addressed to one of the friends who is mentioned. Further information about the poet's social standing can be inferred from the list of people he knows. This list is provided, as it is in Madagascar, by the titles of his poems. Jonson's 'Forrest' is not so

8 Horace, the Best of Lyrick Poets, sig. A2^{v}. Holyday made an exception for III. 9 ('Donec gratus eram tibi'): 'This Ode, though lesse morall then the rest, I have admitted, for *Jul. Scaliger's* sake, who much admireth it' (p. 32).

9 See pp. 221-2 below.

much of a social catalogue, but it is very carefully constructed. There are fifteen poems, of which the first is a renunciation of love. The following poems include love-songs nonetheless, as if to show that the poet has something to renounce.[10] Mostly, however, they are songs of the good life in its various forms. Beginning with material examples of good life in the idealised country households of 'To Penshurst' and 'To Sir Robert Wroth', Jonson moves to a more internalised vision in the Stoic self-reliance of 'To the World', in which personal integrity replaces the self-sufficiency of the good household. This is succeeded by the embodiment in individuals of this command of the good life: the image of a perfect woman in 'Epode', and, more specifically, the praise of the rightly-governed characters of two noblewomen, the Countess of Rutland and Lady Aubigny. Throughout the volume the Sidney family has been providing examples of what is good, and the penultimate poem ('Ode. To Sir William Sidney on His Birthday'), placed just before the poet finally addresses his God, celebrates the Sidney dynasty.

Jonson's debt to Horace cannot be underestimated. However, he has taken from Statius his title, the volume's form (ostensibly unrelated occasional pieces), and the presentation of the volume so as to bring out its implicit theme. Jonson's theme is the nature of the good life; Statius's, the creation of good things (such as a new road, an equestrian statue of Domitian, or a villa) by the interaction of art with nature. Jonson has also created an image of the poet by reiterating certain moral themes and referring to particular patrons; the poet thinks these things and knows these people. It is in this way

[10] Self-contradiction on this theme has its own classical models, for example Horace, Odes iii. 26 ('Vixi puellis nuper idoneus').

that the volume makes a statement about the poet. This, too, is the point taken by Jonson from Statius that was most influential for later volumes: Madagascar is again the obvious example. Madagascar itself influenced other court volumes of the 1640s perhaps more than did Jonson's collections, including The Vnder-wood. Sir Kenelm Digby edited the latter from a manuscript of Jonson's, and the selection and arrangement of the poems are not haphazard, but not as finished as in The Forest. Three poems to God begin the collection, followed by most of the love-lyrics. Royal poems are roughly grouped together towards the end. It was not The Vnder-wood that provided the pattern for the 1640s collections, unless Jonson's titles - forest, underwood, and timber - helped to suggest the idea of a volume as a grove or a garden.

A volume can also make a statement about the world and its place in the world. In a way, this is a political statement. Jonson's poems provide an example of how this happens. They were not actually published as independent volumes, but appeared in the two editions of his Workes. The Workes first appeared in 1616 in one folio volume. It began with a very ornate title-page to the whole collection which is composed of visual references to classical theatre, introducing the plays. 'Epigrammes' and 'The Forrest' follow the plays. 'Epigrammes' has its own title-page, a purely verbal and factual one: 'EPIGRAMMES. I. BOOKE. The Author B.I.'. 'The Forrest' follows straight on without its own title-page. It is introduced only by an ornamental heading whose design shows satyrs and a boar's head among leaves. The 1640 edition was in two volumes, the first a reprint of the 1616 edition. It keeps the ornate general title-page, and 'The Forrest' has no

title-page of its own but only a new ornamental heading, again making visual references to forests (stags, boars, and hawks). However, 'Epigrammes' has a new title-page with an ornamental heading showing a winged figure among wreaths of honeysuckle and vines, the same verbal information as in 1616 (except that this time the details of the imprint are given), and an emblematic device of an ornamental square surmounted by a cherub's head. Within this there is a man in robes who is being given a book and a sheaf of wheat by two hands from the cloud above his head. The motto interprets the picture: 'THOV SHALT LABOR FOR PEACE [and] PLENTIE'.

The poems that these two title-pages introduce are almost exactly the same.[11] But the later title-page tries to direct the assumptions of its readers, and in so doing it places itself in a wider context than a purely literary one. In 1640 a parliament was called for the first time in eleven years, and it was becoming more and more obvious that Charles's policy of absolute rule had not been economically (let alone politically) practicable. A volume which introduces itself as a world of peace and plenty, when peace and plenty were such politically charged ideas, suggests that the poetry belongs to more worlds than the purely literary realm. This raises questions about what poetry is for in the wider public life of the nation, and what it should be about. In Jonson's Workes an emblematic picture is used to present the poems to the public debate. There were other methods in other volumes, of which the most important are typography and format.

Davenant's Madagascar makes a statement about the poet in the

[11] One poem, 'TO EDWARD FILMER, *on his Musicall Work, dedicated to the Queen*', was added to 'Epigrammes' in 1640.

manner I have already described. It also makes a statement about the world, in the first place by the presentation of the volume. The design of the 1638 edition is neo-classical. It was the poetry of a courtier, and so it is surrounded by columns, pillars and pediments, the motifs of neo-classical architecture (strongly associated with the court through the king's Surveyor-General and masque designer Inigo Jones) in decorative borders. It introduces itself unhurriedly and elegantly, without squashing together recommendations and dedications. Each page of prelimaries has its own decorative border, and a new page is given to the imprimatur, the dedication and the commendatory verses (by carefully chosen courtiers). Each poem also has a decorative border to begin and end it. The 1648 edition is very similar. It is slightly less generous with paper, but it still aims for the court qualities of visual elegance, clarity, and confidence. Moreover, its political alignment becomes more explicit. The decorative borders of the 1648 volume, published after six years of war against the king, are made up of royal badges. The title poem, for instance, which is placed first, has a heading of crowns, harps, thistles, fleurs-de-lys, and roses, repeated in rows. Variations on this appear throughout the volume.[12]

In another way, too, Madagascar makes a statement about the world. Except for the poetic persona, borrowed from Horace, of the visionary and intoxicated bard, Davenant does not make much use of

[12] The royalism of the 1648 edition may have been the contribution of its publisher, Humphrey Moseley. His edition of Shirley's Poems &c. (1646) prints the royal coat of arms at the top of the first page, introducing a quite unrelated song about seduction. But when the publication of poetry is a political act, the presentation of the volume is as much the concern of the publisher as of the poet.



CUPIDS *Call.*

HO! *Cupid* calls, come Lovers, come,
Bring his wanton Harveſt home:
The Weſt-wind blowes, the Birds do ſing,
The Earth's enamell'd, 'tis high Spring:
Let Hinds whoſe ſoul is Corn and Hay,
Expect their crop another day.

Into Loves Spring-garden walk,
Virgins dangle on their ſtalk,
Full blown, and playing at fifteen:
Come bring your amorous ſickles then?
See they are pointing to their beds,
And call to reap their Maiden-heads.

Shirley, Poems &c. (1646), p. 1.

classical models. The poems in Madagascar are of their own time and place, mostly written for specific occasions in the court world, as their titles indicate: 'TO THE QVEENE, entertain'd at night by the Countesse of *Anglesey*', 'Vpon the nuptials of *Charles*, Lord *Herbert*, and the Lady M. Villers', 'To *Endimion* Porter, passing to Court to him, by water'.[13] Davenant adopts the Horatian persona of the inspired poet to allow him to fictionalise the real world of the court which he is writing about, in much the same way as the masques (which were mostly by Davenant) provide a mythology for the king and his courtiers. Many of the poems in Madagascar, including the title-poem, are set in a half-fictional, half-real world, and perception of this world is controlled by the poet.

The title-poem, 'Madagascar', is a dream poem, but it is a controlled dream. The poet explains in the introductory lines that he has been ill, and his soul and body have been in danger sometimes of parting company. He would like to represent this weakness as an attempt at philosophical investigation, but his friends at court say it is merely weariness of life. He has decided, therefore, not to die, but instead to send his soul adventuring only in his sleep, like 'old *Chaldean* Prophets'.

> Thus in a dreame, I did adventure out
> Just so much Soule as Sinners giv'n to doubt
> Of after usage dare forgoe a while:
> And this swift Pilot steer'd unto an Isle,
> Betweene the Southern *Tropick* and the *Line*; (21-5)

This is supposed to be spoken by a prophetic bard, and therefore to be authoritative. But it is set against a background of physical illness (and personal weakness) and undercut by the self-mocking detail about

[13] Davenant, Poems, ed. A.M. Gibbs, pp. 44-47, 97-97, 100-102.

the misgivings of sinners. The poem is a dream, and therefore inspired, but there are suggestions of conscious control: 'Thus... I did adventure out.' Davenant's subject is unusual in that it is based on fact - so it is not myth, allegory or pure invention - but it is not true. It thus fits exactly this half-real mode of the will controlling a dream, or conversely reality controlled by inspiration. The commendatory verses pick up this point. Suckling plays on the fiction of the poem and the real gold he asks for. Carew says that, having read 'Madagascar', he now doubts the truth of other epics, implying that 'Madagascar' has a greater truth - when actually it is demonstrably false. Rupert never did sail to Madagascar. The likeness to masque is obvious. Like masquers, the characters of 'Madagascar' are real (and named) but they are acting a fiction. References to art are insistent in Davenant's description of the set-piece duel (a section introduced by a further appeal to inspiration, 'Now give mee Wine!' [l. 119]). He appeals to a type of the heroic warrior (Sidney), is led into a digression on the transmission of ideal images in art (as if to underline what he is creating himself), and, returning to the duel, remarks that the duellists look 'as if their postures were in brasse'. More widely, the patrons and friends Davenant lists in his titles are placed, in the volume introduced by 'Madagascar', in a fictionalised world, as if they were masquers. Endymion Porter, for instance, is constantly given a fictional costume of classical attributes and called Maecenas, because he is in fact Davenant's patron.

Davenant's Madagascar was published before the political situation exploded in the early 1640s. After that happened, Davenant's

easy mock-heroic voice could not be regained; when the court had lost its security it could not laugh at its own myths. However, it continued to transmit them. Thomas Carew's Poems were published by Thomas Walkley in 1640, just after his death. The title page mentions Carew's court office of Sewer in Ordinary. There are no commendatory verses and the volume is small and plainly designed. A note at the end mentions that Henry Lawes set the songs and dialogues. The poems are arranged in no particular order, except that they begin with a large group of love poems. In short, Carew's Poems looks as if it was produced in a hurry from a manuscript. It is designed to sell as the work of a court love poet, but one whose author does not need the help of commendatory verses or references to figures like Lawes on the title page. It embodies the 1630s court world without being concerned to recreate its atmosphere for the reader. However, Davenant's mode of fictionalised reality, which found emblems, figures and types in real life, was also carried on. Two poems of the early 1640s show how the mode provided a way of responding to the pressures of the political situation: Sir John Denham's Coopers Hill (1642) and Henry Glapthorne's White-Hall (1643). Glapthorne's is more old-fashioned, and it will be easier in this case to depart from chronological order and take White-Hall first.

Henry Glapthorne had published a collection of his poems in 1639. From the evidence of his dedications and patrons he had court connections, perhaps indirectly through the Portland family. He seems to have been close enough to the court to be a friend of a Gentleman

14 His plays were performed at court in the late 1630s. White-Hall is dedicated to 'my noble Friend and Gossip, Captain Richard Lovelace'.

of the Bedchamber.[14] White-Hall includes elegies for this friend's wife, and for the Earls of Bedford and Manchester. The title-poem, however, is the major part of the volume. It is the soliloquy of the palace of Whitehall as it considers its present deserted state. Glapthorne begins from this, the powerful visual evidence of present political reality. The court has gone. Whitehall looks back on its former glories since it was built by Wolsey. It remembers the courts of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, concentrating on these reigns - long, stable and authoritarian - in an otherwise troubled century. Within these reigns it dwells on periods of peace. Henry's rule is seen as a time of peace succeeding civil wars, and it is so welcome that Glapthorne uses a metaphor of the equivalence of England and Eden - the Thames becomes the four rivers that flowed out of Paradise. Elizabeth's reign is seen as a time of peace and also a time free from civil oppressions and abuses. In Armada year there was no civil or foreign war; justice had returned to earth (the Golden Age theme again); there were no monopolies or patents,

> But each one then did under his own vine,
> Eat his bread freely, and carouse his wine.

Within ten lines Glapthorne has combined the Biblical and the classical images (the vine and fig-tree reference and the Golden Age) of the state of blessedness which the court had been using of itself throughout the preceding decade.[15] (He goes on to include the image of the Muses' grove in his description of James's reign.) For Glapthorne, obviously, Whitehall is an emblem of the court. Its culture - 'my daily practise of delight' - is tied to the building. If the court is not at Whitehall then it has ceased to exist. Glapthorne makes the

[15] Glapthorne, White-Hall, sig. B1^{r}.

building the voice of the court, and so commits himself more firmly to this assumption. Court culture, moreover, must be the result of a state of peace and good government. Glapthorne dwells more on the court in the undoubtedly successful reigns of the two great Tudors, using them to make these points about good government and court splendour, than he does on the stark visual contrast between Whitehall now and the place ten years ago. He has no solution to offer for the present state of things except this reiteration of justifications found in the past.

Sir John Denham, on the other hand, tackling the same sort of problem in Coopers Hill, has a much better, and more flexible, idea of what a court is.[16] 'Courts make not Kings, but Kings the Court'. He is thus, unlike Glapthorne, able to get away from the impasse of the present situation and to offer ways of resolving it - the moderate constitutional solutions of the Great Tew circle. He achieves this by adopting from the outset a flexibility about what poetry does. Like Davenant sending out a calculated 'Just so much Soule...', he appears to suit his inspiration to his circumstances, but with a more serious purpose. If he can be a poet, then Cooper's Hill will be enough of a Parnassus for him.

> Sure we have Poets, that did never dreame
> Upon *Pernassus*, nor did taste the streame
> Of *Helicon*, and therefore I suppose
> Those made not poets, but the Poets those.
> And as Courts make not Kings, but Kings the Court;
> So where the Muses, and their Troopes resort,
> *Pernassus* stands; if I can be to thee
> A Poet, thou *Pernassus* are to me.

16 Coopers Hill (1642) has a very complicated textual history: see Brendan O Hehir's edition, Expans'd Hieroglyphicks (Berkeley, 1969). The text quoted here is that of the 1642 edition, Expans'd Hieroglyphicks, pp. 109-134.

From this starting-point, on his real poetic hill, Denham surveys the kingdom and its present state, concentrating on scenes and buildings that will symbolise the whole realm.[17] St. Paul's and the City of London are thus seen as theatres for the enactment of royal policy, and Windsor Castle as more directly related to the king, 'Thy Masters Embleme'. Then, after this spatial survey, Denham moves through times listing the heroes of Windsor, Caesar, Arthur, Canute, and so on. He stops this catalogue to concentrate on the Order of the Garter, instituted by Edward III. By identifying the blue Garter ribbon with the sea round Britain he can implicitly identify Charles with the kingdom he has been surveying,

> Who has within that Azure round confin'd
> Those Realmes, which Nature for their bound design'd.
> That bound which to the worlds extreamest ends,
> Endlesse her selfe, her liquid armes extends.

