‘*AND I AM RE-BEGOT*’

THE TEXTUAL AFTERLIVES OF JOHN DONNE

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (DPhil) in English Literature

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a cultural history of the textual afterlives and poetic appropriations of John Donne's verse. I use print and manuscript miscellanies, hitherto unstudied commonplace books, letters, diaries and seventeenth and eighteenth century criticism to ask, who was reading Donne and in what physical forms? By looking at allusive strategies and reading practices of the time, I demonstrate how many different Donnes can be identified when we strip away modern notions of what 'Donne' is and seek multiple afterlives. I nuance the idea of Donne as a determinedly coterie poet, suggesting his print presence might have looked to his early audience like a strategic writer who had not, despite Izaak Walton's narrative, closed off the possibility of public authorship. I find there was a period of radical re-appropriation and re-reading of Donne in the seventeenth and eighteenth century: Donne was as a guiding influence to canonical poets. Rochester is perhaps the poet whose voice most vividly recalls Donne's swaggering persona and intricately-constructed rendering of apparent spontaneity. Katherine Philips's verse makes sophisticated use of Donne's voice in her intimate quasi-erotic verse; I contrast this with the voice of her poems written for state occasions to show how Donne becomes a resource for self-revelation. Dryden offers a sustained critical vision of Donne: although, as the primary mercenary proponent of mass popular literature, he may seem initially wholly unDonnean, I show how his verse both explicitly and obliquely negotiates with Donne's wit and form. I end by looking at the problematic offered by the dual critique and celebration in Pope's versification of Donne's *Satyres*, and at the *Dunciad*, to see where the limits of allusion come up against Pope's cacophonous multiplicity of voices. These four poets take different threads from Donne's canon to different ends and, in so doing, create different Donnes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe the following scholars, archivists and librarians a great deal: Norma Aubertin-Potter, Dennis Flynn, Arthur Marotti, Peter McCullough, Gaye Morgan, Julian Reid and Daniel Starza Smith. I owe especial thanks to Jo Wisdom, librarian of St Paul's Cathedral, for allowing me to stay long hours in the archive.

I owe thanks and love to Charles Collier, Daisy Johnson, Jessica Lazar, Daniel Morgan, Simon Murphy, Amia Srinivasan, Barbara and Peter Rundell, and Danielle Yardy and The Donkey Sanctuary. Especially so to Elizabeth Chatterjee, my twin, and to Mary Wellesley, my partner in doctoral crime.

I am greatly indebted to All Souls College for their support, and especially to Colin Burrow for his encouragement, erudition, and ruthless eradication of the word 'fascinatingly' from this thesis.

My greatest thanks go to my supervisor, Bart van Es, for his endless kindness, knowledge and wisdom over the last decade.

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

Where I have used manuscripts and early printed books, original punctuation and orthography of the texts cited has been preserved, although the long ‘s’ and the use of ‘i’ and ‘j’ has been modernised throughout.

Manuscript abbreviations:

Add.	Additional
Beinecke	Beinecke Library, Yale University
BL	British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CC	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
CUL	Cambridge University Library
Folger	Folger Library, Washington D.C.
Heneage	Heneage Manuscript (in private hands)
Houghton	Houghton Library, Harvard University
NLW	National Library of Wales
Paul’s	Saint Paul’s Cathedral Library, London
Princeton	Princeton University Library, Princeton
Queen’s	Queen’s College, Oxford
Rosenbach	Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia
Westminster	Westminster Abbey Library, London

The *English Short Title Catalogue* (online edition) has been abbreviated as STC. All other abbreviations are indicated via footnotes in the main text. Unless stated otherwise, quotations from Donne’s verse come from Robin Robbins’s Longman edition, *The Complete Poems of John Donne* (Harlow, 2010).

INTRODUCTION

Among the elegies published in the 1633 edition of John Donne's *Poems*, one, by Arthur Wilson, perfectly captures the double-bind of reading Donne. He writes:

> But this great Spirit thou hast left behind
> This Soule of Verse (in it's first pure estate)
> Shall live, for the World to imitate,
> But not come near, for in thy Fancies flight
> Thou dost not stop unto the vulgar sight,
> But, hovering highly in the aire of Wit,
> Hold'st such a pitch, that few can follow it[1]

Donne's verse offered at once a boldness, an intimacy and a twisting intelligence that provoked emulation, and, simultaneously, a form that was almost impossible to mimic in any straightforward way. When Wilson writes that 'few can follow it', though, he is being more rhetorical than prescient; some of the elegies in the 1633 *Poems* were themselves imitative of Donne's tone, and they were only a handful amongst the first of a long line of Donne's descendants, of poets and publishers who imitated, forged, alluded to, assimilated and re-versified Donne's verse. My thesis is a cultural history of that process; it is an account of the textual afterlives and poetic appropriations of John Donne's verse. Each chapter is an account of Donne, one of the most distinctive writers of his period, interacting with a distinctive literary culture.

I began the project in part because the wealth of raw material becoming available through the *Variorum* project opened up new perspectives and opportunities for literary investigation.[2] The *Variorum*'s formidable thoroughness offered a chance

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[1] A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage* (London, 1975), p. 100.
[2] Gary Stringer gives a clear account of the challenges presented for the *Variorum* in 'Some of Donne's Revisions (And How to Recognize Them),' in *John Donne's Poetry*, ed. Donald R. Dickson, (London, 2007), pp. 298–313. As

for those coming after to experiment with new and different approaches to reception history. The *Variorum*, alongside the account it gives of Donne's manuscript and early modern print presence, gives a close account of the major editions that preceded it. I have taken as my primary text the recent Robin Robbins edition of lightly modernised verse, which gives manuscript group variations and follows the *Variorum* in substituting the term 'heading' for 'title' in recognition that few if any were provided by Donne himself; but have consulted the *Variorum* on all texts I study in depth; and, too, found that the vision offered by Herbert Grierson, Helen Gardner, Welsey Milgate, John Shawcross and Theodore Redpath of the subtle changes in conception of Donne in the twentieth century provide valuable evidence of the ways in which Donne is still changing and evolving today. Other editions have offered evidence of the way in which Donne has also has a pull on those editors who look for colour and force. Keynes notes that A. J. Smith's 1971 Penguin edition has on the cover 'a reproduction of the Lothian portrait with lipstick and other colouring added' and A. J. Smith (who is also the compiler of the Donne *Critical Heritage*) himself notes that his criteria for copy texts and manuscript sources was to look for 'the richest and most pointed readings of Donne's poems that have good authority in the early versions'.[3] The *Variorum* frames itself as a corrective against that kind of atemporal editorial treatment of Donne, but the fact that even in the 1970s Smith's criteria could reasonably be a hybrid of academia and love demonstrates the eagerness even modern scholars have felt to remake Donne in their own image.

Stringer details, editions of Donne have been representative of the best and most thorough editing in accordance with the textual ideal of the moment: Wesley Milgate followed Helen Gardner's practice of using the first printing of each Donne poem as copy text and emending from manuscript in his *Satires, Epigrams, and Verse Letters* in 1967.

[3] Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr John Donne, Dean of Saint Paul's*. 4th edn. (Oxford, 1973), p. 216. A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Complete English Poems* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 14.

My project seeks to look critically at the writers who defined and shaped cultural space and their relationships, filial and adversarial, with the poets who went before them. This does not mean, though, that I have not profited immensely from studies which take a diametrically opposite approach, such as Cleanth Brooks's *The Well Wrought Urn*, which reads Donne's verse as a literary artefact, independent from comparison or influence in the way that Donne's lovers are so often independent. He writes of 'The Canonization':

> the poem is an instance of the doctrine which it asserts; it is both the assertion and realisation of the assertion [. . .] The poem itself is the well-wrought urn which can hold the lovers' ashes and which will not suffer in comparison with the prince's 'half-acre tomb'.[4]

Brooks's formalist reading has given way, since the 1980s, to more context-centred studies of Donne, where knowledge of his textual – or, in the case of Jonathan Goldberg's approach, political – circumstances became a central focus.[5] Arthur Marotti's work on Donne's material presence was of course, seminal. Marotti shows that, up until his own work, there had been little scholarship addressing the poetry as a whole; he suggests J. B. Leishman's *The Monarch of Wit* (1951) as the nearest in date, but Marotti's work, of course, deviates from exactly the kind of totalising Donne narrative that Leishman offers.[6] Marcy L. North's *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* builds on Marotti's work to suggest that for writers from Wyatt to Donne, the coterie 'made anonymity into an evocative symbol of elite values'; this informed my sense that those moments when Donne was writing in public and naming himself, or, in the case of *Pseudo-Martyr*, playing with an anonymity the text

[4] Cleanth Brooks, *The Well Wrought Urn*, rev. edition (London, 1968), p. 12.
[5] Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Baltimore, 1983).
[6] Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, Wis., 1986), p. xiii.

does not expect to achieve, might have double significance when set against this manuscript backdrop. [7] Daniel Starza Smith's work on collectors of Donne's manuscripts, notably the Conway family, also draws on Marotti in looking at how Donne's manuscript works were circulated and appropriated in the decades after they were composed, and asks what they might tell us about the role of literature in fostering friendship and political loyalty.[8] The entire investigation rests on the necessity of suspending assumptions about Donne's privilege as a canonical author; it was in part this book, which I was privileged to see in its early stages, that led me to question what other assumptions about canonical authorship might be usefully re-imagined – which led, in my first chapter, to an investigation of the question of biography, retrography and critical orthodoxies.[9]

Indeed, interest in nuancing the biographical Donne has also been a key thread in Donne studies. [10] Some of it stems from a desire to answer John Carey's psycho-biographical reading of Donne's work in his *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art.* Carey's work, with its express desire to pin down Donne's inner life and explore 'the structure of his imagination' has, since it was first published in 1981, been widely criticised, but it has also been increasingly recognised that his desire to see Donne's career as a whole, rather than to consign elements such as *Pseudo-Martyr* to 'the rubbish tip of

[7] Marcy North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago, 2003), especially 'Coterie Anonymity and Poetic Commonplace Books', pp. 159-210; p. 161.
[8] Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers* (Oxford, 2014).
[9] I found looking at the ways other major figures have been treated biographically invaluable for my early work on the digestion of Donne. For instance, Joseph Loewenstein, 'Spenser's Retrography: Two Episodes in Post-Petrarchan Bibliography', in Judith Anderson et al., eds, *Spenser's Life and the Subject of Biography* (Amherst, 1996), explores the problem of critical certainties in a way I found profoundly useful. Also useful was Graham Holderness, *Nine Lives of Shakespeare* (London, 2011).
[10] There has also been a resurgence of interest in Walton; see Jessica Martin's 'Izaak Walton and the re-inanimation' of Dr Donne' in David Colclough ed. *John Donne's Professional Lives* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 249 -261; Walton is also important to David Norbrook's essay, 'The Monarchy of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics', in Elizabeth Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus eds. *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry* (Chicago, 1990).

history', is immensely valuable and, in the provocativeness of his prose, Carey galvanised a field.[11] Carey can be seen as the latest and most sophisticated in a line of writers seeking to find Donne's life in his verse; Gosse wrote in his *Life and Letters* that he sought Donne's imagination and mind in his poetry: 'There is hardly a piece of his genuine verse which, cryptic though it may seem, cannot be prevailed upon to deliver up some secret of his life and character',[12] while Gosse himself was influenced by readings on the model Coleridge offered.[13] Dayton Haskin's *John Donne in the Nineteenth Century* and David Colclough's collection *John Donne's Professional Lives* are influential texts to have come out of the corrective reaction to the Carey trajectory, and, most recently, Ramie Targoff's insightful *John Donne: Body and Soul,* which aims to offer the same scope as Carey whilst resisting 'the reduction of Donne's life to these two central "facts", apostasy and ambition'.[14] Haskin powerfully articulates the idea at the core of this thesis, that 'Donne' is not a stable entity either in text or biographical focus; he writes:

> My attempts to learn what 'Donne' had meant to various readers – and writers – had showed me that for most of the nineteenth century his name referred to

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[11] John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (London, 1981), p. ix, xiii. Carey's book is one in a lineage of studies treating the question of the Jack/Dr Donne binary. Carey sees two Donnes, and reads duplicity into the split: 'Donne 'led a double life, his poetry supplying a covert outlet for impulses which his public self refused to recognize'; p.70. Responses to Carey include Adam Rounce. 'With Love and Wonder: Empson, Donne, and Milton,' in *Critical Past: Writing Criticism, Writing History,* ed. Philip Smallwood (Lewisburg, PA, 2004), pp. 145–70: Rounce gives an account of Carey and William Empson's critical debate and suggests Empson makes Donne into a version of Empson's own university days; both Carey and Empson, Rounce argues, are tempted by the lure of building a Donne of their own making. In 2005 Jason Scott-Warren's *Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2005) included a critique of Carey's 'psychologising' of Donne. Also Martin Dodsworth, 'Donne, Drama and Despotism in 'To His Mistress Going to Bed,' *EIC* 58 (2008), pp. 210–36 mounts an attack on Carey's reading of Donne's erotic verse. Richard Todd addresses Carey head on in his essay, 'Was Donne Really an Apostate?' in *The Reformation Unsettled: British Literature and the Question of Religious Identity, 1560–1660*, ed. Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen et al. (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 35-43.

[12] Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's*, 2 vols. (London, 1899), vol. 1, p. 62.

[13] Coleridge wrote, 'some of his verses breathe an uncommon fervency of spirit…The following poem ['Sweetest Love, I do not go'] for sweetness and tenderness of expression, chastened by a religious thoughtfulness and faith, is, I think, almost perfect'. Cited in R. A. Wilmott, *Conversations at Cambridge* (London, 1836), p. 15.

[14] Ramie Targoff, *John Donne: Body and Soul* (Chicago, 2008), p. 4.

a biographical subject whose poetry was only incidental to his enduring significance.'[15]

Donne in the nineteenth century, Haskin suggests, was part preacher and part biographical curiosity, with the majority of readers, Haskin wryly notes, 'interested in his marriage'.[16] There has been a move since Carey, too, to look for new confluences, going beyond single author study. Maureen Sabine's *Feminine Engendered Faith: John Donne and Richard Crashaw* begins; 'it is a critical commonplace that no two seventeenth-century English poets could be as antithetical as Donne and Crashaw' but goes on to trace resonances between the two, looking in particular at the relatively understudied *Anniversaries*; which suggested to me that the *Anniversaries* may be a place to look for an alternative vision of Donne to that of the *Songs and Sonnets*.[17]

Another strand of Early Modern and Restoration scholarship I benefitted from immensely is the increased interest in the study of miscellanies. The interest is not, of course, new; as early as 1935 Arthur Case had located and named two centuries-worth of printed collections in his *Bibliography of English Poetical Miscellanies 1521-1750* (Oxford, 1935), and, as Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith have demonstrated in their *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, itself a major contribution to the field of miscellanies coming from two Donne scholars, that interest has intensified ever since the 1960s when several scholars chose to edit Early Modern manuscript collections for their doctoral theses and call them 'miscellanies'.[18] Since then, there has been the

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[15] Dayton Haskin, *John Donne in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford 2007), p. xviii.
[16] Dayton Haskin, *John Donne in the Nineteenth Century*, p. xviii.
[17] Maureen Sabine, *Feminine Engendered Faith: John Donne and Richard Crashaw* (London, 1992), p. ix.
[18] These included scholars who went on to make major contributions in the field, including Howard H. Thompson, 'An Edition of Two Seventeenth-Century Poetical Miscellanies' (University of Pennsylvania, 1959) and Charles Frederick Main, 'An Early Stuart Manuscript Miscellany: Harvard Ms. Eng. 686' (Harvard, 1954). Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith eds., *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (London, 2014), p. 11. Eckhardt and Smith include several essays which address the place of Donne in miscellany culture: Lara Crowley's 'Attribution and Anonymity: Donne, Ralegh [sic] and Fletcher in British Library Stowe MS 962', although it was published after I had completed most of my work on mis-named authors in manuscript, allowed

formidable survey work of Harold Love, Arthur Marotti, Henry Woudhuysen and Mary Hobbs. One major spur for that interest has been Peter Beal's work on the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* (1980-1993), and, latterly, the *Digital Miscellanies Index,* led by Abigail Williams with Adam Rounce.[19] Also profoundly influential was Peter Beal's essay 'John Donne and the circulation of manuscripts';[20] The *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* series, of which Beal's essay is a part, informed by Roger Chartier's modelling of the history of reading, has been another site of remarkable new scholarship.[21] There has been, in the last twenty years, a growing awareness of the permeability of literary criticism and book history in English studies, and of the rich scholarship that the melding of the two can produce. My thesis aims to demonstrate that the same is true of a literary investigation of reception history. This is an approach which has already been richly successful in Shakespeare scholarship, which, in the shape of studies such as Michael Dobson's *The Making of the National Poet,* Adrian Poole's *Shakespeare and the Victorians* and Lukas Erne's *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, offer new ways of exploring a very different writer in a similar period; I hope to apply a similar lens to the study of Donne.

I also profited, particularly in my study of Philips, from the important and still-growing body of Donne studies that focuses on women and the female voice in Donne's work. These included Elizabeth Hodgson's *Gender and the Sacred Self in John*

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me to fine-tune my own work on misattribution. She shows that in BL Stowe MS 962 (my own work focussed on BL Stowe MS 961) only one attribution in 54 is certainly accurate; 'many manuscript miscellanies were compiled [. . .] with care and precision' and that mis-ascriptions therefore have weight beyond that of ignorance or accident. Lara Crowley, p. 147.

[19] Stephanie Hunt draws on these resources in her 'Verse Miscellanies and the Circulation of a Donne Elegy,' *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* (65) 2012, pp. 94-113.

[20] Peter Beal 'John Donne and the Circulation of Manuscripts,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*: 1557–1695, eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 122–26.

[21] This interest has led to studies such as Nicolas Barker, 'Donne's "Letter to the Lady Carey and Mrs. Essex Riche",' in *Form and Meaning in the History of the Book: Selected Essays* (London, 2003), pp. 7-14.

Donne (London, 1999) which was amongst the first monographs to read Donne through the lens of feminist studies, Juliana Schiesari's *The Gendering of Melancholia: Feminism, Psychoanalysis and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature* (London, 1992) and Lindsay Mann's 'The Typology of Woman in Donne's *Anniversaries*'.[22] Ronald Corthell's *Ideology and Desire in Renaissance Poetry: the Subject of Donne* (Detroit, 1997) reads Donne's verse through psychoanalytic and feminist frameworks, looking both at Donne and at the way we read and teach him through an analysis of difference; focussing of the *Anniversaries*, Corthell argues that Elizabeth Drury is one amongst many of Donne's women who 'cover an absence at the centre of the poem'.[23] The majority of these studies, and especially Hodgson's, aim to enhance and modify the kind of new-historicist 'thick description' that Stephen Greenblatt offered (itself influenced by Clifford Geertz's *The Interpretation of Culture*) to see power and text as less contained, seamless, and monologic than Greenblatt's model of reading suggests.

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[22] Lindsay Mann, 'The Typology of Woman in Donne's *Anniversaries*,' *Rensaissance and Reformation* 11 (1987), pp. 337-50. Also Katherine Eisaman Maus's discipline-shaping work on female reading in the late Renaissance and restoration, especially 'Proof and Consequences: Inwardness and Its Exposure in the English Renaissance,' *Representations* 34 (Spring 1991), pp. 29-52. Also Elizabeth Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voice: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (London, 1992); Thomas Docherty, *John Donne, Undone* (London, 1986); Edward Taylor, *Donne's Idea of a Woman: Structure and Meaning in* The Anniversaries (New York, 1991) and Ilona Bell, '"If it be a shee": The Riddle of Donne's 'Curse,' *in John Donne's "Desire of More": The Subject of Anne More Donne in His Poetry*, ed. M. Thomas Hester (London, 1997) pp. 106–39. Margaret Maurer has shown how Donne manipulated and injected intimacy into courtly protocols in his verse letters to women, especially: 'John Donne's Verse Letters,' *Modern Language Quarterly* 37/3 (1976), p. 234–59, 'The Real Presence of Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, and the Terms of John Donne's "Honour is so Sublime Perfection",' *English Literary History* 47/2 (1980), pp. 205–34 and 'Poetry and Scandal: John Donne's "Hymne to the Saynts and to the Marquesse Hamilton"', *John Donne Journal* 26 (2007), pp. 1–33. Stanley Stewart's 'Donne Among the Feminists,' in his own *'Renaissance' Talk: Ordinary Language and the Mystique of Critical Problems* (Pittsburgh, 1997), pp. 153–98, aimed to modify readings of Donne's verse as misogynist; Stewart's first print of the same essay was more provocatively titled 'Donne's Recreative Misogyny: The Critic as Spoilsport'. The question of whether Donne wrote misogynist verse dates back as far as the very early poetic assimilation, when poets like Rochester and Suckling took Donne's verse as a departure point for satirising women; others have seen his portrayal of love as heroic, as when George Eliot uses passages from 'The Good Morrow' in *Middlemarch* to crystallise the sense of Dorothea and Ladislaw's love as sacred. Julia Kristeva's *Revolution in Poetic Language,* trans. Margaret Waller (New York, 1984) was also useful for contextualising feminist readings, especially where she writes, 'isn't art the fetish par excellence, one that badly camouflages its archaeology?': p. 99.

[23] Ronald Corthell, *Ideology and Desire in Renaissance Poetry: the Subject of Donne* (Detroit, 1997), p. 131. Corthell's study is occasionally perhaps anachronistically Freudian, but a good representative of the kind of bold theoretical readings surrounding Donne in the 1980s and '90s; he suggests that Donne's 'all who know they have one' in 'Anatomy' is shorthand for 'all who know they have the phallus': p. 130.

Rather they suggest that to study Donne, and especially to study female readers of Donne, is to read contradictions as important and revealing.

The most recent major development in Donne studies has, of course, been the focus on Donne's sermons, most notably in the form of the important new *Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, which aims, under the general editorship of Peter McCullough, to produce a complete critical edition in sixteen volumes, grouped according to auditory. Hitherto, there has been no edition with critical notes available and the project will allow new approaches to the evolution of Donne across his preaching career of the kind given by McCullough in his *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998) and by Jeanne Shami.[24] There have been, too, a number of studies since the 1990s which address Donne's religious verse in the light of his prose, most notably P. M. Oliver's *Donne's Religious Writing: A Discourse of Feigned Devotion* (London, 1997) and Meg Lota Brown, *Donne and the Politics of Conscience in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995).[25] My Masters degree included a study, under Peter McCullough, of Donne's changing rhetoric whilst preaching at the Inns and at court, and my understanding of his poetry is of course profoundly informed by his sermons and by the recent scholarly work on his religious life,[26] but the work on Donne is so colossal and his influence so various that I could

[24] Jeanne Shami has been, alongside McCullough, the major figure in revolutionising the study of sermons. See especially her demonstration of how variously the sermons can inform other work in 'Introduction', *John Donne Journal* 11 (1992), pp. 1-20 and 'The Stars in their Order Fought Against Sisera: John Donne and the Pulpit Crisis of 1622', *John Donne Journal* 14 (1995), pp. 1-58. Shami also discovered, in the British Library, the only ever 'authorial' manuscript of a new Donne sermon: Jeanne Shami, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Pittsburgh, 1996).
[25] Oliver is informed, in turn, by Annabel Patterson's work on religious censorship in *Censorship and Interpretation: the Condition of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison, 1984) and by Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987).
[26] Although this thesis is not an account of the reception of Donne's sermons, several texts helped inform my understanding of the religious landscape. These included Judith Anderson, *Words That Matter: Linguistic Perception in Renaissance English*, pp. 167–231 (Stanford, 1996); Chanita Goodblatt, 'An Intertextual Discourse on Sin and Salvation: John Donne's Sermon on Psalm 51,' *Renaissance and Reformation* 20 (1996), pp. 23–40, Richard Strier,

not hope to do justice to the reception of both the verse and the sermons. I have chosen therefore to concentrate on the reception of the verse, and its assimilation by later poets. Instead, I hope my thesis will provide an addition to the reception work on the sermons that is sure to follow the critical edition, in offering an account of how the poetic Donne continued to evolve after his death in the reading and writing of major poets who came after him.

Perhaps the biggest development I have benefitted from has been the development of digital archives such as *Early English Books Online*, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, the *Digital Miscellanies Index* and the Perdita project, as well as newly accessible search engines like the *MLA International bibliography*. As Peter Robinson in 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions' and Brett Hirsch in 'Digital Renaissance Editions', and, at a Donne-specific level, Gary Stringer and Brent Nelson have shown, these collections have had revolutionary potential.[27] The 'DigitalDonne' project [*digitaldonne.tamu.edu/*] is an offshoot of the *Variorum* and gives access to several key Donne manuscripts, including the Westmoreland MS, as well as facsimiles of all the major seventeenth and eighteenth century print editions of Donne's verse. In addition

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'Donne and the Politics of Devotion,' in *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post Reformation England, 1540–1688*, eds. Strier and Donna Hamilton (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 93–114.; Helen Wilcox et al. eds., *Sacred and Profane: Secular and Devotional Interplay in Early Modern British Literature* (Amsterdam, 1995).

[27] Peter Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions,' *Variants*: *The Journal of the European Society for Textual Scholarship* (10) 2013, pp. 105-131; Brett Hirsch in 'Digital Renaissance Editions,' *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* (13:4) 2013, pp.136-139; Brent Nelson, 'Radiant Donne: A Case for the Digital Archive and the John Donne Society's Digital Prose Project,' *John Donne Journal* 32 (2013), pp. 175-200; Richard Furuta, Carlos Monroy and Gary Stringer, 'Digital Donne: Editing Tools, and the Reader's Interface of a Collection of 17th Century English Poetry,' *Proceedings of the ACM International Conference on Digital Libraries* (New York, 2007), pp. 411–12. Within the wider field of digitising the Renaissance, Michael Best's desire to create an online Shakespeare archive was influential; he writes about the evolution of the project in 'The Internet Shakespeare: Opportunities in a New Medium,' *Early Modern Literary Studies Special Issue 2* (January 1998). See also MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Editing, Attribution Studies and Literature Online' *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 37 (1998), pp. 1-15. Jenny Bowers and Peggy Keeran's *Literary Research and the British Renaissance and Early Modern Period* (Toronto, 2010) is largely a how-to guide to digital research but concludes with an exploration of the ways in which that the unprecedented wealth of information that can be accrued through the newly digitised renaissance can allow the explorations of questions to which there can be no definitive answer. Bowers and Keeran use, in this case, the example of female readings and textual responses to Margaret Cavendish's natural philosophy, but the same may apply to the question of, for example, female readings of Donne's religious and erotic verse. pp. 333-349.

to this, I was lucky enough to have been able to read widely in the manuscript archive at Harvard's Houghton library as well as in Oxford, Cambridge and the British Library. I have found these resources invaluable; and the unprecedented access to the dual use of physical and digital archives has allowed me, by holding this wealth of primary material alongside recent criticism and editions, to construct a narrative that holds cultural history and close reading in balance; something akin to Franco Moretti's 'distant reading' held in parallel with close literary analysis.

Methodologically, the bedrock of my work involved reading through the verse of the major and minor poets of the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with an ear to hearing Donne. This strategy of course depends on being able to hold an accurate sense of Donne's body of work in mind whilst reading other poets; my memory of Donne's verse is good and in the case of some poems complete, because as a child I was paid per poem I learnt; I was a mercenary child and learnt a significant portion of Donne's verse by heart. It was this reading that led to the main discoveries of this thesis; but there would be, too, weeks at a time in which no Donne emerged. I had expected to find a more vivid and overt presence of Donne in Waller than I did, and the presence of Donne in Lovelace, though he clearly operates as a stylistic influence, proved less significant than I would have guessed at the beginning of my project. Most of all, I had expected to find Donne in the *Dunciad*; reading it thoroughly, though, led to a sense that to try to trace overt vernacular allusion of a single author in that poem is to read against the thrust and energy of the text, and I chose to shift the discussion of it to my conclusion, which addresses the limits of allusion. Some threads of research seemed exciting but had to be abandoned within the time-frame; for instance, my instinct that that the metaphysical grandeur of

Milton's Satan owes its counter-puritan force to Donne's idiom proved, on re-reading *Paradise Lost,* so impressionistic as to resist the kind of scholarly rigour I have been striving to achieve.

From the beginning of my project, I have taken Kathryn Sutherland's *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: from Aeschylus to Bollywood* as a model for approaching textual afterlives. Her study, of course, works in a different period; but Sutherland maps the biographical subject as a textual enterprise. Sutherland advocates, in reading, the rejection of critical certainties in favour of 'anthropological relativism'; 'our own wishes will not win out over the greater challenge of recognizing the altogether more complex nature of the lives texts lead.'[28] Sutherland demonstrates that not all accounts of textual afterlives need take the form of an exhaustive reception history; instead, she chooses her textual moments on the basis that they are culturally significant, literarily rich, or might reveal something valuable about reading practices. I have attempted to do the same in this study of Donne, in choosing to look at those moments when Donne was filtered through writers whose cultural place or literary ingenuity reveals something valuable about taste, about cultural and political desires, and about reading practices, both in Renaissance and Restoration England and within the discipline of English Literature today.

There is, of course, a tension at work in any reception history; it attempts to hold an understanding of the changing conception of the author in concert with an understanding of that poet's distinctive literary qualities. Christopher Ricks's *Allusion to the Poets* and Thomas Greene's *Light in Troy* both recognise that tension, and provided me with a vocabulary and rubric with which to talk about allusion and imitation. I have

[28] Kathryn Sutherland's *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: from Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford, 2005), p. 358.

been influenced by Jerome McGann's *The Textual Condition,* which has led me to argue that not only is textuality always a matter of development and a ceaseless process of mutation, but also that the same might apply to the changing conception of what constituted the cultural identity of an author as bold and various as Donne. McGann argues that any text is, necessarily, refracted through its socio-historical conditions; and the same must apply to the naming of poets. For McGann, and, too, for the study of Donne, textual instability becomes a galvanising framework through which to view literary history. He writes:

> Variation, in other words, is the invariant rule of the textual condition. [. . .] Some might fear that such a theory of radical instability of the material and conceptual "text" would lead to intellectual anarchy and the collapse of the possibility of reliable knowledge of texts. But in truth, only from such a theoretical position can one begin to imagine the possibility of reliable knowledge. Such knowledge, however [. . .] will be knowledge imagined and transmitted "on historical principles". This is true because every text – whether it be a printed book, a conversation, any type of natural phenomenon, whatever – localizes human temporalities. To the interpreter, texts often appear as images of time; to the maker of texts, however, they are the very events of time and history itself.[29]

To look at a poet as idiosyncratic and multiple as Donne, then, is to see an on-going story; the Donne that Izaak Walton wrote about and the Donne that Philips imitated are different, and both are different again from the Donne that Pope imagined. This thesis is not, though, about the death or melting away of an author; rather, my focus lies in the matrix of biographical, stylistic and physical elements that come together under the label 'John Donne'. Indeed, just as, I shall argue, scholars of the Restoration are generally willing to see the name 'Rochester' as naming both an individual and an agglomeration of stylistic tropes and dubia and historical myth, so a sense of 'Donne',

[29] Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 185-186.

as naming both the verse itself and a changing conception of what that verse signified and achieved, may be a way to broaden and enrich the study of Donne.

I am aware, too, that as Christopher Ricks discusses in *Allusions to the Poets* it is difficult to establish where a poet is commandeering a specific poet and where he is using a tone which is not unique to any one writer – a tone which, in the case of the study of Donne, might be called 'metaphysical'. The problem itself is interesting; it suggests there is a porousness to the limits of allusion and knowledge about influence. However, Colin Burrow suggests in his introduction to *Metaphysical Poetry* that 'the school of Donne' and 'metaphysical poetry' may be roughly synonymous. He writes:

> metaphysical poetry is not a category of things like sheep or stringed instruments; it is a fairly loose group of poems with family resemblances, all of which in one way or another imitate or respond to the work of Donne (and even Donne responds to the work of Donne, since he builds on the erotically powerful voices of the speakers in his earlier elegies to create the later and more complex voices dramatized in poems such as 'The Sun Rising').[30]

I have discovered, over the course of my project, that allusion around Donne is doubly difficult to pin down. The crux lies in the fact that Donne was read as sufficiently original to provoke Carew's image of 'lazie seeds of imitation thrown away'; Donne's form of *imitatio*, though it existed, was so close to invisible that he could write mockingly about those who '(beggarly) doth chaw/ Others wits fruits, and in his ravenous maw/ Rankly digested, doth those things out-spew' (*Satyre II*) (which itself, ironically, is a form of imitation, drawing as it does on the hoary Senecan trope of digestion). In one way, Donne was a less obvious candidate for quotation and overt incorporation into other texts than his contemporaries and successors: he is so

[30] Colin Burrow ed., *Metaphysical Poetry* (London, 2006), p. xxiv.

vehemently himself. It would be easier to write a reception history of, for example, Denham's 'Cooper's Hill': with its strong historical narrative, it is easy to trace backwards into history poems and pastoral diction, and forwards down a line of topographical poetry; Donne, prized for his originality, is more difficult. That difficulty is itself galvanic; Colin Burrow writes:

> 'Metaphysical poetry' is not a genre or even like a genre: [. . .] Because metaphysical poetry is a phenomenon that began with poetry, it is a mode of writing best defined by telling a story.[31]

This thesis is in part an attempt to tell that story.

My doctorate is divided, in its focus, into two parts, the second longer than and building on the first. The first two chapters are a study of the Donne's evolution through the mediation of print, of manuscript and of the earliest biographical accounts, in both verse elegy and prose, during his life and in the years soon after his death. Here I lay out the way my work attempts to build on Arthur Marotti's work on manuscript coteries and Harold Love's on scribal transmission to show that the texts in which Donne was preserved are revealing of the changing conception of what his verse held at its heart. The second part is focussed on the use that four major poets made of Donne's verse; in my reading of the poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries I found that four stood out as vividly and variously Donnean: John Wilmot, Katherine Philips, John Dryden and Alexander Pope. In these chapters, while I remain interested in local instances of reception in manuscript and print, and continue the methodology established in the first two chapters, I focus on how literary allusion and imitation work in the period and in the hands of each poet. I ask what that the process

[31] Colin Burrow ed., *Metaphysical Poetry*, p. xxv.

of re-working Donne might reveal about changing conceptions of taste, of cultural imperatives and of the ways in which verse was used to speak to power, to close social circles and to England more widely; and, too, how Donne's verse allows these writers to play out intimate human relationships (this is particularly vivid in the case of Philips) and to endow them with significance via the voices offered by the literary past.

Donne's verse appeared in five major collected editions in the seventeenth century - 1633, 1635, 1649, 1650 and 1669 - and in an edition by Jacob Tonson in 1719, and the presence of these texts in the marketplace is woven through my thesis and argument. The first two editions were, as I discuss on page 66, taken as a copy-text for all subsequent editions and thereby determined, along with 30 poems added from manuscript and print sources over the seventeenth century, what would stand as the canonical text for Donne's verse up until the editions of the twentieth century. I discuss the multiple texts of Donne's *Poems*, their many publishers and iterations, throughout the second chapter (especially pages 66-67 and 76-77), and in the account of the changes Walton made to his own elegy, which was appended to the *Poems* (pages 90-94). Throughout the thesis, I draw comparisons between important poems by seventeenth and eighteenth century poets and the publication of the corresponding Donne edition (such as Dryden's elegy in *Lachrymae Musarum* and the 1649 edition, on page 181) and, more broadly, the place specific editions had in the marketplace, as in the discussion of Herringman's networks and the presence of Donne's 1669 edition in the libraries of Buckingham and Pepys (pages 107, 115). I also discuss, in my final chapter, the fact that Pope appears to have created his own version of the text of Donne's *Satyres* rather than using any of those on the market (page 253) and discuss

the significance of the Tonson edition, and the *Life* attached, in the same chapter (pages 262-265).

My first chapter, 'John Donne, Print Author', is an account of how a reader during Donne's lifetime would have experienced the public Donne. I was surprised, on first investigating Donne's reception during his life, to discover the presence of a significant body of print verse; this led me to argue that there is nuance to be added to the dominant image of Donne as the archetypal elite manuscript poet. I suggest that Donne's print output in the years running up to the print publication of *The Anniversaries* points to a writer invested in crafting a literary career. I suggest that some of Donne's early print verse, most notably his satirical commentary on Coryat's *Crudities* and the elegy for Prince Henry, is more significant and strategic than has been hitherto thought, particularly in the way their publication intertwined with his printings of *Pseudo-Martyr* and the Latin and English versions of *Ignatius his Conclave*. In so arguing, I look at the question of how far the 'stigma of print' can be read as a rhetorical strategy, and I examine Donne's presentational manoeuvres and poetic self-positioning. I argue that there are some similarities of Donne's early career with writers from whom he is usually held separate (Marston, Fletcher, Hall, Jonson and Spenser) and that these similarities underline the value of addressing Donne's career at the granular, local level, thereby resisting retrographic readings of his career. Marston, for instance, kept at least a pose of unwillingness to print even in the Preface to his *The Fawn*: 'many shall wonder why I *print* a Comedie...Let such know, that it cannot avoide publishing'. Similarly, Donne's career had some convergences with Spenser's that are illuminating; both were secretaries to great men, both wrote poems of hyperbolic praise dedicated to women they had not met (Donne's *Anniversaries*, written at the

death of Elizabeth Drury, and Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes,* dedicated to 'Ladie Margaret Countesse of Cumberland, and the Ladie Marie Countesse of Warwicke'), and Spenser's preface to the *Hymnes* suggests that the decision to print the verse was taken only with reluctance: 'many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolved at least to amend, and by way of retraction to reforme them.'[32] I argue that Walton's emphasis on Donne's carelessness over his own poetry might be modified by a reading of the way Walton frames his own reluctance to print, despite his own prolific output. I believe that a close reading of the *Anniversaries* suggests Donne was pitching his verse in a way calculated to accommodate the problems of public authorship, but, too, that this did not mean he lessened the complexity that is seen as the hallmark of a coterie poet writing for an in-group. Sutherland offers a valuable epistemological stance on scholarly investigations when she asks, repeatedly, how do we know what we know? In this chapter, and throughout the thesis, I attempt to ask something similar about Donne: how do we know what we know, and are we, in places, too certain of things that may be made usefully un-known? Ultimately, the chapter aims to underline the diversity of Donne's many presences and create a dialogic account of restricted-audience Donne and public Donne. This first chapter acts as bedrock from which my investigation of Donne's textual presence at later moments in literary history will grow.

My second chapter, 'The Digestion of Donne', looks at the process by which Donne became a public literary voice in the years after his death. For this chapter I draw on the methodology of Lukas Erne's *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* as my methodological guide, which, as one amongst a growing number of texts interested is mis-attribution and literary fakery, offered a way into reading verse misattributed to

[32] Edmund Spenser, *The Fowre Hymnes*, ed. L. Winstanley (Cambridge, 1916), p. 6.

Donne. The chapter begins by looking, first, at the dominant academic readings of Donne in this period, the majority of which are political in focus. Building on their work, I offer a possible political readings of Donne in the period immediately after his death; for instance, Humphrey Moseley was, as David Norbrook writes, a vehemently royalist publisher who published Donne's *Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters* in 1652 as part of a pointed 'series of volumes of poetry which evoked the world of the 1630s', while everything I discovered about John Grismond jr, the printer for Richard and John Marriot (publishers of Donne's *Poems* 1633) suggests he was a vocal participant in Royalist politics.[33] I ask what the variety of physical texts in which Donne is preserved might tell us about the ways in which the poetry was received, looking in particular at a print miscellany, *The Harmony of the Muses*, which is notable for juxtaposing Donne's own verse with pseudepigraphic verse ascribed to Donne. Further, working from the fact that Robert Chamberlain, publisher of the *Harmony,* was at Oxford in the 1650s and seemed, from his choice of poets for his miscellany, part of an Oxford and Christ Church coterie, I located manuscripts which stem from that time and place with an eye to Donne allusion, mis-attribution and fakery. Few of these manuscripts had overt inclusions of Donne, but I found in some an impulse towards playful personal revelation coupled with (occasionally outlandish) conceitful metaphor which, taken together, suggested the presence of Donne; I chose from these one, CC MS 328, which contains both Donne-like verse and actual Donne, to address in detail.[34] Reading the *Harmony,* and the manuscript miscellany which formed its source (neither

[33] David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics 1627-1660* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 159.
[34] Amongst the most useful of these were: Beinecke MS Osborn b205; Bodl. MSS Ashmole 36, MS Ashmole 38, Eng. poet. e. 97, Rawl. poet. 117, Rawl. poet. 142, Rawl. poet. 212; BL MSS Add. 30982, Egerton 2421, Harley 6931, Sloane 1792, Folger MSS V.a.125, Folger V.a.162, Folger V.a.245, Folger V.a.262, Folger V.b.43; Houghton MS Eng. 686, MS 239/22, Rosenbach. MS 239/27, Rosenbach MS 1083/17 and Westminster MS 41. I was given, by one of the editors of the *Variorum* project, an electronic copy of many of these manuscripts in a single database of facsimiles; those located in England I was able to look at in person.

of which have yet been written about at any length) I show that Donne's placement alongside licentious verse during the interregnum is not only revealing with regards to the capacity of his verse to be bent to meet a political rubric, but, too, with regard to the desire to read in Donne a spontaneous, personal poetics; a spontaneity underlined by a roughness of style that the fakeries of Donne seize on as a hallmark of his verse. This poetics of self-revelation in Donne imitation can be further elucidated by an examination of the multiple editions of Walton's biography of Donne; Walton shaped the future reception of Donne by making the poetry appear more confessional, less performative.

My third chapter looks at the literary appropriations of Donne by the cavalier-cum-libertine writers in the Reformation, with a focus on Rochester's use of Donne. Rochester was one of the poets I had wanted to study from the very beginning of the project, as being key to Donne's legacy, in that Rochester seemed to me, tonally, the most obvious candidate for Donne's heir in the Restoration. I found that while a handful of critics acknowledged this resonance in passing – Graham Greene wrote, 'Rochester has inherited from Donne a passionate colloquialism' – no sustained work had been done linking the two; perhaps because Rochester, like Donne, resisted the workmanlike posture of obvious allusion.[35] There are no records of Rochester's library, and no accounts of his reading available; so the key question at the heart of this chapter, which has never yet been addressed is, did Rochester read Donne? And if so, in what ways did Donne's verse influence Rochester's? I am able to demonstrate that Rochester was undoubtedly aware of Donne's work from a variety of sources;

[35] Graham Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey: Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester* (London, 1976), p. 10.

Buckingham, for instance, owned a copy of the 1669 printing of Donne's verse, and I use this chapter to establish the place of Donne in the marketplace and readerly imagination of the mid-to-late seventeenth century. I investigated the circles surrounding the book marketplace and Rochester's own social world, reading biographies and letters of major figures such as Buckingham, Shadwell and John Mennes as well as Pepys's diary, and found one figure appearing in the lives of all: Henry Herringman, who published the 1669 edition of Donne's *Poems*. I show in detail that the literary circle to which Donne's printed poetry was marketed by Herringman was very much Rochester's. Harold Love's ground-breaking account of textual dissemination in Rochester's circle has of course been central to my understanding of how verse migrated and was read in this period, and Harold Love himself has noted the similarities in mode of transmission in Rochester and Donne's verse. He gestures once, too, in the verse itself, when he notes the convergence between 'The Advice' and Donne's image of the stream in 'Oh let me not serve so'. My chapter expands both on the book-history, transmissional element of the meeting of the two authors, and on Love's brief moment of close reading, to look at other poems of Rochester's in which he incorporates Donne's intensity and carefully-constructed extemporaneity into his work.

My fourth chapter is a study of Katherine Philips's use of John Donne's verse. Philips's importance became clear to me through the number of manuscript verse collections, often in multiple hands, in which she is collected alongside Donne or Donnean verse, and I found her far-reaching, self-conscious and intricate use of Donne's poetry rivals the imitative sophistication of Dryden. My chapter aims to show that Ricks's suggestion that Dryden was the first to play with sustained imitation of

vernacular poets could be modified to place Philips alongside him. Philips uses Donne to create an intensely personal female voice which simultaneously aligns itself with the authority of Donne's literary presence; moreover, her re-writings of his verse can be read as a form of sophisticated literary critique. In, for instance, her feminising of the speaker of Donne's 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning', Philips appears to pick up on the hints – often unnoticed in recent criticism – that Donne's speaker is female; Donne's speaker refers to 'my circle' and 'thy firmness', and Philips, in 'Friendship in Emblem', seems to have seized on that possibility and made it boldly clear. In both my Rochester and Philips chapters I look at several manuscripts which couple the poets with Donne, including commonplace books like the Butler manuscript, which locates readers of Philips in a literary circle that overlapped with Rochester's. To find these manuscripts, I used online databases including the Perdita project, which focusses on female reading and writing in the period, but found, too, that I gained a great deal by spending weeks in the archives of Oxford and especially of Cambridge, which has a number of female-owned commonplace books including that of Elizabeth Lyttelton, daughter of Sir Thomas Browne; even when, for long periods of time, I found no instances of Donne's own work, I continued to stumble across unattributed verse in seventeenth-century commonplace books that rang metaphysical. I have chosen the manuscripts in the Rochester and Philips chapters as revealing not only of the reading practices of the moment, but, too, as highlighting the literary alliances that are sketched out, silently, during the act of common-placing. I also use this chapter to give an account of the divisions within the study of Philips in the academy today; broadly, the study of Philips bifurcates into examinations of her political allegiance and her possible homosexuality. While both are extremely valuable, the focus on these two major

questions has occluded the complexity of the way in which Philips intertwines multiple poems of Donne's into single stanzas of her verse; Philips, working on Donne, is at once literary critic and literary heir. To conclude my Philips chapter I look at the Overton manuscript, in which Robert Overton re-writes both Donne's verse, and Philips's rendering of Donne's verse. Overton, I show, is willing to re-shape Donne's religious and erotic verse to meet a very specific end, that of eulogising his dead wife. This suggests that Donne is still being used in complex and intimate ways which indicate that readers were still very alive to the subtleties of his verse, composed a hundred years before; and Overton is intensely aware of, and makes use of, the commonality between Philips and Donne.

My fifth chapter is an examination of Dryden's use of Donne. Dryden seems, from some angles, an unlikely place to look for Donne; for Samuel Johnson, Dryden marked a shift away from precisely the kind of 'former savageness' that Donne represented.[36] Indeed, Dryden himself seemed to seek to establish himself as the harbinger of a new poetic mode; his 'To my Honoured Friend, Dr Charleton' locates Dryden's language in the context of scientific developments and suggests that Dryden's verse is, in a similar way, a modern innovation and a break with the poetic past. However, Dryden's first printed verse, 'Upon the Death of Lord Hastings' was distinctly, even riotously Donnean, comparing Hastings's pox to flowers, teardrops and stars. I draw on Dryden's own writing about imitation and about Donne in *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex,* and argue that this passage is of central importance:

[36] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols. (Oxford, 2006), vol. II, p. 124.

> Would not Donn's satyrs, which abound with so much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words, and of his numbers? [. . .] I may safely say it of this present age, that if we are not so great wits as Donn, yet certainly, we are better poets.

This suggests that Dryden sought to be able to unpick two elements of Donne that are usually thought inseparable: his 'wit' - the boldness of his ideas, his capacity for transforming old ideas anew - and the form in which Donne expressed his thought. I show that Dryden plays with Donne's verse throughout his career, torn between admiration and Dryden's own desire for formal innovation. Donne is at once in the imagery of *Eleonora* and, as Dryden states, in the use of hyperbole to build from the dead a model for the living in a move that echoes Donne's *Anniversaries.* Donne is in Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe,* both directly and via Marvell's 'Flecknoe' which draws heavily on Donne's *Satyre IV*; *Mac Flecknoe* was the only poem Dryden had scribally published for eight years before he permitted it to be printed; Dryden, I argue, seizes on Donne when he wants to play with public satire and a private acknowledgement of public danger. Finally, Donne's 'Hymn to God the Father' resonates in Dryden's *Hind and the Panther*, adding a rich layer of ambivalence and complexity to Dryden's poetic exploration of the consequences of his own of religious conversion to Catholicism. My chapter concludes by contrasting the use that other cavalier poets made of Donne with Dryden's; while Donne seems to function largely as a stylistic resource for poets like Suckling and Lovelace, for Dryden, the larger questions of how form meets meaning and how wit meets sincerity are at stake.

My final chapter looks at what is the most sustained and intricate piece of reception of Donne in the eighteenth century: Pope's 'versifications' of Donne's *Satyres.* Pope's free imitation of Donne's *Satyres*, coupled with his impulse towards

correction and metrical smoothness, gives me the opportunity to study a peculiar and intriguing confluence of literary models. Pope, not unlike Dryden, is torn by Donne; his desire to smooth Donne's metre is caught against his desire to preserve some of the aggressively forthright tone. Pope appears to mark out those elements that fascinate and trouble him most by elongating them, occasionally playing out a metrical game where the point is delayed to secure a perfect punch-line in a couplet. Pope was drawn to the image of Donne as an English demi-Catholic; Warburton wrote in 1757, 'About this time of his life Dr Donne had a strong propensity to Popery, which appears from several strokes of the Satyres'.[37] These 'strokes' are magnified by Pope across his 'versification'; a reference to purgatory in *Satyre IV,* for instance, which in Donne takes up two lines (3-4), in Pope is expanded to take up four (5-8). The closing allusion to *2 Maccabees* – a book concerned with martyrs and reckoned in the Renaissance to contain the strongest support for the doctrine of Catholic purgatory, a book which Anglicans did not esteem canonical – reads in Donne:

> Though I yet
> with Maccabees modesty, the known merit
> Of my work lessen; yet some wise man shall
> I hope, esteem my writs canonical. (Donne, *Satyre IV,* 241-44)

This is sanctified and becomes 'Holy Writ' in Pope:

> howe'er, what's now Apocrypha, my Wit,
> In time to come, may pass for Holy Writ. (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne,* 286-87)

My earlier work on juxtaposition and the transformational force of manuscript collections and imitations over time crystallises here; I aim to show that Pope's conception of Donne might have been different from our own. Looking at the context and playfulness surrounding the publication dates of Pope's versifications, I came to

[37] William Warburton, *The Works of Alexander Pope* (London, 1757), p. 191.

see that Pope may emblematise the fact that when we hunt for Donne in the work of his successors we must be wary of hunting only for 'Donne' as imagined by the academy today. Rochester, Philips, Dryden and Pope are ideal vessels for this kind of investigation in that each had a culturally central role in his period; like Rochester, Pope has a distinctive poetics of imitation and parody and is the centre of a web of readers and writers.

The major poets I choose to study are ordered chronologically – Rochester, Philips, Dryden, and Pope. As I discuss at the end of the Philips chapter, Dryden and Philips wrote their first verses in the Donnean tradition at almost exactly the same time and so their order could be flipped (Dryden was born in 1631 and died in 1700; Philips was born six months later, in January 1632, and died in 1664) but because of the links between Rochester and Philips in the manuscript culture of the moment – the two are collected alongside Donne in several of the manuscripts which form a key part of this thesis (St Paul's MS 52. D. 14, known as the Butler manuscript, and CUL MS Add. 8460, known as the Lyttelton manuscript) - I was keen that the two chapters should be adjacent to each other. The other reason for placing Philips before Dryden was that I hoped to challenge Christopher Ricks's assertion that it was Dryden who was the first poet to write consciously allusive vernacular verse; I argue that Philips deserves to be placed alongside Dryden as equal in innovation and timing. The Dryden chapter closes with an account of those poets - especially Lovelace, Suckling, Vaughan and Waller – whose 'cavalier' lyric ethos led them to use Donne's verse as a useful stylistic source, rather than a poet to engage with at length over the span of a career. These come slightly out of chronological order, in part because the Rochester chapter, in order to explore the peculiar nature of Rochester's engagement with Donne,

focussed primarily on reading networks and the broader market place rather than close reading. Largely, though, these poets are grouped together and placed at the end of the study of Dryden to give an aggregate sense of a similar set of strategies used recurrently across the cavalier verse, against which I set Dryden's long-term engagement with Donne's verse. A close reading of both approaches set alongside one another highlights, through contrast, how radically complex were Dryden's assimilative and abrasive interactions with Donne.

My conclusion looks at Pope's *Dunciad* as the moment where we might come starkly up against the limits of allusion; in the *Dunciad*, the footsteps of past poets are so overlaid and playfully muddied that tracing firm influence becomes impossible. That impossibility is itself telling; the fact that the question remains illuminating even as it becomes unanswerable suggests that the study of Donne's afterlives might point to the need for a broadening of the idea of influence in Renaissance studies. The question of Donne's influence is a much-asked one and there is, I think, a gap in the scholarship, between the voluminous and detailed Donne transmission history in the *Variorum* and the strong single-author work on Donne, and the much broader-scope histories of reading and transcription, such as Harold Love's *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. This doctorate brings those two scholarly strands into conversation. My thesis does not aim to cover every Donne text; rather, it takes Donne as a way into thinking about the reading, writing and transmitting of verse and the ways we have produced and imagined and twisted it over the last four and a half hundred years.

JOHN DONNE, PRINT AUTHOR

When the first edition of Donne's *Poems* was published in 1633, it opened with a preface, headed 'The Printer to the Understanders'. It states that it shall make no long introduction, nor profane it with excuses for printing; instead, it frames the reader as part of a privileged elite:

> But these things are so common, as that I should profane this piece by applying them to it; a piece which whoso takes not as he finds it, in what manner soever, he is unworthy of it, sith a scattered limb of this author hath more amiableness in it, in the eye of a discerner, than a whole body of some other.[1]

Before the reader reaches Donne's verse, they are inaugurated into the illusion of belonging to an elite group of readers and 'discerners'. In this, the printers of *Poems* 1633 sought to perpetuate, in print, a narrative of Donne as a private, coterie poet; a narrative that is familiar today. Writers as diverse as Izaak Walton, T.S. Eliot, Helen Gardner, John Carey and Arthur Marotti have brought alive the image of Donne as an intensely private author; his niche in literary history has been carved out for him as the elite nonprofessional poet, writing for a coterie of 'Understanders'. Carey and Marotti are very different in their scholarly approach to Donne – their fundamental divergence in critical assumptions are enumerated in Carey's 'Afterword' to *Life, Mind, Art* – but still both see Donne as producing his texts in a personal contrapuntal interplay with his

[1] John Donne, *Poems* (London, 1633), 'The Printer to the Understanders', sig. A1r. The 'Printer to the Understanders' is not signed; some have ascribed it to Miles Flesher, the printer; others to John Marriot, the publisher and bookseller. 'Understanders' could mean both those who comprehend and have knowledge, and also those who feel sympathy. Thomas Dekker wrote in *A Strange Horse-Race* (1613) 'Readers [. . .] are not *Lectores*, but *Lictores*, they whip Books (as Dionysius did boyes) whereas to Understanders, our *libri*, which we bring forth, are our *Liberi* (the children of our braine) and at such hands are as gently entreated, as at their parents.' Dekker, *A Strange Horse-Race* (London, 1613), sig. A3r, cited in Stephen Dobranski, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 120.

peers. It is axiomatic of Donne criticism that he be situated within a socially homogenous self-contained circle. It is a world, as A. J. Smith paints it, with clearly-defined limits; Smith cites the idea that Donne might have 'had a revolutionary impact while he was still writing' but rejects it; 'the peculiar circumstance in which he wrote and was read specifically exclude that possibility.'[2] The recent recalibration of Donne's manuscript presence, as being more voluminous than Grierson, Gardner and Milgate could have supposed, has widened the scope and breadth of the way we define coterie, but still the idea of the contained and private author is the dominant Donne narrative.[3]

In his influential *John Donne, Coterie Poet* Arthur Marotti writes that 'Donne was obviously most comfortable when he knew his readers personally and they knew him.'[4] But a pedestrian walking through St Paul's Churchyard in the first decades of the seventeenth century, and stopping to browse under the sign of the Boar's Head might have been surprised to hear it said. This hypothetical customer would, with ease, have been able to purchase Donne's refutation of the Pope's authority in *Pseudo-Martyr,* for its print-run was blockbusting. He would also have been able to buy both verse and prose within the covers of *Ignatius His Conclave*, copies of which had, by 1611, already made their way to the booksellers of Paris.[5] Printed anonymously, it was, as I shall demonstrate below, widely known to be by Donne. It would probably have been more

[2] A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage* (London, 1975), p. 2.

[3] This exponential increase in the body of Donne manuscripts is another reason for work to be done on the print Donne, that the mass of the former should not dim the significance of the latter. Shawcross, in his 1967 edition of *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, listed 157 Donne manuscripts, which doubled the collected total of Grierson Gardner and Milgate who listed forty-three between them. Peter Beal, in his *Index of English Literary Mansucripts* (1980) lists 219. The *Donne Variorum*, fifteen years later, lists 239 manuscript sources and three inscriptions on monuments (as well as over 200 seventeenth century books that collectively contain over 800 copies of individual Donne poems or excerpts from Donne poems.) A poet available in 239 contemporary manuscripts forces us to reconsider what we understand by 'private', 'intimate' and 'elite' – three words that are close collocates with 'Donne' across the criticism - and indeed what we understand by 'unpublished'. Gary Stringer et al. eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (Bloomington, 1995-20--), general introduction, vol. 6, p. xliv.

[4] Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, Wis., 1986), p. 9.

[5] T. S. Healy ed., *Ignatius His Conclave* (Oxford, 1969), p. xii.

difficult to buy the First and Second *Anniversaries* – the circumstances of their production and the luxurious use of white space suggest a limited press-run – but still, a Donne-follower would by 1625 have been able to collect up to four different editions of one or both of the poems. If the browser had been loitering after 1630, he or she would have been able to choose from two editions of the *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, and six published sermons. And if the hypothetical book-buyer had been a frequent visitor to the churchyards at St Paul's and St Dunstan's, he would already have encountered Donne's verse in seven other texts; the epigram 'A Lame Beggar' (also known as 'Zoppo') in Thomas Deloney's *Strange Histories* (1607); 'Amicissimo et Meritissimo Ben Jonson' in *Ben*: *Jonson his Volpone or the Fox* (1607); 'The Expiration' in Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Ayres* (1609); 'Upon Mr Thomas Coryat's Crudities', published alongside the *Crudities* themselves in 1611 and reprinted in *The Odcombian Banquet;* 'Break of Day' in *The Second Book of Ayres,* collected by William Corkine in 1612; 'A licentious person', a satiric couplet in Henry Fitzgeffrey's *Satyres and Satyricall Epigram's* (1617); and the much-imitated 'Elegy upon the Death of Prince Henry' in Josuah Sylvester's *Lachrymae Lachrymarum* (1613). [6]

John Donne was a print author. This is not to say that the manuscript verse is not the greater and more enticing part of the canon; nor to dismiss the exceptional scholarship highlighting Donne's ambivalent attitude to print. Indeed, one of the chief dangers of emphasising the private over the public Donne is that it damps the thrill of the contrast which must have been a part of owning a manuscript Donne poem. There would have been a gratifying gap between Donne's public presence, filtered through

[6] Two other poems in the satires which preface the *Crudities* were also attributed to Donne; one 'In eundem Macaronicon', is probably Donne's; the other probably is not. A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage*, p. 35: Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 104.

many media, including, ultimately, that of live performance in the pulpits of St Paul's Cathedral and at court, and the immediacy of the private, tactile, directly-addressed verse. [7] We risk therefore limiting the parameters of a viable reader response for work that *was* intensely personal. 'A Nocturnal upon Saint Lucy's Day' (1612) would, at any time, have been a thing worth having; to receive it in the wake of the small storm surrounding *Pseudo-Martyr* and *Ignatius His Conclave* would have been doubly extraordinary.

The image of Donne as a very private author is compounded by the academy's emphasis on his private life: each fuels the other. The massed biographies of Donne are due in part, of course, to the wealth of material available in Walton's *Lives* and in the published and unpublished letters; but they stem also from the logic that suggests that an unpublished poet would be, inevitably, a more confessional poet, and his verse relatively uncomplicated by the performative dynamic of print and the expectations of an unknown audience. For instance, there has been throughout the last hundred years of Donne scholarship a fascination surrounding his complicated marriage to Anne Donne, fuelled by evidence lifted from the unpublished verse. In contrast, how many Renaissance scholars know the name of Jonson's wife?[8] In Donne's case, there are multiple examples of the desire to map Donne's poetry directly onto Donne's life; J.B. Leishman lists twenty poems that Donne 'addressed to the woman he married, or wrote concerning their relationship', some of which were written before the two met

[7] The multi-media Donne would also include visual imagery, in the Marshall engraving of 1591 and the Lothian portrait, probably executed in the late 1590s, and hung in chambers in Lincolns Inn. Helen Gardner ed., *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford, 1965), p. 268.

[8] Jonson's wife was also called Ann. Ian Donaldson's recent biography of Jonson notes that the playwright was 'remarkably attuned to his contemporary world', but resists confusing the work with the man. Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson, A Life* (Oxford, 2012), p. 419.

or in commemoration of public figures.[9] Richard Sugg writes that 'all of Donne's writing are his self. In one sense these are more reliable than biographical information.'[10] More recently, John Stubbs's trade biography *Donne* takes 'The Sun Rising' as a piece of documentary evidence and paints Donne and Anne in bed, watching the sun enter through an East-facing window.[11] Stubbs is not an amateur, and must recognise the problems of his narrative, but there is enough of a predisposition towards literalising Donne in this way that his book was relatively well-received.[12] Other scholars follow Helen Gardner and R.C. Bald in being more wary of drawing absolute parallels between Donne's heart and his writing, but there is a still sense that unpublished manuscript verse is more likely to be autobiographical; instinctively, the text and the poet are more easily conflated when the work is in holograph form. [13] It is a sign of how accepting much of the academy remains with the dominant Donne narrative that although assumptions surrounding the holograph form have been widely challenged in useful and sophisticated ways – in Harold Love's *Scribal Publication,* in Lukas Erne's *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist,* in Leah Marcus's *Unediting the Renaissance,* and in Marotti's discussion of the ways in which manuscript collections recode social verse - still the assumption risks colouring Donne studies.[14] The intuition may of course sometimes be the reality, but, in making the private Donne so dominant

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[9] J. B. Leishman, *The Monarch of Wit: An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Poetry of John Donne* (London, 1951), p. 176. Deborah Larson writes that, throughout the twentieth century, 'with Donne's love poetry […] it is often difficult if not impossible for a number of critics to separate the persona of the poems from John Donne himself'. Deborah Larson, *John Donne and Twentieth-Century Criticism* (London, 1989), p. 70.

[10] Richard Sugg, *John Donne, Critical Issues* (London, 2007), p. 4. Sugg also writes that, 'Donne seems to have fused his self and his writing in a quite special way. He seems, indeed, to have been most fully himself only when he wrote or when he spoke'; which may be true, but is difficult to prove.

[11] John Stubbs, *Donne: The Reformed Soul* (London, 2006), p. 40.

[12] The *New York Times* wrote, 'His book has juice, and, best of all, a kind of fearlessness'. Thomas Mallon, 'Love's Deity,' *New York Times,* May 13 2007. Paul Dean's 'Donne's "Dialogue of One",' *The New Criterion* 25 (2007), pp. 69–73 offers a review of John Stubbs's *Donne* (2006) in comparison with biographies by Bald and John Carey.

[13] Helen Gardner ed., *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, p. xii. 'Nor can we legitimately assume that poems that express idealistic sentiments must have been written at a different period from those that express a cynical view of man's love and woman's virtue.'

[14] Arthur Marotti*, Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, 1995), p. 218.

a narrative, it risks reducing the scope for a more variegated response to Donne's position in his time and in the canon. Donne did have a place in public life, and an anxious ear turned towards the public's reception.

