

‘What Man Art Thou’
Imitation, Masculinity, and Homosexuality in the Poetry of Edward
Herbert

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Abstract

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This thesis explores the way that practices of imitation informed early modern ideas about manhood and friendship in the poetry of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1582?-1648). Through a series of case studies which situate Herbert’s verse in the homosocial networks in which it was composed, circulated, and read, it uses Herbert’s poetry as a lens to demonstrate the ways that imitation can be collaborative and dialogic, affirming social and familial relationships. Herbert’s poetry also demonstrates how ideas about multiplicity and an anxiety around malleability informed early modern thinking about gender and manhood.

Chapter 1 focuses on Herbert’s exchanges with John Donne, and argues that poetry, *imitatio*, and friendship were inextricably bound together, as being a good man and a good friend, contemporary theory suggested, meant imitating your friends in verse, sustaining these friendships through poetry, and asserting your own place as a poet in a social and literary lineage. Chapter 2 examines Herbert’s satire addressed to Ben Jonson, exploring ideas of self-satire and anxieties about travelling and imitating and absorbing new fashions and qualities without becoming irreparably changed. Travel and imitation are also themes which dominate Chapter 3, which discusses Herbert and Thomas Carew’s imitations of Giambattista Marino’s poetry and explores how political theories of diplomacy and literary theory intersect, specifically in the rhetorical trope of metonymy, prompting questions about truthful and accurate representation in embassy and poetry. Chapter 4 situates Herbert within the wider household of the Sidney-Herberts, and discusses the ramifications of ‘echo’ as a female-gendered equivalent to ‘male’ *imitatio*, using various aetiologies of the Echo myth to explore texts circulated within the Sidney-Herbert household. Chapter 5 addresses the publication history of Herbert’s poems and his autobiographical *Life of Himself* and demonstrates how Herbert’s *Life* imitated chivalric prose romances in an attempt to fashion himself as a model for imitation. As a whole this thesis shows the importance of understanding practices of imitation within homosocial networks and verse, and particularly argues that imitation was a crucial practice in becoming both a poet and a man.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Common Abbreviations

For full details of these works, see *List of Works Cited*, p. 239.

Add. MS	British Library (BL), Additional
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BL	British Library, London
CELM	<i>Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450-1700</i> , < http://celm2.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/ >
Griffin	Julia Griffin, 'Studies in the Literary Life of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1993)
HCMP	National Library of Wales (NLW), Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers
<i>Life</i>	Herbert, Edward, <i>The Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury</i> , ed. by J. M. Shuttleworth
<i>Life</i> , ed. by Lee	Herbert, Edward, <i>The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury</i> , ed. by Sidney Lee
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online edition, < http://www.oxforddnb.com/ >
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , online edition, < http://www.oed.com/ >
<i>Poems</i>	Herbert, Edward, <i>The Poems, English and Latin, of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury</i> , ed. by G. C. Moore Smith
Rossi	Rossi, Mario, <i>La Vita, le opere, i tempi di Edoardo Herbert di Chirbury</i> , 3 vols

Online citations: all checked and correct as of April 2019.

Identifying Individuals

It is easy to confuse the many Herberts. I have tried to make clear which individual I am referring to throughout the thesis. Edward Herbert is usually referred to as 'Herbert', apart from in sections which also discuss George Herbert and Henry Herbert, where all three brothers are identified by their first names. In Chapter 5 when Edward Herbert's son Richard and grandson Edward are also

discussed I have generally identified them by their full name and title (second and third Baron Herbert of Cherbury respectively). William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke is referred to as Pembroke.

Editorial Conventions

To maintain fidelity to original documents, when transcribing manuscripts I have retained original scribal contractions (e.g. Lo: for Lord or Lordship) and early modern usage of *i/j* and *u/v*.

Manuscript documents are represented in original spelling apart from the silent expansion of the scribal contractions crossed *p* (for per-, par-, pre-) and tildes representing a doubled letters. Other corrections are signalled using the following conventions.

^{^xxx^}	word/phrase inserted above the line
xxx	word/phrase that has been deleted
<xxx>	word/phrase that is unreadable due to revisions, illegible handwriting, or paper damage

List of Illustrations

Edward Herbert, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581/3-1648), by Isaac
Oliver (c. 1565-1617). ©National Trust Images/Todd-White Art Photography p. 12

Introduction

If men get name for some one virtue, then
 What man art thou, that art so many men,
 All-virtuous Herbert! On whose every part
 Truth might spend all her voice, Fame all her art.
 Whether thy learning they would take, or wit,
 Or valour, or thy judgement seasoning it,
 Thy standing upright to thyself, thy ends
 Like straight, thy piety to God and friends:
 Their latter praise would still the greatest be,
 And yet, they all together, less than thee.

(ll. 1-10)¹

Ben Jonson's verse epistle addressed to Edward Herbert begins with a rhetorical question that is never fully answered. What man is Herbert, and what name might he be known by? Although Jonson details the various kinds of man he is – virtuous, learned, pious, witty, with valour and judgement – the opening question, 'what man art thou', is never resolved. Even more strikingly, the question that might be expected to be posed from the opening line, is never even asked. The suggestion that names accord with the virtue of the individual (a statement rendered hypothetical by that opening 'if') implies that we can expect Jonson to ruminate on what name he should give Herbert, where 'name' denotes some quality or skill which epitomises an individual and for which they will achieve fame. 'If men get name for some one virtue, then / What name hast thou', seems the logical progression of thought; instead, Jonson asks 'What man art thou, that art so many men'. Suggesting that Herbert is 'so many men' because he is 'all-virtuous' reinforces the etymological link between 'manhood' and 'virtue'; derived from the Latin *vir*, meaning man, it is therefore synonymous with maleness and manhood.² The change of focus – from names to manhood – is particularly noticeable given that Jonson's epigram for Herbert forms part of a series of verse epistles addressed to members of Herbert's extended family, which are all explicitly concerned with names and naming:

102 *To William, Earl of Pembroke*
 I do but name thee, Pembroke, and I find

¹ Ben Jonson, '106 To Sir Edward Herbert', *Epigrams*, ed. by Colin Burrow, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson (CEWBJ)*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), v, pp. 101-98 (p. 106).

² *OED*, 'virtue', *n*.

It is an epigram on all mankind.
(ll. 1-2)

103 *To Mary, Lady Wroth*
How well, fair crown of your fair sex, might he
That but the twilight of your sprite did see,
And noted for what flesh such souls were framed
Know you to be a Sidney, though unnamed?
And, being named, how little doth that name
Need any muse's praise to give it fame?
(ll. 1-6)

104 *To Susan, Countess of Montgomery*
Were they that named you prophets?
(l. 1)

The link between names and manhood, so integral to the poem addressed to Herbert, is also evident in the verse to Mary, Lady Wroth, a Sidney, 'though unnamed', her (father's) family name having been replaced by her husband's. Jonson was particularly adept at exploring the onomastic significance of his addressees' names, one of the best examples being his poem 'To Sir Horace Vere', where he adroitly plays with the Roman significance of both his friend's fore- and surname, in a series of densely layered allusions to the poet Horace, and the echo of both the Latin *vir* (man) and *verus* (truth) in 'Vere'.³ Nowhere else in his *Epigrams* does Jonson include such a series of poems concerned with names and naming as he does when addressing the Sidney-Herberts, a series which is concluded with the epistle to Edward Herbert, a poem in which a question about names is replaced by one about manhood.

Jonson's epistle to Herbert hints at a tension between manhood and multiplicity. 'What man art thou', he asks, 'that art so many men / All-virtuous Herbert', suggesting on one – encomiastic – level that labelling Herbert with any single virtue, or definition of manhood, is reductive, because he is 'all-virtuous', 'all-man'. On another level, however, the question 'What man art thou' reads like something of a challenge, or dismissal, so that the description of Herbert as 'so many men' can sound belittling, even, ironically, emasculating: 'What kind of man are you, if you appear like so many different men?'. When read in this manner, the question suggests that

³ For more on this poem, and Jonson's use of names in his *Epigrams*, see Richard Hillyer, 'In More than Name Only: Jonson's "To Sir Horace Vere"', *The Modern Language Review*, 85 (1990), 1-11 and Philip West, 'Epigrams and *The Forest*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Ben Jonson*, ed. by Eugene Giddons (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013-), published online 2019 via < <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/>>.

masculinity or manhood is bound up with the state of being complete and unified, rather than fragmented or multiple. This was very much the position that Jonson adopted, informed by ideas of stoicism and the ‘centred self’, discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Herbert, Jonson’s poem suggests, embodies this paradox: he is ‘many men’, but it is nevertheless impossible to name or define the kind of man he is, as if he possesses a surplus of manhood which thus renders him less like a man. Implicit in Jonson’s depiction of Herbert’s multiplicity, and another theme which permeates this thesis, is the idea of microcosmic and macrocosmic representation – that some one virtue both can and cannot represent the man that embodies it.

Jonson’s poem describes Herbert in terms which modern readers might associate with the idea of a consummate ‘Renaissance man’, a twentieth-century phrase first used to denote a man who exhibits the virtues of an idealised man of the Renaissance, rather like Jonson’s epithet ‘all-virtuous’. Its modern usage, indicating a man – the absence of an equivalent phrase for women is significant in itself – with many talents and interests is also central to Jonson’s celebration of Herbert, although there remains a sense of unease in Jonson’s description of something multiple rather than unified and singular. This thesis was not initially prompted by Jonson’s question, ‘what man art thou’, but in the process of researching Herbert’s poetry it became the question which I kept returning to. Herbert’s poetry prompts the reader to consider questions about manhood, and to interrogate seventeenth- and twenty-first-century ideas about the ideal ‘Renaissance man’. In reading Herbert’s poetry it became increasingly clear that ideas of manhood and multiplicity were bound together, sometimes celebrated and sometimes mocked, and this observation also paralleled recent scholarly work on manhood and masculinity, which has shown that ‘manhood’ is not a monolithic concept and that multiple kinds of masculinity were practised simultaneously.

Jonson’s epigram can be used as a cipher not just for Herbert’s poetry, but also for an exploration of seventeenth-century masculinity, which is increasingly being recognised as multifarious, malleable, and less secure than previously supposed. Edward Herbert’s poetry, this thesis argues, demonstrates an anxiety around manhood specifically because of its manifold, compound nature. This multiplicity raised the possibility of malleability, yet being a ‘man’ was in part bound up with ideas about unity and stability. Physiologically men were thought to be more

stable, in contrast to women, who were the more mutable, changeable sex. Over the last few decades, scholarly work on manhood and masculinity has rapidly developed, as various disciplines recognised that the revealing and important research by feminists and gender scholars on aspects of gender in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, which rightly focused principally on women, needed to be supplemented by a greater understanding of masculinity.⁴ By particularising and nuancing our understanding of the ‘male experience’ (or experiences) of life in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, this scholarship has deconstructed the notion that the male experience is the ‘norm’ and homogenous. ‘Masculinity’, of course, is something of an anachronism, first used in England in the mid-eighteenth century: ‘manhood’ or ‘manliness’ were the more common terms understood in the seventeenth century, along with all of the concomitant values or assumptions that these words carried. The term ‘manhood’ nuances the different aspects of male experience or social expectations, with latent meanings relating to dignity, duty, virility and adulthood.⁵

A general trend in scholarship has emerged which suggests a more fluid, and decidedly more anxious, articulation of manhood which was not always aligned with (although was inevitably bound to) patriarchal precepts. This theme is explored in my first two chapters, focusing on two of Herbert’s earliest poems, which demonstrate a particularly anxious and defensive approach to the subject of manhood. Anthony Fletcher’s *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (1995) importantly established, through a study of gender roles and power relationships, the importance of biblical patriarchal principles and chivalric honour codes in early modern England, but also pointed to a shift towards a new form of patriarchy, based on internalised gender values.⁶ Fletcher’s work offers an important corrective to the teleological narrative given in Lawrence Stone’s influential *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (1977), in that Fletcher emphasises the way that patriarchal systems evolved to meet new social developments.⁷ A

⁴ A particularly good account of how failing to do this has inhibited fuller studies of women’s writing at a disciplinary and departmental level in higher education is given in Diane Purkiss’s ‘Rooms of all our own’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 12 February 2019, p. 10-11.

⁵ *OED*, ‘manhood’ *n.*

⁶ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁷ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1977).

similar argument is at the heart of Mark Breitenberg's *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (1996), which argued

that masculine anxiety is a necessary and inevitable condition that operates on at least two significant levels: it reveals the fissures and contradictions of patriarchal systems and, at the same time, it paradoxically enables and drives patriarchy's reproduction and continuation of itself.⁸

Breitenberg, like Fletcher, nuanced understandings of the subordination of women by also examining the pressures on male authority, both from women and from the patriarchy itself.

Elizabeth Foyster, in *Manhood in Early Modern England* (1999), developed this further, focusing her study on the domestic context of manhood.⁹ She articulated an anxiety about achieving and sustaining male 'honour', which was intimately bound up with controlling female sexuality within the context of the family and the household. Alexandra Shepard's *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (2003) offered an important intervention in masculinity studies, emphasising that multiple forms of manhood were practised simultaneously, some decidedly patriarchal, but others actively anti-patriarchal, or alternative forms of masculinity; she argues, 'manhood and patriarchy were not equated in early modern England and should not be elided by gender historians.'¹⁰

Shepard's work highlights the fact that age, social standing, and marital status all had significant bearings on the construction, experience, and social practice of manhood, arguing that a more intersectional understanding of access to patriarchal privilege will allow a far greater and more informed understanding of early modern society. In particular, her work shows how

access to patriarchal privilege was varied for men as well as women (albeit on profoundly different grounds), and the competing forms of manhood asserted by early modern men could and did undermine patriarchal ideals.¹¹

Shepard, in pointing to the multiplicity of masculinities which often existed (and still exist) in tension with one another, helps to erode two dominant critical trends: firstly, that male experience is the norm, and secondly that there is a binary opposition of men and women. Particularising male

⁸ Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 2.

⁹ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999).

¹⁰ Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 1.

¹¹ Shepard, p. 1.

experience, and recognising other socio-economic and physiological factors which impact the experience of gender, has allowed scholars to reach a more nuanced understanding of patriarchy and gender in the early modern period. William Fisher's work on gender and materiality has developed this even further, arguing that the Galenic and humoral medical theories of a single-sex model emphasises the malleability of gender, and that masculinity is thus a social construct.¹² My exploration of Herbert's poetry and ideas about manhood and imitation is informed by these studies, and addresses his poems about growing up and travelling abroad as a young man, as well as the anxiety around multiplicity and malleability which are articulated in Herbert's poetry.

Apart from his two satires, explored in Chapters 1 and 2, Herbert's poems generally approach the topic of masculinity indirectly, through dialogue and encounters with others. One aim of this thesis is therefore to map the principally homosocial network in which Herbert's poems were composed, circulated, and read. Most studies of Herbert that have treated his poetry have principally looked at Herbert's verse in isolation, or have only explored the influence of other poets, most notably John Donne and Giambattista Marino (discussed in Chapters 1 and 3 respectively). Mario Rossi, Eugene Hill, and Julia Griffin are the three most recent critics to have written extensively on Herbert's poetry, and this thesis relies on their pioneering readings throughout. Each only dedicates a portion of their study to Herbert's poetry, however, and their scope is therefore necessarily restricted: Rossi primarily argues that Herbert's poetry is the derivative imitation of others (a topic I return to in Chapters 1 and 3); Hill suggests that Herbert's work as ambassador is the 'key' to unlocking his poetry (which I consider in Chapter 3); and Griffin is principally concerned with tracing Herbert's relationship with Donne (discussed in Chapter 1).¹³ This thesis, which is the first full-length study to focus primarily on Herbert's poetry, shows that his verse was more dialogic and sociable than has previously been suggested. Poetry was, for seventeenth century homosocial networks generally, and Herbert specifically, a means by

¹² William Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹³ Rossi, *passim*; Eugene Hill, *Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), especially Chapters 5 ('Herbert's Early Poems'), 6 ('Herbert's Later Poems') and 6 ("An Ode Upon a Question Moved"), pp. 66-103; and Griffin, Chapter 1, 'The Poet', pp. 16-72.

which to practice and affirm friendships, so that the reading, writing, and exchanging of poetry are intimately bound up in expressions of affection and reinforcing of social bonds; Jonson suggested as much when he praised Sir Henry Goodere for ‘making thy friends books, and thy books friends’.¹⁴ The same thought is echoed in Donne’s praise for Herbert in a verse letter: ‘Actions are authors, and of those in you / Your friends find ev’ry day a mart of new.’¹⁵

The cultural importance of friendship in the early modern period was first explored in detail by Laurens J. Mills (*One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama*, 1937), who traced classical and medieval theories of friendship; later literary studies continued to explore the concept of the ‘perfect’ or ‘ideal’ friendship, drawn from classical precepts, in early modern texts.¹⁶ More recently, scholars such as Keith Thomas have sought to distinguish between a literary ideal of friendship and the lived reality of these relationships, whilst work by Lorna Hutson, Will Tosh, and Cedric Brown has emphasised the variety of different forms of friendship which existed between men and women in the early modern period.¹⁷ Brown’s work is particularly revealing for the range of friendships between men, as well as between men and women, whilst Hutson and Tosh focus more exclusively on male friendships, indicating the importance of economic dependency and affective bonds in forming and articulating these relationships. Hutson’s work on the gift-giving economy of male friendships, essential to the humanist model of homosocial relationships, has been furthered by studies which have emphasised the importance of poetry as gifts in networks of verse circulation and patronage.¹⁸ Tosh’s

¹⁴ Jonson, *Epigrams*, ed. by Colin Burrow, *CEWBJ*, v, p. 154, 86, l. 4.

¹⁵ John Donne, ‘To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers’, in *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson, 2008), pp. 100-3 (p. 103), ll. 49-50.

¹⁶ Laurens J. Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama* (Bloomington, IN: Principia Press, 1937). See also: Ullrich Langer, *Perfect Friendship: Studies in Literature and Moral Philosophy from Bocaccio to Corneille* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1994) and Reginald Hyatt, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealisation of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

¹⁷ Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer’s Daughter: Male Friendships and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1994); Will Tosh, *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare’s England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Cedric Brown, *Friendship and its Discourses in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

¹⁸ See, for example, Richard McCabe, *‘Ungainefull Arte’: Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) and Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

description of ‘friendship spaces’ – the ‘relationships, locations, and organisations that [sustain] an individual’s life’ – is a particularly helpful term for my work on Herbert, since the relationships assessed in each chapter also loosely correspond to social, political, and sometimes geographical institutions, such as embassies (Chapter 3) and aristocratic literary households (Chapter 4).¹⁹

Because Herbert has been seen principally as an ‘imitative’ poet, this thesis is concerned particularly with the poetic practice of imitation, a site where humanist pedagogical theories of poetry and male friendships intersect. In his *Defence of Poesy*, Philip Sidney (Herbert’s distant relative) argued that imitation was central to the art of poetry:

Poesy therefore is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in the word *mimesis* – that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth – to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture – with this end, to teach and delight.²⁰

Imitation was essential to early modern conceptions of poetry as an art form, and humanist practices of learning and refining poetic skill in the emphasis on *imitatio* – discussed in Chapter 1 – and *mimesis* – discussed in Chapter 3. With Herbert’s poetry as its lens, this thesis explores different practices and theories of imitation in poetry and homosocial networks, and explores particularly the ways that imitation informed ideas about manhood. ‘*Imitatio*’, Thomas M. Greene argues, ‘was a literary technique that was also a pedagogic method and a critical battleground; it contained implications for the theory of style, the philosophy of history, and for conceptions of the self’.²¹ Theory, philosophy, and conceptions of the self – especially the male self – are all informing principles of my exploration of imitation, but this study does not attempt to construct or refine the kind of categories of imitation which Greene delineates. Instead, it follows in the footsteps of Gavin Alexander’s *Writing After Sidney* (2006) in taking a prosopographical approach, which focuses on a series of case studies to examine different forms of imitation and expressions of masculinity: ‘it makes imitation personal.’²²

¹⁹ Tosh, p. 7.