Charles has kept the nation at peace within its boundaries of water - not involved in European war. Britain wears the sea, 'that Azure round', as honourably as the king wears the blue Garter ribbon. Explicitly Charles is identified with the patron saint of the Order (and of England), St. George, 'the Martyr, and the Souldier',

> In whose Heroicke face I see the Saint
> Better exprest, then in the liveliest paint;
> That fortitude which made him famous here,
> That heavenly piety, which Saint's him there,
> Who when this Order he forsakes, may he
> Companion of that sacred Order be. [ll. 135-40]

Charles had revived the Garter procession, and he appeared in Coelum Britannicum as a British hero, variously Prince Arthur or St. George. The Garter ceremonies were one of the few public shows for which he

[17] Inigo Jones made St Paul's represent the whole realm in Britannia Triumphans (1638). See pp. 63-4 above.

had any enthusiasm. Peter Heylyn's The History of... St George of Cappadocia (1633) was dedicated to Charles; the third part of the volume is a history of the Order of the Garter.[18] The kingdom is animated in the person of Charles. If it rebelled against him it would be rebelling against itself, acting against its own nature. The landscape of Windsor is then surveyed. It provides emblems (Chertsey Abbey and Runnymede) to suggest the moderate policy in religion and politics that Denham wanted to promote. The landscape is itself animated, so that it can welcome and respond to its master Charles, who is now seen as a huntsman. Denham peoples the meadows with naiads and dryads, Faunus and Sylvanus, kindly local deities. Their function is essentially to personify the landscape in order to dramatise its harmonious relation to the head of its hierarchy, the king.

However politically committed Denham's poetry might be, it did not convince Charles that poetry was a weapon of war. Denham records how in the summer of 1647 he went to visit Charles in captivity. The king asked him when he had written some verses to Richard Fanshawe, and was pleased to hear that it had been some years ago:

> He was afraid I had written them since my return into England, and though he liked them well, he would advise me to write no more, alleging, that when men are young, and have little else to do, they might vent the overflowings of their Fancy that way, but when they were thought fit for more serious Employments, if they still persisted in that course, it would look, as if they minded not the way to any better. Whereupon I stood corrected as long as I had the honour to wait upon him...[19]

[18] Part III begins with a familiar theme: 'Our course is now for England, *divisos orbe Britannos*, as the Poet hath it; divided from the other parts of the World, as in her situation, so in her felicities' (p. 289). On Charles and the Garter see O Hehir, Expans'd Hieroglyphicks, p. 19.

[19] Denham, 'To the King', dedicatory epistle to Poems and Translations (1668); The poetical works, ed. T.H. Banks (New Haven, 1969), p. 59.

In this light, poetry could not be seen as a serious affair, even though Denham, who recieved this rebuke, ended Coopers Hill with one of the most serious assessments of the national situation that Charles ever received from a poet:

> Therefore their boundlesse power let Princes draw
> Within the Channell, and the shores of Law,
> And may that Law, which teaches Kings to sway
> Their Scepters, teach their Subjects to obey.[20]

However, if poetry was not to be allowed a part in the wars, poets were. As the decade went on their volumes begin to take account of political affiliations that might be imputed to them. The more involved in politics they are themselves, the more this is the case. In 1645 Humphrey Moseley published two collections of poetry by two men approaching their forties, one a Member of Parliament, one a scholar, each with some reputation as a poet, both now publishing a collection designed to establish that reputation. They were Edmund Waller and John Milton. Waller's takes a political stance: Milton's insists on neutrality.

Waller's Poems was the first volume to appear. It was printed three times in 1645, at first, in fact, for Thomas Walkley. All the subsequent editions were by Humphrey Moseley, who claimed that Walkley had pirated it; and by the time of the third printing there is some evidence that Moseley's edition had Waller's authority. Waller himself was in exile in Paris at the time, and could not have been very closely involved.[21] Earlier, he had had a conventional career except that he had been a Member of Parliament (not very actively) since he

[20] Expans'd Hieroglyphicks, p. 134.

[21] For a full account of the textual history see Waller, Poems 1646 (Menston, 1971), introduction.

was very young. In the 1630s he was one of many young men about court: rich, witty, writing poems to Lady Dorothy Sidney ('Sacharissa', daughter of the Earl of Leicester), and one of the Great Tew circle. He supported the policy promoted by Falkland and his friends of moderate royalism, respecting the establishment of Church and State. In the early 1640s he had been attempting to use his position - a courtier, an M.P. and John Hampden's cousin - to mediate between the two sides. His involvement in the plot, however, ended those attempts and banished him to France until after the king's death.

Waller's political position, then, was shaky. The presentation of his Poems, in contrast, is unequivocally aligned with the court. The title-page introduces him with his status, his parliamentary career, and his court connection: 'POEMS, &c. WRITTEN BY MR. *ED. WALLER* of *Beckonsfield*, Esquire; lately a Member of the Honourable House of Commons. All the Lyricke Poems in this Booke were set by Mr. HENRY LAVVES Gent. of the Kings Chappell, and one of his Majesties Private Musick.' The prefatory epistle ('To my Lady') adopts the customary court attitude to poetry - his poems, he says, are the products of a disease that afflicts the young. Moseley's introduction, which follows, picks up the concealed point - that he is publishing this poetry all the same - and asserts that it deserves publication. The poems are their own justification. They are, like their author, now 'expos'd to the wide world, to travell, and try their fortunes'. At any rate they would have to stand on their own as a volume, since the author was in no position to help them.

Most of the poems are love-songs and epigrams. Their arrangement appears to be haphazard, but in fact a comparison with Walkley's first

edition (which is haphazard) shows that the material has been arranged. The four poems to the king, all of them long and on public occasions (such as the building works on St. Paul's) are placed first, like the royal poems in earlier collections. Poems to the Sidney family and the Countess of Carlisle - important friends and patrons - are also grouped near the beginning. In Walkley's edition, probably printed straight from a manuscript collection, there is some thematic grouping, so that, for instance, three royal poems are placed together, but it is not presentational: royal poems are placed at random among epigrams and songs. There is nothing haphazard about Moseley's volume. Not only is it royalist, declaring a loyalty through the unimportant, non-combatant medium of poetry - the trifling disease of youth - but it is also beginning to formulate 'Cavalier' qualities other than, merely, conventional nonchalance about one's own verse.

The four poems about the king are all on highly controversial subjects: his favourite and chief minister Buckingham; the expansion of the navy, financed by ship money; the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral (which had a part in the Laudian policy to restore the ceremonies and buildings of the Church); and the expedition of Buckingham and Charles to Spain in 1624. Waller tends, in these, to praise the king for a neo-Platonic idea of government based on the government of the emotions by the reason. When Charles hears that Buckingham has been stabbed he remains controlled:

> Such huge extreams inhabit thy great minde,
> God-like unmov'd, and yet like woman kinde;

Personal government and public must fulfil the same criteria - the king is, after all, a microcosm of his kingdom. So the king's navy is

seen as a control over the destructive, wild, passionate element, the sea. What effect a ship might have on the sea, more than the sea on it, must be small: but it had been a favourite image since James I had united the two kingdoms and been called Neptune, protector of the island of Britain. In another view of harmony, the restoration of St. Paul's provides Waller with symbols for government, both personal (his personal religion) and public (the Established Church). He compares Charles's works with the achievement of Amphion, who built Thebes - the harmony of architecture - with his music (a parallel Marvell was later to use of Cromwell in 'The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C.'). The metaphor of music enables Waller to suggest a still more balanced form of government, imposing its will not by violent force or by reason but by an aesthetic persuasion that appeals to both reason and passion. (A further contribution to the cause of balance is that Charles is given both a classical and a Biblical protcype, Solomon as well as Amphion. Such double references also appear in the poems on Buckingham's death and on the navy.) These are points which will be developed as the image of the Cavalier becomes more important. They are also instances of Waller finding emblems in the reality around him, in the 1630s, and asserting the interpretation of political reality given by these emblems, in the 1640s. As a mode of thinking it is not confined to politics and Charles. Elsewhere in the 1645 volume Waller pictures Dorothy Sidney at Penshurst, in a pastoral fiction, as a lady in a grove, the focus of all the trees and plants (which follow her - there is again a comparison with Amphion). She is the source and the head of a small-scale hierarchy that Waller has invented to express his compliment. The garden is animated to express its devotion to her, just as Denham animated Cooper's Hill to make it

emblematic of loyalty to Charles.

The title-page of Milton's Poems is quite like that of Waller's. It advertises that 'The SONGS were set in Musick by Mr. HENRY LAWES Gentleman of the KINGS Chappel, and one of his MAIESTIES Private Musick'. In place of information about the poet's career and status it carries an epigraph (Virgil, Eclogues vii. 27-8) to introduce Milton as a young and untried poet. The contents of the two volumes, on the other hand, are startlingly different.

Milton's volume is characterised by a strong declaration of his intentions. He introduces himself by means of Virgil's eclogues and thus sets his pastoral poems in the context of the classical three stages, exemplified by Virgil's works, of the poet's career. He refers to his Muse, which is conventional, but identifies her as a heavenly Muse, which is unusual. His contemporaries will either refer to secular inspiration, like Davenant, or to divine inspiration without the pagan borrowing of the Muse, like Herbert and his followers. Milton begins his volume with the most important subject for poetry (placed out of chronological order) but it is the Incarnation, not King Charles. He includes, most unusually, his juvenilia and unfinished poems, pointing out how young he was when he wrote them; many of the poems are given explanatory head-notes; they are arranged in chronological and generic order. It is as if he is editing the first volume of his own Collected Poems. There is nothing of the nonchalant attitude of a courtier, like Waller, to his poems. Raymond Waddington, making this point, argues further to it that the priority Waller gives to royal poems is 'nostalgic' and that Waller writes in a private mode for a limited audience: while Milton writes in a public

mode for everyone.[22] But it is not nostalgic to attach importance to poems on good government, in the middle of a civil war, and it is not private to write on the public actions and policies of the head of state.[23] Waller's poetry is social, not private, and his volume takes up a committed position in a public and political world. Milton's is personal and his volume presents itself not as a part of the world but as a part of his own development. It was not normative for succeeding collections in arrangement nor - unfortunately - in the nature of its contents.

In the next year, 1646, Moseley again published two collections by poets with court collections, Suckling's Fragmenta Aurea and Shirley's Poems &c. In 1647 he published Cowley's The Mistresse and in 1648 Richard Fanshawe's translation of Guarini, Il Pastor Fido.[24] Moseley's imprint begins itself to indicate, because he published so many of the court poets, that his author has or is likely to have some sort of place in the court circle. Meanwhile the court circle itself was breaking up: Suckling had died in 1642, Cowley was in France, Shirley was living quietly in London and Fanshawe was either doing the same or had left for France at the time of the publication of these volumes. In the later part of the decade, as the court was dispersed, court culture embodied itself in different centres, in small circles of poets for whom poetry was, more and more, a private recreation, or

[22] Raymond B. Waddington, 'Milton among the Carolines', in C.M. Patrides & R.B. Waddington (eds.), The Age of Milton (Manchester, 1980), pp. 340-1.

[23] Waller's poetry is, of course, private in that it is occasional and written initially for a small circle, with references not easily understood outside the circle. Much of Milton's shares these characteristics.

[24] The translation with two poems by Fanshawe was published in 1647 (STC 2174). The 1648 edition included a collection of Fanshawe's poetry and one or two short prose works.

in books, especially collections of poetry.

Moseley's list of authors was itself one of these replacements for the court.[25] Joseph Leigh, in one of the many commendatory poems for William Cartwright's Comedies, Tragi-Comedies (Moseley, 1651), praised Moseley for having published so many of the 'Wits'.[26] Leigh begins his list with two of the foremost court poets, 'brave SUCKLING' and

> *melting* CAREVV, *who so long*
> *Maintain'd the* Court *with many a charming Song*.

He also includes Waller, Beaumont and Fletcher, Denham, Newcastle, Davenant, Stapylton, Fanshawe, Stanley, Sherburn, Robert Heath, Crashaw, Shirley, Quarles, and Cartwright. All of these were affiliated to the court or the royalist side in some degree. Most are familiar names. Sir Robert Stapylton was a Benedictine monk at Douai in 1625, but later turned Protestant and became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Prince Charles. He was knighted at Nottingham in 1642 and spent the early 1640s with the court in Oxford. The Duke of Newcastle had a part in the First Army Plot and was later a royalist general. Shirley and Davenant both fought under him. The odd men out in Leigh's list are Beaumont and Fletcher. They were probably included because Moseley's edition of their Comedies and Tragedies (1647) was a volume that embodied court culture in the same way as Cartwright's

25 It should be noted that Moseley did not hold a monopoly of court publishing. Lovelace's Lucasta (1649) was published by Thomas Evvster, and Herrick's Hesperides (1648) by Williams and Eglesfield. Moseley did buy up the authors of Thomas Walkley and the Marriots, and seems in his preface to Milton's Poems (1645) to think of his imprint as a guarantee of polished and witty poetry.

26 'To the Stationer (Mr *Moseley*) on his Printing Mr CARTVVRIGHT'S Poems', Comedies, Tragi-Comedies (1651), sig. *1.

poems: the commemdatory verses provide a similar list of court writers. Six of them (Stapylton, Denham, Waller, Stanley, Cartwright and Shirley) appear in Leigh's list, and James Howell, Richard Lovelace, Richard Corbett, Ben Jonson and Robert Herrick also contributed. (Some of them were recruited posthumously.) The Cartwright volume has a royalist flavour about it. Moseley dedicated it to 'the late most flourishing University of Oxford', and Leigh remarks in his catalogue that

> SHERBURN *made old* Seneca *tell why*
> Knaves oft triumph while Good men smart and dye.

These centres of court culture naturally overlap. The group of poets that formed itself round Thomas Stanley, in London and Cambridge, included Shirley and both Richard and Dudley Lovelace, who were producing 'public' collections of court poetry. There is, however, a different emphasis visible in the presentation of their publications: some are public, some private. John Hall's Poems (Cambridge, for J. Rothwell, 1646; dedicated to Thomas Stanley) is very much a product of a small Cambridge circle. His dedicatory epistle is dated from St John's, all eight commendatory poems are by Cambridge fellows or students, and the poems include three to Stanley besides an ode to Hall's tutor. Again, Stanley's own Poems and translations (1647) was privately printed in a very small edition probably of less than fifty copies, for circulation among his friends. (The publication seems to have been handled for him by Moseley, who produced the later editions.) The 1647 volume was not presented as part of a court world, or aligned with the royalist side, which shows that when Moseley gives this sort of presentation to 'public' editions

such as the collections by Shirley and Suckling it is deliberate. It is not simply a house style. Neither of the 1646 collections, by Shirley and Suckling, is such a typical product, in its content, of the 1630s court as earlier volumes like Carew's Poems (1640) or Madagascar, though Suckling was a courtier and Shirley a dramatist and masque-writer. Neither of them expresses court values directly: but both volumes are presented, not inappropriately, as belonging to a court world.