This chapter will attempt to add some shading to the reading of Donne's earliest printed work. I will explore Donne as a potential strategist in print, arguing that a more careful chronology, with an eye to Donne's own hand in retrospectively evening out his career trajectory, will allow us to re-assess Donne's position in the public eye in the time running up to the *Anniversaries*. The books I will discuss did not disappear once printed; rather, they were re-issued and re-figured, and had a significant impact on the way that both the poet and preacher would have been read.

Donne in print

An argument can made for a strategic Donne; a Donne whose early attitude to the print market was not so different from, for instance, that of the early Spenser. The difficulty is that Walton's *Lives* has left us with an anti-print narrative of Donne's attitude to his work that is profoundly seductive; but it is also, not just for Donne but for any human, impossibly neat. The positioning of Donne in the cultural marketplace by Walton and Walton's colleagues and successors is something I shall explore in the next chapter, but, crucially, it has been tempting to forget that biography is written after the fact; it is possible to lose sight of the cultural project involved in reconceptualising Donne's identity. Indeed, Leah Marcus points out that the 1633 *Poems* are arranged in generic and chronological order akin to Laudian liturgical order; from the very start, then, it has been very difficult to read Donne's poems without retroactively imposing on them the unworldly attitudes and religious imperatives of the

Dean of St Paul's.[15] However, in recognising how the Dr Donne phenomenon can colour the reading of earlier episodes of his life, it becomes possible that Donne's professed distaste for the print market might be compared to that of Marston or Fletcher, men ambitious for fame in a similarly liminal social position who took pains to assert their claim to gentility, and who equally took up the anti-print position. Marston, for example, writes in his preface to *The Fawn,* 'many shall wonder why I *print* a Comedie...Let such know, that it cannot avoide publishing.'[16] Moreover, although many Donne-narratives give emphasis to the rarefied Donne, evoking his elite birth and Thomas More connection (an emphasis set in motion, of course, by Donne himself) both Fletcher and Marston had similar beginnings in life. Fletcher's father was Bishop of London, and his grandfather was a close companion of John Foxe.[17] Similarly, Marston's Inns of Court gentility mirrors Donne's; *Histriomastix* probably started out as a piece to be performed at the Inns for Christmas 1598, and it is not unlikely that Donne in his time at Lincoln's Inn would have hosted similar entertainments. Marston had the name removed from the title-page of the 1633 collected edition of his plays in the year before his death, by which time he had, like Donne, taken up divine office, but he had sought fame and notoriety in his youth. It may even be that this life cursus, of a riotous youth in which the author intends, almost from the beginning, to be self-conscious in maturity, is a more useful frame to understand Donne than the more usual focus on Donne's religious conversion.[18] It is unlikely that the Donne of the 1590s was clear that he did not want to be a print

[15] Leah Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London, 1996), p. 198.
[16] John Marston, 'To My Equal Reader', *The Fawn* (London, 1606), p. 4.
[17] Gordon McMullan, 'Fletcher, John (1579–1625)', first published 2004; online edn, Oct 2006. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9730]
[18] Donne's conversion is of course significant, but it can be given so central a position that it obscures other readings. John Carey wrote, famously, 'The first thing to understand about Donne is that he was a Catholic; the second, that he betrayed his faith.' John Carey, *John Donne*: *Life, Mind, Art* (New York, 1981), p. 14.

author. It becomes important to understand Donne's life narrative in Early Modern rather than Romantic terms; it is easy to map mid-Jacobean conceptions of gentlemanliness backwards onto Donne's world of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; but, in those earlier years, these roles were precisely in flux - we know, for example, that the Earl of Oxford wrote anonymously for Paul's Boys - and were being invented and formed by Donne and Marston and their contemporaries.

Even more interestingly, up until 1611, Donne's career maps illuminatingly onto Spenser's of 1589. Like Spenser, Donne was a secretary (to Lord Grey and Sir Thomas Egerton respectively) and thereby of ambiguous social standing within the elite. I do not want to over-draw the comparison; Donne was of different background and his university experience would have been very different; but like Donne, Spenser published anonymously, and both used ludic prefatory material which played with the idea of anonymity. [19] E.K in *The Shepherdes Calender* plays a game similar to the 'Printer to the Reader' in *Ignatius His Conclave,* which makes high claims to reluctance whilst all the time establishing itself as a companion piece to the 'other book', *Pseudo-Martyr,* widely known to be by Donne. Like Donne, Spenser's narrative has been fixed in a way that allows his early published texts to pass under the critical radar; Joseph Loewenstein encapsulates the problem of retrography when he writes:

> when Spenser's pastorals were first published in 1579 his first published verse had been in print for exactly ten years. That the twenty-two sonnets in the *Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings* are not identified in print as Spenser's should not set them securely outside the circle that includes the poems made canonical...since *The Shepherd's Calender* is similarly anonymous. The anonymity

[19] Spenser made his way to Cambridge as a sizar. Andrew Hadfield's recent biography has shown, that Spenser, like Donne, had exalted relatives, but that his relationship with them was more uncertain; In dedicating a poem in *The Fate of the Butterflie* to Elizabeth Spencer, daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorp, on grounds of 'kin', 'Spenser is keen to advertise his links to the Althorps, and it is hard to imagine that he could have done so if there was no evidence of a connection, although it is worth remembering that Sir John Spencer was fabulously wealthy'. Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford, 2012), p. 20.

of Spenser's early sonnets was banal in 1569, but the anonymity of his eclogues is made to shimmer in 1579.[20]

In the same way, Donne's anonymous print work is seen as banal, his manuscript verse is made to shimmer; the two writers had very similar run-ups to very different endpoints. Thus, to have a Donne as complex as his work deserves, we would have to be rigorously chronological, and approach Donne's early work and Donne's reputation as they would have been understood at the moment of each text's publication. Just as the *Faerie Queene* did not look so obviously predictable until it was published; so conversely, in 1612, John Donne, coterie poet could not have looked inevitable. Loewenstein puts it beautifully: he writes that scholars 'ought to steer clear of any account that misses the uncertainties of composition, the mystery of the next thing.'[21]

In addition to the *Anniversaries*, which I shall argue were the formative moment in Donne's print career, the most significant pieces of Donne's verse published in his lifetime are 'The Expiration', the satirical commentary on Coryat's *Crudities*, and the elegy for Prince Henry. The first of these was printed alongside work by Ben Jonson in Alfonso Ferrabosco's collected *Ayres* in late 1609, at the same time as *Pseudo-Martyr* was being put through the press. The quarto miscellany in which the poem appears would have been a canny choice; in being a collection of poets clustered round the court, it straddled the gap between professional posturing and manuscript elites. On the one hand, the book is the second in two years to enclose Jonson and Donne in the same textual space, suggesting, perhaps, other aligning, of ambition and intent. On the other, the lyric is unattributed, placed seventh and presented amongst ten others (nine

[20] Joseph Loewenstein, 'Spenser's Retrography: Two Episodes in Post-Petrarchan Bibliography', in Judith Anderson et al., eds. *Spenser's Life and the Subject of Biography* (Amherst, 1996), p. 115.
[21] Joseph Loewenstein, 'Spenser's Retrography: Two Episodes in Post-Petrarchan Bibliography', p. 115.

by Jonson, one by Thomas Campion). [22] The codex would have been a desirable one; Ferrabosco was a minor celebrity whose texts were sought after; a court musician, Ferrabosco had set Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* to music and was celebrated for his viol compositions. While the specialised nature of the place of sale (the text was printed for 'Iohn Browne, and are to be sold at his shoppe in S. Dunstones Church-yard'; John Browne's enterprise was large, but dealt almost solely with printed madrigals[23]) suggests that the text had a circulation limited to the elite, the placing of 'The Expiration' next to Jonson's verse would have been a way of asserting Donne's presence in a way comparable to that of John Davies's epigrams appearing alongside Marlowe's *Ovid's Elegies* in 1598. The lyric itself in its lines 'this last lamenting kiss/which sucks two souls, and vapours both away' (1-2) evokes tonally Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella,* 'O kiss, which souls, even souls together ties' (Sonnet 81, 5), and its six-line stanza pentameter structure had been used by Shakespeare in 1593 in *Venus and Adonis.*[24] This repeated sestet is rare in Donne (the only two others are 'The Break of Day', and 'A Hymn to God the Father') but it was a popular form for contemporary printed verse; George Gascoigne's *Posies* (1575) includes twelve poems that use the recurring sestet, and in 1593 R.S.'s *The Phoenix Nest* set out almost hundred poems, twenty-three of which are in the same six-line pentameter form.[25] Donne, consciously or unconsciously, used a form associated with print markets and mass readerships. It is noteworthy, too, that Donne's attitude to print is robust enough to allow him to cannibalise his early work: the theme of the poem evokes the private verse epistle to

[22] The first is Donne's short Latin commendatory verse 'Amicissimo et Meritissimo Ben Jonson' in *Ben: Jonson his Volpone or the Fox* (London, 1607); in that first case it was the second poem in sequence and was signed.
[23] Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers* (London, 1900), p. 19.
[24] All quotations from Sidney, unless stated otherwise, are from *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works,* ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford, 2009).
[25] Richard Sylvester, ed., *English Seventeenth-Century Verse* (New York, 1984), p. 324.

Henry Wotton in 1598, 'Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle souls'. A decade later, then, Donne is appropriating his own thought to use in print; in this business-like recycling, and in his easily digestible stanza form, Donne perhaps aligns himself with professional poets such as Jonson, Spenser and Shakespeare.[26]

Pseudo-Martyr, which followed less than a year later, can be read as a continuation of this robustly outward-looking Donne; it is also the first piece of his prose to appear in print, and the longest.[27] Walton suggested that Donne had already had some experience of preparing treatises for the commercial press, having helped Thomas Morton produce a series of books between 1605 and 1607.[28] T. S. Healy notes that a comparison of the authorities quoted in Morton's *Catholic Appeal* with those in *Pseudo-Martyr* are convincing proof of Donne's close involvement in the former.[29] The account that Walton gives of the book's production is glamorous, but probably inaccurate:

> His Majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them.... To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and within six weeks brought them to him under his own hand writing, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of Pseudo-Martyr, printed anno 1610.[30]

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[26] Richard Helgerson demonstrates in his *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System* (London, 1983) how Spenser and Jonson looked for a 'way of being at once poet, prophet and spokesman of the governing order', their focus being on how to establish authority through verse (p. 280); this is in contrast to his earlier *Elizabethan Prodigals* (Berkeley, 1976), in which he identified poets such as Sidney and Hall whose force lay in deliberately amateurish rebellion: 'gravity gave way to levity, work to play, reason to passion, public accomplishment to private delight' (p.28). Although Donne is touched on in *Elizabethan Prodigals*, it is telling that he fits comfortably into neither category.

[27] Its length may be one of the reasons it is relatively understudied. Evelyn Simpson writes, in a footnote, 'The late Dr Jessop, himself an ardent student and admirer of Donne's prose works, wrote to me in a private latter in 1910, 'who but a monomaniac would read *Pseudo-Martyr* through?' E.M. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford, 1948), p. 179.

[28] Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert* (London, 1670), p. 55. The *Lives* change significantly across their many re-publications, and Walton's agenda changes with them. Unless otherwise stated I follow convention in quoting from the 1670 edition.

[29] T. S. Healy (ed.), *Ignatius His Conclave*, p. xix. The works are *Apologia Catholica,* (1605) *An Exact Discoverie of the Romish Doctine in the Case of Conspiracy and Rebellion* (1605) *Apoligiae Catholicae secunda pars* (1606), and *A full satisfaction concerning a double Romish Iniquitie* (1606).

[30] Izaak Walton, *Lives* (1670), p. 55.

This is significant in that it portrays Donne as an artisan as much as a writer. He is shown to be producing a document to order, in a time frame more appropriate to a copyist than an author, and conforming to the King's wishes. Walton is minimising Donne's agency in the production of his printed work. This maps on to Walton's portrayal of a Donne distancing himself from his verse - 'he wished they had been abortive, or so short-lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals' - and the emphasis on Donne's refusal of the bishopric of Durham; Walton, in quasi-hagiographic mode, is the first of many to emphasise the retiring version of Donne's persona.[31]

The reality may have been different. Donne nowhere mentions that the piece was written in obedience to the King; rather, *Pseudo-Martyr,* although it was published anonymously, is a text in which Donne is very present. It contains the first moment that we know of in which Donne directly addresses the print-reader, and the only instance outside the sermons. The Advertisement reads

> For *his* own good therefore (in which I am also interested), I must first entreat him, that *he will be pleased*, before he read to amend with his pen some of the most important errors which are hereafter noted to have passed into the printing.

Although unsigned, this nonetheless constitutes a valuable insight into Donne's attitude to print; it yokes together an anxiety about correctness and comprehension with a desire to be read, creating a hybrid of distrust and participation. This anxiety is a reminder that the text was not only for the King and court, but was intended to be distributed widely; although *Pseudo-Martyr* was published only once in Donne's lifetime,

[31] Izaak Walton, *Lives* (1670), p. 70.

that first printing was remarkable. Anthony Raspa writes that 'it had an extraordinarily heavy press-run.'[32] Raspa also suggests that variants between existing copies are evidence of in-press correction and believes that Donne 'most probably saw it through the press.'[33]

Pseudo-Martyr is also remarkable for its dimension of autobiography. Donne's references to his Catholic past are interspersed from the very beginnings of the text, in the preliminary matter. In the 'Advertisement to the Reader' Donne writes, obliquely, about the persecution of his maternal family:

> as I *am a Moral man*: so, as I *am* a Christian, I have been ever kept awake in no family, (which is not of far larger extent, and greater branches) hath endured and suffered more in their persons and fortunes, for obeying the Teachers of Roman Doctrine, than it hath done.[34]

Again, in 'A Preface to the Priests, and Jesuits, and to their Disciples in this Kingdome', Donne writes:

> They who have descended so low, as to take knowledge of me, and to admit me into their consideration, know well that I used no inordinate haste, nor precipitation in binding my conscience to any local Religion. I had a longer work to do than many other men; for I was first to blot out, certain impressions of the Roman religion, and to wrestle both against the examples and against the reasons, by which some hold was taken [35]

No other poet of the period had written so revealingly and so publically about the causal link between youth and adulthood; no other writer has appeared to make their individual narrative so universally available. Hobbes's two Latin autobiographies, one in verse, one in prose, touch on his childhood only to mention the circumstances of

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[32] Anthony Raspa ed., *Pseudo-Martyr* (Montreal,1993), p. xiii.
[33] Anthony Raspa ed., *Pseudo-Martyr*, p. xiv.
[34] Anthony Raspa ed., *Pseudo-Martyr*, p. 8.
[35] Anthony Raspa ed., *Pseudo-Martyr*, p. 13.

his birth on the day rumour reached England of the Spanish Armada, and neither was published until after his death; Jonson did not refer to his youth; and nowhere in Spenser's authorial sfumato are there moments of comparable self-revelation. Whether or not we take Donne's confessional stance at face value, such public self-fashioning on Donne's part points to a desire to assert an authorial identity in a way that stands at odds with the academy's dominant Donne-narrative, of the manuscript poet who shared his work and inner life only with those close to him. Indeed, *Pseudo-Martyr* is more revealing and confessional than a lot of the manuscript verse and letters. Donne writes that his letters are 'spun out of nothing, they are nothing, or but apparitions, and ghosts'; he provides us with a valuable inversion of the traditional print-manuscript model. [36]

Pseudo-Martyr's argument, that recusants who die rather than take the Oath of Allegiance are committing suicide rather than gaining eternal glory, and that those who revolt against the monarch are not martyrs but criminals, was in line with the dominant court attitude. In comparison with the obscene satire of *Ignatius His Conclave,* or the passion of the Jesuit Francis Suarez in *Defensio catholicae fidei contra anglicanae sectae errors* (1613), *Pseudo-Martyr* is measured in its rhetoric. However**,** Donne recognised that his intentions risked being second-guessed before the book had been read; in an illuminating moment of defensiveness, he writes:

> (I have already received some light, that some of the Roman profession, having only seen the Heads and Grounds handled in this Book, have traduced me, as an impious and profane under-valuer of Martyrdom) I most humbly beseech him (till the reading of the Book, may guide his reason) to believe, that I have a just and Christianly estimation, and reverence, of that devout and acceptable sacrifice of our lives.[37]

[36] John Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (London, 1651), p. 121.
[37] Anthony Raspa ed., *Pseudo-Martyr*, p. 8.

Donne's anxieties were not unrealistic; the text was widely read, readily identified, and did provoke outrage in some quarters. Thomas Fitzherbert, one of the spokesmen of the Catholic party, criticized it in his *Supplement to the Discussion of M.D. Barlowes Answere to the Judgement of a Catholike Englishman* which appeared in 1613, and in which he stakes out his intention to:

> display M Dunns ignorance to the world, yea and make him understand that it had byn much more for his reputation to have kept himself within his compasse...that is to say, beyond his old occupation of making Satyres (wherein he hath some talent, and may play the foole without controle) then to presume to write books of matters in controversy.[38]

This is interesting; if Fitzherbert is being specific in his use of 'Satyres', then Donne's fame for his five *Satyres* dating from the 1590s and for *Metempsychosis,* which exists in eight different early seventeenth century manuscripts, had spread by 1613 beyond his immediate circle. It is plausible that Donne was aware this would be the case, and that he is strategically playing the two mediums against each other, in an act of provocative self-fashioning. Fitzherbert's words are a reminder of the value of thinking about the privacy of private manuscript as well as the authority of 'authorised' print work in a dialogic way; 'Donne' exists simultaneously in two versions; satirist and political theologian, print and manuscript, and the one informs the reading of the other.

Following close upon *Pseudo-Martyr,* the verse satire on the *Crudities* reads as deliberately different; like Spenser, Donne during the early years seems to be advertising his virtuosity in multiple mediums. As with the Prince Henry elegy, the Coryat poem is one amongst many (one in 108 pages of prefixed verse); like 'The

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[38] Thomas Fitzherbert, *Supplement to the Discussion of M. D. Barlowes Answere to the Judgement of a Catholike Englishman* (London, 1613), p. 7.

Expiration', it was printed at the same time as one of Donne's prose works, the late 1611 date coinciding with the satirical *Conclave Ignati*. Moreover, as Thomas Coryat's *Crudities* themselves were entered in the Stationer's Register on 7 June 1611, Donne's two satires, verse and prose, would probably have been composed simultaneously.[39] The poem is, again like *Ignatius,* confident and scurrilous; ('that inland sea having discovered well/A cellar gulf, where one might sail to Hell' (6-7) is a reference to the courtesan's pudendum) and is also one of the few Donne poems to address the world of print, as itself something slightly scurrilous. Line 28 is hyperbolic ridicule; 'Go, bashful man, lest here thou blush to look,/Upon the progress of thy glorious book'; and 30-31 are, obliquely, a jibe at Thomas Coryat for resorting to the Renaissance equivalent of vanity publishing; 'The West sent gold, which thou didst freely spend/(Meaning to see't no more) upon the press'. The running mockery, though, is made complicated and more humane in the final sestet; firstly, in the qualifying note to line 70. The preceding lines run:

> Some leaves may paste strings there in other books;
> And so one may which on another looks
> Pilfer, alas, a little wit from you
> But hardly much. (Donne, in the *Crudities*, 66-69)

These lines, which suggest that there is 'hardly much' wit in the entire book, are softened by the added marginal note, 'I mean from one page which shall paste strings in a book.' This is a unique instance of Donne providing a gloss to his own verse, and as such evokes again the questions of being read aright, and of the danger of misreading that accompany print. This introduction of nuance, though, is itself qualified by the bumptiousness of the poem's final line, 'I am gone/And rather than

[39] Edward Arber ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 155-1640*, 5 vols. (New York, 1950), vol. 3, p. 449.

read all, I would read none'; Donne is claiming not to have read the book. The poem refuses to take its own seriousness seriously; Donne manipulates readerly expectations in a way that evokes the performativity of the jester and the satirist; and the theatricality of the punch line suggest a poem very aware of the width and number of its public audience.

The fact that *Ignatius His Conclave* followed so swiftly suggests Donne may be testing the water for a career as professional satirist. Donne advertises his ambition by aligning himself with classical satirists, as where the Devil's attempt to banish Ignatius of Loyola and his Jesuits from hell and repatriate them on the moon evokes Lucian's *True History*. The punch of the text rests in its critique of Catholic conceptions of temporal authority, and it has been frequently been dismissed as anti-Jesuit propaganda. John Moses writes 'It has long since ceased to have any relevance except as an instance [. . .] of the dubious gifts as a polemicist he undoubtedly possessed', but the text is more nuanced than that criticism suggests, and Donne injects a sophistication into his text in a way that suggests a strategic author alive to the longevity and irreversibility of print. [40] The fact that the narrative is driven by a dramatisation of conflicting discourses allows for gaps and deferrals of meaning, and very Donnean twisting away from certainty, while Donne's marginal citations are, almost exclusively, taken from Catholic authors. In a way that prefigures the calculated overstatement in the *Anniversaries*, the hyperbolic surrealism and the use of ventriloquism in *Ignatius His Conclave* allow Donne to simultaneously assert and disclaim an opinion; Donne reaffirms his role as a difficult writer to pin down, both in medium and in meaning.

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[40] John Moses ed., *One Equal Light: An Anthology of the Writings of John Donne* (Canterbury, 2003), p. 32.

Like *Pseudo-Martyr, Ignatius* was a much-read and much-sold text; almost a hundred copies are still extant, and the Latin and English versions together went through seven editions. In the case of the first edition of the Latin *Conclave Ignati*, there is nowhere in the book any indication of the date or place of publication, nor of the author. Its author must, though, have been known, certainly in elite circles and perhaps more generally; Robert Burton's copy of the first edition has on it inscribed, in Burton's hand, '*John Donne 1610*'.[41] The English translation, published later in the same year, has the city and date (London, 1611) but no further details about place of sale, and remains anonymous. The two different versions suggest that Donne used print to inhabit, simultaneously, two reading-worlds; it is possible to read the Latin publication of *Conclave Ignati* as Donne using the print market to advertise a rarefied, scholastic ambition. This is a move which again parallels Marston, whose Latin verses to mark the king of Denmark's procession through London in 1606 were similarly a bid simultaneously to woo King James and advertise scholarly merit. It is significant that in the Latin *Ignati*, the rhetoric is more minutely structured than in the English, with verbs compounded at the end of sentences ('audiret, exierat, conspexerim' (13)) to serve as climactic moments.[42] Moreover, it is not a solely prose work, but contains original verse; of the five Latin verses in *Ignatius,* Healy suggests that 'Operoso tramite scadent' is a verse adaptation by Donne of Albertus Magnus's *De Animalibus,* but Dennis Flynn's refutation of that theory, in which he demonstrates that Donne's five lines of Latin and Magnus's prose have only one word in common, seems to settle the question in favour of this being a further example of Donne putting original verse into

[41] T. S. Healy ed., *Ignatius His Conclave*, p. xi.
[42] T. S. Healy ed., *Ignatius His Conclave*, p. xii

print, and carefully choosing for that medium the rarefied Latin format.[43] However, Donne's subsequent decision both to re-print the Latin and to translate his own verse and prose into English and swiftly re-publish, imply an eye to public accessibility and the larger audience the English version would unlock; and the slips in the translation suggest speed and a writer eager to capitalise on unexpected public interest.

Donne and the question of print

It is worthwhile to discuss, before addressing the *Anniversaries*, wider assumptions about Donne's attitude to print.[44] Donne phrases his resistance to print so engagingly that scholars have in places been seduced into over-emphasis. One of the most-quoted instances of Donne's anti-print stance is from a letter in 1614 (and therefore after the publication of the *Anniversaries*, *Pseudo-Martyr* and *Conclave Ignati)* in which Donne writes:

> One thing more I must tell you; but so softly, that I am loath to hear myself: and so softly, that if that good Lady were in the room, with you and this Letter, she might not hear. It is, that I am brought to a necessity of printing my Poems, and addressing them to my L. Chamberlain. This I mean to do forthwith; not for much public view, but at mine own cost, a few Copies. [45]

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[43] Dennis Flynn, 'Donne's *Ignatius his Conclave*' in *John Donne Journal* 6 (1987), p. 170.

[44] The idea of the stigma of print originates with J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: a note of the social bases of Tudor poetry', *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951), pp. 139-64. Saunders explored the idea further in 'From Manuscript to Print: A Note on the Circulation of Poetic MSS. In the Sixteenth Century,' *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 6 (May 1951), pp. 507-28. It has since been revisited and nuanced by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979); Wendy Wall, 'Disclosures in Print: The "Violent Enlargement" of the Renaissance Voyeuristic Text,' *SEL* 29 (1989), pp. 35-59; Martin Elsky, *Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing, and Print in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y, 1989) and Daniel Traister, 'Reluctant Virgins: The Stigma of Print Revisited', *Colby Quarterly* 26 (June 1990), pp. 75-86. Alexandra Halasz's excellent monograph also addresses the question more generally: *The Marketplace of Print: pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge, 2006). The question of Donne's coterie's attitude to print has been addressed in Richard B. Wollman, 'The "Press and the Fire": Print and Manuscript Culture in Donne's Circle,' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33 (1993), pp. 85-97. Harold Love points out that complementing the 'stigma' was a prestige value given to finely handwritten texts. The palaeographer Humfrey Wanley wrote, of a book of engravings given to Louis XIV, 'This Painter has gotten the Prints purposely wrought-off for him, without the Words, which are added, for Magnificence-sake, by a fine Pen'. *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715-1726*, ed. C. E. and R. C. Wright (London, 1966), quoted in Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), p. 47.

[45] John Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, p. 196.

It is possible that Donne's tone borders on irony; certainly, the repeated 'so softly' seems more sardonic than serious. These print copies never came to pass; it is possible that Donne's prospected career as a divine was thought to militate against the idea. He sounds like a knowing participant in a cultural game, conscious of how he is figured in the world and aware of cultural capital and self-presentation.

Alongside Donne's own reference to the problem of print, there are two famous instances which are used to crystallise the idea of an anti-print Donne. One is Walton's statement in his 1640 version of the *Life* that Donne's poems 'were facetiously composed', and (in a later addition in the 1658 edition) 'carelessly scattered'.[46] The force of this statement, though, is diluted by two considerations. The first is the benefit to be gleaned from painting Donne posthumously as an effortless genius; the emphasis on spontaneity and youth - 'most of them being written before his twentieth yeare of his age...all the Arts joined to assist him with the utmost skill' – is offered as proof of his bona fides as a genius and wunderkind.[47] The second, 'carelessly scattered', angle was made more emphatic in the 1670 edition with the addition of the words, 'scattered loosely (God knows too loosely)'.[48] I shall look more closely at the many incarnations of Walton's *Lives* in my next chapter, but it is significant that these additions come after the 1641 abolition of the Star Chamber; in 'scattering' his verse without commercial ambition, Donne is posited as a foil to the Grub Street foot-soldier and the sudden proliferation of commercial publications after the Habeas Corpus Act of 1640.

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[46] Izaak Walton, *The Life and Death of Dr Donne* (London, 1658), p. 75.
[47] Izaak Walton, *The Life and Death of Dr Donne* (1658), p. 75.
[48] Izaak Walton, *Lives* (1670), p. 75.

The second reason to read Walton's picture of Donne with scepticism is Walton's narration of his own attitude to print. The 'Introduction to the Reader' in the 1670 edition of Walton's *Lives* avers that 'tis not without some little wonder myself, that I am come to be publicly in print'; a wonder that the reader does not share, given Walton's previous publication history of the separate *Lives*, and his *The Compleat Angler* in 1653.[49] The reluctant-writer starts to appear as a useful chimera that Walton applied both to himself, and to Donne and to Hooker.[50] With Hooker, the story is that Walter Travers, a lecturer in the Temple, felt one of Hooker's sermons to be irreligious and therefore maliciously 'procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad'; Walton writes

> Mr. Hooker was forced to appear, and make as public an Answer; which he did, and dedicated it to the Archbishop; and it proved so full an answer...that the Bishop began to have him in admiration'. [51]

To be printed, in this case, is to be attacked; but it is also the remedy. This is not to say that the stigma of print did not exist; but, remembering that King James himself published his *Reulis and Cautelis* in 1584 and *Lepanto* in 1591, it becomes clear that a more nuanced conception of that stigma is urgently necessary. Walton's prefatory posturing would not have been necessary if the stigma of print were not an attitude to be reckoned with; but the fact that the *Angler* ran in five different editions between 1653 and 1676, and that the *Lives* (two editions in four years) was itself a re-fashioning of the earlier the lives of Donne in 1658, Henry Wotton in 1651 and Hooker in 1665, is proof that the stigma could be side-stepped, and was more a pliable trope than an

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[49] Izaak Walton, *Lives* (1670), p. 4.
[50] Izaak Walton, *Lives* (1670), p. 97.
[51] Izaak Walton, *Lives* (1670), p. 67.

imperative; perhaps even, in some cases, the hallmark of the print author. There is a need for a more complex sense of the range of narratives and ubiquitous fictions around print that this period gives rise to; Walton's writing is an example of a common archness in writers condemning print even as they make use of it.

The other famous reference to Donne and his attitude to print is cited as an authoritative source by Peter Beal in his essay for the *Cambridge History of the Book*:

> And we also have the testimony of Ben Jonson (in his cups) in 1619 that 'since he was made Doctor' (in March 1615) Donne 'repenteth highlie & seeketh to destroy all his poems' a comment which reinforces the impression that, if he had been able to do so, Donne would gladly have called in all copies of his early secular verse'.[52]

However, because this extract is taken at face-value in many monographs and articles published in the last twenty years, it is worth quoting in full: [53]

> He affirmed that Donne wrote all his best pieces before he was Twenty five Years of Age. That Conceit of Donne's Transformation or [Greek: *Metempsychosis*], was, that he sought the Soul of that Apple which Eva pulled, and thereafter made it the Soul of a Bitch, then of a She-wolf, and so of a Woman: His general Purpose was to have brought it into all the Bodies of the Hereticks from the Soul of Cain; and at last left it in the Body of Calvin. He only wrote one Sheet of this, and since he was made Doctor; repented highly and resolved to destroy all his Poems. [54]

The context, then, is of *Metempsychosis* and the specific sub-genre of religious satire. It does not contradict the image conjured up by *Pseudo-Martyr* and *Ignatius His Conclave,* of a Donne with a desire to participate both in religious controversy and irenic debate. Jonson is reported at second hand by Drummond of Hawthornden, and, is, famously,

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[52] Peter Beal, 'John Donne and the Circulation of Manuscripts' in John Barnard and Donald Francis McKenzie eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1557-1695* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 123.
[53] As, for instance, in Harold Bloom's *John Donne and the Metaphysical Poets*, Achsah Guibbory in the *Cambridge Companion to John Donne,* and Ian Donaldson's comparative study of Jonson and Donne in 2001, 'Perishing and Surviving: The Poetry of *Donne* and *Jonson' in* Essays in Criticism (*2001*), pp. 68-85.
[54] C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson eds., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1952), vol. 1, p. 136.

drunk; but he is also a rival poet with an agenda. Jonson's gossipy malice suggests he conceived of Donne as a figure with ambitions that might intersect with, and therefore be threatening to, his own; as more of a print-competitor than we would generally assume.

Donne and the *Anniversaries*

The texts in which print works in the most significant and the most peculiar ways, though, are the First and Second *Anniversaries* and 'A Funeral Elegy'. Written to mark the death of Elizabeth Drury, the teenage daughter of Sir Robert Drury, whose patronage Donne is generally assumed to have sought, they are long poems of hyperbolic praise and equally extreme contempt for the decaying world. The first version of the text, containing only the *First Anniversary* and 'A Funeral Elegy' was printed for the prominent St Paul's bookseller Samuel Macham in 1611 under the title *An Anatomy of the World* with an accompanying verse tribute, 'To the Praise of the Dead, and the Anatomy', probably by Joseph Hall, whose works were sold by the same S. Macham.[55] Donne's name appears nowhere in the text. In 1612 the *Second Anniversary* was joined to a second edition of the First and 'A Funeral Elegy', and marginal glosses were added to both *Anniversaries*, as a running commentary similar, visually, to those given in the Geneva bible or in the preliminary divisions of a Renaissance sermon.

The codex suggests, from first glance, a writer confident of his own value; the frontispiece of the 1611 is elaborate and well-printed, with a triumphal arch almost identical to that on Joseph Hall's *The Best Bargaine.*[56] The paper is thick, and the poem

[55] Gary Stringer et al. eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 6, p. 38.
[56] Joseph Hall, *The Best Bargaine: A sermon preached to the Court at Theobalds* (London, 1623).

is set with wide margins and is profligate of space. It looks perfomatively of a quality fitting for a textual monument to a knight's daughter. On the other hand, both the 1611 and 1612 editions have printing errors running all the way through the verse, suggesting speed in production and limited authorial proofing. In 1611, in the last line of the *First Anniversary*, the punch-line of a couplet, 'Verse hath a middle nature: heaven keeps souls/The grave keeps bodies, verse the fame enrols' (474), the 'f' is misprinted or printed with a broken letter, to read 'same'. The error was repeated in 1612, and is corrected in the errata slip.[57] The line is a significant one; it can be interpreted as Donne advertising a poetic ambition, after a decade of failing to gain a place in public ordinance. It can, too, be read as defence of his actions in publishing this, his lyric, in that there is evidence that voluntarily printing lyric was difficult and problematic; Samuel Daniel's publication of his *Delia* in 1592, for instance, was posited as a reaction to a pirated printing the previous year.[58] That the key line, then, should be misprinted is indicative of the urgency with which it was produced; it is also possible that the errors suggest a deficit of fresh eyes in the print-process and a limited number of people involved in the production of the text, which would map well onto the supposition that a calculatedly limited number were printed; although no print-figures are available, there are only two extant copies of the 1611 edition. A relatively small printer, Melchisedec Bradwood, was chosen to produce the first two editions; his was a more specialist workshop than that of William Stansby, who printed the 1625 edition and was one of the most prolific printers of the period (he was also the printer for Ben

[57] Gary Stringer et al. eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 6, p. 38.
[58] The ODNB article on Daniel notes, 'how the publisher Newman obtained the two manuscripts, of unpublished Sidney and Daniel poems, is unclear, but Daniel himself is not above suspicion.' The 1592 edition looks very similar to the Donne *Anniversaries*; an arch, decorative corner-colophons, and copious white-space. John Pitcher, 'Daniel, Samuel (1562/3–1619)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7120]

Jonson's 1616 folio, *Pseudo-Martyr,* one of Donne's 1622 sermons and the prefatory verses to Coryat's *Crudities.*) [59] Thus in this, Donne's most significant instance of having, as he wrote to George Garrard, 'descended to print any thing in verse', it may be that the text straddled the gap between manuscript and print culture, in remaining self-consciously scarce even as it became public and thereby wresting an illusion of privacy from the facts of book culture.[60]

Having said that, there is no question that Donne thought of the texts as public and displayed a degree of anxiety about their fate. In his letter to Goodyer, Donne wrote:

> I hear from England many censures of my book, of Mris [sic] Drury; if any of those censures do but pardon me my descent in Printing any thing in verse, (which if they do, they are more charitable than my self; for I do not pardon my self, but confesse that I did it against my conscience, that is, against my own opinion, that I should not have done so) I doubt not that they will soon give over that other part of that indictment, which is that I have said so much; for no body can imagine, that I who never saw her, could have any other purpose in that, than that when I had received so very good testimony of her worthinesse, and was gone down to print verses, it became me to say, not what I was sure was just truth, but the best that I could conceive; for that had been a new weakness in me, to have praised any body in printed verses, that had not been capable of the best praise I could give[61]

This passage is revealing in several ways (amongst others, it shows us that, just as there are recurring phrases in the poetry and across the sermons, so Donne employed the Renaissance version of copy-and-paste, in cannibalising turns of phrase from his own letters to different friends). Firstly, Donne, for all his attempts to reject volition in 'I did it against my conscience' and to disown any desire to be read in public (itself worth questioning when looking at the swiftness with which the *Second Anniversary* followed

[59] James Bracken, 'William Stansby's Early Career' in *Studies in Bibliography* 38 (1985), p. 216.
[60] John Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, p. 238. 'To G.G': 'I confesse I wonder how I declined to it, and do not pardon myself.'
[61] John Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, p. 75.

the First), nonetheless had sufficient confidence in his own prominence to expect the anonymous poems to be recognised as his own. This was precisely what happened; as soon after publication as 1612, John Davies of Hereford, in his elegy on Elizabeth Dutton, writes

> I must confesse a Priest of Phebus, late
> Upon like Text so well did meditate,
> That with a sinlesse Envy I doe runne
> In his Soules Progress, till it al be DONNE.'[62]

Secondly, the passage demonstrates that Donne had strong and nuanced ideas about the printed verse form and the literary adjustments it necessitated; his repetition of 'print verses' and 'printed verses' underscores how different a product he considers it. These poetic recalibrations involve above all an inflated tone, of 'the best praise that I could give'; and thereby a more impersonal text. To Jonson's reported criticism of the *Anniversaries* that 'if it had been written of ye Virgin Marie, it had been something,' Donne replies, 'that he had described the Idea of a Woman and not as she was.'[63] Donne merges and conflates Elizabeth with abstract virtue:

> She, of whom th' ancients seemed to prophesy
> When they called virtues by the name of 'she'
> She in whom virtue was so much refined
> That for allay unto so pure a mind
> She took the weaker sex; that she could drive
> The pois'nous tincture and the stain of Eve
> Out of her thoughts and deeds; and purify
> All by a true religious alchemy (Donne, *First Anniversary*, 175-182).

If the woman is both Elizabeth Drury and an essence and 'Idea', she is only half there; the hyperbole acts as protective colouring, an ingenious way of de-personalising the personal, and as such is an insight into Donne's attitude to print, as

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[62] A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage*, p. 67.
[63] Gary Stringer et al. eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 6, p. 240.

something to be carefully negotiated rather than rejected. There is a defensiveness in the hyperbole that there is not in the more playful exaggerations of, for instance, 'The Sun Rising' or the quasi-blasphemous 'The Relic' in which the speaker becomes Christ, 'thou shalt be a Mary Magdalene and I/A something else thereby.'(17-18) The hyperbole does, though, have much in common with Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes*; like the *Anniversaries*, these are excessive praise of a metaphysical kind, dedicated to women, 'Ladie Margaret Countesse of Cumberland, and the Ladie Marie Countesse of Warwicke', whom it is unlikely the author had met, in verse relying on Neo-Platonic analogy. The preface to the *Hymnes* avers that the poems in their manuscript version became too successful to control; Spenser tries to 'call in the same', and, unable to do so, turns to print as a remedy and a way of imposing uniformity and order:

> But being unable so to doe, by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolved at least to amend, and by way of retractation to reforme them.[64]

However, this narrative is, like Donne's statements of reluctance, undermined by the elaborately decorative title pages that accompany the verse; rather, both sets of poems seem to be instances of tactical authors, playing with the potential of knowingly excessive and strange verse.

To say that the *Anniversaries* are strange, though, is not to say they are not Donne-like. If 'Donne-like' signifies a layering of image within image and a febrile and twisting sensibility, they are more Donne-like than many. What they do do is bring into question our sense of *why* Donne was Donne-like. His impulse towards complexity is thought, in part, to have been elitist; the highly-wrought nature of his verse was enabled, Marotti writes, by his faith in the rarefied intellect of his select readership.

[64] Edmund Spenser, *The Fowre Hymnes,* ed. L. Winstanley (Cambridge, 1916), p. 6.

Donne is supposed to have been unwilling to write for those readers who were not also 'Understanders', and this shaped his work. Marotti writes:

> his fondness for dialectic, intellectual complexity, paradox and irony, the appeals to shared attitudes and group interests...the styles he adopted or invented all relate to the coterie circumstances of his verse.[65]

By that reckoning, the *Anniversaries* should be simple, if not simplistic, and free from the concerns of Donne's coterie.[66] Instead they are amongst the most knotty, allusive and complex of his texts. The two poems pass through references to Aristotelian logic and Ptolomeic planetary theory to Augustine's discussion of beauty, and Pliny's theory of poisonous snakes. The politics of Donne's own set are opaquely present in the poems, notably in the *Second Anniversary*. The poem was subtitled 'Wherein by Occasion of the Religious Death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury the Incommodities of the Soul in this Life and her Exaltation in the Next are Contemplated', and the first image is of a beheaded man:

> Or as sometimes in a beheaded man,
> Though at those two red seas which freely ran,
> One from the trunk, another from the head,
> His soul be sailed to her eternal bed,
> His eyes will twinkle, and his tongue will roll
> As though he beckoned and called back his soul. (Donne, *Second Anniversary,* 9-15)

Donne evokes the beheading of the Earl of Essex in 1601 (Donne was, at the time, secretary of the Lord Keeper and therefore closely involved) and links it, via references

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[65] Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*, p. 19.

[66] The critical urge to interpret both printed poetry and manuscript verse in the same biographically-charged way is strong; in his excellent *Complete Poems,* Robin Robbins notes of the *First Anniversary*, lines 129-130, ('alas, we scarce live long enough to try/whether a new-made clock run right or lie./Old grandsires talk of yesterday with sorrow') that 'the pessimism which seized upon Donne after his marriage, imprisonment and illness persisted through his life'. Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 828.

to 'those two red seas' to Moses, to baptism by blood, and to the death of Christ in a form of political coding that evokes the Spenser of *Mother Hubberds Tale*.[67] In the *First Anniversary*, Donne lauds Drury with an oblique reference to the corruption of the court and the rarity of the exceptions; 'some counsellors some purpose to advance/The common profit'(420-421); the opacity of the reference blurs the line between personal flattery and public praise.[68] The enjambment in both *Anniversaries* is often difficult, and there is no indication of Donne simplifying for the public in terms of form and rhetorical structure, any more than there is in the content and allusions; the sense is recalcitrant, needing to be unpicked. For instance, in a discourse on physical decay, Donne writes, 'only death adds t'our length; nor are we grown/In stature to be men til we are none' (*First Anniversary*, 145-146). This is very recognisably Donne. As Robin Robbins points out in his notes, the thrust is biblical, evoking *Corinthians* 15, 'corruption shall put on incorruption' and the sense that humans become perfect bodily only in death; but the poem twists in the next line, 'but this were light, did our less volume hold/All the old text', punning still on size and shape (light, as weightless; or light, as of little importance) and taking one pun to galvanise another, on the double meaning of volume; the second, bookish meaning of which provokes scripture again in, 'All the old text'; which is both the Bible, and also evokes Adam's perfect, pre-textual knowledge; which thereby, self-enfolding, makes man back into book. Donne's transformative sensibility is at work here in the same way as it is in his other poems in which he makes himself into text, as in 'Hymn to God my God in my Sickness', 'Whilst my physicians by their love are grown/ Cosmographers, and I their map, who lie/Flat on this bed' (6-8). In the *First Anniversary*, the distinctive

[67] Gary Stringer et al., eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 6, p. 464.
[68] Gary Stringer et al., eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 6, p. 443.

vocabulary around transubstantiation evokes other texts, and suggests Donne recognises some interplay between published and unpublished verse written relatively recently; line 412 in the *First Anniversary*, 'though she could not transubstantiate/All states to gold' recalls 'Twickenham Garden' (c.1608), 'the spider love, which transubstantiates all' and, even more so, 'To the Countess Huntingdon'(c.1609), 'She [Virtue] gilded us, but you are gold and she;/Us she informed, but transubstantiates you.'(25-26) These transliterations across different states of being - particularly fitting here, where death is the ultimate transformation - are amongst the hallmarks of Donne's poetry; Donne in print is at his most Donnean.

After the ***Anniversaries***

After the first two publications of the *Anniversaries*, there is a shift. Donne's career, from this point on, does not resemble the obvious trajectory of a print author. There are many possible explanations for the change; the taking of Holy Orders would have made printing lyric a more loaded move (as it was for Marston), and it is possible that the publication of the *Anniversaries* gave Donne a stronger footing in court and thereby an alternative, newly attractive way to disseminate his work. It is possible that the poetics of expulsion and exclusion we see in the earlier manuscript verse – as in 'busy old fool, unruly sun' and in the private, enclosed settings of the private communication acts of 'A Nocturnal Upon St Lucy's Day' and 'Twickenham Garden' - are a prefiguration of this draw towards the courtly mode of poetic exchange. This idea would be supported by Donne's presence in the collection of elegies to Prince Henry in 1613. His earlier concerns with self-presentation seen in *Pseudo-Martyr* have shifted, and the 'Elegy upon the Death of Prince Henry' is a poem very much concerned with

an elite, close-walled world. The elegy was printed in the third edition of *Lachrymae Lachrymarum,* dated 1613, set in the collection of poems appended at the end of the text. Marotti argues that even once in the public realm, the poem itself still has a private feel:

> in indulging in a 'contemplation of the Prince wee misse' it addresses the special awareness and situation of its coterie audience of fellow mourners, men whose hopeful clientage was destroyed and who could understand lines like the following in terms of their sociopoliticial loss.[69]

The book engages in a knowing subterfuge surrounding authorial identity that evokes the insider codes of coterie poets; the printer's apology 'To the several authors of these surrepted Elegies', stating that the poems were printed without the poet's knowledge or permission, is, Robert Ellrodt suggests, almost certainly a ruse and possibly intended to be taken as such, as a reminder of the high court-standing of the writers, all of whom were known personally to Donne (Sir William Cornwallis, Henry Goodyer and Edward Herbert amongst them.)[70] Indeed, the Prince Henry elegy is a work that by Donne's own assertion he wrote in the context of coterie poetic competition; Jonson told Drummond that 'Donne said [. . .] he wrote that Epitaph on Prince Henry...to match Sir Ed: Herbert in obscureness.'[71] On the other hand again, this was a public piece of writing to react to a public moment of mourning and was widely disseminated; there were three editions of *Lachrymae Lachrymarum*, and nineteen editions extant of the 1613 edition alone. The text, then, is like the *Anniversaries* in

[69] Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet,* p. 217.
[70] Gary Stringer et al. eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 6, p. 591.
[71] C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson eds., *Ben Jonson*, vol. I, p. 136.

being at once public and not public; it is coterie and not coterie, just as some of the Donne manuscript collections, such as the Westmoreland, are coterie and not coterie.[72]

The Westmoreland manuscript becomes doubly interesting in this context. It contains 79 of Donne's poems, ten prose paradoxes, and a prose letter addressed to Donne from his friend Rowland Woodward; although difficult to date, three of the Holy Sonnets in it are usually thought of as post-1617. Marotti writes of the Westmoreland MS that it was emblematic of the call-and-answer of the coterie and was likely to be 'restricted to a small readership.'[73] However, the format of the collection may belie that theory; the cream vellum bindings and the luxurious use of four blank pages at beginning and ending suggest this was a formal document, neither impromptu nor ephemeral. Rather, it supports Harold Love's assertion that scribal dissemination could be as professional and remunerative as print.[74] It is possible to argue that Donne, in allowing Woodward to produce manuscript collections of poems like the Westmorland MS, is not the acting the straightforward part of a 'coterie poet' – the most literal kind of coterie poetry would be epitomized by a scrappy separate - but instead is creating a text that was imitative of the print miscellany, either as a substitute for it, or as a way of evoking print and thereby playing off his public notoriety in private verse. It is texts like the Westmoreland, and writers like Donne, that allow us to question the binary of print and manuscript.

In this context, of a Donne whose reality lies somewhere within the semiotic matrix of the public Donne and the coterie Donne, his print work becomes interesting

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[72] Westmoreland MS, New York Public Library, Berg Collection [no shelf mark].

[73] Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*, p. 102.

[74] Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England,* p. 19 et passim. Love argues that to see manuscript-production as an uncomplicatedly private or homogenous process is to miss the point that very wide circulation was possible with manuscript work, with professional 'venters of manuscripts' working alongside booksellers and potentially matching them in revenue.

in a different way. His work did not lie static; print has a life of its own, and printed works do not vanish once published. Donne's work continued to re-appear on booksellers' stalls and thereby reassert itself even once its author had fallen publically silent. Whether Donne intended this or not, it would have added a critical piquancy to access to his private manuscripts. Thus, the two *Anniversaries*, printed again in 1621 and 1625 by prominent publishers, would have flavoured, for instance, 'Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke his Sister', written only months after the 1621 reissue. It is unlikely that Donne had any hand in the re-publication of the *Anniversaries*, a fact which would remind us of the instabilities in the idea of authorised print; 1621 is set from the 1612 edition with the same errors; the 1625 edition has the same textual corruptions and more, and no sign of authorial editing.[75] But that is not to say that Donne did not play with the fact of his poem's republication, after the fact. There is only one existing manuscript of 'Upon the Translation of the Psalms' but its unbroken stanza form and tone resemble prefatory verse written to celebrate and market print editions of verse:

> We thy Sidneyan Psalms shall celebrate
> And, till we come th'extemp'ral song to sing
> (Learned the first hour that we see the King,
> Who hath translated these translators) (Donne, 'Upon the Translation of the Psalms, 50-53)

Robin Robbins writes it is 'most closely comparable to the commendatory poems usually prefixed to volumes'.[76] The idea of 'Upon the Translation' as working as a print-analogue would have been more vividly present given Donne's recent print re-appearance in the market. To keep that which has a public sound to it within the

[75] Gary Stringer et al. eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 6, p. 591.
[76] A.C. Hamilton, *Sir Philip Sidney: A Study of his Life and Works* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 73; Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 580.

private realm is a compliment, and strengthens what looks like a bid for support from William, son of the Countess of Pembroke, in Donne's quest for the Deanship of St Paul's. Donne shows that it remains possible to deploy a print voice, even while creating an anti-print narrative.

It is possible that there were plans for a further copy of the *Anniversaries* within Donne's life; Bodl. MS Tanner 876 is a partial copy of the 1621 printing of the poems, apparently intended to be a printer's copy-text.[77] The manuscript emendations in a cramped seventeenth century hand - corrections of catchwords, speculative alterations of letters to change the sense, and additions in punctuation – suggest it was to be the basis for another edition. The printing never came to pass, but the mooting of a further copy suggests that the popularity of the book grew over time, and, more significantly, the popularity of Donne himself, irreversibly, once he entered the public eye; and each reissue changed the nature of the text. It becomes more and more public property, and it is in this, the latter stage of Donne's career, that the theoretical writing of those critics loosely known as the New Philologists and Bibliographers becomes richly valuable. McGann writes in *The Textual Condition* that texts

> are produced and reproduced under specific social and institutional conditions, and hence...every text, including those that may appear to be purely private, is a social text.[78]

If the ongoing disseminative conditions of each earlier text are part of these social and institutional conditions, then the earlier Donne radically informs the late Donne, not so much in the biographical sense that the boy is the father of the man, but in the sense that the early print Donne is present and reissued within the poet's

[77] Gary Stringer et al. eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 6, p. 593.
[78] Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition*, p. 21.

lifetime, and print Donne and manuscript Donne run alongside each other. From the first decade of the seventeenth century, multiple Donnes exist simultaneously in multiple mediums in a way that negates the possibility of a simple, print/post-print narrative of Donne's work. Wariness becomes the best interpretive option when thinking about Donne.

THE DIGESTION OF DONNE:

The reception of Donne's verse in the years after his death

The first edition of the 1633 *Poems, by J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death* was organised to create the impression of coherence, though not necessarily of logic. The poems are ordered into discrete groups: first *Metempsychosis*, followed by the Holy Sonnets, then the elegies and verse letters, followed by the songs and sonnets, and ending with Donne's *Satyres,* concluding with 'A Hymn to God the Father.' David Novarr writes 'The text is generally excellent, but [. . .] the general arrangement is neither careful nor logical.'[1] The divisions seem to have no single, clear-cut strategy behind them; instead they are dependent on fashion (in, for instance, the situation of the elegies, which were more widely distributed in manuscript during Donne's life, before the *Satyres*, which were probably, chronologically, amongst the earliest verse), on chance and, too, on the desires of the editors of the volume.[2] In this, the construction of the *Poems* is in some sense emblematic of the elements of chance and serendipity involved in the literary digestion of Donne, and his assimilation into the public literary culture as a major voice in the years after 1631, which process will be the focus of this chapter. Donne was still evolving long after his death; I shall ask,

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[1] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives* (Oxford, 1958), p. 29.

[2] There is no absolute certainty about who the editors were: suggestions include Izaak Walton, John Donne junior and John Marriot. Grierson suggests Henry King; Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne*, II, p. 255. It is known that John Donne junior did prepare for the press *Paradoxes, Problems, Essayes, Characters, Written by Dr Donne Dean of Pauls* (London, 1652). T. L. Pebworth, 'The Text of Donne's Writings', in Achsah Guibbory ed., *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 28. The introduction to the *Variorum* notes that *Poems* 1633 'was apparently based on manuscripts from two of these strands, and the second edition (1635) added some poems from and altered the text toward other strands. Study of the manuscripts clearly indicates that the printer of 1633 'modernized' spelling and punctuation, and the extensive revision in 1635 indicates that he had developed serious reservations about the reliability of the manuscripts used in setting the prior edition.' Gary Stringer, 'Introduction to the *Variorum'*, *Anglistik* vol. 10, no. 1 (March 1999), p. 87. The seemingly somewhat random choices made by Donne's first printers had far-reaching consequences: Stringer adds, 'the editions of 1633 and 1635 essentially determined what was accepted as Donne's text and canon up to the twentieth century.' Gary Stringer, 'Introduction to the *Variorum'*, p. 88.

what can the physical texts in which Donne's verse was preserved tell us about the ways in which the poetry was used, received and re-conceived?

Also printed for the first time in the 1633 *Poems*, suffixed to Donne's verse, were twelve elegies written by contemporary poets extolling Donne; of these, Thomas Carew's elegy is a remarkable text, at once tribute, literary critique, competition and hyperbolic praise. It mimics him as it extolls him; it attempts to capture his voice even as it states Donne is inimitable. Carew writes:

> So doth the swiftly turning wheele not stand
> In th'instant we withdraw the moving hand,
> But some small time maintaine a faint weake course
> By vertue of the first impulsive force
> And so whil'st I cast on thy funerall pile
> Thy crowne of Bayes, Oh, let it crack a while (Carew, 'An Elegy upon the Death of the Dean of Paul's, Dr John Donne', 79-84)

In this, as Scott Nixon has suggested, Carew evokes Donne's own exploration of how he might write poetry following Elizabeth Drury's death in the *Second Anniversary*; Carew takes Donne's image of a tragedy which brings the world to a physical halt, akin to Donne's 'which hath strooke saile, doth runne/By force of that force which before, it won.'[3]

The elegy, though, can be read as being not only about Donne; for many scholars of the last fifty years, it has also been about the politics that Carew needs Donne to stand for. David Norbrook has argued that there are 'powerful political connotations' in Carew's tone, and a politics working through juxtaposition in the placing of his verse flush against Donne's in the *Poems*. Norbrook's focus, in the politics of the framing of Donne, has sounded the dominant note of studies of

[3] Scott Nixon, 'Carew's Response to Jonson and Donne,' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900, Vol. 39, The English Renaissance* (Winter, 1999), p. 100.

Donne in the period immediately after his death. [4] Certainly, there is good evidence for the political angle being an important one; in 1634, Carew's friend Aurelian Townshend wrote to ask if he would canonize Guatavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden, who had been active in the Protestant cause, with the same passion with which he had wept 'on the herse of divine Donne'.[5] Carew refused; he avers that he could not do the King justice – that not Virgin or Lucan or even Donne, 'worth all that went before', could do so, but, as David Norbrook suggests, there also seems an unwillingness to elegise a ruler he had called 'the royall Goth'. Norbrook writes 'For Carew, Donne's poetry is bound up with a monarchist, High Anglican culture which is antagonistic to the values of Protestant militancy.'[6] It was Carew who saw in Donne 'The lazie seeds/Of servile imitation throwne away' (26-7); Carew is creating in this, the first major print work of Donne's verse, a correspondence between independence in language and independence in politics. Norbrook, in his account of the political shaping of Donne in the years immediately after his death, demonstrates that Carew picks out as the common factor in all Donne's work as poet and preacher:

> a particular boldness and independence of mind: it is Donne in the pulpit, not at the altar, who is commemorated, and when he moves on to the secular verse it is to find the same verbal force which serves as a reproach to his own generation – Carew tries to roughen his couplets against the grain of the bland flow that Waller was starting to popularize.[7]

Carew mimics Donne in his elegy in part because Donne's form and tone, for Carew, may be used to stand against Protestant militancy. For Carew, Donne resisted

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[4] David Norbrook, 'The Monarchy of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics', in Elizabeth Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus eds. *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry* (Chicago, 1990), p. 4. Kevin Sharpe wrote about the elegy and the 'tension within the poem that may reflect Carew's ambivalent attitude to royal foreign policy' in his *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 148.

[5] David Norbrook, 'The Monarchy of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics', p. 4.

[6] David Norbrook, 'The Monarchy of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics', p. 4.

[7] David Norbrook, 'The Monarchy of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics', p. 25.

the certainty of factionalism in his verse just as he was resisting predictability or stasis in his metre. Donne's influence can be heard in the deliberate dissonance in the elegy; Carew's deliberately disjointed lines serve to point to Donne's ease at creating and inhabiting unease. Already, Donne was being shaped by those whose admiration led them to bend him into the poet they needed for their cultural and political moment.

There is relatively little written about the digestion of Donne's verse in the period immediately after his death and through the Civil War, but of those studies that have been written in the last thirty years, the majority follow Norbrook's discipline-shaping *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* in being political in their focus.[8] This of course makes good sense; as Norbrook has shown, a bifurcation of literary politics in this period, with print and public authors aligning as broadly Puritan against the private, Cavalier poetics of retreat, means that withdrawal and intimacy itself can be read as political, and bold readings become possible. As Katharine Eisaman Maus states, 'For David Norbook and Annabel Patterson, political stances are conscious authorial choices, clear to a reader who possesses a vivid and detailed sense of the political options available to writers at particular historical moments.'[9] Such readings are immensely valuable; but in this chapter I want to push this further and suggest that it is possible that as a product of the kind of Royalist politicising of Donne that Norbrook reads in Carew, there was, in

[8] Other political accounts include Michael P. Parker, 'Carew's Political Pastoral: Virgilian Precepts in the 'Answer to Aurelian Townshend', *John Donne Journal* 1 (1982), pp. 101-16. Also David Aers and Gunther Kress, 'Vexatious Contraries: A Reading of Donne's poetry', *Literature, Language and Society in England, 1580-1680* (Dublin, 1981), pp. 23-74. Adam Smyth's *Profit and Delight: Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682* (Detroit, 2004) uses its final chapter to expand on Courtney Craig Smith's 'Seventeenth Century Drolleries' to read royalism encoded in the reprinting of poems on courtly occasions.

[9] Katherine Eisaman Maus, *Soliciting Interpretation,* p. xviii. Annabel Patterson's work on Donne has been largely focussed on showing how politics might have informed Donne's work during his life, such as Donne's possible involvement in the trial of his patron, the Earl of Somerset, for the murder of his friend, Thomas Overbury.

tandem, a literary focus on Donne as offering a poetics that was uniquely spontaneous and intimate. I want to suggest that the readerly fascination with this literary aspect - which may in part have stemmed from, but ultimately had a life independent of, any kind of political strategy – has been somewhat overlooked by recent scholars, and comes out boldly in a few texts which stand as emblematic of that process.

One such text is *The Harmony of the Muses,* produced in 1654 by a Royalist called Robert Chamberlain. It contains the first print appearances of John Donne's three banned elegies, alongside, as the title page details:[10]

> The gentlemans and ladies choisest recreation full of various, pure and transcendent wit: containing severall excellent poems, some fancies of love, some of disdain, and all the subjects incident to the passionate affections either of men or women / heretofore written by those unimitable masters of learning and invention, Dr. Joh. Donn, Dr. Hen. King, Dr. W. Stroad.,Sr Kenelm Digby, Mr Ben Johnson [sic], Mr Fra Beamont, J Cleveland, T Randolph, T Carew/ And others of the most refined wits of those times./ Never before published.[11]

The book is a thick octavo of 111 pages, closely printed. The poems run one after the other without page breaks, and thin floral woodcuts separate poems; there is one apparently unique exemplum in the Huntington library. Less than half of the poems in the book are attributed; of those that are, six are attributed to 'Dun' or to 'J.D.', and of those six, only three are actually Donne's. 'The Will' is attributed to 'Dr Dun', 'Love's Progress' is titled 'Loves Progress by Dr Don' and 'To his Mistress Going to Bed' becomes 'An Elegie made by J.D.' Another three poems previously printed in

[10] In fact, as Ernest Sullivan points out, although the first elegy, 'Love's War' is printed in its entirety, the other two elegies are cut: 'To His Mistress Going to Bed' substantially. In 'Loves Progress' lines 49-52, which contain the comparison of lips to 'Islands Fortunate', are cut. Ernest W. Sullivan II ed., *The Harmony of the Muses by Robert Chamberlain* (Ilkely, 1990), p. xiii.

[11] Robert Chamberlain, *The Harmony of the Muses* (London, 1654), p. 2.

Donne's *Poems*, 'Love's Diet', 'A Valediction Forbidding Morning' and 'The Prohibition', are presented without any attribution. I will return to the pseudonymous J.D. and to the reading opportunities in fakeries; but, it is worth saying that the most obvious quality that the three misattributed poems share – as well as their conceits, which are indeed crudely Donne-like – is insistent eroticism.[12] I want to offer, first, a reading of *The Harmony of the Muses* which follows the political template Norbrook has built; and, secondly, I want to show that there may be important literary cultural desires that resonate in the *Harmony* that are human before they are strategic and which are set against the backdrop of, but are not reliant on, that politics.

1654 was a moment of radical upheavals: in September of 1654, the First Protectorate Parliament was summoned by Oliver Cromwell. Marchamont Nedham's first turn-coat treatise *The Case of the Common-Wealth of England Stated* (1650) had been followed up in autumn 1654 by his more measured defence of the constitution, *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*.[13] It is possible to read the *Harmony* as a response to that moment. *The Harmony of the Muses* has, thus far, been addressed only in passing by scholars.[14] Arthur Marotti reads the purpose and punch of *The Harmony of the Muses* as straightforwardly political; 'in both its contents and its subject matter,

[12] This is not surprising: the manuscript collection before and after Donne's death had already done much to shape his image as a poet (and as Beal has shown, his collectors made Donne the most popular poet in early modern literary manuscripts, preserving more than 5,000 extant copies of his individual works, and within these manuscripts by far the most popular were the licentious verse. Peter Beal, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* vol. 1 (London, 1993), p. 346.) The *Donne Variorum* editors record sixty-two copies of 'The Anagram,' sixty-three of 'The Bracelet,' and sixty-seven of 'To his Mistress going to bed'. Gary Stringer et al, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 2, p. 219.

[13] *A True State* is a remarkable piece of writing, sharp in its defence of the non-intervention of the State in religious matters and Machiavellian in its eagerness to demonstrate the constitution's palatability to both firebrands and moderates; to read it one would conclude that the Republic, though imperfect, was well entrenched.

[14] Joshua Eckhardt is one of only three scholars I know of to have addressed the text. He uses it as a counter-foil to suggest that both sides in the fraught moment of the Civil War used transgressive verse miscellanies to encode discontent: 'Milton's nephew John Phillips and the publisher Nathaniel Brook, who had recently printed books in support of Cromwell, criticized recent developments in the protectorate when they included anti-courtly love poems in the two miscellanies that they printed in 1656.' Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry,* p. 32.