²⁰ Philip Sidney, *Defence of Poesy*, in *The Major Works*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, 2008), pp. 212-50 (p. 217), ll. 219-22.

²¹ Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 2.

²² Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. xxxvi.

Various studies have shown how the reading and writing of poetry played an important and formative role in the making of an English gentleman, in terms of both the poetic self-fashioning of adult men, and the development from boy to man.²³ As Kate Chedgzoy argues: ‘the composition of occasional and social verse could play a significant part in a humanist education designed to prepare aristocratic boys for elite manhood’.²⁴ Michael Drayton’s poem, ‘To my most dearely-loved friend Henry Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie’ expresses these ideas explicitly:

To my milde Tutor merrily I came,
 (For I was then a proper goodly page,
 Much like a Pigmy, scarce ten years of age)
 Clasping my slender armes about his thigh,
 O my deare master! cannot you (quoth I)
 Make me a Poet, doe it: if you can,
 And you shall see, Ile quickly be a man
 (ll. 24-30)²⁵

Poetry, for Drayton, is depicted as the means by which a young boy becomes a man, and Elizabeth Heale has shown how writing verse and compiling miscellanies were ‘gentlemanly’ activities which ‘contributed to the construction of a desirable mid-century masculine self, humanist-educated and socially aspiring.’²⁶ Throughout his poem, Drayton locates himself and poetry in an exclusively male world, from his male tutor, the male poets (classical and contemporary) that he lists, to the homosocial world of verse composition and circulation which he depicts at the beginning of the poem:

My dearely loved friend how oft have we,
 In some winter evenings (meaning to be free,)
 To some well chosen place us’d to retire;
 And there with moderate meate, and wine, and fire,
 Have past the howres contentedly wth chat,
 Now talk’d of this, and then discours’d of that,
 Spoke our owne verses, ’twixt our selves, if not
 Other mens lines, which we by chance had got
 (ll. 1-8)

²³ See, for example, Richard Helgerson’s discussion of ‘authorial self-preservation’ in *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).

²⁴ Kate Chedgzoy, ‘Make me a poet, and I’ll quickly be man: masculinity, pedagogy and poetry in the English Renaissance’, *Renaissance Studies*, 27 (2013), 592-611 (p. 610).

²⁵ Michael Drayton, ‘To my most dearely-loved friend Henry Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie’, *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. by William Hebel, 5 vols (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1931-41), III (1932), pp. 226-8 (p. 226).

²⁶ Elizabeth Heale, ‘Misogyny and the Complete Gentleman in Early Elizabethan Printed Miscellanies’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003), 233-47 (p. 233).

‘For the young Drayton’, Chedgzoy argues, ‘poetry provides a way of making sense of his status as a child in an adult world, of sustaining relationships with adults, and of preparing to enter that adult world himself.’²⁷

Drayton’s poem also asserts that becoming a man through poetry involves acts of imitation. Having described the companionable act of reading aloud verse together, Drayton remarks how, ‘I remember you much pleased were, / Of those who lived long agoe to heare, / As well as of those, of these latter times, / Who have inricht our language with their rimes’ (ll. 11-4). The majority of the poem is then given over to a list of classical and contemporary poets, but this list is framed by the episode where Drayton describes requesting that his tutor make him a poet (and a man). Thus, the listed poets are not simply writers whose verse Drayton and Reynolds have enjoyed, but also models that Drayton has been taught to imitate.

The rhetorical art of *imitatio* was central to humanist pedagogy, but it is also intimately bound up with questions of friendship and masculinity. Drayton affirms his friendship with Reynolds by writing about his models in poetry, but the practice of *imitatio* was not limited to the modelling of oneself on classical models. Closely imitating a friend’s style of verse was a technique to convey closeness and intimacy, and to reinforce social networks. In my title and my discussion here, I am using the word ‘imitation’ to denote a range of relationships between texts. Alexander has written thoughtfully on some of the terms and relationships that can be described when thinking about poetry:

‘influence’ (which tends to flow powerfully in one direction); ‘imitation’ (an important Renaissance model, driven not by the model but by the imitator); ‘reception’ (which also places the creative burden on those who receive instead of on those who transmit); and ‘afterlife’ (a more neutral term for what becomes of writing once they escape their authors control) [...] ‘allusion’ (which though central to some brilliant recent work on Roman and Augustan poetic inheritance often gets used in Renaissance studies to describe less purposive kinds of reference); and ‘intertextuality’ (which moves in the direction of more intricate networks of connection than the binary one of text to text, and usefully pitches agency towards the reader and away from the texts involved).²⁸

²⁷ Chedgzoy, p. 597.

²⁸ Alexander, pp. xxxii-iii.

Alexander argues that the term ‘response’ more usefully characterises the kind of relationship between texts that he is interested in exploring:

What ‘response’ gives us is a concept that implies the connections between texts in terms of a dialogue, and that reminds us of the hermeneutic logic of question and answer: it requires that we consider both the response and the thing that provoked that response, that we endeavour to learn about those who responded to Sidney by looking at Sidney, and about Sidney by looking at the response to him.²⁹

This focus on the dialogic interplay between texts, and the way that examining ‘responses’ across texts can reveal new ideas about both the ‘transmitter’ and ‘receiver’ (to use Alexander’s terms) describes the approach taken in this study, which locates Herbert’s poems as exchanges and responses between friends and acquaintances. However, I have persisted in using the term ‘imitation’, rather than ‘response’, in my title for a number of reasons. Firstly, it preserves the sense of *imitatio*, so fundamental to thought about writing poetry in early modern England, and a powerful model which informs much of my argument about Herbert’s poetry. Secondly, imitation and *imitatio* are bound up with notions of gender: Chapter 1 of this thesis explores the ways in which several early modern pedagogues and thinkers related *imitatio* to manhood and masculinity, and suggested that practising the wrong kind of *imitatio* risked effeminising impressionable young men. In contrast, the term ‘echo’, so often used synonymously with ‘imitate’ has an aetiological female gender, a topic that I explore in Chapter 4. And thirdly, the term ‘imitation’ has often been interpreted as denoting a relationship that is servile and/or competitive, an understanding of the term that this thesis nuances by exploring Herbert’s ‘imitative’ relationship with several other prominent seventeenth century writers – such as Donne, Jonson, Carew, and Edward’s brother George – to demonstrate a more dialogic, responsive exchange of verse and ideas.

‘The Monument which thou beholdest here, / Presents Edward Lord Herbert, to thy sight’

Edward Herbert, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1582?-1648), was born in Montgomery Castle to Richard and Magdalen Herbert (née Newport), and into a supremely literary family.³⁰ He was

²⁹ Alexander, p. xxxiii.

³⁰ For more precise dating of his death, see Dunstan Roberts, ‘The Death of Lord Herbert of Cherbury Revisited’, *Notes and Queries*, 63 (2016), 44-5.

related to Philip Sidney, and counted the writer Mary Wroth (née Sidney) and great literary patron William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke, among his cousins. His brother George was both one of the foremost devotional poets of the age, and Public Orator at Cambridge, whilst his brother Henry was also a writer and the Master of Revels before and after the Civil War. Herbert's literary career spanned most of his life: he wrote poems, histories, philosophy, an autobiography and a play, as well as amassing a huge library divided between Montgomery Castle and his house in London. With the exception of his philosophy, his literary works were mostly unpublished, and although he counted notable literary figures – including Donne, Jonson, Carew, Hugo Grotius, Pierre Gassendi, and René Descartes – amongst his friends and acquaintances, he was more widely known to his contemporaries as a traveller, soldier, and diplomat. Since his death, scholarship has generally defined his literary career as that of a philosopher and an historian; this thesis argues that he should also be considered a poet, and addresses the relation of his poetry to these other vocations.



Edward Herbert, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581/3-1648), by Isaac Oliver (c. 1565-1617). ©National Trust Images/Todd-White Art Photography

Manliness and multiplicity, themes which are central to this thesis, are qualities which have been repeatedly associated with Herbert, and are brilliantly captured in perhaps the most famous image of Herbert: the exquisite cabinet miniature by Isaac Oliver. The painting was recently purchased by the National Trust and is held at Powis Castle, Powys, the medieval castle which continues to be owned by descendants of Herbert's cousin, William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke. Catharine MacLeod describes the painting as depicting 'the most familiar and evocative guises used in British masculine self-presentation at the time', evoking Herbert's various roles as chivalric knight, melancholy lover, poet, and philosopher.³¹

The painting itself is a rare example of a cabinet miniature with a relatively large format (measuring 181 mm by 229 mm) and an expanded composition, focusing not just on the subject, but introducing a developed and detailed landscape setting. In the painting, Herbert is depicted reclining on the banks of a stream in a shady forest, a spring bubbling out just beneath his head, which rests on his right hand. He is dressed in tournament gear, and the shield strapped to his left arm is decorated with a red heart emerging with sparks from golden flames or wings, and inscribed with the motto 'Magica Sympathiae', referring to the doctrine of sympathetic magic. In the background, a groom can be seen tending to horses and armour, and in the distance there is a river, where the faint outline of a three-masted ship and a castle-keep can be discerned beneath the mountainous landscape.

Herbert's pose, lounging on his right side and gazing out at the viewer, recalls the miniature of Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland painted by Nicholas Hilliard (possibly Isaac Oliver's master or colleague), which, like the Herbert miniature, depicts its subject as a melancholic and a philosopher. The pose's associations with melancholy – connected in Aristotelian humoral theory with male creativity and deep philosophical meditation – can be seen most clearly in the woodcut of Democritus by Christof le Blon which appeared on the title page of the third and subsequent editions of Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.³² Herbert's

³¹ Catharine MacLeod, *Elizabethan Treasures: Miniatures by Hilliard and Oliver* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2019), p. 175.

³² Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3rd edn (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1628). For more history of the visual codes of melancholy in early modern England see Drew Daniel, *The Melancholy Assemblage*:

philosophical bent is suggested in this pose, which also recalls the description of ‘the melancholy Jaques’ in *As You Like It*: ‘he lay along / Under an oak, whose antic root peeps out / Upon the brook that brawls along this wood’.³³ Philosophical interests are also indicated in the Herbert miniature through the *impresa* and motto on the shield, which Roy Strong has linked to Herbert’s major philosophical treatise, *De Veritate*, as well as various other emblems of winged hearts, such as the heart rising out of a book in George Wither’s *A Collection of Emblemes*.³⁴ If, instead of wings, the heart on the shield is rising from flames, then the image may be intended to allude to the doctrine of platonic love, a theme prevalent in Herbert’s poetry, whilst the spring, gushing forth water beneath Herbert’s head, is an image of poetic inspiration. The pose and the stream also allude to the Ovidian myth of Narcissus (an important aetiological reference for my discussion in Chapter 4), suggestive again of poetic overtones, but also of an egotism and self-love that the sitter can hardly have wished to convey about himself, but which has dominated critical views of Herbert as a result of his posthumously published *Life of Himself* (explored in Chapter 5).

The portrait of Herbert differs from other melancholic images of Elizabethan and Jacobean aristocrats by Oliver (and Hilliard) as the subject does not appear in the customary black clothing that denotes a melancholic disposition. This fashion was exemplified by the Elizabethan ‘malcontents’, seen in pictures such as the ‘Lothian portrait’ of John Donne, or Hilliard’s cabinet miniature of Henry Percy.³⁵ Instead, Herbert reclines in tournament apparel, sumptuously detailed, with full armour waiting for him in the background. Having just undergone recent conservation treatment, new details about the composition of the painting have emerged, which indicate that

Affect and Epistemology in the English Renaissance (New York, NY: Fordham University press, 2013), especially pp. 44-9.

³³ William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, ed. by Alan Brissenden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 2.1.26, 30-2. This parallel was first noted by Mary Edmond, *Hilliard and Oliver: The Lives and Works of Two Great Miniaturists* (London: R. Hale, 1983), p. 112.

³⁴ Roy Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), p. 184. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Modern* (London: A. M., 1635), p. 91.

³⁵ For more on the Elizabethan malcontents see Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*, 3 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995-1999), II (1995), especially ‘The Elizabethan Malady: Melancholy in Elizabethan and Jacobean portraiture’, pp. 295-302. For more on the portrait of Donne see: Annabel Patterson, ‘Donne in the Shadows: Pictures and Politics’, *John Donne Journal*, 16 (1997), 1-35; Kate Gartner Frost, ‘The Lothian Portrait: A Prolegomenon’, *John Donne Journal*, 15 (1996), 95-125; Nick Davis, ‘Melancholic Individuality and the Lothian Portrait of John Donne’, *American Notes and Queries*, 26 (2013), 5-12.

Herbert may have made late changes to the painting's composition himself, such as changes to the positioning of his sword.

Just behind Herbert's legs a blue scabbard, which has been disguised but has become more visible over time due to the loss of the green paint on top, can be seen lying in the grass. Under x-ray a diagonal line can be seen running across Herbert's chest, which has also been disguised by the artist, suggesting that these were late changes to the picture's composition. Christine Slottved Kimbriel and Paola Ricciardi, who worked on the painting's conservation, have suggested that the diagonal line was probably originally a sword strap, which was subsequently replaced by a sword belt, while the sword itself was moved from the grass behind Herbert to a brown, gold-tipped scabbard attached to a belt and placed, somewhat awkwardly, under his left arm. Slottved Kimbriel and Ricciardi speculate that the compositional change may have been commissioned by Herbert himself, and deployed 'as a means to emphasise subtly how, even in his contemplative state, he is ready at arms.'³⁶

The theory that Herbert himself may have requested such a change to the picture's composition is supported by the fact that he clearly took a very active interest in his own portraits and presentation. Herbert describes in detail several portraits of himself in the *Life* – including one miniature which very nearly cost him his life, discussed in Chapter 4. That he carefully controlled his own representation in such portraits is clear from the fact that in a portrait by William Larkin (also described in the *Life*), Herbert is shown wearing a gown decorated with the mullets – heraldic stars – of the barony of Montgomery, which had been conferred on his cousin Philip Herbert (later fourth earl of Pembroke) in 1605.³⁷ Despite describing the Larkin miniature, and his other portraits, in detail in the *Life*, Herbert makes no reference in his text to the Oliver miniature, and yet the picture has come to be closely associated with Herbert's *Life*, in such a way that it has been read as symptomatic of an inherent tension between Herbert's person and his literary works.³⁸

³⁶ Christine Slottved Kimbriel and Paola Ricciardi, 'A Closer Look at the Cabinet Miniature of Lord Herbert of Cherbury', *National Trust Collections* (2018) < <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/article/a-closer-look-at-the-cabinet-miniature-of-lord-herbert-of-cherbury> > [accessed 16 April 2019].

³⁷ See Alistair Laing, 'Lord Herbert of Cherbury', *National Art Collections Fund Review* (1991), pp. 147-52.

³⁸ This association with the *Life* has also led to several critics, including another editor of the *Life*, Sidney Lee, suggesting that the Oliver portrait depicts Herbert after a duel, as Herbert recounts several duels in the

In the first edition of Herbert's *Life* (1764), the text's editor, Horace Walpole, made use of the Oliver miniature of Herbert as a frontispiece to emphasise an essential duality (even dichotomy) in Herbert's image as a thinker and a fighter that Walpole asserted throughout his preface and footnotes to the work. Such a reading has persisted, and the literary, learned elements of the portrait have generally been seen in contrast to the military, chivalric aspects: Bruce R. Smith has noted that 'scholarly commentary on the portrait has recognised two roles for the recumbent Herbert: chivalric knight and melancholic philosopher'.³⁹ This duality, which I explore most fully in Chapter 5, has dominated criticism of Herbert, and a consistent tension has been perceived between Herbert's 'metaphysical' verse and philosophy, and his more worldly pursuits. In contrast, this thesis argues for a greater understanding of multiplicity in Herbert's person and poetry – as opposed to the binary tension of a duality that Walpole suggests. Herbert is not *either* a philosopher or knight; he is both, and an ambassador, a traveller, an historian, and a poet.

Scholarly work on Herbert has been dominated by this notion of an essential contradiction between Herbert the philosopher and poet on the one hand, and Herbert the soldier and duellist on the other, and this thesis goes some way to reconciling this duality, arguing that finding such a tension is an anachronistic reading of Herbert, and that his philosophical theories and chivalric pursuits informed his verse. However, it also reads some new, but critically productive, contradictions into the study of Herbert's poetry. This thesis presents several case studies of Herbert imitating and responding to other prominent seventeenth century writers such as Donne, Jonson, Carew, and George Herbert in verse, because they combine three interesting areas of masculinity studies: poetry, elite masculinity, and male friendship. As Christine Jackson observes, 'surprisingly little has been written exclusively about elite masculinity', in part because the privilege of wealth has ensured that the majority of extant documents relate to an elite section of

Life (Lee, p. xv). In a similar vein David Piper has suggested that Herbert is about to compete in a tilt, where he will 'be defending his lady's honour', but this also assumed Herbert will be engaged in serious fighting, as he so often is in the *Life* (*The Image of the Poet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 24). The decorated arms instead suggest a ceremonial event, as Alex Davis argues in *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 142, n. 21.

³⁹ Bruce R. Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2009), p. 76.

male society, which has often been treated as a norm or standard, and therefore not studied in detail as exceptional.⁴⁰ Stone's *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (1965) remains an important and influential study in this area, tracing significant changes within late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England, as aristocratic men were increasingly expected to privilege courtly and diplomatic functions over military leadership.⁴¹ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have indicated that the inherent conservatism amongst the aristocracy meant that social change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was perhaps less radical than might have been thought, and that there was a good deal of continuity in social attitudes, particularly in relation to status values.⁴² Herbert certainly reflects these readings, with his engagement with and deployment of traditional, chivalric honour codes, combined with his radical new philosophies.

Whilst Herbert – as an elite, aristocratic male, and an eldest son – exemplifies patriarchal privilege in the early modern period, the study of his poetry is, in many ways, subject to the kinds of practical problems of method and theoretical issues that often distinguish critical studies of writers who have been overlooked *because of patriarchal privilege*, in particular women's poetry. Herbert's papers, although numerous, are not always widely available, and tend to appear in outdated or unannotated editions, if they have been edited at all. In addition, because his poetry has so often been read as purely imitative, it is regularly presented in the shadow of canonical writers like Donne and George Herbert, so that any study of Herbert's poetry is often inclined to have to make qualitative claims about the value of his poetry. One desire of this thesis is to raise the profile of Herbert's verse, in part by demonstrating that it has more aesthetic value and interest than it has been credited with in studies dominated by canonical focuses.