Shirley's Poems are placed firmly in the Jonsonian tradition. The epigraph on the title-page is *'Sine aliqua dementia nullus Phoebus'*, a direct claim on the tradition of associating poetic inspiration with a divine frenzy. Opposite the title-page the frontispiece shows a half-length bust of the poet, in an academic gown, surrounded by a laurel wreath, with supporting female figures representing comedy and tragedy (one in socks, one in buskins). Like the original title-page to Jonson's Workes of 1616, it makes visual references to classical learning, classical inspiration and classical theatre. One of the commendatory poems, by George Bucke, describes his expectations of such a volume as this, using the image of a gallery of pictures:[27]

> *Whilst I am in thy Poem, I am lead*
> *Through a rich Gallery, in which are spread*
> *The choicest Pictures of true skill and height,*
> *Where every pause is Rapture and Delight.*
> *Here, by thy Fancy taught* Apollo *Playes,*
> *To his own* Daphne *in a stand of Bayes;*
> *Here Myrtle Shades are, there the Cypresse Groves;*
> *Here Lovers sigh, and there embrace their Loves.*[28]

As Bucke expects, the volume is at least partly about love and it

[27] See pp. 193-4 below.

[28] Shirley, Poems &c. (1646), sig. $A5^{v}$.

is a structured experience through which the reader is 'lead' by the poet. It begins with an invitation to love, 'CUPIDS *Call*', which introduces a group of twenty-five love lyrics mostly addressed to his mistress Odelia. The next grouping is introduced with a poem 'Upon the Princes Birth' (pp. 28-30); it is a more miscellaneous collection of poems to royalty and noblemen, elegies, epithalamia, poems to friends, commendatory verse, and more love songs. Elegies tend to be grouped together towards the end, and after them come poems denouncing and renouncing love and the conventions of love lyric. The volume opened with an invitation into a garden - 'Into Loves Spring-garden walk'. This is balanced at the end with another garden, but here the conventional delights are denied and rejected.[29] It will not be sunny, or always spring and summer; there will not be showy tulips (the tulip is an emblem for something that is all show and has no other qualities - edibility, usefulness, scent), but rather melancholy violets; there will be an arbour, but it will be planted of bays and cypress (conventionally, for a poet, it would be myrtle and laurel) and instead of doubling as a bed for love it will become the poet's tomb. There will be no women, and no birds, except perhaps a broken-hearted nightingale which comes there to die. The last poem of the collection[30] is a *'Dialogue'* (p. 77) between two voices in which the conventions for describing women (in catalogues of similes) are ridiculed. Suppose, the first voice asks, a painter

> Should paint this darling of thy heart
> A net, a rock, a shrine of snow,
> A Church, a garden, and a bow,
> Is't not a pretty face compounded so?

[29] *'The Garden'*, Poems &c., pp. 69-70.

[30] That is, the last poem before 'Narcissus', a longer poem which is reprinted from 1618.

Shirley's collection takes the reader into, through and away from the world of love lyric - a highly conventional and stylised world in which this closing renunciation is only another of its conventions. But he goes further in renunciation than is usual, by overturning the conventional rhetoric and redefining the standardized idyllic location, the garden, even though he contributed to its standard image himself in the introductory poem, 'CUPIDS *Call*'. There, the nightingale in the grove appears in a more usual light:

> Hark, how in yonder shadie grove
> Sweet *Philomel* is warbling love,
> And with her voice is courting Kings,
> For since she was a Bird, she sings,
> There is no pleasure but in men,
> Oh come and ravish me agen.

The garden in 'CUPIDS *Call*' may be a more conventional one, but it is certainly not conformable to the neo-Platonic fashions of the court - as is demonstrated by the nightingale's song, which outrageously plays on Ovid's account of the rape of Philomela.[31] It is worth noting that Shirley's volume does not begin with a poem to the king. In fact, the poem 'Upon the Princes Birth' which begins the next section is not in the conventional court mode of congratulation, which would be praise of the queen, complimentary reference to the royal children as stars or flowers, mention of good omens and a vote of confidence in the continuing reign of Charles and his family. Shirley's poem is a drinking-song. It lists all the nations, Dutch, Irish, Welsh, French, Scots, and so on, describing how characteristically drunk each got to celebrate the birth. Shirley is not a poet particularly attached to any conventions, of the court or

[31] Ovid, Metamorphoses vi: 425-673.

of the poetic modes he was using himself. But a court poet is not necessarily a poet who writes down the court's ideas. Shirley is a genuine heir to the Jonsonian tradition. He is treating his volume as a world and conducting the reader through it actively, creating expectations for him, upsetting them, using conventions and redefining them. It is this that distinguishes Shirley's created 'world' from a volume like Cowley's The Mistresse (1647), which is a collection exclusively of love-poems. It does not follow a narrative (unlike earlier models for such a collection, the sonnet-sequences of the 1590s) but it begins with 'The Request' to be able to love and ends with a renunciation. The only third persons in the whole volume are the rival and the maid-servant. Cowley's is not an alternative created world but a dramatically narrowed one, and the poet in it is not a director, controlling the reader's experience, but an actor. His epigraph draws on a different part of the classical tradition, not the poet's inspiration and authority but a line from the Aeneid describing Dido in love with Aeneas: 'the fatal dart sticks fast in her side'.[32]

Suckling's Fragmenta Aurea was published four years after the poet's death, *'by a Friend to perpetuate his memory'*, according to the title-page. (The friend was probably Frances Cranfield, his cousin, who married Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset.)[33] It is thus a different sort of collection from the others discussed here. Poems, prose works and letters are all gathered together as the 'fragments' left behind by the poet, who died before he could produce a more finished collection; the volume is given unity by Suckling's early death - at the age of twenty-eight, according to the frontispiece.

[32] *'Haeret lateri lethalis arundo'*, Aeneid iv. 73.
[33] Suckling, Works, ed. T. Clayton (Oxford, 1971), pp. lxxxiii-v.

(Actually he was thirty-two.) The plays were published at the same time and probably issued together with Fragmenta Aurea - they are usually bound together. Suckling was not in charge of this collection. The poems he had written during the 1630s were, if anything, opposed to court values; he undermines the conventions of court culture even more thoroughly than Shirley. His love-lyrics attack love not in the conventional way of the lover complaining of Cupid, but at the roots. Love is dishonest, painful, ridiculous; women are untrustworthy and dishonourable; the business of courtship, to which a young poet in the court tradition like Cowley could devote a volume, is either denounced as a nonsense, or praised because, as a game, it offers the only pleasure and interest in the whole affair. The court quality of wit is knocked down with equal thoroughness in *'A Sessions of the Poets'*. The wits are judged by Apollo (who is again the symbol of true poetic authority) and condemned, one after another, for presumption, obscurity, lack of seriousness (Suckling's own fault), or for owing their reputation to their favoured position at court. It is not wit that Suckling attacks, but the pretenders to it who devalue truth by basing their reputation on appearances. Similarly it is the dishonesty and dissembling of the court game of love that he rejects. An extreme of devotion in love will be turned suddenly to an extreme of cynicism. If you take yourself too seriously as a wit you will be presumptuous, difficult or obscure: on the other hand you can be condemned, as Suckling condemns himself, for being too cynical. Suckling's definitions for the court values of wit and love are negative. If they were stated openly in a context as full of untruth and dissembling as the court - their home - they would be corrupted and destroyed.

The interest of Moseley's edition of Fragmenta Aurea is in the way its presentation of the poet cheerfully ignores the paradoxical negatives of his 'court' poetry. The frontispiece shows the poet with a toga-like robe and a laurel wreath. The title-page to the poems tells the reader that 'The Lyrick Poems were set in Musick by Mr *Henry Lawes*, Gent. of the Kings Chappel, and one of His Majesties Private Musick'. The poems are headed with the royal arms, like Shirley's but perhaps with more justification, as a poem to the king begins the collection. '*On New-years day* 1640. *To the* KING' uses the conventional imagery of the king as the sun, and of government as a musical harmony, to say very little; it is basically a poem of greeting. It is also, as the reader finds on moving further into the collection, Suckling's only royal poem. It is not part of a group of poems to the king, the queen, and the nobility, patrons of the poet (Suckling had an independent income), and so it is not strengthened (as are many other New Year poems which say equally little) by a place in a network of poems about the court world. On the contrary, it is immediately countered by 'Loving and Beloved', which happens to be placed second and sets the tone for the rejection of court style:

> There never yet was honest man
> That ever drove the trade of love;
> It is impossible, nor can
> Integrity our ends promove:
> For Kings and Lovers are alike in this
> That their chief art in reigne dissembling is.

The presentation of a 'court' volume has become such a standard form that it is used without qualification for a court poet who is uncourtly, like Shirley, or positively hostile to the life (if not the values) of the court, like Suckling. The format remains constant, and

the idea of the volume as a world created and controlled by the poet - which the unchanging format supports - grows stronger. Moseley's preface to Fragmenta Aurea returns to the image of the garden (with its implications of variety and progression; one walks through a garden):

> The gate is open, and thy soule invited to a Garden of ravishing variety, admire his wit, that created these for thy delight...

It is a garden that enshrines values, an emblematic garden (like any contemporary great garden). These values are art and honour; Suckling himself, according to Moseley, was an emblem of them in his lifetime. (Suckling would probably have disagreed.) It is a volume among others to be bought and sold, but unlike others it makes special demands on the reader, who must himself become excellent in art and honour. It belongs to an elite among books, which requires in its readers qualities such as the court did in its courtiers:

> In this Age of Paper-prostitutions, a man may buy the reputation of some Authors into the price of their Volume; but know, the Name that leadeth into this Elysium, is sacred to *Art* and *Honour*, and no man that is not excellent in both, is qualified a *Competent Judge:* For when Knowledg is allowed, yet Education in the Censure of a Gentleman, requires as many descents, as goes to make one; And he that is bold upon his unequall Stock, to traduce this Name, or Learning, will deserve to be condemned againe into Ignorance his Originall sinne, and dye in it.[34]

Moseley ends his invitation with a melancholy reflection on the present times: 'admire his wit, that created these for thy delight, while I withdraw into a shade, and contemplate who must follow.' The court is vanishing. Possibly, however, it may be replaced by the book.

The title-page of Richard Fanshawe's Il Pastor Fido, published by

[34] Fragmenta Aurea (1646), sig. $A3^{v}$-$A4^{r}$.

Moseley in 1648, unusually pays some attention to the civil wars. Admittedly it refers to the Roman civil wars, but Fanshawe's intention is to draw a parallel between these and the English.

IL
PASTOR FIDO
The faithfull Shepheard
WITH
AN ADDITION of divers other
POEMS
Concluding with a short Discourse
OF THE LONG
CIVILL WARRES
OF
ROME.
To His Highnesse
THE PRINCE OF
WALES.

By *Richard Fanshawe*, Esq.

HORAT.
Patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.

The epigraph is from Horace (Epistles I.v.15) - 'I shall suffer you, if you will, to think me reckless' - and may be another reference to the wars, forestalling possible criticism for publishing poetry at a time of crisis. (Denham, who had narrowly escaped criticism on these grounds from the king, wrote the commendatory poem for Fanshawe's volume.) In fact, most of Fanshawe's poems are political. 'Il Pastor Fido' is a political allegory (Guarini wrote it as such in the first place) which Fanshawe applies explicitly to Britain in his dedicatory epistle to Prince Charles.[35] The pastoral, according to Fanshawe, is written to educate the reader in moral, political and theological wisdom, the distillation of Guarini's experience, conveyed to the reader in a fictionalised world - 'in... masking clothes (as I may say)' (sig. $A3^{v}$). He hopes that this wisdom will help to resolve

[35] See p. 131 above.

Britain's troubles. His Roman parallels are also addressed to Prince Charles. The two poems '*Presented* to His Highnesse...' when he began his campaigns in the West Country recommend Julius Caesar as a model (both as ruler and as soldier), and look for the 'peacefull *golden Age*' to be fulfilled in the prince (echoing Virgil's fourth eclogue). The restoration of order under the young prince is a prevailing theme in the volume. Fanshawe's attention is directed outwards, not inwards, and it is clear that his golden age is to be realised in the world, not in the volume. It is significant that he is addressing the Prince of Wales and not the King, whose cause by this time seemed hopeless.

Richard Lovelace is in some ways Fanshawe's opposite. He was in England and in touch with the court during the 1630s, while in the 1640s he was out of the country most of the time. Lovelace was at Oxford in the late 1630s (he was one of the 'persons of quality' created M.A. during the royal visit of 1636)[36] and then entered court circles, where he was immediately popular and successful. He was a protégé of George Goring and fought in his regiment in both Scottish wars. He was the elder son of a landed family with royal patronage; he had had the usual aristocratic education with contacts with the London playhouses and the court; he had gained a reputation as a poet by the time he was twenty. During the 1640s he fought abroad, under Goring again. (He had been imprisoned for the royalist cause and his brothers were fighting for it in England; possibly he was keeping out of the way by a family arrangement to avoid forfeiting the estate.) He returned to London after Charles was captured and lived quietly in a circle of poets and artists. He was considered royalist and dangerous

[36] Lovelace, Poems, ed. C.H. Wilkinson (Oxford, 1930), p. xx.

enough to be imprisoned again in a moment of crisis in 1648. (He prepared Lucasta for the press in prison, according to Anthony Wood. There is no reason to doubt this and it suggests that the volume's arrangement is authorial.) The commendatory verses for Lucasta provide an index for Lovelace's social and literary standing. They were supplementary to the main part of the volume and printed later, so that some copies were bound without them, although there were not two separate issues.[37] Lovelace is not Davenant, who needs his commendatory verses, or Milton, who lets his poetry justify itself without help, but a gentleman poet to whom they are ornamental but not essential.

Lucasta was not published by Moseley, but the presentation of title-page and frontispiece is along Moseley's lines. It does not begin with poems to the king. Charles was executed on 30 January 1649: Lucasta appeared in June. Instead it starts with a group of songs addressed to Lucasta and others. For most of these the name of the composer is given. Probably they were quite widely known already. There are two royal poems, one an elegy for a pre-war university collection, the other a poem to a princess of the Palatine family whom Lovelace knew personally; neither is a 'public' poem, but they are placed together after the songs, taking precedence of poems to other friends. The rest of the volume intersperses songs with pastorals and poems to friends, ending with 'Aramantha. A PASTORALL', which is given prominence by its position at the end and its own frontispiece, showing a robed young woman seated in a rural landscape.

> The songs place a strong emphasis on truth and fidelity, as

[37] Lovelace, Poems, p. lxxvi.

Suckling's do. Here, however, it is a positive emphasis, and the context is different: not the dissembling court society, but a world of wars and partings, uncontrollable forces creating unpleasant necessities. Lovelace responds to these necessities, for example in 'To LUCASTA, Going beyond the Seas' (placed first), with the well-worn idea (mediated through court neo-Platonism) of the lovers' souls rising above the physical sphere, where their bodies are separated, to a transcendent and private world. The argument of the next poem, 'To Lucasta Going to the wars', relies on the same idea of a private world. In the terms of the public, earthly world, the lover is leaving Lucasta for a new mistress (it does not matter that the mistress is not another woman, but war): but in the terms of their private world, understood by both of them, that mistress is honour, and honour is paramount. In private worlds such as that of the unassailably true relation between lovers, values like honour are recognised and preserved. The images Lovelace finds for this personal world are quiet retreats away from the world of necessity and war -

> the Nunnerie
> Of thy chaste breast, and quiet minde.[38]

In a less ethically charged poem, his mistress's hair, loosened, becomes a grove.