The Harmony of the Muses is an openly Royalist publication.'[15] He argues that it co-opts Donne for the political moment:

> it assumes poets like Donne and Jonson can be associated with more contemporary Royalist poets like Strode, Digby and Cleveland in an anthology directed towards an embattled minority during the time of Cromwell's rule.[16]

Courtney Smith agrees, in her work on similar collections of 'Wits', when she writes, 'the distinguishing features of these drolleries is their quality of protest: they were compiled by and for Cavaliers as a weapon against their social and political foes.'[17] Moreover, the Preface to *The Harmony of the Muses* thrums with what Marotti calls a 'politically nostalgic yearning' for an age which valued poetry more than Cromwell's.[18] The yearning is expressed in superlative terms, and repeated references to 'the Genius in those times'. [19] It rings, too, through the repetition of the word 'crown', appearing multiple times in the 'Introduction to the Reader': 'with what delightful beauty they have crowned poetry'; 'Poetry in their days flourished, and they flourished with it, and gave a Crown unto that which hath crowned them with Honor'.[20] This diction, coupled with a pose of nostalgia which perhaps belies the relatively short time that has passed since the deaths of most of the poets collected, marks out the gulf between past and present, even as it hauls dead poets into the battles of the living. To read *The Harmony of the Muses* could be, then, to see Donne undergoing a political shaping.

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[15] Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 270.
[16] Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric,* p. 270.
[17] Courtney Smith, 'The Seventeenth Century Drolleries,' *Harvard Library Bulletin* 6 (1952), p. 45.
[18] Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric,* p. 269.
[19] Robert Chamberlain, *The Harmony of the Muses*, p. 6.
[20] Robert Chamberlain, *The Harmony of the Muses*, p. 6.

About Robert Chamberlain, little is known. *The Harmony of the Muses* was never entered in the Stationers' Register, and Robert Chamberlain was a gentleman publisher, who, having attended Exeter College at the late age of 30, never took a degree but instead published eight volumes, largely collections of poems and epigrams, and one comedy.[21] He appears to have been popular amongst Royalist wits at Oxford – he wrote commendatory verses for Thomas Nabbe, and associated with Royalist poets such as James Shirley, who served on the Royalist side under the earl of Newcastle and who appears, named, in *The Harmony of the Muses* as the author of 'Love's Hue and Cry'.[22] Both of the manuscript sources for the *Harmony* were compiled in the 1630s. Twenty-seven of the poems appear in a manuscript miscellany, CC MS 328, which I shall discuss below, and fourteen in Bodl. Ashmole MS 38, though in a different order; Chamberlain cannily re-arranged his poetry to have the most famous named poets near the beginning of the book. Chamberlain's taste was for drolleries and love poetry; of the verse in the *Harmony,* eighteen poems are complaints about women, sixteen are about seduction and fifteen are about love in the abstract. Only one ('Mr J.W. a Parson in Devon...by John Myns') is overtly and openly political; but, as I shall discuss below, liberty and libertinism were closely associated, and there is a political thrust encoded in the erotic discourse.

In amongst Donne's previously censored verse, Robert Chamberlain also prints for the first time an unattributed poem previously widely circulated in manuscript, 'A Maids Denyall'.[23] It is not by Donne and there is no suggestion that it is, but it is so transgressively erotic that it colours all the poems that surround it,

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[21] Ernest W. Sullivan II ed., *The Harmony of the Muses by Robert Chamberlain*, p. ix.
[22] Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 270.
[23] Marotti writes that it was circulated in 'an extraordinary number of manuscripts' before appearing here in print for the first time. Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 269.

including Donne's. It begins 'Nay pish, nay pew, nay faith, and will you, fie' and it is a sexually explicit piece of comic ventriloquism, the speaker a woman being coerced into sex.[24] This poem, which is placed in the exact centre of the book, strikes the keynote. With an extravagant piece of libertinism at the literal and metaphorical core of the codex, what is essentially a collection of disparate and in most cases anonymous poets and poems is made to look like a cohesive poetic mode or movement; one which revels in the bodily things and in a satire, in jocose transgression and in recreation. The miscellany can be read as a conscious gathering of poets to emphasise, through the concentrated quality of grouping, an anti-Puritan aspect. As Norbrook points out in his *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance,* the language of restraint and chastity was often taken to signal Puritan allegiance and, in 1636, Samuel Ward, a Puritan controversialist, was using the word 'melancholy' as synonymous with 'Puritan'; it therefore becomes possible to interpret the emphasis on wit as a political counter-puritan stance. [25] It is worth noting, though, that the version of 'A Maids Denyall' in the *Harmony,* although explicit, is less bawdy than the most common manuscript version, in *The Harmony of the Muses* the sixteenth line has the female speaker say, 'it's not a pretty thing you went about'. In most manuscript iterations, the moment is more pornographic as the maid switches mid-coitus from unwilling to willing: 'it is a very proper thinge indeed you go aboute'.[26] The tone being struck in *Harmony* is licentious, but not so explosively lewd as to detract attention from possible subtexts in the verse.

[24] Robert Chamberlain, *The Harmony of the Muses,* p. 49.
[25] David Norbrook*, Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London, 1984), p. 262.
[26] Bodl. MS Rawl. poet. 85, f. 1r, transcribed in Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford, 2009), p. 7.

Compiled so soon after the suppression of the theatres in 1642, the *Harmony* can be read as part of a poetic culture in which corporeal religiosity and pleasure for its own sake is set against conspicuous restraint. *The Harmony of the Muses* has an anxious energy which evokes the limbo-like moment for those poets who, like Shirley and Richard Lovelace, were poised, as Norbrook writes, 'between hopes of restoration of the old court and fears of further disasters.'[27] Certainly, the poems in *The Harmony of the Muses* do repeatedly echo in tone poets such as Robert Lovelace, who, arrested on suspicion of Royalist activity in 1648, was at once a poet and political voice and who, like Robert Chamberlain, made use of a Donnean aesthetics for his purpose. Lovelace writes in the opening of the dialogues of *Lucasta*:

> ALEXIS
>
> But part we when thy figure I retain
> Still in my heart, still strongly in mine eye?
>
> LUCASTA
>
> Shadows no longer than the sun remain,
> But when his beams, that made 'em, fly, they fly'. (Lovelace, *Lucasta*, II, 1-4)

Lovelace's opening dialogue reads as an anxious re-imagining of Donne's 'A Lecture Upon the Shadow':

> Except our love at this noon stay
> We shall new shadows make the other way
> As th'first were made to blind
> Others, these which come behind
> Will work upon ourselves, and blind our eyes (Donne, 'A Lecture Upon the Shadow', 14-18).

Randy Robertson writes that 'there is warrant for thinking that Lucasta, whose name means 'holy light', is the King himself [. . .]in Lovelace's *Lucasta*, his source of light in

[27] David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, p. 159.

a dark prison cell, the one for whom he has abandoned his liberty, is Charles. The titular address [. . .] then, is a coded address to the King'[28]. For Lovelace, Donne's lover perhaps becomes a way of writing about King Charles.

The early print history of Donne's verse has elements which would have lent weight to a Royalist reading of Donne. Not only was John Donne junior, as Daniel Starza Smith has shown, an object of suspicion to supporters of Cromwell, so, too, was the printer a political figure.[29] John Marriot, who published Donne's prose during his own lifetime, went on to produce the 1633 edition of *Poems* (and again reissue them in 1635, 1639, 1649 and 1650), and it was the Marriots, father and son (John Marriot was officially joined by his business partner and heir, Richard Marriot, in 1645), who were instrumental in shaping the Donne of the next hundreds of years. Richard Marriot's printer and close ally was John Grismond junior. Grismond was, famously at the time, a vocal participant in Royalist politics, who in 1649 had printed *Eikon Basilike, The Pourtrature of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*, the diary attributed to Charles I, published ten days after the king's death. Grismond was later, too, charged with printing 'a virulent and seditious pamphlet', probably George Bates' daringly-named *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia, or a short historical account of the rise and progress of the late troubles in England*.[30] This juxtaposition of Grismond with Donne may have flagged the poet up as a possible voice who might be appropriated to political ends. Moreover, Walton and the Marriots, father and son, were close friends, each leaving the other money in their wills, and there are elements in Walton's *Life* that lay the foundation for the assimilation of Donne into the Royalist

[28] Randy Robertson, *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (Pennsylvania, 2012), p. 91.
[29] Daniel Starza Smith, 'Busy Young Fool, Unruly Son? New Light on John Donne Junior,' *RES*, new ser. 61 (2011), pp. 538-61.
[30] James McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (London, 2007), p. 131.

cause; not only the emphasis on Donne's Anglicanism, but, too, the linguistic construction of Donne via ekphrasis work to make him into a kind of icon. It is noteworthy in this context that Gary Stringer believes 'The Bracelet' was refused licence (and was ultimately printed without it) not for lasciviousness but because it trafficked in 'politico-theological contraband'.[31] (186)

> Oh shall twelve righteous angels, which as yet
> No leaven of vile sodder did admit;
> Nor yet by any taint have stray'd or gone
> From the first state of their creation (Donne, 'The Bracelet', 9-12)

The word 'taint' was thought, T. L. Pebworth states, 'to imply that the heavenly angels that fell might have been created in a flawed condition, which ultimately would put the onus for their apostasy on God himself'.[32] Donne himself changed it to 'fault' in his lifetime, and in the 1635 *Poems* it was damped to 'way'. The potential, at least, for reading Donne as in some way inflammatory was thought a real one. In this context, *The Harmony of the Muses*'s retroactive shaping of Donne is both important in itself, and also provides an emblematic instance, in the medium of print, of what can also be seen in collections such as the Corpus Christi manuscript: the interpretive possibilities generated by juxtaposition.[33] Cultures, and especially cultures in political flux, will always read in a mode that is assimilative, but some poets are more open to seizure by different ages than others: Spenser (taken as both the 'Faerie leveller' and the Puritan poet) and Donne, who, as I have suggested, have much in

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[31]Gary Stringer et al, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, vol. 2, p. 186.
[32] In *TEXT: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies: volume 13*, eds. W. Speed Hill, Edwards Burns et al (Ann Arbor, 2000), p. 195.
[33] It is worth noting that this power of juxtaposition is particularly noticeable when we consider that Donne's verse was also used, at this same moment, for exactly opposite ends. As I shall examine at further length in my chapter on Katherine Philips, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Robert Overton, an officer in the Parliamentary army, dedicated a compilation of excerpts of love poems, many by Donne, to his deceased wife, Ann Overton. Eckhardt writes, 'As a pious Independent and supporter of the Parliamentary cause, Overton [. . .] demonstrates how completely manuscript verse collectors could assimilate texts to their own contexts.'

common, are both poets whose coupling of a distinctiveness of voice with a various and multi-faceted poetic output seems to make them particularly open to appropriation.

I want to argue, though, that this political reading is only one element of the complex literary digestion Donne was undergoing. This can be seen by looking at the primary source for *The Harmony of the Muses*, CC MS 328, a manuscript whose significance I discovered while reading through the Corpus Christi college manuscript miscellany archive. There is politics here, too, but it seems to be without an obvious polemical end in view; rather, the manuscript serves to reveal the readerly and cultural preferences of the compiler – that is to say, to reveal something key about how they read that is not necessarily bound up with a conscious strategy. CC MS 328 is an octavo miscellany of 97 leaves, bound in half-calf, probably dating from the late 1630s or early 1640s. The text is written in a uniform and legible secretary hand, with additions in messier second and third hands on ff. 35v, 37v, 58r and 97r. The collection contains five unattributed poems by Donne: 'A Lame Beggar', here entitled 'On a Cripple' (f.26v) 'On a Licentious Person', 'Phryne' and 'Song (Oh Stay my Sweet)' all on the same page (f.47v) and 'The Message' (f.74v). This is also one poem that bears Donne's name, 'Dr Donnes farewell to the world', which, though, attributed to him in the first edition of Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler*; is now generally thought to be by Sir Henry Wotton.[34] The other poems in the collection are largely amorous, short odes and epitaphs of around six to twenty lines long, headed with simple descriptive titles such as 'On Love', 'On Spring', and including Richard

[34] Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler* (London, 1653), p. 243. The first edition had 'It is a *farewell to the vanities of the world,* and some say written by Dr. Donne, but let them bee writ by whom they will'. The second edition in 1655 amended this ascription to 'some say it is written by Sir Harry Wotton.'

Corbett's 'An Epitaph on Doctor Donne, Deane of Pauls'.[35] Corpus Christi's college records suggest the miscellany was compiled by an Oxford man, possibly a member of Christ Church or Wadham College, and was later annotated by William Fulman (1632-88) an Oxford antiquary with Royalist sympathies, who was expelled from Corpus Christi for blotting out the name of the parliamentarian's preferred President of Corpus from the buttery book.[36]

The company that Donne keeps is revealing of the kind of community with which he was increasingly becoming associated. The book is scrappy, with a rough and unfinished index page, suggesting that it was for informal use; and next to Donne's page of three poems is John Hoskyn's 'Epitaph of the Parliament Fart'. Hoskyn's 'Epitaph' would, of course, have gained in significance after 1649, when the references to Caesar ('Like Julius Cesar was my Death/For he in Senate lost his breath', ll.3-4) would have taken on new meaning, but even before that date it would have had a rebellious edge to it; that Donne is keeping this company in the years immediately after his death suggests that the 'Dr Donne' narrative was not so dominant as to preclude the inclusion of his work in collections of raucous and licentious verse. This, the manuscript miscellany source for *The Harmony of the Muses*, serves to demonstrate the doubleness of literary negotiation in this period: there are political signals in the act of compiling CC MS 328 which are magnified in print; but there are, too, revelations of taste and the honing of a sense of what may be seen as Donnean wit.

[35] CC MS 328, ff.19v, 20r, 59v, 94v.
[36] Peter Sherlock, 'Fulman, William (1632–1688)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. 2011.

The pseudonymous J. D in *The Harmony of the Muses*: the fresh readings offered by poetic imposters

What more, then, can *The Harmony of the Muses* reveal about how the idea of Donne was being honed in the period after his death? Multiple readings of the collection suggest that one of the most enduring and remarkable elements is the vertiginous quality of reception created when a poet's work is juxtaposed with pseudepigraphic poems attributed to the poet himself. Scholarly interest in false attribution has been growing, and successfully used by figures such as Lukas Erne in relation to Shakespeare and 'W.S' to construct a new lens through which to read familiar texts. The 'J.D.' and 'Dr Dun' in *The Harmony of the Muses* are, for me, the most significant poems in the miscellany because these moments of pseudepigraphy provoke questions that might colour the way we think about the enterprise of literary scholarship today. As Harold Love says of Rochester, some of the verse which cannot be shown not to be by Rochester is nonetheless valuable, because it is

> testimony to the mythic 'Rochester' rather than the historical John Wilmot (who was, however, an eager participant in his own myth) and continues even today to provide a context within which the authentic texts are read and interpreted.[37]

Similarly, Colin Burrow's decision to print the poems in Jaggard's *The Passionate Pilgrim* in his collected Shakespeare comes from a conviction that scholars should be wary of 'damning Jaggard as an unscrupulous opportunist'; instead, it is useful to remember not only that reading the not-Shakespeare poems might 'sharpen one's unease about how ascriptions are made about short lyric pieces' but that, too, a book

[37] Harold Love ed., *The Works of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester* (Oxford, 1999), p. xviii.

of tantalizingly not-quite poems such as the *Passionate Pilgrim* are 'artefacts of considerable historical significance'.[38]

Lukas Erne's work in *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* on the intersection of forgery and the print market place is superbly useful here; pseudepigraphy is, as he says, nothing new. 'The stronger the nexus between authorship and authority the more was at stake in pseudepigraphy.'[39] Unsurprisingly, early accounts are concentrated within the church; Thomas James, the first librarian of the Bodleian, compiled a list of 200 theological treatises 'Bastardie of the False Fathers'.[40] What emerges during the sixteenth century is the use of naming and mis-naming as a commercial tool rather than as a way to arrogate authority to a text. At the time that *The Harmony of the Muses* was produced, naming was at the discretion of the publisher; although Henry VIII did seek to establish control over attribution practices when he issued a royal proclamation in 1546 that 'every book should bear the author's and the printer's name, and the exact date of printing,' the legislation never came to fruition, and in 1557 when the Stationers Company received its royal charter, no such obligation was listed.[41] Naming, then, was not a legal requirement, but in an increasingly crowded marketplace there was value in a recognisable name as a guarantee of quality. Shakespeare became the epitome of this practice; Erne's work suggests that the number of editions whose title pages wrongly ascribe a play to Shakespeare, or hint at Shakespeare's authorship by his initials, is 'remarkably high: there are perhaps as many as ten between 1595 and 1622, of seven different plays'

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[38] Colin Burrow ed., *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford, 2008), p. 82.
[39] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 57.
[40] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, p. 58.
[41] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, p. 59.

and none of other dramatists during the same period.[42] As with the 'J.D.', there is a plausible deniability in the use of initials. Baldwin Maxwell argued that, in Shakespeare's case, the uses of 'W.S.' can be 'interpreted as deliberate designs of the part of the printers to capitalize upon Shakespeare's recognized superiority', thereby 'misleading hesitant purchasers into thinking they were being offered plays by William Shakespeare'; Erne broadly agrees, but adds that W.S., while making obvious gestures towards Shakespeare, does stop short of the absolute claim; and, as 'no genuine Shakespeare text was ever ascribed to 'W.S.' or 'W.Sh.' on a printed title page in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century', some difference in kind might have been remarked.[43]

Erne uses this evidence of the pirated Shakespeare and plays dishonestly labelled 'W.S' or 'W.Sh' as a way of thinking about Shakespeare's role as a commodity in a market economy; and to think, too, about what kinds of texts might usefully be included in academic study. The study of fakes can, and already has in the hands of Lukas Erne, be a way to add an extra dimension to the discipline of English studies, in which scholars are perhaps still inclined to approach the Renaissance in terms of single authors; the messiness of the book trade and of reading and excerpting practices ensures that no author, however singular, is ever single. Misattributed texts are part of the history. It is in this context that I want to ask, what can 'J.D.' tell us about the literary assumptions Robert Chamberlain made and what he assumed would be in his readers' armoury of literary memory? Might they suggest, beyond the political slant of the *Harmony,* a desire for something in Donne that is characterised

[42] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, p. xx.
[43] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade,* p. 71.

by spontaneity, by daring personalness, a non-careerist sincerity of expression and a roughness of metre? I want to ask, what can falsely attributed verse tell us about the changing notion of the kind of poetry that counts as 'Donnean'?

The Harmony of the Muses' 'Epistle to the Reader' suggests Chamberlain recognised of the commercial value of authorial myths within the book trade. His repeated emphasis on the 'Meritorious pens' from which the poems comes suggests that he had calculated the public perception of the poets he lists on the title page, and he is willing to be unscrupulous in attribution. Thus, on page 6 of the miscellany there is 'An elegy made by J.D'. which is a faithful rendering of Scribe F's version of Donne's 'To His Mistress'; and next to it, is 'The Rapture' by J.D. which is not by Donne.[44] On page 36 is 'Loves Progres by Dr. Don', which is indeed by Donne, and laid verso-recto next to it 'On Black Eyes' by J.D., which is not. Finally on page 72 is 'Dr Dun's answer to a Lady', which is a dialogue between man and woman, similar in tone to 'Woman's Constancy', but not by Donne. 'The Rapture' has fourteen lines, which might make it plausibly a sonnet, and the closing couplet could be taken to ape the Shakespearean form, in that it sums up what has gone before. The rhyming couplets, though, do not evoke Donne nor any of his school:

> The Rapture by J. D.
>
> Is she not wondrous fair? but yet I see
> She is so much too fair, too sweet for me:
> That I forget my self, and a new fire
> Hath taught me not to love, but to admire!
> Just as the Sun, methinks I see her face,
> Which I may gaze upon, but not imbrace:
> For 'tis heavens pleasure sure she should be sent
> As pure to heaven again, as she was lent

[44] The scribes are listed in detail in Gary Stringer et al, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, vol. 2, p. 307.

> To us; And bids us, as we hope for bliss,
> Not to profane her with one mortall kisse;
> Then how cold growes my love, and oh how hot!
> O how I love her, how I love her not:
> Thus doth my Ague-love torment by turns,
> Now well-nigh friezeth, now again it burns.[45]

There are elements which feels not so much Donnean as loosely Elizabethan: that is, as distinctly belonging to an earlier era, but not necessarily to someone as self-conscious as Donne. The diction is, rather, Shakespearean: 'wondrous fair' perhaps recalls *Pericles*, 'as a fair day in summer, wondrous fair' (II, v, l052) and the word 'wondrous' occurs twenty-eight times in Shakespeare but not at all in Donne's verse.[46] 'My Ague-love torment by turns' recalls Venus to Adonis, 'canst not feel/What 'tis to *love*? how want of *love tormenteth*?' (201-202)[47] 'J. D.' seems to be being deployed to name a diffuse but irredeemably vanished past. On the other hand, there are elements which do parallel Donne's own verse. In 'Autumnal,' Donne writes, 'if 'twer shame to love, here 'twere no shame,/Affection here takes reverence's name' (5-6), which 'J.D.' matches, 'And bids us, as we hope for bliss,/Not to profane her with one mortall kisse'. The J.D. poet has here, as elsewhere, seized on paradox as a Donnean trait: however, as Robin Robbins points out, in 'Autumnal' there are two ways of reading left open, 'a paradoxical encomium to amuse male readers, or as a sincere encomium of a real woman.'[48]

The next poem, 'Dun's Answer to a Lady', takes doubleness of word-play as a hallmark of Donne.

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[45] Robert Chamberlain, *The Harmony of the Muses,* p. 7.
[46] William Shakespeare, *Pericles,* in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, general ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston, 1997), p. 1536.
[47] William Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, p. 1810.
[48] Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 355.

Lady

Say not you love unless you do,
For lying will not honour you.

Answer of the Doctors

Lady I love, and love to do,
And will not love unless be you.
You say I lye, I say you lye, choose whether,
But if we both lye, let us lye together.[49]

Here, 'You say I lye, I say you lye' seems to eagerly declare the poem's kinship with one of the first poems in the *Harmony*, a version of Donne's 'To His Mistress Going to Bed': 'Until I labour, I in labour lie'.[50] It evokes the same explosive sexual energy, the same mix of conflict and courtship, that exist in Donne. The fact that this is attributed to the more assertive 'Dr Dun' rather than 'J.D.' is striking; it may simply be that the poem's brevity makes confident authorial assertions more plausible. On the other hand, there is evidence that the poem was widely reproduced and circulated in manuscript in the 1660s, in that it exists in twenty-six extant manuscript collections, attributed sometimes to Donne and sometimes to Walter Raleigh; it appears, for instance, in the common place book of Anthony Scattergood, an Oxford clergyman and scholar who died 1687, attributed to 'W Raleigh', and in BL Sloane MS 1792 attributed to both: 'Sir Walter Raleigh? Or John Donne?'[51] Raleigh's fraught history with the monarchy, from his *History of the World* being called in for irreverence towards the monarch in 1614, to his execution in 1618, perhaps made him a less appealing candidate to Chamberlain; if the poem pre-existed *The Harmony of the Muses*,

[49] Robert Chamberlain, *The Harmony of the Muses*, p. 72.
[50] Robert Chamberlain, *The Harmony of the Muses*, p. 6.
[51] BL Add. MS 44963; BL Sloane MS 1792, f. 76r.

and if the disputed authorship was known, then Robert Chamberlain may have been choosing to declare allegiance, in a small way, with the definite 'Dr Dun'.[52]

The most plausible and tonally complex of the Donne pastiches, though, is 'On Black Eyes', which evokes many characteristics which might be plausibly read as Donne-like:

On Black Eyes by J. D.

No marvel if the Suns bright eye,
Showr down hot flames, that quality
Still waits on light, but when I see
The sparkling Balls of Ebonie,
Distill such heat, the gazer straight
Stands so amazed at the sight,
As when the Lightning makes a breach
Through pitchy clouds; can Lightning reach
The Marrow, and not hurt the skin?
Your eyes the same to me have been:
Can Jet invite the loving straw
With secret fire? so can they draw,
And can when ere they glance a Dart,
Make stubble of the strongest heart:
Oft when I look, I may descry
A little face peep through thine eye;
Sure that's the boy, that wisely chose,
His rayes amongst such rayes as those,
Which (if his Quiver chance to fail)
May serve for Darts to kill withall;
If at so strong a charge I yield,
If wounded so, I quit the Field;
Think me not Coward, when I lye,
Thus prostrate with your charming eye;
Did I but say your eye, I swear
Death's in your Beauty every where,
Your eye might spare it self, my own,
(When all your parts are truly known)
From any one may filch a Dart,
To wound my self, and then my heart,
One with a thousand Arrowes fill'd,
Cannot say this or that this kill'd,

[52] David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic,* p. 41.

No more can I, yet sure I am,
That you are she that wrought the same,
Wound me again, yea more and more,
So you again will me restore.[53]

Again, there are parallels here which suggest that the J.D. poet had broad knowledge of Donne; access to one of the printed editions and an understanding of Donne's vocabulary and timbre.[54] The poems demonstrate a strong sense of what would be thought Donnean in this period, which is profoundly useful in the context of this thesis; it offers a vision of what point poets such as Rochester and Dryden would be launching from. For instance, 'The sparkling Balls of Ebonie,/ Distill such heat' evokes again 'Autumnal', 'Fair eyes! Who asks more heat than comes from hence/He in a fever wishes pestilence,' and the 'Balls of Ebonie' does have that same febrile quality that Donne brings to the descriptive traditions of Petrarchan lovers. There is a similar roughness of metre as in Donne's elegies in the final lines and the same tripping over patternings of first, second and third person pronouns: 'That you are she that wrought the same,/Wound me again, yea more and more,/So you again will me restore.' It is interesting, then, that this, the most plausible of the Donne fakeries, is written out in the CC MS 328 as 'On Blacke Eyes' under an indecipherable name: either 'W.Sh' or 'W.St.'[55] This does not necessarily mean that it was not originally composed as a Donne pastiche, in that there may be other lost manuscript antecedents. However, the ascription is telling: if it is 'W.St', the shorthand almost certainly signifies William Strode; and as he is the author of twenty-eight poems in the Corpus manuscript (Strode's are amongst the tamest in the

[53] Robert Chamberlain, *The Harmony of the Muses*, p. 37.
[54] Gary Stringer et al, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, vol. 2, p. 346.
[55] CC MS 328, f. 79r.

Corpus Christi manuscript; largely odes to women, to public figures such as the first Duke of Buckingham, one 'To Grey Eyes' and one 'To Eyes'), this seems the more likely intended attribution. If that is the case, the change in the print miscellany to a more marketable name for this, the longest of the poems either by or attributed to Donne, looks like a sound commercial decision. It is possible, though, that Shakespeare was the intended referent; Shakespeare certainly figured in the cultural imagination of the compiler of the manuscript, which includes an unattributed 'Epitaph on Shakespeare the Poet'.[56] As with 'The Rapture', which seems to evoke a Shakespearean moment, it may be that Donne and Shakespeare are being used as a promise of excellence, both evoke an age lit gold by nostalgia, but Donne, perhaps, as the more prolific in verse and more febrile and extreme of the two, would have seemed both the more plausible attribution, and the poet more easily bent to the particular rebellious thrust of *The Harmony of the Muses*. The different capabilities of print and manuscript for half-gestures towards authorship are here underlined; where in the manuscript the ambiguity of handwriting can allow the poem to hang between Strode and Shakespeare, the sharper medium of print necessitates clarity, and Donne is more glamorous than the one, more plausible to a wide public than the other.

***The Harmony of the Muses:* a bridge to the Restoration**

The J. D. poems are a mix of plausibility and crude pastiche. The extended reference to Cupid in 'On Black Eyes' is more straightforwardly in line with Petrarchan tradition; as opposed to Donne's angrier love-god in 'Elegy XVIII', also

[56] CC MS 328, f. 172r.

given in *The Harmony of the Muses*, 'our Cupid is not there/ he's an infernal god, and underground/ with Pluto dwells'. On the one hand, there is a singleness of purpose in the pseudonymous Donne driving the poem forward with a speed that is unlike the multi-faceted formal and tonal structures Donne creates. As Colin Burrow writes, 'Donne is exceptionally hard to imitate. This is partly because so much changes in the course of each of his poems,' and party because of his 'power to evoke at once temporal arrest and flux', to create 'the coalescence of authority and nervousness which drives along his most characteristic pieces.'[57]

To write for inclusion in a verse miscellany was for a poet to define their own work in terms of that of the others in the collection; it provokes self-consciousness about conventions and forms used by the writers alongside. Poems in miscellanies challenge one another, answer, stand in dialogue. For Donne, placed in these collections after his death, any dialogue is inflected through the possible reading of Donne as an ideal, a pattern, a model for a kind of poetry that the J.D. of the *Harmony* is aspiring to: something very personal, and more unconcernedly itself than those writers writing consciously for inclusion in a collection. The distance between Donne and the Donne mimicry throws light both on modern readings of Donne and on the changing conception and reception of Donne's verse; the J.D. poet is usefully provocative in bringing us to think about what 'Donne' was, in 1650, thought to signify (sex, clearly; also paradox, play with homonyms, and the more playful and visible rhetorical flourishes such as zeugma, anastrophe and syllepsis). 'Donne', though, the poems show, is not a stable essence that stays steady through time. Donne was different things to different ages; but *The Harmony of the Muses* is valuable

[57] Colin Burrow ed., *Metaphysical Poetry* (London, 2006), p. xxviii.

in that its pseudepigraphy sketches out what might have been on a John Donne checklist for the book-buying public in the mid-seventeenth century.[58] The priorities of the licentious and intimate *Harmony* suggests that the check list might have differed between 1630 and 1654; and, of course, was different again when Pope came to publish his 'versifications' of Donne in 1735. This awareness of the changing sense of what was being named by the word 'Donne' might bring us to question: how far we can spread the net in looking for texts which are valuable in assessing the influence of Donne? The J.D. poems, bastardised as they are, might help mark out the transition from Donne to, for instance, Rochester or Philips, in their harnessing and reshaping of the intimate Donnean voice.

The immediacy of Donne: Walton's biographizing of the verse

The process by which Donne became a public literary voice was a messy one. The two manuscript strands used to construct the 1633 *Poems* were in places textually corrupt; agency in manuscript miscellanies is difficult to pin down, and the first biography of Donne was itself a random occurrence, with Walton drafted in to replace Henry Wotton. This biography might be a key piece in the jigsaw of Donne; it may be that part of the emphasis on the lyric, intimate Donne stems from Walton's *Life,* which framed Donne's verse as spontaneous and biographical, and the changes Walton made over the publication history which spanned the length of the Civil War.

Indeed, that emphasis on spontaneity runs through Walton's own verse. Alongside Carew's elegy in the 1633 *Poems* was an elegy written by Walton, placed squarely in the centre, sixth out of twelve. The poem salutes Donne as both poet and

[58] Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge, 2005).

divine, and Walton situates his own elegy as written immediately after Donne's death; a spontaneous poem written in a moment of intense emotion. What is significant here is that Walton's dating of verse, both Donne's and his own, is often heavily loaded, and in this first moment of dating there are the seeds that become evident in his multiple biographies of Donne; a desire bound up more with the need for a strong story than with fact. When Walton edited the elegy for the first collected edition of his *Lives* in 1670, he added a date of composition, eight days after Donne's death; April 7, 1631.[59] In the 1635 edition of Donne's *Poems,* Walton's elegy changes again, the only one of the eleven elegies from the 1633 edition to be revised.[60] The most significant of the changes is to accentuate the hagiographical slant of the elegy; it compares Donne's sermons to the preaching of St Paul; and this shift towards hagiography will gradually intensify across Walton's later prose accounts of Donne. David Novarr has demonstrated in his account of Walton's editorial practices, though, that the elegy was almost certainly written a year after Donne's death, composed to go alongside elegies by King and Hyde in the 1632 edition of *Death's Duel*, and amended for the 1633 *Poems.* If this is the case, Walton is doing to his own verse what he does to Donne's; framing poetry as a piece of biography, almost akin to a verse diary. The biographising, though, comes from a singleness of purpose; there is very little room for a lover or a rake in Walton's account. Walton uses the verse to accentuate Donne's spiritual tenacity: Walton does recognise Donne's wit, but needs Donne's verse to be literally and devoutly meant.

[59] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives*, p. 29
[60] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives*, p. 31.

The first version of Walton's *Life and Death of Dr Donne* appeared in early 1640, included as a preface to *LXXX Sermons preached by that learned and reverend divine, John Donne, Dr in Divinity, Late Deane of the Cathedrall Church of S. Pauls London.* The book is large, running to 826 folio pages of sermons, preceded by John Donne junior's dedicatory epistle and the seventeen-page 'The Life and Death of Dr Donne, Late Deane of St Pauls London', ascribed to 'Iz: Wa.'. However, Donne's first ever biographer should not, had Richard Marriot's plans gone well, have been Walton. It should have been Sir Henry Wotton; Richard Marriot entered the book in the Stationer's Register in January 1640, a month after Wotton's death made waiting for Wotton to complete the project no longer possible.[61] The opening of Walton's *Life* gives an explanation of the writing of the biography:

> When I heard that sad newes [of Wotton's death] and likewise that these Sermons were to be publish without the Authors life, (which I thought was rare) indignation or griefe (I know not whether) transported me so far, that I re-viewed my forsaken Collections [of notes, prepared for Wotton] and resolved the world should see the best picture of the Author that my artlesse Pensil (guided by the hand of Truth) could present to it. (A5r)[62]

The humility here, then, is not just a topos; the first *Life* of Donne was collected and written at speed, to fit in the imperatives of the market and with Marriot's publishing schedule. Though it would sound the dominant note in reading Donne's life for the next four hundred years, it was a chance occurrence.

Walton's biography is not uncontroversial. Novarr's account opens with a litany of scholars who have found Walton's biography at once captivating and

[61] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives*, p. 19.
[62] How Walton met Donne is not absolutely clear, though in Jonquil Bevan's 'Henry Valentine, John Donne and Izaak Walton,' *The Review of English Studies* 40 (1989), pp. 179-201, suggests they may have met through Henry Valentine, the parish lecturer of St Dunstans.

infuriating. Leslie Stephen suggested Walton had reduced Donne in a bid to glorify him, dazzled by Donne's rhetoric and personality, creating a portrait which, although as 'sincere and touching as that which no doubt engaged the condescending kindness of the great man in life', nonetheless 'there are two main objections to the life if taken as a record of facts. The first is that the facts are all wrong; and the second that the portrait is palpably false.'[63] Edmund Gosse, another biographer of Donne, called Walton an 'immortal piscatory linen-draper'.[64] Harold Nicolson, writing in 1927, suggested that Walton had no insight into fact. 'Walton's subjects reflect his own mind'.[65] This last points to one of the vitally valuable aspects of the *Life*; although Walton may not have produced a portrait that would have been recognised as accurate by Donne, still he produced a document that not only reflects his own mind, but gives insight into the cultural imperatives of the moment that Walton sought to meet. The changes he made across the three major versions of the *Life* show a great deal about what Walton, and Walton's imagined ideal audience, may have wanted in their version of Donne.

The next version of the *Life* followed in 1658, four years after Donne's banned elegies had been printed in *The Harmony of the Muses,* and its emphasis is on piety. It was printed independently as *The Life of John Donne, Dr. in Divinity, and Late Dean of Saint Pauls Church London*. As is suggested by the new title, the ecclesiastical portion of Donne's life is the section that receives most expansion. Of the earlier portion, the section that gets elongated most significantly is the account of Donne's marriage, and in this part of the *Life* Walton's voice becomes increasingly prominent.

[63] Leslie Stephen, 'John Donne', *National Review* XXXIV (1899), pp. 595-596., cited in Novarr, p. 14.
[64] Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (London, 1899), II, p. 253, cited in Novarr, p. 17.
[65] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives*, p. 15

Walton adds rhetorical flourishes and asides that sound akin to folk wisdom, as when he writes of Donne's behaviour immediately after the marriage:

> It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men.[66]

It is here, in the 1658 edition that Walton begins to take the verse and literalise it into biography. There are, amongst Walton's papers he collected prior to writing the 1658 version of the *Life,* two hand-written marginal notes:

> At his conversion take out of Jeremy the ways of man are not in his owne powr
>
> Loke doc dones letter to Tilman[67]

Donne's 'To Mr Tilman After He Had Taken Orders' argues that all men who take orders, irrespective of their social status, are the luckiest of men, because it is the most noble calling 'Ambassador to God and destiny'. Walton takes this idea in the 1658 *Life* and puts it in the mouth of Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham:

> Remember, Mr Donne, no mans education or parts make him too good for this employment, which is to be an Ambassadour for him who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind.[68]

Walton has Donne being given his own advice, creating a picture of a world in which the central focus of Donne's life and conversations was ecclesiastical.

In 1670, Walton's *Life of Donne* was collected by Richard Marriot alongside Walton's *Lives* of Wotton, Hooker and Herbert, and reprinted. As Novarr says, in this 1670 version, 'Walton had no new information about Donne's life, but he

[66] Izaak Walton, *Life of Donne* (1658), p. 20.
[67] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives*, p. 72
[68] Izaak Walton, *Life of Donne* (1658), p. 29, cited in David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives*, p. 73.

continued to add, to change, to colour'; and, more, to manipulate.[69] In 1640, Walton quotes Donne's 'Hymn to God My God in my Sickness' as a way of showing his transforming of his poetry to be in keeping with his divine ambition; 'on this (which was his Death-bed) writ another Hymne which bears this Title, *A Hymne to God my God in my sicknesse*'.[70] In 1658, Walton adds a date, a week before Donne's death, 'March 23 1630[1]'.[71] In 1670, Walton quotes the hymn, but selecting only those lines (1-7, half of line 8, and 26-30) which fit most uncomplicatedly with the vision of sincere holiness and pruning the most aesthetic, difficult passage in which Donne expands a cosmographical conceit. However, the idea that the poem was in fact written at the end of Donne's life is questioned by Novarr, who writes that 'the main argument proposed in support of Walton's date is that the poem appears in only one manuscript collection of Donne's poems. (BL Stowe MS 961).'[72] Some have argued since that this means that it was written after most collections had been made, but Helen Gardner refutes the idea, in that both the substantial Luttrell and O'Flaherty manuscripts were collected after Donne's death, and by compilers who were aiming for as complete a collection as possible, but neither contains the 'Hymn'.[73] Instead, in the papers of Sir Julius Caesar, the lawyer and politician, a copy of the hymn has the note 'D Dun Dene of Pauls. His verses in his greate / siknes./ in Deceb. 1623.'[74] The moving of the date of the poem to the days just before Donne's death allows Walton to frame it as Donne's final poem, and, too, to frame Donne's final moments

[69] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives*, p. 98
[70] Izaak Walton, *Life of Donne* (1640), sig. B4r.
[71] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives,* p. 99.
[72] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives,* p. 101.
[73] Helen Gardner ed., *John Donne, the Divine Poems* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 133-136.
[74] Helen Gardner ed., *John Donne, the Divine Poems*, p. 134.

as still bound up in the exposition of self through verse. Walton, in situating the verse amongst prose biography, makes the poems themselves look squarely biographical.

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The political narrative available in *The Harmony of the Muses* is a valuable one; but a solely political account of poetry will always be a story that comes with gaps. The literary digestion of Donne in the *Harmony* reveals the beginning of a notion of what kind of poetry we can call Donnean: it offers an insight into what qualities – eroticism, spontaneous wit, paradox, sexual and spiritual intimacy - were being pinned to Donne. The *Harmony* suggests, too, that there was a strong enough sense of what made up a Donne check-list for pastiches which seem to us only somewhat Donne-like, but which meet those criteria, to be plausibly issued in print. It demonstrates that reckonings of a poet's influence might reach beyond the direct influence of the canonical body of work; influence might function at several removes. *The Harmony of the Muses* shows that there might be need for a more diffuse sense of influence, based on a wider variety of texts and a sense of ongoing reciprocity; there may be a need for a shift from the old source question, where one author is shown with certainty to have read and ideally annotated another, and a move to a more dialogic understanding of the textual condition. *The Harmony of the Muses* serves as a reminder that Donne could be bent outwards, made larger than his own body of work, as quality that becomes richly visible in his assimilation by major poets in the years to come: Rochester, Philips, Dryden and Pope. The next four chapters aim to show that these poets pulled from Donne's corpus very different bits of the verse

and shaped them in multiply varied ways, to create a series of radically different Donnes.

PASSIONATE COLLOQUIALISM: JOHN DONNE AND JOHN WILMOT IN RESTORATION ENGLAND

Harold Love, one of the most formidable textual scholars of his generation, noted the relationship between Donne and Rochester twice. Once, in *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*, he used the two poets to show that major editors of the respective poets – Helen Gardner and Wesley Milgate on the one hand, David Vieth on the other – had applied similar editing techniques without ever noting the similarity of the coterie worlds that the two poets inhabited:

> The earlier volumes of the Donne edition were available to Vieth, and his own work to the Donne editors for all but their first volume. The two projects were concerned with very similar traditions of copying and distribution and faced identical problems in endeavouring to construct texts from a multiplicity of witnesses. Yet neither cites the findings or textual arguments of the other or shows any sign of having drawn on them.[1]

The second is a comparison of the verse and an identification of influence. Love suggests in his edition of Rochester's verse that 'even streams have desires' in 'The Advice' is anticipated in Donne's 'when I behold a streame, which, from the spring,/ Doth with doubtfull melodious murmuring'; Love writes, 'Walker proposes Donne's Elegy, 'Oh let mee not serve so', ll.221-34 as the model for these lines'.[2]

It is interesting that while Love notes a conspicuous similarity both in the mode of transmission and in the verse itself, he chooses not to examine the relationship between the two poets any further. It is possible that Love, concerned with material recovery,

[1] Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 5.
[2] Harold Love ed., *The Works of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester* (Oxford, 2005), p. 348. All quotations of Rochester from Love, unless otherwise stated.

suppressed what might be a critical instinct about Rochester's work for lack of hard evidence about Rochester's influences. It may be because of this lack that there have been very few scholarly studies coupling Donne and Rochester, and almost none suggesting an allusive or imitative relationship between the two.[3] The two elements, of transmission and tone together, though, raise questions: is this double meeting of Rochester and Donne more than a casual convergence? Did Rochester read Donne, and, if he did, in what forms and in what ways? Would Rochester have thought of himself and Donne as sharing a conversational, extempore mode? Would contemporary readers have coupled them together?

There is evidence that three collectors of verse at least did bracket Rochester and Donne within the same readerly horizon. A verse miscellany, CUL MS Add. 29, contains poems by both poets and as such is illuminating both in itself and as an emblem of the line that can be traced from Donne to Rochester. The book contains thirty five Donne poems and several others of a similar period, such as Walter Raleigh and Sir John

[3] Those that there are are good: David Farley-Hills' *The Benevolence of Laughter*: *Comic Poetry of the Commonwealth and Restoration* (London, 1974) links Rochester, Donne and Cleveland as being concerned with revealed sexuality and suggests that Rochester and Donne shared a game-like attitude to poetry, while Earl Miner's *The Restoration Mode from Milton to Dryden* (Princeton, 1974) is similar in that it treats thematic similarities between the poetry of Donne and Rochester, suggesting that Rochester's rejection of Dryden might suggest he adhered to the same school as Donne. The argument is made in fairly general terms and the treatment of Donne and Rochester covers only a few pages. Graham Greene's *Lord Rochester's Monkey, Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester* (London, 1976) makes two references to Donne, one of which I discuss at length below, though neither of them have accompanying scholarly accoutrements, such as footnotes or examples; 'His unbelief was quite as religious as the Dean of St Paul's faith[. . .] But Rochester took as much pains as Donne to prefect the colloquialism of his lines' (p. 10). *The Metaphysics of Love* by A. J. Smith (Cambridge, 1985) links Rochester, Donne and Milton thematically for a book about spiritual and sexual love, but does not suggest that Donne influenced Rochester or Milton so much as that they have organically arising resemblances. Christopher Tilmouth's *Passion's Triumph over Reason: A History of the Moral Imagination from Spenser to Rochester* (Oxford, 2007) links Rochester and Donne's Satires for their dramatisation of disgust. John Shawcross's *Intentionality and the New Traditionalism* (Pennsylvania, 1991) compares Donne and Rochester and his circle using metrical similarities between the two sets of poems – for instance, he finds Donne's 'The Ecstasy' has the same metrical formula as Lovelace's 'Guileless Lady Imprisoned' - to suggest, not that Rochester and his circle necessarily read Donne, but that they were working in a lyric tradition in which Donne too had participated and left his mark; Shawcross attempts, he writes, to undo the 'frequent critical divorce of pre-1660 from post-1660 poetry': p. 186.

Beaumont, on thirty leaves and in what seem to be either four or five different hands. The university manuscript listing traces the book through several different owners:

> Belonged to Henry Smyth, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge (d. 1642). Belonged subsequently to Samuel Knight DD, prebend of Ely and rector of Bluntisham, Hunts. After Knight's death in 1746, the MS. descended to John Percy Baumgartner of Milton, Cambs., who presented it to the Library in 1861.

In the collection Donne and Rochester are set adjacent to each other; on f. 19r Donne's 'Song' ('Goe and catche a falling starre') is the page next to a long portion (lines 140-264) of Rochester's 'Letter from Artemisia in the Town to Chloe in the Country' (f. 33r-v). The pagination is erratic because some pages have been extracted, and the collection shows signs of water-damage. The ordering of the verse in not necessarily a clue to the dates in which the poems were collected, because the Rochester verse is tipped in on a single leaf. But this is interesting in itself, suggesting as it does that one owner or amender saw fit to set the later poet so purposefully alongside Donne, as if marking Rochester out as the obvious companion.[4]

Despite the five different hands, the manuscript is not a collection of disparate verse, rather, the poetry is all of a coherent theme, that of wit focussing largely on the good and ills of women. Rochester's satire is a piece of ventriloquism in which the female speaker consistently resists becoming the butt of the satire; instead she is sharp and frustrated, but also sexually amoral, and the poem ends bathetically, 'But you are tired,

[4] Adam Smyth's work on Early Modern reading cultures (*Profit and Delight: Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682* (Detroit, 2004)) has been profoundly useful to me here. Smyth, in offering an empirical account based on annotations of how miscellanies were read – largely in print miscellanies though with focus, too, on manuscript transcripts – demonstrated that weight might reasonably be given to ordering, juxtaposition and extraction. See also Smyth and James Daybell's series *Material Readings in Early Modern Culture*, especially Stephen Hamrick ed., *Tottel's Songes and Sonettes in Context* (Varnham, 2011) and Pollie Bromilow ed., *Authority in European Book Culture 1400-1600* (Vermont, 2013). Lynn Enterline's *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Pennsylvania, 2012) is another significant contribution to the work on history of reading; her work, in showing how pedagogical innovations influenced humanist reading practices, thereby offering a way into reading Shakespeare anew, again underlined for my own the work the interdependence between literary readings and a new understanding about book history.

and so am I'. The insertion of the verse into a collection which includes, for instance, both a version of the ludically punitive 'The Anagram' on 39r and the uxorious 'The Good-Morrow' ('I wonder by my troth, what thou, and I', (17r)) seems to suggest in the reader who inserted the Rochester leaf a literary knowingness, as the poem seems to situate itself somewhere between the two in its attitude to womankind, while maintaining a wry virtuosity reminiscent of Donne's own. For all the additions, the book, in its entirety, reads as a consciously-wrought miscellany.

A manuscript which bears interesting parallels to this is Paul's MS 52. D. 14, which, a quarto volume of 274 pages, was made into a dual-purpose text. The ownership history of the book is the subject of a chapter by Victoria E. Burke in Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith's recent *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*. She notes that the compiler of the first section, which contains four of Donne's sermons and one by Joseph Hall, is in the hand of Knightley Chetwode, son of Richard Chetwode, and uncle of the Knightley Chetwode who would become Dean of Gloucester and take on a fairly prominent literary role, contributing to a print miscellany collection that included Dryden's *Plutarch's Lives.*[5] Peter Beal's online *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700* suggests that this portion of the book dates from 1625 or 1626.[6] The second half has been filled from the reverse end, and is inscribed as having been given to a Katherine Butler by her father in May 1693. The heading on the back page reads 'A Common Place Book 1696' (f. 276v).[7] The back portion of the book is divided into two sections, verse

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[5] Victoria E. Burke, '"The Disagreeable Figure of a Common-Place" in Katherine Butler's Late Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany,' in Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith eds., *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (London, 2014), p. 185. There is a full description of the sermon portion of the book in Evelyn Simpson, 'A Donne Manuscript in St Paul's Cathedral Library,' *Philological Quarterly* 21 (1942), pp. 237-9.
[6] Peter Beal ed., *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, RoJ 29.
[7] Burke writes, 'In Burke's Commoners there is a James Butler of Amblerey Castle, Sussex, who was 'descended from the House of Ormonde'. James Butler died on 11 July 1696 and his daughter was born in 1676, making it

and prose, and it is in the verse section that Katherine Butler copied out extracts from two of Donne's poems. First, lines 27-42 of 'The Anagram' and headed 'That a Man Ought not to chuse a wife only upon ye account of Beauty' (f. 180r-v). 'The Anagram' was a popular poem to transcribe in manuscript (it is also included, as noted above, in CUL MS Add. 29) and Peter Beal's *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* gives a list of 75 extant copies of the poem.[8] Butler also copies out lines 49-52 of 'To the Countesse of Huntingdon', headed, 'Dr Donne says after Complementing Lady Huntingdon',

> If you can think these flatteries, they are
> For y^n y^r judgement is below my praise
> If they were so off flatteries work as far
> As Counsels, & as far th'endeavour raise. (f. 188v.)

The tone here fits in with the taste shown across the selections, which leans towards pithy aphorisms; as Burke suggests, Butler had a wide-ranging interest but was by no means indiscriminate, writing in the back of the book that 'The reason why I wrote severall of these following Verses, was not that I thought them all good, but the subjects was' (f. 177v).[9] Butler includes short extracts from, amongst others, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare and Francis Bacon, mixed without reference to date with more contemporary writers such as Edmund Waller, John Dryden and Roger Boyle. She also includes several short extracts from Rochester's satirical verse, largely unattributed, including the first four lines from 'Love and Life' (f. 180r). The conjunction of Donne with Restoration poets here carries a slightly different cultural valency from the pairing in the CUL MS Add. 29, for Paul's MS 52. D. 14 is in the commonplace tradition, pulling

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feasible that he gave the manuscript to her in 1693 and she began compiling it in 1696.' Burke, p. 185. It is interesting to note that John Butler, son of James Butler Duke of Ormonde, had been one of the suitors for the hand of Rochester's wife, Elizabeth Malet, and it had been Henry Wilmot and the Duke of Ormonde who had signed the Treaty of Brussels together in 1656; there may conceivably have been links between the families.

[8] Peter Beal ed., *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, DnJ 31-99.

[9] Victoria Burke, '"The Disagreeable Figure of a Common-Place"', p. 183.

from a wide variety of classical and sixteenth and seventeenth century texts. Nonetheless, the collection is evidence that Donne was still current and a powerful presence in the kind of playful, plastic literary culture Butler is participating in. Moreover, Burke has shown that Butler, in about one in four of the quotations she chooses, gives a page number; in the case of Rochester, the page number corresponds to both the Antwerp 1680 or the London 1685 editions of Rochester's *Poems*.[10] She also suggests that Butler's selection of Katherine Philips shows a leaning towards those Philips poems which seem to be in dialogue with Donne.[11] Butler copies out, under the heading 'Mrs Philips speaking on Friendship says', a quatrain from 'Friendship in Emblem' which uses a compass image to plainly evoke Donne's famous compasses in 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning'.

> The compasses y^{t} stande above
> Express y^{s} great immortal Love
> For Friends, like y^{m} can prove y^{s} true
> They are & yet they are not, two. (f. 185v)

The commonplace book stands, then, as a marker of different kinds of mid- and late-seventeenth century engagement with Donne; both Philips' self-conscious poetic conversation with Donne's legacy, and Butler's pruning of Donne and Donne-like poets to meet her own taste, as informed both by her own moment and by the literary past.

The Lyttelton Manuscript

There is a third manuscript that couples Donne and cavalier poets, including Rochester, in illuminating ways. CUL MS Add. 8460 is the commonplace book of Elizabeth Lyttelton, daughter of Sir Thomas Browne, and includes the entirety of

[10] Victoria Burke, '"The Disagreeable Figure of a Common-Place"', p. 186.
[11] Victoria Burke, '"The Disagreeable Figure of a Common-Place"', p. 195.

Donne's 'A Hymn to God the Father', untitled and headed 'J Donne' (62r). The manuscript, which dates from the last decades of the seventeenth century, is small, 204 by 165mm and 174 pages, bound in brown calfskin, and written with meticulous neatness by Lyttelton and with a slightly less consistent hand by her mother, Dorothy Browne. The Perdita project's manuscript notes suggest that Dorothy Browne first used the manuscript for sermon notes before passing it on to her daughter, who used it to gather poetry and prose in the commonplace tradition. (A note on the final page, 'The gift of Mrs Lyttelton to *Edward Tenison'*, shows that the book was subsequently given to Lyttelton's cousin Tenison, later Bishop of Ossory and chaplain to the Prince of Wales, in March 1714, which gives a terminus ad quem for Lyttelton's input.) As the editors of the Perdita project have stated in their notes on the manuscript, it is possible that Lyttelton knew many of the poets she selected, including Rochester, who was nursed through his last illness by Lyttelton's brother.

Lyttelton's reading and extracting was evidently a knowing, self-conscious and careful process, a statement of politics and taste in one, and there is evidence of her amending poems to shape them to change the meaning. In, for instance, her extract of Sir Philip Woodhouse, she amends the text to look more favourably on women and motherhood specifically. At first she copies out Woodhouse without edits:

> God might thou knowst haue made thee but a mole
> and he has giuen thee an Intellectuall soule
> whom he has made a woman, or Cadett
> he mought haue made a mule or marmozett
> whom he has made a Prince or Elder Brother
> he mought haue made a slave or a poor mother. (p. 28)

But, as Burke has demonstrated, she crosses out 'a poor mother' and amends it to 'such anoth[er]'.[12] She seems to be making a statement, if only to herself, against the equation of the slave with the poor mother. The care with which she amends the poems suggests that she takes in some sense ownership of the verse she extracts.

Amongst these poems is one attributed to 'Rochester', sixteen lines beginning 'Great Charles who full of mercy would'st command' (67r). In fact, the authorship is doubtful; Vieth gives the poem in his edition of Rochester's verse, but Love does not include it, and Margaret Crum's first line index attributes it to Henry Savile, first printed anonymously in the first volume of *A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State* in 1689.[13] It is certain, though, that Donne is here, as in the case of *The Harmony of the Muses*, being aligned alongside poets with staunchly royalist views, such as Samuel Sheppard, who was imprisoned in 1648 for publishing Royalist propaganda and whose 'Epitaph on Arthur Capel', a tribute to the Royalist hero, Lyttelton includes a few pages previous to the Donne poem (60r). It is significant that in copying the 'Rochester' poem Lyttelton follows variants in *Poems on Affairs of State* but omits the lines 'Let not thy Life and Crown together end / Destroy'd by a false Brother and a Friend'.[14] Lyttelton omits this criticism of The Duke of York, perhaps because, despite his Catholicism, as a Royal he remains beyond reproach. There is, too, a reference to Charles I, where Lyttelton excerpts the Lord Chief Justice William Scrogg's oration to the Commons in which he evokes the memory of Charles I as 'truly a DEFENDER of the FAITH' (74r). It is into this grammatically emphatic Royalist merging of God and King that Donne's poem was set,

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[12] Victoria Burke, 'Contexts for Women's Manuscript Miscellanies: The Case of Elizabeth Lyttelton and Sir Thomas Browne,' *The Yearbook of English Studies* vol. 33 (2003), p. 325.
[13] Margaret Crum, *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800, in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford, 1969), vol. 1, p. 14.
[14] Victoria Burke, 'Contexts for Women's Manuscript Miscellanies', p. 327.

and re-coloured by its surroundings. This was not, of course, the first time it had been so coloured; 'Hymn to God the Father' had featured prominently in Walton's second version of his *Life*, in which he wrote that Donne

> caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the *Organ* by the *Choristers* of that *Church* in his own hearing, especially at the Evening Service; and at his return from his Customary Devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, 'The words of this Hymn have restored me to the same thoughts of joy that possessed my soul in my sickness when I composed it.' And 'Oh the power of Church music!'[15]

As Robbins points out, Walton is here 'scoring points on behalf of Anglican music against Puritan opponents, after Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658 evidently on the way out.'[16] The poem, then, despite its apparent singleness of vision in devotion, remained open to re-shading as it was re-appropriated by different readers.

Donne's printers in Restoration England and the Rochester circle

Alongside these moments of a manuscript physically uniting Donne and Rochester there would, too, have been strong print ties linking Donne to the literary, courtly and professional reading circles of Rochester's world. As my project evolved, it became clear that nobody had yet pinned down the question of whether Rochester read Donne, and, if so, precisely what influence Donne's poetry had on Rochester's verse. To know this, we need to look at the readerly world in which Rochester was situated. I found, on studying influential literary figures of the moment, evidence a network spreading across Restoration London in which Donne appears again and again. What follows is an account of that print and literary marketplace and Donne's place in it, with a

[15] A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage,* p. 117.
[16] Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne,* p. 576.

focus on Henry Herringman, who was, I shall suggest, perhaps the most important publisher of the second half of the seventeenth century.

The STC lists 48 extant copies of the 1669 printing of John Donne's verse. At least one is currently available at private auction, and it is very likely that more exist in private collections. In the revised 1958 edition of his bibliography of Donne Geoffrey Keynes noted that he himself owned two, 'one in red Morocco with the arms of the Duke of Buckingham on the side.'[17] The 1669 edition is a tightly printed octavo of 212 leaves, and was the first edition to have Donne's full name on the title page:

> POEMS, &c.| BY | JOHN DONNE, | *late Dean of St.* Pauls. | WITH | ELEGIES | ON THE | AUTHORS DEATH. | To which is added | *Divers Copies under his own hand*, | Never before Printed.| [double rule] | In the *SAVOY* | printed by *T.N.* for *Henry Herringman*, at the sign of | the *Anchor*, the lower walk of the | *New-Exchange*. 1669.

It includes all of the poems of the 1650 edition and, also, for the first time in a printed Donne collection, the full version of 'Elegie xii' ('His parting from her'), 'Elegie xviii' ('Love's Progress') and 'Elegie xix' ('To His Mistress Going to Bed'). Somewhat less spaciously printed than previous editions, it does not contain a portrait. Of the copies that still exist, many are owned by Oxford colleges and academic institutions in London such as the Inner Temple Library (although it is tempting to think that the Inner Temple might have come by a contemporary 1669 edition sometime in the seventeenth century through a proprietorial sense of Donne's association with the Inns of Court, in fact the

[17] Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of John Donne, Dean of Saint Paul's* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 166. There are strong connections Donne and Buckingham; the father of Rochester's contemporary and friend George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, the first Duke, was instrumental in procuring for Donne his Deanship of St Paul's.

Temple copy, unannotated, was purchased by the library from its previous owner James Wilson Bright in 1926.)[18]

The 1669 edition, printed by Thomas Newcomb, was brought out by Henry Herringman. Herringman purchased the copyright to Donne's verse as part of the entire copyright estate of the prominent literary publisher Humphrey Moseley after his death: the estate included rights to poems collections by Abraham Cowley, Richard Crashaw, Sir John Denham, Sir John Suckling and Edmund Waller.[19] Herringman was, as Michael Bahksar has demonstrated, one of the first Restoration publishers to take advantage of 1662 Licensing Act to make profit from 'rights in copies', repackaging books and using tradeable intellectual property to build a central position in the Restoration print marketplace.[20] Herringman was one of four major financers for Shakespeare's Fourth Folio, and by the end of his career had his imprint on 532 publications.[21]

Herringman, though, was more than a publisher of *belle lettres*, poems and plays; he was a man with lines of influence and friendship linking him to myriad cultural players in the period. For instance, Herringman appears eleven times in Pepys's diary, and often as a hybrid of bookseller and knowledgeable friend. In some entries, he acts as a salesman, keeping Pepys alive to new publications:

> To the New Exchange to the bookseller's there, where I hear of several new books coming out – Mr Pratt's history of the Royal Society and Mrs Phillips's

[18] Inner Temple library, PR2245.A1.

[19] Herringman remains relatively under-studied. A partial list of books with his imprint was published in 1949: Clarence William, *Henry Herringman Imprints: a Preliminary Checklist* (Virginia, 1949). There is a discussion of Herringman in Don-John Dugas, *Marketing the Bard: Shakespeare in Performance and Print, 1660-1740* (Missouri, 2006), pp. 109-121. I rely largely on C. Y. Ferdinand, 'Herringman, Henry (*bap.* 1628, *d.* 1704)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37538].

[20] Michael Bhaskar, *The Content Machine: Towards a Theory of Publishing* (London, 2013), p. 25.

[21] Sonia Massai, '"Taking Just Care of the Impression": Editorial Intervention in Shakespeare's Fourth Folio (1685)', *Shakespeare Survey* 55 (2002), p. 267.