More generally, Herbert is an excellent lens through which to explore imitation in poetry, and the ways that it relates to masculinity and homosociality, precisely because he has almost universally been read as an imitative poet. In some ways my thesis supports this reading, but

⁴⁰ Christine Jackson, 'Memory and the Construction and Experience of Elite Masculinity in the Seventeenth-Century Autobiography of Lord Herbert of Chisbury', *Gender and History*, 25 (2013), 107-31.

⁴¹ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

⁴² Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994).

nuances how we might understand such a description. ‘Imitation’ does not, I argue, necessarily indicate slavish copying, or competitive emulation, but is a practice that has important social functions and complex implications for ideas about manhood. In contemporary descriptions of Herbert’s own writing practice – from himself or from others – there is a tendency to employ verbs which, on the surface, suggest a simple practice of competition, but are in fact more complex. This can be seen, for instance, in the claim that Donne wrote his elegy on Prince Henry ‘to *match* Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’, or Herbert’s suggestion in his elegy for Donne that the task of celebrating his dead friend is so great that ‘with my witty Carew I should *strive*’ (my emphasis).⁴³ ‘Match’ and ‘strive’ are richly ambiguous verbs, suggesting both competition but also collaboration. This thesis explores such terms to argue for a more socially nuanced understanding of poetic imitation, and the implicit gendering of such practice.

The chapters that follow are arranged roughly chronologically, with each chapter focusing on Herbert and other writers who were part of his social network, and who exchanged or imitated one another’s verse. These form a series of case studies on the intersections of imitation, masculinity, and homosociality in verse. In Chapter 1 I consider Herbert’s relationship with Donne, the writer who had a particularly significant poetic influence on Herbert. Critiquing Jonson’s comment that Donne wrote ‘to match Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’, this chapter explores the poems that Herbert and Donne wrote to and for each other, tracing an ongoing dialogue in their exchanges of verse. In this chapter I consider how the practice of *imitatio* informs the way that this relationship can be – and has been – read, and how literary theorists from the sixteenth and seventeenth century figured *imitatio* as an important developmental step in becoming a man. Poetry, *imitatio*, and friendship: these are the three key elements of becoming a man explored in this chapter, and all three are inextricably bound together, as being a good man and a good friend, contemporary theory suggested, meant imitating your friends in verse, sustaining these friendships through poetry, and asserting your own place as a poet in a social and literary lineage. Poetry and

⁴³ William Dummond and Ben Jonson, *Informations to William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed by Ian Donaldson, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson (CEWBJ)*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), v, pp. 351-91 (p. 365). Herbert, ‘Elegy for Dr Dunn’, l. 57.

imitation are at the heart of being a man and being a friend in a homosocial environment. Through this lens, I offer a reappraisal of Herbert and Donne's relationship, and demonstrate the ways that both Donne's and Herbert's verse demonstrates a keen engagement with issues of being and becoming a man. The chapter concludes with a coda considering Donne's gift of a presentation copy of *Biathanatos*, and how this can be read in the context of a satirical imitation of another member of their close social network, Ben Jonson.

Chapter 2 continues this theme of satire and parody by examining a satire that Herbert sent to Jonson. Through a close consideration of this poem I demonstrate Herbert's detailed knowledge of Jonson's plays, and show that during the years that Donne and Jonson were especially close, both were also close to Herbert and all three engaged in satirical parodies and imitations of one another. I contrast this socially inclusive form of satire with the socially exclusive elements of Herbert's and Jonson's satires, and the misogynistic streak that this often reveals. In particular, this chapter explores ideas of self-satire, and anxieties about travel and manly virtue, in particular an anxiety about how to imitate and absorb new fashions and qualities encountered whilst travelling without becoming irreparably changed. This is a process which links Herbert's poems to ideas of emasculation, figured through images of pregnancy and rebirth.

Travel and change are also themes in Chapter 3, which discusses Herbert and Carew's responses to Giambattista Marino's poetry during Herbert's time as ambassador to France. This chapter explores how political theories of diplomacy intersect with theories about poetry and literature, specifically in the rhetorical trope of metonymy. I also demonstrate that the newly established permanent embassies should be considered important institutions of verse production and circulation. This chapter connects early modern theories of diplomacy with Herbert's epistemology and theories about truth in *De Veritate*, and makes use of his unpublished draft of an aesthetic treatise to demonstrate that the same ideas were being explored in Herbert's poems. In particular, the imagery of microcosm and macrocosm recurs at key moments across his philosophy and poems, and his works display a consistent interest in ideas about the integrity of the constituent parts that make up a unified whole – a central image to theories of embassy. In doing so, this

chapter also demonstrates how Herbert and Carew were important ‘literary ambassadors’, imitating Marino’s work and introducing it to an English audience.

My fourth chapter seeks to situate Herbert within the wider household of the Sidney-Herberts. This household was characterised by its prominent female writers and patrons, and Chapter 4 explores the use of echoes within works by household members, and discusses the ramifications of ‘echo’ as a female-gendered equivalent to the ‘male’ *imitatio*. Here, I explore various iterations of the Echo myth to chart how echoes disrupt patterns of authority in their responses, changing the original utterance and imbuing the echo itself with authority. In particular, the texts circulated within the Sidney-Herbert household are curiously sensitive to the contradictions of Echo/echo: a figure or device which is simultaneously silent and speaking, secular and divine, powerless and almighty, and representative of both death and immortality, origin and response. The chapter focuses on the poetry of William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, as well as poetry and drama by Mary Wroth and Edward Herbert’s unfinished play, *The Amazon*, and argues that Wroth, in particular, makes use of echo imagery to assert her place within a literary lineage. The chapter closes by addressing two divine echo poems by Edward and George Herbert, and examines the religious implications of their use of the echo motif, as well as exploring the ways in which the two brothers were imitating – echoing – one another in these poems.

In my final chapter I return to the idea of a literary lineage and inheritance to address the posthumous publication history of Herbert’s poems and his *Life*, and the ways that both were used to create and control Herbert’s later reputation. This chapter also returns to the theme of a perceived contradiction between Herbert as a man of words and a man of action (specifically fighting), discussing the way that Horace Walpole’s publication of the *Life* sought to depict Herbert as an anachronistic chivalric knight, and a figure of ridicule. I argue that Herbert’s self-presentation in the *Life* – as in the Oliver miniature of him – reflects contemporary social values, particularly relating to manhood, and that to read both as anachronistic is in itself an anachronism. Herbert’s deployment of chivalric, Quixotic, feats and accolades in fact supports his conscious attempt to imitate contemporary prose romances, a practice that extends to the formal features of the *Life*. Similarly, an analysis of the posthumous 1665 printing of Herbert’s poems shows how,

from the moment of their first publication, the poems have been framed and restyled to present a particular kind of figure to the public, and how both the poems and the *Life* have been used to present a nostalgic image of Herbert, a man who was nevertheless very much of his time, immersed in contemporary debate and society.

In the broadest terms, then, this thesis shows the importance of imitation in homosocial networks and verse, and particularly argues that imitation was a crucial practice in becoming both a man and a poet. By exploring the way that humanist pedagogy, classical myth, and contemporary literary theory gendered the very art of imitation, it becomes clear that imitation was bound up with gender politics on the level of both theory and practice. Understanding this can help to nuance our perceptions of the way that social relationships are articulated through verse, and in particular challenge models of 'competitive' imitation in verse. The poetry of Edward Herbert reveals the ways that imitation can be collaborative and dialogic, and how ideas of multiplicity and malleability informed early modern thinking about gender.

Chapter 1

‘This dialogue of one’: Becoming a Poet and Becoming a Man in the Verse of John Donne and Edward Herbert

John Donne is, in many ways, a useful and a necessary starting point for thinking about Herbert’s poetry, but he is also problematic. Donne is useful and necessary because most modern readers of Herbert’s verse are likely to have come to it through Donne – the most oft-quoted comment on Herbert’s poetry is Ben Jonson’s remark to William Drummond of Hawthornden that Donne wrote his elegy on Prince Henry to ‘match Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’, a phrase which has proved remarkably enduring.¹ Donne is the writer to whom Herbert is most frequently compared, and some of Herbert’s earliest poems were intended for Donne. He is also the first of a small handful of poets who are mentioned in Herbert’s autobiographical *Life of Himself*, although only in passing, and only in his capacity as Dean of St Paul’s; nevertheless, he was clearly a profound literary influence on Herbert as a poet and a thinker.² However, he has also become something of a stumbling block in studies of Herbert’s poetry – Herbert has generally been dismissed as Donne’s earliest, and least innovative, imitator.

It is essential to any study of Herbert’s poetry to acknowledge the debt he owed to Donne, and to address the similarities in their verse, but doing so has resulted in a tendency amongst literary critics to reduce Herbert’s verse to pale shadows, when in fact the overwhelming majority of Herbert’s literary output shows just how innovative and original a poet and thinker he was. In Mario Rossi’s seminal study of Herbert – also something of a methodological problem due to its seemingly exhaustive consideration of Herbert, combined with Rossi’s evident dislike of his subject – he declared that ‘Fra Donne e Herbert non v’era mai comunione vera, ma soltanto imitazione e emulazione di abilità poetica’ (‘Between Donne and Herbert there was never real

¹ William Drummond and Ben Jonson, *Informations to William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed by Ian Donaldson, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson (CEWBJ)*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), v, pp. 351-91 (p. 365).

² Donne is mentioned once and very briefly in Herbert’s *Life*, when Herbert is describing his mother Magdalen: he notes that she ‘was that women Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed.’ *Life*, p. 8.

communion, only imitation and emulation of poetic ability’).³ In what she refers to as her attack on this judgement, Julia Griffin sought ‘to make more of this idea of a correspondence between Herbert and Donne – the interest for each of the other’s ideas’.⁴ Rossi spoke of a ‘comunione’ (‘communion’), and Griffin spoke of a ‘correspondence’ between Herbert and Donne: in this chapter I wish to develop both ideas and argue for a ‘conversation’ between Donne and Herbert in their verse, a conversation bound up with Herbert’s own youthful anxieties about entering into ‘man’s estate’, as well as one indicative of broader social concerns about manhood and multiplicity. Theirs, I argue, is a conversation that can be characterised, not as ‘matching in obscureness’, but rather as a ‘dialogue of one’.⁵

The title of this chapter, taken from one of Donne’s most famous love lyrics, ‘The Ecstasy’, captures the perfect, yet paradoxical, Platonic union of lovers which so many of Donne’s lyrics celebrate. It is a useful way into thinking about Herbert and Donne’s friendship, the poems they wrote for one another, and some of the questions about or features of masculinity in poetry that this thesis explores, as well as emphasising several core themes that will recur throughout the thesis: friendship, masculinity or manhood, and verse exchange. Even within Donne’s poem the phrase, as has often been observed, is richly paradoxical. A ‘dialogue’ necessarily indicates that more than one person is speaking – all the main definitions of the term given in the *OED* indicate that it must involve ‘two or more people’ – and yet only one voice is ever heard in Donne’s poem.⁶ Only one of the lovers is identified as speaking (even if the narrative voice protests that ‘Because both meant, both spake the same’, l. 26), and the imagined observer who might overhear this ‘dialogue’ is silent; however, this is the figure implicitly addressed for much of the poem, and who is decidedly male. Despite being identified as ‘some lover such as we’, who therefore presumably has also become a unified spirit, the observer and addressee of most of the poem is identified as

³ Rossi, I, p. 207. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.

⁴ Griffin, p. 20.

⁵ Donne, ‘The Ecstasy’, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson, 2008), pp. 169-81 (p. 181, l. 74).

⁶ *OED*, ‘dialogue’, *n.*, 1. a. ‘A literary work in the form of a conversation between two or more persons’; b. *Music* ‘A composition for two or more alternating voices’; 2. a. ‘A conversation carried on between two or more people’; 3. ‘Conversation between two or more characters in a literary work’.

specifically male: ‘And if some lover such as we / Have heard this dialogue of one, / Let **him** still mark us: **he** shall see’ (ll. 73-75, my emphasis). ‘This dialogue of one’ can be a phrase which can help inform our understanding of gender relations and voice in the love lyrics which both Donne and Herbert wrote, but it can also be applied on a literary level to describe the kind of ‘conversation’ which I identify as occurring between Donne and Herbert in their verse, as well as on a literary critical level as a way of thinking about the way that Donne and Herbert’s relationship has been ‘read’ historically.

Modern critical readings of Donne and Herbert’s relationship have largely been predicated on Jonson’s remark about Donne writing to ‘match Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’, a phrase which has principally led to ideas about verse competition, as I explore later in the chapter. However, an equally productive (and much less applied) approach to this comment is through Jonson’s other pronouncements on obscurity and verse in his commonplace book *Timber, or Discoveries*, and the way that he relates obscurity to manhood and *imitatio*. In this text, Jonson essentially outlines his own style of rhetoric and poetics, which Wesley Trimpi identified as Jonson’s ‘plain style’ and which is inescapably linked, for Jonson, with questions of maturity and manhood in particular.⁷

The section where Jonson most graphically delineates his style begins:

Language most shows a man: speak that I may see thee. It springs out of the most retired and inmost part of us, and is the image of the parent of it, the mind. No glass renders a man’s form or likeness so true as his speech. Nay, it is likened to a man; and as we consider feature and composition in a man, so words in language: in the greatness, aptness, sound, structure, and harmony of it.⁸

Jonson goes on to suggest that not only is language the best expression of a man, but the best language (the ‘plain style’ he advocates) is itself ‘manly’, a style which Patricia Parker argues is ‘linked to the metaphors of the male body in its prime’.⁹ As Jonson continues he equates language and the physical body of man more and more explicitly, the ‘flesh, blood, and bones come in question’, and he quotes from Vives’ *De ratione*, describing the language which retains its

⁷ Wesley Trimpi, *Ben Jonson’s Poems: A Study of the Plain Style* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 3-91.

⁸ Ben Jonson, *Discoveries*, ed. by Lorna Hutson in *CEWBJ*, vii, pp. 481-596 (pp. 567-8), ll. 1439-143.

⁹ Patricia Parker, ‘Virile Style’ in *Premodern Sexualities*, ed. by Louise Olga Fradenburg, Carla Freccero, Kathy Lavezzo (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 201-22 (p. 203).

‘juice’ and ‘blood’, but loses its ‘fleshy corpulence’: ‘*ossa habent, et nervos*’ (‘they have bones and sinews’).¹⁰ Parker discusses the key term here, ‘*nervos*’, often translated as ‘sinews’, and connotes a phallic, exclusively male strength.¹¹ Richard Peterson, in his study of how Jonson’s principles of poetic style can be seen in his poetry, identifies a series of metaphors which run throughout Jonson’s verse, and which are predicated on his admiration of classical sources: ‘Jonson is seen to fill the landscape of his poems with erect and three-dimensional inner forms of virtue, rendered in sculptural and architectural terms, which are direct descendants of those in various classical sources.’¹² These phallic and testicular images of spheres and columns which Peterson identifies, are again suggestive of the ways in which Jonson links language and masculine virility, and also suggests that Jonson draws similar analogies between language and imitation.

In his discussion of ‘obscure’, rough verse, Jonson equates this style of writing to a particular kind of manhood, and argues that this is the kind of verse which prompts a most dangerous form of *imitatio*:

Others that in composition are nothing but what is rough and broken: *Quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt* [‘That stumble among ruts and boulders’]. And if it would come gentle, they trouble it of purpose. They would not have it run without rubs, as if that style were more strong and manly, that struck the ear with a kind of unevenness. These men err not by chance, but knowingly and willingly; they are like men that affect a fashion by themselves, have some singularity in a ruff, cloak, or hatband, or their beards specially cut to provoke beholders and set a mark upon themselves. They would be reprehended, while they are looked on. And this vice, one that is in authority with the rest, loving, delivers over to them to be imitated; so that oft-times the faults which he fell into the others seek for: this is the danger, when vice becomes a precedent.¹³

Rough and ‘obscure’ verse, Jonson argues, appears superficially manly, and he compares this kind of verse to those who fashion themselves to appear ‘singular’, specifically referencing external markers of masculinity, such as beards and hats. William Fisher has argued for the importance of material signifiers, which he terms ‘prostheses’, in delineating gender in early modern society,

¹⁰ Jonson, *Discoveries*, ll. 1466-7, 1479-80. Juan Luis Vives, *De ratione discendi*, 2 vols (Basil, 1555), II, p. 105.

¹¹ Parker, p. 212-4.

¹² Richard Peterson, *Imitation and Praise in the Poems of Ben Jonson* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. xiv, 35-90.

¹³ Jonson, *Discoveries*, ll. 502-12.

focusing particularly on beards, codpieces, hair, and handkerchiefs.¹⁴ Jonson's point is that this kind of verse only 'seems' manly, and is in fact a deliberate deception of manliness, a point made more explicitly in the Martial poem which Jonson quotes from:

*Carmina nulla probas molli quae limite currunt,
sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt,
et tibi Maeonio quoque carmine maius habetur
'Lucili columella hic situ' Metrophanes';
Attonitusque legis 'terrai frugiferai',
Accius et quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt.
vis imiter veteres, Chrestille, tuosque poetas?
Dispeream ni scis mentula quid sapiat*

(You do not approve of any poems that run on a smooth path, only of those that stumble among ruts and boulders; greater to you even than Maeonian song is 'little pillar of Lucilius, here lieth Metrophanes'. In rapt amazement you read of 'fruitful earth', and whatever Accius and Pacuvius spew out. Do you wish me to imitate the old poets, your poets, Chrestillus? Damned if you don't know the taste of a cock!)¹⁵

Here, the admirer of what he perceives as stylistic virility, is reduced to an 'effeminate' man, or the pathetic man, who was denigrated in Roman culture.¹⁶ The individual, like the verse, 'appears' manly but is fact not. More interestingly for my discussion, however, is the link drawn here between both the 'effeminate' man, the seemingly manly verse he admires, and *imitatio*. Both Jonson and Martial suggest that manhood is bound up with imitation; in Martial's poem the relationship is decidedly sexual, with the giving of sexual favours, or being the receiver of another man's cock, metaphorically suggesting the poetic imitation of another. Implicit throughout Jonson's *Discoveries*, however, is the idea that rhetoric (or poetry), language, and manhood are all bound together, and that *imitatio* is fundamental to both becoming a poet and becoming a man. Imitating truly 'manly' verse and men will, in turn, make you more of a man and a more 'manly' poet. Obscureness, then, is a particularly dangerous kind of language and verse: it both *appears*

¹⁴ William Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Giulia Mari's PhD has further developed this focus on materiality and gender studies in the early modern period, focusing on men's legs in art and fashion and the way that these asserted and complicated ideas about masculinity and manhood: 'Talking Legs in the English Renaissance: Shifting Concepts of Masculinity in Tudor and Stuart England, 1550-1700', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, King's College London, 2018).

¹⁵ Martial, *Epigrams* (Loeb), trans. by David Roy Shackleton Bailey, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), III, 11.90.

¹⁶ For more on the 'pathic man' in Roman culture see *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. by Amy Richlin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

manly, whilst not actually being so, and also encourages imitation – ‘delivers over to them to be imitated’ – and is thus a self-generating vice.