> Within this Grove
> The Bower, and the walkes of Love,
> Weary lye we downe and rest.[39]

The same focus of fidelity and liberty is found in a poem of explicit political reference, 'To Lucasta from prison'. The poet is looking for

38 'To Lucasta Going to the wars', Poems, p. 18.
39 'To Amarantha that she would dishevel her hair'. Poems, pp. 20-1.

something to love, but cannot find an object for his affections that is sufficiently trustworthy. Peace has despised earth, war is everywhere, religion is being killed, parliament has been beheaded,

> The *Publick Faith* I would adore,
> But she is banke-rupt of her store;
> Nor how to trust her can I see,
> For she that couzens all, must me.
>
> Since then none of these can be
> Fit objects for my Love and me;
> What then remaines, but th'only spring
> Of all our loves and joyes? The KING.

Having found a relation of truth and fidelity, he has also found a world in which his ethic of service can operate:

> I soone may see
> How to serve you, and you trust me.

The world where cavalier values survive is the world of trustworthy personal relations, and these are opportunities of service, whether to king or mistress. It is not surprising that Lovelace persistently uses imagery of the religious life, the nunnery, or the hermitage. From an earthly point of view he is confined, but actually he has the liberty of the angels.

> Stone Walls doe not a Prison make,
> Nor I'ron bars a Cage;
> Minds innocent and quiet take
> That for an Hermitage;
> If I have freedome in my Love,
> And in my soule am free;
> Angels alone that sore above,
> Injoy such Liberty.[40]

This alternative world is personal and not public, mental and not physical, spiritual and not earthly. It is expressed in terms of personal relationships and the values of honour, loyalty, and

[40] 'To Althea from prison', Poems, pp. 78-9.

integrity. It is not overcome by the adverse circumstances in which those relationships have to be carried on. Lovelace's loyalty to a losing cause provides him with a way of asserting his liberty. As the inhabitant of an alternative world, which cannot be affected by contemporary politics, he is free. Just as Waller and Denham animated the landscape to make it an emblematic picture of their alternative worlds, Lovelace calls Lucasta <u>out</u> of retirement (she is in mourning) to a place - the personal world - where everything obeys her. 'All's Loyall here': the weather, the elements, and the poet.

> See! She obeys! by all obeyed thus;
> No storms, heats, Colds, no soules contentious,
> Nor Civill War is found - I meane, to us.
>
> Lovers and Angels, though in Heav'n they show
> And see the Woes and Discords here below,
> What they not feale, must not be said to know.[41]

This personal world, which enables Lovelace to accept the defeats of the real world, works in the same way as the masques. Charles is really the king: Lovelace is really fighting and suffering in 'Civill War', 'Woes and Discords'. But Charles is also Albanactus, the ruler of an ancient Britain celebrating a triumph in a Roman city. He is not a king pretending to be Albanactus for a sort of Roman holiday. The point of the masque is that his achievements and aims as king can be expressed in the speaking image (the pictorial element of a masque was very great) of Albanactus. In the same way the poet's personal world is superimposed on Lovelace's real world. He has worked out a response to the turbulent times, beginning in the court's neo-Platonic separation of soul and body, that enables him to disconnect the court from the country. Nonetheless it is not a way of escape from what had

[41] *'Calling* LUCASTA *from her Retirement.* Ode', <u>Poems,</u> pp. 105-6.

happened to the country. His assertions of liberty and triumph are the product of - they are even justified by - his captivity and defeat. It is the same sort of paradox as that with which Marvell ends 'The Definition of Love'.[42] Circumstances defeat him:

> As Lines so Loves *oblique* may well
> Themselves in every Angle greet
> But ours so truly Paralel,
> Though infinite can never meet.

Triumphantly, he superimposes a different view of the same situation (that he and his love are as distant as polar opposites). 'Therefore' - the circumstances do not change and the resolution is justified by them -

> Therefore the Love which us doth bind,
> But Fate so enviously debarrs,
> Is the Conjunction of the Mind,
> And Opposition of the Stars.

Lovelace does also include the idea of pastoral retirement in his volume. Retirement from the world was a fact: it meant retirement from public affairs (as in the songs to Lucasta), shelter in country houses from the Parliamentary side, and retirement into the Cavalier circle. In 'The Lady *A.L. My* Asylum *in a great extremity*' Lovelace expresses his thanks by making a distinction between the lady's house, 'lifes Pavillion' inhabited by 'a living Saint', and the rest of the 'Vild World' (i.e. wild), which containes nothing of any worth except his grateful heart. Its inhabitants are buffoons, thieves, robbers and murderers. Even these, however, may be converted to virtue by the

42 Marvell, Poems, ed. H.M. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1971), pp. 39-40. There are echoes of 'To LUCASTA, Going beyond the Seas' in 'The Definition'; see Marvell, Complete Poems, ed. E.S. Donno (Penguin, 1972), p. 232. Marvell wrote a commendatory poem for Lucasta.

Lady's example. Lovelace makes the Lady and her house the centre of the world (she is like the sun), and everything outside peripheral. His asylum is turned into voluntary imprisonment. Will I, he asks,

> Tye my free Spirit onely unto her,
> And yeeld up my Affection Prisoner?[43]

Voluntary imprisonment is liberty: 'Stone Walls doe not a Prison make'. Lovelace inverts the perspective to show one situation, of refuge from the world, turning into another, as the place of refuge is seen to be the true centre of the world. The situations are the same, but the view changes.

This characteristic double vision plays its part in 'Aramantha'.[44] Aramantha is a pastoral maiden. She rises at cockcrow and dresses in natural clothes; these and her natural beauty are contrasted to the distortions and cosmetics to which 'Loves Martyrs of the Towne' have to resort. Aramantha, then, is not a lady of the court. However, on her own ground she is a queen. The flowers in the garden turn to her as if to the sun, and pay their tribute. The sunflower is noble, the marigold loyal, the tulip 'rich robed', and the honeysuckle, which possesses scent, colour and taste,

> Contemnes the wanting Commonalty,
> That but to two ends usefull be.

These flowers behave like a court. There is a similar court of flowers in Fanshawe's 'ODE... Comnmanding the Gentry to reside upon their Estates in the Country' - which is, of course, what the wars have compelled Aramantha (who will turn out to be Lucasta) to do.

> The Lillie (Queene) the (Royall) Rose,

[43] Lovelace, Poems, pp. 62-5.
[44] Poems, pp. 107-118.

The Gillyflowre (Prince of the bloud)
The (Courtyer) Tulip (gay in clothes)
The (Regall Budd)
The Vilet (Purple Senatour)
How they doe mock the pompe of State...[45]

After the flowers have paid their 'due Obedience' to Aramantha, she leaves the garden and goes out to the meadows to milk the cow - she is still a pastoral maiden, after all. The cows greet her and pay tribute in milk that is called 'silver' and 'Pearle'. The cows are another society, less like a court than the flowers, but certainly noble.[46] These societies of flowers and cattle are not entirely idyllic. Some of the flowers had to die, although in doing so they became a garland (a '*Crown*') for Aramantha. The cattle, too, will be slaughtered eventually, and Aramantha weeps for their fate. Now that she has touched them they 'prize their life,

Worthy alone the *hallowed knife*.

They will be killed all the same, but their obedience to Aramantha gives them a sort of purpose, a dedication: she is the focus of their world, as she is of the flowers. Moreover, Lovelace has shown that neither of these courts or societies is completely secure and independent. They depend on other events and other people: they are not islands. Leaving the cows, Aramantha goes into a wood and comes to 'a well orderd stately grove.' This is explicitly a court.

This is the Pallace of the Wood,
And Court oth' Royall Oake, where stood
The whole Nobility, the Pine,
Strait Ash, tall Firre, and wanton Vine.

[45] Guarini, Il Pastor Fido, tr. Fanshawe (1648), pp. 228-9.

[46] L.S. Marcus reads 'Aramantha' as an allegory and suggests that the cows actually represent Royalist noblemen: but so strong an identification seems both implausible and, by contemporary standards, indecorous. See The Politics of Mirth (Chicago, 1986), pp. 218-220.

Here she falls asleep. In the flowers, the cattle and the trees, Lovelace has created courts in the country. By making three different ones, progressing by stages to the 'Pallace of the Wood', he suggests the notion that a court is not so much a place as an idea which can be embodied in the world. Flowers, cattle and trees all approach to the Idea of the court.

Aramantha is woken by someone lamenting. The wood is no court to him, in his grief, and the idea of a court is of something superficial and foolish - not noble and permanent.

> Fly Joy on wings of *Popinjayes*
> To Courts of fools, there as your playes
> Dye, laught at and forgot; whilst all
> That's good, mourns at this Funerall.

This is Alexis, mourning his lost Lucasta. Aramantha is Lucasta, disguised and hidden in the wood, and she reveals herself. She has suffered in the civil wars; each side has been fighting for the same things, 'BARDS Decrees, and DRUIDS rite', but they have destroyed their pastoral world.

> For safeguard of their proper joyes,
> And Shepheards freedome, each destroyes
> The glory of this Sicilie.

So she fled to this pastoral retreat. Alexis hangs up his arms, takes a crook and becomes a shepherd, and they live there happily together. They are restored to their true identities in the life of court pastoral. They lead this life in a wood which is itself a court. They have fled to this wood because their happy pastoral world, 'Sicilie', has been destroyed. Aramantha has a natural beauty, not the contrived beauty of town ladies, but she turns out not to be a natural pastoral maiden after all. We are shown the court in the country and then the

country within the court, in layer after layer.

'Aramantha' shows the court in retirement in the country, but something important has happened to the court in the course of the decade. It is no longer a group of people who can write coterie poetry mocking each other. It is not the spirit of a building like the voice of Glapthorne's White-Hall. It is an ideal that can be embodied to some degree in a place of peace, nobility, beauty and truth like Aramantha's country landscape. The old distinction between court and country is now meaningless. A grove, or a garden, or a poem, or a volume, can all attempt to embody the values of the court, and if they succeed they will have created a small world of loyalty and honour, the values singled out in Lovelace's songs as the important part of the Cavalier image. At this point the disembodied court is more an ideology, or a set of values, than it was when it actually existed in the 1630s. It has no substance, but Lovelace takes its own Platonism and defines it as an essence.

III Alternative worlds in publication

ii. Hesperides

Robert Herrick wrote a great many poems, and he has suffered for it. He has been called a Christian poet, a pagan one, a ritualist, a lyricist, an escapist and a satirist. Any of these descriptions, and others besides, can quite well be supported from Hesperides and Noble Numbers. Any of them can also be contradicted. Various keys have been offered to Herrick's poetic character: mutability, death, ceremony, and others. None, however, has been able to account for the sheer variety of his poetry.

Hesperides itself has usually been seen as simply haphazard, but it has also been treated as a collection more or less formally structured. L.C. Martin, Herrick's editor, suggests that it has a basically chronological arrangement, and that seems to be the case, although there are exceptions and very few of the poems can definitely be dated. J.L. Kimmey identifies eight-poem groups introducing and concluding a disproportionately large middle section, but this is not so much a structure as a frame. He argues that the structure is provided by the biography, told in the poems, of Herrick's *persona*, concluding with his old age, death, and epitaph. D.M. Huson interprets the poems as a *confessio* recording Herrick's spiritual growth towards Christianity. She finds that the poems are arranged in thematic sections, each section signalled by a poem to the king. She tends, however, to underestimate the autonomy of each poem, and her imposition of a 'narrative' development can lead to distortions: for instance, she says that *'To the King'* (236.7, H-685) is the first time

Herrick associates the king with God, although he has already done so more explicitly in 'TO THE KING, To cure the Evill' (61.2, H-161).[1] There are arguments against each of these analyses. What defeats all of them, in the end, is the variety of Herrick's poetry. The basic puzzle of Hesperides is why Herrick should have chosen to publish a great many very short poems with no obvious thematic grouping in a format that suggests a structured collection. There are easier ways of conditioning the reader's response to a book, and these were accessible to Herrick's contemporaries. Yet, of all the poets publishing in the 1640s, Herrick was one of the most closely involved in the production of his own book.

Hesperides was published in 1648 in London by John Williams and Francis Eglesfield. Part of the edition was ordered in advance by the bookseller Thomas Hunt to be sold in Exeter (Herrick's county town), so that his name appears on some title-pages. The full title reads 'HESPERIDES: OR, THE WORKS BOTH HUMANE & DIVINE OF ROBERT HERRICK Esq.' As in many other contemporary collections, the 'humane' poems are separated from the divine, or 'Noble Numbers', which have their own title-page (dated 1647) and pagination.[2] Their title-page is dependent on that of Hesperides (it begins 'HIS NOBLE NUMBERS: *OR*, HIS PIOUS PIECES' without naming the author anywhere), so that it seems unlikely that the two collections were intended as separate issues, in

[1] Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford, 1956), p. xxxvii. D.M. Huson, 'Robert Herrick's Hesperides Considered as an Organised Work', Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1972. J.L. Kimmey, 'Robert Herrick's Persona', SP lxvii (1970), 221-36, and 'Order and Form in Herrick's Hesperides', JEGP lxx (1971), 255-68. The style of reference to Herrick's poems is explained above, p. 2.

[2] Other examples are Richard Crashaw, Steps to the Temple (1646), and Mildmay Fane, Otia Sacra (1648). Milton separates his Latin and English poems.

spite of their different dates.[3] Even so, the 'Noble Numbers' are firmly set apart from the secular poems and evidently do not form part of the same collection. There is hardly any cross-reference. The secular poems, by themselves, are Hesperides. Their separation from the divine poems, and the fact that their sub-title is used as the title for the collected Works, suggest from the reader's first encounter with the volume that Hesperides is a planned collection and not a simple accumulation of poems.[4] It is the first suggestion, but there is so much other evidence to lead to this conclusion - especially in the volume's preliminaries - that it seems a minor point.

Like other planned collections, for example George Herbert's The Temple (1633) and Abraham Cowley's The Mistress (1647), Hesperides has a thematic title. The Hesperides were originally nymphs, the daughters of Atlas and Hesperis, who guarded the golden apples which grew in a garden somewhere to the west of the Mediterranean world, beyond Mount Atlas. They were also, though not by Herrick, called the Atlantides.[5] They are not the same as Hesper (or Hesperus, or Vesper), the evening star, which appears in the western sky. This was represented as a boy with a torch, the son of Atlas. However, Herrick, who is nothing if not eclectic, refers to his poems as '*Morne*, and *Evening Stars*' as well, in the dedicatory poem to Prince Charles.[6] The name of Hesperides was used by extension for the garden of the nymphs, and the

[3] Although 'Noble Numbers' is dated 1647 there is no evidence that it was issued separately.

[4] Hesperides is usually used as the title for both.

[5] Eric Smith, A Dictionary of Classical Reference in English Poetry (Cambridge, 1984), p. 113.

[6] 'TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS, AND Most Hopefull PRINCE, CHARLES, Prince of *Wales*' (3.1).

whole idea of a garden in the west where golden apples grew was loosely linked with the Isles of the Blest in the western ocean. So Herrick may mean that his poems, besides being stars, are fruits of the garden, or that the volume is the garden (the idea of the book as a garden was well-established),[1] and he may also be drawing on the identification of Britain with the blessed western islands, or more specifically referring to his own residence in the West Country.[2] In any case Herrick is certainly giving his book the name of a paradisal enclosed place.