> poems. Sir Jo. Denhams poems are going to be all printed together. (Pepys, 11 August 1667)[22]

Pepys also writes about Herringman as a source of knowledge about the literary world and its personalities. At the same visit, Herringman, who published Cowley, notifies Pepys of his death:

> Cowley, he tells me, is dead; who, it seems, was a mighty civil, serious man; which I did not know before. Several good plays are likely to be abroad soon, as Mustapha and Henry the 5th. Here having staid and divertised myself a good while, I home again and to finish my letters by the post. (Pepys, 11 August 1667)

Both of the mentioned works by Roger Boyle were published by Herringman. The shop seemed to have been a meeting place for readers across the social spectrum, but primarily a physical landmark for the congregation of educated readers, and even in the space of a very few days, Pepys gives a picture of Herringman's wide range of connections:

> There to my bookseller's, and did buy Scott's Discourse of Witches; and do hear Mr. Cowley mightily lamented his death, by Dr. Ward, the Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Bates [William Bates, the Royal chaplain], who were standing there, as the best poet of our nation, and as good a man. (Pepys, 12 August 1667)

Herringman also offered news of the politics of the moment, functioning as an intersection for poets, courtiers, educated gentlemen and political figures:

> Thence walked to my bookseller's, and there he did give me a list of the twenty who were nominated for the Commission in Parliament for the Accounts: and it is strange that of the twenty the Parliament could not think fit to choose their nine. (Pepys, 12 December 1667)

One entry evokes Herringman's close relationship with Dryden. Herringman responds to criticism of Dryden's *An Evening's Love*, which he himself would go on to

[22] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds. Robert Lathan and William Matthews, 10 vols. (London, 1972), vol. 8, p. 380. All citations of Pepys's diary are from this edition unless stated otherwise.

publish in 1671, with the assertion that the author himself thought it was mediocre, positing himself less as a salesman than as an urbane critic with privileged knowledge:

> Creed and I to the King's playhouse, and saw an act or two of the new play [*An Evening's Love*] again, but like it not. Calling this day at Herringman's, he tells me Dryden do himself call it but a fifth-rate play. (Pepys, 21 June 1668)

Most remarkable, though, is the instance in which Herringman's shop seems to be used by Pepys as a place for swapping letters and visits with Mrs Willets:

> Yo [i.e. 'je'] did give her 20*s.* and directions para laisser sealed in paper at any time the name of the place of her being at Herringman's, my bookseller in the 'Change, by which I might go para her, and so bid her good night with much content to my mind, and resolution to look after her no more till I heard from her. (Pepys, 18 November 1668)

Different, but no less significant, were Herringman's relationships with Dryden and Sir William Davenant. In 1659, Herringman bought the copyright to Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes* and began a close association with the poet that lasted until Davenant's death.[23] By creating a relationship with Davenant, who coupled his role as poet and playwright with patentee-manager and was one of only two men with Letters Patent granted by Charles II in 1662 to perform serious drama in London, Herringman obtained access to London's theatrical community.[24] Herringman continued to publish Davenant throughout his lifetime, and compiled a large memorial folio in 1673, five years after Davenant's death in 1668.[25] At 253 sheets, it was the largest literary publication since Jonson's 1616 *Workes*.[26] The folio is striking for what it reveals about Herringman's sure-handedness in positioning his writers and texts; Herringman uses a portrait on the frontispiece that portrays Davenant carefully, both as a cavalier, with long waved hair and

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[23] Mary Edmond, 'Davenant, Sir William (1606–1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Oct 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7197].
[24] Francis Connor, *Literary Folios and Ideas of the Book in Early Modern England* (London, 2014), p. 175.
[25] Francis Connor, *Literary Folios and Ideas of the Book,* p. 175.
[26] Francis Connor, *Literary Folios and Ideas of the Book,* p. 175.

voluminous draped clothing, and as the laureate, with a laurel wreath. The book shows that Herringman was a canny observer of cultural temperature and a man able to fit the work to the audience of the moment: the first preface, written by Davenant's widow Mary, is dedicated to the King, painting Davenant as a moderate Royalist, while Herringman draws on his personal friendship with Davenant to justify the publication itself in a short Preface, and there is a closeness in his repeated use of 'my':

> In his Life-time he often expressed to me his great Desire to see them in *One Volume*, which (in honour to his memory) with a great deal of care and pains I have now accomplished. [. . .] In this volume you have likewise *Sixteen Plays*, whereof *Six* were never Printed [. . .] My Author was *Poet Laureat* to two great Kings, which certainly bespeaks his merits; besides I could say much in Honour of this Excellent Person, but I intend not his Panegyrick; He was my Worthy Friend, let his works that are now before you, speak his Praise.[27]

It is possible that, given Herringman's shop was, as Pepys's diary shows, often used as a meeting spot and place for conversation, Herringman may have had contact through Davenant with similarly courtly poets like Rochester and Buckingham; as mentioned above, one of the Donne *Poems* 1669 editions has Buckingham's arms, and Rochester was a close friend of the Davenants'; Rochester's poetry, as Jeremy Treglown first noted, seems influenced by Davenant's satire.[28] Moreover, Elizabeth Barry, the famous actress and woman with whom Rochester had his most lasting affair, was Davenant's unofficial ward and had grown up with the family.[29] Rochester could not have avoided being aware of Herringman, and Herringman went on to publish with a colleague publisher, Timothy Goodwin, a lavish quarto edition of *Valentinian,* probably in 1685, five years after Rochester's death.[30] The two publishers used variant title-pages

[27] William Davenant, *The Works of Sr William Davenant Kt* (London, 1673), p. 3.
[28] Jeremy Treglown, 'Rochester and Davenant', *Notes and Queries,* 221 (December 1976), pp. 554-9.
[29] *The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Jeremy Treglown (Chicago, 1980), p. 29.
[30] The exact date is uncertain, and Lucyle Hooke argues that this quarto edition was in fact in print in 1684 in 'The Publication Date of Rochester's Valentinian,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 39 (1956), pp. 401-7.

bearing their own imprint, but the same text.[31] The frontispiece markets it as both a play and a piece of Rochesteriana:

> Valentinian: A Tragedy, as 'tis Alter'd by the late Earl of Rochester, and Acted at the Theatre Royal, Together with a Preface concerning the Author and his Writings. By one of his Friends.

As well as the Preface by the friend, Robert Wolseley, who remains anonymous, Herringman printed the play with all three Prologues, the first by Aphra Behn.[32] The Prologues were designed to be spoken on stage on three consecutive nights, and Herringman includes the specified actor for each – the first 'Prologue spoken by Mrs Cook the First Day/written by Mrs Behn', the next 'Spoken by Mrs Cook the second day' and Mrs Barrey for the third - thereby reproducing as closely as possible for the reader the different possible experiences of the staged play and again marking himself out as cannily alive to his market, in this case to the hunger of the theatre-going public for authoritative texts.[33]

Herringman gives Wolseley's Preface wide margins and a large heading, flagging up its significance: it is a long and erudite essay, primarily concerned with rebutting John Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave's attacks upon Rochester's verse and character in his *Essay on Poetry*. Mulgrave and Rochester were of course long enemies; having famously failed to duel in 1669, they finally did so in 1674. Rochester won.[34] By this time, Mulgrave was Dryden's patron, which, we know from the satire heaped on Dryden in *An Allusion to*

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[31] Nicholas Fisher suggests Herringman may have had the smaller financial stake, as there are far fewer extant copies of his imprint than of Goodwin's, but that as his copies were apparently drawn off first they may therefore have reached the market first. Nicholas Fisher, 'Mending What Fletcher Wrote: Rochester's Reworking of Fletcher's Valentinian,' *Script and Print* Special Issue 33(1-4) (2009), pp .61-75. The Cambridge University Library copy has Thomas Godwin's imprint, and, although it advertises the Prologue, does not contain it.
[32] The identification of Wolseley as the friend is based on a poem 'To Mrs Wharton, on a copy of verses she did me the honour to write in praise of the preface to Valentinian'. David Farley-Hills ed., *Earl of Rochester: the Critical Heritage* (London, 1972), p. 121.
[33] John Wilmot, *Valentinian: A Tragedy* (London, 1685), pp. 3-6.
[34] R. C. Alston ed., *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History* (Cambridge, 1997), p. xxi.

Horace, disgusted Rochester. The essay rhetorically situates the reader as being, without question, in Wolseley's own camp – 'no reader can be so dull as to not presently to perceive the *barefac'd* contradiction' of Mulgrave - and ends in a sly accusation against Mulgrave; on Rochester's wit he writes, 'none ever dislik'd it, but them who fear'd it, none ever decry'd it, but those who envied it.'[35] The essay is significant in itself, as a sharp piece of contemporary literary criticism, but Herringman's positioning of it is further display of his remarkable sense of marketplace imperatives; the essay raises, and rejects, all possible objections of immorality that Herringman himself might be subject to for publishing the text. Moreover, it contains a reference to John Donne, albeit an unflattering one, inserting Donne into the literary skirmishes of the period in the same breath as Ovid and Virgil. Donne, as late as 1685, is being consciously compared to Rochester, even if unfavourably:

> Verses have Feet given 'em, either to walk, graceful and smooth, and sometimes with Majesty and State, like Virgil's, or to run, light and easie, like Ovid's, not to stand stock-still like Dr Donne's, or to hobble like indigested Prose. [36]

Herringman had also published Francis Fane's *Love in the Dark, or The Man of Bus'ness* in 1675, with its satirical sixty-line verse Epilogue by Rochester. The Epilogue, which addresses the rivalry between The King's Company and the Duke's Company, is not attributed, probably, Paul Hopkins suggests, 'from respect for his rank'; Fane does, though, dedicate the play to Rochester.[37] Rochester's criticism of the Duke's Company is strong, but refrains from outright invective. Instead, he mocks Shadwell and Dryden in his attack on Shadwell's operatic version of Dryden's bastardised version of *The Tempest*: 'Players turn Puppets now at your Desire/In the Mouth's Nonsense, in their Tails a

[35] *Valentinian,* The Preface, b6.
[36] *Valentinian,* The Preface, b3v.
[37] Paul Hopkins, '"As it was not spoke by My Haines": An Unpublished Attack on Shadwell in an Epilogue by Rochester,' in Alston ed., *Order and Connexion*, p. 128.

Wire'.[38] Perhaps Rochester's relative restraint is due in part to Rochester's own friendship with Davenant, by whom the Duke's Company was managed, or perhaps to a sense shared by authors and publishers that overmuch invective would be counterproductive in Fane's first foray into print.

Herringman's relationship with Dryden, despite the fact that he published the men who became Dryden's enemies, was the closest of all. Herringman published all of Dryden's work from *Astrea Redux* in 1660 to *All For Love* in 1678.[39] It is possible that Dryden worked for Herringman as an editor: when Herringman published Robert Howard's *Poems* in 1660, Howard wrote in the address 'To The Reader' that he has 'prevailed with a worth Friend to take so much view of my blotted Copies, as to free me from grosse Errors'.[40] Dryden's biographer James Winn, writes 'Dryden is the likeliest person to have performed such editorial services for his publisher.[41] Similarly, in the earliest consciously academic biography of Dryden, James Osborne has suggested that Dryden 'was one of the booksellers on [Herringman's] staff'.[42] There are suggestions, too, that Dryden lodged with Herringman in exchange for work, though these are probably slanders from his rivals. Thomas Shadwell suggested in *The Medal of John Bayes* that Dryden boarded with Herringman: he describes 'Bays' (the obvious Dryden figure) taking up 'a lodging which had a window no bigger than a Pocket-looking-glass'; it goes on to say

> He turned journeyman to a bookseller
> Writ prefaces to books for meat and drink

[38] Francis Fane, *Love in the Dark* (London, 1675), Epilogue, lines 9-10. Barbara Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice* (London, 2001), p. 237. Also discussed in Paul Hopkins, "'As it was not spoke by My Haines'", p. 130.
[39] Michael Bhaskar, *Content Machine,* p. 25.
[40] Robert Howard, *Poems* (London, 1660), p. 5.
[41] James A. Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (London, 1987), p. 95.
[42] James Osborne, *John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems* (Oxford, 1939), p. 175.

And as he paid, he would both write and think. (Shadwell, *Medal of John Bayes,* 128-130) [43]

Even if, as seems likely, this is a malicious jibe at Dryden's relative poverty and workmanlike attitude to verse and writing, the fact that it was made at all shows how closely Dryden would have been bound up with Herringman's image. Moreover, there is a reference to Herringman in Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe*:

> From dusty shops neglected authors come
> Martyrs of pies, and relics of the bum
> Much Heywood, Shirley, Ogilby there lay
> But loads of Shadwell almost choked the way.
> Bilked stationers for yeomen stood prepared
> And Herringman was captain of the guard. (Dryden, *Mac Flecknoe,* 94-105)[44]

Herringman, then, was not just a publisher of books: he was captain of the guard, a cultural player of real influence, with lines of influence connecting him to a broad sweep of Restoration literary figures. With his remarkably large portfolio of rights, he would have been a man of real wealth and influence. It is profoundly likely that this man, with a network of writers and with a readership of learned London coming by his shop, would have been able to inject the 1669 text of Donne into Rochester's reading society. Certainly, in the record of Pepys's library in Magdalen College Cambridge, alongside the 1685 *Valentinian* there is the 1669 printing of Donne's *Poems.*[45]

Pepys, Herringman and Rochester are also all related, too, to a contemporary collection that is remarkable for the way it situates Donne amongst the wits of the mid-

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[43] Osborne weighs the literality of Shadwell's poems and concludes that, on balance, the accusation is unlikely to be literally true. James Osborne, *John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems*, pp. 184-190.
[44] All quotations of Dryden's verse, unless stated otherwise, are taken from the Longman edition, *The Poems of John Dryden,* eds Peter Hammond and David Hopkins, 5 vols. (Harlow, 1995-2002).
[45] C. S. Knighton, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge: Census of Printed Books* (London, 2004), p. 173, 53. Pepys also owned a copy of the 1648 printing of Biathanatos, p. 84.

seventeenth century. In 1661 a reprint was issued of a 1656 miscellany of courtly and satirical cavalier verse, compiled apparently by Sir John Mennes.[46] The title page reads:

> WIT AND DROLLERY, JOVIAL POEMS, corrected and much amended, with ADDITIONS. By Sir J.M., Ja: S, Sir W.D., J.D And other admirable Wits. Vt Nectar Ingenium. Printed for Nath: Brook at the Angel in the Cornhill, 1661.

The book contains the text of Donne's Elegy 'Loves Progress' on pages 157-160, acknowledged as 'J.D'. On the title page, 'Ja: S' is James Smith, 'W.D.' is William Davenant and, 'J.D', in that only one poem is attributed to those initials in the collection, seems to be Donne. (Dryden would be the other obvious candidate, but no poem attributed to him appears.) The collection also contains an unattributed poem, 'A Song', that sharply evokes the final line of Donne's 'To His Mistress Going To Bed', 'what needs thou hast more covering than a man':

> She lay all naked in her bed
> And I myself lay by
> No Vail but Curtains about her spread
> No covering but I.[47]

The earliest instance of this anonymous poem given in Gordon Williams' *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* is 1650.[48] It seems that Donne was still sufficiently vivid in the intellectual landscape and readership of the mid-seventeenth century to merit a poem that might be read as a cousin, or answer, to Donne's own. Certainly, Donne also appears in Abraham Cowley's Preface to his *Poems* in 1656, in the peculiar moment in which Cowley suggests he plans to leave England for 'our American Plantations' and therefore give up poetry; 'and I think Doctor

[46] Ernest W. Sullivan, *The Influence of John Donne: His Uncollected Seventeenth-Century Printed Verse* (Columbia, 1993), p. 124.
[47] *Wit And Drollery* (London, 1661), p. 54.
[48] Gordon Williams, *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* (London, 1994), p. 324. Williams also notes that a poem in *Pepys Ballads* IV (1664) has the same witticism in Swimming Lady'; a man pulls a woman from the water and 'Because she all uncovered lay, he covered her age.' (IV, 20). Williams, p. 324.

Donnes Sun Dyal in a grave is not more useless and ridiculous than Poetry would be in that retirement'.[49] Donne's 'The Will', with its baroque imagery, 'all your graces no more use will have/ than a sun-dial in a grave' (51-52), must have been a poem that Cowley was counting on the majority of his readership to have knowledge of: without knowing the context of the reference, Cowley's sentence would be baffling.

Courtney Craig Smith, in some of the earliest work on seventeenth century drolleries, argues that the audience for the drolleries was a mixture of courtiers (in 1656, temporarily out-of-power courtiers) and university-educated wits, along with readers who, without being regulars at court, nonetheless considered themselves the social superiors of the city merchants. She writes:

> The Pepyses could be associated with this group: *Wit and Drollery* was dedicated to a relative of the diarist and Pepys was acquainted with both Captain William Hickes, the most prolific compiler of drolleries, and Henry Herringman, the publisher and probably the compiler of the first drollery of all.[50]

This 'first drollery of all' is *Musarum Delicae: Conteining severall select pieces of sportive wit*, again attributed to John Mennes and James Smith and published by Henry Herringman in 1655. Herringman also composed a preface to the collection, signed 'H. H' and titled 'The Stationer to the Ingenious Reader', in which he positions himself both as a rueful connoisseur of fashionable verse and as the compiler of the collection:

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[49] Abraham Cowley, *Poems* (London, 1656), Av3. Cowley never did go to the American plantations.

[50] Courtney Craig Smith, 'The Seventeenth-Century Drolleries,' *Harvard Library Bulletin* 6 (1952), p. 46. Smith's evocation of the university wits is particularly convincing in the context of another book, Parnussus Biceps, also first published in 1656, which situates Donne consciously in the world of university wits; its frontispiece advertises itself as "composed of the best wits that were in both the universities before the Dissolution". *Parnassus Biceps* has, at siglum 43, a slightly truncated version of 'The Anagram', headed 'On the praise of an ill-favoured Gentlewoman'. The *Variorum* suggests that possibly the compiler Abraham Wright had seen manuscript f3, as the title evokes 'On the prais of a Brown Lasse': but, even if that is the version Wright was working from, he substantially edited and simplified it, changing Donne's 'dimme' to 'dark' and Donne's line 10, 'Meet in one, yt one must as perfect please' to the slightly less semantically dense 'Compounded are in one she needs must please'. Gary Stringer et al, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, vol. 2, p. 222.

> Plaine Poetry is now disesteemed, it must be Drollery or it will not please: I have therefore to regale the curious Pallats of these Times, made a collection of Sir John Mennis and Doctor Smiths drolish intercourses[51]

How much Mennes and Smith had to do with the compiling is uncertain: it is likely that Herringman was the driving force.

Pepys was also acquainted with John Mennes, as, almost certainly, was Rochester. Mennes, as well as being a reader and collector of Donne, was a significant figure in cavalier circles in the second half of the seventeenth century. A prosperous wit and naval officer, he was a young friend and ally of John Wilmot's father, Henry Wilmot the first Earl of Rochester. Both were attached to the exiled court and the two together were sent from Cologne to Flushing to monitor the posts in 1655.[52] Mennes almost certainly played some part in the negotiation of Charles II's return, and was a gentleman of the privy chamber under the restored King; as such, he would certainly have encountered Rochester. Mennes' reputation as a military man and a political power-broker grew increasingly poor, but he had a reputation as a great wit; Pepys's diary gives an account of Mennes and John Evelyn vying to out-mimic and out-rhyme each other, 'Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Evelyn such a spirit of mirth, that in all my life I never met with so merry a two hours as our company this night was'. Evelyn is unexpectedly the winner, and Pepys, on going to bed notes 'it being one of the times of my life wherein I was the fullest of true sense of joy'(10 September 1665).

One further appearance of Donne again yokes Herringman, Pepys, and Rochester. Donne is slyly evoked, first on stage and then in print, in George Etherege's first play *The*

[51] *Musarum Delicae*, sigA3r. For an account of Mennes, see Timothy Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, James Smith and The Order of the Fancy* (Delaware, 1994) especially chapter 6.

[52] Biographical details on Mennes are primarily from C. S. Knighton, 'Mennes, Sir John (1599–1671)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Sept 2013 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18561].

Comical Revenge, or, Love in Tub, first published by Herringman in 1664 and recorded amongst the catalogue of Pepys's library.[53] In *The Comical Revenge* Graciana evokes the first line of 'Twickenham Garden', 'blasted with sighs, and surrounded with tears' when, speaking in solemn heroic couplets, she says

> When I, distracted with prophetic fears
> Blasted with sighs and almost drowned in tears
> Begged you to moderate your rage last night (Etherege, *The Comical Revenge*, IV i 40-42)

Graciana is one of the tragic characters of the largely comical play, but there is always a degree of dramatic absurdity in her neatly hyperbolic couplets, and Donne's fusion of erotic language and spiritual anguish is amplified on both counts by Etherege in a knowing nod to the most literate of his audience. Etherege's knowledge of Donne could have come multiple sources; perhaps from his own publisher's bookshop, perhaps from the very literate Dryden. Etherege took Rochester's part in his invectives against Dryden, but, nonetheless, he wrote the prologue for Dryden's collaboration with Newcastle, *Sir Martin Mar-all* in 1668, and when *The Man of Mode* was published in 1676, again by Herringman, the text had an epilogue by Dryden.[54] Rochester would have known Etherege's work, and perhaps even have seen it in early version, as a close friend of Etherege's; the two were together during the famous brawl at Epsom in 1676 at which Captain Downes was killed.[55] Etherege appears in Rochester's *An Allusion to Horace* in the warmest terms:

> Whome refin'd Etheridge coppys not att all
> But is himself a sheer Originall. (Rochester, *An Allusion to Horace*, 32-3)

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[53] C. S. Knighton, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, p. 173.
[54] Dryden also wrote to Etherege, a bantering verse letter in around March 1685. *The Works of John Dryden*, p. 485.
[55] Nicholas Fisher ed., *That Second Bottle: Essays on the Earl of Rochester* (Manchester, 2000), p. 170.

If Etherege was inserting playful references to Donne into his play, it seems highly likely that he expected his circle, at least, to understand and appreciate them.

We know, of course, that Dryden read Donne; his complaint about Donne, as the first use of the work 'metaphysics' with regard to Donne, is famous. He wrote that Donne would:

> affect the Metaphysicks, not only in his Satires, but in his Amorous Verses, where Nature only shou'd reign; and perplexes the Minds of the Fair Sex with nice Speculations of Philosophy, when he shou'd ingage their hearts and entertain them with the softnesses of Love [56]

This is, though, only one part of Dryden's relationship with the poet including, for instance, Donne-like figures in *Mac Flecknoe*, and I will explore the connections between the two poets in my penultimate chapter. But Dryden was only one of an extremely wide, profoundly literate circle - witty, acrimonious, harmonious by turns – with access to Donne through the remarkable Herringman, as well as through earlier extant editions, and with access, too, to each other's knowingly literary conversation and intertextually referential literature. Donne was very much part of this world.

The question arises of how possible it is to reconstruct accurately an account of Rochester's reading within this literary world. No record of Rochester's library exists, and until recently the dominant vision of Rochester has been of the drunken rake, and popular emphasis has been on the most libertine verses in the corpus. The drunken Rochester would not come across plausibly as a seriously reader nor scholar of Donne, and the immoderate, excessive model of Rochester has been, understandably, the one that has found most favour. Nowhere is this preference more vividly shown than in the historical editing of Rochester's most licentious verse, 'Upon his Drinking Bowl' (titled

[56] A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage*, p. 151.

'Nestor' in Love's edition.) In it, the final line in the 1680 edition of Rochester's verse is, famously, 'and then to cunt again.' This version appears in many popular collected versions, including Vieth's.[57] But Love demonstrates that the 'poem descends from two, three or even four paths from a scriptorium of the late 1670s' and of the variants (which include 'fill', 'my Love', and 'Love' in Tonson's edition) the best attested is 'Phill': 'With wine I wash away my cares/And then to *Phill*: again'. BLa51's version, 'cunt', is, Love writes, 'unlikely to be authorial': more likely, it was a twist added by the printer or compositor to add a Rochesterian spice that was, in fact, their own invention.[58]

This more transgressive and therefore glamorous Rochester has been popular since his own time. Robert Parsons described him in a sermon preached immediately after Rochester's death as a man akin to Lucifer, 'the chiefest of the Angels for knowledge and power became most degenerate'.[59] The poet Sir Carr Scroope, who was engaged in a poetic battle with Rochester in 1677, wrote, in an epigrammatic attack, 'Rail on, poor feeble scribbler, speak of me/in as ill terms as the world speaks of thee.'[60] The poem describes Rochester as spreading 'pox and malice' (l4), embodying literal sexual and moral decay in one. Since Vieth's *Attribution in Restoration Poetry* in 1963 more of Rochester's work has been seen as ironic or performative, but there is after all a great deal to appeal in the bawdy Rochester, and it is a reading readily supported by the verse.[61] Even if the 'cunt' in 'Upon his Drinking Bowl' is almost certainly not authorial, the speaker does declare 'Cupid and Bacchus my saints are'(21). This Rochester would not

[57] A useful discussion of the editing of this poem is found in Chapter 10 of 'Rochester and his editors' in Paul Hammond, *The Making of Restoration Poetry* (Cambridge, 2006), especially pp. 193-7.
[58] Harold Love ed., *The Works of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, p. 535.
[59] David Farley-Hills ed., *Rochester: The Critical Heritage*, p. 86.
[60] D. de F. Lord ed., *Poems of Affairs of State* (London, 1963), vol. I, p. 373.
[61] David Vieth, *Attribution in Restoration Poetry: A Study of Rochester's Poems of 1680* (New Haven, 1963), especially Chapter 6, 'Verse Satires on Rochester: the Myth and the Man', pp.164-204.

square with the kind of careful composer and reader who might consciously evoke vernacular poets from the recent past.

However, Rochester's own circle might have been surprised by some of the assumptions often brought to Rochester's work. Dryden, for instance, seems to have figured Rochester as capable of sustained study and quiet living. In April 1673, Dryden to wrote to Rochester while the Earl was convalescing at Adderbury. The manuscript is bound up with other letters, all either to or from Rochester, including an extract of Abraham Cowley's poem, 'Martial. Lib I. Epi lvi. Vota tui breviter, &c.', four lines, 13-16, beginning 'Is there a man yee gods whome I doe hate', copied out by Rochester in a letter to his wife.[62] It was acquired by Humfrey Wanley and dated on the day of his acquisition, '27 August 1724'; clearly, in the early eighteenth century, the letters of Rochester were seen as having literary or at least economic value. It is an apologetic and flattering letter, and it is a scholarly man that Dryden paints: 'You are that Rerum Natura of your own Lucretius, *Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nihil ingida nostri*; You are above any Incense I can give you; and have all the happiness of an idle life, joined with the good Nature of an Active.'[63] Dryden is making reference to Rochester's version of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, of which Rochester made a free translation of about fifty lines in the early 1670s. Aphra Behn, who herself imitated Lucretius in 'To Lysander at the Musick Meeting', picks up on the same resonance of Lucretius, as bold, learned and autonomous, when, in her elegy to Rochester, she writes that 'Large was his Fame, but short his Glorious Race/Like young *Lucretius* and dy'd apace'.[64]

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[62] BL Harley MS 7003 f.191r. The extract is from Lib I. of Cowley's poem, not, as the *CELM* states, Lib 2.
[63] BL Harley MS 7003, f. 293r. Loosely, the Latin translates to: *mighty by your own power, you have no need of us*. (translation my own.)
[64] *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd (London, 1996), vol. I, p. 162.

Dryden had good reason to flatter Rochester. The dedication to his *Marriage A-la-Mode* is a long letter of thanks addressed to 'The Right Honourable, the EARL of ROCHESTER' for his financial and social aid, and it even hints that Rochester helped him with its composition.[65] However, it is interesting that the image that Dryden selects as the one that might most please his patron is of Rochester as a scholar and as an intellectually self-sufficient philosopher. 'You have withdrawn your selfe from attendance, the curse of the Courts. You may thinke of what you please.'[66] James Johnson, in his recent biography of Rochester, suggests that in 1673 Rochester was living relatively reclusively and reading widely; this is the period, Johnson suggests, in which 'his imaginative life was preparing him to write the major works of 1674-76.'[67] It would have been while in the country that Rochester probably read Hobbes and a range of classical texts. This is the Rochester that Robert Wolseley paints in the 'Preface to Valentinian' in 1685, when he states that Rochester was a close reader of Roman historians and 'inquisitive after all kind of *Histories*...both ancient and modern.'[68] He positions the poet as heir to 'Juvenal, Martial, Petronius, Arbiter, Catullus, Tibulus and Ovid, nay and Horace too, whose Sence is often obscene, and sometimes their very words' but who are nonetheless 'long lasting and ever honoured names'.[69] Rochester's niece Anne Wharton's elegy evokes a similarly scholarly and considered figure, writing that

> He civilised the rude and taught the young
> Made fools grow wise, such artful music hung
> Upon his useful, kind, instructing tongue.[70]

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[65] *Dryden: The Dramatic Works,* ed. M Summers (London, 1932), vol. III, p. 189.
[66] BL Harley MS 7003, f. 293r.
[67] James Johnson, *A Profane Wit: The Life of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester* (New York, 2008), p. 160.
[68] Rochester, John Wilmot, *Valentinian, a Tragedy. As 'tis Alter'd by the Late Earl of Rochester* (London, 1685), sig.A4r.
[69]John Wilmot, *Valentinian*, sig. A4r.
[70] Quoted in R. E. Pritchard, *Passion for Living: John Wilmot Earl of Rochester* (London, 2012), p. 162.

Some of this, of course, may well have been the anxiety of a family member to position Rochester within the spectrum of respectability, just as others sought out the opposite interpretive extreme for the thrill of association with a debauchee, but the 1702 printing of Wharton's poem has an addition that suggests that Rochester was an instructor to Anne, 'He taught thy infant muse the art betime/Tho' then the way was difficult to climb'.[71] If we take the 'teacher' role even slightly literally, the verse suggests a considered and self-aware side to Rochester's persona and composing mentality.

This, then, would be a man whose most licentious verse could be read as studied provocation rather than, as the myth might suggest, a stream of lived-in bawdy exuberance; and this is significant for Rochester's use of Donne, in that Donne modelled a similar pattern of in-the-moment intensity with a metrical and imagistic sophistication belying the implied spontaneity. The churchman and historian Gilbert Burnet, Rochester's friend and first biographer, wrote that Rochester 'would often go into the Country, and be for some months wholly employed in Study, or the Sallies of his Wit.'[72] Burnet's account suggests that poems which might have been intended to sound like spontaneous creations, for instance, a poem with conversational punch such as 'A Ramble in St James' Park', could also be read as pieces of edited and honed craftsmanship. Rochester is likely to have written 'A Ramble in St James's Park' whilst far from the actual life of the city; possibly, Johnson suggests, while 'reading the erotic and satiric writings of Pietro Aretino'. [73] Rochester's own verse rarely reflects a pleasure in rural withdrawal; indeed, as Paul Davis points out, scholarly seclusion in Rochester's verse is treated with a scepticism and satire, as in 'The Disabled Debauchee', in which the

[71] R. E. Pritchard, *Passion for Living,* p. 162.
[72] Gilbert Burnet, *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John Earl of Rochester* (London, 1680), p. 25.
[73] James Johnson, *A Profane Wit,* p. 160.

debauchee's wisdom is the product, not of learning, but of being 'good for nothing else'.[74] Dryden's letter, though, suggests that although the persona of the reader might not be one Rochester assumed in his verse, it might be one he would take pleasure in, in private. For this Rochester, a Rochester comfortable in seclusion and employed in study, Donne, whose verse was so present in the lives of Rochester's friends, would perhaps seem a valuable reading and writing model.

It becomes clear, then, that the literary circle to which Donne's printed verse was marketed by Herringman was almost synonymous with Rochester's own. In manuscript, too, as I have demonstrated, their work was closely allied, suggesting that their work resonated with the same readers and was grouped accordingly. Added to this, allusions to Donne's work in Rochester's contemporaries demonstrate the existence of a culture of Donne parody and imitation into which Rochester would have been closely attuned; and Rochester was framed by his contemporaries as a reader and scholar who assimilated densely-imagined texts into his own.

It is in this context that close reading of the two poets is at its most valuable. The confluences of tone in the two poets are, in places, remarkable. Like Donne, Rochester creates vignettes into the middle of which the reader is dropped; for instance, Rochester's satire 'Against Reason and Mankind' resembles Donne's *Satyres*, and most markedly Donne's *Satyre IV*, in that both are half-spoken dramatic monologue, filled with energetic bile. Rochester's poem, first printed in 1679 as an unauthorised broadside, but read widely in manuscript previously, poses its anti-rationalist argument in tones that sound

[74] John Wilmot, *Rochester: Selected Poems*, ed. Paul Davis (Oxford, 2013), p. xxxii.

like the Donne *Satyres* in their merging of excess and politeness, as in the episode beginning:

> But now methinks some formal band and beard
> Takes me to task. Come on, Sir, I'me prepar'd [. . .]
> What rage ferments in your degenerate mind
> To make you rail at Reason and Mankind? (Rochester, 'Against Reason and Mankind', 46-47 and 58-59).

The most obvious source for Rochester's poem is Nicolas Boileau's *Satire viii*, printed in Paris in 1667, which Rochester's verse mimics structurally, but Love notes that there are almost no direct verbal or tonal dependences on the French poem, which stood entirely at odds with the naturalism Rochester's speaker espouses.[75] Instead, there is in the sharp weariness of Rochester's speaker on meeting his interlocutor, and in the vocabulary of fermenting and slimy excretions, a moment akin to Donne's meeting of the courtier in *Satyre IV*:

> Therefore I suffered this: t'wards me did run
> A thing more strange than on Nile's slime the Sun
> E'er bred (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 17-19).

Donne's court satire is somewhat gentler than is Rochester's in his 'Addition' to 'Against Reason and Mankind', where Rochester's criticism is made in the most absolute terms,

> But if in Court so just a Man there be
> (In Court a just man yet unknown to me)
> Who does his needful Flattery direct,
> Not to Oppress and Ruine, but protect. (Rochester, 'Addition' to 'Against Reason and Mankind', 179-182)

But the same sly tonal aside is in play as in Donne

> Scant
> His thanks were ended when I (which did see
> All the Court filled with more strange things than he)

[75] Love ed., *The Works of John Wilmot,* p. 383.

Ran from thence with such or more haste than one
Who fears more actions doth make from prison. (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 150-154).

Satires on court, of course, were not a unique property of Donne or Rochester. Spenser's *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale*, for instance, is an obvious vernacular source for Donne, but Rochester's and Donne's tonal strategies, of switches between bombast and slyly polite exasperation, are more like each other than they are like any other writer expect, fittingly, Horace. It seems to be the rigorously crafted colloquialism of this tonal match that Joseph Warton picks up on in the revised 1762 edition of Pope, in which he couples the two poets as sharing the same 'wit...and lively fancy in describing familiar life.'[76]

Where Donne and Rochester share a source, as when they imitate Horace with varying degrees of explicitness, the confluence in their styles as they render the satire into vernacular peculiarity is at its most vivid.[77] Rochester's is the more overt imitation, in that he names the source in *An Allusion to Horace 10 Sat: 1st Book*, but Donne's first, second and fourth *Satyres* all play on Horatian verse and models.[78] It is significant Horace was one of the most easy-spirited of the satirists; as Scaliger wrote, 'Juvenal burns; Persius insults; Horace smiles', and yet both Rochester and Donne give the model on which they build fresh bitterness. [79] Horace's equitable relationships with law and power and wealth

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[76] *The Works of Alexander Pope,* Joseph Warton, ed. (London, 1762), p. vii.
[77] That the title is authorial is strongly argued by J.H. Wilson in 'Rochester, Dryden and the Rose-street affair,' *RES* 15 (1939), p. 299.
[78] Perhaps because Donne's *Satyres* were less circulated than the Elegies and are still less studied, there is relatively little written on Donne's relationship with Horace, but there is a good account of Donne's *Satyre IV* in Howard Erskine-Hill, '"Courtiers out of Horace": Donne's *Satyre IV* and Pope's Fourth Satire of Dr. John Donne, Dean of St Paul's, Versifyed' in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration* ed. A. J. Smith (London, 1972), pp. 273-307, and of *Satyre II* in C. D. Lein, 'Theme and Structure in Donne's *Satyre II*,' *CL* 32 (1980), pp. 130-150. There is also a useful short note on how Donne's Horatian verse often sounds Juvenalian in chapter 13 of Howard D. Weinbrot ed., *Eighteenth-Century Satire: Essays on Text and Context from Dryden to Peter Pindar* (Cambridge, 2007), especially pp. 186-9. Although it mentions Donne and Rochester relatively rarely, a helpful account of Horatian satire in the period was *Charles Martindale and David Hopkins eds., Horace Made New*: *Horatian Influences on British Writing* (Cambridge, 1993).
[79] J. C. Scaliger*, Poetices libri septem*(London, 1561), p. 98: The Latin is 'Juvenalis ardet, instat aperte, jugulat, Persius insultat, Horatius irridet'. Literally, 'Juvenal goes for the jugular'.

give a fluency to *Satire 1.9* that neither Donne nor Rochester appear to attempt. Instead, both Donne and Rochester infuse Horace with a similar kind of anxiety. Both poets choose to adapt Horace's conversational style (Horace writes in *1.4* that his lines are like prose, more talk than poetry) to their own, sharper, ends.[80]

Colin Burrow writes that because Donne's five *Satyres* circulated in manuscript from 1593 it is Donne, not Joseph Hall, who can lay claim to being the first classically-inflected English vernacular satirist.[81] It is possible, given the network of literary figures in which he existed, that Rochester knew this precise fact, but certainly by as early a date as 1598 Donne's *Satyres* were already well known enough for Everard Gilpin to compose a satire for print, *Skialethia, Or, a Shadow of Truth* which opens with a 36-line paraphrase of Donne's *Satyre I*.[82] It therefore seems not improbable that Rochester would have known of the fame that had surrounded the *Satyres* specifically, and evoked some of their tone. Rochester's *An Allusion to Horace 10 Sat: 1st Book*, probably composed in the winter of 1675-6, swaps the original subject of the lampoon, Lucilius, for Dryden, and he puts a more vicious swing on the opprobrium: 'But when he would be sharp he still was blunt/To frisk his frolick fancy hee'd cry Cunt' (74-75) and offers a sharper critique of the court than is in Horace:

> Shall I be troubled when the purblind Knight
> Who squints more in his Judgement than his sight
> picks silly faults, and Censures what I write? (Rochester, *Allusion to Horace*, 115-6)

In his *Satyre II*, Donne shows a similar concern for the fate of wit and understanding in elite society: Rochester picks up on his metaphors of fevered anxiety. Donne writes

[80] Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne,* p. 365.
[81] Colin Burrow, 'Roman Satire in the Sixteenth Century', in Kirk Freudenberg ed.*, Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 256.
[82] A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage,* p. 33.

worst is he who, beggarly, doth chaw
Others' wits' fruits, and in his ravenous maw
Rawly digested doth those things outspew (Donne, *Satyre II,* 25-27)

It may be that Rochester recalled that digestion metaphor. Based on a significant minority group of manuscripts, Vieth has, in place of Love's 'led', 'fed': 'Or when the poor *fed* poets of the town/for Scrapps and coach-room cry my Verses down,'(118-19).[83] Both infuse their versions of Horace with a kind of nervous energy that is reminiscent more of their own sensibilities than of the source text.

The other most recognisably Donnean poetic trait is perhaps the melding of religious and romantic discourse: although what 'Donne' was being taken to signify changes across generations, evidence of pseudonymous texts such as *The Harmony of the Muses* suggests that, in the mid to late seventeenth century, the merging of loosely Biblical language and sexual desire was seen as a Donnean currency. When Rochester plays with this idea in 'The Fall' his tone has a knowing, hyperbolic intensity which echoes Donne's work. Lines 37-54 of the poem 'Variety', ascribed to Donne during the seventeenth century (Robbins now ascribes it to Nicholas Hare):[84]

The golden laws of nature are repealed
Which our first fathers in such rev'rence held
Our liberty reversed and charters gone ('Variety', 47-49)

reverberate through Rochester's

How blest was the Created state
Of Man and Woman er'e they fell
Compar'd to our unhappy Fate:

[83] Love ed., *The Works of John Wilmot,* p. 408.
[84] The attribution of this poem is still contested, though generally reckoned to be dubia. The poem was printed untitled in the 1650 Donne *Poems*, and, titled, in the 1669 edition. The poem is ascribed to Donne in the John Cave manuscript in c.1620. Leishman, in 1962 was the first to suggest it should 'almost certainly be excluded from the canon'; Gardner, in 1965, suggests the poem is 'gay and lively' but not by Donne. Gary Stringer et al, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, vol. 2, p. 951.

Wee need not feare another Hell (Rochester, 'The Fall', 1-4).[85]

The diction in 'Variety' is legalistic, Rochester's religious, but both poems create an exclamatory and sophisticated persona to play with the same paradox. Moreover, the tone in which Rochester sexualises the prelapsarian state in 'The Fall' owes its wilful peculiarity to Donne's 'Twickenham Garden'. Some of the confluences of theme and tone, of course, will be due to shared source material; 'Twickenham Garden', Robin Robbins points out, 'comically imitates Petrarch's 'Zefiro Torna', a poem about an unrequited lover in a Springtime garden' and there are gestures in the poem, too, to Lyly's *Endymion* in the balance between presumption and love.[86] The Petrarchan analogue functions in Rochester's poem too, in reverse: the 'nobler Tribute of a heart' that the speaker pays is offered, not wistfully, as in Petrarch, to stand in for more urgent desire, but as a wry brush-off to a Chloris demanding or offering more. It is also true that alongside Donne the other most obvious poetic link for Rochester's 'The Fall' is *Paradise Lost*. Paul Davis writes that 'Milton's epic enjoyed something of a libertine vogue in 1674, following the appearance of the second edition with its commendatory poem by Rochester's favourite non-courtier poet, Marvell.'[87] The first draft of Dryden's adaptation of Milton's poem was circulating in manuscript around that time. What Donne and Rochester share, though, is the way they play with pastoral in a mode that is at once punitive and sensual. Rochester's post-Fall garden is a kind of relentless Hell, in which sex can never again be equal to 'Joyes'(10); Donne's is a garden, equally relentless, in which sensual love has mixed with images of the Fall: 'but oh, self-traitor, I do bring/the

[85] Although the *Variorum* includes 'Variety' in the canon, Robbins lists it in his dubia and ascribes it to Nicholas Hare; here, then, as with the poems in the *Harmony*, even those poems dubiously Donne are useful and revealing. Gary Stringer et al, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* vol. 2, p. 949; Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne,* p. 965.
[86] Robin Robbins, ed. *The Complete Poems of John Donne,* p. 253.
[87] John Wilmot, *Rochester: Selected Poems*, ed. Paul Davis, p. 89.

spider Love, which transubstantiates all' (5-6) and 'I have the serpent brought' (9). Rochester's verse draws on Donne's image of sexual defeat and twists it into his own imagining; simpler, both thematically and metrically, but resonating with Donne's influence.

No writer more than Rochester, then, seems so obvious an heir to Donne's voice. As Graham Greene wrote,

> Rochester has inherited from Donne a passionate colloquialism...Rochester's individual characteristic was to pour the passionate colloquialism of Donne, extended to include the rough language of the stews, into the mould of the Restoration lyric without shattering the form [. . .] Rochester took as much pains as Donne to perfect the colloquialism of his lines.[88]

Rochester was part of a web of writers, a web that was itself intertwined with influential publishers such as Herringman, in which Donne reappeared again and again. There are equally vivid resonances of Donne in the verse of Lovelace, Oldham and Dryden, which I will explore further, but it is Rochester whose tone, in his extempore quality and knowingly excessive, intelligent transgressiveness seems to owe most to Donne. As the composition of CUL MS Add. 29 suggests, the echoes between the poets sound out when read side by side.

[88] Graham Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey: Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester* (London, 1976), p.10.

KATHERINE PHILIPS, JOHN DONNE, AND THE POETICS OF INTIMACY

Katherine Philips, John Aubrey wrote in his *Lives*, was not an intellectually adventurous woman: 'very good natured not at all high minded. pretty fatt, not tall. reddish faced.'[1] It is, in part, a class-based jibe, Philips's relatively common origins being made manifest in her body; but it is also the case that some of her public celebratory verse could be read as purposefully good-natured and intellectually cautious. However, there exist a number of contemporary and near-contemporary manuscript collections in which Philips's work is collected alongside Donne's, and these are moments in which the readerly response seems to note the profound and intimate resonances between the two poets; they are moments in which the bold intelligence of Philips's poetry is laid out physically alongside Donne's, and the sharpness and intricacy of Philips's use of allusion to Donne shines through.

BL Harley MS 3991 is large, 156 leaves, bound in black morocco and written in a late seventeenth century hand. It is described in the third volume of the catalogue to the Harley manuscripts as a seventeenth century 'Book of Songs, & Poems, many of them political, of the time of the republic'; it may be a case, not unlike Chamberlain's placement of Donne in *The Harmony of the Muses*, of Philips being coloured politically by

[1] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives with An Apparatus for the Lives of our English Mathematical Writers*, ed. Kate Bennett, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2015), vol. 1, p. 601. Kate Bennett, in her celebrated new edition, notes that Aubrey wrote a preliminary draft of Philips's Life in pencil, in 1681, 'intending to develop it into something more coherent after carrying out further researches. In the event, he inked over the notes to ensure that they remained legible and added new material. He probably added the inked text not much later that year, since this new material includes the substance of a discussion with the bookseller Henry Brome, who had died in May 1681.' Philips's life, then, was bound up with books and booksellers even after her death. 'The Life of Katherine Philips. Orinda' is short, running to three sides, (A8, f. 38-A8, f.40) with 'Orinda' underlined in red ink. Vol. 2, p. 1554.

her surroundings.[2] It moved from the ownership of Thomas Rawlinson to the collection of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer (1689-1741). As well as Philips's verse, it contains at fos. 113r-114v, excerpts from Donne's verse headed 'Donne's quaintest conceits', grouped in a way that mirrors in lay-out folios 83v-84r, which are extracts from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Tempest*. The manuscript compiler seems to have been consciously mirroring the structure of printed collections such as *England's Parnasus* (1600), which similarly grouped authors in blocks of roughly similar lengths. The manuscript includes - again like *The Harmony of the Muses* - a string of satires on women, including, at f20, the very explicitly named 'Dr Smith Callet Against Women', which begins, 'Will Womens Vanities never have end, alack what is ye matter.' There is also, at f31, an explicitly sexually charged verse, headed 'The Dreame', 'She lay all naked in her bed/and I myself lay by'. Philips's verse, headed 'Song, to the tune of, Sommes nous pas trop heureux' ('How prodigious is my Fate') at first strikes a strange note in this company. Philips's poem is numbered '9 Song'; the preceding eight songs are not by her, but are formally similar poems by William Davenant. The manuscript is somewhat disjointed; it is written upside-down at f.93, and is written from the back, and then rights again at 100, with Philips's poem at f.75r-v. The poem is two stanzas, and reads as a love poem in the Petrarchan model. It exists in four other manuscripts, one of which is housed in Paris, at the Biblioteque National, the other three in the British Library.[3] The gender of the imagined speaker is not clear, and we do not know to whom the poem is addressed:

How prodigious is my Fate

[2] Hageman and Sununu, 'More Copies of it abroad than I could have imagin'd: Further Manuscript Texts from Katherine Philips, the Matchless Orinda,' *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 5 (1995), pp. 135-7.
[3] Hageman and Sununu, 'More Copies of it abroad than I could have imagin'd', p. 196

> Since I can't determine clearly
> Whether you'll doe more severely
> Giving me your love or Hate.
> For if you with kindness bless me
> Since from you I soon must part,
> Fortune will so dispossess me,
> That my Love will break my heart.
> But since death all Sorrow cures
> Might I choose my way of dying,
> I could wish the arrow flying
> From Fortune's Quiver, not from yours.
> For in the sad unusual story
> How my wretched heart was torne,
> It will more concern your glory
> That I by absence fell, then scorn. (Philips, 'Song to the tune of, Sommes nous pas trop heureux')

There are Donnean elements here, in the inversion of the final line, in the picking apart of the love-hate dichotomy. There are elements, too, that feel like they are participating in a more diffuse tonal harking back to the verse of half a century earlier, in the Fortune's quiver and the Shakespearean cadence of 'sad unusual story', which evokes, perhaps, the closing of Romeo and Juliet. It is possible that Philips's 'Song to the tune of, Sommes nous pas trop heureux' is the companion piece to another poem, not collected in this manuscript, 'Orinda to Lucasia' ('Observe the weary birds e're night be done'), a poem usually collected alongside 'Song' and about the death of more explicitly sexual love with a similar theme, on waiting, 'That if too long I wait/Ev'n thou may'st come to late/And not restore my life but close my eyes'. If so, 'How Prodigious is my fate' becomes somewhat more sexually transgressive in this context; it is possible, given the baldly sexual content of the other verse in the manuscript collection, that the companion poem would have cast an informing shadow over 'Song' here, even though it is not included.

It is interesting that this same manuscript, BL Harley MS 3991 also has one of only four copies of miscellanised versions of Donne's *Metempsychosis*, one of his strangest and most troubling poems. *Metempsychosis* is preserved in eight manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century, in all seven of the collected printed editions of Donne's Poems, and in excerpt in three manuscripts,[4] in four issues of Joshua Poole's *The English Parnassus* and in all three issues of Andrew Marvell's *The Rehersal Transpos'd*, in which Marvell gives five pages to the poem, part summary and part quotation.[5] *Metempsychosis* seems to have been copied only by those with interest in more thorny verse. BL Harley MS 3991 is a manuscript with a tolerance for the peculiar, the liminal, and meaningfully juxtaposed verse.

The Lear manuscript, BL Add. MS 30982, is also remarkable. It is small, written for the most part in a very small neat cramped hand, with later additions. It contains a copy of one of Philips's most famous poems, 'Content, to my dearest Lucasia' (Content, the false world's best disguise'), with a note subscribed, 'ORINDA'. The collection, which Hobbs dates as being from the early 1630s with later additions nearer the end of the century, draws from early collections as well as contemporary ones; the most carefully copied are those taken from Strode's own autograph text in CC MS 325.[6] (CC MS 327, which I have discussed in relation to *The Harmony of the Muses* as one if its main source-texts, was owned by the same man as CC MS 325, John Fulham (1632-1688). There are obvious moments of overlapping taste and a desire to own these cross-generational

[4] British Library Harley 3991, British Library 51 and AF1 (United States Air Force Academy, Colorado H Mapletoft volume), listed in Siobhan Collins, *Bodies, Politics and Transformations: John Donne's Metempsychosis* (Farnham, 2013), Ap. 1.
[5] Marvell writes 'This was the sum of that witty fable of Doctor Donne's which if it do not perfectly suit with all the transmigrations of mine Answerer [. . .] yet whosoever will be so curious as himself to read that Poem, may follow the parallel much further than I have done.' Marvell, *The Rehearsal Transpos'd: The Second Part* (London, 1673), p. 62.
[6] Mary Hobbs, 'Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies and their Value for Textual Editors,' *EMS* 1 (1989), pp. 189-90.

miscellanies.) The book holds the inscriptions 'Daniel [illegible, and subject to debate: either 'Leare' or 'Daye'] his Book witness William Strode'. Hobbs suggests that, if 'Leare', the owner was a distant cousin of William Strode, probably at Christ Church. Complex family ties link the Leares, Strode and Katherine Philips; Oliver St John, Philips's cousin, was also the son of Daniel Leare's cousin.[7] The manuscript contains twelve Donne poems, as well as fifteen by Carew, and the above-mentioned poems copied from Strode's autograph text. Philips, then, would have been part of both the social world and the poetic world of the owner of the manuscript, and the compiler, in adding her to a pre-existing collection of canonical and semi-canonical authors, would have been making a statement about her standing.

The twelve Donne poems are set alongside a pseudonymous 'Donne' poem, f.13, 'J.D to his Paper', beginning 'Fly paper kiss those hands/whece I am barrd of late'. At ff.31r-v there is copied 'A Valediction', which is a copy of 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning', set alongside poems by Ben Jonson and Herrick. Donne's 'The Anagram' at f.81 is headed 'upon an ugly gentlewoman'. At f.45v is 'On Dr Donne an Epitaph by F: Cobet' and f.46r is 'Dr Donne to his m[rs] going to bed', which is laid out with significantly more attention and neatness than many of the others. At f.97, the hand becomes suddenly larger, more akin to late seventeenth century italic. There are some lampoons, an almost-blank page (f.105v) headed 'A Riddle' but with no following riddle, suggesting the book was incomplete when it was left off, and then ten blank leaves. At f.109, the book is flipped, and written from the back, so Katherine Philips comes near the physical end of the book, though she would have been one of the first to be copied. A poem headed 'A Countrey Life' (Philips's 'How sacred and how innocent') is marked at

[7] Mary Hobbs, 'Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies and their Value for Textual Editors', p. 190.

the end 'finis ORINDA' and subscribed 'this pen'd by the most deservedly Admired M[rs] Katherine philips the Matchles ORINDA'. The 'ORINDA' has several underlines and ornate swirls, and it is the most visually marked poem in the book: the second owner of the book was keen to flag up her inclusion. The hand in the back, which copies Strode, looks very like the hand which copies Donne, but the hand that copies the two Orinda poems is more modern. This does not negate the possibility, though, that the second compiler of the manuscript was constructing a book with a coherent body of work; the book is carefully looked after, and the Philips poem is a markedly Donnean one. There is in Philips's final stanza a version of Donne's image 'thy face in mine, mine in thy eye appears':

> whose mirrours are the crystal brooks
> Or else each other's hearts and looks
> Who cannot wish for other things
> Then Privacy and friendship brings
> Whose thoughts and persons chang'd and mixt are one
> Enjoy content, or elce the world has none. [sic] (Philips, 'A Countrey Life')

The poem also contains a reference to Spenser, in the line, 'That like that Fairy red-crosse Knight' (l4); Philips was manifestly not only interested in Donne; we know that she was also drawn to Milton, but it is the doubleness of Donnean imagery that suffuses her poem. It may have been the metaphysical twist in the verse that prompted the compiler to add it to the collection of pre-Reformation verse. What becomes clear from the above manuscripts is the readerly response that Philips encoded in her work – the sense that she was interacting with and in conversation with Donne and the poets of his school - was, in fact, taking place, in the literal, as well as metaphorical, alignment of Philips next to her poetic inspirations. The fact of Donne and Philips appearing in the

same collections, taken against the apparent disparity of their poetic personas, is revealing of the tensions and negotiations at play in Donne's reception.

There are three further notable instances of Philips's verse being collected alongside Donne's by her own contemporaries or near-contemporaries. Two of them, Paul's MS 52. D. 14, known as the Butler manuscript, and CUL MS Add. 8460, known as the Lyttelton manuscript, I have discussed in the context of Rochester and Philip's overlap; as I have argued, both the Butler and the Lyttelton are illuminating not only for what they show us about Philips and Donne but also for the insight they give into female reading practices around metaphysical verse in the seventeenth century. The third, the Overton manuscript, is a uniquely interesting piece of manuscript-collection-as-editing, and, as it draws on some of Philips's most intricate uses of Donne, I shall discuss it later in the chapter.

Katherine Philips as reader

Katherine Philips's literary tactics resemble, and differ from, Donne's in illuminating ways; as I shall argue, how she locates herself in literary history seems to change with the changing circumstances of the verse. Her poetry takes on Donne's metaphysical patterning and shapes it into something at once multiply allusive and strikingly new, at once evoking a lost past and, tonally and rhythmically, very much of its time. To know the complexities of the relationship between Donne and Philips, it is important first to know what kind of reader Philips was, and how she came to hold the remarkable position she did in the male-dominated sphere of seventeenth century verse-writing.

Katherine Philips's verse worked through a bid to create intimacy, and her biography maps onto the shifts in her verse. As Aubrey made pointedly clear in his biography of her, she was not born into wealth, but, crucially, her family valued learning, in its women as in its men. On her mother's side there was a line of Puritan preachers through whom Philips would have been aware of, perhaps acquainted with, major poets; the preacher John Oxenbridge, Philips's maternal uncle, was a friend of both Milton and Andrew Marvell's. [8] The latter briefly lived with Oxenbridge and described him as a man 'whose Doctrine and Example are like a Book and a Map, not onely instructing to the Eare but demonstrating to the Ey which way we ought to travel.'[9] Philips's aunt, Elizabeth Oxenbridge, married Oliver St John, a parliamentarian, in 1645; it is therefore much commented on that Philips herself, despite her family's leanings towards the Puritan cause, favoured royalists or those without obvious allegiance. It is, indeed, this facet of some of her biography that has shaped a great deal of the scholarly attention to, and criticism of, her verse. In this, her literary fate, like her poetry, has mirrored Donne's, in that a single facet of her biography has dominated scholarly interpretations of her work.

As Patrick Thomas, the editor of the only complete modern edition of her work, points out, Philips was brought up to a learned precocity; a precocity she seemed to have had in common with a community of other young girls of similar backgrounds. Katherine Philips, John Aubrey writes in his 'Lives', 'was mighty apt to learne, and she assures me that she had read the Bible thorough before she was full foure years old; she could have

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[8] The main source for biographical information about Philips is the ODNB entry, Warren Chernaik, 'Philips , Katherine (1632–1664)', [http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101022124/Katherine-Philips].
[9] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda: The Poems,* ed. Patrick Thomas (Cambridge, 1990), p.1. All quotations of Philips's verse and letters are from Thomas unless stated otherwise.

sayd I know not how many places of Scripture and chapters.'[10] Lucy Hutchinson, from a similarly Puritan background, painted herself as equally studious; 'By the time I was foure years I read English perfectly, and, having a great memory, I was carried to sermons, and while that I was very young could remember and repeate them so exactly, and being caress'd, the love of praise tickled me and made me attend more heedfully.'[11] It is worth noting, of course, that in both cases the extreme youth and the precocity of these women is self-reported, and may have been part of their need to construct for themselves an exceptionalist narrative anterior to that of domestic womanhood - but it remains significant that Philips would from a very young age have been able to figure herself as a learned person in a community of other, similarly learned women; one whose capacity to understand and re-shape the poetry of Donne would not have been in doubt.

In what forms, then, might Philips have had access to Donne, and how would he have fit in her pattern of wider reading? As well as the multiple printed versions detailed in earlier chapters, Donne's verse appeared in later editions of John Gough's *The Academy of Complements* (1650) which was overt in appealing to female readers.[12] The book went through thirteen printings by 1685, with small changes to the frontispiece. By 1650 it had been refined to present itself as a book 'wherein, ladies, gentlewomen, and schollars may accommodate their courtly practice with gentile ceremonies, complemental, amourous and high expressions of speaking, or writing of letters'. (The first version, in 1639, does not include the Donne poem; in the 1650 edition the frontispiece notes that it has added 'an addition of a new School of love, and a Present of excellent similitudes, Comparisons, Fancies and Devices'.) In the *Academy,* the second stanza of 'A Song' in the collection is

[10] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: the Poems,* ed. Thomas, p. x.
[11] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: the Poems,* ed. Thomas, p. 2.
[12] Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement: Women, Poetry and Culture 1640-1680* (Oxford, 2013), p. 114.

the first stanza of Donne's 'Break of Day'. It is noteworthy that only the first stanza is included:

> Tis true, 'tis day: what though it be?
> Oh, wilt thou therefore rise from me?
> Why should we rise because 'tis light
> Did we lie down because 'twas night?
> Love, which in spite of darkness brought us hither,
> Should in despite of light keep us together (Donne, 'Break of Day', 1-6)

The more explicit eroticism of the second stanza is elided, which perhaps makes Philips's boldness in her treatment of Donne's erotic verse all the more noteworthy.

There are no known records of Philips's library. We know of autograph inscriptions in four existing books – her signature is on the title page of her copy of Fulke Greville's *Certain Learned and Elegant Workes* (1633), currently in the Library of Gonville and Caius, Cambridge; this inscription, discovered by Hageman and Sununu, brings the total of books we know her to have owned to four: others are the manuscript book of John Florio's *Giardino di Recreatione,* (BL Add. MS 15214), a printed copy of the 1648 edition of Sir John Suckling's *Fragmenta Aurea,* now in the Houghton Library, Harvard, and a copy of William Chillingowrth's *The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way to Salvation* (Oxford, 1638), which was recorded when it was sold in 1859 as having on the verso of the title page 'Kath: Philips Gift of Mrs. E, Lloyd of Trevagh', the whereabouts of which is currently unknown.[13] Her handwriting is very recognisable – a mixture of large italic with some secretary letter forms, such as her distinctive 'k'. This is in itself potentially interesting. Hageman observes 'in the middle and even late decades of the century, women's writing is less likely to include traces of secretary hand than is men's'.[14] Martin Billingsley wrote in *The Pens Excellencie* in 1618 that italic, rather than secretary, 'is

[13] In Peter Beal ed. *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700,* (London, 2007), vol. 4, p. 185.
[14] In Peter Beal ed. *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, vol. 4, p. 216.

usually taught to women, for as much as they (having not the patience to take any great paines, besides phantasticall and humorsome) must be taught that which they may instant learne'.[15] Without stumbling into graphology, the fact that Philips used a hand with some forms more likely to be associated with men may have been part of her staking out her place amongst the company of male poets.

Despite our lack of records of the books Philips would have owned or had near her, we do have an insight into her reading, most notably through the poems of her own composition that she chose to include in the Tutin manuscript (NLW MS 775B). The Tutin manuscript is her autograph collection of her own poetry, 222 pages and 55 poems, presented with the kind of care that mimics a printed text, with centred verse, stanza indented and titles underscored, and the poems she selected seem chosen with an eye to showing the breadth of her reading and the keenness with which she situated herself in a culture of readerly and poetic response to earlier texts. There are careful discussions of philosophy and religion, including 'On Controversies in Religion' and 'Submission', which makes reference to Aristotle and paraphrases Walter Raleigh's *The History of the World* so closely as to make it extremely likely Philips had a copy to hand. Where Raleigh has; 'As for this working power [. . .] the same is no other else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into every creature, having no self-ability, then a Clocke, after it is wounde up by a mans hand, hath', Philips has 'The World God's watch, where nothing is so small, But makes a part of what composes all.'[16] Andrea Brady has shown that scholarship has often ignored, in Philips's work, her philosophical interest and learning; they are, Brady has shown, 'philosophically nuanced' and based on a broad and

[15] *The Pens Excellencie* (London, 1618), C2v-C3r.
[16] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: the Poems,* ed. Thomas, p. 369.

solid understanding of contemporary thought.[17] In one letter to Cotterell, Philips includes a detailed discussion of Roman stoicism, which the printers of the 1705 edition of her letters placed in the exact centre of the text.[18] Philips, then, came to Donne's poetry with a wide literary horizon and a strong understanding of the scholarship of the last hundred years. She would have been very much alive to the multiply referential detail in Donne.

Philips, Donne, and the intimate female voice

There have been, as yet, no sustained close-readings of the remarkable intricacies of Philips's use of Donne. It is not that excellent close readings do not exist, but they focus almost entirely on Philips's possible lesbianism or her politics, and how she moulds the male voice of Donne to differently erotic aims. Elizabeth Scott-Baumann's sums it up when she says Philips 'rewrites Donne's seductive poems through Philips's own [. . .] state politics.'[19] Philips, though, achieved even more than that; she created poems in which strands from several Donne poems are interwoven into new metaphysical verse; what follows is an attempt to give an account of how Philips's poetics put Donne at their centre. What will become clear, too, is that there is a marked correlation between her use of female intimacy and Donnean verse, and the resolutely un-Donnean quality of her published work.

The most formidable example of Philips's intertwining of Donne's own verse is in 'To the Excellent Mrs A.O. upon her receiving the name Lucasia, and adoption into our Society'. The Society the poem refers to was Philips's own creation, a literary arena in which she could cultivate the kind of audience who would understand the nuance of her

[17] Andrea Brady, 'The Platonic Poems of Katherine Philips,' *The Seventeenth Century* 25.1 (2010), pp. 200-22. Another good discussion of Philips's erudition is in Mark Llewellyn, 'Katherine Philips: Friendship, Poetry and Neo-Platonic Thought in Seventeenth Century England,' *Philological Quarterly* 81.4 (2002), pp. 441-68.
[18] *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus* (London, 1705), pp. 63-64.
[19] Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement*, p. 114.

verse. Much of our knowledge about this 'Society' is, necessarily, supposition; whether it was a literal society or a loose grouping is still debated; the fact that it had its own seal, though, suggests a degree of formality. The seal was formed of two flaming hearts entwined with a pair of compasses, in a move that seems to gesture to John Donne's famous image in 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning' of the lovers as compasses. It is likely that the Society would have begun when Philips was at school in Hackney as it was there that Philips met Mary Harvey, who studied music with Henry Lawes, the musician closely associated with Milton, and Mary Aubrey, daughter of the Welsh Cavalier Sir John Aubrey of Llantrithyd. It was to Mary Aubrey that Philips wrote a significant portion of her verse, addressing her as 'Rosania'. This use of pseudonyms taken from romances has a long history into which Philips seems to have been consciously inserting herself; she is mirroring John Barclay and Spenser's eclogues and Philip Sidney's fictive double Philisides. She would have had early personal experience of this kind of literary palimpsestic play; the 'Philanax' in the Stoughton manuscript is probably Philip King, Henry's brother, under a pseudonym.[20] This underscores the image of Philips as thinking always allusively, and conscious of the canon that went before her from a young age.