Jonson’s comment, then, that Donne sought to ‘match Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’ has resonances beyond the suggestion that Donne and Herbert simply made their verse competitively difficult (an argument I will return to), and is fact overlaid with ideas about manhood, masculinity, and *imitatio*. The rest of the chapter explores how Herbert’s poetry and acts of imitation convey and sustain his friendship with Donne, and how they articulate ideas about being a man. The intertwining of friendship and imitation is expressed by Walter Dorke’s 1589 conduct book, in which he declared that ‘he [that] loketh upon his faithfull Friend, doth behold a perfect patterne of his owne person, being as it were an *Alter ego*, that is another himselfe.’¹⁷ As I suggested in the Introduction, poetry and imitation were important parts of a humanist education and the development from boy to man; Herbert’s exchanges with Donne demonstrate this intersection of verse and manhood. Permeating Herbert’s poetry, however, is an anxiety about multiplicity that threatens to destabilise ideas of manhood, which I relate to theories of *imitatio* and critical trends that have dominated studies of Herbert’s and Donne’s poetry.

Having discussed in my Introduction how critical understandings of masculinity and the patriarchy in the early seventeenth century have developed, this chapter explores how these ideas have been applied to readings of Donne’s verse, particularly his love lyrics. Interest in gender in Donne studies has traditionally looked to Donne’s poems and sermons to ascertain his opinion of, and feelings towards, women, with arguments for and against labelling him either a feminist or a misogynist.¹⁸ More recently, there has been some excellent work on Donne and sexuality, which has also informed a growing area of study on gender and Donne, and has run in parallel with early

¹⁷ Walter Dorke, *A Tipe or Figure of Friendship, Wherein is Livelie, and Compendiouslie Expressed, the Right Nature and Propertie of a Perfect and True Friend* (London: Thomas Orwin and Henry Kirkham, 1589), sig. B2^r-B2^v.

¹⁸ See, for example, Ilona Bell, ‘Gender Matters: The Women in Donne’s Poems’, in *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. by Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 201-16; Elizabeth Hodgson, *Gender and the Sacred Self in John Donne* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999).

modern masculinity studies, reflecting a broader interest in sociability and networks.¹⁹ In both masculinity studies and Donne studies there has been an increasing engagement with ideas about homosociality, networks, and friendship. This turn in Donne studies was prompted by the transformative work on early modern material texts (especially manuscripts) by Harold Love, Arthur Marotti, Henry Woudhuysen, and Peter Beal.²⁰ For Donne studies more specifically, Marotti's *John Donne, Coterie Poet* was an instrumental text, prompting scholars to consider Donne as one of the most popular and widely disseminated manuscript poets of the period.²¹ Marotti's work influentially argued that Donne was at the centre of a poetic coterie, whose members competed with each other, a point I will return to shortly. The interest in Donne's manuscript and social networks that this work precipitated has paralleled research on friendship and homosociality, and whilst there is an ongoing drive to identify and map Donne's social and literary networks, there is increasingly a move to qualify and characterise the relationships that these networks consisted of, which this thesis contributes to.

As a case study for thinking about these ideas, this chapter will discuss Donne's poem 'The Ecstasy' and compare it to Herbert's verse 'An Ode Upon a Question Moved, Whether Love Should Continue Forever', and reveal how these two poems can be read as a continuation of one another. I then discuss one of Herbert's earliest poems, 'The State Progress of Ill', and Donne's response, 'To Sir Ed. Herbert at Juliers', in order to show how these verses form a dialogue or conversation, as well as address ideas about manhood and an anxiety around multiplicity. These two examples of verse exchange or response also suggest ways that Donne and Herbert's

¹⁹ See especially Theresa M. DiPasquale, 'Donne, Women, and the Spectre of Misogyny', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Dennis Flynn, M. Thomas Hester, and Jeanne Shami (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 678-89. Rebecca Ann Bach, '(Re)placing John Donne in the History of Sexuality', *English Literary History* 72 (2005), 259-89.

²⁰ Harold Love and Peter Beal focused on scribes' roles in the circulation of early modern poetry, and how this might inform contemporary reading experiences. Henry Woudhuysen also investigated manuscript publication, exemplified through one author's literary canon, while Arthur Marotti's *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, argued that manuscript publication encouraged the adaptation and appropriation of texts by readers, in contrast to printed publication which established fixed, 'authorised' versions of texts. Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

²¹ Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

friendship can be re-evaluated in light of modern critical ideas about early modern friendship, masculinity, verse exchange, and *imitatio*. In a coda to the chapter I offer a final example of their friendship and literary exchange, and suggesting a new reading of the manuscript copy of *Biathanatos* which Donne sent to Herbert, and the role that Jonson may have played in this gift, arguing that Donne may have satirised Jonson's dislike of the 'obscure' writing that he and Herbert exchanged.

'Of that short roll of friends writ in my heart': John Donne and Edward Herbert

Donne's epistolary missives, in prose and verse, as well as the extended social network that he cultivated and which criticism continues to map, all attest to his wealth of significant friends (male and female). Compared to some of Donne's other correspondents and addressees, the material relating to Herbert seems somewhat slight: while Donne wrote nine verse letters addressed to the Woodward brothers, Herbert received only one verse letter, 'To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers'; and in contrast to the many letters Donne sent to Sir Henry Goodere and Robert Ker, Earl of Ancrum, there are only two surviving letters to Herbert. On the other hand, one of these letters was a dedicatory epistle attached to a presentation copy of *Biathanatos*, one of Donne's most personal and controversial texts, and the other announced one of the most important events in Donne's life, written on 'the very day wherein I took orders.'²² The latter is also the earliest surviving example of a letter bearing the new emblematic seal of Christ on an anchor, which Donne commemorated in verse in a poem addressed to Herbert's brother George.²³ Further, Herbert is mentioned in another four of Donne's extant letters: one to Bridget White, who appears to have been a mutual friend of Donne's and Herbert's, informing her that Herbert had recovered from a fever; two to Goodere, relating to Herbert's embassy and his seat in Parliament (which was offered to Donne when

²² Donne, *Selected Letters*, ed. by P. M. Oliver (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2002), pp. 82, 88.

²³ Donne, 'To Mr George Herbert with my Seal of the Anchor and Christ', *Poems*, ed. by Robbins, pp. 567-72.

Herbert returned to the war in the Low Countries); and one to George Garrard, in which Donne offers to explain something on Garrard's behalf to Herbert.²⁴

Whilst none of these letters are particularly illuminating about Donne and Herbert's relationship, they nevertheless place him within a relatively intimate circle of Donne's friends and correspondents. In addition to these epistolary connections, Donne was clearly an important figure in the Herbert family, and a number of poems by both Donne and Herbert can be linked. As well as writing a sermon commemorating Magdalen Herbert, Donne also preached at the wedding of Edward Herbert's son, Richard, to Mary Egerton, the daughter of John, First earl of Bridgewater, who was the son of Donne's previous employer Thomas Egerton.²⁵ A recent auction at Sotheby's has also brought to light a previously unknown document from this marriage: an indenture between Edward Herbert, his son Richard, and John Egerton signed by Donne's son, John Donne junior, as a witness.²⁶ It is a tantalising detail, which indicates that Donne junior was known to the Herbert family; his only other known dealings with Herbert, regarding his father's work *Biathanatos*, are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Donne's influence on Herbert's poems has been well documented, and the similarity of the poets' styles is attested by the fact the poem 'Ode: Of Our Sense of Sin' has been claimed for both Donne and Herbert.²⁷ Further, a number of other critics have postulated connections between Donne and Herbert's poetry. Cristina Malcolmson has suggested that that Donne's 'Valediction: Of My Name in the Window' could be a response to Herbert's 'In a Glass Window for Inconstancy', on the same theme.²⁸ Donne wrote several poems that Marotti has linked to Herbert:

²⁴ Donne, *Letters*, p. 51; *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (London: Richard Marriot, 1651), pp. 155, 170, 283-4.

²⁵ Donne, 'A Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Danvers. Preached at Chelsea, where she was lately buried, 1 July, 1627, on 2 *Peter* 3.13', and 'Preached at the Earl of Bridgewater's House in London at the marriage of his daughter, the Lady Mary, November 19, 1627, on *Matthew* 22.30) in *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George Potter and Evelyn Simpson, 10 vols (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1953-62), VIII (1956), pp. 61-93, 94-109.

²⁶ Sotheby's auction results, 'Property from the Collection of Robert S. Pirie Volumes I & II: Books and Manuscripts' (New York, 2-4 December 2015), Lot 313.

²⁷ The poem was first printed in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Herbert J. C. Grierson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), but has been accepted as Herbert's since George Moore Smith's 1923 edition of his poems. I discuss the most recent thought on the poem's authorship in the latter half of this chapter.

²⁸ Cristina Malcolmson, 'George Herbert and Coterie Verse', in *Renaissance Poetry*, ed. by Cristina Malcolmson (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 205-27 (p. 219); Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*, pp. 196, 199-200.

‘The Undertaking’, sometimes called ‘Platonick Love’, suggests, Marotti argues, a connection with Herbert’s poems of the same title, and its treatment of paradoxes might also be fruitfully compared with Herbert’s poem beginning ‘I am the first that ever lov’d’ (titled ‘Love speaks at last’ in Moore Smith). In the 1635 edition of Donne’s poems ‘The Primrose’ was given the full title: ‘The Primrose, being at Montgomery Castle, upon the Hill which it is Situate’, which Gardner notes is ‘too circumstantial not to be given credence’.²⁹ In his account of Edward Herbert in his *Brief Lives*, John Aubrey copied out lines 1-10 of Donne’s ‘The Primrose’, and also noted ‘Southwards without [outside] the Castle is Prim-rose-hill’, and against the first line of his quotation of Donne’s poem noted ‘in the park’.³⁰ Montgomery Castle was Herbert’s seat, and it is clear that Donne visited him there in April 1613 from a letter Donne wrote to Sir Robert Harley dated ‘1613, April 7, Montgomery’. It was also while riding from Goodere’s seat at Polesworth in April 1613, to visit Herbert at Montgomery Castle, that Donne composed ‘Good Friday’, which Sean McDowell has argued should be reconsidered as a verse letter, and part of a series of connections between Donne, Herbert, and Goodere.³¹ Herbert and Donne’s elegies for Prince Henry, who died in November 1612, were linked by contemporaries (Jonson’s comment on Donne ‘matching’ Herbert ‘in obscureness’), and they both also composed elegies on Cecilia Bulstrode, again quite possibly in response to one another and other mutual friends (such as Ben Jonson). Herbert’s longest elegy was his ‘Elegy for Doctor Dunn’, and his longest English poem, ‘An Ode Upon a Question Moved, Whether Love Should Continue Forever’ is a response to Donne ‘The Ecstasy’.

Despite the evidence suggesting a multiplicity of connections, dating Donne and Herbert’s first meeting is difficult. It is not clear when Donne made the acquaintance of Herbert’s mother, Magdalen, and indeed Herbert may have met Donne through other social circles: both were MPs in the 1601 Parliament, and Herbert knew Donne’s patron Lady Bedford. The poets also had a

²⁹ John Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, ed. by Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 219.

³⁰ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Aubrey 8, f. 95^v. John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: with An Apparatus for the Lives of Our English Mathematical Writers*, ed. by Kate Bennett, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) I, p. 691.

³¹ Sean McDowell, “‘Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward’ as a Verse Letter”, Renaissance Society of America annual conference, New Orleans, 22-24 March 2018. An alternative argument for Donne’s route between Polesworth and Montgomery has been put forward by Margaret Mauer and Dennis Flynn, ‘The Text of Good Friday and John Donne’s Itinerary in April 1613’, *Textual Cultures*, 8 (2013), 50-94.

connection through Donne's unwilling father-in-law, George More, who was Herbert's guardian after his father, Richard Herbert died in 1596.³² The latest date by which Herbert and Donne could have met by is the winter of 1606-7, when Donne was visiting Oxford. Herbert was then a student at University College, living with his new wife and mother, a domestic arrangement that Walton painted as felicitous:

in this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning, and other education, as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did, at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care: yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself; and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily: but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child; but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother [...] For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning, that were at that time in or near that University; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there.³³

However, Magdalen's residence with her son at university receives only a passing mention in Herbert's *Life of Himself*: 'Not long after my mariag I went againe to Oxford, together with my wife and Mother who tooke a house, and lived for a certayne tyme there'.³⁴ Alexandra Shepard's research demonstrates how 'manhood' came to be recognised as the 'firmest age', or 'man's estate', the time between youth and old age – often a relatively short period of between ten and twenty years – when a man might be considered largely independent from the regulations of youth

³² Herbert wrote several affectionate letters to George More; Donne had a rather less positive relationship with his surrogate father. See Alfred Kempe, *The Loseley Manuscripts, and Other Rare Documents* (London: John Murray, 1836), and Amy Charles, *A Life of George Herbert* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977).

³³ Izaak Walton, 'Life of George Herbert', in *The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert* (London, 1675), p 266. Walton is incorrect when he states that Herbert attended The Queen's College at Oxford; as Herbert's own *Life* (and college records) attest, he was matriculated at University College in 1596. The colleges' proximity to one another in Oxford may account for Walton's confusion. Walton also incorrectly implies that Magdalen was present in Oxford from the very beginning of Herbert's studies; in fact, Herbert was at the university for several months independently before being called away due his father's illness and death, after which he returned studies, but was soon called away again in 1599 when his marriage to Mary Herbert had been arranged. *Life*, pp. 15-6

³⁴ *Life* p. 16.

and the infirmities of old age, and therefore best placed to exercise patriarchal privileges.³⁵ Despite Walton's eulogistic description of Magdalen Herbert, it is hard not to feel that a seventeen-year-old, newly married and perhaps considering himself to have reached, or be approaching, 'man's estate' may not have relished his mother and a wife several years his senior joining him in his university accommodation; Herbert's only other comment on the matter is to note that 'now having a due remedy for that Lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined I followed my booke more Close then euer'.³⁶

Manuscript evidence suggests that Herbert had already begun to imitate Donne's style before arriving in Oxford. The Herbert papers at the National Library of Wales contain a loose sheet bearing, on either side, the openings to two prose pieces: on one a comparison of the soul with an eye, and on the other, the beginnings of a disquisition on the Stoics, which is dated to December 1602. Griffin notes that the draft about the Stoics (beginning 'That the Stoickes tell more fabulous thinges then the poets') is not a university exercise in disputation, as it is written in English rather than Latin, and has a 'manner and format [which] strongly suggest that Herbert was trying his hand at a Donnean "Paradox"'.³⁷ Whilst it is unclear where and when Herbert and Donne met, their friendship was certainly formed through (and informed by) several institutions – what Will Tosh calls 'friendship spaces' – that are important when thinking about manhood and masculinity, as well as about poetry and its circulation.³⁸ Herbert and Donne's relationship may have begun at Oxford, either in the context of the university, or in the context of Herbert's domestic arrangement through his mother. Nevertheless, both Oxford and Cambridge were important sites of poetic production and circulation, with some colleges being particularly prolific

³⁵ Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), especially Chapter 1 and p. 23. *Life* p. 16. Magdalen's presence in both Edward and George's lives, and her relationship with Donne, is certainly deserving of further research. This has been somewhat inhibited by the scarcity of material relating to her that has survived, but recent work on female literary patrons may precipitate further work on Magdalen Herbert. A recent conference on Lady Bedford showcased a growing area of interest in female patrons: "'Life of the Muses' day, their morning star!": The Cultural Influence of Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford', Lincoln College, Oxford, August 2016.

³⁶ *Life*, p. 16.

³⁷ Griffin, p. 43. NLW, HCMP, E2/6/4.

³⁸ Will Tosh, *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare's England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 7.

in their literary output, and Herbert would almost certainly have been exposed to verse circulating here.³⁹

There are two other male-dominated literary communities with which Donne was strongly associated, and to which Herbert also had connections. Firstly, there was a group of lawyers, MPs, and gentlemen (several were also amateur writers and wits) who congregated in London taverns in the early seventeenth century in two related gatherings: the ‘Convivium Philosophicum’, which met at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street around 1611, and the ‘Sirenical Gentlemen’ (or ‘Mermaid Club’), which met at the Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside, probably in 1612.⁴⁰ Many members of these groups also knew Herbert, and are associated with the manuscript circulation of several of Herbert’s poems, and the printed elegy for Prince Henry (1612), including Donne, Goodere, Holland, Hoskins, Robert Phelips, and Jonson. Herbert certainly knew many of these men through legal, parliamentary, and literary circles, was regularly in London during the time they were active, and several of his early poems circulate alongside theirs in manuscript collections.

Secondly, Herbert was also enrolled in Gray’s Inn at the Inns of Court in 1614, and whilst this has not generally been recognised as an especially important institution for him (it is not mentioned in his *Life*, and no mention of it is made in Rossi), this is perhaps due to the fact that Herbert spent a good deal of time abroad in this period, and in his *Life* was therefore more preoccupied with discussing his antics on the Continent than detailing any time spent at Gray’s Inn. Although he did not spend a great deal of time at the Inns, they were nevertheless a homosocial community in which his verses circulated, and which promoted a culture of friendship based on

³⁹ Christ Church is the most famous example; for more on the circulation of Henry King’s poems at Christ Church see Mary Hobbs, *The Stoughton Manuscript: A Manuscript Miscellany of Poems by Henry King and his Circle* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1990), or for details of the circulation of William Strode’s poetry at Christ Church see Callum Seddon, “‘Witness William Strode’: Manuscript Contexts, Circulation, and Reception” (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016).

⁴⁰ For the precise memberships, individual identities, and interrelations of these groups see: I. A. Shapiro, ‘The Mermaid Club’, *Modern Language Review*, 45 (1950), 6-17; Michelle O’Callaghan, *The English Wits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 82-4; O’Callaghan, ‘Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London’, in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Adam Smyth (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 37-51; Annabel Patterson, ‘All Donne’, in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. by Elizabeth Harvey and Katharine Maus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 37-67; Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 187-191.

classical and chivalric models, which would certainly have appealed to Herbert. Donne's ongoing connection with the Inns, in particular the lively literary culture at Lincoln's Inn, has been well documented, and his first satire is ironically scornful of the career-driven Innsman who appears as a 'changeling motely humourist' (l. 1).⁴¹ All of these institutions were made up of socially aspirant young men, whose verse often adopts a pose of ironic detachment whilst simultaneously suggesting an anxiety about social status and manhood – themes which emerge from the poems Herbert and Donne wrote to each other.

What the various examples above demonstrate is that Donne and Herbert both occupied a number of the same social and literary networks, and that Herbert was a part of what is generally termed Donne's coterie. However, the term 'coterie' should be treated with caution: it is anachronistic, an eighteenth-century term now regularly applied to seventeenth century literary networks. A 'coterie' is defined as 'an organised association of persons for political, social, or other purposes; a club', or 'a circle of persons associated together and distinguished from 'outsiders', a 'set'.⁴² As Daniel Starza Smith has pointed out: 'the word "coterie" is misleading, suggesting a large, inter-connected manuscripts-sharing circle' when in fact the evidence suggests that 'Donne cultivated a number of discrete and individual friendships which sometimes overlapped'; a description perhaps less pithy than 'coterie', but particularly salutary in Herbert's case.⁴³ For although Herbert knew and associated with several members of 'Donne's coterie', there is no evidence that he also wrote to or for Goodere, or Rowland Woodward, for example. Instead, there seem to have been a small handful of other literary figures with whom Donne and Herbert both exchanged verse, principally Ben Jonson and Lucy Russell, countess of Bedford, whom I shall discuss both in this chapter and the next.