The frontispiece and the epigraph bring in other ideas besides the themes suggested by the title, ideas of the peculiar status and powers of poetry. The epigraph on the title-page, '*Effugient avidos Carmina nostra Rogos*', says that poetry will survive death, which consumes everything else; only these poems will survive of Herrick when he is dead.[3] The frontispiece shows his tomb, surmounted by a bust of the poet in the conventional way. The verse on the tomb, by John Harmar, promises Herrick laurels for poetic fame, and olives (for peace) for excluding the wars from his poetry. (Actually Herrick is one of the very few court poets who does write about the civil wars.) In his poetry, the inscription continues, he has mixed old with new, pleasantry with rigour. Young men, old men, women and girls can all learn from it. He is surpassed only by Apollo and surpasses all others

[1] N.K. Farmer lists some examples from the 1590s in 'Herrick's Hesperidean Garden: *ut pictura poesis* Applied', in R. Rollin & J. Max Patrick (eds.), "Trust to Good Verses": Herrick Tercentenary Essays (Pittsburgh, 1978), p. 15.

[2] G.C. Moore Smith, 'Herrick's Hesperides', MLR ix (1914), 373-4.

[3] From Ovid, Amores iii.9.28, '*defugiunt avidos carmina sola rogos*', 'songs alone escape the greedy pyre'. Ovid's poem is a lament for the death of Tibullus. Herrick has made it more specific to himself by adding '*nostra*'.

[4] Harmar was a master at Westminster College. He wrote a



Herrick, Hesperides (1648), frontispiece.

in wit, thought, charm and style.[10] What Harmar says is fairly conventional. The remarkable thing about his poem is that it is the only commendatory verse for Hesperides. Herrick's volume does not have the string of complimentary verses from friends and patrons that appear in other 1640s collections. Lovelace, who is a good example of the gentleman amateur poet, includes poems by his friends, and Davenant, who earned his living by writing, makes commendatory verses a sort of introduction from his sponsors. Hesperides does neither, though Herrick did not lack either friends or patrons. Moreover, even Harmar's poem, being part of a picture, is not presented as an ordinary commendatory verse. Herrick's tomb, with Harmar's poem on it, occupies the foreground of the frontispiece. In the background there appears a classical landscape with a hill and a spring, possibly Helicon and the Hippocrene. A winged horse is taking off from the hill, probably Pegasus (the Hippocrene sprang up when Pegasus struck Mount Helicon with his hooves). All of these, the winged horse, the Muses' hill and the spring, are emblems of inspiration. The winged *putti* in the picture, scattering flowers, holding wreaths and laurel branches, and dancing in a ring, are emblems of the fame provided for Herrick by his poetry, and possibly also of inspiration.[11]

Both the epigraph and the frontispiece call on the classical poetic tradition and the eternal life of poetry. More than this, they detach Herrick's poetry from his own times. There is no indication of his social standing. Like the preliminaries to Milton's 1645 Poems

commendatory verse for Lucasta a year later. In *'To his learned friend M.* Jo. Harmar...' (301.5, H-966) Herrick compliments his poetry and his Latinity.

[11]N.K. Farmer, who discusses the frontispiece in 'Herrick's Hesperidean Garden', pp. 25-31, seems to identify these *putti* with the Muses, but they are male. Possibly they are Genii.

(which also lacks commendatory verses), those to Hesperides present its poet neither as a gentleman amateur nor as a professional writer. All that is said about the author is that he is inspired. There is no mention of the court musician Lawes, who frequently appears on title-pages, although Henry Lawes and other court musicians set Herrick's lyrics. The volume does not have one of Humphrey Moseley's prefaces comparing Herrick to some other contemporary poet: his tomb compares him to Apollo. Even the bust of the author looks extremely Roman.[12]

The preliminaries to Hesperides suggest quite strongly that it will be a planned collection with a theme, and they give indications of possible themes in their references to the Hesperides and to the immortal nature of poetry. Moreover, they firmly detach Herrick's poetry from its social context and place it instead in the surrounding of paradisal places exempt from the ordinary processes of time, Helicon and the Hesperides. Harmar's poem praised Herrick for excluding war from his poetry, and I noted that in fact Herrick includes it to an unusual extent. The paradox goes further: Herrick's poems, more than the publications of his contemporaries, establish a social context that is quite detailed, and refer by name (and sometimes title) to very many of his friends, his family, and his patrons. Herrick's social context was, of course, unusual for a 1640s poet affiliated to the court. He had graduated from Cambridge and been ordained in the early 1620s. Between that time and 1628, when he was a chaplain on the Duke of Buckingham's Rhe expedition, virtually nothing

[12] Farmer discusses this point and concludes that probably the bust does resemble Herrick, though there is no direct evidence. 'Herrick's Hesperidean Garden', p. 28.

is known of his life, but it seems almost certain that he was in London and in touch with Ben Jonson's circle, and probable that he was attached in some capacity to one of the royal chapels.[13] He refers to London as both his birthplace and his spiritual home when he is complaining of exile in Devonshire. In 1628 he was nominated to the living of Dean Prior in Devon, whose incumbent had been made Bishop of Carlisle (so that the right of presentation to the living reverted to the Crown). He took up residence in his parish in 1630.[14] He was in Devonshire throughout the 1630s, taking no part in the culture of the court, and for half the next decade, taking no part in the civil wars. He was not in London while the court was performing masques, or with the army during the Scottish wars, or in Oxford when the king had removed his court there. (He does seem to have been in London in 1640, when his poems were entered in the Stationers' Register but not

printed.) He came back to London when he was expelled from his living in 1647 and returned to Dean Prior in 1662.

For most of his writing life, then, Herrick was a court poet who was not at court, and a London poet who was buried in the countryside. But these contradictions in his biography do not account by themselves for the paradoxes of the presentation of his poems. Complicated as

13 The evidence for this is purely circumstantial. He mentions several musicians as friends, and some of his poems were written to be set as verse anthems for performance to the king. There is no mention of Herrick in the State papers, but G.W. Scott points out that to be ordained he must have had some sort of living in prospect. See Scott, Robert Herrick, 1591-1674 (1974), pp. 49-53, and F.W. Moorman, Robert Herrick (New York, 1962), pp. 79 and 87.

14 Again, the evidence is circumstantial, but it seems likely that Herrick was a client of Buckingham's (he frequently speaks of Endymion Porter as his patron), obtained the living through him, and took it up having no better prospects after Buckingham's assassination.

15 F.W. Moorman, Robert Herrick, p. 121.

Herrick's biography is, the persona he adopts in Hesperides adds further complications; but it is at least not elusive. From the beginning, the poet appears in the foreground of his classical landscape and his poetic garden, and throughout the volume Herrick speaks of himself - sometimes by name - more than was usual for any of his contemporaries except perhaps Suckling (who did not publish his poetry). Hesperides is remarkable among 1640s volumes for the presence of the poet in it, for its awareness of itself as a public presentation, and for the reminders throughout the volume that each poem in it is part of a whole collection.

It is a public collection. This unusual self-awareness is expressed in terms of a 'Book', the physical object presented to the public, from the first line of the first poem onwards.

Well may my Book come forth like Publique Day...

This is the dedicatory poem to Prince Charles, then aged 18. Placed in a pivotal position between the preliminaries and the main body of poems (which are themselves introduced with *'The Argument of his Book'*, 5.1, H-1), it stresses the public nature of the book and reinforces one element of the preliminaries I have not yet mentioned, the royal affiliation. Below the epigraph on the title-page there is a large crown. The royal dedication is at this stage the one point of contact between Herrick, in his Hesperidean poetical world, and the specific, historical, hierarchical society that his poems describe. Herrick's poems, morning and evening stars, do homage to Charles; his inspiration, already associated with Helicon, he attributes to Charles.

Well may my Book come forth like Publique Day,

When such a *Light* as *You* are leads the way:
Who are my Works *Creator*, and alone
The *Flame* of it, and the *Expansion*.

His poetic immortality is also ascribed to Charles's influence.

Full is my Book of Glories; but all These
By You become *Immortall Substances*.

The themes of the preliminaries have all been directed to the person of the royal prince, so that the reader is given, through Herrick's dedication, a way to move on to the book itself that follows.

Hesperides refers to itself, as a 'Book', regularly and often. There are five poems which share the title *'To his Booke'*: one each in the opening and concluding groups of poems, the other three roughly at the 200-, 400- and 600-poem marks.[16] They are all epigrams urging the book to leave its author and go out into the world. Sometimes the poet uses an analogy with a parent sending out a child - 'Have I not blest Thee? Then go forth' (155.1); sometimes he combines this with indifference to its fate, notably in the first of these poems (6.1).

While thou didst keep thy *Candor* undefil'd,
Deerely I lov'd thee; as my first-borne child:
But when I saw thee wantonly to roame
From house to house, and never stay at home;
I brake my bonds of Love, and bad thee goe,
Regardlesse whether well thou sped'st, or no.
On with thy fortunes then, what e're they be;
If good I'le smile, if bad I'le sigh for Thee.

He establishes that the book has a separate life, almost a separate personality, from the poet.

It also has an integrated identity itself, that is, it is a collection which is to be taken as a whole. 76.1 acknowledges that the

[16] H-3, 6.1; H-194, 76.1; H-405, 155.1; H-603, 212.6; H-1125, 334.3. There are 1130 poems in Hesperides.

poems in the book are of varying quality, but for the book itself there is a personal image - 'Like to a Bride, come forth my Book'. The point that is continually made is that the book has left the poet's hands to find its own fate in the world. Sometimes he hands it over to the protection of others.

> It may chance good-luck may send
> Thee a kinsman, or a friend,
> That may harbour thee, when I,
> With my fates neglected lye. [334.3]

In the same way, echoing the strong separation of the poet's and the book's identities (which almost dissociates Herrick from his own poems), he will hand over property in a poem, or attribute any value in his poetry to the approval of one of his patrons. The first case of this was in the dedicatory poem to Prince Charles, and it recurs elsewhere as a compliment to a lady (94.3, H-226). In a poem praising a lawyer (322.3, H-1062) Herrick makes his rights to a laurel wreath conditional on his reader's approval.

> I have my Laurel Chaplet on my head,
> If 'mongst thes many Numbers to be read,
> But one by you be hug'd and cherished.

The same variation appears in a pair of poems to the King and Queen (107.1, 107.2, H-264, H-265) which occur early in the volume and take up questions raised by the dedicatory poem to Prince Charles: the question of inspiration, and of the relation of Herrick's poetry to his monarch. 'TO THE KING' says that if the king likes any of the poems, that poem will become the heir to 'This *great Realme of Poetry*'.

> If when these Lyricks (CESAR) You shall heare,
> And that Apollo shall so touch Your eare,
> As for to make this, that, or any one
> Number, Your owne, by free Adoption;

> That Verse, of all the Verses here, shall be
> The Heire to this *great Realme of Poetry*.

There is a double parallel in this between the poet and the king. The poet has his realm, as the king has his kingdom, and the king is empowered to intervene in the poet's realm (choosing and adopting an heir, as the Roman Caesars did) not in his own right as king, but by Apollo's inspiration - the same inspiration enjoyed by the poet. 'TO THE QUEENE' invites the queen, who is given titles ('*Goddesse of Youth, and Lady of the Spring*') that could be derived from the pastoral dramas she encouraged at court, into a '*Sacred Grove*', where she will have a 'Leavie-Throne'. The inhabitants of the grove, wood-nymphs (presumably the poems), will do her homage, and she will 'be both *Princess* here, and *Poetresse*.' Like the king, the queen is invited into a realm that is not her own and complimented by being made free of it. The two poems create an idea of Hesperides as a separate world, a realm or a grove. It is a sovereign territory ruled by the poet, and is clearly distinguished from the realm ruled by Charles I. What sort of world it is is not explored very far, but the image of the grove suggests strongly that it will not be a place where the conditions of daily life in England are sustained. A grove is a place set apart, out of time, consecrated to special religious purposes (the wood-nymphs who live there are a 'chast *Order*').[17]

Side by side with this understanding of the book as a realm, having its own sovereignty, there goes an understanding of the book as a book, a physical volume. Two poems near the end (313.3, H-1019, and

[17] Roger Rollin underestimates these connotations of 'grove' in using it as a symbol of Herrick's pastoral character. Pastoral involves shepherds: groves, at this date, are not necessarily pastoral. Robert Herrick (New York, 1966), preface and p. 31.

329.1, H-1092) remark on their late position in the book. The first of these, *'On his Booke'*, comments that the end of the book is now in sight -

> The bound (almost) now of my book I see.[18]

Mostly, however, it is seen as a collection of different poems within one boundary. It acknowledges that they may vary in quality, as we noted above, and the first poem, *'The Argument of his Book'*, prepares the reader for widely varying subjects, from brooks and blossoms to hell and heaven. Another poem placed near the beginning, *'His request to* Julia' (21.3, H-59), asks Julia to burn his poetry if he should die before he has printed it:

> Better 'twere my Book were dead,
> Then to live not perfected.

The interesting point is that the poet is seen as creating a book of poems, rather than simply poems *per se*. The unifying factor that holds them in association is not any theme they have in common, but publication in the same volume. A poem that must date from before 1629 shows the concept of a book being put together by the poet quite clearly. It is another exchange of compliments between the poet in his realm and a patron, here the Duke of Buckingham, in his.

> Never my Book's perfection did appeare,
> Til I had got the name of VILLARS here.
> Now 'tis so full, that when therein I look,
> I see a Cloud of Glory fills my Book.
> Here stand it stil to dignifie our Muse,
> Your sober Hand-maid; who doth wisely chuse,
> Your Name to be a *Laureat Wreathe* to Hir,
> Who doth both love and feare you *Honour'd Sir*.

[18]This is a minor point supporting the separation of 'Hesperides' from 'Noble Numbers'. The whole of 'Noble Numbers', ignored in this poem, is still to come.

The 'Book' was eventually published nearly twenty years after Buckingham's death, but Herrick included the poem and made no alteration to it. Similarly he includes without modification a triumphal poem 'TO THE KING, Upon his taking of *Leicester*' (271.1, H-823), although it was followed within months by a disastrous defeat (the turning-point of the wars) for the royalist side at Naseby. Poems within Hesperides are not subject to the vicissitudes that affect people outside it. Once an event of the king's realm has been transmuted into a poem of Hesperides, it will not be altered. Herrick claimed immortality for his poems, and certainly he seems to exclude mutability from his book as far as he can, in spite of the fact that transience and decay are the themes of many of his poems.

Herrick's 'retreat' into his book, where his world is safe from threat, has been seen as part of a general movement towards social retirement by the Cavaliers in defeat. It is too easy, however, to underestimate the self-awareness of Hesperides. It is a consciously selective world that Herrick creates in it, and he shows the process of selection; he does not abandon the outside world for a green retreat, as Lovelace does in 'Amarantha'.[19] Herrick gives a place in his book to his friends as an honour, like the freedom of the city, and he uses images for the community thus created which begin with the city.

> A City here of *Heroes* I have made,
> Upon the rock, whose firm foundation laid,
> Shall never shrink, where making thine abode,
> Live thou a *Selden*, that's a Demi-god.[20]

[19] G. Braden, The Classics and English Renaissance Poetry (1978), pp. 193-4, criticises Hesperides as Herrick's retreat from the world into the circle of his friends.

[20] *'To the most learned, wise, and Arch-Antiquary, M.* John Selden.' 142.5, 365.