On the other hand, some early Philips scholars, such as Lucy Brashear, have argued that the 'Society' was more a group of readers with some degree of cultural influence whom Philips cultivated as a means of achieving the literary recognition she craved, but recognised would be negatively framed by print, and, therefore, that her professed dislike of fame or publication was more a useful and necessary pose than a

[20] Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (London, 1992), p. 30.

reality.[21] On the 'Society', Sir Edward Dering, a close friend of Philips, wrote in a letter to 'Lucasia' in February 1664 shortly after Philips's death, that Philips:

> conceived the most generous designe, that in my opinion ever entred into any breast, which was to unite all those of her acquaintance, which she found worthy, or desired to make so…into one societie, and by the bands of friendship to make an alliance more firme then what nature, our countrey or equall education can produce[22]

Dering frames Philips's enterprise as an educative one, and, even allowing for the eulogistic exaggerations that followed Philips's death, allows her literary enterprise real artistic and moral seriousness. This Dering is the son of the Edward Dering of the 'Dering manuscript' of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* plays, transcribed around 1623, in which Dering combined the two parts into a single play to bring it into a single performable drama.[23] Philips, then, in becoming close to Dering and his circle, was becoming close to those for whom literary re-shaping and re-imagining was familiar and valued.[24]

'To the Excellent Mrs A.O.' has enough fanfare and faux-gravitas to mark it out as harnessing the voice of occasional verse, but it is also an amalgamation of multiple Donne poems. It begins:

> We are compleat; and faith hath now
> No greater blessing to bestow:
> Nay, the dull World must now confess
> We have all worth, all happiness
> Annals of State are triffles to our fame
> Now 'tis made sacred by Lucasia's name. (Philips, 'To the Excellent Mrs A.O.', 1-6)

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[21] Lucy Brashear, 'The Forgotten Legacy of the "Matchless Orinda",' *The Anglo-Welsh Review* 65 (1979), p.70.
[22] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: the Poems*, ed. Thomas, p. 11.
[23] Barbara Mowat, 'The Problem of Shakespeare's Texts', in Laurie Maguire and Thomas Berger eds. *Textual Formations and Reformation*s (Delaware, 1998), p. 145.
[24] We know that Dering valued the Philips correspondence, as six of Sir Edward Dering's own letters to Katherine Philips, dating from 5 September 1662 to February 16634, are copied in Dering's autograph letterbook, part of University of Cincinnati MS Philips 14392.

The totality of 'all worth, all happiness' combined with 'Annals of State' evokes Donne's 'She all States, and all Princes I'; though Philips pushes the comparison further, and makes the speaker's fame surpass rather than encompass the State. Where Donne's is expressed in negative terms, in 'nothing' and 'halfe', Philips becomes a builder of worlds; she claims where Donne rejects. Donne has:

> She's all states, and all princes, I,
> Nothing else is.
> Princes do but play us; compared to this,
> All honour's mimic, all wealth alchemy;
> Thou, Sun, art half as happy as we,
> In that the world's contracted thus.
> Thine age asks ease, and since thy duties be
> To warm the world, that's done in warming us.
> Shine here to us, and thou art everywhere,
> This bed thy centre is, these walls, thy sphere. (Donne, 'The Sun Rising', 21–30)

In answer to Donne's 'nothing else is', Philips has 'we are compleat', and the totality of 'We have all worth.' Philips's poem goes on:

> But as though through a Burning-glass
> The Sun more vigorous doth pass,
> It still with generall freedom shines;
> For that contracts, but not confines:
> So though by this her beams are fixed here,
> Yet she diffuses glory every where. (Philips, 'To the Excellent Mrs A.O.', 7-12)

Donne's 'Busy old fool, unruly Sun' is never explicitly gendered, though maleness is possibly implied in the 'saucy pedantic wretch' and the evocation of schoolmasters. Here, though, the sun is linked to Anne Owens and becomes by extension female.

Philips explicitly flags up the playful corrective quality of her re-writing of Donne here; 'For that contracts, but not confines' is a counterpoint to Donne's, 'In that the world's contracted thus;/Shine here to us, and thou art everywhere.' Donne's contraction

of the world is absolute, Philips's partial. Donne's window in 'A Valediction of My Name, in a Window' which itself becomes a mirror across his verse, has here becomes a 'Burning-glass'; a magnifying glass through which everything is intensified, and perhaps a knowing nod to the idea that her verse itself is a condensing and refracting of many elements of Donne's own.

Philips continues:

> Her Mind is so entirely bright,
> The splendour would but wound our sight,
> And must to some disguise submit,
> Or we could never worship it.
> And we by this relation are allow'd
> Lustre enough to be Lucasia's cloud. (Philips, 'To the Excellent Mrs A.O.', 13-18)

The word 'bright' rings in the context as peculiarly Donnean. Donne uses the word to depict women as super-worldly, their beauty or brilliance as extraordinary and often, as here, celestial. For instance, in 'Air and Angels', the superlative and extreme quality of Donne's 'bright' is articulated most empathically; the same impossibility topos is at work in both Donne's and Philips's verse, as when Donne writes, 'For, nor in nothing, nor in things/Extreme, and scatt'ring bright, can love inhere' (21-22). In 'The Relic' the hair of the dead woman remains supernaturally fresh, 'a bracelet of bright hair about the bone'(6). In 'Elegy XIV, A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife', the word appears as a harbinger of the celestial: 'an Angel did appeare,/The bright Signe of a lov'd and wel-try'd Inne'(59-60). The same image appears in 'On Variety':

> Pleasure is none, if not diversified:
> The Sun that, sitting in the chair of light
> Sheds flame into what else soe'er doth seem bright,
> Is not contented at one Sign to Inn' ('On Variety', 4-7).

Philips may also have had in mind Donne's hyper-realised image of burning eyes and celestial femininity, 'Then from those wombes of starres, the Brides bright eyes,/At every glance, a constellation flyes,' in Donne's celebratory 'Eclogue and Epithalamion of the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset, 1613, December 26'. Philips picks up from Donne the process by which he pushes the Petrarchan image upwards in scale; burning eyes on their own may be entirely Petrarchan, but what is Donnean is the injection of extravagant hyperbole, and the idea that a mere glance can contain a whole constellation (whereas, for other poets, the eye being itself a star may be hyperbole enough). Donne's 'To Mr S B' has a clear articulation of the correspondence of intellectual brightness that Philips evokes: 'seeing in you bright sparkes of Poetry,/I, though I brought no fuell, had desire/With these Articulate blasts to blow the fire'. It is worth noting that Carew uses, and dwells on, the word to evoke Donne in his elegy to the poet, printed in the first edition of Donne's *Poems*. 'But the flame/Of thy brave Soule, that shot such heat and light,/As burnt our earth, and made our darknesse bright' (14-16). Similarly, 'In memory of Dr Donne' by R.B has 'Mee thinkes some Comet bright should have foretold/The death of such a man' (7-8). Philips's final stanza is virtuosic in evoking again multiple poems that the 'bright' has summoned up:

> Nations will own us now to be
> A Temple of divinity
> And Pilgrims shall Ten ages hence
> Approach our tombs with reverence.
> May then that time, which did such blisse convey
> Be kept with us perpetuall Holy day! (Philips, 'To the Excellent Mrs A. O.', 19-24)

In the poem's final stanza, Philips doubles back to the Donnean tomb evoked in the use of 'bright', making more explicit the connection between Donne's transgressive hint in 'The Relic' that he will poetically transform himself into a Christ figure, 'and

I/another self thereby', and her own endowment of the friendship with divine qualities. She maintains, simultaneously, the evocation of 'The Sun Rising', too, in her, 'Nations will own us now to be/A Temple of divinity', calling back to mind 'Ask for those Kings, whom thou saw'st yesterday/And thou shalt hear, 'All here in one bed lay." (Donne, 'The Sun Rising', 19-20). Philips evokes the post-coital moment in which the lovers in 'The Sun Rising' become Kings, without having to articulate it; and, simultaneously, constructs a hint, under the apparently easy combining of friendship and divine love, of the same process as 'The Relic', in which erotic love transforms into a near-blasphemous totality, a drive emphasised by the words 'perpetual Holy day!' which tonally evokes the triumphant tone of 'Resurrection', 'I again risen may/Salute the last, and everlasting day' (Donne, 'Resurrection', 13-14)

The other poem in which Philips most markedly alludes and converses with Donne is 'Friendship in Emblem, or the Seale, to my dearest Lucasia'. In this poem, the compass of 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning' is both evoked and transposed. As Scott-Baumann points out, Philips and Donne use the same rhyme scheme; in this case, rhyming couplets of iambic tetrameter. [25] Where Donne has the more a-rhythmic cross-rhyme abab, though, Philips has solidly assertive couplets, aabb. Scott-Baumann posits the poem as an example of Donne reworking the masculine singular voice for the feminine plural; however, it is also possible that Philips in fact heard in 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning' a female voice, and made use of that ambiguity in her own work.[26] Wisan Mansour put forward the argument that the poem is intended to be read as being

[25] Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement*, p. 118.
[26] Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement*, p. 118.

spoken by a woman to a man.[27] The pun on 'grows erect', when it plays out in 'thy firmness', suggests the speaker is female, when coupled as it is in the same line with 'my circle' (Donne, 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning', 35). The possibility that is hinted at and left open in Donne, is pinned down in Philips; her verse points out a possible subtlety in Donne's and as such acts as a piece of literary criticism, as well as literature in its own right.

Although the dominant image the poem will play on is from Donne's 'Valediction', the first stanza also evokes Donne's image in 'The Ecstasy' of the soul as alchemical: where Donne has

> But as all several souls contain
> Mixture of things, they know not what,
> Love, these mixed souls, doth mix again,
> And makes both one, each this and that. (Donne, 'The Ecstasy', 33-36)

Philips re-works similar vocabulary:

> The hearts thus intermixed speak
> A Love that no bold shock can break
> For Joyn'd and growing, both in one,
> Neither can be disturb'd alone. (Philips, 'Friendship in Emblem', 1-4)

Of course, as ever with tracing influence, it is possible that Philips is evoking not only Donne but also Donne's sources. Donne's own verse draws on Aristotle's *On the Soul* and Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier,* in which he writes that 'the souls…pour themselves by turn the one into the other's body, and be so mingled together that each of them hath two souls. And one alone, so framed of them both, ruleth (in a manner) two

[27] Wisam Mansour, 'Gender Ambivalence in Donne's "Valediction Forbidding Mourning",' *English Language Notes* 42(4) (2005), p. 19.

bodies.'[28] Philips's 'neither can be disturbed alone' does evoke Castiglione's 'one alone, so framed of them both' as much as it does Donne's 'makes both one'. I would argue, though, that the 'intermixed' in Philips matches Donne's 'interanimates two souls' (42) in Donne, and that transformative prefix is a very Donnean one. Philips goes on to soften the urgent eroticism of Donne's 'Ecstasy', first by introducing a more cerebral series of stanzas, emphasizing knowledge and conversation, and then by evoking the more ruminative 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning'.

> That meanes a mutuall knowledge too;
> For what is't either a heart can doe,
> Which by its panting centinell
> It does not to the other tell?
>
> That friendship hearts so much refines,
> It nothing but it self designs:
> The hearts are free from lower ends,
> For each point to the other tends.
>
> They flame, 'tis true, and severall ways
> But still those flames doe so much raise,
> That while to either they incline
> They yet are noble and divine.
>
> From smoak or hurt those flames are free
> From grosseness or mortallity
> The hearts (like Moses bush presum'd):
> Warm'd and enlighten'd, not consum'd.
>
> The compasses that stand above
> Express this great imortall Love
> For friends, like them, can prove this true,
> They are, and yet they are not, two. (Philips, 'Friendship in Emblem', 5-24)

The compass is a stark reference to Donne; but in the following two stanzas Philips goes on to nuance Donne's image and shape it to her own terms. Here, too, Philips plays with

[28] Pointed out by Robbins in *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 176.

Donnean paradox; 'they are, and yet they are not two'; she evokes, too, her own verse, in 'Friendship's Mystery, to my dearest Lucasia', 'Our hearts are doubled by their loss' (11). Philips's poem continues to play on the edge of Donne's verse:

> And in their posture is express'd
> Friendship's exalted interest:
> Each follows where the other Leanes,
> And what each does, the other meanes.
>
> And as when one foot does stand fast,
> And t'other circles seeks to cast,
> The steddy part does regulate
> And make the wanderer's motion streight (Philips, 'Friendship in Emblem', 25-32)

In Donne's 'Valediction', the compass has one active and one reactive part, and a set of emotionally constant parameters, whereby the circumference of the circle sketches their constant relationship:

> Thy soul, the fixed foot, makes no show
> To move, but doth if th'other do;
>
> And though it in the centre sit
> Yet where the other far doth roam
> It leans, and hearkens after it,
> And grows erect as it comes home. (Donne, 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning', 27-32)

Philips's compass, in contrast, sets all those qualities in motion:

> So friends are onely Two in this,
> T'reclaime each other when they misse
> For whose're will grossely fall,
> Can never be a friend at all.
>
> And as that usefull instrument
> For even lines was ever meant;
> So friendship from good=angells springs, [sic]
> To teach the world heroique things. (Philips, 'Friendship in Emblem', 33-40)

The pun on angels and angles evokes Donne's 'Air and Angels' and the caustic play on impossible paradoxes therein; but Philips's paradoxes remain at their base-line constructive – in a shift that may be in part related to the influence of the Royal Society and new science – rather than a clever demolition act.

> As these are found out in design
> To rule and measure every line;
> So friendship governs actions best,
> Prescribing Law to all the rest.
>
> And as in nature nothing's set
> So Just, as lines and numbers mett;
> So compasses for these being made,
> Doe friendship's harmony perswade. (Philips, 'Friendship in Emblem', 41-48)

The compasses imagery reaches a different conclusion from Donne's. Where Donne's focus is on the necessity of the melding of things bodily and spiritual, Philips's is on the necessity of the life of the mind in an arena of female intimacy:

> And like to them, so friends may own
> Extension, not division.
> Their points, like bodys, separate;
> But head, like soules, knows no such fate.
>
> And as each part so well is knitt
> That their embraces ever fitt:
> So friends are such by destiny,
> And no Third can the place supply.
>
> There needs no motto to the Seale:
> But that we may the Mine reveale
> To the dull ey, it was thought fit
> That friendship onely should be writt.
>
> But as there is degrees of bliss
> So there's no friendship meant by this,
> But such as will transmit to fame
> Lucasia's and Orinda's name. (Philips, 'Friendship in Emblem', 49-64)

In intertwining multiple Donne poems in single verses of her own, Philips casts light on the building blocks of poetry. Her poetry can read as a comment on the poetic traditions of the past and the poetic process, the building blocks of influences made visible and her own workmanship flagged up. Philips, by using Donne so visibly, casts herself as both artisan and artist.

Philips's poetry as bold critical response

The possible reading of Philips as responding in a critically literary way to Donne in her verse is strengthened when it is seen how closely she interrogated questions of verse and of form itself, particularly in her letters to Sir Charles Cotterell. Philips clearly thought in sophisticated ways about the matching of medium and meaning, about poetry as a craft; she wrote, in a letter to Cotterell 'I am of Opinion, that the Sence ought always to be confin'd to the Couplet, otherwise the lines must needs be spiritless and dull.' (Letter XXXVI) [29] Her letters to Cotterell provide evidence of the complex web of pressures working upon coteries; the interweaving of social ties meant the verse could reach readers far beyond Philips's immediate social world, escaping confines of hierarchy in a way the poet herself could not, which meant the negotiation between public and private voice was an urgent one. Philips metaphorically transfigures her verse into women, debutantes at Court in a way she never was:

> The Muses have been as unkind to me, as the Committee of Privileges were to Antenor [. . .] you are so much my Friend, that it [the poem] shall not be seen at Court, till you first put it in a better Dress. (Letter XI)

[29] Philips wrote on court 'Wits', 'their Rhymes are frequently very bad, but what chiefly disgusts me is, that the Sence most commonly languishes through three or four Lines, and then ends in the middle of the fifth: For I am of the Opinion, that the Sence ought always to be confin'd to the Couplet, otherwise the Lines must be spiritless and dull.' XXXVI, September 17 1663, Orinda to Poliarchus, p. 101-4.

It is telling, too, that Philips frames the possibility of her own poetic defeat in the same language as the political failures of her husband James (Antenor), and her sense of the world of poetry as similarly strategic, as being as evaluative and complex as politics, is strong in her letters. Paul Trolander and Zeynep Tenger have demonstrated that, for Philips, letters and verse could double as literary criticism; Roger Boyle's epistolary verse to Philips recognises this, when it uses verse to comment on the critical reception of Philips's poetry:

> Madam
> When I knew you by report
> I fear'd the praises of th'admiring Court
> Were but their complements, but now I must
> Confess, what I thought civil is scarce just:
> For they imperfect trophies to you raise
> You deserve wonder, and they pay but praise.[30]

There is a strong sense in Philips that she thought often and systematically about the project of poetry, and that her circle did likewise. She was a careful and knowing editor of her own work. She amended *Pompey* and the songs within it extensively, both on the printed text and in manuscript form; the impression is of a poet alive to the power of revision both in her own and other's work.[31]

This sense of Philips as intensely acute reader comes out in some of the more daring revision she gestures to in her verse. Just as, I have suggested above, she may be picking up on an alternative gendering of the voice in Donne's 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning', so too it may be that she highlights in 'God', albeit obliquely, a potent ambiguity surrounding gender in the Holy Sonnets. Perhaps because the 'batter my

[30] Paul Trolander and Zeynep Tenger, 'Katherine Philips and Coterie Critical Practices,' *Eighteenth Century Studies* 37.3 (2004), p. 377.
[31] Hageman and Sununu, 'More Copies of it abroad than I could have imagin'd', p. 191.

heart' of Donne's 'Holy Sonnet X' reads so intimately, most critics have believed the speaker to be in some sense a proxy for Donne, and Marotti writes that the speaker is seeking 'homoerotically sexualised salvation'.[32] There is, though, some openness in the poem to nuancing that idea:

> I, like an usurped town to another due,
> Labour to admit you, but oh, to no end;
> Reason, your viceroy in me, me should defend,
> But is captived, and proves weak or untrue.
> Yet dearly I love you, and would be loved fain,
> But am betrothed unto your enemy;
> Divorce me, untie or break that knot again,
> Take me to you, imprison me, for I,
> Except you enthral me, never shall be free,
> Nor ever chaste, except you ravish me. (Donne, 'Holy Sonnet X', 5-14)

The town reads very clearly as Jerusalem, a city which, Ali Chowdhury points out, is gendered female in *Lamentations* in *The Geneva Bible* (1560):[33]

> She [Jerusalem] wepeth continually...among all her lovers, she hathe none to comfort her: all her friends have delt unfaithfully with her, and are her enemies. (Lamentations 1:2)

God also commands the prophet Ezekiel to besiege Jerusalem in language which Donne's sonnet evokes, in his use of siege imagery:

> Thou also sonne of man, take thee a bricke, and lay it before thee, and portray upon it the citie, even Ierusalem. And lay siege against it, and buylde a fort against it, and cast a mount against it: se the camp also against it, and lay engins of warre against it rounde about. (Ezekiel 4:1)

The sexual and spiritual twist to the marital imagery in Lamentations is also in Donne; Donne compares himself to a city Biblically gendered female to be ravished and purified

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[32] Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*, p. 259.
[33] Ali Sajed Chowdhury, *Dissident metaphysics in Renaissance women's poetry*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2013.

by God. In Philips's 'God', she uses the same imagery of breaking and of quasi-libidinal intensity, to evoke both Donne's poem and, via Donne, the feminised Biblical precedent:

> On this accompt, O God, enlarge my heart
> To entertaine what thou wouldst faine impart
> Nor let this Soul, by severall titles thine,
> And most capacious form'd for things divine
> (So nobly meant, that when it most doth misse,
> 'Tis in mistaken pantings after blisse) (Philips, 'God', 37-42)

The 'panting' evokes the 'ravishing' of Donne's verse, and the 'enlarge my heart' a softened by vivid reimagining of Donne's 'batter my heart', which is itself further evoked by Philips in the lines that follow:

> When shall those cloggs of sence and fancy break
> That I may heare the God within me speak? (Philips, 'God', 49-50)

Philips picks up, too, on another subtlety in the poem. The metallic imagery of the 'batter my heart' is, as Ramie Targoff points out, alchemical.[34] In 'God', Philips's speaker attains metaphysical clarity to the 'still' (that is, distilled) voice of God, in order to 'separate each drosse from Gold'(58). Philips is yoking in the final lines of her poem the alchemical imagery that Donne evokes across his body of work and the most violent gestures of his religious verse:

> By whose dispence, my Soule, to such frame brought,
> May tame each treacherous, fix each scattr'd thought
> With such distinctions all things here behold,
> And so to separate each drosse from Gold,
> That nothing my free soule may satisfy,
> But t'imitate, enjoy and study you. (Philips, 'God', 55-60)

[34] Ramie Targoff, *John Donne, Body and Soul* (Chicago, 2008), p. 120.

In allowing these kinds of daring hints, that Donne may have been feminising himself in his more transgressive religious verse, Donne allowed Philips to unite the sexual and the religious, and to insert herself powerfully into his poetic tradition.

I have shown that Philips was one of the earliest poets or critics to articulate the closeness of the voice in Donne. This is very different Donne from the worldly and spontaneous poet Rochester drew from the verse. Philips provides us with evidence of a tradition of reading his verse which we might dismiss as anachronistic, but which her work suggests was profoundly present: her poetry suggests she reads a very intimate Donne and sees his verse as offering a model for an unpicking of human desire that reaches beyond the rhetorical.

Un-Donne: Philips's public court verse

Philips's most public verse, though, is utterly different; Donne disappears and in its place Philips takes on a voice that seems mimetically of the age, occasionally almost to the point of parody. To understand why this might be, it is worth first examining Philips's attitude to public print and public readership. Philips became known, and knew she was known, in her own lifetime, outside her immediate circle, and that notoriety came with its own, often gendered, pressures. She was lauded in print by Henry Vaughan in the 1651 *Olar Iscanus* ('To the most Excellently accomplish'd, Mrs K Philips') and by Sir John Davies of Kidwelly in the 1659 *Hymen's Praeludia.* Aphra Behn compared herself in aspirational terms to Philips:

> Let me with Sappho and Orinda be
> Oh ever sacred Nymph, adorn'd by thee;
> And give my Verses immortality.[35]

[35] Aphra Behn, *The Uncollected Verse of Aphra Behn*, ed. Germaine Greer (London, 1989), p. 127. The major print edition of Philips's work did not come until after her death. Henry Herringman, the great publisher-impresario of

In the case of Philips's play 'Pompey: A Tragoedy', letters show Philips discussing the circulation and placement of manuscript copies, with particular anxiety focussed on the scribal copy presented to the Duchess of York, and, too, lamenting the existence of a rival translation of the Corneille original by prominent 'Wits' at court.[36] Near the end of her life, a larger body of Philips's work was published in print. A collection of her work was entered by Richard Marriot into the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers on 25 November 1663.[37] Philips reacted by describing the printing in the language of outrage, explicitly framing print as associated with guilt and underlining her own innocence. She lamented 'this pitifull design of a knave to get a groat', and asked Cottrell 'to shew to any body that suspects my Ignorance and Innocence of that false edition of my verses.'[38] As Carol Barash points out in one of the principal works of scholarship on Philips, *Women's Community and the Exiled King: Katherine Philips's Society of Friendship*, Philips's claim that her manuscripts were stolen may not be absolutely accurate: the collection was printed from the texts of the several circulating manuscripts since the early 1650s, and after the Restoration Philips's poetry had been so widely circulated as to make the list of possible culprits, inside and out of court, too long to guess.[39] However, Philips's strong avowal of theft, and the language of betrayal – she

the seventeenth century and the man who injected Donne into the Restoration marketplace and whose work I examine more closely in my investigation of Rochester, was the publisher of Katherine Philips's *Poems* (1667), and he positioned the text as a major work. A folio volume, it had the kind of elaborate introductory apparatus and colophons Herringman had used for Donne and Suckling and Waller. Some of the dignity given the text is perhaps a bid to position the folio in opposing status to the 1664 print.

[36] Philips writes: But let me not forget to tell you before I conclude, that I have seen the second and fourth Acts of POMPEY that was translated by the Wits, and have read and consider'd them very impartially; the Expressions are some of them great and noble, and the Verses smooth; yet there is room in several places for an ordinary Critick to shew his Skill. But I cannot but be surpriz'd at the great Liberty they have taken in adding, omitting and altering the Original as they please themselves." (Letter XXXVI, September 17 1663, Orinda to Poliarchus).

[37] Carol Barash, 'Women's Community and the exiled King: Katherine Philips's Society of Friendship', in her own *English Women's Poetry, 1649-1714: Politics, Community and Linguistic Authority* (Oxford, 1996), p. 81.

[38] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: the Poems,* ed. Thomas, p. 19.

[39] Carol Barash, 'Women's Community and the exiled King', p. 83.

calls it ‘this ugly accident’ - in which she couched her anger, are important in showing how firmly she held to the idea of at least *appearing* to reject the use of her pen for financial gain.[40] Her outrage, and the language of violation she used, may in part have been self-protective; when the Duchess of Newcastle had published her *Poems and Fancies* in 1653, the criticism had been harsh. Dorothy Osborne wrote ‘sure the poor woman is a little distracted, she could never bee so ridiculous els to venture at writeing book’s and in verse too.’[41]

In the verse that Philips did publish in print, she wrote largely commendatory verse, a medium in which public performance was mediated through the focus on another person, and the stately carefulness of the verse stands in sharp distinction to the intimacy of her friendship verse. In these commendatory poems, she rejects Donnean expression in favour of an Augustan, studiously smooth style. ‘To the Memory of the most Ingenious and Vertuous Gentleman Mr WIL: CARTVVRIGHT, my much valued Friend’ was published in *Comedies Tragi-Comedies, With Other Poems, by Mr William Cartwright late student of Christ Church in Oxford, and Proctor of the University. The Ayres and Songs set by my Henry Lawed Servant to his late Majesty in his Publick and Private Musick* (1651) and was signed ‘K.P.’. Philips was already sufficiently known to be the lead poem in the volume, with an ornate woodcut at the head, and the editors of the facsimile volume suggest that ‘the young Philips may have been for her fellows-at-(literary)-arms what Joan of Arc was for hers, a godly woman inspiring men to righteous action’.[42] Certainly, the text was printed at a moment of extreme political sensitivity, only months before Charles II invaded England; and the other poets in the volume, Edward Dering and Henry Lawes, had

[40] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: the Poems,* ed. Thomas, p. 19.
[41] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: the Poems,* ed. Thomas, p. 19.
[42] Paula Loscocco*, The Earl Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works*, *Katherine Philips* (Aldershot, 1996), p. xi.

recognisable political leanings, necessitating still more vividly the cautiousness of tone in Philips's verse. Philips's opening poem sets the tone, reading as a mixture of ornate rhetoric kept within the limits of solemnity; it ends:

> Til then, let no bold Hand prophane they Shrine
> Tis High Wit-Treason to debase thy Coyn.[43]

Philips also published verses on Queen Catherine in the collection *The Queen's Majesty on her Happy Arrival* (1662), which is based on a prose account sent to her by Charles Cotterell, who, as Master of the Ceremonies, had been amongst those welcoming Queen Catherine of Braganza in May 1662. As in much of her private verse, she was living vicariously; removed from the business of state, she eulogised it as if she had been there:

> Now you have quitted the triumphant fleet,
> And suffered English ground to kisse your feet [. . .]
> Let an obscurer Muse, upon her knees,
> Present you with such offerings as these,
> And you as a divinitie adore,
> That so your mercy may appear the more. (Philips, 'To the Queen's Majesty on her Arrival at Portsmouth, May 14. 1662', 3-4, 13-16)

The tone here is Augustan, stately, careful, with the heroic couplets in iambic pentameter signalling poetic conformity to the fashion of the moment. It seems that Philips has two modes of expression: the voice in which she articulated the correct sobriety of state verse, and the Donnean voice, in which she was able to merge the religious and the personal through her use of the intimately human mode Donne had given her.

Katherine Philips in the academy

[43] *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, the Poems,* ed. Thomas, p. 357.

Despite the fact that manuscript compilers of Philips's own time seemed tacitly to note her similarities to Donne and her intricate use of his verse, surprisingly little criticism has been written on Philips's self-fashioning as a quasi-metaphysical poet. The majority of the excellent scholarship on Katherine Philips can be divided into two camps, and those camps are a useful way of explaining why, despite the critical attention surrounding her, she as yet lacks the reputation of what she was; a remarkable poet in the metaphysical heritage, writing bitingly intelligent verse and re-shaping the work that had come before in exciting and canny ways.

There are, in the history and current moment in Philips criticism, two major bodies of scholarship, those focusing on her sexuality, and those focusing on her politics; and, within those interest areas, those who dispute how transparent or overt was her verse. Elizabeth Wahl and Paula Loscocco have both surveyed some of the critical assumptions that surround Philips; though, as Loscocco herself points out in her formidable study, it is almost impossible to summarise the area without participating in some of its most tenacious commonplaces.[44] The most prolific is probably the focus on the critical narrative of Philips's lesbian sexuality. Ever since Edmund Gosse's account in 1883 of Philips as a sad and somewhat predatory figure there has been a focus on Philips's feelings for women:[45]

> with Antenor, her husband, she keeps up all the time a prosaic, humdrum happiness [. . .] rather patronisingly affectionate and wifely; but her poetical heart is elsewhere, and her leisure moments are given up to romantic vows with Rosania and Lucasia

[44] Paula Loscocco, 'Inventing the English Sappho: Katherine Philips's Donnean Poetry,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 102 (2003), pp. 59-87.
[45] Edmund Gosse, 'The Matchless Orinda', in *Seventeenth-Century Studies* (1883, reprinted New York, 1914), p. 229.

The major Philips scholars – Wahl, Andreadis, Hobby, Barash, Easton and Stiebel – all focus to some extent on the lesbian or Sapphic content of the poems.[46] Hobby is the bluntest; she writes that Philips was reacting against the 'tedious and inhuman dynamics of heterosexuality' and that her verse is an extension of that anger and shows she was disgusted by 'the controlling, self-satisfied male figure who fills so much of John Donne's verse.'[47] The sexual significance of the fact that Philips was identified by her contemporaries as an English Sappho has been much debated; Wahl suggests that in part it was used as a synonym for 'female writer', as when Madeleine de Scudery used 'Sapho' as her pseudonym, but Nussbaum in her most recent book states that 'the name Sappho was clearly associated with homosexual practices and heterosexual promiscuity in the eighteenth century'.[48] As Wahl notes, the focus on Philips's lesbian identity plays a valuable part in the need to undo the erasure of homoeroticism from past literature, but it meant that a great deal of focus was brought to bear on a small number of contested poems.[49]

There is a tension at play with Philips, in that Philips's own verse avers that the intensity of friendship is possible precisely because it is free from carnal interest, and, equally, such protestations might be interpreted as the hallmark of transgressive desire.

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[46] Most notably in Celia A Easton, '"Excusing the Breach in Nature's Laws": The Discourse of Denial and Disguise in Katherine Philips' Friendship Poetry,' *Restoration* 14 (1990), pp. 1-10; Harriette Andreadis, "The Sapphic-Platonics of Katherine Philips, 1632-1664,' *Signs* 15 (1989), pp. 34-60; Arlene Stiebel, 'Subversive Sexuality: Masking the Erotic in Poems by Katherine Philips and Aphra Behn,' in *Renaissance Discourses of Desire,* ed. Claude J. Summers and T-L Pebworth (Columbia, 1993); Carol Barash, 'Women's Community and the exiled King: Katherine Philips's Society of Friendship,' in *English Women's Poetry, 1649-1714: Politics, Community and Linguistic Authority* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 55-100, and Elaine Hobby, in 'Katherine Philips: Seventeenth Century Lesbian Poet,' in *What Lesbians Do in Books,* ed. Elaine Hobby and Chris White (London, 1991), pp. 183-204. Elizabeth Wahl offers a dissection of the reasons behind some of the fashions in Philips studies in 'Female Intimacy and the Question of 'Lesbian' Identity: Rereading the Female Friendship Poems of Katherine Philips,' in her *Invisible Relations: Representations of Female Intimacy in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 130-70.
[47] Elaine Hobby, 'Orinda and Female Intimacy' in her own *Virtue Necessity; English Women's Writing, 1649-88* (London, 1988), p. 201.
[48] Felicity Nussbaum*, Torrid Zones*: *Maternity, Sexuality and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, 1995), p. 141.
[49] Elizabeth Wahl, *Invisible Relations*, p. 136. Edith Sedgwick has written convincingly about such erasure in her *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley, 1990), passim and especially pp. 52-54.

As Carol Barash points out, one the earliest scholars to write about Philips, Saintsbury, attempted to restrict the erotic readings of the poetry by applying the containing label, 'Sapphic-Platonics', which, ironically, went on to provide the term that would allow successive generations of scholars to reject his euphemistic reading in favour of one that emphasised the way in which Philips's verse melded the rhetoric of transcendent friendship with the readily-recognisable tropes of courtly love poetry.[50] Wahl argues that to disguise the often subversive nature of her ambitions, Philips adopted a language of paradox she derived from the seduction poems of Donne.[51] She suggests that by 'deploying conceits from Donne's amorous poetry, Philips created a rhetoric of dissimulation and denial in order to render her unconventional desires more palatable to a society that strictly monitored those activities a lady of good birth and reputation might engage in'; Donne provided, in Wahl's vision, a kind of protective colouring.[52] I would argue, though, that it was more than a disguise. It was a dialogue. Most anthologies, including Sondra Gilbert's *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women,* find a midpoint by privileging the verse Philips wrote to other women but reporting the platonic statements as at face value.[53]

The other 'camp' in Philips criticism, which is, like the question of Philips's sexual identity, biographical in focus, is Philips's politics. Certainly, she was at the centre of several political negotiations as she attempted to restore her husband's position, and certainly the apparently royalist leanings in her verse are made more potent by the fact of

[50] Carol Barash, 'Women's Community and the exiled King: Katherine Philips's Society of Friendship', p. 135.
[51] Elizabeth Wahl, *Invisible Relations*, p. 143.
[52] Elizabeth Wahl, *Invisible Relations*, p. 143.
[53] Sondra Gilbert ed., *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* (New York, 1985), p. 81.

her Puritan upbringing. Those who write on her politics, however, often find her to be conservative and manipulative in her social loyalties and professional negotiations.[54]

The history of Philips criticism is particularly instructive in the context of Donne, because Donne and Philips studies have, over the last century, risked similar blind spots. As Loscocco points out, Walton, in apparently striving to bring Donne's verse into the royalist camp in the 1675 edition of the *Life,* revised and recontextualised 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning'.[55] In the version in 1675, Walton makes the lovers into husband and wife, and king and church, and straightens out the rhyme scheme. Where Donne has 'If they be two, they are two so/As stiffe twin compasses are two'; Walton changes it for 'if we be two? We two are so/As stiff twin-compasses are two', shifting the poem away from the bodies of the compasses and the lovers, making the poem less voyeuristic and more towards the state of souls and ideas. The Donne Philips was reading preceded this re-imagined, hagiographical Donne. It is possible, then, that late seventeenth century readers coming soon after Philips were blind to some of the more daring resonances, if their Donne was at that moment Walton's Donne.[56] Neither poet is inert, and Philips's Donne was the unique Donne of a very specific moment; a moment we can recover in part through close-reading of some of the daring twists she gives Donne's verse. Loscocco writes 'A Donnean writer both in her principal source of allusion and in her verbal skill [. . .]Philips produced a poetry of affective and discursive union that departs in

[54] Notable are Maureen E Mulvihill, 'A Feminist Link in the Old Boys' Network: The Cosseting of Katherine Philips,' in *Curtain Calls: British and American Women and the Theatre, 1660-1820,* eds. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecelia Macheski (Athens, 1991), Carol Barash, 'Women's Community and the Exiled King,' as above; Kate Liley, 'True State Within: Women's Elegy 1640-1700' in *Women, Writing, History: 1640*-1740, ed. Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London, 1992), pp. 71-92, and Philip Webster Souers in *The Matchless Orinda* (New York, 1968).
[55] Paula Loscocco*, Katherine Philips's Donnean Poetry,* p. 6.
[56] Kevin Pask, '"Libertine in Wit": Dr Donne in Literary Culture,' in *The Emergence of the English Author: Scripting the Life of the Poet in Early Modern England* (New York, 1996), and Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (New York, 1998), pp. 230-240 are especially good. Most of all, Dayton Haskin in 'A History of Donne's 'Canonization' from Izaak Walton to Cleanth Brooks,' *JEGP* 92 (1993), pp. 23-25, gives an account of the complexities of unpicking Donne from Walton.

substantial ways from Donne's conceited poetry of amorous relationship, even as it proves to be at odds with Waltonian rhyming.'[57]

It is possible that Cotterell performed for Philips what Walton did to Donne. In Philips's posthumous *Poems,* Cotterell ventriloquised Philips, placing in her own mouth his tribute to her. Loscocco writes: 'such a maudlin tribute illustrates the degree to which the posthumous Philips had become a puppet of her editors and admirers and also helps explain why she has often been perceived as mawkish.'[58] As Loscocco says, the poems that begin the edition 'bows to Philips's own self designation, identifies her as the tenth muse, and imagines for her the same classical status that Walton does for Donne, the editor describes her as a poetic and specifically moral Sappho'.[59] In this classical imagining, Cotterell again mirrors Walton, who identifies Donne as a classical voice: 'I beg leave to tell, that I have hard some Criticks, learned both in Languages and Poetry, say, that none of the Greeke or Latine Poets did ever equal them.' Both Walton and Cotterell sought to solidify and neaten the reputations under their care.

Philips and the scholarship of allusion

The Philips relationship to Donne necessitates the re-imagining of some of our scholarly assumptions about allusion, and in particular of Christopher Ricks's seminal *Allusion to the Poets.* Ricks is, of course, writing in part in repudiation of Bloom's theory of anxiety of influence, which he accuses of being a 'melodramatic sub-Freudian parricidal scenario, [a] sentimental discrediting of gratitude'.[60] If, as Ricks argues, each poet fashions their own allusive method, then allusive poetry has a kind of double-creativity to it, and

[57] Paula Loscocco, 'Inventing the English Sappho', p. 166.
[58] Paula Loscocco, 'Inventing the English Sappho', p. 167.
[59] Paula Loscocco, 'Inventing the English Sappho', p. 167.
[60] Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets*, p.6.

Philips is one of the most direct and most complex. Ricks argues that Dryden and Pope were the first important coupling of poets, and the allusion is primarily an Augustan mode:

> Dryden is the first major poet in English to allude extensively – not just infrequently or in passing, and as allusion, not as being a source only – to poetry in English; creating his own meaning by bringing into play the meanings of other English poets.[61]

Philips, though, pre-dates or at least coincides with Dryden; Dryden was born a year earlier but the earliest of her deceptively simple, deeply allusive verse pre-dates his poem 'Upon the Death of Lord Hastings' by a year.[62] When Ricks wrote *Allusion to the Poets* in 2002, Philips was not considered a major poet; but there is sufficient depth in her verse and sufficient significance in her place in literary history for her to be thought such. The lines between who is and is not a major poet are so porous and contingent on time and taste that to make a case for 'major' or 'minor' might be self-defeating; but, it is possible to say with certainty that Philips's role in her literary circle was a pivotal one, and that her play *Pompey*, the first by a woman ever to be performed on the English stage, gives her a right to stand as an important figure in the history of English literature. She deserves to take her place alongside Dryden as the first to practise, in her period, the kind of allusion Ricks describes. She had a transformational role for English poets.

There is a question to be asked about where Philips imagines herself, textually, in a lineage in which poetry was passed down the male line; as Dryden writes of Jonson,

[61] Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets*, p. 33.

[62] Several of Philips's attested poems survive from the very early 1650s, at which time she would have been in her late teens – and there exist in addition two manuscripts which date from 1648 or earlier, although they can only be speculatively attributed to her; they are discussed at length in Hageman and Sununu's 'More Copies of it abroad than I could have imagin'd', especially pp. 135-7.

Fletcher and Shakespeare, 'we acknowledge in them our fathers in wit'.[63] Ricks writes that 'the preoccupation in Dryden's criticism, as in seventeenth century life, is rather with succession, with primogeniture, with a burden that is a crown or a prophetic mantle which falls to you with or without a double portion of your father's art.'[64] Ricks argues that allusion is often clustered around themes of heirship and sonship, most notably in Dryden and Pope. This makes Philips's use of Donne all the more important; it positions her not as Donne's heir but as his othered counterpart. She does not so much follow on as re-write, and in so doing performs an act that is at once as bold as it is formidable.

The Overton manuscript

One further manuscript stands out as a remarkable testament, both to how vividly Philips is intertwined with Donne, and to how literature could be appropriated and re-contextualised through the process of miscellanisation: Princeton MS c0199, the Overton manuscript. I will end this chapter with a close look at the manuscript, because it is such potent evidence that not only was Philips reading Donne, but that Philips was *read* as reading Donne, and that it was a key part of her literary heritage.

Robert Overton (c.1609-c.72) was deeply embedded in the elite reading and writing culture of his moment; he was an important, even leading, member of a literary circle that included Milton and Marvell.[65] Milton praised Overton in Second Defence of the English People in 1654; 'You, Overton, who for many years have been linked to me with a more than fraternal harmony, by reason of the likeness of our tastes and the sweetness of your disposition'. (This in itself is interesting; that Milton suggests the two

[63] Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets*, p. 16.
[64] Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets*, p. 16.
[65] Barbara Taft, 'Overton, Robert (1608/9–1678/9)', first published 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101020975/Robert-Overton. Overton is also discussed in Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford, 2009), p. 13.

share a taste suggests that Milton, like Overton, may have been a close-reader of Donne, and used Donne's work in his own.[66]) Overton's politics were largely in sympathy with Cromwell, though he became alienated as Cromwell began to arrogate what Overton took to be king-like powers to himself; his protest took the form both, it seems, of inciting rebellion against Cromwell in Scotland, though he denied it, and also the form of literature: he circulated a verse satire against Cromwell which described him as 'the ape of a King.'[67] Overton, then, had a strong sense of the power of verse. Overton was locked up by Cromwell for treason, and, when released, again arrested in 1660 for apparently supporting a revolt against the restored Charles. His politics, then, were somewhat haphazard and piecemeal, and Maurice Ashley writes, in condemnation of Overton, that he was 'the sort of person who is inclined to accept the opinion of the last person to whom he has been talking' but in the verse emendations he is determinedly himself. [68]

David Norbrook's superb essay on the manuscript notes that the collection had little attention paid to it because it is so large – more than 300 pages – and Overton did not often include attribution, instead assimilating all the excerpts and verse into a single text. The text contains excerpts, as well as Philips and Donne, from George Herbert, Francis Quarles and George Wither, all without attribution. Maurice Kelley wrote in 1942 that

> the task of isolating Overton's poems from those of his contemporaries and predecessors promises to involve an all but endless toil with concordances and with seventeenth century editions; and so far as aesthetic value is concerned, it is

[66] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse": Robert Overton and his Overturning of the Poetic Canon' in Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths eds. *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* (London, 1993), vol. 4, p. 200.
[67] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 225.
[68] Maurice Ashley, *Cromwell's Generals* (London, 1954), p. 139.

> only fair to suggest to the future biographer than the labor will perhaps not be worth the gain.[69]

The truth could not be farther from the case; the manuscript is a mine of information about contemporary reading practices, and the way ownership could be taken of even very individual voices such as Donne's. The manuscript was created as a marker of, and tribute to, Overton's dead wife. The title page of the whole manuscript applies to Anne Overton the same trope that the 1667 anonymous editor of Philips's *Works* used to praise Philips herself: the book is written 'Dewly to Delineat my Dearests Person, might imploy A Michaell Angelos Pencell to transfer her Pattern to Posterity, & a Pen pluckt from an Angells winge'. The book was clearly imagined as a single, coherent piece of work; Overton uses a small, regular hand of remarkable uniformity throughout, with an index and page numbers provided in his own writing, and dashes and extra spacing marking significant moments. Overton clearly thought self-consciously about the enterprise he was engaged on; he calls the manuscript a collection of 'applicatory Poetry':

> by this meanes, may I not forme a necessary dewty (in applying wts my owne, or others) to ye blessed memory of my Dearests deceased Dust?...to none more then her, these Poems (for whome soeuer they had been pend) could more proply be applyed (p. 151)

Overton's changes to the verse range from small to very bold. In, for instance, Philips's poem 'Absence', the change is both small but for Overton significant, as he shifts the dates, to bring the poem directly in line with his own life; while Philips's version has the period of mourning last 'four months', in Overton's it reads 'six yeares' (p.183), matching the death of his wife in January 1665.[70]

[69] Maurice Kelley, 'Robert Overton (1603-1668), Friend of Milton', *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* 4 (1942-43), p. 78.
[70] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 224.

Overton seems drawn to the *Songs and Sonnets* for the images they offer of deep and reciprocal love. 'The First Anniversary', for instance, is re-titled 'Divine Loves everlasting' (p. 161); in renaming it in this way, Overton sheds the context of the poem and makes it about very personal love. Where Donne was strategically using the exaggerated language of adoration to describe a woman he never knew, Overton reverses the thrust of the poem to make it about a close-bound relationship, a reading the placement of the verse amongst other love poems underscores. Similarly, in Donne's 'Sweetest love, I do not go', Overton adapts the poem to become a dialogue between a man and wife, instead of an address to a lover; the restrained but knowing ironic reading offered by Donne's poem is negated and engulfed in the desire Overton shows for absolute poetic sincerity. As Norbrook has shown, where Donne is rambunctious, Overton calms the verse and makes it less material.[71] There is equivocation in Donne's 'Love's Growth':

> Love's not so pure, and abstract, as they use
> To say, which have no Mistress, but their Muse (Donne, 'Love's Growth', 11-12)

But Overton makes it unambiguously a rarefied love:

> This Loue's a purer abstrac^{t} then they use =
> Whoe haue no other M^{rs} than theire Muse. (Overton, p. 162)

And, as Norbrook points out, the paradoxes of Donne's 'The Will' are giving a sadder twist:[72]

> Thou beinge dead this world is no more worth
> Then Golde in Mines where none do draw it forth
> Soe all its Glories no more use shall haue
> Then a Sun dyall in a Graue (Overton, p.165)

[71] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 234.
[72] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 234.

Overton also prunes away those parts of verse he appears to find unsettling. For instance, Donne's 'A Valediction of the Book' is re-named 'Love Lastinge', and Overton makes a version of Donne's seven-stanza poem into a single stanza. Overton's use of Donne's 'A Valediction of the Book' is interesting in that Donne's poem is in part a poem about mis-reading and mis-use. At its heart, 'A Valediction' seems an attempt to poetically enact the 'pattern' which 'The Canonization' only describes: '[You] who did the whole worlds soul extract, and drove / Into the glasses of your eyes / . . . / Countries, Townes, Courts: beg from above/a pattern of your love.'(The Canonization', 40-45) The tension of Donne's 'Valediction' comes from the idea that the love may be misread: the chronicle proposed in the third stanza of 'A Valediction of the Book' ('This book, as long-livd as the elements,/Or as the worlds form, this all-graved tome/In cipher writ, or new made idiom' ('A Valediction of the Book', 19-21)) may be used by three kinds of readers who want to instrumentalise love; divines, lawyers and statesman. Each, the speaker suggests in stanzas three and six, will misread the text; the divines finding an account of heaven, the lawyers finding legalisms to justify the possession of women, and the statesmen 'of their occupation find the grounds'. The anxieties the poem shows over mis-reading, make it interesting that this was one the poems Overton chose to re-imagine; acting, boldly, against the grain of the poem itself.

The first portion of Overton's re-versing of the poem comes from Donne's first stanza:

> How thine may out-endure
> Sybil's glory, and obscure
> Her who from Pindar could allure,
> And her, through whose help Lucan is not lame,

> And her, whose book (they say) Homer did find, and name. (Donne, 'A Valediction of the Book', 5-9)

Overton introduces death into the poem in his first line, but keeps the thrust of Donne's verse:

> Deade, & alive, in oure^{s} our loves endure:
> Out last the Sybills Glory, & obscure
> Her whoe from Pinder could allure.
> And through whose help, Lucan is not lame
> And her whose Booke, Homer did finde & name. (Overton, 'Love Lastinge', p. 162, 1-5)

The second part of Overton's poem, though, is largely taken from the final stanza, missing two lines. Donne has:

> As he removes far off, that great heights takes;
> How great love is, presence best trial makes,
> But absence tries how long this love will be;
> To take a latitude
> Sun, or stars, are fitliest viewed
> At their brightest, but to conclude,
> Of longitudes, what other way have we,
> But to mark when, and where the dark eclipses be? (Donne, 'A Valediction of the Book', 56-63)

Overton's poem disposes of Donne's two short lines, 'To take a latitude/Sun, or stars, are fitliest viewed', perhaps because these are the least lyrical lines of the poem. His re-imagining reads:

> But though Minde^{s} be ye heave^{n} where Love does sit,
> Beauties a Pencill to prefigure it.
> As he removes far of y^{t} great height^{s} takes
> How grea^{t} love is, presence best tryall makes
> But absence tryes how longe our love will be
> Of longitudes, w^{t} other may have wee
> but to marke when, & where eclipses be. (Overton, 'Love Lastinge', p. 162)

Lines 6-7 are taken from the very middle of Donne's poem, the fourth stanza of 'A Valediction of the Book'. 'For, though mind be the heaven, where love doth sit/Beauty'a convenient type may be to figure it.'(Donne, 'A Valediction of the Book', 35-36). Overton changes the ironic diction of 'convenient type' in favour of the laudatory image of beauty as a sketch of heaven. What is striking is that stanza four in Donne's original is an account of the divines mis-reading the earthly love of the couple for their own ends. A poem about misreading the textual statements of love become, for Overton, a text about love. It is possible that Overton did not see what it was that he was doing; but it is also possible that this is a very deliberate overturning of Donne's meaning and perhaps a tacit statement of Overton's own belief in the malleability of verse and the power of anthologising – a bold example of his willingness to instrumentalise the verse and shape it away from its context. As David Norbrook points out, re-workings of texts were not unusual; Protestant 'reformations' of Catholic writings existed alongside re-imaginings of Petrarch's Laura as the Virgin Mary; but, Overton's secular re-imagining of verse is on an unusually sweeping scale.[73]

With Philips, Overton is, strikingly, drawn to the most Donnean of Philips's verse, using the 1667 edition of her work.[74] It is possible that Overton would have known Philips personally; Philips was the niece of John Oxenbridge, a friend of Marvell and Overton, and Marvell composed an epitaph for Oxenbridges's wife.[75]

Overton follows Philips in out-troping Donne. Donne's 'She is all states and all Princes, I' was, as I have discussed, re-rendered by Philips in 'Friendship's Mystery, to my

[73] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 221.
[74] As Norbrook has demonstrated in his long Appendix, Overton uses poems not included in the 1664 edition, and several version of verse present only in the 1667, as where he follows the 1667 reading of l. 33 of 'To my Lucasia', 'unless some luck drop of precious Gum' instead of the 1664, 'Unless some curious artist thither come.' David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 264.
[75] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 237.

dearest Lucasia' into 'Both princes and both subjects too', and Overton marks the line out with a dash when he transcribes it in 'Love' (p.175). Again, as in his use of Donne, Overton identifies anxieties in the verse he seeks to quiet in his own renderings. Where Philips in 'A Dialogue of Friendship Multiplied' makes it a question whether intense friendship is best confined to one person, Overton requires the poem to declaratively come down on the other side. Philips's Musidorus declares that

> Love that's engross'd by one alone
> Is envy not affection (Philips, 'A Dialogue of Friendship Multiplied', 5-6)

Overton has

> Love that's ingrost by one alone
> Is ardent, full Affection (Overton, 'Friendship &c.', p. 259)

As Norbrook says, Philips has harnessed Donne's images of companionate marriage and mirrored them through a female speaker; Overton's work shows their re-appropriation by a male voice. Norbrook sums up the multi-layered engagement with text, 'the manuscript offers us not just Overton reading Donne but Overton reading Philips reading Donne.'[76]

In some cases, purely by re-gendering the speaker as his own male self, Overton is able to cool some of the transgression in the verse. For instance, Philips's desire in 'To my Lucasia' to 'forsake myself, and seek a new/Self in her breast that's for more rich and true'(29-30), when rendered by Overton as 'forsake my self, & seek a new/Self in her brest' becomes a classic Petrarchan verse. It is interesting, though, that in his 'maxims' Overton writes

> all Gouerments pass amongst ye rest of Gods plagues, powrd downe vpon our premitiue Parents, & vs, for our disobedience. This makes our wills (like Eves) subject to others'. (Overton, p.37, maxims)

[76] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 237.

In that image of himself as Eve there is a sense here that Overton is grappling with the position of female supplication; he appears both to embody and to disown it as a role in a similar way as he does with the voice that Philips provides him with through her re-imaginings of Donne. There is a final reversal, too, when Overton himself takes on the voice of Philips. He writes, on p.173, of the limits of 'this blushing tribute of a borrowed muse'. The phrase itself is borrowed from Philips's 'To Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York', l.16, with 'borrowed' substituted by Overton for Philips's 'artless'.[77]

Rewritings like Overton's expose the vivid tensions in the poems that the emendations seek to rectify, whilst not wholly laying them to rest. Not only is Donne still being used in intricate ways that suggest readers were still very alive to the subtleties of his verse composed a hundred years before, Overton is also very obviously aware of the commonality between Philips and Donne. The text is full of moments in which it becomes clear that, for Overton at least, Donne's voice is still urgently present enough to need careful handling, and, as this chapter has hoped to demonstrate, that Philips's handling of it was a bold and sophisticated one.

[77] David Norbrook, '"This blushing tribute of a borrowed muse"', p. 265.

DONNE TRANSPOSED, 'YET WE ARE GREATER POETS': DRYDEN AND THE DONNEAN IMAGINATION.

Dryden as literary-historical bookmark

For Dr Samuel Johnson, Dryden marked the beginning of a new kind of poetry. For Johnson, Dryden's diction, versification and metaphor were a watershed moment after, he writes, the 'half a century of forced thoughts and rugged metre' that had gone before.[1] In *The Lives of the Poets*, Johnson writes:

> it may be doubted whether Waller and Denham could have over-borne the prejudices which had long prevailed, and which even then were sheltered by the protection of Cowley. The new versification, as it was called, may be considered as owing its establishment to Dryden; from whose time it is apparent that English poetry has had no tendency to relapse to its former savageness.[2]

The Lives of the Poets was, as Roger Lonsdale writes, a monumental book, one which 'might itself be seen as marking a new sense of national literary identity, a new self-consciousness about, and pride in, the English language and poetic heritage'.[3] Dryden's place in it is central; but Dryden is important for Johnson not for where he shows continuity and knowing engagement with the past, but where he shifts away from it: 'There was therefore before the time of Dryden no poetical diction:

[1] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols. (Oxford, 2006), vol. II, p.123.
[2] Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, vol. II, p. 124.
[3] Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, vol. I, p. 4. Johnson himself wrote that 'the biographical part of literature [. . .] is what I love most [. . .] I esteem biography, as giving us what comes near to ourselves, what we can turn to use' (*Life*, I, 425, v. 79) Johnson obviously placed Dryden as amongst the foremost writers in English, and the essay was second only to Pope in length, but he struggled most with the chapter on Dryden, in part due to the difficulty of getting the details of his immense output correct, which accentuated Johnson's tonal mix of admiration and exasperation; he complained about the 'tedious and tiresome task' of researching 'the minute events of literary history.' Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, vol. II, p. 306.

no system of words at once refined from the grossness of domestick use and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular arts.' [4]

As Aaron Santesso has convincingly argued, Dryden can and has been used, since his own moment, as a marker of period, to delineate moments of transition, useful both to those writing critical histories of English verse and to Dryden himself.[5] Dryden, as early as Johnson, was being set up as exemplar of a new style.

Certainly, Dryden himself often seemed to conceptualise himself as marking out a new poetic mode. One poem in particular exemplifies the transitional style that Johnson was describing; his 'To my Honoured Friend, Dr Charleton, on his Learned and Useful Works' 'prescribes', Richard Kroll argues, 'for the Restoration a new model of linguistic and ethical conduct'.[6] In describing the new ideals for science, it creates a new nexus in which Dryden places his work and his reader as interacting with the new cultural milieu. Dryden's closeness to royalty and the establishment are also flagged, as working in step with his appropriation of the new voice. The poem was published with Charleton's *Chorea Gigantum* (1662) as a dedication. Charleton's work revises Inigo Jones's thesis about Stonehenge, a place with significance for the king, as Dryden emphasises, since Charles II was said to have sheltered at Stonehenge after the battle of Worcester. Dryden writes, 'His *Refuge* then was for a *Temple* shown:/But, *He* Restor'd, 'tis now become a *Throne*.' The first portion of the poem deals with the new scientific voyages of discovery which overturn the 'longest Tyranny' of Aristotle ('So truth, while only one supplied

[4] Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, vol. II, p. 124.
[5] Aaron Santesso, '*Lachrymae Musarum*; and the Metaphysical Dryden,' *The Review of English Studies, New Series*, Vol. 54 (Nov, 2003), p. 630.
[6] Richard W. F. Kroll, *The Material World: Literate Culture in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century* (Maryland, 1991), p. 33.

the state,/Grew scarce, and dear, and yet sophisticate' (5-6)), and the second celebrates and describes contributors to the new knowledge: Bacon ('The world to Bacon does not only owe/Its present knowledge, but its future too'), Gilbert, Robert and Roger Boyle, and Walter Charleton himself. Dryden's poem reads as a remarkable piece of self-fashioning, at once reminding the reader of his closeness to monarchical power, and of his engagement with new scientific models of speech and thought. Dryden's language in the poem flags up his place in a new cultural space in which confidence of rhetoric was one of the defining features: Johann Amos Comenius dedicated his *Via Lucis* to the Royal Society in belief that it would push forward 'that golden age which has ever been longed for, the age of Light and peace and religion.' [7] Dryden's description of the scientists in his verse works with the same diction. Kroll writes 'Dryden's great early poem signals a moment in the establishment of what we should properly call neoclassical culture.'[8]

This vision of Dryden as a break with the past that is expressed by the poet himself to Charleton, and which was later canonized by Johnson, has endured in the academy. David Hopkins, one of the major editors of Dryden, gives a summary of some of the critical orthodoxies surrounding Dryden's work:

> Dryden was said to have been peculiarly at home in the cultural and historical climate in which he lived. Dryden's work was seen as something very much of its own age, addressed to its own age, concerned with its own age. Dryden was thought of as the exemplar par excellence of Restoration culture – of an ethos which was rationalistic, prosaic, worldly-wise, complacent, urban, and essentially masculine and secular in temper.[9]

[7] Johann Amos Comenius, *The Way of Light Via Lucis)*, translated by E. T. Campagnac (London, 1938), p. 9. See also Charles Webster, *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 36.
[8] Richard Kroll, *The Material World*, p. 37.
[9] David Hopkins, *John Dryden* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 2.

Which is to say, entirely unDonnean. As Hopkins says, one reading of Dryden is to see him as in a very literal sense the spokesman of his age: Poet Laureate, and Historiographer Royal to two Stuart kings, member of the Royal Society, a writer of panegyrics in support of royalty and royal policies. Even as it has been increasingly recognised that Dryden's royalism was a complex phenomenon – as coming in part from an urgent and widely-felt fear of a return to the chaos of the Civil War, and as often recognising the anxious tension that stemmed from the attempt to conceive of the king as the divinely sanctioned cornerstone of the spiritual and cultural ideals of the nation – still the idea of Dryden as conservative politically and Augustan poetically has endured.[10] As Paul Hammond writes, 'many commentators on Dryden, from his day to ours, have traduced him with both stubborn conservatism and mercenary opportunism.'[11]

Dryden, then, might be seen as the encapsulation of the new style; the man who brought the heroic couplet to English, the print public author who was promoter of a very distinctive glassy aesthetic. Dryden, as a great proponent and producer of mass accessible popular literature, and as a writer of populist drama, seems wholly unDonnean. His mercenary objectives in poetry would place him as a diametric opposite of Donne. Dryden's Catholic loyalism might also be seen as the opposite of Donne's apostasy. In his *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and*

[10] See, for instance, J. P. Kenyon, *Stuart England* (Harmondsworth, 1978), John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1600-1688* (Cambridge, 1978). In Howard Erskine-Hill's *The Augustan Idea in English Literature* (London, 1983), Erskine-Hill convincingly demonstrates Dryden's curatorial sensibility in his use of Augustus. Dryden is so securely bound up with the Augustan ideal that his is able to be Augustan by omission; in the epistle 'To Congreve', Erskine-Hill argues, there is a significant absence from it of a figure representing Augustus.

[11] Paul Hammond, *John Dryden: A Literary Life* (Hong Kong, 1991), p. ix.

Middlesex, Dryden disparagingly labelled Donne's verse as 'affect[ing] the metaphysics'.[12] Dryden may be the last author where we'd expect to find Donne.

Dryden's first foray into print, though, was distinctly Donnean. *Lachrymae Musarum* was published in 1649 – the same year as the publication of the fourth edition of Donne's collected verse, a fact which would have made Donne's voice feel more physically present in the literary landscape. It was commissioned to mourn the death of Henry, Lord Hastings, a young man from a prominent royalist family who had attended Westminster, Dryden's school. Aaron Santesso offers a detailed description of *Lachrymae Musarum*; the frontispiece states that it is assembled by 'R.B.' (usually identified as the dramatist Richard Brome) and contains thirty elegies by twenty-seven poets (three in Latin, the rest in English), followed by 'A Postscript' of eight additional elegies (three in English, four in Latin, one partly in Latin and partly in Greek) by eight younger poets. [13] Six of these added poems are from Westminster School and amongst those is 'Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings', written by 'Johannes Dryden'. It is noteworthy that the other elegists published in the volume included Denham, Waller, Herrick, and Marvell, poets who were associated, to varying degrees, with the metaphysical tradition. It is possible that Dryden, in ventriloquizing the voice of that school of Donne, sought to securely situate himself amongst those poets and arrogate to himself some of the canonical reputation their voices had accrued. Dryden's poem begins:

> Must Noble Hastings immaturely die,
> The honour of his ancient family?

[12] All citations of *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex* are from John Dryden, *The Miscellaneous Works: containing all his original poems, tales and translations, Volume 4, Printed for J and R Tonson* (London, 1760), p. 162.
[13] Aaron Santesso, '*Lachrymae Musarum*; and the Metaphysical Dryden', p. 638.

> Beauty and learning thus together meet,
> To bring a winding for a wedding-sheet?
> Must virtue prove death's harbinger? Must she,
> With him expiring, feel mortality?
> Is death (sin's wages) grace's now? Shall art
> Make us more learned, only to depart?
> If merit be disease, if virtue death;
> To be good, not to be, who'd then bequeath
> Himself to discipline? (Dryden, 'Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings', 1-11)

Dryden's earliest published poem was vividly, strategically Donnean. 'Upon the Death of Lord Hastings' appeared in *Lachrymae Musarum* in 1649; Dryden, born in 1631, was still in his teens when he wrote it, and the voice of Donne is present in bold strokes. The poem begins with an evocation of the twisting logic of Donne's verse, most obviously 'Holy Sonnet X'. The chiasmatic rendering of Donne's poem is mimicked in Dryden's lines 'if merit be disease, if virtue Death/To be Good, not to be', and the poem begins by resolutely placing Dryden in Donne's tradition. The poem goes on to centre itself around intricately rendered conceits. Dryden appears to attempt to rework Donne's subtleties of indirection, as well as his use of hyperbolically celestial imagery:

> His body was an Orb, his sublime soul
> Did move on virtue's and on learning's pole,
> Whose reg'lar motions better to our view,
> Than Archimedes' sphere, the heavens did shew
> Graces and virtues, languages and arts
> Beauty and learning, filled up all the parts.
> Heavn's gifts, which do like falling stars appear
> Scattered in others; all, as in their sphere,
> Were fixed and conglobate in 's soul, and thence
> Shone through his body with sweet influence,
> Letting their glories so on each limb fall,
> The whole frame rendered was celestial.
> Come, learned Ptolemy, and trial make
> If thou this hero's altitude canst take;
> But that transcends they skill; thrice happy all,

Could we but prove thus astronomical. (Dryden, 'Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings', 27-42)

That final line, both in the totality of its imagery and in the double-meaning use of 'prove', is very Donnean, as in 'The Canonization': 'We die and rise the same, and prove/ Mysterious by this love.' Dryden describes Hastings as the sun, shrouded: 'that veil now shrouds/Our dayspring in so sad benighting clouds' (49-50), but the emphasis, contrary to that of some of the other contributors to the *Lachrymae*, is on the brightness rather than the brevity: 'this Ray (which shone/More bright i' th' morn, then others' beam at noon)' (43-44), and in his re-working of the sun into man Dryden evokes Donne's personified suns. Indeed, the poem reads in places not just as a statement of Donnean imitation but an over-statement; Walter Scott's *Life of Dryden* characterised the poem as working with a 'puerile extravagance of conceit'.[14] Poetic failure and the use of conceit seem bound up in the critical response. Dryden compares Lord Hastings's smallpox to images which might be more expected in a Petrarchan love poem, such as flowers and tears:

So many Spots, like næves, our Venus soil?
One jewel set off with so many a foil?
Blisters with pride swelled, which through 's flesh did sprout
Like rose-buds, stuck i' th' lily skin about.
Each little pimple had a tear in it (Dryden, 'Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings', 55-59)

The poem ultimately compares the pox to gems and stars, and Lord Hastings is so covered that his 'corpse might seem a constellation' (66). It was Dryden's harnessing of the metaphysical pattern of conflating unlikely images that caused Samuel Johnson to write so strongly against the poem, particularly against Dryden's description of Lord Hastings's smallpox:

[14] Walter Scott, *Life of Dryden* (London, 1834), p. 25.