⁴¹ John Donne, 'Satyre 1', in *Poems*, ed. by Robbins, pp. 366-74 (p. 367), l. 1. On the literary culture at the Inns of Court see: Philip J. Finkelpearl, *John Marston of the Middle Temple: An Elizabethan Dramatist in his Social Setting* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1969); Wilfrid Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1569-1640* (London: Longman, 1972); Margaret McGlynn, *The Royal Prerogative and the Learning of the Inns of Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jessica Winston, 'Literary Associations of the Middle Temple', in *History of the Middle Temple*, ed. by Richard Harvey (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2011), pp. 147-71; and Jayne Elizabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (eds), *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

⁴² *OED*, 'coterie', *n*.

⁴³ Starza Smith, *Conway Papers*, p. 16.

Two further objections to the term ‘coterie’ present themselves. Significantly, the way in which the word is most often used, collocated with a preceding possessive noun, privileges certain literary figures in a way that is not necessarily reflective of the complex social reality of a group. For example, Herbert is almost always included within ‘Donne’s coterie’, but there is equally compelling evidence that, in this instance at least, this should be reconceived as ‘Bedford’s coterie’; Michelle O’Callaghan has certainly argued for such a consideration of this network, an idea supported by the structure of a particularly significant manuscript containing Herbert’s poems: Bodleian Rawlinson poet. 31.⁴⁴ In this particular example, O’Callaghan demonstrates how the manuscript suggests a network with Bedford as its ‘epicentre’, with Donne and Jonson (the individuals around whom coterie are normally described as orbiting) as ‘nodal points strengthening the ties of other poets’.⁴⁵ Starza Smith’s work on Donne has shown that poems were considered valuable cultural capital in early modern society, and were an important part of a transactional, gift economy. However, the critical tendency to privilege poets over their patrons has meant that ‘coterie’ are often identified as centring on an individual in a way that misrepresents the more complex, nuanced, social reality, which has also often lead to a decentring (and sometimes even erasure) of important female patrons in poetic ‘coterie’.⁴⁶ Clearly, ‘coterie’ were far more fluid, and overlapping than the definition generally allows, which is why I have chosen to use the slightly more diffuse term, ‘network’.⁴⁷

An additional problematic undertone to the term ‘coterie’, which will recur throughout the rest of this chapter, is that since Marotti first popularised the term in 1986, it has been so readily and frequently yoked to the term ‘competition’ that the two have seemed almost inseparable: when Marotti describes the potential sites of poetic production that Donne would have encountered, he

⁴⁴ This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

⁴⁵ O’Callaghan, ‘Collecting Verse: “Significant Shape” and the Paper-Book in the Early Seventeenth Century’, *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 8 (2017), 309-24 (p. 323).

⁴⁶ Magdalen Herbert, about whom relatively little is known, although she was an important patron for Donne and other writers, is a particularly good example of this. For more on female patrons see Julie Crawford, *Mediatrix: Women, Politics, and Literary Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁴⁷ For more on the problems and possibilities posed by the term ‘coterie’, see *Re-Evaluating the Literary Coterie, 1580-1830*, ed. by William Bowers and Hannah Leah Crummé (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

defines them as places of ‘competition, ambition, and career’.⁴⁸ Herbert is a particularly apt example with which to question this notion, because, following Jonson’s comment about Donne writing an elegy on Henry to ‘match Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’, he has been held up as the best example of coterie competitiveness: Marotti remarked that, ‘[t]he Prince Henry elegy is the one work that, by Donne’s own words, he wrote in the context of coterie poetic competition’ (somewhat eliding the fact that this comment is reported second-hand).⁴⁹ Starza Smith, by focusing on Donne’s interactions with friends like Goodere and the Woodwards, has gone some way to ‘balance the allegations of Donne’s careerism by illustrating his deeply felt obligations to the “religion of friendship”’.⁵⁰ Katherine Rundell, although writing about Donne’s supposed ‘reluctance’ to print any of his verse, suggests that Jonson’s comments to Drummond should not necessarily be taken at face value: ‘Jonson is reported second hand by Drummond of Hawthornden, and, is, famously, drunk; but he is also a rival poet with an agenda’, and she describes Jonson’s comments about Donne as regularly being no more than ‘gossipy malice’.⁵¹ In what follows, I argue that an assumed narrative of competition has obstructed closer readings of Donne’s verse, and the concerns and preoccupations that Donne and Herbert conversed about through their poems for one another.

Imitation, Competition, and Dialogue: ‘Two joined can themselves dilate’

Herbert’s relationship with Donne has long been undervalued and neglected, largely due to two critical trends: one which sought to establish Donne as a canonical leader of a ‘school’ of poetry, and the other which emphasised competition between poets writing to and for one another.⁵² Both of these critical movements have given rise to an understanding of Donne’s relationship with

⁴⁸ Marotti, ‘John Donne and the Rewards of Patronage’, in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. by Gary Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 207-34 (p. 209).

⁴⁹ Marotti, *John Donne*, p. 269

⁵⁰ Starza Smith, *Conway Papers*, p. 303.

⁵¹ Katherine Rundell, ‘“And I am Re-Begot”: The Textual Afterlives of John Donne’ (unpublished D.Phil., University of Oxford, 2016), pp. 54-5.

⁵² On the ‘school’ of Donne (and Jonson) see: Hugh Kenner, *Seventeenth Century Poetry: The Schools of Donne and Jonson* (San Francisco, CA: Rhinehart Press, 1964); Earl Miner, *The Metaphysical Mode from Donne to Cowley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969) and *The Cavalier Mode from Jonson to Cotton* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971).

Herbert that portrays Herbert as Donne's earliest, and least innovative, imitator. The vast majority of Donne critics who have addressed this literary relationship have pitched Donne as the master, and Herbert as his untalented disciple, often suggesting that while Herbert earnestly parrots Donne's verse with little originality or skill, Donne's responses subtly laugh at his younger contemporary. Patrick Cruttwell has commented that there is a 'gulf' between Donne and Herbert's works, 'a crucial difference in quality, a real failure on the disciple's part to absorb the lesson of the master,' and Al Alvarez, even more damningly, asserted that Herbert offered only a one-sided development of Donne's style in his 'discipleship,' and '[h]ad it been the only development, Donne would have been a much less important force in English poetry than he is.'⁵³ Although Marotti's assessment of Herbert in *John Donne, Coterie Poet* went some way to dispel these notions, his depiction of Herbert and Donne as poetic competitors became a different kind of block for thinking about Herbert's verse; did he ever really stand a chance of 'winning' against 'the universal monarch of wit'?⁵⁴ I contend that the interpretation of homosocial literary relations as 'competitive' is in fact more reflective of twentieth-century notions about masculinity and male relationships than it is about seventeenth-century male friendships.

This is not to suggest that competition was a totally alien, anachronistic concept:

'Longinus' wrote about Plato's attempts to surpass Homer:

Nor does it seem to me that he would have excelled so much in his philosophical doctrines or would have so often hit on poetical subject matter and expression, had he not, by God, with all his heart struggled with Homer for pre-eminence, like a young competitor against an already admired one.⁵⁵

Erasmus also picks up on this theme, and draws a distinction between *imitatio* (imitation) and *aemulation* (emulation): 'Some shrewd people distinguish imitation from emulation. Imitation aims at similarity; emulation at victory.' Erasmus later reformulates this binary distinction:

⁵³ Patrick Cruttwell, *The Shakespearean Moment and Its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century*, 2nd edn (London: Chatto and Windus, 1954, 1970), p. 167; Al Alvarez, *The School of Donne* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), p. 57.

⁵⁴ Thomas Carew, 'An Elegie upon the death of the Deane of Pauls, D^r Iohn Donne', in *The Poems of Thomas Carew, with his Masque Coelum Britannicum*, ed. by Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 71-4 (p. 74), l. 96.

⁵⁵ Longinus, 13.4-5, cited in G. W. Pigman, III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), 1-32 (p. 16).

Again, in this branch of study I want Cicero to be first and foremost, not the only one, and I do not think that one should only follow him, but rather imitate him and even emulate him. For the follower walks in the footsteps of another and is a slave to his model. Furthermore, it has been well said that a person who places his foot in the footstep of another cannot walk well, and no one can ever swim well who does not dare throw away the life preserver. An imitator, however, desires to say not so much the same things as similar ones – in fact, sometimes not even similar, but rather equal things. But the emulator strives to speak better, if he can.⁵⁶

G. W. Pigman III has argued that '[i]nstead of a simple opposition one finds the fuller threefold progress: following, imitating, emulating', where imitating is the state of being equal with another. However, this 'more complete' scheme is often simplified to a binary of following *or* emulating (surpassing), and the moment of equality in *imitatio* is elided; such, I argue below, has often been the case in discussions of Herbert and Donne's relationship.

The first pair of poems that I want to address – Donne's 'The Ecstasy' and Herbert's 'An Ode Upon a Question Moved, Whether Love Should Continue Forever?' – are each impossible to date reliably, and thus it is also impossible to establish in which order the poems were written, although the best evidence available suggests that 'The Ecstasy' was written between 1610-1614, and probably 1610-1611.⁵⁷ It has generally been considered that Donne's poem was the inspiration for one of Herbert's best-known poems, 'An Ode', although in the absence of further evidence it may also be that Herbert's preceded Donne's, or the two were written simultaneously. Robbins suggests that Donne seems to have used flower symbolism in connection with the Herbert family on several occasions, most notably in 'The Primrose', apparently written while Donne was staying with Herbert at Montgomery Castle, and in Donne's sermon on Magdalen Herbert.⁵⁸ In 'The Ecstasy', Donne employs this rare flower symbolism through the image of the violet, describing,

⁵⁶ Desiderius Erasmus, *Dialogus Ciceronianus: Il Ciceroniano, o, Dello stile migliore*, ed. and trans. by Angiolo Gambaro (Brescia: La Scuola, 1965), pp. 116, 302.

⁵⁷ Robbins notes that Donne's other uses of the word 'ecstasy' are all in poems dated to 1610-14 ('A Funeral Elegy', 'The Second Anniversary', 'To the Honourable the Lady Carey', 'Elegy on Prince Henry', and 'Obsequies to the Lord Harington') and that 'The Ecstasy' carries echoes of several poems from 1610-11 ('To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers', 'The Second Anniversary'). It is also worth noting that several of these poems have links to Herbert, especially 'The Second Anniversary', 'Elegy on Prince Henry', and 'To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers'. Donne, *Poems*, ed. by Robbins, p. 169.

⁵⁸ Donne's poem, 'The Blossom', is the only poem apart from 'The Primrose' to focus on a flower for its argument may also be connected with Herbert, particularly as both poems are written on the same themes and in similar styles. Both poems were also grouped together in the Group I manuscripts and the first edition of Donne's poems (1633), and Robbins suggests that Herbert's seat at Montgomery would 'provide a fitting *locus*' for 'The Blossom'. Donne, *Poems*, ed. by Robbins, pp. 137-8, 234-5.

So t'intergraft our hands, as yet,
 Was all our means to make us one,
 And pictures on our eyes to get
 Was all our propagation.

(ll. 9-12)

Recalling Sidney's description of Astrophil and Stella's 'eyes, by love directed, / Interchangably reflected', this passage references the common expression for the small image of oneself reflected in another's eyes: a 'baby', punning on the Latin *pupilla*.⁶⁰ Donne's lovers, at this point in the poem, seem perfectly content that the offspring of their love will simply be a reflection of themselves, and even when they conclude that they must return to their bodies, it is with a deep appreciation of their souls' negotiations and language.

Herbert's draft, however, is entirely scornful of these 'tedious meditations', and 'severe discourses', describing the loving gaze as a 'cold survey', and decisively asserting that the 'babies' conceived by 'gazing in / each others eyes, can inherit nothing.' This undermines Marotti's argument that the wit of 'The Ecstasy' lies 'in reminding Herbert [...] that sex is an integral part of love in both life and literature'; Herbert was clearly capable of writing with even more of a *carpe diem* feel than Donne.⁶¹ But Herbert abandons this line of thought and instead writes the earnestly Neoplatonic 'Ode', and one more characteristic of his poetry generally than the fragmentary verse amongst his loose papers. In light of these two very different versions of a possible response to Donne's poem, it seems salutary to consider why Herbert changed the tone of his poem.

The fragmentary verse could have been meant to pick up where Donne's poem left off, but this thought was clearly abandoned. Instead, the final poem that Herbert produced can be read as a prologue to 'The Ecstasy'. The narrative of Herbert's lovers wandering into a 'pleasant grove' (l. 21), laying themselves down, discussing whether their love will endure beyond the span of their lifetime, and whether their bodies will be resurrected with their souls, before falling silent and gazing into one another's eyes, works easily as a prequel to Donne's poem. Herbert's love poem complements Donne's, discussing questions of love expressed through the body and through the

⁶⁰ Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, 'Eighth Song', in *The Major Works*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, 2008), pp. 195-98 (p. 196), ll. 15-6.

⁶¹ Marotti, *John Donne*, p. 199.

soul, but focusing on the question of the body in the afterlife, while Donne's verse concludes by focusing on the question of the body in the here and now.

Even the imagery of the poems supports such a progression. The opening stanzas of the two poems elucidate this:

Having interr'd her Infant-birth,
The watry ground that late did mourn,
Was strew'd with flow'rs for the return
Of the wish'd Bridegroom of the earth.
(*'An Ode'* ll. 1-4)

Where, like a pillow on a bed,
A pregnant bank swelled up to rest
The violet's reclining head,
Sat we two, one another's best.
(*'The Ecstasy'*, ll. 1-4)

If we accept Eugene Hill's reading that the 'infant birth' in the first line of Herbert's poem represents the seed buried in the earth, then the swelling pregnant bank of Donne's poem reads almost as the fulfilment of this image, heightened by the reference to flowers made by both poets in the third line.⁶² The traditional setting in a spring landscape with lovers in silent communion is particularised by these details, indicating that Herbert and Donne had probably read one another's poems. In his edition of Donne's verse, Robbins suggests that, although a love lyric ostensibly describing a heterosexual couple, 'this could hardly be a real-life seduction poem', and the intended reader was probably 'a fellow-intellectual with a male point of view', suggested by the poem's 'links with Herbert'.⁶³

This view is supported by a letter Donne wrote to Henry Goodere in which he begins:

Sir, I make account that this writing of letters, when it is with any seriousness, is a kind of ecstasy and a departure and secession and suspension of the soul, which doth then communicate itself to two bodies.⁶⁴

The letter firmly locates the spiritual communication, 'this dialogue of one', which is the subject of Donne's poem, in a male homosocial context. This letter, in which Donne signs off 'From Mitcham, my close prison since ever since I saw you', gives only '9 October' as its date. In his

⁶² Eugene Hill, *Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), p. 99.

⁶³ Donne, *Poems*, ed. by Robbins, p. 170.

⁶⁴ Donne, *Letters*, p. 27.

edition of Donne's *Selected Letters*, Oliver dates this letter to 1607, based on other letters to Goodere on similar themes written at that time, however, the forthcoming *Oxford Edition of the Letters of John Donne* dates the letter to 1610, based on Donne's known illnesses in this period, one of which informs the context of this letter.⁶⁵ This re-dating strengthens the connection with 'The Ecstasy', which Robbins proposes was probably written between 1610 and 1611.⁶⁶ As well as describing an 'ecstasy and a departure and secession and suspension of the soul' in writing letters to friends, I argue that this letter also alludes to another poem that Donne wrote to Herbert, which can with certainty be dated to the summer of 1610. Sometime in July-August 1610 Donne wrote his verse letter, 'To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers', addressed to Herbert while he was fighting in the Netherlands, a poem which shares several of the preoccupations of Donne's '9 October' letter to Goodere. This is reinforced by Donne's claims in his letter to Goodere that he has been preoccupied with these ideas '[e]specially this summer'.⁶⁷ This letter, Donne's verse letter, and Herbert's satire which prompted it are the focus of the next section of this chapter, which similarly argues that Herbert and Donne wrote poems in imitation of each other, and that this was a more dialogic process than it was competitive. The poems and letters that this chapter now discusses are also explicitly concerned with ideas of manhood and authority, and demonstrate Herbert's and Donne's shared engagement with theories of multiplicity and manhood.

Multiplicity and Manhood: 'for man into himself can draw / All'

When Donne wrote 'To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers' in 1610, he was responding, stylistically and philosophically, to 'The State Progress of Ill', the poem Herbert had sent him in 1608. Both poems, which as I will argue were written in imitation of the other man's work, are particularly demonstrative of the 'obscure', rough style of verse which Jonson so disliked, and which he regarded as only superficially manly. Both Herbert's and Donne's poems are concerned with ideas about manhood and self-rule in a way that I will parallel with ideas about *imitatio* and the

⁶⁵ I am grateful to the editors of the Oxford University Press *Letters* for sharing this information with me before publication, on the understanding that their conclusions are not yet final. Donne, *Letters*, pp. 27-30.

⁶⁶ Donne, *Poems*, ed. by Robbins, p. 169.

⁶⁷ Donne, *Letters*, p. 27.

requirement that writers fully absorb the language and style of their model (or models) whilst nevertheless remaining themselves. ‘To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers’, from the summer of 1610, can very clearly be read as a response to Herbert’s earlier poem ‘The State Progress of Ill’, dated to August 1608, whilst Herbert’s satire, one of his earliest poems, recalls Donne’s satires, and bears similarities to Donne’s *Metempsychosis*, suggesting that Herbert and Donne were early readers of one another’s verse. Although there is no material evidence that Herbert sent his first satire to Donne, a comparison of ‘The State Progress of Ill’ and ‘To Sir Edward Herbert’ makes it clear that Donne had read Herbert’s satire carefully.

Herbert’s satire is written in the dense and complex verse style that Jonson so disliked, and so before comparing the two poems its argument bears summarising briefly. Herbert proposes to trace the course of ‘ill’ or sin throughout the ages, noting how evil was once visible, but is now hidden under the pretence of doing good and indulging in pleasure. Making several links between sin and the state, Herbert argues that the growth of tyranny in the world is the best example of the power of ill, and suggests that this stems from the election of the first king among men. As a corollary, however, Herbert suggests that kings are now indispensable to the current human state, and argues that as such are comparable to original sin: an evil, but a necessary condition for human salvation. Herbert describes the ‘state’ as a ‘proportion’d colour’d table’, in which there are clear hierarchies which privilege the nobility, although the ‘exalted spirit’ recognises such distinctions as false, and a trick of perspective, as all men are truly equal, and knows that ‘no election / Raiseth man to true Greatness but his own’ (ll. 101-2). Ambition of any kind, however, is dissuaded by ‘sugred Divines’ who counsel self-rule in order to keep men subjugated, and Herbert concludes by lamenting how men are now enslaved to just a few rulers, and in this state of enslavement become animals: ‘The World, as in the Ark of Noah rests, / Compos’d as then, few Men, and many Beasts’ (ll. 125-6).