Selden compliments Herrick by recognising his poetry, and Herrick in return places him in the secure citadel of poetic immortality. The city of heroes is partly Roman, especially in deifying its chief inhabitants, and partly draws on the parable of the wise man who built his house on a rock - not on sand.[21] Selden has undergone the process of selection and transmutation that Herrick has already provided for others:

> I who have favour'd many...
> Loe, I, the Lyrick Prophet, who have set
> On many a head the Delphick Coronet...

He has left the realm of ordinary time, where the sands shift and run, for the realm of Hesperides, where Herrick's heroes are immortal.

> Looke in my Booke, and herein see,
> Life endlesse sign'd to thee and me.
> We o're the tombes, and Fates shall flye;
> While other generations dye.[22]

The images for this heroic community are developed throughout Hesperides, becoming more liturgical and less Roman. In *'To his Honoured Kinsman, Sir* Richard Stone.' (185.3, H-496) he combines the classical gallery with a reference to saints.

> To this *white Temple* of my *Heroes*, here
> Beset with stately Figures (every where)
> Of such rare *Saint-ships*, who did here consume
> Their lives in sweets, and left in death perfume.
> Come thou *Brave man*!

He begins with the classical image of a temple, already suggested by the city on the rock of 142.5. Here, in the picture of a gallery of statues, he may well be remembering the gallery of the Earl of

21 Matthew 7: 24-27. There may also be an allusion to St. Peter, the Rock.
22 *'To a Friend.'* 288.2, H-906.

Arundel's collection; ancient statues which had survived for centuries, rescued, appreciated and kept together in a house devoted to the preservation of beautiful objects.[23] Then he rapidly switches to the idea of 'saint-ship', with the odour of sanctity of medieval hagiography. Not only was the veneration of the saints an unpopular idea (to say the least) in the 1640s, it is also, of course, an unclassical idea. But Herrick goes on to combine the two by recalling the Roman funeral images and inviting Stone (punning on the name) to bring his own image to add to the others. Noble families in Rome kept images (wax models) of their ancestors which were carried in procession at family funerals. Stone is invited to join himself to these statues, which are high and everlasting:

> Set up Thine own *eternall Images*.

The temple of heroes becomes a collection of Herrick's 'ancestors'. Stone was actually his kinsman, but in many other poems he gives a wider interpretation to the idea. The people thus invited into Hesperides are people he venerates, his particular saints. A poem placed shortly after this one to Stone uses 'canonization' for the selection of another candidate for the book.

> Late you come in; but you a Saint shall be,
> In Chiefe, in this Poeticke Liturgie.[24]

This is to suggest a cult, as if Hesperides were a prayer book. (The Prayer Book itself had been banned in 1645.) Later, in a poem to Ben Jonson, he calls it a *'Psalter'*.[25] *'To his worthy Kinsman, Mr.* Stephen

[23] See N.K. Farmer, 'Herrick's Hesperidean Garden', pp. 34-6.
[24] *'To his Kinswoman, Mrs.* Penelope Wheeler.' 188.4, H-510.
[25] *'His Prayer to* Ben. Johnson.' 212.7, H-604. This does more than suggest a cult, it assumes one: 'Know I have praid thee, / For old *Religions* sake, / Saint *Ben* to aide me.' The design of the volume does not suggest a prayer book.

Soame' (199.1, H-545) finds Biblical images for the community of Hesperides, first from the old Jerusalem, when Soame is 'one of my righteous Tribe', and then from the new; the tribe becomes 'A Stock of Saints', dressed in white, and Soame among them is marked out 'with the whiter stone: / Which seals Thy Glorie'.[26] Classical overtones remain. The tribe is 'of One Civil Behaviour', and the images of white robes and stones could have been found in Roman sources (where a white stone marks a special day in the calendar). But the religious and liturgical development of this image for the Book's inhabitants has provided a model for the book. Like a prayer book, it celebrates saints (and seasons), giving each attention at the due time, and like a prayer book it has a calendar. Hesperides is

my eternall Calender.

The list of names that emerges from the titles of poems in Hesperides does not indicate that Herrick is simply retiring into the circle of his friends, away from the unpleasant events of the 1640s. Rather, he is acting as a mediator between his friends, subjects of Charles I, and his independent realm of poetry, which is now seen to express itself in celebration and religion. The poet's position is clear. He is the mediator, a sort of priest of poetry, who stands between the real world, where his monarch, friends and relations live, and his poetic world, to which he can admit them. He selects elements from the real world for Hesperides, but he does not try to replace them, in the real world, with his poetic creations: the two realms are kept apart. He never abandons the distinction between his calendar and that of the real Book of Common Prayer, always speaking of 'my'

[26] Revelation 2:17, 7:1-10. See p. 123 above.

calendar, 'my' psalter, and similarly of 'my' heroes. His claim is that he has 'made' a city of heroes, not that England contains one.

A special relationship of the poet with his book, a role for the poet within the book, is thus created. Herrick's frequent references to the Horatian prophetic model for the poet (as above: 'Loe, I, the Lyrick Prophet') strengthens this; the *locus classicus* is Horace, Odes 3.1, in which the poet (the word is *vates*, priest and bard) conducts us into his book as if into a temple ceremony. Other poems identify the poet and the book, treating them as interchangeable persons. In 137.3 (H-341) the poet sends the book on his behalf to kiss a lady's hand. '*His last request to* Julia' (329.4, H-1095) is that she should clasp it shut as he dies.

> My Fates are ended; when thy *Herrick* dyes,
> Claspe thou his Book, then close thou up his Eyes.

More often the book becomes the poet's tomb after his death (an idea foreshadowed in the frontispiece), notably in two poems which both take the image of a pillar for the poet's monument. The second of these, '*The pillar of Fame*' (335.2, H-1129), is the last poem in Hesperides. It is pillar-shaped itself, and it claims to be more durable than '*Marble, Brasse*, or *Jet*' (like Horace's monument in Odes III.30), capable of withstanding seas, storms, and the fall of kingdoms. Here the book detaches itself from dependence on the society - the realm of Charles I - which it has drawn into itself, claiming complete self-sufficiency.

> This pillar never shall
> Decline or waste at all;
> But stand for ever by his owne
> Firme and well fixt foundation.

In the realm of Charles I there have been storms and the fall of kingdoms, but Hesperides is unaffected. The other pillar poem is placed as early as H-211 (*'His Poetrie his Pillar'*, 85.1) and anticipates this defiance of time. The poet puts his trust in nothing of the real world, where time cuts down everything, but in his book, which has its own life.

> Behold this living stone,
> I reare for me,
> Ne'r to be thrown
> Downe, envious Time by thee.
>
> Pillars let some set up,
> (If so they please)
> Here is my hope,
> And my *Pyramides*.

It is becoming clear that the presence of the author in his own book, in Hesperides, is not a simple matter. He is separated from the book, but he is also identified with the book. He mediates between the book and the world. The book is his tomb. He also appears in the book in a different mode, one of the inhabitants of his own poetic world (as well as its creator). In this capacity he plays the part of a lover, addressing poems to his mistress in the conventional way (*'Upon* Sapho, *sweetly playing and sweetly singing'*) and conventionally unsuccessful in spite of these attentions. But his credibility as a lover is shaky. The sheer number of his mistresses and their lack of individual characteristics (few of them get any physical description except for a particular feature, a leg or an eye, that may have occasioned the poem) undermine the reader's belief in their existence. Placed very early in the book are *'Upon the losse of his Mistresses'* (15.3, H-39) - 'All are gone' - and *'The Vision'* (51.1, H-142), in which the poet sees Diana (the goddess of chastity, interestingly -

not Venus) and tries to kiss her. She forbids him:

> And chiding me, said, Hence, Remove,
> *Herrick*, thou are too coorse to love.

These are juxtaposed with poems to mistresses, poems expressing sexual desire, and poems complaining of Cupid's torments. Altogether, Herrick the lover is a figure of too many contradictions to be convincing. About halfway through the volume he begins, in any case, to put more stress on his rejection of love, rejoicing in his heart-whole state.

> I do not love, nor can it be
> Love will in vain spend shafts on me.[27]

All his previous professions of love (and those still to come) are thrown into deeper doubt by the cheerful assertion that 'I could never love indeed' (*Upon himselfe*, 182.4, H-490). He has never complimented a mistress, never lost sleep, never kept the fasts of love's religion - though he has written poems about all these things. He has remained untouched and free,

> As the aire that circles me:
> And kept credit with my heart,
> Neither broke i'th whole, or part.

Another of his roles as an inhabitant of Hesperides is - confusingly - as himself, an inhabitant of the real world, a subject of Charles I. He is involved with his family, his own career, and the politics of England. His father's grave and his brother's death, his residence in Devon and his return to London, the troubles and the battles of the 1640s all appear in poems. He is part of a network of friends, family, and patrons. His own role in the network is to put them into his book, in other words, to be a poet. Being a poet is his

[27] '*Of Love*', 155.2, H-407.

job.[28] He appears in his own book as a poet. He writes a verse for seasonal festivals ('*Herrick* shall make the meddow-verse for you')[29] and for royal births. As a poet, he portrays himself according to the model provided by Horace, and again by Ben Jonson. In '*The bad season makes the Poet sad*' (214.2, H-612) he says that if the wars ended he would be able to write poetry again as he used to.

> I sho'd delight to have my Curles halfe drown'd
> IN *Tyrian Dewes*, and Head with Roses crown'd.
> And once more yet (ere I am laid out dead)
> *Knock at a Starre with my exalted Head.*

The last line is a quotation from Horace.[30] Herrick pays homage to Jonson, and describes himself inspired by wine, feasting with friends and drinking to his fellow-poets.

> Round, round, the roof do's run;
> And being ravisht thus,
> Come, I will drink a Tun
> To my Propertius.[31]

He asks that his poems should be read, as they were written, on occasions of revelry and relaxation, not on 'sober mornings'. Nonetheless he makes strong and serious claims for his poems' immortality. They will outlast men and monuments. Once again, in the context of revelry and a half-comic equation of inspiration and drunkenness, he returns to the symbol of the pyramid.

> Trust to good Verses then;
> They onely will aspire,
> When Pyramids, as men,
> Are lost, i'th'funerall fire.

[28] The title-page to Hesperides conforms to the usual practice by calling him 'ROBERT HERRICK Esq.', with no indication that he was ordained.
[29] '*The parting verse, the feast there ended.*', 140.2, H-355; and see 140.1, H-354.
[30] '*Sublimi feriam sidera vertice*', Odes I.1.36. Jonson used it in Sejanus v 8-9.
[31] '*To live merrily and to trust to Good Verses.*', 80.2, H-201.

And when all Bodies meet
In *Lethe* to be drown'd;
Then onely Numbers sweet,
With endlesse life are crown'd.

This point is taken a step further in the many poems in which Herrick writes of himself as dead and surviving in his poetry. Sometimes he merely anticipates his death, as in *'His Poetrie his Pillar'*, and sometimes he speaks of it as if it has already happened.

Lost to the world; lost to my selfe; alone
Here now I rest under this Marble stone:
In depth of silence, heard, and seene of none.[32]

It is because his sense of the silence and forgetfulness of death, and of the changes and 'trans-shifting' of time, is so powerful, that his claims for the immortality of poetry stand out so strongly. *'Times trans-shifting'* is listed as one of his subjects in *'The Argument of his Book.'*[33] Throughout Hesperides change and time affect its inhabitants - his mistresses, the kings and rulers of his political aphorisms, and the poet himself. The frontispiece shows his tomb. The poems anticipate and picture his death, returning to the subject more and more in the second half of the volume, in which, besides, there are fewer poems about love and more epigrams, usually on moral or political themes. In conclusion, the last poem is his final epitaph, setting up his work to be his monument as he has so often said it would be. His poetic realm will outlive the other world, the realm of Charles I (and, by the time of Hesperides' publication, it virtually had already).

Live by thy Muse thou shalt; when others die
Leaving no Fame to long Posterity:

[32] *'On Himselfe*, 298.5, H-954.
[33] The OED cites this as the first use of the word. Almost certainly Herrick coined it.

When Monarchies trans-shifted are, and gone;
Here shall endure thy vast Dominion.[34]

J.L. Kimmey describes these three roles Herrick plays in his poetic world (the citizen, the lover and the poet) and suggests that to make the persona appear life-like, 'the author... invents a dramatic context for his speaker. He moves inevitably yet in a seemingly unplanned and spontaneous way from exile to homecoming, from the enjoyment of life to the acceptance of death, from a place in the flux of nature to a place in the "artifice of eternity".'[35] Yet Herrick allows the contradictions of this device to appear. He is very much present in his own volume: but he is dead. He is creating a persona for himself, but that persona is supposed to be dead. We do not confuse the author and his persona, but the illogicality of the situation reminds us that Hesperides is an unreal world free of the rules of the real world. It is not obliged to be consistent. The same effect was achieved by the poet's claim to have a ludicrous number of mistresses. Consistency of development belongs to sober mornings, not to Hesperides.

Hesperides is a world independent of the realm of Charles I. It has its own sovereignty and its own rules. It is an 'alternative' world, in the sense developed in previous chapters; that is, it has a close relation with the real seventeenth-century England, but it is not the same and does not attempt to mirror it. And it is not the same as other alternative worlds. Herrick does not withdraw out of the world into a pastoral retreat, like other 1640s poets. He does not write of England as if it were the Islands of the Blest, or imperial

[34] '*On himselfe*', 210.5, H-592.
[35] J.L. Kimmey, 'Robert Herrick's Persona', pp. 221-2.

Rome, or the New Jerusalem. He does, however, use all these ways (especially the Roman) to translate elements of English life - people, places and events - into his own poetic realm. The poem on his father's death, for instance, introduces details of Roman funeral rites to restore a proper ceremonial relation between the father and the son, calling up their connotations of Roman *pietas*:

> what Smallage, Night-shade, Cypresse, Yew,
> Unto the shades have been, or now are due,
> Here I devote.[36]

Similarly he visualises the relation between himself and his patron, Endymion Porter, in Roman terms, dislocating it from its historical context in order to associate it with a classical tradition and an immortal world. Rome, Jerusalem, and Arcadia were all timeless worlds; they provide an approach to the undying poetic life of the realm of Hesperides.

Hesperides, then, is a selective world, not organised after any one structural model. It has points in common with a diary, but it is not strictly chronological; with anthologies of epigrams, but it is not thematically arranged; and with a commonplace book. It obeys the principle of absurdity. Its inhabitants and objects behave like Charles Lamb's Chinese figures:

> little, lawless, azure-tinctured grotesques, that under the notion of men and women, float about, uncircumscribed by any element, in that world before perspective - a china tea-cup.[37]

They are all simply things that the author has seen. Here the

[36] *'To the reverend shade of his religious Father'*, 27.1, H-82. Herrick's father died when the poet was fourteen months old, and it was suspected at the time that the death was suicide, although he was allowed to be buried in consecrated ground.

[37] 'Old China', Works, ed. E.V. Lucas (1912), ii. 281.

separation of his roles (author of the book, and poet in the book) works for Herrick. The figure of the poet distracts our attention from the author, who governs this fictional realm. We do not see Hesperides as the product of the author's wishful thinking, but as an 'objective' world inhabited by the poet, comparable to the 'objective' world we inhabit ourselves. But throughout it we are faced with visually disconcerting scenes that remind us of the activity of observation: flowers in crystal and flies in amber, bodies under fine lawn, telescopic and microscopic views.[38] We cannot say that Hesperides contains 'things that the author has seen' without adding they they are put in a context that compels us to recognise that to see a thing is to interpret it. By effacing himself, Herrick makes his world seem objective. By making observation central, he reminds us that it is subjective. His book is not a mirror of the factual realm of Charles I, nor is it a pastoral world of nature. It is a place where nature and man interact, or where man interprets nature: the garden of the title, the *'Sacred Grove'*.