> Of his school performances has appeared only a poem on the death of Lord Hastings, composed with great ambition of such conceits as, notwithstanding the reformation begun by Waller and Denham, the example of Cowley still kept in reputation. Lord Hastings died of the small-pox; and his poet has made of the pustules, first rosebuds, and then gems; [and] at last exalts them into stars.[15]

The orthodox reading of the Lord Hastings poem is that it is a failure. Charles Osgood wrote in the 1930s that it was 'a shocking crime of the metaphysical school, [which] shows the nadir from which he rose', and Earl Miner, in *Dryden's Poetry* describes the poem as 'overwrought and underfelt'.[16] Alan Roper wrote a summary of the poem's reception in the late 1960s:

> The unfortunate elegy on the death of Hastings (1649) has frequently attracted the good-humoured attention of Dryden's admirers as an example of the decadent metaphysical style against which he early rebelled.[17]

The early verse to Lord Hastings was read as akin to the baroque excesses of, for instance, some of the conceits that are derided in Crashaw. The condemnation of the poem as an embarrassing mistake, though, may be in part down to an unwillingness to recognise the allusive dynamic that the poem seeks to establish. Is Dryden's poem in fact a literary wrong turn, a piece of crass juvenilia? Is the poem to be written off as an immature experiment, effectively erased by a move away from engagement with Donne hereafter, or is it instead a more complex poetic artefact that reveals a foundational concern with Donne in Dryden's work? Does the poem, in fact, mark the beginning of Dryden's career-long engagement with Donne, seeking to achieve a Donnean complexity and wit in an Augustan form?

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[15] Samuel Johnson, 'Life of Dryden', i., p. 333.
[16] Charles Osgood, *Voice of England* (New York, 1935), p. 278; Earl Miner, *Dryden's Poetry* (Bloomington, 1967), p. 4.
[17] Alan Roper, *Dryden's Poetic Kingdoms* (London, 1965), p. 23.

Dryden on imitation, allusion and borrowing

Dryden invented the idea of the 'metaphysical' school of poetry, post-factum, and I want to suggest that his motivations in doing so may have been born out of a far more interesting and intense intellectual struggle than the phrase and moment is often given credit for. Not only does Dryden, in his prose writing and in his verse, explore a sustained critical response to Donne; he also shows sustained engagement with the concept and theory of allusion and imitation itself which comes to meet the problem of Donne in an entirely unique way. In order to understand how we might reposition Dryden's ethos of imitation and appropriation it is important first to make a survey of Dryden as strategist; to know how Dryden might have followed and imitated Donne, it is useful to begin by examining how he followed and imitated other poets. Perhaps the classic, and richest, example of this would be Dryden's use of Shakespeare, and it is this I shall largely focus on; though, of course, other texts, such as *Fables, Ancient and Modern* would also have valuable evidence to give.

Dryden's career is full of transposing. Whilst his use of other poets led to the mockery of writers like Buckingham and Rochester, close reading shows that something very sophisticated was at work. Dryden is brilliantly syncretic; always sifting through verse, the use of the voices of the past is most obviously audible in his re-appropriation of boldly canonical authors. Dryden, when he claims Jonson 'invades authors like a monarch, and what would be theft in other poets, is only victory in him', seems in part to be describing himself, and the complex and

multiple uses he made of earlier writers.[18] In his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, for instance, the poem shades in part into an undercover kind of satire. Written under William and Mary, the panegyric becomes tinged with images whose thrust is against the 'Glorious Revolution' narrative; Dryden 'mistranslates' the Virgilian original, in which Tartarus provides a home for sinners who have harmed a parent, to point satirically to William III's accession: 'they, who Brothers better Claim disown/Expel their Parents, and usurp the Throne' (VI, 824-35). Dryden shows himself a deeply adaptive poet who has inscribed in his text an assumed audience of literate, knowing readers: Dryden wants the resonances in his verse to be recognised.

David Hopkins points out that, in other places, Dryden's borrowing seems to show a poet fascinated by style and its shifting over time. There are places where Dryden selects extracts which, taken out of context, sound uniquely fitted to the poetic fashion of Dryden's moment: for instance, where Dryden writes in 'Palamon and Arcite', 'Black was his Beard, and manly was his Face', what seems at work is the stock Augustan couplet-antithesis.[19] The line, though, is a direct lift from Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale*: 'Blacke was his berd, and manly was his Face', and it may be that a kind of comment on Dryden's stylistic continuity with Chaucer was implied. Dryden shows himself keenly alive to the question of voice, and of how to both excavate and manipulate the shifts it has made over time.

To better think about how Dryden alludes to and appropriates Donne and the Donnean style, it is useful to think first about how he frames the question of style. It has been an orthodoxy to read the changes that Dryden wrought in *Antony*

[18] Samuel Holt Monk ed., *The Works of John Dryden* (Berkeley, 1971), vol. 17, p. 21.
[19] David Hopkins, *John Dryden,* p. 29.

and Cleopatra as a litmus test for how Elizabethan and 'neoclassical' Augustan aesthetics differ; but it might be that something much more personal, and much more part of a wider project on Dryden's part, is happening in the play. His *All for Love* has on the title page of the first printed edition: '*All for Love: or, the World Well Lost.* A Tragedy, as it is Acted at the Theatre-Royall; and Written in Imitation of *Shakespeare's* Stile.'[20] The Preface reads:

> In my Stile I have profess'd to imitate the Divine Shakespeare; which that I might perform more freely, I have dis-incumber'd my self from Rhyme. Not that I condemn my former way, but that this is more proper to my present purpose. I hope I need not to explain my self, that I have not Copy'd my Author serviley: Words and Phrases must of a necessity receive a change in succeeding Ages: but 'tis almost a Miracle that much of his Language remains so pure [. . .] Yet I hope I may affirm, and without vanity, that by imitating him , I have excell'd my self throughout the Play. (Dryden, 'Preface to the Play', p. 18)

To read the play, though, is to recognise that despite the professed 'Imitation of Shakespeare's Stile', Dryden produced a work that sounds profoundly un-Shakespearean; which leads to the question, what is it that Dryden means by style? As Kramer points out, he seems to use it in two senses: firstly, to denote rhetorical and prosodic traits, as when he writes in Life of Plutarch 'the style is easy and naturall' and 'he neither studyed the sublime stile, nor affected the flowry' and in the Postscript to History of the League, 'as for his style, 'tis rather Ciceronian.'[21] Dryden also uses the term, though, to signify a more general sense of, as Kramer writes, 'the aggregate sum of an individual's particularities, the sum of those qualities that constitute his or her individual identity.'[22] The broader, more amorphous sense of

[20] Citations from Dryden's plays are from the University of California press edition, Edward Hooker et al. eds., *The Works of John Dryden* (Berkeley, 1984).
[21] David Kramer*, Imperial Dryden: the Poetics of Appropriation in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1994), p. 48.
[22] David Kramer, *Imperial Dryden*, p. 49.

the term appears in Dryden's dedication to Plutarch's Lives: 'The difference is as plainly seen, betwixt Sophistry and truth, as it is betwixt the stile of a Gentleman, and the clumsy stiffness of a Pedant'; the word here suggests the sum total of a writer's distinctive traits.[23]

The scope of the play is reduced, in comparison to *Antony and Cleopatra*; it begins in Anthony and Cleopatra's third act, after the battle of Actium; the cast-list is reduced from thirty-four to ten. Most of all, the imagistic energy of Antony and Cleopatra's diction is reimagined by Dryden into a different kind of poetic register, without rhyme but with a kind of metrical virtuosity in its place. Dryden's Cleopatra speaks lines which are not only different in character from the bite of Shakespeare's Cleopatra, but strikingly different in register:

> Nature meant me
> A Wife, a silly harmless household Dove,
> Fond without Art, and kind without Deceit:
> But Fortune, that has made a Mistress of me,
> Has thrust me out to the wide World, unfurnished
> Of Falsehood to be happy. (Dryden, *All for Love*, 4. 91-95)

Dryden, then, even when purporting to assimilate the *mode* of expression, still deviates strongly into the idiom he values most; the lines of the play tend towards symmetry, neatness, balance. The 'Preface to the Play' of Dryden's edited version of *Troilus and Cressida* again evokes the question of Shakespeare's style. 'Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth found too Late. A Tragedy, As it is Acted at the Dukes Theatre. To which is Prefix'd, A Preface Containing the Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy. Written by John Dryden, Servant to his Majesty.'

[23] David Kramer, *Imperial Dryden*, p. 49. There is, of course, a tension here, which Dryden seems aware of: to say that a gentleman has 'style' is to suggest a fashionable ease; which sense of style in turn makes it paradoxical to claim that a style is individual or historically various; style is to be 'a la mode'.

> yet it must be allow'd to the present Age, that the tongue in general is so much refin'd since Shakespeare's time, that many of his words, and more of his Phrases, are scarce intelligible. And of those which we understands some are ungrammatical, others course; and his whole stile is so pester'd with Figurative expressions, that it is as affected as it is obscure. (Dryden, 'Preface to the Play', p. 225)

Paulina Kewes has a brilliant account of Dryden's relationship with allusion and plagiarism, and it is useful here as a way of thinking about how the culture in which Dryden operated conceptualised authorship and appropriation, which in turn informed his use of, and writing about, Donne. Kewes traces Dryden's careful and anxious theorising about authorship to the controversy with Sir Robert Howard in 1668, in which Dryden accused Howard of literary theft in the prologue of the revival of Thomas Tomkis's *Albumazar*. [24] It was this, Kewes argued, that led Dryden to sustain heated attacks against his practice of remodelling earlier texts, which led in turn to his becoming more particular in acknowledging his sources, and thereby to his developing a conceptual defence of appropriation. As Kewes has detailed, in the mid 1670s, accusations of plagiarism and public denunciations of theft were intense. Shadwell, Aphra Behn, John Crowne and Thomas D'Urfey all found themselves accused of theft. Behn wrote in a printed postscript to *The Rover,* in answer to rumours that she had plagiarized Thomas Killigrew's *Thomaso, or, The Wanderer*, 'that I have stol'n some hints from it may be proof that I valu'd it more than to pretend to alter it.'[25] Quotation, then, is framed as a way of honouring the authors of the past, rather than evacuating its authority and inserting one's own. Kewes argues that the concept of author as 'owner' of his text was constructed in the critical literature and commercial practice of the fifty years between the

[24] Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation: writing for the stage in England, 1660-1710* (Oxford, 1998), p. 55.
[25] Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation,* p. 65.

Restoration of Charles II and the Copyright Statute of 1710.[26] The root of the changes and new anxieties about appropriation was, Kewes argues, in part institutional. Appropriation and collaboration, practices which in the years before 1660 had been largely unremarked, became a sharply defined problem of attribution and authorship. The change, Kewes argues, centred around the theatres; when Charles II licensed Thomas Killigrew to establish the King's Company and William Davenant to establish the Duke's, the publication of plays became a useful advertising strategy. As third-night benefit for authors and the sale of copy to a bookseller became commonplace, Kewes suggests that playwriting became a strikingly lucrative profession; and with the higher stakes and social and economic visibility of playwrights, authorship became a contested and important question, placed front and centre in the cultural imagination. The specific economic anxiety was focussed around the stage, where the pull of money was strongest, but the question of imitation was becoming part of the cultural discourse. She writes:

> To impose upon the past was both necessary and practicable. But could the past be displaced altogether? More particularly, could the best of old drama be eclipsed by works that were entirely new and different? Late seventeenth-century writers were optimistic. [. . .] Restoration playwrights did not – were not expected to – engage in what the modern world would recognise as original composition[27]

Dryden addresses the question of borrowing more overtly in the context of theatre than verse; perhaps with verse the nexus between private and public, intimate borrowings and public gestures, was more complex and less workably codified. In the preface *to An Evening's Love* (1671) Dryden offers a defence of

[26] Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 2.
[27] Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 8.

borrowing that doubles as an account of the foundations of his compositional sensibility. It begins with a characteristically pugilistic refutation, an insult wrapped in an irony:

> I am tax'd with stealing all my Playes, and that by some who should be the last men from whom I would steal any part of 'em. (Dryden, *An Evening's Love*, p. 210)

Dryden goes on to suggest that English theatre is more 'curious' than continental drama, and that therefore:

> 'Tis true, that where ever I have lik'd any story in a Romance, Novel or foreign Play, I have made no difficulty, nor ever shall, to take the foundation of it, to build it up, and to make it proper for the English stage. And I will be so vain to say it has lost nothing in my hands: But it always cost me so much trouble to heighten it for our Theatre [. . .] that when I had finish'd my Play, it was like the Hulk of Sir Francis Drake, so strangely alter'd, that there scare remain'd any Plank of the Timber which first built it. (Dryden, *An Evening's Love*, p. 210) [28]

Translation and transversion, for Dryden, then, are a rendering anew. It is significant that Dryden, in the same Preface, plays down the value of plot and accentuates the value of the writing, 'who forms it with more care':

> But these little Criticks do not well consider what is the work of Poet, and what the Graces of a Poem: The Story is the least part of either: I mean the foundation of it, before it is modell'd by the art of him who writes it; who formes it with more care, by exposing only the beautiful parts of it to view. (Dryden, *An Evening's Love*, p. 212)[29]

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[28] Terence's prologues, which defend him against plagiarism, lie behind this. See Scott McGill, *Plagiarism in Latin literature* (Cambridge, 2012), especially pp. 136-138.

[29] This can be contrasted with what Dryden says about *The Hind and the Panther*, in which he cites his use of allusion as a form of deniability: 'There are in it two Episodes, or Fables, which are interwoven with the main Design [. . .] In both of these I have made use of the Common Purpose of Satyr, whether true or false, which are urg'd by the Members of the one Church against the other. At which I hope no Reader of either party will be scandaliz'd; because they are not of my Invention'. (II, 469, 100-105) There is a slipperiness in his willingness to in places count allusive verse as his own; in others, to usefully reject it.

This is of course, here, specific to drama, but, crucially, it casts sharp light on Dryden's desire to see the component parts of literature as separable and each part or facet owned by the imitated author to differing degrees.

To transverse for Dryden is to repeat, but always to repeat with a difference. It was Dryden's confidence in his own capacity for this kind of complex visioning that Rochester mocks, and Buckingham lampoons in *The Rehearsal*, in which Dryden's playwriting is portrayed as laborious and workmanlike. Buckingham, who in the 1660s had displayed populist talents both in his work in the Commons, in which he had courted the aggrieved energy of MPs such as Richard Temple and Edward Seymour, and in drama and verse, had made his attack on Dryden a literary statement. *The Rehearsal* was published five times in his own lifetime, and the popularity of his criticism is revealing of the kind of cultural imperatives amongst which Dryden was working.[30]

Buckingham lampoons Dryden as following three lumpen rules: the 'Rule of Transversion', 'changing Verse into Prose, or Prose into Verse' and as such to 'Make it my own. 'Tis so alter'd that no man can know it'; the second, the 'Rule of Record', is, Kewes argues, a class-based jibe, parodying Dryden's attempts to imitate the conversation of a gentleman.[31] The third, 'Rule of Invention', is portrayed as plagiarism by attrition, where other authors' lines are entered in 'a book of Drama Common places'. (I. i. 4-5, 3). Dryden, then, was seen as a flat-footed kind of mechanic. As Kewes argues, Buckingham's resentment was akin to Rochester's;

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[30] Bruce Yardley, 'Villiers, George, second duke of Buckingham (1628–1687)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28294]. Buckingham's play was performed nearly three hundred times until 1779, when Sheridan's *The Critic* eclipsed it.
[31] Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 60.

both men directed their dislike in part at Dryden's implied critical assessment of the writers he uses.[32] Rochester's 'Allusion to Horace', for instance, sheds light clearly on the idea that appropriation is a form of critical commentary.

> But does not Dryden find ev'n Jonson dull;
> Fletcher and Beaumont uncorrect and full
> Of lewd lines, as he calls 'em: Shakespeare's style
> Stiff and affected; to his own the while
> Allowing all the justness that his pride
> So arrogantly had to these denied. (Rochester, 'An Allusion to Horace', 81-6)

Certainly, for Dryden, allusion and criticism and the theory of what poetry was made of were intricately bound together. When Dryden addressed his own theories of imitation in a sustained piece of prose writing more closely addressing poetry than theatre, a stark intellectual battle comes to light. In *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Houshold, Knightt of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c.,* Dryden rehearses a conversation in which the question of the ideal practice and subject for imitation was interrogated, and in which the anxieties seem to centre around a central question, of the relationship between idea and expression:

> in a conversation which I had with that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzy: he asked me why I did not imitate in my verses the turns of Mr Waller and Sir John Denham; of which, he repeated many to me. I had often read with pleasure, and with some profit, those two fathers of our English poetry; but had not seriously enough considered those beauties which give the last perfection to their works. Some sprinkling of this kind I had also formerly in my plays; but they were casual, and not designed. But this hint, thus seasonably given me, first made me sensible of my own wants, and brought me afterwards to seed for the supply of them in other English authors. (Dryden, *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex*, 226)

[32] Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 60.

Dryden cites Cowley as one of the most obvious places to look, initially, for material:

> I looked over the darling of my youth, the famous Cowley; there I found [. . .] the points of wit and quirks of epigram, even in the *Davideis*, an heroic poem, which is of an opposite nature to those puerilities; but no elegant turns either on the word or on the thought. (Dryden, *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex*, 226)

Donne is not in the list, here, of obvious resources that would come to Mackenzy's mind; this is itself illuminating. It suggests that perhaps, for Mackenzy if not for Dryden, the image of Donne as standing alone in the field, as something peculiar to himself, which Carew's elegy had first sought to underscore, was still alive.

Donne is, though, in the same essay, repeatedly evoked. Dryden's writing on him carries more significance than has been recognised, as in the most famous uneasily complimentary attacks that Dryden made on his work:

> Donn alone, of all our countrymen, had your talent; but was not happy enough to arrive at your versification. You equal Donn in the variety, multiplicity and choice of thoughts; you excel him in the manner and the words. I read you both with the same admiration, but not with the same delight. He affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign; and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts, and entertain them with the softness of love. (Dryden, *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex*, 162)

Dryden recognises that Donne has served as a resource for his own 'darling of my youth', but situates the fact as a negative in Cowley's verse:

> In this (if I may be pardoned for so bold a truth) Mr Cowley has copied him to a fault; so great a one in my opinion, that it throws his mistress infinitely below his Pindariques, and his latter compositions, which are undoubtedly the best of his Poems, and the most correct. (Dryden, *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex*, 162)

Dryden also addresses imitation as a kind of translation:

> The consideration of these difficulties, in a servile, literal translation, not long since made two of our famous wits, Sir John Denham, and Mr Cowley, to contrive another way of turning authors into our tongue, called, by the latter of them, Imitation. I take imitations of an author, in their sense, to be an endeavour of a later Poet to write like one, who has written before him, on the same subject: that is, not to translate his words, or to be confined to his sense, but only to set him as a pattern, and to write, as he supposes that author would have done, had he lived in our age, and in our country. (Dryden, *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex*, 78)

This is interesting in comparison to Donne's own attitude to imitation, laid out in 'Infinitati Sacrum', prefixed to *The Progress of the Soule*:

> Now when I beginne this book, I have no purpose to come into any mans debt; how my stocke will hold out I know not; perchance waste, perchance increase in use; if I doe borrow any thing of Antiquitie, besides that I make account that I pay it to posterity, with as much and as good: You shall still finde mee to acknowledge it, and to thank not him onely that hath digg'd out treasure for mee, but that hath lighted mee a candle to the place. (Donne, 'Infinitati Sacrum', 26)

Dryden's vision of imitation relies on the same antithesis with servile copying, but rests on his confidence on the ability of the poets of the day to accurately insert themselves into past minds.[33] Certainly, though, Dryden was an imitator of real finesse, and he participated in what might be seen as the Early Modern poetics of transformation. In *The Hind and the Panther*, Dryden also draws from Ovid, in the phrase 'Scythian shafts', metonymically labelling the Hind's pursuers; Dryden's editors have pointed out that likely source is Ovid, 'scythia sagitta' in Book 10 of

[33] Marston's contemporary rejection of imitation is made in similar terms in *Scourge of Villanie* (London, 1598). 'My soule adores iudiciall schollership/But when to servile imitators/Some spruce Athenian pen is prentized/Tis worse then Apish' (9, 38-41) In his sixth Satire Marston again addresses imitation, defending himself against the accusation that his work too closely mimics Juvenal , in a term useful for thinking about the rhetoric that surrounds necessary assertions of originality in the period: 'O indignitie//To my respectlesse free-bred poesie' (6, 99-100).

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, retelling the story of Atalanta. [34] David Hopkins has suggested that Dryden remained fascinated by Ovid and particularly his representations of female suffering throughout his career. The Ovidian allusion, of the maiden fleeing her rapacious suitors, becomes an analogy for Dryden's depiction of a feminized and victimised church.[35] It becomes increasingly clear that the poem was framed by Dryden to be read as written allusively; that Dryden was fashioning a reader alive to multiple allusive strategies across the text.

When Dryden does talk explicitly about Donne, it is a complicated tone of admiration. For Donne to be a useful point of comparison with Dryden's dedicatee the Lord Chamberlain, his reputation had to be both formidable but not irreproachable. It becomes obvious that Dryden's ear for imitation is sharp; he sees Donne as an imitator in a way that few other writers had acknowledged:

> Would not Donn's satyrs, which abound with so much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words, and of his numbers? But he followed Horace so very close, that of necessity he must fall with him: and I may safely say it of this present age, that if we are not so great wits as Donn; yet certainly, we are better poets. (Dryden, *To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex*, 221)

This is particularly noteworthy in the context of Donne's own attack on servile imitators in *Satyre II*; Dryden reads past Donne's attack to see Donne's own interest in how texts can and cannot be rendered new. Dryden's comment about 'so great wits as Donn' is often taken as a throw-away remark, but it seems of prime importance. Dryden pits the wit of Donne – the boldness of his ideas, his ludic anxieties, his capacity for twisting old truths – against the form in which Donne

[34] In Molly Murray, *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern Literature: Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 154.
[35] David Hopkins, 'Dryden and Ovid's 'wit out of Season', in Charles Matringdale (ed.) *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 167-90.

expressed his thought, leading him to conclude that 'we are better poets'. The kernel of Dryden's engagement with Donne seems to be how to separate two apparently indissolubly linked elements of Donne's identity as a writer: his idea and his expression. It is this question that Dryden appears struggle with, in generative ways, across his career.[36]

Dryden and form: *Eleonora* and Donne's *Anniversaries*

Donne appears in a number of gestures and echoes across Dryden's poetry, and it is possible to see Dryden returning to the same images from Donne and working them into his verse across his career. Some are small gestures towards Donne's sensibility; Dryden writes in 'The Monument of a Fair Maiden Lady', 'For Marriage, tho it sullies not it dies' (20), which is borrowed from Donne's 'Funeral Elegy', 'For marriage, though it doe not staine, doth dye.' (20). In other places, Dryden takes a strong image from Donne and expands it over several lines, as in his use of Donne's 'Eclogue at the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset'. Donne's poem has these lines:

> Thus thou descend'st to our infirmity,
> Who can the Sun in water see (Donne, 'Eclogue', V, 1-2)

Dryden takes up that image in *Astraea Redux* (1660) and mimics Donne, adding clarifying adjectives making easy the knotty grammar of Donne's lines:

> The sun, which, we beheld with cozened eyes
> Within the water, moved along the skies (Dryden, *Astraea Redux,* 61-62)

[36] It is striking that at another place where Dryden addresses the question of Donne he affects the intimacy of speech. 'The sort of verse which is called burlesque, consisting of eight syllables, or four feet, is that which our excellent Hudibras has chosen. I ought to have mentioned him before, when I spake of Donne; but by a slip of an old man's memory he was forgotten.' (223). This is, of course, an affectation, as a thought that slips 'an old man's memory' can easily be added in the copy-text before the typesetting begins. Dryden allows print to mimic the facts of manuscript, as much as of conversation, here: itself a very slippery Donnean manoeuvre.

Dryden uses the same image, years later, in *Eleonora*:

> But as the sun in water we can bear
> Yet not the sun, but his reflection here,
> So let us view her here, in what she was,
> And take her image in this watery glass. (Dryden, *Eleonora*, 136-139)

Dryden is taking the Donnean image and rehearsing in multiple forms.[37] Moreover, Dryden is being multiply allusive: Macrobius calls some of Virgil's imitations of Homer the *speculum Homeri*; the image of an imitation as a reflection underlies this image, perhaps.[38] Dryden does this again with Donne's image of the final trumpeting angels in his Holy Sonnets. In *Annus Mirabilis* Dryden writes:

> A dismal picture of the general doom;
> Where souls distracted when the trumpet blows
> And half unready with their bodies come. (Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, stanza 254)

Dryden's use of the word 'Picture' perhaps evokes the idea of painterliness, of artistry: the poem conceives of itself as reflecting another piece of art. It is, of course, evoking Donne's Holy Sonnet sequence, and most obviously 'Holy Sonnet IV':

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[37] Some correspondences straddle the gap between allusion and mutual use of tropes. As Howard Erskine-Hill points out, the first seventeen lines of Dryden's *Religio Laici* opens on a passage based on Donne's *Biathanatos*. Where Dryden writes 'Dim, as the borrow'd beams on Moon and Stars/To lonely, wearing, wandring Travellers,/Is Reason to the Soul' he evokes Donne's, 'That Light which issues from the Moone doth best represent and expresse that which in our selves we call the Light of Nature'. As Paul Hammond and David Hopkins point out in their edition, the use of imagery of light as spiritual understanding is very ancient; it belongs to the tradition of Jewish and Hellenistic mysticism; the intricate comparison, though, of light of nature within humans and that of the moon, and of revealed Christo-centric religion as akin to the sun, seems to owe a great deal to Donne. Dryden has transposed prose into verse, and a commonplace into something specifically evocative. Similarly, in Donne's verse letter 'To the Countess of Huntington', the poem has an image of the earth as inverted, contrary to the natural order: 'That unripe side of earth, that heavy clime/That gives us man up now, like Adams time,' (1-2) and Dryden picks up on the image of the inverted earth in *Aureng-Zebe,* 'trees did blossoms bear/And winter had not yet deformed the inverted year' (II, i, 226-227). Both use images of natural reversal, and the image evokes Donne's, but Dryden's poem less obviously evokes Donne's prelapsarian world. Howard Erskine-Hill, 'John Dryden: The Poet and Critic', in Roger Lonsdale ed., *History of Literature in the English Language: Dryden to Johnson* (London, 1971), p. 41.

[38] Joseph Pucci writes about Macrobius in *The Full-knowing Reader: Allusion and the Power of the Reader in the Western Literary Tradition* (New Haven, 1998), p. 66. Also David Hopkins, *Conversing with antiquity: English poets and the classics from Shakespeare to Pope* (Oxford, 2010).

> At the round earths imagin'd corners, blow
> Your trumpets, angels! and arise, arise
> From death, you numberless infinities
> Of souls, and to your scattered bodies go!
> All whom the Flood did, and fire shall o'erthrow,
> All whom war, dearth, age, agues, tyrannies,
> Despair, law, chance hath slain, and you whose eyes,
> Shall behold God, and never taste death's woe. (Donne, 'Holy Sonnet IV', 1-8)

The same Donnean imagery of trumpets and the four-cornered earth appears in Dryden's 'To the Memory of Anne Killigrew':

> When in mid air the golden trump shall sound,
> To raise the nations under ground
> When in the valley of Jehosaphat,
> The judging God shall close the book of fate
> And there the last assizes keep
> For those who wake and those who sleep;
> When rattling bones together fly
> From the four corners of the sky (Dryden, 'To the Memory of Anne Killigrew', 178-185)

Both poems re-work the idea of the last trump in notably Donnean imagery. Cowley's 'The Resurrection' is also a strong influence here, layered over and under Donne's in much the same way as in *Religio Laici*:

> Whom thunder's dismal noise
> And all that prophets and apostles louder spake,
> And all the creatures' plain conspiring voice,
> Could not, whilst they lived, awake,
> This mightier sound shall make
> When Dead to'arise (Cowley, 'The Resurrection', 28-33)

However, where Cowley's diction in his evocation of the final days is Biblical, Donne's is wholly his own, and it is Donne's imagistic reckoning that Dryden more closely aligns himself with. Using complex echoes and repetitions, then, Dryden invokes and inverts Donne. Some of the repeated allusions seem to indicate that he is positioning himself, if not as Donne's heir, then closely bound up in the poetic

traditions that had preceded him; in their sustained use of the kind of conceits associated with Donne, the two poets are aligned.

The most sustained and overt use of Donne by Dryden, though, is in *Eleonora: A Panegyrical Poem: Dedicated to the memory of the late Countess of Abingdon.* Dryden prefaces his *Eleonora* with a clear statement of his intention to mimic Donne. In the Epistle Dedicatory, 'To the Right Honourable the Earl of Abingdon, &C.' he writes.

> Doctor Donne, the greatest Wit, though not the best poet, of our nation, acknowledges that he had never seen Mrs. Drury, whom he has made immortal in his admirable *Anniversaries*; I have had the same fortune; though I have not succeeded to the same genius. However, I have followed his footsteps in the design of his panegyric, which was to raise an emulation in the living, to copy out the example of the dead. And therefore it was, that I once intended to have called this poem, *The Pattern*: and though, on a second consideration, I changed the title into the name of that illustrious person, yet the design continues, and Eleonora is still the pattern of charity, devotion, and humility; of the best wife, the best mother, and the best of friends. (71-83)

Eleonora is a 377-line poem written in heroic couplets, although Dryden calls it both 'heroic' and 'Pindaric' in his Epistle. Written in 1692 near the end of Dryden's writing career, it was commissioned by James Bertie, Earl of Abingdon, to commemorate his wife, who had died in May 1691; neither had had any previous connection with the poet. Winn reports the tradition that Bertie gave Dryden 500 guineas for the work, which would have made it more profitable than any of the four plays Dryden had staged since losing his government posts.[39] The poem is remarkable for its adherence, not only to Donne's strategy of hyperbolic praise, but

[39] James Winn, *John Dryden and His World*, p. 454. Winn does also point out in the footnote that Dryden's continued references to his poverty make a payment of that scale unlikely; it was, he suggests, still a very significant sum.

for the metaphors it takes from the First and Second *Anniversaries.* It seems that Donne's panegyric had become, for Dryden, the regulatory model even in points of detailed metaphor. Donald Benson has written convincingly on how Dryden closely follows the organizational strategies of the *Anniversaries* in his use of Platonism; but the diction, too, as Dryden signals in the Epistle, is pointedly Donnean.[40]

The poem, Dryden writes in the Epistle, caused him to feel that 'the weight of thirty Years was taken off me, while I was writing. I swom with the Tyde, and the Water under me was buoyant' (III, 231). If we take that 'thirty years' literally, the preface locates the poem as belonging poetically to the time of the Restoration , and its old-fashioned quality becomes a kind of playful literary self-consciousness in which the presence of Donne plays a key part.[41] When Dryden writes 'The Reader will easily observe, that I was transported, by the multitude and variety of my Similitudes; which are generally the product of a luxuriant Fancy; and the wantonness of Wit' he is comparing himself with the poet he has just called 'the greatest Wit', and establishing himself as, for the length of the poem at least, heir to Donne's tradition.

The most notable way in which Dryden's poem accesses Donne's is in the depiction of female virtue of the subject. Drury, in the *Anniversaries,* is the embodiment of original virtue itself, as when Donne writes:

> The cement which did faithfully compact
> And glue all virtues, now resolved, and slacked (Donne, *First Anniversary*, 49-50)

[40] Donald R Benson, 'Platonism and Neoclassic Metaphor: Dryden's Eleonora and Donne's *Anniversaries*,' *SP* 86 (1971), pp. 340-56.
[41] James Winn, *John Dryden and His World*, p. 454.

And adds, in the second poem:

> The twilight of her memory doth stay,
> Which, from the carcass of the old world free,
> Creates a new world, and new creatures be
> Produced. The matter and the stuff of this,
> Her virtue, and the form our practice is (Donne, *First Anniversary*, 74-78).

Donne writes that she is

> Since both this lower worlds, and the Sun's sun,
> The Lustre, and the viguor of this All (Donne, *Second Anniversary*, 4-5).

Eleonora is described in a similar vocabulary, similarly excessive; where Elizabeth Drury's virtue is enough to build worlds, Eleonora's is enough to overturn the natural order of logic:

> Now, as all virtues keep the middle line,
> Yet somewhat more to one extreme incline,
> Such was her soul; abhorring avarice,
> Bounteous, but, almost bounteous to a vice:
> Had she giv'n more, it had profusion been,
> And turned th' excess of goodness, into sin. (Dryden, *Eleonora,* 83-8)

Where Donne's vocabulary of virtue is bound up with planets, Dryden's goes beyond it, to the milky way:

> For where such various virtues we recite,
> 'Tis like the Milky Way, all over bright,
> But sown so thick with stars, 'tis undistinguished light. (Dryden, *Eleonora,* 143-5).

There is, too, an evocation of Donne's perfume metaphor as both poets work to evoke every sense in a bid to explain how the dead woman exceeds them all. Donne writes in *The Second Anniversary*

> But as in Mithridate, or just perfumes
> Where all good things being met, no one presumes
> To govern, or to triumph on the rest (Donne, *Second Anniversary*, 125-127)

Dryden plays out the same thought process

> As in Perfumes composed with art and cost,
> 'Tis hard to say what scent is uppermost;
> Nor this part musk or civet can we call,
> Or amber, but a rich result of all;
> So, she was all a sweet; whose every part,
> In due proportion mixed, proclaimed the Maker's art. (Dryden, *Eleonora,* 154-59)

Barbara Lewalski writes that 'a striking evidence of Donnean influence in another kind occurs at the end of [*Eleonora*] as Dryden briefly abandons a panegyric for a Donnean satiric tone, imitating in the passage in question the Donnean alternation between praises of the lady and castigation of the wicked world.'[42] Rochester, too, is audible in the same moment:

> Where even to draw the picture of thy mind
> Is Satyr on the most of human kind
> Take it, while yet 'tis praise; before my rage
> unsafely just, break loose on this bad age (Dryden, *Eleonora*, 365-368).

The voice of Donne's *Anniversaries* also resonates, as Winn points out, in Dryden's verse epistle 'To the Lady Castlemaine, Upon her Encouraging his First Play'.[43] In it, he describes Lady Castlemaine as comparable to a goddess or star

> You, like the Stars, not by reflection bright
> Are born to your own heaven, and your own light
> Like them are good, but from a nobler cause
> From your own knowledge, not from nature's laws (Dryden, 'To the Lady Castlemaine', 25-28)

In this Dryden again echoes some of the language of the *Anniversaries*, but Lady Castlemaine was a woman to whom gossip and scandal were often attached, and so

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[42] Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Donne's Anniversaries and the Poetry of Praise: the Creation of a Symbolic Mode* (Princeton, 1973), p. 351.
[43] James Winn, *John Dryden and His World*, p. 568.

a very different figure from Elizabeth Drury. It is possible that Dryden harnesses the power of the figure Donne evokes in order to add protective layer to his own paean to Castlemaine, a woman the praise of whom was risky and problematic; praising Castlemaine's 'innocence', when she was known to have been the lover of both Charles Hart the actor and the King, was provocative, but the hyperbolic evocation of Donne's precedent places it in a poetic tradition in which hyperbole is understood to be self-conscious.

> Your power you never use but for defence,
> To guard your own, or others' innocence:
> Your foes are such as they, not you, have made,
> And virtue may repel, though not invade.
> Such courage did the ancient heroes show,
> Who, when they might prevent, would wait the blow,
> With such assurance as they meant to say,
> We will o'recome, but scorn the safest way.
> Well may I rest secure in your great fate,
> And dare my stars to be unfortunate.
> What further fear of danger can there be?
> Beauty, which captives all things, sets me free. (Dryden, 'To the Lady Castlemaine', 29-39)

There is another Donnean voice, too, here in the ode to Lady Castlemaine. Both the paradox and diction, though not the form, evoke Donne's 'Holy Sonnet X'; 'Beauty, which captives all things, sets me free' is a very clear rendition of Donne's 'never shall be free':

> Reason, your viceroy in me, me should defend,
> But is captived, and proves weak or untrue.
> Yet dearly I love you, and would be loved fain,
> But am betrothed unto your enemy;
> Divorce me, untie or break that knot again,
> Take me to you, imprison me, for I,
> Except you enthral me, never shall be free (Donne, 'Holy Sonnet X', 7-13)

Dryden, like Philips, layers Donne poems, one over the other, to associate himself with multiple modes of Donne; the elegist, the lyricist and the writer of devotional verse, transposed here by Dryden into the secular realm.

In the case of *Eleonora*, Dryden's use of Donne's structure is illuminatingly complex. Harold Love argues that Dryden did not wholly understand the Donne he was imitating when he used the *Anniversaries* to write *Eleonora*; if Love is right, it may explain some of the compellingly uneasy qualities of Dryden's ode. Love writes that

> Dryden's paradoxical figures differed from that of the metaphysical poets, who were his principal early masters[. . .] while offering the *form* of paradox or radical antithesis, they did not offer the content. What the seeming paradoxes of the heroic plays provide is a musculature of argument that exists primarily to be flexed and displayed[…] Paradox had been a natural mode of expression for Donne and the poets of his school because it was a valid means of understanding mysteries such as the Trinity and the Incarnation which were themselves paradoxical. But neither paradox nor radical metaphor (formerly justified as a means of knowing a universe composed of occult correspondences) had a place in the new stylistic ideals promoted from the 1660s by the Royal Society. In an age of material explanations and Latitudinarian rationalization of the mysteries, there was no longer either scientific or metaphysical work for paradox to perform. [44]

The philosophical assumptions, then, that Donne's *Anniversaries* are playing with are not those that Dryden addresses; Dryden takes the paradoxical reckonings without taking their generative anxieties, and in deracinating them makes them his own. It is, Love argues, Dryden's use of Donne's paradoxical voice which allows him to

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[44] Harold Love, 'Dryden and Purcell', in Paul Hammond and David Hopkins ed. *John Dryden: Tercentary Essays* (Oxford, 2000), p. 108. Also Harold Love, 'Dryden's Unideal Vacancy,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 12 (1978) pp. 74-89 and 'Dryden's Rationale of Paradox,' *ELH* 51 (1984), pp. 297-313. It is worth nothing that although Love's account is convincing, it is possible that, even if the main body of the Restoration correctness resisted paradox, Love may yet be overdrawing how far Dryden is so solidly and unquestioningly of his own time; or underplaying the shifts that Dryden's long career undertook. It is possible that under, for instance, the confines of expression imposed upon him by the rule of William and Mary, paradox becomes a more appealing mode for Dryden. One could argue, too, that even in the couplet form there may be some of the more unwieldy qualities of the Renaissance: Hopkins writes, 'A large part of the pleasure in reading Dryden's couplet verse derives from that paradoxical combination of predictableness and surprise which is part of the experience of reading all good verse written in regular metre.' David Hopkins, *John Dryden*, p. 17.

engage with his own moment; Dryden takes from Donne the style, and the sense that Donnean paradox gives of transgressing epistemological boundaries, while, I would argue, still rooting himself in the authority that Donne's precedent gives him.[45] It may be, too, that Love exaggerates how far paradox had truly been eliminated by forces such as the new diction of the Royal Society; there is paradox in Augustan verse, from neat zeugma through to the dark contraries of Dullness; and, as I shall argue in my study of Pope, it is significant that a Donnean voice reappears consistently in these moments.[46]

Love suggests that Dryden was conscious across his poetry of this power of wielding incompatible systems of explanation. In *Oedipus*, there is a play with logical tension over the presentation of the sun:

> *Alcander*: Methinks we stand on Ruins: Nature shakes
> About us; and the Universal Frame
> So loose, that it but wants another push
> To leap from off it Hinges
>
> *Diolces*: No Sun to Cheer us; but a Bloody Globe
> That rowls above; a bald and Beamless Fire;
> His Face o're-grown with Scruff: the Sun's sick too;
> Shortly he'll be an Earth. (Dryden, *Oedipus,* I, 379)

Here vitalistic and mechanistic explanations of the same event collide, and Dryden's pleasure in incompatible reckonings becomes clear; his verse seems to relish moral and scientific oppositions and the structure of hyperbolic oppositions in general.[47]

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[45] Harold Love, 'Dryden and Purcell', p. 109.
[46] Emrys Jones, in his much celebrated Chatterton Lecture of 1968, 'Pope and *Dulness*', gives an account of how paradox is central to the Scriblerian club; as I shall argue in my chapter addressing Pope, much of the punch of Pope's verse comes from the conjunction of things that are unmeet or unfit. This is something that is also very visible in Swift's bringing together of unlikely images, such as the scatological with the intellectual. Emrys Jones, 'Pope and Dullness' in *Pope: Recent Essays by Several Hands*, ed. Maynard Mack and James A. Winn (London, 1980), p. 616.
[47] Harold Love, 'Dryden and Purcell', p. 109.

The rigorously-argued control of Donne's conceits is not carried out at a structural level in Dryden – the poem lacks an epistemological centre which controls all its multiple images - but the sharp quality of the imagery is Donnean. Dryden, in *Eleonora,* does not engage in the specific paradoxes Donne's *Anniversaries* addresses, but takes Donne's specific finely-argued, conceitful imaginings of how paradox might work, confounding categories of thought and of discourse, as a uniquely generative mode for poetic exploration. Dryden takes Donne's wit, and his bold liberties with writing about unknown women, but changes the tone and the central conflict to fit his own sense of poetic correctness and poetic ideals. There is a sense, too, that although Dryden's complexity may not match the distinctive twist of Donne's writing, the allusive interaction of literary *history* gives Dryden something extra, something that Donne could not have achieved with his rejection of broadly-flagged appropriation. Dryden is a great appropriator of epochs; he is a genius at pulling another time into conversation with one quite different but allied to it, as in the *Aeneid* translation. Eric Griffiths writes in 'Dryden's Past':

> A later poet is not under the past only as someone may be 'under' a burden, he is also under the past as one may be under an aegis, as Dryden so frequently put his published works 'under' Virgil but placing about his own writings an epigraph from Virgil. *Astrea Redux*, *Anns Mirabilis*, *The Medall, Threnodia Augustalis, The Hind and the Panther* [. . .] all carry Virgil at their head and place themselves under his protection.[48]

In appropriating Donne's historical moment, Dryden allows himself to inhabit two simultaneous moments and take from that a generative irony that underscores even his most apparently single-minded verse.

Donne via Marvell: the satirical voice of *Mac Flecknoe.*

[48] Eric Griffiths, 'Dryden's Past,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 84 (1993), p. 146.

Two further places find Dryden re-imagining Donne in significantly different ways; *Mac Flecknoe*, and *The Hind and the Panther*, which yet both show that same generative anxiety over unknitting form and content.

In Dryden's mock-epic *Mac Flecknoe*, Donne works both as a figure evoked at the start, and, too, at one remove, through Marvell's 'Flecknoe', which relied heavily on Donne's *Satyres*. The beginning of *Mac Flecknoe* seems to be a reference to Donne. Dryden's poem opens

> This Flecknoe found, who like Augustus young
> Was called to empire, and had governed long;
> In prose and verse was owned without dispute
> Through all the realms of nonsense absolute. (Dryden, *Mac Flecknoe,* 3-6)

These lines evoke Thomas Carew's assertion in 'An Elegy Upon the Death of Dr Donne' that 'Here lies a king, that rul'd as he thought fit/The universal monarchy of wit' (95-6).[49] Flecknoe is being set up in opposition to Donne; ruling a kind of Donnean anti-kingdom. In the whole of *Mac Flecknoe*, the thinness of the partition between decorum and chaos evokes a similar focus that runs through much of Donne's work. Blanford Parker suggests that poetic tropes in the Renaissance, which for Donne could be evoked as an analogous field of existence - allegory, a playful kind of romance - in the Enlightened culture were viewed as satirical fantasy and repudiation; an idea which casts useful light on Dryden's opening evocation of Donne.[50] Just as, I shall argue, Pope's *Dunciad* is a place where Pope can escape into an atmosphere of conceit he in other places denigrates and, in his re-versifications, prunes back, in the same way *Mac Flecknoe* allows Dryden to

[49] Thomas Carew, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Carew: sewer in ordinary to Charles the First* (London, 1845), p. 100.
[50] Blanford Parker, *The Triumph of Augustan Poetics: English Literary Culture from Butler to Johnson* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 132.

release a metaphorical, grandiloquent energy. In the *Dunciad*, Pope addresses complex artistic ghosts; Dryden does the same across multiple poems, and in *Mac Flecknoe* it is seen vividly. The poem is a showcase for Dryden's skill at appropriating and ironizing simultaneously.

Mac Flecknoe also owes a great deal to Marvell's 'Flecknoe, An English Priest at Rome', itself a free adaptation of Horace's *Satires I ix*, the Horatian episode in which the poet meets the bore; and 'Flecknoe' owes a great deal to Donne. Howard Erskine-Hill points out that 'in manner [Flecknoe] has much in common with Donne's adaptation of the same text of Horace, in the first part of *Satyre IV*.'[51] The episode is Horatian, the interpretation consciously Donnean in tone: Marvell's narrator is similar in rueful voice to Donne, 'Oblig'd by frequent visits of this man' to seek his interlocutor in his tiny room only to find himself trapped by Flecknoe's 'hideous verse': 'sure the Devil brought me there' (lines 1, 22).[52] As at the end of Donne's poem, the narrator makes an escape.

> He hasted; and I, finding myself free,
> As one 'scaped strangely from captivity,
> Have made the chance to be painted; and go now
> To hang it in Saint Peter's for a vow. (Marvell, 'Flecknoe', 167-70.)

In the Horatian original, the interlocutor is ridiculous; in Donne's and then in Marvell's, he is boldly repellent. The description of Flecknoe, 'those papers which he pilled from within/Like white fleaks rising from a Leper's skin' ('Flecknoe', 133-4) recalls the hoary metaphors of Donne's in *Satyre IV*:

[51] Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Mac Flecknoe, Heir of Augustus' in Paul Hammond and David Hopkins eds. *John Dryden: Tercentary Essays*, p. 18.
[52] Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Mac Flecknoe, Heir of Augustus', p. 18.

> Therefore I suffered this: towards me did run
> A thing more strange, then on Nile's slime, the Sun
> E'er bred; or all which into Noah's Ark came;
> A thing, which would have posed Adam to name;
> Stranger than seven antiquaries' studies,
> Than Africs Monsters, Guyana's rarities.
> Stranger then strangers (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 17-23)

Where Donne has in the opening of *Satyre I* 'let me lye/In prison, and here be coffin's, when I dye' (3-4), Marvell has, at his beginning, 'I found at last a Chamber, as 'twas said,/But seemed a coffin set upon the stairs' head' ('Flecknoe', 9-10). Where Donne has 'He, like to a high stretched lute string squeaked' Marvell has the tedious interlocutor 'try'd t'allure me with his Lute'. Marvell, though, makes the verse exceed the Horatian and Donnean precedents, when he introduces the second bore, making Donne's poetic hyperbole even more, structurally, hyperbolic. Marvell's 'Flecknoe' is a poem that evokes Donne as it pre-figures Dryden; but not only the Donne of the *Satyres*. In 'Flecknoe', as Joan Hartwig has said, 'presentational techniques [. . .] parody given poetic genres in order to satirize the subject'; in this case, one of the poetic genres is the 'progress poem.'[53] Hartwig argues that the 'progress' poem, as Marvell inherited it, depicts the transition of the narrator from one state of mind or one state of soul to another.[54] In this, Marvell evokes Donne's *Metempsychosis: the Progress of the Soul*. Wyman Herendeen has pointed out that Donne's poem works in the tradition of 'the literature of metempsychosis', tracing the movement of the soul from one body to another, as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[55] Donne is, of course, a poet of transformation – himself into a name

[53] Joan Hartwig, 'Marvell's Metamorphic "Fleckno",' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, *The English Renaissance* 36 (1996), p. 173.
[54] Joan Hartwig, 'Marvell's Metamorphic 'Fleckno', p. 184.
[55] Wyman Herendeen, '"I launch at paradise, and saile toward home": *The Progresse of the Soule* as Palinode,' *Early Modern Literary Studies* 7 (May, 2001), p. 12.

in a window, a map, a compass – and Wyman H. Herendeen argues that metamorphosis and metempsychosis 'have similar formal and thematic elements [. . .] metamorphosis emphasizes the disembodiment of the soul, and conversely metempsychosis emphasizes its serial reimbodiment; both turn on the same paradox of incarnation and the interpenetration of spirit and matter.' Hartwig writes: 'Similarities between metamorphosis, metempsychosis, and Marvell's poem 'Fleckno' abound.'[56] It seems likely, then, that Marvell has Donne's *Metempsychosis* in mind when composing 'Flecknoe'; certainly, we know he knew of it, and 'admired its witty fable', quoting it for the space of two pages in the introductory material to the Second Part of the *Rehearsal Transpos'd*. [57] Marvell, in his over-dense use of emblems and allegory in 'Flecknoe', creates a parodic progress of the soul, using the same pattern of satire that Donne uses in his *Metempsychosis*. When Dryden wrote his imitation, *Mac Flecknoe*, he plays conspicuously with the metempsychotic properties of the poet-priest, in which 'dullness' is transferred from one body to another.[58]

Mac Flecknoe, Erskine-Hill has shown, stands out as the only major poem by Dryden to have been scribally published; when the unauthorised printing came out in 1682, *Mac Flecknoe* had been known to have been composed and alluded to since the late 1670s, probably circulating scribally for as many as eight years before

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[56] Joan Hartwig, 'Marvell's Metamorphic 'Fleckno', p. 183.

[57] Marvell writes, in defence of the puzzlement that had met his own text, that 'methinks after so many years I begin to understand Doctor Donn's Progress of the Soul, which pass'd through no fewer revolutions, and had hitherto puzzled all its Readers'. Andrew Marvell, *The Prose Works*, eds. Martin Dzelzainis and Annabel Patterson (Cambridge, 2003), vol. 1, p. 256.

[58] Hartwig argues that Marvell may have written 'Fleckno, an English Priest at Rome' between 1645-7, sometime after his actual visit to Richard Flecknoe in Rome, although it was not published until the Folio edition of 1681. She suggests that as the publication date immediately precedes that of Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe*, it may have been the galvanic moment that freshened Dryden's interest in the subject. Similarly, H. T. Swedenberg Jr. in his edition argues that Dryden probably completed his poem by 1678, but that he would have been aware of the existence of Marvell's poem. *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 2 (London, 1972), p. 299.

Dryden permitted the poem to be printed.[59] Why it was restricted to scribal circulation is a question Erskine-Hill and Harold Love have both addressed. Erskine-Hill writes that, unlike the Horatian modes of 'Flecknoe' and Donne's *Satyres*,

> *Mac Flecknoe* is resoundingly Virgilian. [. . .] A more public satire is thus intimated, and if we put this together with the implications of scribal publication, personal offence, and public danger, we begin to see what Dryden may have in play.[60]

Dryden takes Marvell's and Donne's poems and reimagines them in his attack on Shadwell into a more public mode, but with the same rich use of hoary invective that Donne had galvanised in Marvell.

Dryden does not overtly signal his use of Donne beyond the one opening gesture. He does, however, re-evoke Donne's school, near the conclusion of the poem, in the form of Herbert. Herbert is satirised, but the poem takes on the voice of the school it evokes, even as it repudiates it. Herbert is mocked as writing poems which 'wings display and altars raise/And torture one poor word ten thousand ways'; and yet, even as it does so, the tone of the poem becomes sharper, more acidic and akin to Donne's own in *Satyre V*:

> Thy genius calls thee not to purchase fame
> In keen iambics, but mild anagram.
> Leave writing plays, and choose for thy command
> Some peaceful province in acrostic land:
> There thou mayest wings display and altars raise,
> And torture one poor word ten thousand ways.
> Or if thou wouldst thy different talents suit,
> Set thy own songs, and sing them to thy lute. (Dryden, *Mac Flecknoe*, 203-210) [61]

[59] Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Mac Flecknoe, Heir of Augustus', p. 16.
[60] Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Mac Flecknoe, Heir of Augustus', p. 25.
[61] C. A. Patrides ed., *George Herbert: The Critical Heritage* (London, 2013), p. 137.

A wider tension seems, then, to be at work here. Parker argues that Augustan literary culture took some its energy from opposing the conceitful mentality of Donne; that the public satire was a parallel to the more gravely-phrased discussions about rhetorical excess in sermons, history writing and prose. Glanvil, Sprat and Collier did in prose what contemporaries such as Butler did in verse. If this is the case, then Dryden stands as a poet writing under that tension; in prose repudiating Donne, but in verse, particularly in his use of serialised metaphor, evoking him.[62]

Dryden, Donne and the religious volte-face: *The Hind and the Panther*

John Evelyn's diary offers the first contemporary record of Dryden's conversion: on January 19, 1689, he wrote that 'Dryden the famous play-poet & his two sons, & Mrs Nelle [. . .] were said to go to Masse; & such purchases were no great losse to the Church."[63] As Michael Augustine suggests, Evelyn, by rumouring that Dryden went to Mass with Nell Gwynn, mistress to the late King, is implying that Dryden is a spiritual prostitute of sorts.[64] It is this kind of opprobrium that Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther* harnessed the authority of Donne to rebuff. It is, I shall argue, a kind of Donnean quasi-epic, a fable spiked with both Donne's baroque anxieties and the graciousness of the religious verse. It works as a bold summation of Dryden's fascination with unpicking Donne's wit and form, as Dryden melds his own virtuosically metrical, couplet-driven sensibility with an

[62] Blanford Parker, *The Triumph of Augustan Poetics*, p.16.
[63] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), 4: p. 497.
[64] Matthew Augustine, 'Dryden's "Mysterious Writ" and the Empire of Signs,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* Vol. 74, No. 1 (2011), p. 1.

appropriation of Donne's whole cultural image – including the presence of Donne's early Catholicism – for his text.

Matthew Augustine suggests that *The Hind and the Panther* has one of the most layered uses of allusion in Dryden's verse. [65] Written at the time of Dryden's conversion to Catholicism in his mid-fifties, it is both Dryden's longest original poem and an interlacing of politics and religion and poetic catharsis; Dryden rejects the Protestant church he had so recently praised in *Religio Laici* and, in performing so sharp a volte-face, necessarily shifts away from his earlier bombastic style to a more humble voice. *The Hind and the Panther* began as a poem with a political purpose; written in the winter and spring of 1687, it was designed ostensibly to appeal to Parliament to repeal the Test Acts, a series of laws passed in the 1670s barring Catholics and Nonconformists from public office.[66] That particular thrust of the poem became less urgent when James, before the poem was finished, issued a Unilateral Declaration of Indulgence, under which law freedom of conscience was given to all dissenting subjects, including Catholics. This was to prove disastrous for James, as the backlash from the Anglican establishment drove discord through the traditional allies of the monarch; and, Augustine notes, this may be the 'paradox of tender conscience' that Dryden faces in composing *The Hind and the Panther*.[67] Dryden himself, in his preface to the poem, acknowledges the uncertain politics which galvanised the verse:

> As for the poem in general, I will only thus far satisfy the reader: that it was neither imposed on me, nor so much as the subject given me by any man. [. .

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[65] Matthew Augustine, 'Dryden's "Mysterious Writ"', p. 18.
[66] Matthew Augustine, 'Dryden's "Mysterious Wit"', p. 5. Also, Steven Zwicker, *Politics and Language in Dryden's Poetry, The Arts of Disguise* (Princeton, 1984), p. x.
[67] Matthew Augustine, 'Dryden's "Mysterious Wit"', p. 5.

.] About a fortnight before I had finished it, *His Majesties Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* came abroad: which, if I had so soon expected, I might have spared myself the labour of writing many things which are contained in the third part of it. But I was always in some hope, that the Church of England might be persuaded to have taken off the penal laws and the Test, which was one design of the poem when I proposed to myself the writing of it. (Dryden, Preface, 72-84)

It seems at first contradictory that, with such a bold statement of polemical purpose, so absolute a 'Design', the poem itself should be so slippery a text. Zwicker, though, in his account of Dryden's political language, argues that Dryden could hardly not have known of the imminence of the Declaration, as rumours of it had existed from the beginning of James's reign.[68] The bold statement, then, is itself a kind of subterfuge, perhaps designed to distance the poet from the court, at which such rumours would have been loudest, and to allow him to stand alone, apart from accusations of partisanship on any side. Indeed, Dryden both acknowledges the possibility of, and rejects, partisanship: he writes 'this Satyr . . . 'tis aimed only at the refractory and disobedient on either side' (119); that is, Anglicans and Protestant sects, but also Catholic clergy. Sanford Budick has persuasively argued that Dryden's emphasis on the 'mysterious wit' is in part a reference to the elements of the poem which evoke the tradition of Protestant apocalyptic and, too, the place of mystery in the Roman Catholic spiritual tradition: 'the element of the esoteric was one of the conscious goals of the poem.'[69] Budick suggests that the central position of mystery in Roman Catholicism, closely argued in the passages on transubstantiation in parts one and two, when taken in conjunction with the radically contrasting styles of

[68] Steven Zwicker, *Politics and Language in Dryden's Poetry*, p. 129.
[69] Sanford Budick, *Dryden and the Abyss of Light* (London, 1970), p. 190.

Religio Laici and *The Hind and the Panther*, point to a sensibility in Dryden in which poetic style and spiritual identity were closely linked.

Dryden's defence of his new faith met with derision. 'Is it not as easie to imagine two Mice bilking coachmen and supping at the Devil, as to suppose a Hind entertaining the Panther at a Hermits Cell, [and] discussing the greatest Mysteries of Religion?' Charles Montagu and Matthew Prior wrote as they set out to unpick and ridicule the poem in their lampoon of it, *Hind and the Panther, Transvers'd To the Story of the Country Mouse and the City-Mouse.*[70] Another anonymous writer, probably Tom Brown, a minor poet who published several attacks on Dryden, wrote that the poem was evidence that Dryden's 'Brains' had been ruined by 'Chimera's, the Raptures and Visions of Poetry, gaudy Scenes, unaccountable flights of Non-sense, and big Absurdities.'[71] Martin Clifford was equally suspicious of the verse, and his criticism casts useful light on a particular untamed quality in the poem's imagery and structure:

> But still I cannot imagin the reason, why He should make use of these tedious and impertinent Allegories [. . .] Unless in this time of Heat and Anger the Roman Catholicks may think fit to employ him, as being a spiteful creature, or the good Fathers may divert themselves awhile with an Animal, that is unlucky, mimical, and gamesome.[72]

There is something useful in that critique; in the identification of the 'mimical, and gamesome', Clifford identifies something about the poem which has gone largely undiscussed; a Donnean mimicry. The most obvious precedent to Dryden's poem is, of course, the satiric topicality of Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's Tale,*

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[70] Charles Montagu and Matthew Prior, *The Hind and the Panther*, *Transvers'd To the Story of the Country Mouse and the City-Mouse* (London, 1687), p. A6.
[71] M. Clifford, *Notes Upon Mr. Dryden's Poems in Four Letters. To which are annexed some Reflections on the Hind and Panther, By another hand* (London, 1687), p. 19. The 'another hand' is thought to be Tom Brown.
[72] M. Clifford, *Notes Upon Mr. Dryden's Poems in Four Letters*, p. 28.

but the complex system of irony within the poem's own carefully-set parameters recalls Donne rather than Spenser. Donne's religious verse, too, is audible here. In, for instance, the description of the Hind, Dryden seems to recall some of Donne's religious vocabulary in the 'Holy Sonnet X', of freedom and breaking:

> Her faults and virtues lie so mixed, that she
> Nor wholly stands condemned, nor wholly free.
> Then, like her injured Lion, let me speak,
> He cannot bend her, and he would not break. (Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther,* I, 333-336)

There is a moment in the third and final part of the poem in which the Hind speaks to the Panther and evokes Donne's 'A Hymn to God the Father'. Donne's poem is one which Augustine suggests would still have been often sung; it seems impossible that Dryden would not have had the ironies of Donne's reverse-pattern of his own religious conversion in mind, transversing Donne's Protestant hymn into a statement about conversion.[73] This being the case, it is worth thinking about what the Hind stands for in Dryden's poem. Most obviously, it is the Catholics of England, exhibiting a passive fortitude, and the Catholic Church, but, as Annabel Patterson points out, she also, by the metamorphosis of metaphor, stands for James himself.[74]

> Her panting foes she saw before her lie
> And back she drew the shining weapon dry;
> As when the generous Lion has in sight
> His equal match, he rouses for the fight;
> But when his foe lies prostrate on the plain,
> He sheathes his paws, uncurls his angry mane;
> And pleased with bloodless honours of the day
> Walks over, and disdains th' inglorious prey. (Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther,* III, 265-72)

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[73] Matthew Augustine, 'Dryden's "Mysterious Writ"', p. 18.
[74] Annabel Patterson, 'Dryden and Political Allegiance', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden,* ed. Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge, 2004), p. 234.

Dryden makes the metaphor explicit:

> So *James*, if great with less we may compare,
> Arrests his rolling thunder-bolts in air;
> And grants ungrateful friends a lengthened space,
> T' implore the remnants of long-suffering grace. (Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther,* III, 273-76)

It is significant that it is in the lines that immediately follow that the Hind takes on the voice of Donne:

> This breathing-time the matron took; and then
> Resumed the thread of her discourse again:
> 'Be vengeance wholly left to powers divine,
> And let heav'n judge betwixt your sons and mine:
> If joys hereafter must be purchased here
> With loss of all that mortals hold so dear,
> Then welcome infamy and public shame,
> And, last, a long farewell to worldly fame. (Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther,* III, 277-284)

The Hind, as the speech progresses, takes on the voice of a preacher:

> 'Tis said with ease, but O, how hardly tried
> By haughty souls to human honour tied!
> O sharp convulsive pangs of agonizing pride!
> Down then thou rebel, never more to rise,
> And what thou didst and dost so dearly prize,
> That fame, that darling fame, make that thy sacrifice.
> 'Tis nothing thou hast giv'n; then add thy tears
> For a long race of unrepenting years
> 'Tis nothing yet; yet all thou hast to give:
> Then add those maybe years thou hast to live.
> Yet nothing still: then poor, and naked come,
> Thy father will receive his unthrift home,
> And thy blest Saviour's blood discharge the mighty sum (Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther,* III, 285-297)

The form is very much Dryden's own; the couplets, and the rhythmical stability, but the content of the argument and the image of fear upended is richly akin to Donne's

‘A Hymn to God the Father’. The speech set in unanswerable half-questioning exclamations, the emphasis on the good left undone, are akin to when Donne writes

> Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun,
> Which is my sin, though it were done before?
> Wilt thou forgive those sins through which I run,
> And do them still, though still I do deplore?
> When thou hast done, thou hast not Done,
> For I have More. (Donne, ‘A Hymn to God the Father’, 1-6)

Dryden shifts Donne’s emphasis; where Donne has ‘Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun/A year or two, but wallow’d in, a score’, a song for a speaker near the end of life, Dryden places the tension as ongoing; the penitence being enacted in the process of the poem. ’Tis nothing thou hast giv’n; then add thy tears/For a long race of unrepenting years/’Tis nothing yet; yet all thou hast to give:/Then add those maybe years thou hast to live.’