The tone of Herbert’s poem is similar to Donne’s satires, which had been written in the 1590s but by 1608 had begun to circulate more widely. Herbert’s poem also recalls Donne’s acerbic, satiric poem *Metempsychosis*: both poems trace the progression of evil throughout the ages, and *Metempsychosis* also contains a digression which specifically treats the progression of

original sin, blaming women ('She sinned, we bear; part of our pain is, thus / To love them whose fault to this painful love yoked us', ll. 99-100) before describing how 'fast in us doth this corruption grow / That now we dare ask why we should be so' (ll. 100-1). Donne concludes his digression on sin:

But snatch me, Heav'nly Spirit, from this vain
 Reckoning their vanities; less is their gain
 Than hazard still to meditate on ill,
 Though with good mind; their reason's like those toys
 Of glassy bubbles, which the gamesome boys
 Stretch to so nice a thinness through a quill
 That they themselves break, do themselves spill.
 Arguing is heretics' game, and exercise,
 As wrestlers, perfects them; not liberties
 Of speech, but silence, hands, not tongues, end heresies.

(ll. 111-20)

Donne's suggestion here, that even well-intentioned reasoning about faith becomes both fruitless and hazardous, and tends toward self-destructive heresy, could have been the prompt for Herbert's 'The State Progress of Ill' – Herbert's opening line, 'I say, 'tis hard to write Satyrs', may be intended to allude to the difficulty of such an enterprise that Donne suggests. The implicit incitement to 'meditate on ill' (l. 113) that Herbert may have read in these lines was not unwarranted, as Donne's 'Epistle' to *Metempsychosis* explicitly references his own practice of *imitatio*:

If I do borrow anything of Antiquity, besides that I make account that I pay it to posterity with as much and as good, you shall still find me to acknowledge it, and to thank not him only that hath digged out treasure for me, but that hath lighted me a candle to the place.

(ll. 17-21)

In the epistle Donne goes even further, and invites *imitatio* and engagement with his work:

Naturally, as a new author I doubt and stick and do not quickly say 'Good'. I censure much and tax, and this liberty costs me more than others by how much my own things are worse than others'. Yet I would not be so rebellious against myself as not to do it, since I love it; nor so unjust to others, as to do it *sine talione*. As long as I give them as good hold upon me, they must pardon me my bitings.

(ll. 3-10)

Donne's reference to writing '*sine talione*' ('without giving an opportunity to retaliate') copies a phrase from Martial referring to a bad poet whose work is not worth borrowing in return, and this tightly layered phrase is both an enactment of *imitatio*, a suggestion that Donne should be rebuked

or satirised for his own work, and simultaneously an assertion that his own work is *not* that of a poet unworthy of borrowing from. This poem, Donne's coolly assertive epistle implies, *should* be imitated, and Herbert takes up this suggestion.

In his poem, Herbert is both describing the stately progress of ill throughout the ages, and commenting on the state's own progress of ill, using the latter as an illustration of the former; the dense packing of meaning and imagery throughout the poem is complex and challenging. Although in the 1665 edition of Herbert's poems, 'The State Progress of Ill' is dated to August 1608, and Donne's response in 'To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers' comes some two years later, it is clear that Donne must have had Herbert's poem in front of him when he came to write his response. As Don Keister first noted, the movement of thought in the poem, and the paralleling of imagery and verbal patterns is striking.⁶⁸

To begin his response, Donne picks up the very image of Noah's Ark with which Herbert concluded his poem: 'Man is a lump where all beasts kneaded be: / Wisdom makes him an Ark where all agree' (ll. 1-2), imitating Herbert's 'The World, as in the Ark of Noah, rests, / Compos'd as then, few Men, and many Beasts' (ll. 125-6). Throughout the poem Donne continues to parallel Herbert's phrasing and imagery: Herbert makes reference to 'poison' twice (ll. 10, 47), and Donne describes 'pois'nous' effects twice (ll. 20, 42); between these references, both poets also include the rhyming couplet of 'God'/'rod' ('The State Progress', ll. 17-8; 'To Sir Edward Herbert', ll. 31-2); at the middle section of each poem reference is made to original sin, preceded by a knowing aside from the narrator in parentheses ('The State Progress', ll. 71-2; 'To Sir Edward Herbert', ll. 19-20); finally, Donne concludes his poem assuring Herbert, 'Actions are authors, and those in you / Your friends find ev'ry day a mart of new' (ll. 49-50), a comment on authorship and Herbert's successes that recalls and reassures Herbert's opening lines about authorial struggle: 'I say, 'tis hard to write Satyrs' (l. 1). When shown alongside one another (with my emphasis added), the pattern of recall in Donne's poem is unmistakable:

The State Progress of Ill

To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers

⁶⁸ See Don A. Keister, 'Donne and Herbert of Cherbury: An Exchange of Verses, *Modern Language Quarterly*, 8 (1947), 430-4.

<p>‘I Say, ‘tis hard to write Satyrs’ (1.1)</p>	<p>‘Actions are authors, of those in you Your friends find ev’ry day a mart of new.’ (ll. 49-50)</p>
<p>‘I do see Some Ill requir’d, that one poison free’ (ll. 9-10)</p>	<p>‘but it is in all Pois’nous or purgative or cordial’ (ll. 41-2)</p>
<p>‘This Ill having some Attributes of God, As to have made it self, and bear the rod’ (ll. 17-8)</p>	<p>‘Thus man: that might be his pleasure is his rod, And is his devil that might be his god.’ (ll. 31-2)</p>
<p>‘but in a third degree, Are now such poisons, that though they may lurk’ (ll. 46-7)</p>	<p>‘As souls (they say) by our first touch take in The pois’nous tincture of Orig’nal Sin’ (ll. 19-20)</p>
<p>‘No more than we could spare (and have been sav’d) Original sin.’ (ll. 71-2)</p>	<p>‘As souls (they say) by our first touch take in The pois’nous tincture of Orig’nal Sin’ (ll. 19-20)</p>
<p>‘The World, as in the Ark of Noah rests Compos’d, as then, few Men and many Beasts.’ (ll. 125-6)</p>	<p>‘Man is a lump where all beasts kneaded be: Wisdom makes him an Ark where all agree.’ (ll. 1-2)</p>

Donne’s verse is a clever and considered response, not simply paralleling Herbert’s phrasing and imagery, but inverting it, creating a chiasmic patterning across the two poems. Donne also inverts the focus of Herbert’s poem – like Herbert, his focus is the problem of sin and its manifestation and regulation in mankind, but whilst Herbert discusses the broad, sweeping course of ill throughout the ages and its manifestation in society, Donne redirects this theme towards the individual, arguing for the importance of self-control. A further example is how he not only picks up on Herbert’s image of Noah’s Ark, but he expands on Herbert’s discussion of what makes an ‘exalted spirit’ (l. 90) in this world of sin.

Nearly all critics have tended to read Donne’s poem to Herbert in isolation, and concluded that Donne meant it as a lesson in restraint for Herbert, bolstering the popular image of the older and wiser Donne reprimanding his conceited disciple. Robert Bauer, for example, sees a veiled rebuke to Herbert in Donne’s flattering conclusion, reinforcing the image of Donne laughing at Herbert behind his back.⁶⁹ This seems a strained reading of a genuinely complimentary piece of

⁶⁹ Robert Bauer, ‘Donne’s Letter to Herbert Re-Examined’, in *New Essays on Donne*, ed. by Gary A. Stringer, *Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies*, 57 (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, University of Salzburg, 1977), pp. 60-73 (p. 64).

verse – Donne’s response shows a profound engagement with Herbert’s ideas and writing. Other critics have thought that Donne is offering sage advice about managing one’s anger to Herbert: Robbins suggests that ‘Herbert was particularly in need of the restraint and control of his passions’ due to his proclivity for duelling.⁷⁰ Herbert’s youthfulness compared to Donne may have also influenced such views, in keeping with contemporary attitudes towards young men. Shepard has detailed how youth was regarded as one of the most volatile, dangerous times of a man’s life, and *The Office of Christian Parents* (1616) warned that between the ages of 14 and 28 a man’s future was at stake, and that it was a time that men were not in control of their minds: although a man might be ‘most sensible, full of strength, courage and activeness’, youths were also ‘naturally inclined [to] great intermperaunce’ and were ‘heedlesse’, ‘like an untamed colt’.⁷¹ Donne’s poem, suggesting how wisdom and self-governance could help a man overcome his inner beasts – which otherwise threaten to ‘eat away’ all ‘which was man in him’ – can read as a piece of advice literature for a young man from an older figure of patriarchal authority.

However, Donne’s response, as we have seen, is not a general disquisition on the importance of self-governance in a man, but rather a specific and considered reply to Herbert’s ‘The State Progress of Ill’, in the latter half of which Herbert is preoccupied with the ways in which the church and the state have ‘freeborn man subdu’d’, in part by teaching that ‘the great’st rule here / Is for to rule our selves’ (ll. 119, 106-7), thus swaying man from ambition. Herbert’s concern with the imposing rule of church and state (those ‘Tyrant[s]’ and ‘sugred Divines’, ll. 61, 103) on ‘freeborn man’ is shared by Donne not only in his response to Herbert, but also in the letter he wrote to Goodere in October 1610 (discussed above), beginning ‘I make account’. Here, Donne describes how over the summer (when ‘To Sir Edward Herbert’ was written), he has observed that the noblest form of human reflection is ‘that which reflects upon the soul itself, and considers and

⁷⁰ Donne, *Poems*, ed. by Robbins, p. 100.

⁷¹ Shepard, p. 24; *The Office of Christian Parents: Shewing how Children are to be Governed throughout All Ages and Times of their Life* (Cambridge: C. Legge, 1616); Bartholomaeus Battus, *The Christian Mans Closet. Wherein is Contained a Discourse of the Training of Children. Nowe englished by W. Lowth* (London, 1581), f. 84^r; William Guild, *A Young Mans Inquisition, or Triall. Whereby All Young Men (as of All Ages) may Know how to Redresse and Direct their Waies, According to Gods Word* (London: R. Raworth, 1608), p. 26.

meditates it'.⁷² His discourse on the ways that 'philosophers and [...] all sects of Christians, after long disputations and controversies, have allowed many things for positive and dogmatical truths which are not worthy of that dignity' recalls both Herbert's 'The State Progress of Ill', and Donne's verse letter to Herbert. The similarities between these texts and Donne's letter to Goodere are further strengthened by Donne's comparison in his letter of the souls of men and beasts, and in his discourse on the point at which original sin enters the soul of man.⁷³ As M. Thomas Hester points out, Donne's 'disgust with the mendacity and duplicity of the Elizabethan court, so graphically portrayed in his early *Satyres*, for example is reiterated here [in the letter to Goodere] in his Juvenalian ire for Jacobean corruptions of church and state.'⁷⁴ What the letter to Goodere also indicates, is that Donne was working out these same ideas himself in 1610, dispelling the idea that in his verse letter to Herbert he was reinforcing patriarchal disciplines of self-governance from a vantage point of age and wisdom. When read together the poems make a striking pair: Donne's close attention to Herbert's poem suggests that Donne is not offering his verse letter as a rebuttal of Herbert's thoughts, but as a progression and continuation of them.

In 'The State Progress of Ill' Herbert attacks the state and the church for the ways that they have propagated sin on earth by curbing man's capacity for greatness. Donne's response agrees with Herbert's indignation:

Since then it is our business to rectify
Nature to what she was, we're led awry
By them who man to us in little show:
Greater than due, no form can we bestow
On him; for man into himself can draw
All – all that his faith can swallow or reason chaw.
(ll. 33-48)

Donne suggests that as we attempt to bring nature back to its state before the Fall – before the sin that Herbert documents in his poem enters the world – we must not be led astray by those who 'man to us in little show', who make man lesser than he truly is, because 'man into himself can draw / All'. Donne returns to this theme in one of his sermons:

⁷² Donne, *Letters*, p. 27

⁷³ Donne, *Letters*, p. 27

⁷⁴ M. Thomas Hester, "a mixed Parenthesis": John Donne's *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, *Literature Compass*, 5 (2008), 842-54 (p. 844).

The properties, the qualities of every Creature, are in man; the Essence, the Existence of every Creature is for man; so man is every Creature. And therefore the Philosopher draws man into too narrow a table, when he says he is *Microcosmos*, an Abridgement of the world in little: *Nazianzen* gives him but his due, when he calls him *Mundum Magnum*, a world to which all the rest of the world is but subordinate.⁷⁵

Thus, in both Donne's and Herbert's poems their ire is directed at those who tell man he is less than he is, and the greatest sin is not to realise man's own greatness. Donne's response to Herbert is not formed as a retort, or an answer to Herbert, but rather as a continuation of the very ideas in Herbert's poem: Herbert closes with the image of 'the World' as 'the Ark of *Noah*', composed of 'few Men, and many Beasts' (ll. 125-6), and Donne's poem which begins, 'Man is a lump where all beasts kneaded be' (l. 1), is in fact the same image: man is the world. These are texts which assert individual male power and authority, but do so by attacking institutional forms of patriarchal privilege and power – the Church and the state.

All the texts I have considered in this section – Donne's *Metempsychosis*, the verse letter to Herbert and the prose letter to Goodere, and Herbert's satire – show a preoccupation with ideas about the multiplicity of the individual. This is especially the case in *Metempsychosis*, which is headed 'Infinitati Sacrum' ('Dedicated to Infinity'), suggesting that the poem cannot be concluded, as the soul passes through too many generations to describe. The texts also share a concern with sin and especially with self-knowledge and self-governance (in pointed contradistinction to state or church governance). The poem 'Ode: Of our Sense of Sin', beginning 'Vengeance will sit', also deals with these themes. This poem has been generally accepted as Herbert's since Moore Smith's 1923 edition of his poems, as it appears amongst some of Herbert's poems in a manuscript miscellany (Bodleian MS Rawlinson poet. 31) ascribed 'S^r. Edw: / Herbert,'.⁷⁶ However, it is also ascribed to Donne in five other manuscripts, and was originally printed as Donne's in the 1635 edition of his poems. Gregory Kneidel argues that, although it cannot be definitively attributed to Donne, it should not have been removed from his canon as it was after Moore Smith's edition included it amongst Herbert's 'Doubtful Poems', suggesting that if the poem is by Donne, then it

⁷⁵ Donne, 'Sermon No. 3: Preached at the Spittle [i.e., Spital Cross in the Churchyard of St Mary's without Bishopgate] upon Easter Monday 1622, on *II Corinthians* 4.6' in *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by Potter and Simpson, IV (1959), pp. 89-131 (p. 104), ll. 549-55.

⁷⁶ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson poet. 31, f. 13^v.

was almost certainly intended *for* Herbert. Kneidel suggests that the marginal note alongside the poem in Rawl. poet. 31 could have been intended to designate the recipient rather than the author, and that the comma following Herbert's name could indicate that the note should be read as a kind of salutation at the beginning of the poem.⁷⁷

Regardless of who the original author was, the poem has strong connections to both Donne and Herbert, and can be read as part of their ongoing exchange on sin and self-knowledge. In this context the final stanza is particularly striking:

But we know our selves least; There outward shews
Our mindes so store,
That our soules, no more then our eyes disclose
But forme and colour. Onely he who knows
Himselfe, knowes more.

(ll. 16-20)

Part of self-knowledge, Donne's and Herbert's texts imply, involves not only a kind of freedom from the church and state, but the absorption of 'the qualities of every Creature', and drawing 'all' into oneself, but nevertheless remaining in control of these multiplicities. As a view of selfhood, this parallels the teachings on *imitatio* I discussed earlier, which either recommended the strict imitation of one model, or the assimilation of all the good qualities of other writers. Roger Ascham, who offered the first full discussion of *imitatio* in English in *The Schoolmaster* (1570) noted that, 'Here riseth amongst proud and envious wits a great controversy, whether one or many are to be followed', although he ultimately recommends conservatism and following a single model: 'ye must follow choicely a few, and chiefly some one'; this 'some one' is Cicero.⁷⁸ Quintilian, however, had recommended a great diversity of models, arguing that the 'complete orator' neither imitates one style or author, but in order to 'make whatever is best in each individual author his own' he discovers all 'good qualities' and then 'adds his own'.⁷⁹ Jonson, in

⁷⁷ Gregory Kneidel, 'A New Donne Poem', Renaissance Society of America annual conference, New Orleans, 22-24 March 2018. 'Ode: Of our Sense of Sin' (under the title 'Vengeance will sitt about our faults, but till') will also be included as a 'contested' poem in Donne's divine poems in the forthcoming Variorum edition of Donne's poems, where the case for Donne as the poem's author and Herbert as its addressee are described in detail. *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, ed. by Gary A. Stringer, 8 vols (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995–), VII.II (forthcoming 2020).

⁷⁸ Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Daye, 1570), p. 143, 150.

⁷⁹ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 10.2.27

Discoveries, seems to suggest initially that only one model should be followed – ‘The third requisite in our poet or maker is imitation, to be able to convert the substance or riches of another poet to his own use. To make choice of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him’ – but the apian and digestive metaphors he then offers suggest rather that imitative reading and writing should range over many different authors, as the stomach digests diverse food, or the bee transmutes nectar from diverse flowers into honey.⁸⁰

In his verse letter to Herbert, Donne asserts that man must draw ‘all’ into himself, and then equates this with books and authors:

As brave as true is that profession than
Which you do use to make: that you know man.
This makes it credible: you’ve dwelt upon
All worthy books, and now are such a one.
Actions are authors, and of those in you
Your friends find ev’ry day a mart of new.

(ll. 45-50)

In the conclusion to his letter, Donne neatly compresses into a few short lines three key themes: first that part of being a man involves being a poet – Herbert ‘know[s] man’, a claim ‘credible’ because he has ‘dwelt upon / All worthy books’ – second that being a poet means practising the art of *imitatio* and absorbing all other writers – ‘you’ve dwelt upon / All worthy books, and now are such a one’ (my emphasis) – and third that the art of being a man and being a poet are intimately bound up with friendship – ‘Actions are authors, and of those in you / Your friends find ev’ry day a mart of new’. A good man is a good poet; a good poet is a good imitator; a good imitator is a good friend. More crucially, though, this conclusion suggests that a multiplicity of self, rather than a single unity is to be celebrated. The word ‘all’ – itself signifying both wholeness and the greatest possible number – resounds throughout Donne’s poem: ‘Man is a lump where *all* beasts kneaded be: / Wisdom makes him an Ark where *all* agree’, ‘*All* which was man in him’, ‘And is not ass himself to *all* the rest’, ‘you’ve dwelt upon / All worthy books’ (my emphasis), and the kind of crescendo of diversity near the end of the poem:

for man into himself can draw
All – all his faith can swallow or reason chaw.
All that is filled, and all that which doth fill

⁸⁰ Jonson, *Discoveries*, ll. 1752-60.

All the round world, to man is but a pill:
 In all it works not, but it is in all
 (ll. 37-41)

Being a good man, and therefore a good poet, demands a kind of multiplicity in unity. In this chapter I have argued that Donne's and Herbert's verse exchanges on sin and manhood do not reflect the competitive 'roughness' that Jonson suggested inspired their poems for one another, but rather discourse on individual self-governance in the face of coercion from both church and state, and express the interdependence of manhood, poetry, *imitatio*, and friendship. As a coda to this idea, the final part of this chapter addresses the possibility that Jonson himself may have been satirised – a form of imitation and an element of friendship that I will consider more fully in the next chapter – by Donne for Herbert. Donne's most significant gift to Herbert was a copy of *Biathanatos*, one of Donne's most personal and controversial texts, and my discussion hinges on the fact that it was a manuscript copy, and thus relates to issues of the gift, intimacy, and handwriting. My discussion revolves around the hand of the scribe of the text, and also Donne's accompanying autograph letter which committed the work to Herbert's library. The use of one's own handwriting (particularly in contrast to that of a scribe) was 'an affectively charged choice associated with the sender's body and hence with familiarity between correspondents.'⁸¹ Donne's gift for Herbert marks the apotheosis of their exchanges on the metaphysically charged topics of manhood and sin.