Its structure, finally, is the structure of a garden. Reading it, we find a combination of linear progression with thematic repetition. L.C. Martin remarks on the gradual shift in atmosphere from the beginning to the end of the book.[39] Kimmey interprets this as a way of writing the biography of the persona, from youth to death. But simultaneously there is a cyclical process going on, as themes crop up at regular intervals. Poems on the city of heroes theme, for instance, occur about once in each fifty poems between H-350 and H-600. Poems

[38] R.H. Deming describes these shifts of perspective as a typically baroque preoccupation. Ceremony and Art (The Hague, 1974), p. 79.

[39] Herrick, Poetical Works, pp. xxxix-xl.

commenting on the poet as a lover occur twice in every hundred until H-300. Themes recur in a less regular way: in the later part of the volume poems on this last theme appear again round about H-400 and H-500, then again, after a long gap, near the end of the volume. Poems on one theme will sometimes cluster together, as at the beginning of the book (love poems), and poems on the central themes - heroes, love, death - will sometimes cluster together, as round about H-450. These are focal points at which we are reminded of themes and see them juxtaposed with each other (love and death most often). It is a long book of very short poems, and it is not really possible to read it continously through. The poems are so arranged that the reader dipping into the volume will find, in any randomly chosen group of about twenty poems, most of the common themes: love poems, moral aphorisms, *ad hominem* epigrams, heroes, conviviality, poetry itself.

If Hesperides is like a garden, it is a seventeenth-century baroque garden. It has a narrative structure, as Kimmey describes it; a formal presentation, in the volume's preliminaries; and yet a circular, open, structure, with space for each plant. We may wander round it in any direction, but we will still find such things as emblematic tableaux interpreting whole areas (for instance, a group of statues 'allegorising' the juxtaposition of a wood and a river); scenes that direct the eye, drawing it to the distance or fixing it on foreground details; landmarks that allow us to orient ourselves; features seen in a number of different aspects from different directions, as we proceed. Humphrey Moseley suggests the analogy between a volume and a garden in his preface to Fragmenta Aurea (1646); his description is much more relevant to Herrick's book than

to Suckling's.

> The gate is open, and thy soule invited to a garden of ravishing variety, admire his wit, that created these for thy delight...

Barten Holyday compared a book to a garden in the prefatory epistle to his Horace, the Best of Lyrick Poets (1652). His analogy is even more interesting because he draws a distinction between an anthology, like his own selection, and a whole collection. The difference between the two is perspective.

> When in a Garden we gather a *Coronet* of Flowres, wee intend not the totall beautie of a faire piece of perspective, but particular ornament, and entermingled delight.[40]

The garden analogy accommodates the combination we find, reading Hesperides as a whole, of linear progression with thematic repetition. It is a circular world, which we interpret as we wander round it, but we start and finish from the same place, the poet's tomb. It is a completed world (as the poet's life is completed) but one that is still open, being created by the author and interpreted by the reader. It is free of moral and historical consequences, a speculative, experimental world; things can be taken into it and seen as they should be, without being distorted by moral and historical pressures. It contains 'things that the author has seen', but it does not select them in order to create an ideal world - rather, in the end, to find a way of looking at them. They are translated into Hesperides for the freedom of its different perspectives. Herrick's poetry is a way of seeing. It is perhaps a pity that Herrick, who thought poetry was only a way of seeing, was in Devon in the 1630s and not at court to temper

40 Horace, the Best of Lyrick Poets (1652), sig. A2^{r}.

the wilder identifications of the masques, where poetry distorted politics; but probably he would also have thought that poetry, being only one way of seeing, was not going to affect the course of politics one way or the other, any more than it had a 'real' effect on his own life. Herrick, after all, was a man who wrote '*M^r Robert Hericke his farwell vnto Poetrie*' in 1623 and went to be a parson. His epigraph to Noble Numbers, a quotation from Hesiod, sums up his attitude: 'we know how to speak many false things that look like real things; we also know how to speak true things when we want.' Herrick does not use poetry to convince his readers of the essential truth of a fiction, as the masques do. He does not replace the real world with an alternative world. Hesperides, unlike any other 1640s volume, is full of references to the civil wars; it constantly calls attention to the fact that it is a book; the attitudes the poet expresses are always being undermined. Even his devotion to the king is tempered by the juxtaposition of epigrams warning against tyranny. Truth for Herrick is not a question of perception, but of perspective.

Appendix I: 1640s volumes

The place of publication is London unless otherwise indicated.

1638
Sir William Davenant, Madagascar; with other Poems (Thomas Walkley)
Jonsonus Virbius, ed. Brian Duppa (H. Seile)

1640
Thomas Carew, Poems (Thomas Walkley)
Ben Jonson, The workes (A. Crooke; R. Meighen, T. Walkley)

1642
Sir John Denham, Coopers Hill. A Poeme (Thomas Walkley)

1643
Henry Glapthorne, White-Hall (Francis Constable)

1645
John Milton, Poems (Humphrey Moseley)
Edmund Waller, Poems, &c. (Humphrey Moseley)

1646
John Hall, Poems (Cambridge: J. Rothwell)
James Shirley, Poems &c. (Humphrey Moseley)
Sir John Suckling, Fragmenta Aurea (Humphrey Moseley)

1647
Francis Beaumont & John Fletcher, Comedies and Tragedies (Humphrey Moseley)
Abraham Cowley, The Mistresse (Humphrey Moseley)
Thomas Stanley, Poems and Translations (privately printed)

1648
Sir William Davenant, Madagascar; with other poems. The second Edition (Humphrey Moseley)
G.B. Guarini, Il Pastor Fido, tr. Sir Richard Fanshawe (Humphrey Moseley)
Robert Herrick, Hesperides: or, the Works (John Williams and Francis Eglesfield)

1649
Richard Lovelace, Lucasta (Thomas Evvster)

1651
William Cartwright, Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with other Poems (Humphrey Moseley)

Appendix II: Sidney's posthumous reputation

What happened to Sir Philip Sidney's reputation after his death is an example in miniature of the movement away from the world and into the volume which I have been tracing in this thesis. Sidney was important as a symbolic figure to both the royalist and the opposition parties. After his death he was made into an image of heroism by both sides. In time, however, the image of heroic action dropped out of sight and was replaced by that of the literary hero. This might be expected: but as well as this, attention turned from the man to his book. Sidney was recreated within his own book in a way which foreshadowed (and may have suggested) the recreation of the vanished court world within the volumes of the 1640s.

Sidney's funeral took place at St Paul's Cathedral on 17 February 1587. It was a great event; it might have been the funeral of a nobleman much greater than Sidney. It was, however, slightly different from the typical great funeral. Instead of overwhelming mortuary splendour, magnificent gloom, and crowds of mourners in black, it stressed the individual character of the dead man. It was a funeral about Sidney rather than about death. Moreover it was not a state occasion.

The funeral procession is recorded in a series of engravings by Thomas Lant, an officer of the College of Arms, published in 1587.[1] It was divided into three sections. The first began, as was usual, with

[1] Thomas Lant, Sequitur Celebritas & Pompa Funeris (1587). STC 15224. See S. Bos & others, 'Sidney's Funeral Portrayed', in J. van Dorsten & others (eds.), Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend (Leiden, 1986), pp. 38-61.

the poor, thirty-two of them, that being Sidney's age when he died. They were followed by soldiers, the Sidney family colours and members of the household, and friends, who all had ties with the families of Sidney, Walsingham, Dudley or Devereux. There were two horses, symbolising valour, and members of the College of Arms carrying the attributes of knighthood. This grouping provides information about Sidney - he was a knight and a soldier - and a political context, since his family connections were almost a faction. It makes a political point: Sidney had died fighting in the sort of war that was supported by the Leicester connection, a Protestant war against Spain. The next section of the procession was personal. It consisted of the bier, accompanied by more relatives and friends (Fulke Greville was one of the bearers), with the chief mourners following. The third section was ceremonial, and began with the high nobility on horseback - six of them, including the Earls of Leicester (his uncle), Pembroke (his brother-in-law), and Essex, Leicester's stepson. These were followed by deputies of the Dutch States-General, for whom Sidney had been fighting in Zutphen. (They were in London on other business and seem to have been roped in for the funeral at short notice.) Various dignitaries of the City of London brought up the rear.

Sidney had the funeral of a national hero. He was so popular that it was worth publishing a set of engravings of his funeral - Lant's book is unique in England - which was designed to be mounted on two sticks and viewed as a continuous roll, so that people could see the funeral for themselves.[2] In spite of this popularity, and in spite of appearances, it seems that it was not a state funeral. Probably it was

[2] S. Bos & others, 'Sidney's Funeral Portrayed', p. 42.

paid for by Sidney's father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham. There were no high-ranking clergy present, no foreign representatives except the Dutch (who were there by chance), and the state dignitaries who attended, like Leicester, came in a private capacity. Moreover, there is a clear political statement made by the composition of the procession, and it was not a statement in support of official foreign policy. The Queen had not wanted Sidney to fight in the Netherlands, but Leicester and his supporters were pressing her to support the Protestant cause on the continent against Spain. It was the funeral of the Protestant hero, though in life Sidney had been frustrated of the role. Greville attributes radical and aggressively Protestant policies to him, but he never had the chance to carry them out. Even so, his funeral shows that at the time of his death he was a figure of political significance; he could be turned into an emblem of the Protestant cause.

After the funeral came the literary obsequies. The first were three collections of elegies from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. (Such collections were later to become a normal response to the death of someone important. The three volumes for Sidney are some of the earliest examples of the genre.) They were published just after his death or to coincide with his funeral - the Cambridge collection came out (in London) the day before. It was dedicated to Leicester and included contributions from James VI and the Scottish court. There were two from Oxford, one by New College (Peplus) and the other by the University. The latter was also dedicated to Leicester.[3] The

[3] Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae... (1587). STC 4473. Peplus. Illustrissimi Viri D. Philippi Sidnaei... (Oxford, 1587). STC 22552. Exequiae Illustrissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidnaei... (Oxford, 1587). STC 22551.

dedications to Leicester again draw attention to Sidney's connection with anti-Spanish policy. In the elegies Sidney is treated as a martyr or a Christian soldier, in line with this view, and most typically as the lost champion of this cause, a man uniting the lives of action and contemplation. Mars vies with Mercury for him. Other elegists followed this line: in Astrophel (1595) Ralegh called him 'Scipio', Greville also called him 'this Briton Scipio' in his Life.[4] Scipio is the type of the union of different talents, the soldier and the scholar. Dominic Baker-Smith argues that there is also an allusion to Petrarch's Africa, in which Scipio is the hero fighting against Carthage; Carthage is to be identified with Spain, the Romans with the Protestant cause.[5] Scipio had traditionally been a representative of the traditional Roman virtues and of the golden age of the Roman Republic, before the civil wars and the Empire.

The most sustained treatment of Sidney as a Protestant hero is in Sir Fulke Greville's Life of his friend. Greville wrote this probably between 1604 and 1614. It was too dangerous to be published in his lifetime, and is unlikely to have had much circulation before it finally appeared in 1652. It is not a conventional biography, even in pattern (it also contains the elements of Greville's life of Elizabeth and perhaps of the history of her time that he wanted to write); it neglects personal detail and concentrates on Sidney's character as a public man, 'a true model of worth'. He was honoured by universities

[4] Spenser's Minor Poems, ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1960), p. 365. Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, The Prose Works, ed. J. Gouws (Oxford, 1986), p. 76. Gouws gives the Life its manuscript title, 'A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney'. It was first published as The Life of the Renowned Sr Philip Sidney (1652). Wing 4899.

[5] D. Baker-Smith, '"Great Expectation": Sidney's death and the poets', in J. van Dorsten & others (eds.), Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend, p. 88.

and men of learning, by soldiers, and by men of affairs, statesmen, and politicians. He was the protector and patron of all worth and talent. He was capable for 'conquest, plantation, reformation'.[6] Greville regrets the lack of a great office to suit Sidney's great worth, and describes the sort of task he should have been given: the formation and perhaps the leadership of a Protestant League against tyranny in the shape of Hapsburg Catholicism. However, this emphasis on Sidney's ideas and his politics does not exclude a personal image of Sidney from Greville's account; in fact, he is the only source for some famous and probably apocryphal parts of the Sidney myth, such as the incident on the battlefield at Zutphen when he offered a drink to a dying man.[7] He uses his account of Sidney's death to amplify points he has made about his life - his personal heroism, his religion (he makes a 'good death'), and his selfless concern for others, seen in his leave-taking of his friends. Sidney is a chivalric hero strongly associated with moral right and placed in a context of political action.

Greville then uses this image to encourage his readers to act according to the example he set. Sidney is to be a model for the reader against which he can define and judge himself. Greville summed up his own life in his epitaph by relating it to Sidney and the two monarchs he had served:

FVLKE GREVILL
SERVANT TO QVEENE ELIZABETH
CONCELLER TO KING JAMES
AND FREND TO SIR PHILIP SIDNEY
TROPHAEVM PECCATI.[8]

[6] Greville, The Prose Works, p. 21.
[7] Ibid., p. 77.
[8] R.A. Rebholz, The Life of Fulke Greville (Oxford, 1971), pp. 317-8.

Similarly, Greville's readers are to define themselves in relation to Sidney. They are to translate the two-dimensional literary image, given them by Greville, into actual life in themselves. Sidney is shown making this sort of translation in his own life, in order to prepare himself to be fit for great actions:

> But the truth is, his end was not writing even while he wrote, nor his knowledge moulded for tables or schools, but both his wit and understanding bent upon his heart to make himself and others, not in words or opinion, but in life and action, good and great; in which architectonical art he was such a master, with so commanding and yet equal ways among men, that wheresoever he went he was loved and obeyed.[9]

He translates what he reads (or writes) into action in himself. Greville is referring to the Arcadia: it, too, is to be read in this way. Sidney had seen examples of noble and heroic conduct in the characters of heroic poetry.

> Truly, I have known men that even with reading Amadis de Gaule (which God knoweth wanteth much of a perfect poesy) have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesy, liberality and especially courage. Who readeth Aeneas carrying old Anchises on his back, that wisheth not it were his fortune to perform so excellent an act?[10]

Now Sidney himself is to be made such an example by Greville - who writes, he says,

> to the end that in the tribute I owe him our nation may see a sea-mark raised upon their native coast above the level of any private pharos abroad.[11]

Greville's image of Sidney is politically alive, and is designed to be taken out of its literary context into active life. This image vanished from public view under James I and Charles I. The tradition

[9] Greville, The Prose Works, p. 12.
[10] Sidney, 'A Defence of Poetry', Miscellaneous Prose, ed. K. Duncan-Jones & J. van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), p. 92.
[11] Greville, The Prose Works, p. 4.

persisted, however, among those who held similar ideas of liberty, citizenship and the Protestant cause (they included the Sidney family): when Greville's Life was finally published it was as part of a revival of Elizabethan and Jacobean political writing in the early 1650s.[12] But by then the public image of Sidney had altered very greatly from what it was at his death.