The poem, read in the context of Donne’s biography, resonates anew. Donne’s religious conversion, and accommodation to the imperatives of political power, are evoked, in order to highlight Dryden’s reversal of Donne’s pattern. David Norbrook, in his *Writing the English Republic*, provides a model in which allusion, above all to Lucan, works as a subtle indicator of political positioning.[75] Working along the same interpretive model, there can be no doubt at all that a Donnean metaphysical voice has the same resonating aspect at the end of the tumultuous seventeenth century. Donne’s poem makes no explicit reference to specific religious delineation, but Dryden’s passage is close enough to evoke the once-Catholic, then Protestant Donne and cast himself alongside, as mirror image. Dryden uses imitation to harness the voice of a Protestant divine; in so doing he

[75] David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic,* especially pp. 23-62 and 83-92.

signals both his now more measured self-positioning, compared to the grandiloquence and confidence of *Religio Laici*, and, too, knowingly underlines his movement away from the religion Donne's voice evokes. Moreover, although, as William Frost has demonstrated, the structure of *The Hind and the Panther* (formed in three parts, with the second a debate) owes more to *Paradise Regained* than any specific poem of Donne's, still the instability of the allegorical imagery is Donnean.[76] Groups symbolised first as one animal metamorphose into another in the same unpredictable way as in *Metempsychosis*. The Boar, who appears to be the Independents or Baptists, changes into birds; the fable method evokes the unwieldy and shifting transformation that Donne uses in 'A Nocturnal Upon St Lucy's Day' and 'The Flea'.

Zwicker suggests that, while the Glorious Revolution was the most obvious catalyst for the poem, *The Hind and the Panther* is also newly concerned, of all Dryden's verse, with the problem of mystery and enigma, of difficulties of interpretation, and with the multivalence and instability of language itself.[77] Something that Dryden set out, perhaps, in his early poem to Lord Hastings – that language, and metaphor, in particular was an unwieldly quality that was not as easily deployed as the poem seems to hope – comes out in a different form in Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*. *The Hind and the Panther* is a Donnean poem writ on a larger scale; a clear expression of a religious ideal, it yet has moments of transformation and anxiety that belong to the metaphysical school. There is, perhaps, Donnean intensity, diluted across the poem's substantial length.

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[76] William Frost, 'Religion and Philosophical Themes in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature', in Roger Lonsdale ed., *History of Literature in the English Language: Dryden to Johnson*, p. 404.
[77] Steven Zwicker, *Politics and Language in Dryden's Poetry*, p. 124.

Dryden, Donne and the Cavalier poets

If one were to write a Whiggish literary history, one might expect Donne's presence in the writing culture to come to an end with Dryden; that the birth of one mode would lead to the death of the other, and that Dryden's shaping of the poetic fashion would militate against the presence of Donne. Certainly, on numbers and if poetry were a zero sum game, Dryden's ascent is clear. Adam Smyth's account of printed miscellanies from 1640-1682 shows that Dryden appeared in 37; Donne appears in 17.[78] Instead, though, we see in Dryden a poetics in which Donne is strategically situated and subtly but frequently deployed. Dryden uses Donne both to gesture at rival predecessors and as a cultural 'other' with whom Dryden has affinities: a boldness of imagery, a complex religious history, a strong satiric mode, perhaps even a closeness to the monarch.

Dryden, striving for a literary affect fundamentally different from the metaphysical, and setting himself against the coterie culture as a determinedly print writer, seems an unexpected heir to Donne, either structurally or thematically, and yet there is, in Dryden, a sense of Donne's tonal repertory being intensely deployed. Donne's tone has very specific currency for Dryden, as in the case of *Mac Flecknoe* and the parodic use of Donne's already parodic grand style. Certainly, the relationship Dryden has with Donne's poetry is more combative than Dryden's with, for instance, Waller or Denham or Cowley; more so too than Dryden's relationship with the Shakespearean precedent, or than, for instance, Waller's or Cowley's with Donne; it has a tension at its core that generates a rich seam of verse.

[78] Adam Smyth*, 'Profit and Delight': Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-168* (Detroit, 2004), p. 6.

Dryden's more public sense of himself as literary innovator and public poet make his use of Donne more conspicuous, and more strategic.

Although my focus, then, is on Dryden, as the poet whose use of Donne is most central, and most unexpectedly central, to his work, it is interesting to compare the use that other contemporary poets made of Donne, and the extent to which their re-workings of the Donnean voice fit into a similar taxonomy. Allusion and thematic overlap are hard to spot in a culture where borrowing is multiple and hidden, but, nonetheless, as I shall show, there do seem to be emerge a number of strategies which reappear across the seventeenth century as the cavalier poets re-visited Donne. As early as 1593, Gabriel Harvey was writing in *Pierces Supererogation* about what wit and ingenuity might achieve in poetry:

> Art may give out precepts and directoryes in *communi forma*; but it is superexcellent witt that is the mother of pearle of precious Invention, and the golden mine of gorgeous Elocution. Nay, it is a certaine pregnant and lively thing without name, but a queint mistery of mounting conceit, as it were a knacke of dexterity, or the nippitaty of the nappiest grape, that infinitely surpasseth all the Invention and Elocution in the world.[79]

Harvey identifies a shift in poetic imperatives, towards something more boldly complex and inventive. It is possible that Cowley had this is mind, as well as his debt to Donne, when he wrote in the preface to his *Works* (1659): 'The truth is, for a man to write well, it is necessary to be in good humor; neither is Wit less eclipsed with the unquietness of Mind, then Beauty with the Indisposition of the Body'.[80] Already, 'Wit' had become a fetishized quality.

[79] Gabriel Harvey*, Pierce's Supererogation, or A New Praise of the Old Ass: A Preparative to certain larger discourses, entitled Nashe's St. Fame (*London, 1593), p. 34.
[80] Quoted in Robert Sharp, *From Donne to Dryden*, p. 39.

Marvell returned across his career to Donne's model of wit. In addition to his following of Donne's *Satyre I* and *Satyre IV* in 'Flecknoe', Marvell plays with the Donnean voice in 'The Definition of Love', in the performatively wilful ingenuity of the conceit. While the Donnean idea of closely-argued paradox and bold conceit is evoked from the start and maintained, nonetheless the neatness of the stanza, and the adherence of the syntax to the abab rhyme scheme, are unlike Donne. Donne is recruited as a useful voice, rather than a dominating force. The poem begins with an overtly Donnean image:

> My Love is of a birth as rare
> As 'tis for object strange and high:
> It was begotten by despair
> Upon Impossibility. (Marvell, 'The Definition of Love', 1-4)[81]

The 'begotten by despair' evokes Donne's 'A Nocturnal on St Lucy's Day', 'I am re-begot/ Of absence, darkness, death: things which are not'; the nihilism of the opening to Donne's poem is encapsulated here in the words 'Upon Impossibility'. The Donnean intricacy of the metaphor intensifies across the next four stanzas:

> Magnanimous Despair alone
> Could show me so divine a thing,
> Where feeble Hope could ne'r have flown
> But vainly flapped its tinsel wing.
>
> And yet I quickly might arrive
> Where my extended soul is fixed,
> But Fate does iron wedges drive,
> And always crowds itself betwixt.
>
> For Fate with jealous eye does see
> Two perfect loves, nor lets them close:
> Their union would her ruin be,
> And her tyrannic power depose.

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[81] All quotation from Marvell, unless stated otherwise, are from the Longman edition, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Nigel Smith (London, 2007).

And therefore her decrees of steel
Us as the distant poles have placed,
(Though Love's whole world on us doth wheel)
Not by themselves to be embraced (Marvell, 'The Definition of Love', 5-20)

The image here, of poles, evokes the geometric conceit of Donne's 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning' but is twisted by Marvell to be an image of the world wheeling about the lovers, apart but joined. The pain of Donne's lovers is transmuted in Marvell into something more triumphant in parting: 'infinite can never meet'.

In 'Eyes and Tears', Marvell deploys what Marshall Grossman calls the 'self-enclosing metaphor' that Donne has popularised.[82] Just as the dew can be 'like its own tear' in 'On A Drop of Dew', the image Marvell sets up is one in which weepers can 'Bathe still their eyes in their own dew' (28):

How wisely Nature did decree,
With the same eyes to weep and see!
That, having viewed the object vain,
They might be ready to complain.

And, since the self-deluding sight
In a false angle takes each height,
These tears which better measure all,
Like wat'ry lines and plummets fall. (Marvell, 'Eyes and Tears', 1-8)

The metaphysical tone of the poem is re-evoked in the final lines, when the paradoxes become Donnean as the argument is drawn out over the poem, ending by providing a key to the poem's own games, 'eyes and tears be the same things':

Now, like two clouds dissolving, drop,
And at each tear in distance stop:

[82] Marshall Grossman, *The Story of All things: Writing the Self in English Renaissance Narrative* (London, 1998), p. 103.

Now like two fountains trickle down;
Now like two floods, o'erturn and drown.

Thus let your streams o'erflow your springs,
Till eyes and tears be the same things:
And each the other's diff'rence bears;
These weeping eyes, those seeing tears. (Marvell, 'Eyes and Tears', 49-56)

Perhaps most famously, though, Marvell's 'To His Coy Mistress' plays with the Donnean trope of excessive comparison, marking the Donnean assertions that 'She all States, and all Princes I', and pulling the images into a more satirical kind of love-poem;

We would sit down, and think which way
To walk, and pass our long love's day.
Thou by the Indian Ganges' side
Shouldst rubies find: I by the tide
Of Humber would complain. (Marvell, 'To His Coy Mistress', 3-7)

The final couplet, like the first stanza, seems again to evoke Donne's 'The Sun Rising' and push it to a new excess: 'Thus, though cannot make our Sun/Stand still, yet we will make him run.' There is a possibility that the 'our' here is not only the shared 'our' of the lovers but also set in direct distinction to Donne's 'Sun', which the speaker only chides but does not chase; Marvell's is a promise based on exceeding Donne's poetic precedent. Donne is being used here, part as resource, and part as in-joke. Nigel Smith, in his edition of Marvell's verse, suggests that the 'metaphysical' Marvell may have been later than is often thought, which would push Marvell's Donnean verse closer in time to Dryden.[83]

[83] Smith writes of 'The Definition of Love', 'the echoes of poems in Cowley's *The Mistresse* (1647) Lovelace's *Lucasta* (1649) and Robert Heath's *Clarastella* (1650) together with the interest in philosophy and education, and the very distinct focus upon particular poetic genres, topoi and emblems suggests a date of composition at the turn of the decade'; so, around 1651. Nigel Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell,* p. 107.

A similar joke may be at work in Cleveland's verse. The cleverness of Donne's style is taken to its furthest extreme. Sharp notes that in 'Fuscara, or the Bee Errant', Cleveland plays with the insect-sex correlation that Donne's 'The Flea' works with.[84] There is at work a kind of double-knowingness: the knowingness that was originally Donne's, and that which comes from consciously pushing Donne's verse to another preposterous extreme, as the bee feeds like an animal on Fuscara's arm and the awkward rhyme of 'bluer' and 'pure' underscores the ludic quality of the image:

> Nature's confectioner, the bee
> (Whose suckets are moist alchemy,
> The still of his refining mould
> Minting the garden into gold),
> Having rifld all the fields,
> Of what dainties Flora yields
> Ambitious now to take excise
> Of a more fragrant paradise,
> At my Fuscara's sleeve arrived
> Where all delicious sweets are hived.
> The airy freebooter distrains
> First on the violets of her veines,
> Whose tincture, could it be more pure
> His ravenous kiss had made it bluer (Cleveland, 'Fuscara, or the Bee Errant', 1-26)[85]

The movement from insect to sex, the octosyllabic celebrations of alchemy, and the insistent continuation of an image are all Donnean, but Donne's complexity is not Cleveland's focus; instead, the poem celebrates its own slightness of purpose whilst,

[84] Robert Sharp, *From Donne to Dryden*, p. 42.

[85] Because no full modern edition has yet been published of Cleveland's verse, all quotations of Cleveland are from *The Works of My John Cleveland, Containing his Poems, Orations, Epistles, Collected into One Volume,* (London, 1687).

simultaneously, evoking Seneca's 84th Epistle; which compared imitation to the action of a bee gathering nectar.[86]

In the case of Vaughan, the joke goes the other way. In 'A Song to Amoret', Donne is evoked – a particular kind of Donne, the Donne of 'Love's Alchemy' and the misogynist verse – and Vaughan's poet sets himself at first alongside and then in opposition to it, ultimately over the arc of the poem reining in his Donnean bravado. As John Shawcross has demonstrated, Vaughan's poem imagines a time when the speaker is dead and Amoret has a new lover, 'some fresher youth':[87]

> If I were dead, and in my place,
> Some fresher youth design'd,
> To warme thee with new fires, and grace
> Those Armes I left behind (Vaughan, 'A Song to Amoret', 1-4)[88]

The speaker moves from posturing and declaring that he himself 'not for an houre did love/Or for a day desire' to acknowledging his love and laying out his love as an offering.[89] There are, I would argue, affinities here with Donne's 'The Apparition', which also works by imagining that the poet-speaker is dead and the lover has found new love. In Donne's poem, the dominant note is playful but acid scorn:

> When by thy scorn, O murd'ress, I am dead
> And that thou think'st thee free
> From all solicitation from me,
> Then shall my ghost come to thy bed,
> And thee, feigned vestal, in worse arms shall see (Donne, 'The Apparition', 1-5)

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[86] Matthew Reynolds suggests in his *The Poetry of Translation: from Chaucer and Petrarch to Homer and Logue* (Oxford, 2011), that metaphors of translation tend to be used by translators; Cleveland's transformation of the flea into a bee may be working with exactly this kind of transformation.
[87] John Shawcross, *Intentionality and the New Traditionalism: Some Liminal Means to Literary Revisionism* (Pennsylvania, 1991), p. 108.
[88] All quotation from Vaughan come from French Fogle, *The Complete Poetry of Henry Vaughan* (New York, 1964).
[89] Quoted in John Shawcross, *Intentionality and the New Traditionalism*, p. 108.

Where Donne's speaker plays with the persona of the man driven to unfaithfulness by the Petrarchan mistress, Vaughan's speaker tries on the Donnean persona to move beyond it. The poet-speaker poses himself as a kind of reformed rake; a reformed Donne.

This use of Donne is very similar to Suckling's. Suckling's 'Out Upon It' provides a paradigm for how Donne's voice could be used and then ultimately replaced in the poly-vocal poem, as the poem moves from evoking Donne to, in the final stanzas, becoming more loosely Italianate. 'Out Upon It', like Donne's 'The Expiration', was set to music by Henry Lawes.[90] It begins with a simplified re-working of the Donne of 'The Broken Heart'. Where Donne has:

> He is stark mad, whoever says,
> That he hath been in love an hour,
> Yet not that love so soon decays,
> But that it can ten in less space devour;
> Who will believe me, if I swear
> That I have had the plague a year?
> Who would not laugh at me, if I should say
> I saw a flash of powder burn a day? (Donne, 'The Broken Heart', 1-8)

Suckling writes:

> Out upon it, I have lov'd
> Three whole days together;
> And am like to love three more,
> If it prove fair weather.
>
> Time shall moult away his wings
> Ere he shall discover
> In the whole wide world agen
> Such a constant Lover.
>
> But the spite on't is, no praise

[90] Robert Wilcher, *The Discontented Cavalier: The Work of John Suckling in its Social, Religious, Political and Literary Contexts* (New Jersey, 2007), p. 26.

> Is due at all to me:
> Love with me had made no stays
> Had it any been but she.
>
> Had it any been but she
> And that very Face,
> There had been at least ere this
> A dozen dozen in her place. (Suckling, 'Out Upon It', 1-16)[91]

The opening lines recall Donne's 'Woman's Constancy' 'Now thou hast loved me one whole day/Tomorrow when thou leav'st, what wilt thou say?' (1-2), and, too, some of the febrile energy of the image, 'Time shall moult away his wings' owes its force to Donne. Suckling takes Donne's inversions of Petrarchan submission and evokes a similar kind of misanthropy, a similar voice self-consciously framing the unreasonable as reasonable; 'Out upon it, I have loved/three whole days together/and am like to prove three more/if it prove fair weather' where the play on 'prove' has strongly Donnean resonance. Those final lines read as if they are pre-figuring the Rochesterian mode: the excesses of the Rochesterian sexual rhetoric has merged here with the Donnean lyricism.

Waller, too, both used Donne and was recognised as doing so. Elijah Fenton, a poet, schoolmaster and assistant to Pope, picked up on the cadences of Donne in Waller in his commentary on Waller's 'Song: Stay, Phoebus, stay!' Fenton had in his library a copy of the 1633 Poems, a copy of the 1650 edition of the Poems, and a 1670 edition of Walton's Lives.[92]

> The latter Stanza of these verses (which are certainly of Mr Waller's earliest production) alluded to the Copernican system, in which the earth is suppos'd to be a planet, and to move on its own axis around the sun, the centre of the universe. Dr Donne and Mr Cowley industriously affected to entertain the

[91] John Suckling, *Fragmenta Aurea* (London, 1648), f2.
[92] *The Works of Edmund Waller* (London, 1729), p. lxi.

> fair sex with such philosophical allocutions; which in his riper age Mr Waller as industriously avoided.[93]

Fenton seems to be thinking thematically rather than tonally; tonally, Waller is in 'Stay, Phoebus, stay!' Donnean only to a point; but, the specificity of one planetary, quasi-scientific image clashing with another, may well play with the idea of Donne's presence in the cultural memory. Waller's verse, like Donne's 'The Sun Rising', apostrophically addresses the sun:

> Stay, Phoebus, stay!
> The world to which you fly so fast,
> Conveying day
> From us to them, can pay your haste
> With no such object, not salute your rise
> With no such wonder, as De Mornay's eyes.
>
> Well does this prove
> The error of those antique books,
> Which made you move
> About the world; her charming looks
> Would fix your beams, and make it ever day,
> Did not the rolling earth snatch her away. (Waller, 'Stay, Phoebus, stay!', 1-12)

Waller had, too, biographical links with Donne; Daniel Starza Smith's work on the Conway's close relationship with John Donne junior has discovered that Waller was a close friend of Viscount Conway, whose collection of Donne's papers was one of the largest in the country; in fact, Waller was instrumental in getting Conway arrested when he implicated Conway in his bid to restore the King.[94] Conway may have seen some of Waller's very earliest work, and certainly owned a

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[93] A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage*, p. 74.
[94] Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2014), p. 127. After Waller implicated Conway in his plot to restore the King, Conway was imprisoned until July 1643, pending the official investigation. The immediate consequence was that his library was confiscated by Parliamentary forces. Starza Smith suggests that Conway reacted to the loss of his library by engaging more deeply with the manuscript circulating community of his peers and by collecting; Waller, then, was in part responsible for Conway's extraordinary collection of manuscripts.

number of Waller's poems in manuscript; Waller, then, would have been conscious of being collected alongside Donne.

Lesser known poets and collections, like Alexander Brome's *Songs and other Poems* in 1661, also show the continuation of the Donnean tradition. Brome recruits Donne's imagery for his relatively straightforwardly-argued verse.[95] Brome takes from Donne the impulse to render the common uncommon. Interestingly, Herbert Grierson's edition of Donne notes the confluence in tone between Brome and Donne in an incongruous place, comparing *Alexander Brome's* 'The Resolve', 'Roses out-red their [i.e. women's] lips and cheeks,/Lillies their whiteness stain' with Donne's 'Elegy XV: A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife', 'for my tale/Nor count nor counsellor will red or pale.'[96] Grierson notes that Brome follows Donne in the unusual use of 'red' as a verb. Donne's plastic treatment of nouns and verbs, switching one into the other form, becomes part of the technique here.

*

Marvell, writing 'To his Noble Friend Mr Richard Lovelace, upon his Poems', offers a reading of the quality of Donne's influence on the cavaliers:

> Sir,
> Our times are much degenerate from those
> Which your sweet Muse which your fair Fortune chose,
> And as complexions alter with the Climes,
> Our wits have drawn th'infection of our times.
> That candid Age no other way could tell
> To be ingenious, but by speaking well.
> Who best could praise, had then the greatest praise,
> Twas more esteemed to give, than wear the Bayes. (Marvell, 'To his Noble Friend Mr Richard Lovelace', 1-9)

[95] Alexander Brome, *Songs and other Poems* (London, 1661).
[96] Herbert Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne, Edited from old editions and numerous manuscripts with introductions and commentary by Herbert Grierson MA* (Oxford, 1912), ii. p. 83.

The main thrust of the poem focuses on poetic disquiet, on envy and ambition, but there may be too a sense here that Lovelace worked in a courtly culture that flourished in part through its ability to locate the 'ingenious' voice that was the metaphysical tradition and, through gesture and allusion, to harness it.

The poets fashioning themselves through a 'cavalier' lyric ethos seem, by and large, not to take Donne as standing for anything other than an interesting and powerful literary voice; it is present in the figurative verse of Cowley, in the melding of seriousness and playfulness in Marvell's wit, and his return to argument through imagistic conceit. This much more piecemeal Donne, traceable in multi-directional strands, rings through the Cavalier verse of the seventeenth century.

For Dryden, though, the thrust was different. Donne, I have shown, provided a resource that poets of very different political and material circumstances could turn to, in order to create distinctive modes of expression, whether political, sexual, or religious; and it becomes possible to see Donne being endlessly re-appropriated and reinvented by Dryden in ways at once combative and celebratory. I hope that the above work might add to Dryden studies as much as to Donne, in showing Dryden to be a reader open to wider range of influences than is usually imagined, capable of hungrily assimilating those poets who might seem at the opposite end of the spectrum in terms of wit, voice and purpose. Just as Kathryn Sutherland has demonstrated how Jane Austen gets read in illuminatingly tangential ways, so Donne, too, has been moulded in ways that range from anxious to elegiac. Similarly, J. B. Lethbridge was able to show in *Shakespeare and Spenser: Attractive Opposites* that the academy has been willing to identify allusion through what appear

to be half-remembered lines; the same, I argue, applies to the ghosts of Donne in Dryden's multiple uses of his verse.[97] Dryden struggles with Donne's knottedness; there is an exciting intellectual thrust towards a mode of expression that would allow the use of Donne's boldly intelligent re-workings of logic and of image, whilst adhering to Dryden's ideas of what constituted ideal language. Dryden uses Donne to interrogate the relationship between thought and form itself.

[97] J. B. Lethbridge, *Shakespeare and Spenser: Attractive Opposites* (Manchester, 2011), especially chapter 1.

‘BY THE WORLD FORGOT’? POPE’S VERSIFICATION OF DONNE’S *SATYRES*

In 1608 Ben Jonson sent to Lady Bedford a manuscript copy of Donne’s *Satyres*, with an epigram attached:

> If works (not th’authors) their own grace should looke
> Whose poemes would not wish to be your booke?
> But these, desir’d by you, the makers ends
> Crowne with their owne. Rare poemes ask rare friends.
> Yet, Satyres, since the most of mankind bee
> Their un-avoided subject, fewest see;
> For none ere took that pleasure in sinnes sense,
> But, when they heard it tax’d, tooke some offence.
> They, then, that living where the matter is bred,
> Dare for these poemes, yet, both aske, and read,
> And like them too; must needfuly, though few,
> Be of the best: and ‘mongst those, best are you.[1]

Donne’s *Satyres*, for Jonson, are connoisseurs’ poems; they are poems that ‘fewest see’, but both poems and readers are ‘of the best’. They are, he suggests, little read in part because of their willingness to offend and accost the reader. Jonson proved prophetic; compared to the scholarly attention paid over the last hundred years to Donne’s lyric verse, the *Satyres* have received relatively little attention. The forthcoming edition of the online *Oxford Bibliographies*: *Early Modern Satire*, compiled by Clare Bucknell, will list only two texts dealing with Donne and Early Modern satire: M. Thomas Hester’s *Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorn* and Howard Erskine-Hill’s chapter, ‘Courtiers Out of Horace’ in

[1] Quoted in Alan MacColl, ‘The Circulation of Donne’s Poems in Manuscript,’ in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration* ed. A. J. Smith, p. 30. There were of course exceptions to the idea of the *Satyres* being less read: Joseph Wybarne, in *The New Age of Old Names* (1609) quoted six lines from Satyre IV and adds the ascriptions ‘the tenth Muse her selfe’, but added in the margin ‘Dunne in his Satyres’. Alan MacColl, ‘The Circulation of Donne’s Poems in Manuscript’, p. 30.

The Augustan Idea in English Literature (London, 1983).[2] C. S. Lewis called Donne's *Satyre*s 'shaggy and savage', disgusting in their preoccupations, unmetrical and obscure.[3]

Because they are so little read, and are such ornery texts, it may be useful to begin this chapter, which will be a study of Alexander Pope's 'versifications' of Donne's *Satyre II* and *Satyre IV*, with an account of Donne's originals. I will then go on to ask; why would Pope have chosen to versify the *Satyres*, thereby creating a moment of reception of Donne which, for its sustained focus, is unrivalled? What did he mean, indeed by 'versification' – the word seems provocatively to imply that Donne's poems are not, as they stand, true verse. What can we learn, from the ways in which the verse was transformed, about Pope's conception of taste and his aesthetic values? What can be discovered about Pope's vision of Donne and about the resources, at a political, religious and literary level, that he found in Donne? For this chapter, when comparing Pope and Donne's different uses of the *Satyres*, I will use the text of Donne's *Satyres* that Pope provided for his readers, as using Robin Robbins's lightly modernised version of the text would have the unintended effect of making Pope look archaic; a fact which is a further demonstration of how many different Donnes exist across different moments.

Donne's *Satyres* were almost certainly written early in his career. They were amongst the first of their kind; in that they were, as Robin Robbins, Colin Burrow and Grierson all suggest, written at around the same time as Joseph Hall's two books of *Virgidemiarum*, *Toothlesse Satyres* (1597) and *Byting Satyres* (1598), Donne and Hall vie for the place of first verse satirist and first Juvenilian satirist in English. Donne's *Satyres*

[2] James Baumlin's *John Donne and the Rhetorics of Renaissance Discourse* (Columbia, 1991) does discuss the *Satyres* in 'Part 1', in the context of the rhetorical tradition, but long studies of the *Satyres* remain rare.
[3] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), p. 469.

remained in manuscript until they were printed in the 1633 *Poems,* so escaped the order by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the so-called 'Bishop's Ban' of June 1599 that a number of similar works, including Hall's satires (though they were ultimately reprieved), Marston's *Pygmalion* and *Scourge of Villainy*, T. M.'s *Micro-Cynicon* and Guilpin's *Skialethia* should be burnt, and that 'noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter'.[4] It may have been this that was in Donne's mind when Donne wrote to Wotton in 1600 that 'to my satires there belongs some fear'.[5]

The *Satyres* circulated in manuscript during Donne's life in collections in which 'The Storm' and 'The Calm' were often also included, as in the Harley satires, and the Queen's College Oxford MS and Heneage MS.[6] In 1614, Thomas Freeman seemed to refer to one of these collections, or to a very similar one when he wrote, in *Rubbe, and a Great Cast. Epigrams* (1614)

> The *Storm* described hath set thy name afloat
> Thy *Calm* a gale of famous winds has got
> Thy *Satires* short, too soon we them o'erlook
> I prithee, Persius, write a bigger book.[7]

Milgate suggests that variants found in three manuscript versions, most notably changes in *Satyre III*, are evidence of revisions by Donne for the copy he sent to Ben Jonson, probably in 1608, which would have been the version Jonson sent on to Lucy Countess of Bedford, suggesting that Donne was sufficiently invested in their excellence to revisit them at least a decade after composition.[8] Robbins posits that as the Westmoreland manuscript was transcribed by a friend of Donne, it may be thought

[4] E. Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 5 vols. (London, 1875-94), vol. 3, p. 316.
[5] Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne,* p. 366.
[6] BL Harley MS 5110; Queen's MS 216; Heneage private collection.
[7] Cited in Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne,* p. 366.
[8] *John Donne: The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford, 1967), p. lix.

the manuscript with the highest authority.[9] Variations between manuscripts are, for *Satyres II* and *IV*, relatively small and often homonyms; 'supple' in one manuscript family versus 'subtle', 'bareness' against 'barenness': changes that nuance but do not radically change the meaning.

Dating for the *Satyres* is usually taken from internal evidence within the poems, except in the case of *Satyre I*, which is the easiest to date; the Harley manuscript has inscribed on the first page 'Jhon (sic) Dunne his Satires/Anno Domini 1593', and the text of the poem contains oblique references to the outbreak of plague preventing public performances at the theatre from 1592 to 1594. *Satyre II* was probably written the year after, in 1594 or 1595, when Donne would have been in his very early twenties. Lines 5-6 of the poem, 'Though poetry indeed be such a sin,/As I think, that brings dearths and Spaniards in', locate the poem in the wet summer of 1594, leading to a grain shortage and hunger amongst the poor, whilst the 'Spaniards' may refer to the Spanish landing in Cornwall in July 1595, in which Penzance was burnt.[10] *Satyre IV* seems to have been written in March or April 1597. It must have been written after March 1597 to accommodate the reference at line 114 to the conquering of Amiens, 'The Spaniards came, to th' loss of Amiens', and, as Robin Robbins points out in his explanatory notes on the poem, Donne makes a reference to the theatre in line 183, '"For a king/ those hose are", cried his flatterers, and bring/ them next week to the theatre to sell' (181-183) which suggests the poem was written – or at least situated in a moment – before April 1597, when the theatres closed.

[9] Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 376.
[10] Robin Robbins ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 376.

What are Donne's *Satyres* about? It seems a disingenuous question – *Satyre II* is an attack on lawyers, akin in topic to contemporary work such as John Davie's *Gulling Sonnets* 8 and the manuscript 'Libel against some Grayes Inn gentlemen and Revellers' in Rosenbach MS 1083, f.15[11]; *Satyre IV* is an attack on the court more widely and follows the model of Horace's *Satire. i. 9* - but it is telling that many scholars, if asked, find it hard to reconstruct from the memory of the logic and exact progress of either of the poems. *Satyre II* begins by defining the subject of its attack in the negative, satirising first poets as not worthy of satire, with a kind of self-consciousness that undercuts the punch of the satire; 'their state/ is poor, disarmed, like papists, not worth hate.' (9-10) Even when it addresses the law, it reads as a kind of untargeted half-joking vitriol rather than the sharp attack of a satire:

> Jollier of this state
> Than are new-ben'ficed Ministers, he throws
> Like nets, or lime-twigs, wheresoe'er he goes
> His title of Barrister on ev'ry wench (Donne, *Satyre II*, 44-47)

The length of both *Satyres*, and the way that images unfold one within another, make them difficult to read and, once read, difficult to hold in the memory. Metrically, they are harsher and more unruly than his lyric verse. Michael Moloney offers a metrical reading of Donne's poetry that demonstrates that Donne uses elisions and speech contractions at a markedly higher rate in his *Satyres* than in any of his lyric verse: there are two and a half times as many elisions in the *Satyres* as in the *Songs and Sonnets.*[12] There are 55 elisions in *Satyre IV*, 36 in *Satyre II*, and five contractions in each: shattering the metronomic line beat, or even, for large chunks of the poem, resisting

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[11] An account of this manuscript is given in James Sanderson, *An Edition of an Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Collection of Poems (Rosenbach MS 186),* unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (1960), p. 335.
[12] Michael Moloney, 'Donne's Metrical Practice', in John R Roberts ed., *Essential Articles for the Study of John Donne's Poetry* (London, 1975), p. 174.

that beat functioning at all.[13] Donne uses double and triple elision in the same line, as well as far-fetched elisions which obscure the regularity of the line, deliberately violating the decasyllabic norm. Elisions, for Donne, both resist and observe the unvaried line length of a fixed stanzaic pattern: they allowed Donne to negotiate his way into discord while adhering to the rule. Moloney identified one elision in *Songs and Sonnets* to every 10.2 lines; (other poems with high instances of elision are 'Love's Exchange' with 7, 'The Extasie' with 10, 'The Blossom', with 9.) [14] In the *Satyre*s the ratio is 1 to 4 lines.[15] Johnson picks up on this when he writes that the metaphysical poets wrote 'such verses as stood the trial of the finger better than of the ear.'[16] These qualities, of metrical resistance to ease, would come to be of keen interest to poets and critics during their reception in the early eighteenth century.

Satyre IV brings to a peak a quality all five of the *Satyres* play with: there is a satiric forcefulness in which the central thrust nonetheless remains elusive, and a kind of provocative superfluity of incident. *Satyre IV* takes eight lines for the idea of the court to be introduced; it is a playful delay of certainty which the poem continues over its 244 lines, and lines 155-74 are a kind of dream-like trance divorced from the action of the poem. Both *Satyres* seem to play with the satiric idea of actually being *against*, or about, any one thing; they work at the line-level with Donne's familiar method of semantic compression, but over the length of the verse resists a single compact meaning. This double quality, of wit and provocative elusiveness, may be precisely what drew Pope to at once admire and admonish them.

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[13] Michael Moloney, 'Donne's Metrical Practice', p. 174.
[14] Moloney, Donne's Metrical Practice', p. 173.
[15] Moloney, Donne's Metrical Practice', p. 173.
[16] 'Cowley', Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, vol. II, p. 19.

Pope's 'versifications': who was Pope when he turned to Donne?

In 1735, Pope produced an edition of his *Works*; it was available both in folio and quarto, boldly ornamented, and paid for by subscription.[17] In it, clustered together with Pope's two Horatian Satires, were the second and fourth of Donne's *Satyres*, 'versified.' As ever with Pope the presentations of the poems are more complex and playfully evasive than they initially seem; Pope's two major instances of imitations, Horatian and Donnean, were presented in the *Works* as a single coherent body, linked by Pope explicitly in his Preface to the *Works*:

> the occasion of publishing these imitations was the Clamour raised on some of my Epistles. An Answer from *Horace* was both more full, and of more Dignity, than any I could have made in my own person; and the Example of much greater Freedom in so eminent a Divine as Dr *Donne*, seem'd proof with what Indignation and Contempt a Christian may treat Vice or Folly, in ever so low, or ever so high, a Station.[18]

This is an editorial sleight of hand; although Pope suggests that the texts were all composed in response to a single event, they are in fact composed at different times. Pope, in the Preface, yokes the two sets of poems together, so that together they demarcate one distinct imaginative moment in Pope's life and reify one cultural practice, imitation, as a form of riposte. The Preface draws Donne into a circle of Augustan transposition and classicism, at once elevating and domesticating him.[19] Pope is, in the moment of publication, being deliberately slippery about dates. In fact his version of Donne's *Satyre IV*, which is titled in the *Works, The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne,* had already been published anonymously as *The Impertinent, Or a Visit to the Court. A Satyr. By an Eminent Hand* in a 16-page folio in 1733. It seems to have been

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[17] James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning* (Oxford, 2001), p. 215.
[18] Alexander Pope, *The Satires*, ed. John Butts, *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope* (London, 1963), p. 24.
[19] James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning*, p. 147.

popular; it was published in folio in 1733 twice more, both times by E. Hill, a printer based in Fleet Street who had printed several satirical works. Pope had enlarged on this version for the 1735 printing. This, and the versification of Donne's *Satyre II*, also appeared in the first octavo version of the *Works* in 1735, and the octavo *Works* in 1739 and 1740, and Warburton's edition. In fact, though, they may have been written significantly earlier in Pope's career than the 1730s; he had claimed elsewhere to have 'versified' Donne's *Satyres* during the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne and circulated them in manuscript.[20] Pope states in the *Advertisement* to the *Imitations of Horace* that he has versified the *Satyres* 'at the Desire of the Earl of Oxford while he was Lord Treasurer, and of the Duke of Shrewsbury' which puts the date between 1711 and 1714; Pope would have been only 23 in 1711. However, as John Butt points out, it is impossible that either the Duke, who died in 1718, or the Earl, who died in 1724, could have seen the version Pope published, in that it shows evidence of substantial revision to make it politically relevant to the concerns of the early 1730s.[21] There is, in *The Fourth Satire,* a reference to the Polish Succession (line 154), which indicates a date of at least 1733. There is, on the other hand, a letter dated March 1725 from Edward, the second Earl of Oxford, in which the Earl tells Pope that he had come across 'your translation of one of Dr Donne's Satires' in the papers of his father, the first Earl.[22] Butts suggests that this may be a reference to the manuscript collection of verse, BL Lansdowne MS 852, in which on f. 94v is an undated poem headed 'The Second Satire of Dr Donne Translated by Mr Pope', in a unknown hand that is clearly not Pope's.[23] It is situated directly after Swift's *Imitation of Horace*, which is dated 1713, and seems to

[20] Pope, *The Satires*, ed. John Butts, p. xli.
[21] Pope, *The Satires*, ed. John Butts, p. xli.
[22] Pope, *The Satires*, ed. John Butts, p. xli.
[23] Pope, *The Satires*, ed. John Butts, p. xlii. Butts prints this manuscript version for the first time in his edition.

be framed in consort with it; both are fairly simple satiric renderings of the source text. This manuscript text makes far fewer substantial changes to Donne's original than the published version of Pope's *The Second Satire*. Donne's original begins:

> Sir; though (I thank God for it) I do hate
> Perfectly all this Town; yet there's one state
> In all things so excellently best,
> That hate towards them, breeds pity towards the rest. (Donne, *Satyre II*, 1-4)

Pope's manuscript version of Donne's poem, BL Lansdowne MS 852, reads:

> Tho' Heav'n be praisd, that ever since I knew
> This Town, I had the Sense to hate it too;
> There's yet in this, as in all Evills still,
> One supreme State, so excellently ill;
> That perfect hate to that, now makes me more
> Pity the rest, than I abhorrd before. (Pope, 'The Second Satire of Dr Donne Translated by Mr Pope', 1-6)

There are shifts, here, in metre and in tone, but the structure and ideas are the same, down to the rendering of the conjunction 'though' as part of the semantics of the poem, part amused, part equivocal. Pope's later printed version, however, reads:

> Yes; thank my stars! As early as I knew
> This Town, I had the sense to hate it too:
> Yet here, as ev'n in Hell, there must be still
> One Giant-Vice, so excellently ill,
> That all besides one pities, no abhors;
> As who knows Sapho, smiles at other whores. (Pope, *The Second Satire of Dr John Donne, Dean of St Paul's, Versified*, 1-6)

Pope adds a new and caustic reference to Sappho, and personifies 'Giant-Vice'; from the beginning, the poem is already peopled with more characters than Donne's, and this is a pattern Pope will continue. Donne used proper names frequently and slyly in his *Satyres*, but Pope expanded that practice, adding proper names where Donne has had unpersonified vices. He expands, where Donne's art has been of compression, and

makes Donne's conversational tone more insistent from the start, with 'Yes; thank my stars!', which implies the reader is already in the middle of a dialogue and hearing the response to a question. The placing of the reader in the midst of an already-begun dialogue is something Donne's verse often does, in the *Satyres* and in the lyric verse, as in the direct address of 'Busy old fool, unruly Sun'; Pope makes the same discursive quality more unambiguously present and dialogic, thereby making the process of 'versification' a way of underlining and accentuating certain of Donne's key qualities even as it eradicates others. Versification becomes a kind of editing and literary appreciation in one.

As John Butts suggests, the early manuscript version of *Satyre II* is more in line with Pope's modernisations of Chaucer's *Merchants Tale* in the character of the relatively minor changes it makes.[24] It is noteworthy, too, that Pope's modernisations of Chaucer and of Chaucerian apocrypha come filtered through Dryden's. Kathleen Forni suggests that Pope was so invested in Dryden's re-writing of 'The Flower and the Leaf' that he 'appears to conflate Dryden's version and the original'; in the preface to *The Temple of Fame: A Vision* (1715), his adaptation of Chaucer's *House of Fame*, Pope ranks the Flower and the Leaf with the *Romance of the Rose* and the *House of Fame* as 'masterpieces of allegory', which is the element that Dryden most accentuates.[25] Forni writes 'although he refers to the text as Chaucer's, Pope's response clearly is conditioned by Dryden's reading. Pope writes in a letter to Judith Cowper in September 1723 that he is drawn to 'The Flower and the Leaf' and its 'Fairy tale'

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[24] Pope, *The Satires*, ed. John Butts, p. xlii.
[25] Kathleen Forni, *The Chaucerian Apocrypha: A Counterfeit Canon* (Florida, 2001), p. 131.

nature', the aspect elongated by Dryden in his rendering.[26] For Pope, then, modernization and translation could function through several filters; through Dryden, or, in the case of Donne, through Pope's own earlier versions.

The 'translation' of Donne's *Satyre*, when it is revised and becomes a 'versification', falls more into the camp of Pope's *Imitations of Horace*, in which the source text is used as much to accentuate the changes Pope has made as it is to provide a satiric inspiration, and to locate Pope in the satiric tradition. The line between Pope's different modes of response to his source texts is, of course, hard to draw; as Raphael Lyne has demonstrated for the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, 'a rigid distinction between imitation and translation may not suit this period at all: on many occasions passages of what amounts to translation interweave with imitation or what we would today categorize as original writing', and the same porousness is visible in the early eighteenth century.[27] The fact, though, that Pope not only composed verse based on Donne's *Satyres* but returned to them at several points over his career suggests they had a strong and ongoing pull on his creative imagination.

The suggestion that Pope was engaged in reading and re-writing Donne's *Satyres* in his youth, around 1711-1713, is strengthened by evidence that Thomas Parnell, the Anglo-Irish 'Graveyard poet' who was also a member of the Scriblerus club, wrote a versification of Donne's *Satyre III* in or around 1713. It is a close re-rendering in which the main changes are modernisations of vocabulary and metre, with few of the expansions, additions and diversions Pope makes to his version. Parnell takes Donne's

[26] Kathleen Forni, *The Chaucerian Apocrypha: A Counterfeit Canon*, p. 132.
[27] Raphael Lyne, *Ovid's Changing Worlds: English Metamorphoses, 1567-1632* (Oxford, 2001), p. 19.

phrase 'kind pity' and renders it as 'compassion' with the blunt clarity of a translator rather than a poet:

> Compassion checks my spleen, yet Scorn denies
> The tears a passage thro' my swelling eyes
> To laugh or weep at sins, might idly show,
> Unheedful passion, or unfruitful woe.
> Satyr! arise, and try thy sharper ways,
> If ever Satyre cur'd an old disease (Parnell, 'The Third Satire of Dr John Donne', 1-6)

This poem (which Pope included in the 1738 version of his own *Works, Volume 2, Part 2,* but dropped from all further editions) lends support to the idea that Pope wrote his earliest drafts of the poems while a very young man, in that Parnell seems to have been prompted to write his versification by, and alongside, Pope.[28] The editors of Parnell's collected verse suggest this was almost certainly 'either at Pope's suggestion, or at least in connection with Pope's own project.'[29] Pope, then, was thinking about Donne, in religious and literary contexts, long before the 1730s.

The question of why Pope chose in his Preface to the 1735 *Works* to blur the exact moment in which the Donne versifications were written, and so should be historically situated, has several possible answers. He seems in part to be joining in the prestidigitation around publication that was so characteristic of the Scriblerians. Swift does something somewhat similar with timing in the *A Tale of A Tub*, making the dating of it a game in itself; Marcus Walsh, in his recent edition of *A Tale of A Tub*, marks out the two main elements of the text, written at different periods of Swift's life: the allegory on religion, which is the 'Tale' itself, written around 1695; and the

[28] Thomas Parnell, *Collected Poems*, eds. C.J. Rawson and Frederick P. Lock (Oxford, 1989), p. 25.
[29]Thomas Parnell, *Collected Poems*, p. 586.

'Apology', dated June 1709, noting that 'the greatest Part of that Book was finished above thirteen Years since, 1696'.[30] Walsh's untangling of the multiple dating takes three pages; Swift's reference to the 'famous Writer now living' (evidently Dryden) sets the *terminus ad quem* at 1700, an assertion which is promptly contradicted by 'The Apology', dated 1709, and the dedication to Prince Posterity, dated 1697, but with conspicuous revisions that set it at a later date.[31] As both Emrys Jones and David Fairer have discussed, this double-or-triple dating that Pope and Swift deploy is a reflection of the complex doubleness in the Scriblerians' attitude to print; at once fascinated by the authorial control that it gave and wary of commercial authorship and the Grub Street mentality, their obfuscating over dates of composition allowed them to create an atmosphere of knowing unrest and uncertainty.[32] This fascination also means that Pope's interest in print may have led him to be aware of revisions of Donne, and in Donne as a textual phenomenon.

Another effect of Pope's refusal to pin down his 'versifications' to a single date is the creation, for the poem, of a double past and a double politics. It invokes both the past of Donne and, albeit more opaquely, the past of Anne, Tory politics, and the Treaty of Utrecht. If it was indeed produced under Anne, Pope's *The Fourth Satire* can be read as in some sense a companion piece to 'Windsor Forest', another piece of quasi-imitation (of Denham's 'Cooper's Hill') which Pope politicises by making explicit

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[30] Marcus Walsh ed. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift: A Tale of a Tub and Other Works* (Cambridge, 2010), p. xxxvi.

[31]Marcus Walsh ed. *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

[32] Emrys Jones, 'Pope and Dulness', in *Pope: Recent Essays by Several Hands*, eds. Maynard Mack and James A. Winn, p. 614. This duality surrounding Pope's attitude to print has echoes, too, in Martinus Scriblerus; a figure for ridicule, made to marry a pair of Siamese twins in 'The Double Mistress', he is nonetheless endowed with a certain grandeur, appearing in the *Dunciad Variorum* as commentator and taking on a life outside his original context. Pope's deliberate slipperiness in the case of the Donne *Satyre*s, then, acts as a window into a very specific moment in print and reading culture.

reference to Anne as a Stuart monarch ('And peace and plenty tell, a *Stuart* reigns.') Conversely, in suggesting in the Preface to the 1735 *Works* that the Donne reversifications are contemporaneous with the Horatian imitations, Pope is suggesting a date that can only mean the poem is intended to be consumed under a Hanoverian, George II. In this double-dating, Pope strengths the plausible deniability of the poem; a deniability already established through his use of Donne as a proxy through which to write politically about the court. [33] Erskine-Hill points out that Donne's reference to Queen Elizabeth was, in its original form, a way of bearing witness (sometimes caustic witness) to the power of the crown. Pope follows the lines almost exactly, with a kind of ingenuous literality: 'When the queen frownd' or smiled he knows/and what a subtle minister may make of *that'* (*The Fourth Satire*, 132-3); but in Pope's case, Erskine-Hill argues, it produces:

> a specific and somewhat different meaning. Queen Caroline's influence over the King was notorious, as was the fact that it was through her Walpole retained the backing of the court.[34]

In the new context, Walpole has become the 'subtle minister', and the ambiguity innate in Donne's diction in this *Satyre* has been bent to new use.

Pope, then, approached the *Satyres* at least twice, first in his early twenties and then again, twenty years later. When Pope came to prepare his versification of *Satyre IV* for publication in 1633 he was, Maynard Mack suggests, at the same time finishing

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[33] Thomas Keymer's recent Clarendon lecture series, *The Poetics of the Pillory*, addressed the diffusive allusiveness of this generation of writers as a protective strategy, and the ways in which the galvanising fear of the pillory was made literary. Pope, for instance, used the image of the pillory to cast a slur on Defoe; 'Ear-less on high, stood pillory'd D---'. Thomas Keymer, 'Defoe's Ears: *The Dunciad*, the Pillory, and Seditious Libel', in *The Eighteenth-Century Novel* 7 (2009), pp. 159-196.

[34] Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature*, p. 108.

the *Essay on Man*, and writing anxious letters to Martha Blount in a voice that suggest restlessness and discontent;

> You cannot think how melancholy this place makes me: every part of this wood puts into my mind poor Mr Gay with whom I past once a great deal of pleasant time in it, and another friend who is near dead, and quite lost to us, Dr Swift. [. . .] Life, after the first warm heats are over, is all downhill; and one almost wishes the journey's end.[35]

Pope was, at the same time, and perhaps in response to this melancholic discontent, reading satire. It is known that Pope had closely read Edward Young's seven satires, published together as *Love of Fame, The Universal Passion* in 1728; Young's 'characteristical Satires', Valerie Rumbold writes, 'inspired Pope to improve on the formal model evolved by his predecessor', and to rethink what punches the model might be able to deliver.[36] There was an appeal in the form; Samuel Johnson, in his biography of Pope, wrote that when Pope came on a copy of Hall's Satires late in life, 'he wished that he had seen them sooner.'[37] James McLaverty writes that Pope 'found confidence' in satire in the example of Donne; and that Horace, yoked to Donne and to Pope in Pope's Preface to the *Works*, 'from a different philosophical perspective, inspired similar confidence.'[38] There may have been satire even in Pope's earliest and apparently least satirical works, the *Pastorals.* As Ronald Paulson writes, pastoral in Pope's hands evokes its own opposite: it is 'an obverse of satire, always implying the unpastoral world of the present, of the city and the court; the corrupt world is present like the shadow of a wolf in the shepherd's fold.'[39] Pope limits his golden age to one season, to 'Spring', and allows the other three poems to gesture towards three different

[35] Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life* (New Haven, 1985), p. 602.
[36] Valerie Rumbold, *Women's Place in Pope's World* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 268.
[37] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, vol. 4, p. 50.
[38] James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning*, p. 147.
[39] Ronald Paulson, 'Satire, and Poetry, and Pope' in *Pope: Recent Essays by Several Hands*, eds. Maynard Mack and James A. Winn (London, 1980), p. 45.

satiric modes. 'Autumn' evokes its dedicatee, William Wycherley, the dramatic satirist, whose impersonations were famous and whose perfomatively-schizophrenic presence injects insecurity into the dialogue between Hylas and Aegon in Pope's verse. 'Summer' is dedicated to Sir Samuel Garth, the satiric poet and translator of Ovid, and Paulson argues that Garth's satiric voice is evoked in the failed physician who cannot cure the disease of love.[40] 'Winter' is a lament, and in so being, evokes Astraea; Pope injects the germs of satire into writing which, historically, serves a less biting poetic purpose.

Pope was responding critically to Donne as early as 1706. Pope said of Donne, according to Spence in Spence's *Anecdotes*, that 'Donne had no imagination, but as much wit, I think, as any writer can possibly have'.[41] What Pope meant by the separation of 'imagination' from 'wit' is not made absolutely clear in the passage; although David Fairer's *Pope's Imagination* uses epistolary evidence to suggest that for Pope, imagination was an intellectual issue which demanded theorising; Fairer suggests many of Pope's own poems are an exploration of 'the nature of imaginative activity', and it may be that Pope is positing in Donne a lack of intellectual seriousness which corresponds with his ideas about Donne's looseness of metre.[42] Pope also, tellingly, 'commended Donne's Epistles, Metempsychosis, and Satires, as his best things.'[43] It may be that Pope's admiration for Donne's *Satyres* comes in part from their largely dialogic form. The *Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature* notes that dialogue, above all, appealed to Pope; dialogue functioned not just a structure for conversation or argument in Pope's poetry, but, too, as 'a primary 'symptom' of humanity's divided,

[40] Ronald Paulson, 'Satire, and Poetry, and Pope', p. 45
[41] Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men,* ed. J. M. Osborn (Oxford, 1966), p. 136.
[42] David Fairer, *Pope's Imagination* (Manchester, 1984), p. 11. Fairer also demonstrates a tendency in the eighteenth century to describe wit as feminine and fanciful, and judgement as masculine, which perhaps maps onto Pope's sense of Donne as lacking rigour: pp. 89-110.
[43] Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men,* p. 144.

struggling nature.'[44] The balance of dialogue, Jennifer Keith suggests, met Pope's moral and aesthetic fascination with balance and restraint; a fascination that is also evident 'in his use of the classical rhetorical devices of parallelism, chiasmus, zeugma and paradox.'[45] The length of Donne's *Satyres*, too, and their resultant scope, may have appealed to Pope; Pope's use of the fluent couplet form allowed him a framework for minute inspection, suspended over great length. Keith addresses Pope's corrective didactic spirit in a way that is profoundly illuminating for a reading of his corrections of Donne:

> Readers who assume that Pope's didacticism merely imparts a set of doctrines miss the point: his poetry is a vehicle through which to explore and guide perceiving and judging. Thus, in an *Essay on Criticism* (1711) while Pope includes certain guidelines for good poetry and good criticism, the essential quality of the good critic is moral conduct exemplified by teaching, which for Pope is also an act of friendship.[46]

Pope himself is reported to have told Spence that:

> my first taking to imitating was not out of vanity, but humility; I saw how defective my own things were; and endeavoured to mend my manner, by copying good strokes from others.[47]

In versifying Donne, Pope seems to have understood himself to have performed an act of homage as well as of critique, and of comradeship; there was admiration bound up in the corrective impulse.

The presentation of the *Satyres*

[44] Jennifer Keith, 'Alexander Pope', in David Scott Kastan ed., *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of British Literature* (Oxford, 2006), vol. IV, p. 247.
[45] Jennifer Keith, 'Alexander Pope', p. 247.
[46] Jennifer Keith, 'Alexander Pope', p. 247. Pope's idea of the ideal is delineated in the *Essay on Criticism* with stern irony in lines that mimic the errors he lists: 'And ten low words oft creep in one dull line,' and 'A needless Alexandrine ends the song, / That, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along.'
[47] Cited in Pope, *The Satires*, ed. John Butts, p. xxix.

In the 1735 *Works,* Pope provides a version of Donne's original work on the page facing his own versification. He does the same with his Horatian translations. This may have been simply because he assumed his readers might not be familiar with the *Satyres*, they being significantly less read, as Jonson had suggested, than the rest of Donne's work; but it is more likely that Pope is inviting detailed comparison and suggesting there is nuance in the smallest changes he makes. He is inviting close-reading. Situating himself alongside Donne is, too, a piece of cultural shorthand, and a way of positioning himself in the literary tradition, literally alongside the first vernacular verse satirist. The inclusion of parallel texts was moderately unusual. Stuart Gillespie and Penelope Wilson note that only 16% of classical translations included the original text; Latin texts were provided with greater frequency than Greek ones, and the original lines were usually on the facing page or at the foot of each page.[48] Parallel texts were more usual in translations which were designed to serve an educational role as early textbooks; Charles Hoole's translation of Terence in 1663, was targeted at school boys and published with a facing text. Frank Stack notes that the most common use for original texts to be given in parallel was for Restoration parodies, such as Charles Cotton's *Scarronides, Being the First Book of Virgils Aeneis in English Burlesque* (1664); it is possible that in Pope's set-out, some of the playfulness associated with Restoration parody was meant to leak into the satiric structure Pope is working in.[49] Stack claims that the first 'formal Imitation' which was presented with a parallel text, printed at the bottom of each page, was Thomas Wood's *Juvenal Redivivus, or The First*

[48] Stuart Gillespie and Penelope Wilson, 'The Publishing and Readership of Translation', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English III: 1660-1790*, ed. Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins (Oxford, 2005), p. 40.
[49] Frank Stack, *Pope and Horace: Studies in Imitation* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 20. In Cotton's parody the text is prefaced: 'The reader is desired for the better comparing of the Latin and English together, to read on forward to the ensuing Letter of Direction'.

Satyr of Juvenal Taught to Speak Plain English (1683); the tradition of setting out the pages in this way post-dates Donne.[50] The French scholar and translator André Dacier's 1709 edition of Horace, *Œuvres d'Horace en Latin et en François, avec des Remarques Critiques et Historiques*, had also been published with a parallel text. Thomas Nevile's edition of Horace in 1758, which included four Satires and ten Epistles, was accompanied by Horace's Latin original printed on the facing page, while Samuel Johnson's *London* (1738), based on Juvenal's third satire, set the most significant passages at the foot of the page.[51] It is also possible, of course, that Pope's motivation was more economic, and was designed as a means of filling up page space, in that Pope had originally advertised his intention to include a set of ethic epistles which he had not written in time for the 1735 *Works*. David Foxon writes, 'Imitations, whether of Horace or Donne, were well adapted to filling space, for by printing the original text on facing pages one doubled their bulk.'[52] McLaverty, though, argues that Pope's anxiety over perfection of form and print presentation would have militated against decision-making based on anything as straightforward as space: 'Pope's agreement with Gilliver did not oblige him to contribute half the material for the Works and he and Jonathan Richardson could easily have filled up the volume with notes'.[53] In giving the Donnean satire in its entirety and setting it out in a way that evokes classical verse translation, Pope aligns both Donne and himself with classical precedents in Greek and Latin, and elevates the satiric authority of both works in the process.

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[50] Frank Stack, *Pope and Horace: Studies in Imitation*, p. 93.
[51] Frank Stack, *Pope and Horace: Studies in Imitation*, p. 21. Stack writes that Johnson indicated the beginning of each Latin paragraph but did not give the whole text; he was 'presumably assuming the reader had his own copy of Juvenal to hand if he wished'; p. 21.
[52] David Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, rev. and ed. James McLaverty (Oxford, 1991), p. 123.
[53] James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning* (Oxford, 2001), p. 152.

What is especially interesting about the text that Pope provides of Donne is that it is not an exact copy of any of the versions in print or manuscript of Donne's *Satyres*. As Howard Erskine-Hill has demonstrated, Pope's text of Donne diverges from all previous editions; perhaps, he suggests, 'Pope constructed his own text of Donne for this purpose.'[54] It is difficult to imagine that it was an accident; Pope, whose marked proofs suggest that his engagement with the process of printing his own work was perhaps unprecedented, one of the first major poets to have taken a significant copy-editing role in producing his own work, knew what power print accidentals could wield. James McLaverty has demonstrated that for Pope, print was a way of playing with meaning, and he showed a career-long determination to involve himself in the print of his work. McLaverty writes:

> A note sent to William Bowyer about his collected Works in 1717 (he was only 29) is typical: 'I desire, for fear of mistakes, that you will cause the space for the initial letter to the Dedication of the Rape of the Lock to be made of the size of those in Trapp's *Praelictiones*. Only a small ornament at the top of that leaf, not so large as four lines breadth. The rest as I told you before.'[55]

In his inaccuracies in printing the Donne original, Pope seems in part to be engaging in the game of gentlemanly sprezzatura, much as when he misquotes himself in the prefatory material to the *Dunciad*. Pope does something similar when, in his 1725 edition of Shakespeare, alongside the 1560 cut lines, and despite claiming to work 'with a religious abhorrence of all Innovation, and without any indulgence to my private sense or conjecture,' he silently smooths out lines, adding words to bring the verse into

[54] Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature*, p. 94.
[55] James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning* (Oxford, 2001), p.5. Tonson's edition of Donne also makes silent changing from the print copy texts and manuscripts: in a number of the elegies - 'The Bracelet' 'By our first strange and fatal interview', 'Love's Progress' and 'The Expostulation' - Tonson altered the 1669 text which appeared to be his copy text. Following print editions followed Tonson. Dayton Haskin, 'No Edition is an Island' in W. Speed Hill ed., *Text 14:l An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies* (Ann Arbor, 2002), p. 177.

line with his own eighteenth century sensibilities.[56] It is worth noting where Pope's treatment of Shakespeare differs from his treatment of Donne; with Shakespeare, Pope prunes and reduces, but does not at any point depart as starkly from names and progress of the original text as he does in versifications of Donne's *Satyres*. Indeed, it is possible that in his treatment of Donne Pope is staking out a middle way for the treatment of dead poets; in contrast to the radical re-writing of Spenser in 'The Alley' in 1706 (the *Spenser Encyclopaedia* calls it, 'a puerile burlesque of Spenser...a poor indication of Pope's respect for and indebtedness to Spenser') on the one hand, and the more scholarly attention paid to Shakespeare on the other, the simultaneous re-moulding and appropriation of Donne reads likes something akin to fellowship.[57]

'Infinitely more Wit than he wanted Versification': style, metre and poetic candour

What did Pope mean by the word 'versify'? It provocatively suggests that what Donne has written is barely verse. Pope wrote in a letter to Wycherley in 1706 that Donne 'had infinitely more Wit than he wanted Versification: for the great dealers in Wit, like those in Trade, take least Pains to set off their Goods'.[58] In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the earliest given use of the word 'versify' in the sense Pope puts it to ('3. To turn or convert (a literary piece) into verse; to change from prose into verse; to translate or rewrite in verse-form.') is Pope's own, whilst meanings going back to the fourteenth century meant, simply, 'to compose in verse'. In practice, what Pope's versification involves varies enormously from stanza to stanza of the *Satyres*. Donne is, in some lines, barely altered, merely contoured to fit Pope's sense of the metrical ideal

[56] Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 66.
[57] A. C. Hamilton ed., *The Spenser Encyclopaedia* (London, 1991), p. 398.
[58] *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope,* ed. George Sherburn, (Oxford, 1956), vol. I, p. 16.

by the removal of predication, such as ‘do’ before a main verb; in other places, the narrative veers away from Donne’s. In the opening of *Satyre IV*, for instance, the rhythm changes and the rhyme scheme is shifted from Donne’s couplet to three repetitions of the ‘they’ rhyme, but the tone and vocabulary remain very similar. Donne has:

> As prone to’all ill, and of good as forget-
> full, as proud, as lustfull, and as much in debt,
> As vaine, as witless, and as false as they
> which dwell at Court, for once going that way. (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 13-16)

Pope has:

> So was I punish’d, as if full as *proud*
> As prone to *Ill*, as negligent of *Good*,
> As deep in *Debt*, without a thought to pay,
> As *vain*, as *idle*, and as *false*, as they
> Who *live* at *Court*, for going once that Way! (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne,* 19-23)

Pope rejects Donne’s rhyme of forget/debt, based as it is on uneasy break across the line’s enjambment; instead, he forms a triplet to give a tonally triumphant conclusion to the passage. In general, though, Pope’s couplet is not designed to condense: it is designed to extend drama. As I have suggested above, in *Satyre II* and *IV*, Donne plays a game of delay. There are instances in which Pope delays even further than Donne, but for Pope it seems that the delay is in service of constructing the perfect concluding couplet, in which the end rhyme serves the semantic purpose of punch-line. One of the most striking changes Pope makes to Donne’s already-long *Satyre IV* is to suspend and prolong even further Donne’s game of indirection. Donne begins his poem

> Well; I may now receive, and die; My sin
> Indeed is great, but I have been in
> A Purgatory, such as fear’d Hell is
> A recreation, and scant map of this.