'You who know us all, can best moderate': Donne, Jonson, and *Biathanatos*

Donne's verse letter to Herbert equates friends and their writing, and the same sentiment, with the added compliment to Herbert's discernment, is expressed in his prose letter accompanying *Biathanatos*, where it stated that his book

⁸¹ Dianne Mitchell, 'John Donne's Poetics of Mediation', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 18.4 (forthcoming summer 2019). For more on the culture of epistolary exchanges see Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005), and especially p. 121 on the use of one's own handwriting.

cannot choose a wholesomer air than your library, where authors of all complexions are [preservd]. If any of them grudge this book a room, and suspect it of any new or dangerous doctrine, you who know us all, can best moderate.⁸²

This controversial tract on suicide had probably been completed in 1607/8, and Donne later sent a scribal copy of the text to Herbert, accompanied with a dedicatory letter. The actual manuscript sent to Herbert can be identified from a letter written in 1610 in which Donne mentions a book, now thought to be *Biathanatos*:

The day before I lay down [became ill], I was at London, where I delivered your letter for Sir Edward Conway and received another for you with the copy of my book, of which it is impossible for me to give you a copy so soon for it is not of much less than 300 pages.⁸³

Starza Smith has argued persuasively that this letter must refer specifically to the manuscript copy of *Biathanatos* which was later sent to Herbert, and goes on to suggest that this was the only copy of the text when the letter was written:

When Donne refers to ‘the copy of my Book’, he seems to mean that he has picked up precisely ‘the copy’ – the singular autograph or scribal transcription of his own final draft. He subsequently talks of ‘a’ copy (the one he promised Goodere), implying that ‘the’ copy was exclusive, and that any further versions would be non-exclusive.⁸⁴

Herbert’s copy of *Biathanatos* consists of 286 pages, making it indeed ‘not much lesse then 300 pages’, and the autograph dedicatory letter indicates that it was authorised and commissioned by Donne. Starza Smith points out that the autograph marginal glosses in this manuscript suggest that this was the first copy made of the text, as Donne would not have had to add these in if the scribe was copying from a completed existing original, ‘and he surely would not have wanted to circulate a manuscript missing the notes promised in his introduction’. I. A. Shapiro has dated the dedicatory letter in Herbert’s copy to 1611, and given this, Starza Smith concludes that this ‘identifies

⁸² Donne, *Letters*, p. 88. In the first edition of Donne’s letters the letter reads: ‘it cannot chuse a wholesomer air then your Library, where Authors of all complexions are presented’, a reading which Oliver’s edition preserves. However, the manuscript original (Oxford, Bodleian, MS ò Musaeo 131, p. x) of the letter clearly reads ‘preservd’ rather than ‘presented’, which is the reading I have supplied in the above quotation. A fuller discussion of this particular phrase is given in Chapter 5. Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, p. 20.

⁸³ Donne, *Letters*, pp. 38-9.

⁸⁴ Starza Smith, *Conway Papers*, p. 228.

Herbert's copy as almost identically contemporary with the one Conway saw. Since Donne told Goodere there was only one copy in circulation, this implies that they were one and the same'.⁸⁵

Starza Smith notes that it is unusual that Donne does not promise to send Goodere a copy of *Biathanatos* soon, as Goodere was used to receiving early copies of Donne's work, and Donne's letter clearly indicates that Goodere had requested the holograph original that Conway saw (quite possibly because Donne had borrowed books from Goodere to write *Biathanatos*).⁸⁶ Donne's hesitation in promising to send Goodere a copy may have been because he had already promised the manuscript to Herbert. Although in his letter to Goodere, Donne claims he has not 'appointed' the text to another person, his phrasing is curious:

If I die, it [the holograph original] shall come to you in that fashion that your letter desires it. If I warm again (as I have often seen such beggars as my indisposition is end themselves soon, and the patient as soon), you and I shall speak together of that before it is too late to serve you in that commandment. At this time I only assure you that I have not appointed it upon any person nor ever purposed to print it, which later perchance you thought and grounded your request thereupon.⁸⁷

Donne appears to be considering the possibility that he will not survive his illness, or live long after it has passed, but this passage may also indicate that there were candidates other than Goodere for receiving the original holograph of *Biathanatos*. Donne's insistence that if he survives he and Goodere 'shal speak together of that' may suggest Donne's need to explain in more detail that there were competing claims on the manuscript.

Having mentioned his copy of *Biathanatos* in his letter to Goodere, Donne then abruptly begins to recount how 'A gentleman that visited me yesterday', who brought news of a rumour circulating about Hugh Broughton, the divine and Hebraist, who in the 1610s was a chaplain to the English speaking community in Middleburg in the Netherlands.⁸⁸ The 'gentleman' visiting Donne has not yet been identified, but a good case could be made that it was Herbert, who had returned from the continent in late September. Herbert was in London for some time during the autumn of

⁸⁵ Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham University [no shelfmark], Shapiro Papers. Cited in Starza Smith, *Conway Papers*, p. 230. Bodleian, MS è Mus. 131.

⁸⁶ In the letter Donne writes: 'I have occasion to sit late some nights in my study, (which your books make a pretty library)'. Donne, *Letters*, p. 37.

⁸⁷ Donne, *Letters*, p. 39.

⁸⁸ G. Lloyd Jones, 'Hugh Broughton (1549-1612)', *ODNB*.

1610, when first confined to his bed with an illness, and later attacked by Sir John Eyres (over Eyres's suspicion that Herbert had cuckolded him), once again confining Herbert to his bed for several days to recover from his injuries.⁸⁹ Herbert was later called before the Privy Council to put an end to this matter, and was considered blameless in the affair.⁹⁰ It is possible that during this time he visited Donne, who was also confined to his bed and suffering from an illness, and Herbert's recent travels on the continent, and especially his time in the Netherlands in 1610, might have meant that he had heard recent news or rumours about Broughton during his time there. It is therefore possible (although entirely speculative) that if Herbert were the 'gentleman' who visited Donne that day, Donne showed Herbert the manuscript copy of *Biathanatos* which he had just picked up from Conway, and promised the work to Herbert, sending it to him with a dedicatory letter in 1611.⁹¹ The work, a metaphysical, philosophical speculation concerned with questions of sin, and the authority of the Church and state over the individual, certainly corresponds with the themes dominating Herbert's and Donne's verse exchanges between 1608 and 1611. Between these years Donne was engaged in a course of reading in canon and civil law, and in casuistry:

the works that he composed from 1607 to 1610 are steeped in this learning, determined at once to display their mastery of a vast number of authorities and to cast a sceptical eye on the very use of authoritative textual testimony.⁹²

It is clear how, in this period, Herbert would have constituted Donne's ideal reader. As it is unknown who initiated their relationship, we may speculate that Donne recognised in Herbert the mind that would go on to write *De Veritate*, and cultivated him as a reader-writer correspondent, and a potential patron whose interests closely aligned with his own.

When Donne later sent a copy of *Biathanatos* to Robert Ker, he detailed how private the work was, and how limited its circulation had been: 'no hand hath passed upon it to copy it, nor many eyes to read it: only to some particular friends in both Universities, then when I writ it, I did communicate it.'⁹³ Ker was entrusted with it as a favour (Donne requests, 'Keep it, I pray you [...]

⁸⁹ *Life*, pp. 61-6. This episode is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

⁹⁰ See Rossi, I, pp. 173-8.

⁹¹ Starza Smith, *Conway Papers*, p. 239.

⁹² David Colclough, 'Donne, John (1572-1631)', *ODNB*.

⁹³ Donne, *Letters*, p. 88.

reserve it for me if I live’), but when John Donne, junior, came to publish *Biathanatos*, he referred to Herbert as its ‘patron’, describing the book as ‘something that beelongs to my Lorde Herbert’.⁹⁴ This suggests that those first few to see the text – Goodere, Conway, and Herbert, all literary-minded aristocrats, and therefore potential patrons – were amongst Donne ‘particular friends’ at the time. Given that Herbert knew Conway (having stayed with him during his travels on the continent) and could well have known Goodere from courtly circles, this situates Herbert within a fairly closely-knit group of friends and patrons within which Donne’s most controversial text was circulating, and the eventual gift of the original manuscript to Herbert indicates the importance of their relationship at this time.⁹⁵

However, there is another friend of both Donne and Herbert who has become associated with this text: Ben Jonson. Several critics have thought that Herbert’s copy of *Biathanatos* may have been transcribed by Jonson. Mark Bland first suggested this possibility in 1998, and there are various pieces of circumstantial evidence which support the theory.⁹⁶ It seems unlikely that Donne, who was not a wealthy man at this time, would have paid Jonson to undertake this lengthy and rather menial task, particularly as in 1610 Jonson was as wealthy as he ever was in his life; instead Richard Dutton has argued it is much more likely that Jonson undertook this ‘as an act of friendship, towards both Donne and Herbert: an act of patronage intermediation, not unlike (though on a much grander scale) his forwarding of Donne’s poems to Lady Bedford.’⁹⁷ Both Starza Smith and Dutton suggest that Jonson, despite his successful career at court would, in 1610, have had the time to make a copy of the text: between mid-July and November 1610 the playhouses were closed because of the plague, and Jonson may well have been maintaining a low profile after his play *Epicene, or, the Silent Woman* had been banned in early 1610, due to Lady Arabella Stuart’s

⁹⁴ Donne, *Letters*, p. 88; Donne, *Biathanatos*, ed. by E.W. Sullivan (Boston: University of Delaware Press, 1984), pp. xlv, xlvii.

⁹⁵ In the *Life* Herbert records: ‘I went to the Brill to take shipping for England, Sir Edward Conway who was then Governor at that Place, and afterwards Secretary of State, taking notice of my being there came to me, and invited me every day to him’ (p. 86).

⁹⁶ Mark Bland, ‘Jonson, *Biathanatos* and the Interpretation of Manuscript Evidence’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 51 (1998), 154-82.

⁹⁷ Richard Dutton, ‘Introduction’, *Epicene, or the Silent Woman*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 1-108 (p. 18).

complaints to James I (her first cousin) that the play libelled her in a passing reference to depictions ‘of the Prince of Moldavia’⁹⁸. It is therefore at least conceivable that Jonson may have had the time and the inclination to work on Donne’s manuscript, but the contention of whether or not he did must rest on the bibliographical evidence.

Bland’s initial argument for Jonson as the scribe of Herbert’s copy of *Biathanatos* is based on palaeographical and paper-stock evidence. The paper used for the *Biathanatos* manuscript (white Italian paper featuring a watermark of a double pennant flag and the initials ‘G3’) was used several times by Jonson in surviving autograph manuscripts (most especially his *Masque of Queenes*, British Library, MS Royal 18.A.xlv, and the ‘Epitaph on Celia Bulstrode’, Houghton Library, MS Lowell Autograph File), and the script in Herbert’s manuscript copy of *Biathanatos* looks remarkably like Jonson’s. Based on a detailed palaeographical study of Herbert’s copy of *Biathanatos* and Jonson’s autograph copy of the ‘Epitaph on Celia Bulstrode’, alongside other extant examples of Jonson’s hand, Starza Smith has concluded that there are consistent differences between Jonson’s hand and the hand that transcribes the *Biathanatos* manuscript, and that the ‘evidence at this time points to the hand not being Jonson’s’.⁹⁹ However, he notes that,

The similarity of handwriting has clearly struck several scholars on a macro level [...] it does strike me as unlikely that, as a friend and correspondent of Jonson’s, Donne himself would not have noticed the similarity of hand. If the scribe was not Jonson, we are left with two options: that of all the professional scribes available to him Donne happened by chance upon one whose hand resembled Jonson’s – or that Donne specifically commissioned a scribe who could reproduce an approximation of Jonson’s hand.¹⁰⁰

Starza Smith does not give any possible reasons why Donne may have commissioned a scribe who could mimic Jonson’s handwriting, but by placing Donne’s gift of *Biathanatos* to Herbert in the context of their literary exchanges, a possible reason for Donne’s choice of scribe emerges.

As I have shown above, Jonson was unambiguous about his dislike of complex, obscure verse, and had complained to Drummond about Donne’s ‘not keeping of accent’, or the cramming

⁹⁸ Starza Smith, *Conway Papers*, p. 232. See also David Bevington, ‘Introduction’, *Epicene, or the Silent Woman*, ed. by David Bevington, *CEWBJ*, III, pp. 375-83 (p. 375).

⁹⁹ Starza Smith, *Conway Papers*, p. 235.

¹⁰⁰ Starza Smith, *Conway Papers*, pp. 235-8.

of sense into lines of poetry.¹⁰¹ Thus he would have been less than impressed with the dense, obscure satires and verse letters that Donne and Herbert were writing for one another around 1610; in this light his comment to Drummond about Donne seeking to ‘match Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’ when they both wrote elegies for Prince Henry could in fact suggest more about Jonson’s dislike of this kind of verse and Donne and Herbert’s closeness at this time, than it does about Donne’s intentions when composing his poem. In choosing a scribe for the manuscript of *Biathanatos* whose hand recalled Jonson’s, Donne may have been wittily acknowledging to Herbert Jonson’s dislike of their complex and obscure exchanges, and sharing a private joke with his young friend. This would not be completely out of tone with the work, which although serious, has many (albeit darkly) satirical moments. It is clear that intimate associations of handwriting and individuals was commonplace, and could be used to humorous ends; the scene in *Twelfth Night* (II. 4) when Maria declares that she can imitate her mistress’s hand is a prime example. Donne may even have alluded to this possible in-joke in the dedicatory letter which accompanied *Biathanatos*, in which he told Herbert that his book, ‘cannot choose a wholesomer air than your library, where authors of all complexions are preservd. If any of them grudge this book a room [...] *you who know us all*, can best moderate’ (my emphasis).¹⁰² If, as this chapter has argued, Donne and Herbert were particularly close in 1610, then this possible in-joke between Herbert and Donne, concerning Jonson, suggests that all three writers were engaged in a series of satirical exchanges at this time. The next chapter further explores Jonson’s satirising of Herbert and Donne, and the way that satire can function within friendship circles, looking at how Herbert’s satire for Jonson explores the anxieties about multiplicity and manhood, raised in this chapter, from the different perspective of early modern travel.

¹⁰¹ Drummond and Jonson, *Informations*, ed. by Ian Donaldson, *CEWBJ*, v, p. 361.

¹⁰² Bodleian, MS è Mus. 131, p. x.

Chapter 2

‘Rare poems ask rare friends’: Herbert and Jonson’s Satirical Friendships

The previous chapter explored the literary relationship between Herbert and Donne, demonstrating how many of the poems they wrote formed a shared dialogue across their work, and suggesting that such a pattern of literary exchange challenges ideas about competitive, or derivative, imitation between poets. In considering ideas of imitation and *imitatio*, I took as my starting point Jonson’s infamous comment about Donne writing to ‘match Sir Ed. Herbert in obscureness’, and also made much use of Jonson’s literary theory which explicitly linked *imitatio* to ideas about manhood.¹ Given that Herbert and Jonson knew each other personally, it seems salient to consider their literary relationship, and how the texts that they wrote to or for one another articulate anxieties around masculinity, multiplicity and malleability. In the Introduction, I discussed in detail Jonson’s epigram addressed to Herbert, and some of the ideas that this poem raises – concerns about how to *know* and *name* things (people, virtues, vices), multiplicity, manhood – reappear in the longest poem that Herbert addressed to Jonson: ‘Satyra Secunda: (Of Travellers: (from Paris)’. This chapter offers a comprehensive reading of this poem, suggesting why it might have been addressed to Jonson. Verse satire from Roman times and onward draws extensively on gender stereotyping, most particularly in its depictions of urban and decadent men, as Per Sivefors work on ‘emasculated or otherwise failed men’ in Joseph Hall’s satires has shown.² Herbert’s satire conveys anxieties about travel, and specifically the ways in which travel could threaten someone’s manhood, as imitation of foreign fashions and customs might indicate the malleability of the individual. Such mutability is linked to emasculation in Herbert’s satire, figured through (often misogynistic) images of pregnancy and rebirth.

¹ William Drummond and Ben Jonson, *Informations to William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed by Ian Donaldson, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson (CEWBJ)*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), v, pp. 351-91(p. 365).

² Per Sivefors, ‘Masculinity and Husbandry in Joseph Hall’s *Virgidemiarum*’, *Renaissance Studies*, 33 (2018), 204-21.

As well as demonstrating a latent anxiety about the ‘feminine’ potentials within manhood and sexuality, and the ways that travel can induce change, this chapter is also about the purposes of exchanging satires between friends. It is therefore a chapter about belonging – in a country and in a group, and explores the ways that Herbert used satire to cultivate his homosocial network of ‘writer-readers’. In considering this poem, I am interested to read it as a ‘sociable’ piece of verse, and satire as a ‘sociable’ genre, exploring the ways in which Herbert’s verse satire works to be both inclusive and exclusive of its readership. This chapter also addresses the ways satire can function as both political attack, and a way of reinforcing and enacting positive relationships within a community of readers. This is not just a community of readers, however, as the networks within which I situate Herbert’s poem are more specifically a community of ‘writer-readers’, made up of individuals who were also writing poetry and plays. This is particularly significant, as my discussion of Herbert’s satire locates it within a series of literary exchanges, and comments on the poem’s layered intertextuality between the texts of the writer-readers for whom the poem is intended. As well as exploring how Herbert’s satire relates to Jonson’s interests and works, this chapter details Herbert’s simultaneous engagement with Donne’s works in ‘Satyra Secunda’, and demonstrates the way that Herbert, Donne, and Jonson’s literary works reference and interact with one another, at a time when the three writers were particularly friendly, especially between 1604 and 1612.

Chapter 1 detailed the ways in which verse exchange, friendship, and imitation were linked, and how such issues related to ideas about masculinity. This chapter continues to explore these issues, looking at Herbert’s responses and references to Jonson in his satire, and how he treats the very topic of imitation in his poetry, in the motif of travellers imitating their foreign surroundings. Cedric Brown has indicated the importance of situating and understanding friendships in terms of their place within larger social networks, and his term ‘friendship clusters’ is particularly useful as an alternative to the narrower and more traditional understanding of friendship seen, for example, in Alan Bray’s *The Friend* (2003).³ ‘Satyra Secunda’ is a good way

³ Cedric Brown, *Friendship and its Discourses in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

into this particular ‘friendship cluster’, as it engages with the works and tastes of its addressee, but also the works of another mutual friend – Donne – particularly his satirical anti-epic, *Metempsychosis*, in a section which focuses on political satire, and especially beast fables.