The public image of Sidney after his death was controlled by the publication of his writings.[13] This began with the incomplete revised Arcadia, published in 1590 under Greville's auspices. It appears that Greville did this to prevent publication of the unrevised version, which he thought unsuitable for public exposure. It may also have been the first step in a project to publish all Sidney's writings, including the religious translations.[14] The 1590 text has some alterations from the manuscript; most of them aim simply to tidy it up and standardize names. The two significant features of the edition are that its supervisors chose to print only the fully revised part of the work (at the expense of losing the ending and breaking off in mid-sentence), and that they divided the text into chapters and added chapter-headings. In these Greville's theory of how the Arcadia should be read can be seen at work. They point out moral examples in characters: Clinias is introduced as 'a verball craftie coward' (ii. 27), Pamela has 'Sainct-like graces' (iii. 6). They also go out of their way to find an epic feature. Clinias, in the same heading, is

12 Blair Worden, 'Classical Republicanism and the Puritan Revolution', in H.R. Trevor-Roper (*fest*), History and Imagination (1981), p. 190.

13 See the appended list, p. 223.

14 V. Skretkowicz, 'Building Sidney's reputation: texts and editors of the Arcadia', in J. van Dorsten & others (eds.), Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend, pp. 111-124.

compared to Sinon (though Clinias betrays his own side, and Sinon merely deceived the enemy) for the sake of the reference to the Iliad.[15] Greville's Arcadia is presented as a heroical poem containing political lessons for kings and subjects, and moral examples for all occasions. It answers his and Sidney's description of the heroical poem.

In 1593 Sidney's sister Mary, the Countess of Pembroke, assisted by Hugh Sanford, published The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. They dropped the chapter divisions and headings, but otherwise printed the 1590 text with very slight alterations. They added, after that text breaks off, a partially revised form of the original Arcadia. (It is not known whether the revisions, which tone down the sexual misdeeds of the princes, were the editors' or Sidney's.)[16] Their major restructuring of the text was in the placing of the eclogues. They moved these, for the sake of consistency, to conform to the pattern of the unrevised version. They also restored some of Philisides's songs which Sidney had cut from the revised version and incorporated poems which were never supposed to be in Arcadia at all. Their restructuring makes the revised and unrevised parts of the work appear more unified, because the structure at least is consistent. The addition of the poems goes further. It is the beginning of a move to complete Sidney's life in his works, rather than (on Grevillian lines) completing his unfinished works in the reader's active life.

Greville's project was for the publication of the serious and

[15] The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. A. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1912), i. 319, 381.

[16] V. Skretkowicz, 'Building Sidney's reputation: texts and editors of the Arcadia'.

political works of Sidney, and he presented the Arcadia as one of these. It was to be the background to a figure of Sidney as the champion of learning, true religion, and active defence of liberty. However, this was not what happened. Sidney's other literary works were published during the 1590s, in response to the demand created by the Arcadia, and in 1598 another edition sponsored by the Countess of Pembroke gathered them all together: the Arcadia, Astrophel and Stella, The Defence of Poesie, the poems and 'The Lady of May'. Like that of 1593, this was a folio edition. It was designed to look like the collected works of a major English poet, and for this its bibliographical model was Chaucer. (Folio editions of Chaucer's works were still appearing in the 1590s.) It is the background to a picture of Sidney as the champion of poetry, the enricher of the language, the proof that another vernacular English poet could succeed Chaucer. The 1598 collection reappeared, roughly every five years, for the next four decades. It completed the image of Sidney as a literary author.

The letter to the reader by Hugh Sanford, which appeared as a preface to the 1593 edition (and all subsequent ones), apologises for the imperfect state of the composite Arcadia, and asks for the reader's forbearance.

> Sir *Philip Sidneies* writings can no more be perfected without Sir *Philip Sidneie*, then APELLES pictures without APELLES.[17]

Directly, this means that without the bodily existence of the author the work cannot be finished. But it is ambiguously put; it implies also that the book stands incomplete without the life of its author to

[17] The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, ed. V. Skretkowicz (Oxford, 1987), p. lxi.

complete it; and this act of completion must of course be made by the reader. The title page of this edition shows a pig sniffing at a marjoram bush with the motto 'Non tibi spiro'. Interpreted, this means that unless the reader is a person capable of understanding it, the Arcadia will mean nothing to him. He is now further told that the book is imperfect without its author. He must see the unfinished Arcadia beside the 'unfinished' life of Sidney and complete the ideal images it offers with the recollection of the ideal that Sidney aimed to become. The additions that were made to the Arcadia aim to complete the book and to include the author in it. The 1593 edition finished the main story (of the princes) at the expense of using unrevised material. It also restored eclogues sung by Philisides, the Shepherd Knight, who is a fictionalised representation of Sidney himself; so the author, departed from life, is created again within his own work.

In 1617 there first appeared the bridging passage by Sir William Alexander to cover the gap between the revised Arcadia and its unrevised ending. It was included in all subsequent editions. Alexander's account does as much as is necessary to end the battle and get everyone back to the forest, except for its account of the death of the Knight of the Sheep, Philisides. He says in his concluding note that he wrote the death of Philisides even though it creates inconsistency later (Philisides appears alive in the Eclogues to Book Three) as a mark of his affection for 'him, whom I took to be alluded unto by that name' - Sidney.[18] Sidney's death, which was a real event, is translated along with Sidney himself into Arcadia. The Knight of the Sheep dies of a wound in the thigh, like Sidney, and there is an

[18] The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, ed. M. Evans (Penguin, 1977), p. 864, note 34.1.

Arcadian elegy for him that echoes the terms of all the other elegies:

> a mirror of courage and courtesy, of learning and arms; so that it seemed that Mars had begotten him upon one of the Muses.[19]

Spenser had already transformed Sidney and his wound into a pastoral death in Astrophel (1595), but Alexander, perhaps building on that, makes Sidney an Arcadian himself, in love with one of his own characters, so that he is confined within his own book. To be the author of a folio volume of the revived English literature conditioned the image of Sidney; when he was actually included in the book the image was immobilised.

Another bridging passage was written by 'M^r *Ja. Johnstoun* Scoto-Brit.' It is dedicated to 'K. JAMES THE SIXT, KING OF SCOTLAND', which seems to indicate a date before 1603, although it was not printed until 1638, when it was added to the collected edition. Johnstoun explains in his dedicatory letter that he has written 'a little complement, of what was rather desired than wanting in him: desired, I say, because there is nothing missing but himselfe; and yet his person is so well represented in his worke...'[20] Like Alexander, Johnstoun adds a representation of Sidney's death to his work with an account of the death of Philisides from a thigh wound. 'Lamenting that the threed of his vertue, not the course of his life, should be cut, he was gathered to the noble number of *Mars* his children; and dying in the bed of honour, was buried in the everlasting monuments of fame, desired of all, and hated by none.'[21] Sidney as Philisides is not now missing from his work, but his image is no longer one that suggests

[19] The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, ed. M. Evans, p. 614.
[20] The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia (1638), sig. aa^r.
[21] Ibid., sig. bb^r.

action in the world.

The next addition to Arcadia was the sixth book, in the 1627 edition, by 'R.B[eling]. of Lincolnes Inne Esquire'.[22] This was intended to complete the stories of all the characters who appear only in the revised Arcadia and not in the unrevised ending. There is nothing surprising in it; it is much as Greville said the finished Arcadia would be, covering

> the return of Basilius from his dreams of humour to the honour of his former estate, the marriages of the two sisters with the two excellent princes, their issue, the wars stirred up by Amphialus, his marriage with Helen, their successions, together with the incident magnificences, pomps of state, providences of councils in treaties of peace or alliance, summons of wars and orderly executions of their disorders.[23]

(This is not to say that Beling was following Greville.) Beling ends the book with his own eclogues, on the model of the 1593 edition. With the sixth book, the loose ends are tied up, and the Arcadia is self-contained. At the end of the process of completion, the Arcadia is no longer a story unfinished because of its author's death, but a whole self-contained story which gives an account of the end of all its characters, including the author.

This is the view that prevails. The name of Sidney is separated from the Grevillian image of an active example in the present. He becomes a literary hero, not a political one. Jonson used Sidney's name in 'To Penshurst' as a guarantee of worth, a hero of the place. Early in the description of Penshurst (the Sidney family seat) Jonson refers to a chestnut tree among the others in the grounds:

[22] The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia (1627). The sixth book has its own title-page dated 1628.
[23] Greville, The Prose Works, p. 10.

That taller tree, which of a nut was set,
At his great birth, where all the muses met.

Sidney's presence provides an image of past greatness and of the worth of the products of Penshurst, but he is a literary hero.

There, in the writhed bark, are cut the names
Of many a Sylvan, taken with his flames.

He is the great poet, and a poet of love. Jonson did not join in the personal romanticisation of Sidney (he told William Drummond that he was 'no pleasant man jn countenance'), nor did he regard him as an unchallengeable example in literature. Drummond also records his opinion that the Countess of Rutland was as good a poet as Sidney, her father.[24] But in a context involving the Sidney, Leicester, or Pembroke families, his patrons, he does use the name of Sidney and his literary reputation as a talisman of worth. The name of Sidney is being separated from the Grevillian image of a heroic model for life. His example is literary, not political. Sidney appears as a typical, almost legendary, heroic figure in Davenant's poetry. In 'Written, When Collonell Goring Was beleev'd to be slaine...' he is the type of 'Valour, Bountry, Love'. In 'Madagascar' he is a lover and a poet.

Of these, the God-like *Sidney* was a Type,
Whose fame still growes, and yet is ever ripe...

As such he is a subject for poets like Davenant to celebrate.

Sidney, like whom these Champions strive to grace
The silenc'd remnant of poore *Orpheus* race.[25]

24 Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford & P. Simpson (Oxford, 1947), vii. 138-9. See Anne Barton, Ben Jonson, Dramatist (Cambridge, 1984), pp 4-5.
25 'Madagascar', The Shorter Poems, ed. A.M. Gibbs (Oxford, 1972), p. 72, p. 14.
26 John Buxton, 'A Draught of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia', in D. Ogg (*fest*), Historical Essays 1600-1750 (1963), pp. 60-77.

The author of A Draught of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia,[26] in the 1640s, sees Sidney in this way. To him the Arcadia is a political work, as it was to Greville. It is

> A feign'd discourse framed to shew
> Things that are reall.[27]

In this, he says, it is like Virgil's pastorals, which conceal political meaning. It is, in fact, a disguised England, like so much other writing of the mid-century. But the author of this political work is praised for his literary skill, not his valour or his principles.

> The phrase so high that all can tell
> Hee was the first that did excell,
> And our young gallants are content
> From him to learn their complement:
> His similes soe proper are
> That they alone would speake him rare.
> His sentences soe pithie too
> They may for *Apothegms* goe,
> He's excellent throughout the booke
> In whatsoever he undertooke.[28]

In 1652 Barten Holyday published a pastoral elegy for Sidney in Horace, the Best of Lyrick Poets. It is still more literary and less political. Holyday calls on river nymphs, shepherds, fauns and Philomel to weep for Sidney. These inhabitants of the pastoral world are to mourn because they have lost their poet:

> Who shall record Loves triumphs? Who shall find
> New fained stories, to delight the mind
> Of all greene sicknesse Girles? Or who shall bee
> The Prop to stay declining Poetry?[29]

As for Sidney himself, he is in Elysium.

[27] 'A Draught of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia', p. 68.
[28] Ibid., p. 76.
[29] 'An Elegy on the thrice Renowned Sir PHILIP SYDNEY', Horace, the Best of Lyrick Poets (1652), pp. 59-60.

> Thy soule shall flie on fames high sooaring wings
> Above the glory of triumphant Kings.
> The Book shall live, till time shall be no more,
> Till Skies shall want a Sun, and Seas a shore.

His eternal fame is won for him not by his life but by his book.

Sidney's political reputation was defused in the years after his death. The power of his political memory was made ineffective by the supremacy of his literary memorial, the editions of the Arcadia, which circumscribed any image of Sidney by including him in his own book. The image of Sidney was first that of a hero acting in the world; then an author; then a literary hero confined in his own book. Greville wanted the reader to move from the writings to active life by Sidney's example: but what happened to Sidney himself was the opposite.

Editions of the Arcadia: a selective list

The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia (W. Ponsonby, 1590). STC 22539

[Anr. ed.] Now since the first edition augmented and ended (W. Ponsonby, 1593). STC 22540

[Anr. ed.] Now the third time published, with sundry new additions of the author (W. Ponsonby, 1598). STC 22541

[Anr. ed.] Now the fourth time published (S. Waterson, 1605). STC 22543
[A variant, for M. Lownes, 1605. STC 22543a]

[Anr. ed.] Now the fourth time published (S. Waterson, 1613). STC 22544
[A variant, for M. Lownes, 1613. STC 22544a]

[Sir William Alexander's Supplement. W. Barrett? 1617? STC 22544a.3]
[Anr. ed. of the Supplement. 1617? STC 22544a.5]
[Anr. ed. of the Supplement. Dublin, 1621. STC 22544a.7]

The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Now the fift time published. Also a supplement. By sir W. Alexander (Dublin: Society of Stationers, 1621). STC 22545
[Anr. issue. London: S. Waterson & M. Lownes, 1622. STC 22545.5]
[Anr. issue. S. Waterson, 1622. STC 22545.7]
[Anr. issue. M. Lownes, 1622. STC 22546]

[Anr. issue. M. Lownes, 1623. STC 22546a]

[Anr. ed.] Now the sixt time published, with some new additions. Also a supplement by sir W. Alexander. (A sixth booke, by R.B. of Lincolnes Inne Esquire.) (S. Waterson, 1627 (1628)).

[Anr. issue. S. Waterson, 1629. STC 22548]

[Anr. ed.] Now the eighth time published (S. Waterson & R. Young (& T. Downes), 1633). STC 22549

[Anr. ed.] Now the ninth time published, with a two-fold supplement... the one by S^{r} W.A. knight; the other, by M^{r} Ja. Johnstoun Scoto-Brit. (J. Waterson & R. Young (& T. Downes), 1638). STC 22550

The next edition appeared in 1655.

Bibliography

The place of publication is London unless otherwise indicated.

Abbrevations:

EHR English Historical Review

ES Essays and Studies

JEGP Journal of English and Germanic Philology

MLR Modern Language Review

SP Studies in Philology

Anacreon: with Thomas Stanley's translation, ed. Bullen, A.H. (1893)

Annalia Dubrensia (1636). STC 24954.

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ELIZABETH THOMSON: MINOR CORRECTIONS

p 14 del. 'A
p 19 accent on 'Rhe' (again on p. 25)
p 33 insert comma
del. 'e'

p 51/52 Affection 'to' or ~~'for'~~ the Country?
p 54 'breastplate'
p 75 insert space
insert comma
p 87 insert comma
'warning of'? see.
p 88 delete italics after 'Ierusalem'
p 98 chapter heading: iii
p 114 'wuld': read 'would'
p 127 insert comma
p 157 'Naptune': read 'Neptune'
p 159 fn 22: 'Age'
p 170 accents on 'protege'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

p 230 editor of Burton's Anatomy? — not named - I've given the series.
Cantor ref: insert 'New York' after Ithaca?