My mind, neither with pride's itch, nor hath seen
Poyson'd with love to see, or to bee seen,
I had no suit there, nor new suite to show,
Yet went to Court (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 1-8)

It takes Donne eight lines to reveal the subject and meaning of the sentence, the fact of the Court. It takes Pope fourteen:

WELL, if it be my time to quit the Stage,
Adieu to all the Follies of the Age!
I die in Charity with Fool and Knave,
Secure of peace at least beyond the grave.
I've had my *Purgatory* here betimes,
And paid for all my Satires, all my Rhymes.
The poet's Hell, its Tortures, Fiends, and Flames,
To this were Trifles, Toys, and empty Names.
With foolish *Pride* my heart was never fired,
Nor the vain itch *t'admire* or *be admir'd*:
I hoped for no *Commission* from his Grace;
I bought no *Benefice*, I begg'd no *Place*;
Had no *new Verses*, or *new Suit* to show,
Yet went to COURT!—the Dev'l would have it so. (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne,* 1-14)

Donne's attack in *Satyre IV* seems, as I have argued, deliberately disjointed; Pope suspends its conclusions even further, heightening the sense of long lead-ups to biting punchlines which do not, when they come, encompass fully all that went before. Pope does something similar when the interlocutor arrives. Donne writes

He names me, and comes to me; I whisper, God
How have I sinn'd, that thy wraths furious rod,
This fellow, chuseth me! He saith, Sir,
I love your judgement, whom do you prefer
For the best Linguist? And I seelily
Said that I thought Calepine's Dictionary. (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 49-54)

Pope delays the speech of the intruder, but changes it to dialogue more vividly and sooner than does Donne: it is direct speech, recorded as a play, rather than Donne's indirect record

> He spies me out; I whisper, gracious God!
> What sin of mine could merit such a Rod?
> That all the Shot of Dulness now must be
> From this thy Blunderbuss discharg'd on me!
> "Permit (he cries) no stranger to your fame
> "To crave your sentiment, if —— 's your name.
> "What *Speech* esteem you most?" – "The *King's*," said I,
> "But the best *Words*?"—"O, sir, the *Dictionary*."
> "You miss my aim; I mean the most acute,
> "And perfect *Speaker*?"—"*Onslow*, past dispute."
> "But, Sir, of writers?"—"*Swift*, for closer style,
> "And *Ho-y* for a Period of a Mile." (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne,* 62-73)

Pope uses Donne's moment of generalised satire to comment on the literary state of the day. 'Ho-y', Hoadly, was controversial; Alexander Chalmers' *A New and General Biographical Dictionary Containing and Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Persons* first published in eleven volumes in 1761, quotes this line in the entry on Hoadly, with the note that 'his great defect was style, extending his periods to a disagreeable length, for which Pope has thus recorded him.'[59]

There are moments in which Pope's versifications of the *Satyres* make sharp volte-faces in tone; and in this he may be catching and accentuating something similar in Donne's *Satyres* that has gone largely unremarked. Donne's *Satyres* are tonally uneven and make abrupt shifts, from Juvenalian satire to Dantean reverie: Pope makes them more so, though not necessarily in the same places. Pope writes in his version of *Satyre IV*:

> Not *Dante* dreaming all th'Infernal Sate,
> Beheld such Scenes of *Envy*, *Sin* and *Hate*
> Base Fear becomes the Guilty, not the Free
> Suits Tyrants, Plunderers, but suits not me. (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne,* 192-95)

[59] Alexander Chalmers, *A New and General Biographical Dictionary Containing and Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Persons* (London, 1761), p. 138.

This is virulent and bitter, and follows a long discourse on corrupt figures, one of whom is clearly Walpole ('He names the Price for ev'ry Office paid/and says our Wars thrive ill, because delay'd' (162-3)). It is striking that Pope references 'Dante dreaming', who is not named directly in Donne's *Satyre* but whose mood, M Thomas Hester suggests, is evoked in Donne's *Satyre IV* lines 155-74, in which the speaker enters a dream-like state, hinting at Dante by going into a trance 'like his who dreamt he saw Hell' (158). The end of the dream-state of Donne's speaker occurs in the lines set across from this exact passage of Pope's versification in his *Works* (line 74 in the facing Donne text). Pope pinpoints for his readers what is only hinted at in Donne's tone: Donne has become Dantean, and Pope makes that explicit. Pope, though, then performs an abrupt shift towards a lighter tone:

> Shall I, the Terror of this sinful Town,
> Care, if a livery'd Lord or smile or frown?
> Who cannot flatter, and detest who can,
> Tremble before a *noble Serving-Man*? (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne,* 196-99)

As Mack suggests, there is a sense in the 'Shall I' of 'who, me?', and in that shift of tone, Pope refutes some of the boldness of the accusation that went directly before; though, as Mack writes, within two lines Pope is 'too close again, which sends him scurrying for protection back to Donne and the court of Elizabeth' in the next lines.[60]

> Oh my fair Mistress, Truth! Shall I quit thee,
> For huffing, braggart, puft *Nobility*?
> Thou, who since Yesterday, hast roll'd o'er all
> The busy, idle Blockheads of the ball
> Hast thou, o *Sun*! beheld an emptier sort,
> Than such as swell this Bladder of a Court? (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne,* 200-205)

[60] Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life*, p. 605.

There is, in this return to 'Yesterday', an evocation of a playfully amorphous Donnean vocabulary; the direct address, 'o Sun', along the 'busy' of the preceding line, evoke 'busy old fool, unruly Sun' and its own renunciation of the court and king. The versification becomes a piece of literary criticism and literary history.

Pope uses the conversational couplet in both *Satyres* to disguise his own artifice in perfecting the metre, and very little in Donne's *Satyres* remained metrically unchanged. As Ian Jack has shown, in the first, earlier version of Donne's *Satyre II,* Pope left 22 of Donne's 112 lines unchanged; in the final 1735 *Works* version, twelve out of 112. [61] In his imitation of *Satyre IV*, Pope keeps only eighteen out of 244 lines unchanged. In the early version of *Satyre II*, Pope keeps 30 of 56 of Donne's rhyme pairs; in the later version, as he changes and expands more widely, only 20 of 56. In his version of *Satyre IV*, Pope keeps 16 of 122 of the rhyme pairs. [62] Where Donne has the powerfully ornery scansion of 'A thing which would have pos'd Adam to name' (*Satyre IV*, 20), Pope has 'A thing which Adam had been pos'd to name.' Donne's bold enjambment seems designed to make his reader trip; Pope's is a hallmark moment of eradicating Donne's harshness. Pope does, though, appear to relish some of the more strange and vertiginous of Donne's images, such as 'the tender labyrinth of a Maids soft ear'. He changes the sexually-inflected 'tender' to the more neutral 'soft', but keeps the image: 'the soft lab'rinth of a Lady's ear' (55).

N. J. C. Andreasen argues that the *Satyre*s 'are a dramatization of the contrast between the sacred and the profane'; their roughness of metre can be read as a careful

[61] Ian Jack, 'Pope and "The Weighty Bullion of Dr Donne's Satires"', p. 397.
[62] Ian Jack, 'Pope and "The Weighty Bullion of Dr Donne's Satires"', p. 398.

mapping of discord onto form.[63] Pope seems to be in places torn between recognising the semantics of that roughness and desiring to eradicate it its metrical form. In seeking to control the most deliberately uncontrolled of Donne's poems, Pope makes bold statements about the ideal form for poetry. Pope renders some of Donne's most aggressively cryptic moments into equally aggressively clear verse. Donne's references to sex are coded under several layers of artifice, veiled under muted references to Sparta and to Aretino, the author of *Sonetti lussurioso*, on positions for intercourse, matched to designs engraved by Giulio Romano:

> I said, not alone
> My loneness is, but Spartanes' fashion,
> To teach by painting drunkards, doth not last
> Now, Aretines pictures have made few chaste (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 67-70)

Pope makes the point, about vice and drinking, abundantly clear:

> But as for *Courts*, forgive me if I say,
> No Lessons now are taught the *Spartan* way
> Tho' in his Pictures Lust be full display'd,
> Few are the Converts *Aretine* has made;
> And tho' the Court shows *Vice* exceeding clear,
> None shou'd, by my Advice, learn *Virtue* there. (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne*, 94-97)

There may even be a joke in the 'exceeding clear' (96): clear is exactly what Pope is making Donne's hint. It is in lines like this that its becomes clear that Pope's emendations often lose what makes Donne's poems work, because Pope is caught between a sense of poetry as galvanic, as capable of speaking boldly without explication, which may go against Addison's circle's vision of literature, detailed in

[63] N. J. C. Andreasen, 'Theme and Structure in Donne's *Satyre*s', in *Essential Articles for the Study of John Donne's Poetry,* ed. John R Roberts (London, 1975), p. 411. Andreasen was writing in the 1960s and there is a desire to find universalities in the poems that belongs to that moment in academia, but his desire to compare Donne's use of a performative voice to Swift's in *Gulliver's Travels* is interesting, in that it points towards the presence in Donne's *Satyres* of a fully characterised protagonist; there may be something novelistic in Donne's *Satyres* that Pope saw in his accentuating and expanding of the dialogue.

Peter Smithers' biography as resolutely genial and as part of urban sociability, and Pope's own sense of wanting to correct Donne as he had Shakespeare: and one cannot correct Donne and keep him alive. [64] However, there is in Donne's *Satyres* a sardonic realism of voice that Pope, in rendering it into the tone of his own moment, preserves.

Pope, Donne and Tonson: Catholicity in and out of the *Satyres*

Pope use of Donne's Catholic moments suggests a desire to speak at once about the conflicted relationship with church and politics bound up with existing as a Catholic subject and, simultaneously, to keep the layer of plausible deniability that imitation, carefully wielded, could provide. Maynard Mack, in his account of Pope's experience as a Catholic in his biography, underlines the relentless quality of the suspicion and ridicule that would have been part of being openly a Catholic. 'Hardest of all to bear for an adherent of the old faith was the perpetual consciousness of being held up, on the one hand, as a sport and mockery, a devotee of practices and beliefs that the rest of the nation held in derision, and, on the other, as the Pandora's box from which all moral, political, and social evils sprang.'[65] Mack gives a striking example of the kind of suspicion Catholic subjects experienced. In 1688, the year of Pope's birth, a news item was circulated:

> Of a corpse whose fragments were found in divers quarters of the city, the homicide and murderess has been discovered in the person of its wife, and thus

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[64] Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford, 1968), especially chapter three. Abigail Williams identifies Addison as a figure whose critical influence reverberated long after his death: 'another aspect of the Whig literary project that undoubtedly continued to inform poetry in subsequent decades was the literary and cultural criticism of the era. Joseph Addison's essays on Paradise Lost and on the pleasures of the imagination remained key critical works well into the nineteenth century while Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks* was to continue to influence religion, philosophical and cultural debates in Britain and Europe.' Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture: 1680-1714* (Oxford, 2005), p. 244.

[65] Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life*, p. 8.

> all suspicion and discourse imputing the crime of the Jesuit Fathers and the Catholics, ceases.[66]

Pope takes Donne's oblique gesturing towards his own Catholic past and writes it in bolder jabs at the status quo. His versifications suggests a finely-wrought engagement with the religious politics of verse; the question then arises, how much, and through what channels, would Pope have known about Donne's biography and Catholicism in particular? The most readily available biography of Donne would have been the *Life* in the 1719 edition of Donne's poems, which was written by the publisher, Jacob Tonson, and reprinted in all subsequent editions until 1855.[67] Jacob Tonson was the nephew and business partner of Jacob Tonson senior who had been, as Abigail Williams demonstrates, a key figure in the post-Revolution literary scene whose attitude to both politics and literature shaped the texts he produced.[68] The Tonson family produced beautiful books:

> In 1713, following the example of the Dutch printing house of Elzevier, which had become famous in the seventeenth century for its publication of small editions of the classics, Tonson began to publish small-format, high-quality literary works by contemporary authors. This new series was composed predominantly of literary texts by Whig authors. It included Addison's *Cato*, *The Campagin*, and *Rosamond* (1713), Thomas Tickell's *A Poem…on the Prospect of Peace* (1714) and, interestingly, a third edition of Pope's *Essay on Criticism* (1713).[69]

Jacob Tonson junior essentially re-wrote Walton's *Life* to form a preface to the verse, and there is some sleight of hand to make the original edition of Donne's *Poems* look as if it were compiled authorially; John Donne junior's dedication is given without caveat, as if written by Donne himself. Tonson also re-frames Walton's caveats about Donne's

[66] Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life*, p. 8.
[67] A. J. Smith ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage*, p. 71.
[68] Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture: 1680-1714*, p. 220.
[69] Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture: 1680-1714*, p. 227.

youthful freedoms in his early poetry in a tone that evokes the ideas of correctness of the age, both in terms of the language Tonson uses and the image of Donne presented:

> As to the more airy Part of his Poetical Compositions, they were only the innocent Amusement and Diversion of his Youth, being most of the write before his twentieth Year; so happy at this Age was he in the Sprightliness of his Wit, and the Delicacy of his Fancy. (A7v) [70]

'Sprightliness' and 'Delicacy' are not words Walton used in his account of Donne. Tonson modernises the prose and cuts the length by approximately a quarter, and most of the losses are around those areas which may have been controversial. Most importantly, though, Tonson eradicates all reference to Donne's Catholic youth. For instance, he ascribes Donne's early admittance to Hart Hall as due to 'having already given proofs of his great parts and abilities' (A4r), eschewing the tacit acknowledgement that Walton gives that Donne's early admittance to Oxford and later removal to Cambridge was to evade the Oath of Supremacy, 'being for their Religion of the Romish perswasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the Oath that is alwaies tendered at those times, and not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.'[71] Tonson, in contrast, paints Donne as a straightforward wunderkind, omitting any mention of the political. Walton also reports that Donne kept 'Copies of divers Letters and cases of Conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; all particularly and methodically digested by himself'; Walton shows that Donne had a tough-minded familiarity with case law, divinity, casuistry and the debate between Protestant and Catholic imagination, which acknowledgement Tonson deleted.[72]

[70] All quotations from Tonson's version of the life are taken from *Poems on Several Occasions Written by the Reverent John Donne, D.D. late Dean of St Paul's* (London, 1719).
[71] Izaak Walton, *Lives*, ed. George Saintsbury (London, 1973), p. 66.
[72] Izaak Walton, *Lives*, ed. George Saintsbury, p. 68.

There is, too, Tonson's romanticisation of Donne's marriage to Anne, a narrative decision which casts Donne as a lover first and foremost, a move which strengthens the attachment of biographical literality to the erotic and romantic verse. Where Walton has 'he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, as (with her approbation) increased into a love with a young Gentlewoman that lived in that Family' becomes, in Tonson, 'Twas there he fell passionately in love with and married a niece of the Lady Elsemore's'(A4v). Tonson's account of Donne's relationship with the King is also striking, in painting Donne as a friend to James; where Walton paints a picture of the King in Platonic dialogue with a group of Divines, 'when Mr. *Donne* attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly debates or disputes of Religion betwixt his Majesty and those Divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times' (37). Tonson cuts away both the accompanying men and the image of religious discourse, and has the King alone with Donne, not debating but in apolitical friendship; '[his Majesty] soon taking great delight in his company'(A6r).

This depoliticisation and simplification of the *Life* takes on further significance when read in the context of the deradicalisation of poets in the eighteenth century. Just as Milton, who, when he died, was eulogised as a strong political voice, was after his death rapidly re-fashioned as an epicist and canonized out of his radicalism, so too does Tonson un-complicate and re-shape Donne, laying greater emphasis on the romance and less on the controversies of Donne's life. This must in part have been due to the emergence of a public culture that took pride in presenting itself as non-factionalised; Tonson's romanticisation of Donne makes most sense when read in light of Addisonian polite anti-polemicism. Elizabeth Bobo, following Thomas Hine, notes

that the Tonsons produced four small but conspicuously beautiful editions *of Paradise Lost* between 1705 and 1719 (the same year as their edition of Donne's *Poems*), with accompanying reading guides; a move which was calculated to popularize and canonize the author, so that when the 'Life of Milton' was added in 1725 edition of *Paradise Lost,* the way had been paved for the biography to be used non-politically, as a reading tool, and as a desirable 'populuxe product'.[73] The biographies produced by Tonson for Milton and Shakespeare created a purposive interpretive framework in which to place the poems. Donne's 'Life', in comparison, is shorter than Milton's, but a similar impulse seems to have been at work.

Pope, though, read with an eye to subtleties, and had a career-long and at times tempestuous relationship with the two generations of Tonsons. It was in Tonson's *Miscellany* that Pope's *Pastorals* were first published, and it is not unlikely that he would have known first-hand about young Tonson's use of Walton's *Life* for the 1719 Donne edition. Moreover, although Howard Erskine-Hill suggests that Tonson's 1719 edition of Donne's *Poems* is the most likely candidate for Pope's source-text, it is more than possible that Pope, aware of the different messages that different editions of texts could impart, had sought out different versions of Donne's verse and of texts connected with him, including Walton's edition. Certainly Walton's *Life* is likely to have been available without overmuch effort; the 1675 version of the *Life* exists in 42 extant copies and the 1670 in 57 known copies. Although it is not possible to be sure that large numbers of extant copies are equal to a large print run, the numbers surviving,

[73] Elizabeth Bobo, '*Paradise Lost* "For the Pocket": The 1711 Index and the English Canon', *Discoveries* 28.1 (2011), Online Publication of the South Central Renaissance Conference, no pagination.

the majority of them currently in London and Oxford, do suggest that it would not have been difficult for Pope to have located one.

Pope might in fact be doing something similar to Tonson, in that he re-writes Donne's biography to fit his own needs. Pope writes of in the Preface to his Satires of the:

> Freedom in so eminent a Divine as Dr Donne, which seem'd a proof with what Indignation and Contempt a Christian may treat Vice or Folly, in ever so low, or ever so high, a Station.

This suggests that he takes Donne to have written his *Satyre*s while he was 'so eminent a divine'. Erskine-Hill writes, 'I am inclined to think that the statement in Pope's *Advertisement* is deliberately disingenuous; designed to suggest for satiric freedom a respectability in Donne's lifetime which it never possessed.' [74]

The fact that Tonson elides the Catholicism does not mean that it was not universally known; perhaps it more suggests the opposite, and shows in Tonson a desire to provide a revisionist narrative as an alternative to the story of Donne which included Catholicism. Certainly, William Warburton wrote in 1757, 'About this time of his life Dr Donne had a strong propensity to Popery, which appears from several strokes of the *Satyre*s'.[75] These 'strokes' are magnified by Pope; Grierson suggests that in the *Satyres* 'Donne is always, though he does not state his position too clearly, one with links attaching him to the persecuted Catholic minority', and Pope takes those links and makes them bolder.[76] Donne writes in the opening of *Satyre II* that the lot of

[74] Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature,* p. 99.
[75] *The Works of Alexander Pope*, *With his last corrections, additions, and improvements; Together with the commentary and notes of W[illiam] Warburton* (London, 1757), p. 191.
[76] Herbert Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne, Volume 1: The Text of the Poems with Appendixes* (Oxford, 1912), p. 158.

poets 'is poor, disarm'd, like Papists, not worth hate' (*Satyre II*, 10); Pope reproduces the line almost exactly, only expanding it:

> Yet like the Papists is the Poets state,
> Poor and disarm'd, and hardly worth your hate. (Pope, *The Second Satire*, 11-12).

Donne's *Satyre II* rings with uneasiness about the stability of language and of faith. As M. Thomas Hester points out, it opens on a Juvenalian note, evoking Juvenal's *saeva indignation*, and the vocabulary is of hate, with the same totality of diction as Donne deploys in his love poetry: 'Sir; though (I thank God for it) I do hate/Perfectly all this Town.' (1-2). Donne's relationship with language is intricate in *Satyre II*, and the 'poor, disarm'd' poets are cast as both articulators of and, in their powerlessness, symptoms of the sickness that will 'compasse all our land'; it is significant that Pope keeps the expression unchanged. Hester writes that Donne's speaker is 'cast into the role of advisor (or scourge) to a world of decaying communication, a world in which words become mere substance and matter'.[77] In Pope's versification, the inefficacy of the poet is highlighted, and the satirist turns ironist.

Donne's *Satyre IV* is the poem of the five *Satyres* which offers the boldest commentary on the state of Catholics in England, which may have drawn Pope to Donne's original. Donne opens with a reference to purgatory, made boldly but passed by swiftly:

> I have been in
> A Purgatory, such as fear'd Hell is
> A recreation, and scant map of this. (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 2-4)

In Pope the reference to purgatory is expanded to take up four lines:

[77] M. Thomas Hester, *Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorn* (Durham, 1982), p. 35.

I've had my Purgatory here betimes
And paid for all my Satires, all my Rhymes,
The Poet's Hell, its Tortures, Fiends, and Flames,
To this were Trifles, Toys, and empty Names (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne*, 5-8)

Satyre IV is, too, the poem with the most visual imagistic clusters. It works as a performative poem; as Hester suggests, it at once satisfies the requirements for powerful verse satire on the classical model and the moral imperatives of Christianity by, as it progresses, embodying the moral and aesthetic principles it demarcates and defends.[78] The closing allusion in *Satyre IV* is to *2 Maccabees* – a book concerned with martyrs and reckoned in the Renaissance to contain the strongest support for the doctrine of purgatory; a book which, as Lester points out, Anglicans did not 'esteem canonical'.[79] The lines in Donne run:

Alhough I yet
(With *Maccabees* modesty), the known merit
Of my work lessen; yet some wise man shall
I hope, esteem my Writs Canonical. (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 241-44)

This becomes in Pope:

'Tis mine to wash a few slight Stains; but theirs
To deluge Sin, and drown an Court in Tears.
howe'er, what's now *Apocrypha*, my Wit,
In time to come, may pass for *Holy Writ.* (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne*, 284-87)

Donne's wit becomes 'Holy Writ'; in its moral and poetic rigor the poem becomes the answer to its own plea, and matches Pope's fascination with the performative nature of text demonstrated in *The Dunciad.* Catholicism surfaces again when Donne writes in *Satyre IV* about the courtier who:

Calls his clothes to shrift,

[78] M. Thomas Hester, *Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorn*, p. 75.
[79] M. Thomas Hester, *Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorn*, p. 91.

Making them confess not only mortal
Great stains and holes in them, but venial
Feathers and dust, wherewith they fornicate. (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 20o-203)

Pope rewrites the lines but keeps the image of Catholic confession harnessed into ridicule: (and the 'hole' may be an oblique reference to the sexual imagery of the original):

Adjust their Cloaths, and to Confession draw
Those venial sins, an Atom, or a Straw:
But oh! what Terrors must distract the Soul,
Convicted of that mortal Crime, a Hole! (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne*, 242-245)

Mack suggests that there are traces of Donne's Catholicism in tone as much as in the content. He argues in passing that Donne's 'experience of Catholicism'

> enables him to maintain here a complex mixture of exasperation, mock terror with an undercurrent of actual apprehension, and intense moral disgust as the law of the jungle is revealed in his interlocutor's conversation to be the governing principle of court life.[80]

It seems plausible that Pope saw in Donne's *Satyres* exactly this quality, and identified it as akin to his own wariness about public life, stemming from the same Catholic beginnings, reading a kind of fellowship in the disgust of Donne's *Satyre IV*. Donne writes some of his most abrasive criticism of power around the middle of the poem:

He knows, he know
When the Queen frown'd, or smil'd, and he knows what
A subtle States-man may gather of that;
He knows who loves whom; and who by poyson
Hasts to an Offices reversion (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 98-102)

Pope takes the same image of court vices and expands the same theme:

When the *Queen* frown'd, or smil'd, he knows; and what
A subtle minister may make of that?

[80] Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life,* p. 603.

> Who sins with whom? Who got his Pension *Rug*,
> Or quicken'd a Reversion by a Drug?
> Whose Place is *quarter'd out*, three Parts in four,
> And whether to a Bishop, or a Whore?
> Who, having lost his Credit, pawn'd his Rent,
> Is therefore fit to have a *Government*?
> Who in the *Secret*, deals in Stocks secure,
> And cheats th'unknowing Widow, and the Poor?
> Who makes a *Trust*, or *Charity*, a Job
> And gets an Act of Parliament to rob? (Pope, *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne*, 132-143)

Pope uses the tightness of his couplet to make the litany of abuse seem playful; there is a self-consciously obvious emotive rhetoric in 'th'unknowing Widow and the Poor', contrasting against the more knowing and pointedly specific accusation of using political information to affect the market, 'Who in the Secret, deals in Stocks secure'. Pope's expansions have a pointed detail that transform Donne's attack into something akin to documentary.

The *Satyres* also provided Pope with a place to explore what poetry might achieve in a religious and political arena. In Donne's *Satyre II*, the lawyers are cast as writers manqué, men who are 'scarce poet' (*Satyre II*, 44). They become, Hester suggests, 'a sort of Uncreating World that is both the perpetuator and product of a mechanical, materialistic prostitution of the words of man, nature and God'.[81] This anxiety is not a million miles from the Grub Street satires of Pope's circle and the anxiety about the debasement of the metaphysical potential of poetry and language into materiality that concerned Pope throughout his career. There is in Donne's *Satyre II* at once an ironic degradation of poetry and a very serious anxiety about the loss of power of language, encapsulated in the jangling 'charms'/'harms' rhyme in the relation of 'rhyme's debasement:

[81] M. Thomas Hester, *Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorn*, p. 37.

One would move Love by rhymes; but witchcrafts charms
Bring not now their old fears, nor their old harms.
Rams, and slings now are silly battery,
Pistolets are the best Artillery.
And they who write to Lords, rewards to get,
Are they not like singers at doors for meat? (Donne, *Satyre II*, 17-22)

Pope expands on the passage, and has versions of 'write' four times in two lines, creating the same jangling quality through different prosodic means:

One sings the Fair; but Songs no longer move,
No Rat is rhym'd to death, nor Maid to love:
In Love's, in Nature's spite, the siege they hold,
And scorn the Flesh, the Dev'l, and all but Gold.
These write to Lords, some mean reward to get,
As needy Beggars sing at doors for meat.
Those write because all write, and so have still
Excuse for writing, and for writing ill. (Pope, *The Second Satire,* 21-28)

This fear of the erosion of the power of verse is a very similar anxiety to the one Pope will later evacuate in the violent martial imagery surrounding Colley Cibber in *The Dunciad.* Pope underlines and heightens some qualities in Donne - his Catholicism, his play with delay and with the question of satiric control – and eradicates others – the metrical disjunctions and the semantics of unrest that they shot through the poem. Certainly, the versifications lodged in the memory of Pope's readers. Horace Walpole quoted a line from Pope's versification of Donne's *Satyre IV* in 1774, in a letter to Henry Seymour Conway:

> I am delighted with all the honours you receive, and with all the amusements they procure you, which is the best part of honours. For the glorious part, I am always like the man in Pope's Donne, 'Then happy he who shows the tombs, said I. That is, they are least troublesome there.' [82]

Pope and Horace, and Pope and Donne, and Pope and Horace via Donne

[82] Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Oxford*, ed. Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1904), IX, p. 111.

Pope also uses Donne when not explicitly versifying him; the satirical Donne is present in Pope's structural organisation of his imitations of the Horatian satires. In Pope's *Satire II, i,* Pope is following Horace, rather than Donne, but Donne is there, as Pope unleashes some of the exhilarating self-assertion that comes from simultaneously alluding and radically changing.[83] Pope's *First Satire of the Second book of Horace* was published as a 20-page folio in 1733, and revised for inclusion in the collected works in octavo and quarto in 1735. As Howard Erskine-Hill points out, Pope follows Donne's *Satyre IV*, 160-5, in defying social rank and affirming the poet's role as the prelude to the climactic moment.[84] Donne writes:

> Such men as he saw there,
> I saw at Court, and worse, and more. Low feare
> Becomes the guilty, not th'accuser: Then,
> Shall I, none's slave, of high born, or rais'd men
> Fear frowns? And, my mistress Truth, betray thee
> To th'huffing braggart, puft Nobility? (Donne, *Satyre IV,* 159-164)

Pope mirrors this moment in *Satire II, i,* taking this structure from Donne, not Horace:

> What? Arm'd for *Virtue* when I point the Pen,
> Brand the bold Front of shameless, guilty Men, [. . .]
> And I not strip the Gilding off a Knave,
> Un'plac'd, un-pension'd, no Man's Heir, or Slave?
> I will, or perish in the generous Cause.
> Hear this, and tremble! You, who 'scape the Laws.
> Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave,
> Shall walk the World, in credit, to his grave. (Pope, *Satire II, i,,* 105-106, 115-120)

[83] Horace's own stance on translation made his work ripe for Pope's freedom with the verse. Raphael Lyne writes, in the context of Jonson's version of Horace's *Ars Poetica,* of the force of 'Horace's injunctions against translating word for word, and his defence of neologism in the service of his native tongue', which, Lyne suggests, 'makes Jonson's translation a classical imitation inclined paradoxically towards the independence (as well as profit) of the vernacular.' Raphael Lyne, *Ovid's Changing Worlds*, p. 9.
[84] Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature*, p. 296.

This is a vehement extension of the Horatian original and a re-structuring: the Horatian text Pope printed opposite this page of the attack has only one sentence, Horace's characterisation of the attitude of Lucilius:

> *Scilicet* Uni Aequus Virtuti Atquae ejus Amicis. (Translated by Pope in his 'Imitation' as 'To Virtue only, and her friends, a friend' (121).

Pope also gives the energy of political urgency to *Satire II, i* through the use of proper names inserted into the Horatian tradition. This was a pattern that Donne had first worked into his own *Satyres* and which Pope perfected through his early imitations in manuscript of Donne's *Satyre II* and later *Satyre IV*. Pope frequently changed Donne's more general satirical jibes with specific personal point: Donne's courtier 'Stranger than seven Antiquaries studies' (*Satyre IV,* 21) becomes for Pope 'A verier Monster than … Sloane, or Woodward's wondrous shelves contain.' (*The Fourth Satire*, 30) The antiquarian John Woodward appears again in Pope's version of *Satyre IV*; Donne's line that the man sickens 'like a Patient' (*Satyre IV*, 112) is expanded by Pope, becoming 'As one of Woodward's Patients, sick and sore/I puke, I nauseate' (*The Fourth Satire*, 152-3). In his Horatian satire, Pope adds 'Peter', 'Lord Fanny', 'Celsus', 'CAESAR', 'BRUNSWICK'. Naming, for Pope and for Donne, render the abstract visual, and the visual is where they both wield immense power, a kind of descriptive power that works in Donne's case by its deliberate excessive strangeness and in Pope's by its domestic quality. Pope writes in line 89 of his Horatian *Satire II, i*, 'So drink with Waters, or with Chartres eat', referring obliquely to Peter Walter. Pope adds an ironical erratum in the second edition of *Works* 1735, 'be sure to read *Waters'*. Erskine-Hill writes, of the practice of naming, 'each exerts its sometimes small but always telling pressure on poet and reader. Each, with its reminder of resentment, or menace, or ridiculousness, or

reassurance, or authority, joins the rest to form the network of a society specifically apprehended.'[85] The world of Pope's poem becomes, by its specificity, all-surrounding.

Moreover, Pope uses the presence of Donne in his Horatian imitation to frame himself as multiple kinds of poet: as at once Horace and Lucilius. Much of what Horace writes about Lucilius is, as Erskine-Hill has shown, is made up of praise for his wit and censure for his roughness of versification and unwieldy craftsmanship, and paints Horace as a kind of half-reluctant heir, a correspondence that Pope would have found particularly useful; in these moments, Pope stands as Horace, Donne stands as Lucilius. Erskine-Hill suggests too that it is important that the poem Pope published immediately before his re-versification of Donne's *Satyre IV* was *Satire II, i*: Horace uses this poem to praise Lucilius for his attack on corruption in strong-holds of power.[86] However, when Pope translates the 'praise' episodes, poetic correspondences become slippery; Pope assumes the role of Lucilius for himself.[87] Pope appears to see Donne as Lucilius to his Horace, but also to want to be Lucilius, and to want to be Donne. Pope makes a statement both about Donne's dedication to satirical truth, and about his own desire to in some sense assume Donne's role; whilst maintaining, simultaneously, the same desire Horace felt clean up Luculius's verse with regard to Donne's rough cadences. There is a doubleness, and a shifting between the roles Pope seems to be imagining for himself and for Donne his interlocutor; a slipperiness that suggests that Pope saw as many connecting lines as he did poetic differences. Donne is

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[85] Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature,* p. 295.

[86] Pope, we know, saw himself as a moral subject. Pope wrote of himself that 'it is my *Morality* only that must make me *Beloved* or *Happy*', and he was clear on the interdependence of satire and intricately-examined personal morality. Cited in Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Pope, Alexander (1688–1744)', first published 2004; online edn, Jan 2008. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22526].

[87] This, in the Horatian original, is, *Sat II i*, 62-79, and Pope's version, lines 105-42.

in Pope's Horace, just as Horace is in the Donne Pope re-imagines. Pope intertwines all three until who stands for which becomes provocatively unclear.

Pope claimed, too, that he had in fact attempted a rendering of Horace into English several years before his *Imitations,* in the form of a translation of *Satire. I. i.*, but none of it survives. It is known, though, that Pope told Spence:

> before this hint from Lord Bolingbroke, I had translated the first satire of first book. But that was done several years ago, and in quite a different manner. It was much closer, and more like a downright translation.[88]

The first imitation of Horace to survive, though in fragment, is his *HORACE, Satyr 4, Lib.l. Paraphrased*, published in *London Evening Post* (22-25 January 1731/2). This, Erskine-Hill notes, was a direct response to the reception of Pope's *Epistle To Burlington* (December 1931); efforts had been made to identify 'Timon' with the Duke of Chandos.[89] There is a pointedness in the emphatic 'paraphrased' that stands as rebuttal of those readings: to remind the reader that neither Horace nor Pope could be read as a sycophant. The 'paraphrased' suggests, too, that Pope was gesturing to the fact that the freedom to work between identity and difference when writing allusive verse gave a freedom that could be misused by readers as much as writers. As a result of this, Spence records, Bolingbroke suggested Pope imitate a further Horatian Satire; it was said to be completed in two days and became *Satire II i.*[90] It was published as *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace,* on 15 February 1732/33; it is significant that this, Pope's first major Horatian imitation, is itself a defence of Satire. They are wryly

[88] Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men,* ed. J. M. Osborn (Oxford, 1966), p. 143. Sherburn notes that the manuscript of this translation was never found and suggests: 'Possibly it is the poem referred to by the author of A True Character of Mr Pope, and His Writings (1716), who rated his 'present Imitation of HORACE' as the most execrable of all his performances'. (*The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburne (Oxford, 1956), vol. IV, p. xxvi.
[89] Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature,* p. 292.
[90] Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men*, pp. 143-4.

misanthropic, and surprisingly warm: 'Laws are explain'd by men – so have a care' (Pope, *Satire II* i, 144) The episode underscores the sense that Pope's later imitations and versifications were conceived of by Pope as something more complicated than translation or homage: as a negotiation and a statement of artistic intent.

There can, of course, be repudiation in the midst of allusion. The poet is not necessarily seizing the voice wholesale, as Ricks suggests Dryden did in his work on Milton; Dryden's allusion to Milton in *Absolom and Achitophel* 'implied a repudiation of Milton's politics while gaining energy from Milton's poetic energy; the partial repudiation left room for Dryden to breathe.'[91] Erskine-Hill writes that 'imitation at its most intelligent and creative seeks points of significant difference as well as identification'.[92] Erskine-Hill refers here to imitation of classical texts, but the same remains true of Pope's use of Donne; Donne works as a cultural opportunity in part because of the differences he presents for Pope, the chance to make something with two pasts (the Horatian and the Donnean) and wholly new. In imitating Donne, Pope had access to Donne's Christianisation of Horace; Donne had married in *Satyre IV* Horatian comedy with a vision of the Christian Hell. Erskine-Hill writes that 'in imitating Donne Pope allowed a tradition of Christian satire to speak for him, without cutting himself off from the Roman Horace, and without violating that possibility of a closer identification with the Augustan poet which he felt to be available to him.'[93] By versifying Donne, Pope in fact painted himself closer Horace, and his poetry is thick with a sense of the value of Augustan Rome. Just as Pope loved and hated print, and

[91] Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets,* p. 39.
[92] Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature,* p. 292.
[93] Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature,* p. 301.

loved and hated the culture which he inhabited, so, in imitating Donne, Pope is able to gesture to a similar doubleness, and to sameness in difference.

It is not surprising then that it is to Donne that Pope turns to think about the nature of allusion and imitation. Ian Jack notes that Pope wrote a letter to Cromwell on 12 July 1707, playfully first seizing an image and then footnoting it in the last two line with a kind of off-hand bathos;

> I know you dread all those who write,
> And both with mouth and hand recite;
> Who slow and leisurely rehearse,
> As loath t'enrich you with their verse;
> Just as a still, with simples in it,
> Betwixt each drop stays half a minute.
> That simile is not my own,
> But lawfully belongs to Donne.[94]

However, when, in *The Second Satire of Dr John Donne*, Pope versifies Donne's own attack on unsubtle imitation, he renders the attack less severe and scatological. Donne writes:

> He is worst who (beggerly) doth chaw
> Others wits fruits, and in his ravenous maw
> Rankly digested, doth those things out-spue,
> As his own things; and they're his own, 'tis true,
> For if one eat my meat, though it be known,
> The meat was mine, th'excrement's his own. (Donne, *Satyre II*, 25-30)

Pope writes:

> Sense, past thro' him, no longer is the same
> Forr food digested takes another name. (Pope, *The Second Satire*, 33-34)

Pope is unusual here in telescoping rather than expanding. It is another example of the opportunity provided by facing texts: in publishing Donne's version alongside his own,

[94] Ian Jack, 'Pope and "The Weighty Bullion of Dr Donne's Satires", p. 394.

Pope can gesture at Donne's meaning without actually articulating the word 'excrement'. Donne's image is provocatively bold, and the concrete bodily quality of it evokes in part the deliberate grossness of Senecan satire, becoming itself an allusion. Pope refines that quality out of it, perhaps unknowingly eviscerating Donne's verse of its ironic classical allusion, or perhaps deliberately so; the irony may be too messy for the voice that Pope seeks to establish in this passage of his versification.

*

Ricks argues, with reference to Dryden and Pope's relationship with Milton, that 'the imitation is not parasitic or servile, it is allusive, and the allusions derive their geniture from the very nature of allusion, its sense of the paternal and filial.'[95] The same can be said of Donne. There are always bold interactions taking place between Pope's text and the text it evokes. The relationship between Pope and Donne is not just that of aligning with a past voice, but something that makes more empathic demands on the reader; there are dynamics in the gap between the two facing texts to which the reader is being asked to give voice. There are places where, to a modern ear, Pope's versifications seem at once naive and presumptuous; there are places where Pope renders Donne inert. But there are places, too, where Pope's desire to re-write Donne seems a bold response to impossible scansion in Donne: it is difficult to read lines such as this: 'This fellow, chuseth me! He saith, Sir, /I love your judgement, whom do you prefer /For the best Linguist? And I seelily' (Donne, *Satyre IV*, 51-53), without feeling that some versification might be helpful.

[95] Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets,* p. 36.

Pope's vision of what is best in Donne helps crystallise how valuations of Donne have changed since Carew and Walton. Where Carew saw originality, Pope saw Donne participating in a line of satirists stemming from Horace and Lucilius. Where Carew saw innovative perfection, Pope saw a mixture of vivid wit and formal failure. For Pope, poets were legislators of taste, and Donne's poetry, resisting reduction or even summary, lacks the singleness of purpose needed to perform that task. It may be, though, that Pope, unweighted by the cultural imperatives of the modern academy and seeing no need to conceive of Donne as uniformly virtuosic, saw with clarity some of the most difficult elements in Donne's *Satyres*: the elongations without reward, the meanderings in tone, the occasional coyness of the Catholic hints. What Pope chose to accentuate and what to delete may not to be akin to the current vision of what is the best of Donne, but there was a very pointed clarity of reading in Pope's versions of the *Satyres*.

I want to resist making any single or grand claim about how Pope's use of Donne; because that would, itself, be an un-Popean vision of Donne. To sum up how Pope saw Donne would be to resist the intricate and localised quality of his reading and versification. Pope's response to Donne does not go in a single direction: the response is fundamentally granular. As I have shown, Pope in places emboldens Donne's verse and makes its gestures explicit, magnifying hints of political pointedness and rendering the Catholic subtexts more vividly present. In places Pope uses Donne to explore his own personal politics of identity, and to salute Donne's wit. In other moments, Pope suppresses Donne and rounds his edges, muting vulgarity and rendering metrical dissonances smooth. Thus a very precise, localised reading acts as a statement about the ideal form of 'versification' as it focuses attention of the peculiar

qualities of poetry, made more peculiar by the peculiarities of Donne. It may be that in Pope's rendering of Donne's *Satyres*, itself the most sustained moment of the reception of Donne for the hundred years after his death, Pope offers a model for the kind of closeness of reading he would want for the reception of his own work. Pope does not, as he does in some of his more playful work with the Scriblerians, erase the earlier text; instead, Donne is placed physically alongside Pope's own work. In place of a single bold vision, the poems offer dialogue. Pope demands we close-read the parallel Donne to see the importance of the changes: to read into them a conversation with the past and a statement about the ideal poetry of the future.

CONCLUSION

Richard Savage, the man Samuel Johnson called his 'guide', recorded that on the day the *Dunciad* was first published, in March 1728, a gang of Pope's opponents descended on his bookseller and tried to stop the poem being sold. [1] The story, as it is told, frames Pope as the embattled speaker of cultural truths, just as the *Dunciad* itself frames Pope and poets like him as an opponent to cultural decline. In part because of the cultural primacy given to poets in the *Dunciad,* I had expected to find Donne in the poem; perhaps to find him modified, cited, or even satirised.

However, in the endlessly intertextual workings of the poem, Donne is quoted only twice. The first is in the *Dunciad Book II,* and is off-hand and playful:

> With that she gave him (piteous of his case
> Yet smiling at his ruful length of face)
> A Shaggy Tap'stry, worthy to be spread
> On Codrus' old, or Dunton's modern bed;
> Instructive work! Whose wry-mouth'd portraiture
> Display'd the fates her confessors endure.
>
> [Notes, line 135 – A shaggy Tap'stry: A sorry kind of Tapestry frequent in old Inns, made of worsted or some coarser stuff: like that which is spoken of by Doctor Donne.] (Pope, the *Dunciad*, Lines 133-8 and note)

This, as Pope says, comes from Donne, from *Satyre IV*, 225-6; but to cite Donne for the identification of a kind of rough material seems a dismissive kind of joke; it is to

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[1] Richard Savage, *A Collection of Pieces in Verse and Prose by Mr Savage* (London, 1732), p. vi. Cf Johnson's poem 'An Ode', (l.22): 'A guide, a father and a friend' in *The Poems of Samuel Johnson*, ed. David Nichol Smith et al (Oxford, 1974), p. 103. Savage and Pope were close, and the story may have been reshaped to cast Pope is the most glamorously bold light possible: Pope sent £5 to Savage while he was in jail awaiting trial for killing a man in a brawl, and promised him more if he needed it, later organising an allowance between 1739-43 that cost Pope £10 a year. Shef [sic] Rogers, 'Alexander Pope: Perceived Patron, Misunderstood Mentor', in *Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture*, ed. Anthony W. Lee (Farnham, 2010), p. 57.

suggest Donne himself is 'some coarser stuff'. The second moment comes in Book I of the *Dunciad:*

> Bring, bring the madding Bay, the drunken Vine;
> The creeping, dirty, courtly Ivy join.
> And thou! His Aid de camp, lead on my sons
> Light-arm'd with Points, Antitheses, and Puns.
> Let Bawdry, Bilingsgate, my daughters dear,
> Support his front, and Oaths bring up the rear:
> And under his, and under Archer's wing
> Gaming and Grub-street skulk behind the King. (Pope, the *Dunciad*, 303-310)

Pope's note reads:

> 309, 310. *Under Archer's wing, - Gaming, &c.*] When the Statute against Gaming was drawn up, it was represented, that the King, by ancient custom, plays at Hazard one night in the year; and therefore a clause was inserted, with an exception as to that particular. Under this pretence, the Groom-porter had a Room appropriated to Gaming all the summer the Court was at Kensington, which his Majesty accidentally being acquainted of, with a just indignation prohibited. It is reported, the same practice is yet continued wherever the Court resides, and the Hazard Table there open to all the professed Gamesters in town.
> Greatest and justest SOV'REIGN! Know you this?
> Alas! No more, than Thames' calm head can know
> Whose meads his arms drown, or whose corn o'erflow. – Donne to Queen Elizabeth

Pope gets Donne's *Satyre V* (28-30) wrong four times in three lines. Donne's *Satyre V* is an attack on immorality at court and moral exigency amongst those with the most intricate kind of power, and his line reads:

> Greatest and fairest Empress, know you this?
> Alas, no more than Thames calm head doth know
> Whose meads her arms drown, or whose corn o'rflow (Donne, *Satyre V*, 28-30)

Pope has shifted the gender, and changed 'Empresse' into the more straight-allusion of 'Sovereign'. It may be that Donne is being used pointedly as a proxy for a regal free

age; freedom of erotic and satire, and a play around different concepts of liberty and retirement, but that there are so many errors in is interesting. Again, as with the first quotation, it seems somewhat off-hand and dismissive; Pope silently re-shapes Donne. As Pope's presentation of Donne's *Satyres* in his versifications and his editing of Shakespeare had made abundantly plain, Pope conceptualised of no difficulty in silently re-versioning the past. The kind of accuracy that Theobald had championed in his editorial practices was not central to Pope's imagination,[2] and Pope uses Donne to demonstrate at once his easy familiarity with the past and his willingness to bend it.

It could be argued that it was with Pope that a sense of influence was increasingly rigorously codified. Pope made influence visible through the footnote, and his preparatory material; working alongside Pope, there was a cultural shift towards a more restricted sense of the ideal way to read, which Pope worked both in and against.[3] The commonplace book imitative culture, with all its messy galvanising influence, began to give way to the cultural world of *The Spectator*, of readerly taste as a thing that could be dictated, and of editing practices engaged in separating voices rather than blending them, as in Theobald's *Shakespeare Restored*. The Scriblerians are, ultimately, on the losing side of the battle against the professionalization of criticism. Pope straddles the gap, playing with ambiguity; on the one side, Pope's unease about the critic as being set above the poet had fuelled many of his best attacks. There would

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[2] This is not to say, though, that Theobald was not capable of Grubstreet subterfuge, not least over the 'discovery' of *Double Falsehood*. MacDonald Jackson provides an analysis of the play that concludes that Theobald could not have forged *Double Falsehood* outright (using, as evidence, stylometric tests focusing on verse endings, preferred forms and socio-historical usage) but Gary Taylor and John V. Nance suggest that Theobald jettisoned from the play a subplot to strengthen its Shakespearean elements. MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Looking for Shakespeare in *Double Falsehood*: Stylistic Evidence', pp. 133-161; Gary Taylor and John V. Nance, 'Four Characters in Search of a Subplot', pp. 192-216, both in David Carnegie and Gary Taylors eds., *The Quest for Cardenio: Shakespeare, Fletcher, Cervantes and the Lost Play* (Oxford, 2012).

[3]Anthony Grafton argues that 'Pope's fury against both real and pseudo-scholars expressed itself in many forms - but above all, and most memorably, in footnotes'. Pope used the footnote both for rigour and for ridicule; the footnote, for Pope, is a way of flagging up the excellence of his own work and dismembering others. Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), p. 114.

be no room in Pope's ethos for a sense of the professional critic as the authoritative voice on how to read, and Pope's energy was often focussed on disrupting the authority of critics like Addison. Pope desires poetry to do the work of criticism; there is horror in the depiction of the drudge who creates a model of explicitness, and Pope's rejection of the need to write *about* his verse is very telling; it was this that informed my sense of Pope as acting as non-explicit but potent critic through his 'versifications' of Donne's *Satyres*. Equally, on the other hand, Pope is in sympathy with the idea of correctness; with a trans-historical sense of poetic rightness. Donne maps onto that ambiguity: Donne's resistance to the kind of absolutist poetic propriety that would be promoted by Addison makes his verse a valuable model for Pope, but, equally, Donne does, under Pope's rubric, need to be reformed; because, in parts, his verse was clearly read by Pope as being in bad taste. This though is modified, again, by the fact that bad taste does have its place in Pope's poetic imagination when used in mockery and satire, and, as Abigail Williams notes, still had currency in the period.[4] There is, then, an ambivalence at the heart of Pope's response to Donne.

Edmund Gosse, whose reading of Donne's influence was always impressionistic but whose ear was strong, does find the presence of Donne in the *Dunciad*. Gosse writes:

> He was even more conscious than Dryden had been of the rugosities of Donne's metre [. . .] the central quality of Donne, his mystical passion, was beyond the comprehension of Pope, who, nevertheless, has more than a touch of Donne's intellectual stress and fervour. Where the diction of Pope is richest

[4] Abigail Williams demonstrates in the *Digital Miscellanies Index* that raucousness and excessiveness in verse did not disappear in the eighteenth century; she notes that *Hilaria, or the Festive Board,* published in 1798, possibly authored by Captain Charles Morris, and 'other collections (such as the *Laugh and be Fat* miscellanies) remind us that the social culture of libertinism so often associated with the Restoration was alive and kicking right through the politer eighteenth century.' *Digital Miscellanies Index,* [http://digitalmiscellaniesindex.org/featured/?id=04]. Web, accessed August 2015.

> and most idiomatic we see, or may think we see, the suffused influence of the Dean of St. Paul's. If, for instance, we read the last lines of the *Dunciad,* where Chaos reasserts its sway, 'and universal darkness buries all,' we must confess that if any Elizabethan poet can be imagined writing those verses, or any of them, it can only be Donne.
>
> 'Physic of metaphysic begs defence,
> And metaphysic calls for aid on sense!
> See mystery to mathematics fly!
> In vain! they gaze, turn giddy, rave and die!' [5]

Gosse gives an account of the lines, basing his reading on the sense that fervour and the kind of compressed logic of 'see mystery to mathematics fly' is Donnean:

> These are lines which it is absolutely inconceivable should have proceeded from the pen of Spenser or Sir Philip Sidney or Drayton. It is, we feel, by no means so incredible that Donne might have included them in a 'metamorphosis' or an 'Anniversary'. That kind of writing, at all events, may be traced backward to Donne, and no further. From him the descent of it is unbroken, and in that sense the direct influence of Donne may be discovered in the writings of Pope, although the two men were in most essentials so diametrically opposed.[6]

Gosse does not link the moment to a specific Donne poem, but more to an instinct that Donne is in the poem somewhere. As he suggests in his reference to the last portion of the *Dunciad*, it might be possible to argue that *Book IV* reads as metaphysical. Donne and Horace's satires had been a way for Pope to express discontent; here, in *The Dunciad*, the same impulse warps into the uncontrolled neoclassical punch of the mock-epic. *Book IV* is a vision of the death of cultured society, and, filtered as it is through *Mac Flecknoe*, carrying with it the voices of Dryden, Marvell and Milton, there may also be a sense of an attenuated Donne. G. S. Rousseau suggests that in *Book IV*, the poem resists universalising; it resists reduction in a way

[5] Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's* (London, 1931), vol. 2, pp. 352-3.
[6] Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's,* vol. 2, p. 353.

that the knowing instability of metaphysical poetry had established.[7] Laura Brown notes something similar, in a neo-Marxist reading of *Book IV*: 'even 'CHAOS' has two distinct means: change and stasis, energy and debility, dynamism and tranquillity.'[8] There is no single moment, though, in which *Book IV* seems explicitly and irresistibly Donnean. Pope mocks the 'Metaphysical' when he compares the Dunces both to tumblers and to metaphysical writers:

> What tho we let some better sort of fool
> Thrid [sic] ev'ry science, run thro' ev'ry school?
> Never by tumbler thro' the hoops was shown
> Such skill in passing all, and touching none.
> He may indeed (if sober all this time)
> Plague with Dispute, or persecute with Rhyme.
> We only furnish what he cannot use,
> Or wed to what he must divorce, a Muse:
> Full in the midst of Euclid dip at once,
> And petrify a Genius to a Dunce:
> Or set on Metaphysic ground to prance
> Show all his paces, not a step advance (Pope, the *Dunciad, Book IV,* 255-265)

As an object, too, the *Dunciad in Four Books* is irreducible. Valerie Rumbold's introduction to her edition of *The Dunciad: In Four Books* gives a lucid account of the evolution of the *Dunciads* published over the last fifteen years of Pope's life, from the three-book *Dunciad* of 1728 and the *Dunciad Variorum* in 1729, to the *New Dunciad* of 1742, which would in 1743 become *Book IV* of *The Dunciad in Four Books,* with its mass of authorial appendices and complexities in which 'eye and judgement were diverted into negotiation between poem and surrounding prose'.[9] Emrys Jones writes, 'The *Dunciad* on the page is a formidable *object*, dense, opaque, intransigently and

[7] G. S. Rousseau, 'Pope and the tradition in modern humanistic education: '. . . in the pale of Words till death', in *The Enduring Legacy: Alexander Pope Tercentenary Essays*, ed. G. S. Rousseau (Cambridge, 2010), p. 221.
[8] Laura Brown, *Alexander Pope* (Oxford, 1985), p. 149.
[9] Valerie Rumbold ed., *The Dunciad: In Four Books* (London, 2014), p. 2.

uncompromisingly itself'.[10] Its apparatus of prefatory material, along with its ludically voluminous annotation, and the after-pieces that encircle it, make it a formidable physical presence, and from that fact the poem draws some of its energy; there is an interplay between physical text and idea, entwining the metaphysical and the physical in a way about which Pope might himself have felt ambivalent. As Jones writes, 'it is [. . .] essentially not a set of abstract verbal statements but a thing, to be walked around and examined, interpreted, and possibly dealt with. [. . .] If Pope were in complete control of his material, it would be easier than it is to speak of the unity of the Dunciad.'[11]

Perhaps Pope does not in the *Dunciad* seem Donnean so much as he marks himself out, in his emphatic framing of himself as the profoundly cerebral writer he was, as a poet working in contact with the English literary writers who had been in close contact with Donne. It may be, ultimately, that Pope does not need Donne, because he does what Donne does without using the poet himself. In the *Dunciad*, Pope revels in twisting images, in making confusions and doubts into epic in ways that might be Donnean: but he does it without Donne. Pope inherited a voice that was Donnean without needing, in the *Dunciad*, to make explicit use of Donne.

Instead, in reading *Book IV*, one comes away with a sense of teeming multiplicity. Christopher Ricks's account of Pope's use of Dryden and Milton in *Allusion to the Poets* has been immensely valuable for the conception of this thesis; but it is possible that the world of the *Dunciad*, *Book IV* is even more crowded and blurred in its literary voices than Ricks has suggested. The poem begs large questions; for

[10] Emrys Jones, 'Pope and Dulness', p. 614.
[11] Emrys Jones, 'Pope and Dulness', p. 615.

instance, how can one distinguish between the metaphysical voice of Milton's Satan relayed into Pope's epic, and the plastically-excessive voice of Donne?

It is possible that, with the *Dunciad*, one comes up against bold proof of the limits of tracing allusion. The trail for reading individual voices becomes so criss-crossed with the footsteps of other influences that it is not worthwhile to claim allusion: rather, it is a poem that demands the reader confront the problem of allusion. In the densely sprawling allusiveness of the *Dunciad*, Donne becomes fragmented and drowned out. It is clear, though, that Donne's voice has not only gone towards creating the possibility of useful poetic fracturing, and the modes against which Pope can rebel, but is also is in the interlocutors who made Pope's voice, and made possible the cacophonous triumph of the *Dunciad.*

*

I have demonstrated that Donne rang through the work of many of the major poets in the century after his death. Often, Donne is assumed to have disappeared after the Restoration, but my thesis demonstrates that he remained a vivid presence in the work of those who assimilated, collected and re-shaped his verse. As Abigail Williams writes in the context of the occlusion of the Whig tradition, 'literary history is clearly more complicated than this, and the reception and afterlife of Whig poetry consists of more than a sudden shift from enthusiasm to neglect.'[12] In the same way, my thesis shows that there was no sudden curtain drawn over Donne's poetry; rather, that he continues to appear in places where he has been hitherto little sought. Donne's influence was more potent, more widespread, but above all, more variously interpreted,

[12] Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture,* p. 241.

than has been thought. To see four major poets pull such radically different elements of Donne from the corpus is to see how poets are shaped by their reception even as they shape the next generation of writers. The Donne who would have been available to readers of his print output would have been different from the Donne of those with access to his manuscript verse; and different again from those who read him in manuscript miscellanies after his death that offered at once a political and a radically personal poetics; or from Philips's vision of Donne. Philips takes Donne's close-tied imagery and uses it to at once criticise and embrace his poetics in some of the most intimately revelatory female poetry of the seventeenth century. I show that Rochester would undoubtedly have had knowledge of and access to Donne's verse, and that he follows Donne in framing himself as an extemporaneous, boldly off-hand poet whose keen craft was occluded by his febrile intensity of diction. Dryden was perhaps the poet whose imagining of Donne I found most formidable: in Dryden's work there is a friction between Dryden's critical appraisal of, and assimilation of, Donne; a friction which generates a poetics in Dryden that in places both resists and embraces its own voice. I show, finally, that Donne was seized by Pope in ways which reveal a great deal about his culture's reading practices: about the way that allusion could be an act of criticism, homage, affection and repudiation all at once.

There were other elements of Donne's reception I would have liked to pursue, had there been time. As I mentioned in my introduction, my examination of Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost* for the presence of Donne relied on a sense that the tone had a quality audible in Donne's satires, in his more violent religious imagery, and in his most sensually robust lyric, but I was unable to find any instances in which Satan's speech is a re-working or allusion to any specific moment of Donne. An exploration of the

question of Milton's influences, to make such connections worthwhile, might be something to pursue in future.

Another interesting space for further study would be to look at the new ways of envisioning literary lives that the nineteenth century concocted. Building on Dayton Haskin's work, it would be interesting to study in depth the ways in which the post-Romantic idea of poet and author in the Victorian novelistic imagination affect the treatment of Donne by, for example, Leslie Stephen and William Minto; to look at John Donne as semi-fictional character in their hands. As Michael Dobson has shown in *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford, 1992) this was the century in which the cult of Shakespeare and literary tourism to Stratford – already strong in the wake of David Garrick's Jubilee - intensified; it would be fascinating to see if there is evidence of a more minor version of a cult of Donne.

It would also be valuable to look at the first appearance of Donne in the Harvard curriculum in 1888, to examine the seminal influence of Charles Eliot Norton in the same university and to use to Donne to look at the ways in which works and authors become canonical, and, too, at the gradual secularisation of devotional work under the auspices of F. R. Leavis. Stefan Collini's work on the emergence of English as a discipline, particularly in *Common Reading: Critics, Historians, Publics* (Oxford, 2008), could be a model here: it would be illuminating to revisit, with the new armoury of data coming to light and new scholarship, T.S. Eliot's writing on the metaphysical poets; thinking about how his assessments of 'metaphysical' could be carried through to an archival level, to better test the truth of Eliot's work. The way Donne has been conceptualised and re-figured could provide a way into thinking about cultural change

both inside and outside the academy. The *Donne Variorum* was an invaluable tool for this thesis, but I would also like to look, with a theoretical lens, at emerging work on Donne, with an emphasis on the virtuosities and problems of the *Variorum* and to think about what the existence of the project alongside such popular texts as John Stubbs's *Donne* might suggest about our broader attitudes to literary study.

Ben Jonson wrote that 'Donne, for not being understood, would perish'.[13] This, of course, proved more bitterly witty than true; this doctorate has aimed to show that Donne was understood many times over, and in ways that ranged widely, often differing from a modern conception of what is meant by the word 'Donne'. There is no single Donne; instead, this thesis has hoped to demonstrate, there are multiple Donnes, endlessly enriching, emboldening and expanding the verse of the poets who came after him.

[13] C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson eds., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1952), vol. 1, p. 136.

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Key Manuscripts

Beinecke MS Osborn b205 [seventeenth century commonplace book, prose and verse, in multiple hands]

Bodl. MS Ashmole 36 [Elias Ashmole's composite volume, largely of verse, in various secretary hands]

Bodl. MS Ashmole 38 [verse miscellany of Nicholas Burghe (d.1670), Royalist Captain during the Civil War]

Bodl. Eng. poet. e. 97 [seventeenth century miscellany containing hand-copies of de Worde woodcuts]

Bodl Rawl. poet. 85 [miscellany, chiefly verse, largely in a single secretary hand, compiled by a Cambridge student]

Bodl. Rawl. poet. 117 [mid- seventeenth century quarto verse miscellany, English and Latin, including 37 poems by Donne, in several hands, compiled in part by the Oxford printer Christopher Wase]

Bodl. Rawl. poet. 142 [quarto miscellany of verse and prose, in English and Latin, in several hands, probably compiled principally by an Oxford University man. *c.*1630s-40s.]

Bodl. Rawl. poet. 212 [early seventeenth century, octavo miscellany of verse and prose, compiled by an Oxford University, probably Christ Church man]

BL Add. MS 30982 [Lear manuscript, in several hands, including ornate transcription of Katherine Philips's verse]

BL Egerton MS 2421 [mid-seventeenth century verse miscellany, containing copy of The Tempest's 'full fathoms five' alongside verse by Donne and Jonson]

BL Harley MS 5110 [independent quire, seven folio leaves containing three satires by Donne, in two hands, headed 'Jhon Dunne his Satires Anno Domini 1593']

BL Harley MS 6931 [seventeenth century octavo miscellany, chiefly verse in two italic hands, religious verse and prose at the reverse end in another hand, verse by Carew and Donne]

BL Harley MS 7003 [large folio composite of original state and miscellaneous letters, 20 of them to Rochester]

BL Sloane MS 1792 [octavo verse miscellany, written predominantly in a single italic hand]

Cambridge University Library MS Add. 29 [verse miscellany, in multiple hands, containing 35 Donne poems]

Cambridge University Library MS Add. 8460 [commonplace book of Elizabeth Lyttelton]

Corpus Christi Oxford MS 325 [William Strode's autograph collection: 69 of his English, Latin and Greek poems in his own hand]

Corpus Christi Oxford MS 328 [primary source for *Harmony of the Muses*: octavo miscellany]

Folger MS V.a.125 [composite headed 'a book of verses collected by mee R Dungaravane', including Donne verse and number of recipes for wine]

Folger MS V.a.162 [verse miscellany of the mid seventeenth century. One of the hands may be that of Elizabeth Welden.]

Folger MS V.a.245 [quarto verse miscellany, single secretary hand, probably associated with Oxford and afterwards with the Inns of Court]

Folger MS V.a.262 [quarto verse miscellany, in English and Latin, multiple hands, title 'Divers Sonnets & Poems compiled by certaine gentil Clarks and Ryme-Wrightes', probably associated with Oxford University and the Inns of Court]

Folger MS V.b.43 [mid-seventeenth century folio verse miscellany, single secretary hand, probably associated with Oxford University]

Heneage MS (private collection) [early seventeenth century quarto miscellany, eleven texts in verse and prose, in several hands, including seven poems by Donne in a single hand with ornamentation]

Houghton. MS Eng. 686 [verse miscellany, containing several poems celebrating the Spanish match interspersed Donne's anti-courtly love verse]

National Library of Wales MS 775B [Tutin manuscript, Katherine Philips's autograph collection of her verse]

Princeton MS c0199 [the Overton manuscript]

Queen's College Oxford MS 216 [independent unit of twelve leaves, containing poems by Donne in a single professional secretary hand, owned by Thomas Barlow (1608/9-91), Bishop of Lincoln]

Rosenbach MS 239/27 [verse miscellany, multiple hands, containing largely satires and epigrams inc 'the Farts epitaph']

Rosenbach MS 1083/17 ['Carew' manuscript, 85 poems by Carew in a single hand]

St Paul's Cathedral Library MS 52. D. 14 [Katherine Butler's commonplace book]

Westminster MS 41 [octavo verse miscellany, including thirteen poems by Donne, in several hands over an extended period, associated with Christ Church, Oxford, 1620-40s.]

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