As well as demonstrating shared interests and allusions between the three writers, the political satire of ‘Satyra Secunda’ is also illustrative of the importance of naming and not naming in this form of sociable literature. There are named individuals in the poem against whom cruel and pointed criticisms are levelled – for example, Margaret of Valois, former Queen of France – and then there are allusions to unnamed individuals who become additional targets of the satire, such as Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury. Here, the poem turns on a set of knowing references and allusions which are shared between the writer-readers of this verse to enable them to name the unnamed. This element of the poem, where individuals are rather more cruelly mocked or alluded to, reveals the more socially threatening side to satire, distinguishing this from the satire directed at friends in a ‘socially positive’ manner. What is especially interesting in Herbert’s inclusion of the unnamed figures such as Cecil, is that at the same moment that the poem reveals its acerbic, ‘biting’ side, it simultaneously reinforces its socially inclusive drive: the readers of the poem ‘Laugh and look on with me’ (l. 39) as the poem invites them to, strengthening their social bond, emphasising the included by defining the excluded.

In this sense, the poem is both a ‘smiling’ (or ‘toothless’) and a ‘biting’ satire, to use the terms with which Joseph Hall distinguished his satirical modes in his *Virgidemiarum* (1597, 1598). Satire, traditionally categorised as either Horatian or Juvenalian after the two foremost Roman masters of the genre, does generally fall into one of two categories: either laughing at the follies of the world (Horatian) or attacking the knavery and corruption seen everywhere (Juvenalian). Yet these two categories, Raman Selden argues, are not wholly divergent in subject matter:

Horatian satire tolerantly regards most moral and social deviance as folly, while Juvenal’s satirist sees the lineaments of knavery even in mere foibles and eccentricities. In general, it is the tone and stance of the satirists that differ and not the objects of satire.⁴

⁴ Raman Selden, *English Verse Satire 1590–1765* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1978), p. 12.

He goes on to characterise these different tones: ‘Horace prefers a tone of jesting (*ridiculum*) which is moderate and ‘rational’ in its approach to the reforming role of satire. Juvenal’s tone is indignant and ‘irrational’.⁵ Although Herbert’s satire does invite its readers to ‘laugh’ along with the speaker, its tone is generally more Juvenalian, as I discuss further below. However, the function of Herbert’s satire is less clear, a common difficulty with the genre, as Anne Lake Prescott suggests: ‘sometimes a form, often a mode, it can double as diatribe, sermon, parody, joke, utopia, dystopia, epistle, or novel; its tone ranges from fury to faint irony, anguish to amusement.’⁶ One function the poem certainly does fulfil is to reinforce social bonds with its addressee, Jonson, through a wealth of references and allusions to Jonson’s plays, and to Herbert and Jonson’s shared interests.

Having established these connections with Jonson and his work, this chapter will finally consider their strategic function in terms of Herbert’s own literary standing. The targets and the function of ‘*Satyra Secunda*’ repay close attention and discussion. Alvin Kernan remarks that, ‘There is an old saying that “he who sups with the devil needs a long spoon”, and it appears that the satirist never had a long enough spoon. Inevitably when he dips into the devil’s broth in order, he says, to show us how filthy it really is, he gets splattered.’⁷ Or, as Prescott puts it: ‘satirists are implicated in the world they mock, judge, condemn, punish, reform.’⁸ This inward turn, and the movement towards self-satire is the focus of the final section on Herbert’s second satire, and returns my argument back to Jonson’s verse epistle, and the problems inherent in his praise of Herbert’s multiplicity, his ability to be ‘so many men’. Throughout, Herbert’s satire is explicitly concerned with the challenges that satire and travel could pose to an individual’s manhood, and this is expressed through keenly felt personal anxieties, satirising someone almost exactly like Herbert.

⁵ Selden, p. 42.

⁶ Anne Lake Prescott, ‘The Evolution of Tudor Satire’, in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1500–1600*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 220–40 (p. 220).

⁷ Alvin Kernan, *The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 24.

⁸ Prescott, p. 238.

This inherent tension and duality in Herbert's satire – that his speaker is both the satirist and, it seems, the satirised – speaks to the broader issue of satire as a sociable genre, which is also a contradictory, paradoxical term. Satire, as I have suggested, is both inclusive, often associated with close networks or 'coteries' where literature is shared and understood primarily only by a small group, and exclusive, as that group necessarily defines itself through satire by describing those who are outside of the group and are its objects of ridicule. In an even broader sense, there is a contradiction in satire's emphatic individualism and simultaneous sociability. Within the world of the satire itself, the speaker is necessarily 'apart' from the action (although they often become implicated in it), and they present themselves as a detached, isolated observer. As a genre, satire disturbed contemporary commentators with its aggressive individualism, which threatened to destabilise authority (ironically often the very concern of satirists): for example, Gabriel Harvey's anxiety that satire problematised the proper relation between authors and authority, particularly in relation to systems of patronage, has been demonstrated by Lorna Hutson.⁹ Satires were often published anonymously, with no dedication, or with a mock dedication, the most striking example of which is John Marston's dedication of his satires 'To his most esteemed and best beloved Self', which, as Andrew McRae argues, 'pointedly isolates the author as a man in need of no further authority'.¹⁰ Of course, as this chapter shall argue, this kind of defiant rejection of authority is often suggestive of a latent anxiety about one's own authority or power. Despite the insistent individualism and isolation of both the satirist and the speaker of the satire, the genre is nevertheless bound up with sociability. The speakers of satire are deeply immersed in a social world, and signs of this world are traceable in the text of the satires, however much they profess to abjure or disparage it. The genre's popularity in the Inns of Court, a highly sociable environment, in the 1590s demonstrates its 'clubbiness', and the intertextuality between Herbert, Donne, and Jonson's satires that I discuss also demonstrates the genre's literary sociability between texts.

⁹ Lorna Hutson, *Thomas Nashe in Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 198-9.

¹⁰ John Marston, *Poems*, ed. by Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1961), p. 94. Andrew McRae, 'Satire and the Politics of Town', in *Early Modern English Poetry: A Critical Companion*, ed. by Patrick Cheney, Andrew Hadfield, and Garrett Sullivan Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 217-228 (p. 219).

The Inns of Court in the late 1590s marked the zenith of verse satire, which was then curtailed by the Bishops' Ban in 1599, and so Herbert's 1608 satire for Jonson is again peculiarly isolated as a 'late' satire.¹¹ However, it also marks the time that Herbert was closest to Donne and Jonson, and a time when Donne's satires were being circulated more widely, as I argued in the previous chapter.¹² It is not clear how and when Herbert and Jonson first became acquainted, although by the time that Herbert wrote his satire for Jonson, the two had already written encomiastic poems for one another: as well as Jonson's verse epistle for Herbert, Herbert had written a short and highly complimentary verse, 'To his Friend Be. Johnson, of his Horace made English' in 1604; William Drummond of Hawthornden records that Jonson 'read the preface of his *Art of Poesy*, upon Horace's *Art of Poesy* [...] There is an epigram of Sir Edward Herbert's before it. That, he had done in my Lord Aubigny's house ten years since, anno 1604'.¹³ Critical scholarship on Herbert's relationship with Jonson has primarily been limited to observing Jonson's epigram for Herbert, and noting that, as well as sending a satire to Donne, Herbert addressed (and presumably sent) his other satire to Jonson. This chapter offers a new comprehensive reading of this poem, indicating why Herbert might have addressed this satire to Jonson, and how it can be used to explore the tensions and contradictions inherent in the idea of 'sociable' satire.

'Of Travellers: (from Paris)': Sending and Receiving Satire

The first published edition of Herbert's poems (1633) dates Herbert's 'Satyra Secunda' to September 1608, that is, one month after his satire for Donne was written at Merlou (again,

¹¹ On 1 June 1599 John Whitgift (Archbishop of Canterbury) and Richard Bancroft (Bishop of London) added their names to an order which banned certainly literary works. Satires were a particular target of the work as nine specific books were singled out: Joseph Hall, *Vergidemiarum* (1597-8); John Marston, *The Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image and Certaine Satyres* (London: [James Roberts], 1598), and *The Scourge of Villanie: Three Bookes of Satyres* (London: I[ames] R[oberts], 1598); Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia, or A Shadowe of Truth, in Certaine Epigrams and Satyres* (London: I[ames] R[oberts], 1598); Thomas Middleton, *Microcynicon: Six Snarling Satyres* (London: Thomas Creede, 1599); T. Cutwode, *Caltha Poetarum: Or The Bumble Bee* (London: Thomas Creede, 1599); John Davies and Christopher Marlowe, *Epigrammes and Elegies* (London: [n. pub.], 1599); Ercole and Torquato Tasso, *Of Mariage and VViving*, trans. by Robert Toft (London: Thomas Creede, 1599); and the anonymous *The XV Ioyes of Marriage* (London: Adam Islip, 1599). For more on the Bishops' Ban see Richard McCabe, 'Elizabethan Satire and the Bishops' Ban of 1599', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 11 (1981), 188-93.

¹² See Wesley Milgate, 'Early References to Donne', *Notes and Queries*, 195 (1950), 229-31.

¹³ Drummond and Jonson *Informations*, ed. by Ian Donaldson, *CEWBJ*, v, pp. 363-4.

according to the 1665 *Poems*) and addressed to Jonson from Paris. Although no manuscripts of the poem survive, and bibliographical evidence cannot therefore be used to corroborate the date given in the printed edition, there are various references and allusions in the poem itself (such as references to Herbert's own travel itinerary in 1608) which make it a likely date of composition. As I will show, further allusions also link the piece to both Donne and Jonson, and specifically to the satire Herbert had written for Donne one month earlier.

The poem begins with the conceit that travel involves a kind of monstrous rebirth, a metaphor frequently employed by contemporary writers by way of the travel/travail pun (although Herbert never uses this particular play on words), which is developed wittily through the image of the ship as a womb that delivers its offspring at one of France's major ports.¹⁴ The English travellers newly arrived in France are like children just born, but appear monstrous and deformed. Having spent all their money, these unilingual hybrids find themselves at a loss, as no one can understand them. Herbert here makes a tangential allusion to 'Badger', referring to Sir Thomas (Badger) Bagehott, a gentleman who had a talent for breeding hounds – he was made Master of the Harriers in 1605, the probable reason behind Herbert's reference to 'a wager / With the King of his Dogs' (ll. 12-3) – and who frequently danced in masques, on occasion playing the buffoon.¹⁵ I can find no reference to an actual incident where 'Badger' referred to the queen as 'monsieur', as the poem implies, but his general reputation as a fool probably inspired these lines. Herbert and Jonson both knew Thomas Badger by 1610, as Herbert and Badger danced in Jonson's *Prince Henry's Barriers* that year: it is possible that the three men had been linked before by a court masque, and that the reference to Badger is an in-joke between Herbert and Jonson.¹⁶ After the animalistic references to Badger and his dogs, the poem goes on to describe the 'rebirth' of the travellers, as 'a

¹⁴ *OED* 'travel', n. 1.

¹⁵ John Chamberlain's letters recall that at one of Lord Hay's masques, Sir Thomas Badger played one of the 'fooles or buffoons'. John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. by Norman Egbert McClue, 2 vols (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), II, pp. 13-14.

¹⁶ Virginia C. D. Moseley and Rosemary Sgroi, 'Bagehott (Badger), Sir Thomas (c.1575-1639), of the Strand, Westminster, and Southampton, Hants.', *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1604-1629*, ed. by Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), III, pp. 104-5; Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-), VI (2015), p. 34.

kind of *Metempsychosis*' (l. 16): English souls transmigrated into strange new bodies, which will never again appear truly English. These travellers, who learn only the 'Toyes, and the Language' (l. 23) of France, then travel to Faubourg St Germain, where they lodge near the English ambassadors in order to hear sermons preached in English on Sundays. Having also travelled to Blois or Orleans, with the intention of perfecting their French, these travellers return, now fully grown, to Paris, where their affectation is mocked, and their appearance would seem strange at home.

Here, as in the Badger episode, Herbert again begins to digress. Inviting the addressee to 'Laugh and look on with me' (l. 39), he then declares that 'the poorer sort [are] / A subject not fit for my Muse or sport' (ll. 40-41). Herbert instead moves on to mock '*Elpus*' and '*Tom Rus*', in an obscure passage, discussed in detail below. The general sense is that '*Elpus*' was once young, handsome and a wit, who, along with four other wits, could have made up the equivalent of a whole person. The poem then goes on to describe 'one that was grown / Ripe to another taste' (ll. 49-50), and now has become a strange, amorphous creature, whose gender and age cannot clearly be perceived. This transformation renders the ridiculous traveller often unable to speak, and when he does he 'presume[s] too far' (l. 66), and rattles out unceasing compliments, in loose French, all the while bowing and scraping ('Now, that he speaks, are complemental speeches, / That never go off but below the breeches / Of him he doth salute', ll. 68-70). Upon hearing that some Frenchman has seduced a woman, Herbert's ludicrous traveller will immediately 'swear, 'twas he did her Graces possess' (l. 78), condemning himself with another man's sin. The poem ends with a disdainful mention of 'little fry' – new and unimportant travellers – who are agog at their surroundings, and have not yet seen 'that swoln vitious Queen, *Margaret*', nor 'the Italian Comedies, wherein / Women play Boys' (ll. 85, 86). At this point the poem breaks off suddenly with the words, 'I cease to write, / To end this Satyre, and bid thee good night.' (ll. 88-89). It is an abrupt ending to a digressive and complex poem.

Critics who have discussed the poem have done so most frequently to offer context for Herbert's satire, 'The State Progress of Ill', and have generally held that the two satires were written in the style of their addressees; this was the view first propounded by Frank Warnke in

1945 and corroborated by Don A. Keister in 1947, both of whom were more interested in the satire for Donne than for Jonson, and ‘Satyra Secunda’ has since received little critical attention.¹⁷ Warnke suggested that Herbert’s ‘two satires give evidence of the author’s divided discipleship: “Satire I”, almost certainly addressed to Donne, is written in the style of Donne’s satires [...]; “Satire II” is more Jonsonian in style and is specifically addressed to Jonson.’¹⁸ In the most influential essay to date which references both of Herbert’s satires, Keister suggested that in ‘Satyra Secunda’, ‘Herbert was trying to use something like Jonson’s method.’¹⁹ Both Warnke and Keister, writing in the mid-twentieth century, were part of the critical movement in which the tradition of the ‘schools’ of Donne and Jonson was being formed, and their interpretation of Herbert’s satire conforms to this movement.²⁰ The reasoning follows a neat but misleading pattern: if ‘The State Progress of Ill’ sounds like Donne and was probably addressed to him, then the fact that ‘Satyra Secunda’ is addressed to Jonson indicates that it probably sounds like his verse.

At first glance this could conceivably be the case: ‘The State Progress of Ill’ is a longer poem, with a wider focus, offering a sweeping history of sin, whilst ‘Satyra Secunda’ is more focused on a single time and place, and initially seems less ‘rough’ and harsh. Take, for example the opening lines of each poem:

I say, ’tis hard to write Satyrs. Though *Ill*
Great’ned in his long course, and swelling still,
Be now like to a Deluge, yet, as *Nile*,
’Tis doubtful in his original; this while
We may thus much on either part presume,
That what so universal are, must come
From causes great and far. Now in this state
Of things, what is least like Good, men hate,
Since ’twill be the less sin.

(‘The State Progress of Ill’, ll. 1-9)

‘The State Progress of Ill’ quickly becomes ambiguous: whilst ‘either part’ (l. 5) may be a reference to ‘in utramque partem’ and rhetorical debate, it is not clear what exactly is being

¹⁷ Frank Warnke, “‘This Metaphysick Lord’: A Study of the Poetry of Herbert of Cherbury” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia, 1945), p. 39; Don A. Keister, ‘Donne and Herbert of Cherbury: An Exchange of Verses’, *Modern Language Quarterly*, 8 (1947), 430-34 (p. 430).

¹⁸ Warnke, p. 39.

¹⁹ Keister, p. 430.

²⁰ See Chapter 1, p. 37, n. 51 for scholarship on the ‘schools’ of Donne and Jonson.

debated, and what the two sides of the argument are, nor how we might read lines 7 to 9. Although the sense of the poem can be made out, it is not a clear and undemanding text, and leaves the reader feeling inadequate, or under-informed.

The opening of ‘Satyra Secunda’ reads quite differently:

Ben Jonson, Travel is a second birth,
 Unto the Children of another earth,
 Only as our King *Richard* was, so they appear,
 New born to another World, with teeth and hair,
 While got by *English* Parents, carried in
 Some Womb of thirty tun, and lightly twin,
 They are delivered at *Callis*, or at *Diep*,
 (‘Satyra Secunda’, ll. 1-7)

Here, the dominant witty conceit of the poem is clearly established and developed throughout the opening lines, the syntax is clearer, especially the relationship between clauses, and between nouns and pronouns, and the couplets are generally less enjambed, conforming with the general mid-twentieth-century sense of how Donne and Jonson differ in style and form. However, the poem then enters into the first of several obscure digressions and allusions, and the syntax becomes more ambiguous and disjointed, in ways that seem markedly un-Jonsonian. In *Discoveries*, Jonson wrote approvingly of the qualities of a ‘middle’ language – that is neither too great nor too small: ‘There the language is plain and pleasing, even without stopping, round without swelling; all well-turned, composed, elegant, and accurate.’ In contrast, ‘[t]he vicious language,’ he goes on to describe, ‘is vast and gaping, swelling and irregular; when it contends to be high, full of rock, mountain, and pointedness; as it affects to be low, it is abject, and creeps, full of bogs and holes.’²¹

‘Satyra Secunda’ is, at times, ‘vast and gaping, swelling and irregular’, and its obscure digressions sometimes feel like ‘bogs and holes’. Jonson also complained to Drummond of Hawthornden about Donne’s ‘not keeping of accent’, or the cramming of sense into lines of poetry.²² Jonson’s taste for clear, straightforward verse and his dislike of anything ‘obscure’ means that it is highly unlikely that Herbert intended to write this dense, complex, and at times almost

²¹ Ben Jonson, *Discoveries*, ed. by Lorna Hutson, *CEWBJ*, vii, pp. 481-596 (p. 568), ll. 1448-1453.

²² Drummond and Jonson, *Informations*, ed. by Ian Donaldson, *CEWBJ*, v, p. 361.

incomprehensible poem in the ‘style’ of its addressee.²³ ‘Satyra Secunda’ is highly enjambed, and features frequent mid-line caesuras – for example: ‘To see *English* well cloth’d here, as with you / At *London, Indians*: But that you view / May comprehend’ (ll. 32-4) – and sections where the rhyme scheme is inconsistent and the sense of a phrase is delayed:

Such knowledge, as their memory could give,
They have for help, what time these Souls do live
In English Clothes, a body which again
They never rise unto: but as you see,
When they come home, like Children yet that be

(ll. 17-21)

This style of poetry is ultimately closer to Donne’s consistently difficult style, rather than Jonson’s flexibly expressive mode.

There are in fact several moments when ‘Satyra Secunda’ recalls the earlier satire that Herbert had sent to Donne. Its syntax and rapid switches of focus and thought are similar to ‘The State Progress of Ill’, and phrases repeat across the two poems. After the strange account of ‘Badger’ and his gaffes at the French court, Herbert swiftly changes direction and returns to his initial account of travellers arriving in France: ‘But that I may proceed, since their birth is / Only a kind of *Metempsychosis*’ (ll. 15-6). The phrase ‘But that I may proceed’, a distinctive, wrenching return to the argument of the poem, also appears in ‘The State Progress of Ill’: ‘But that I may proceed, and so go on / To trace *Ill* in his first progression’ (ll. 31-2). Similarly, the reference to travellers undergoing a ‘*Metempsychosis*’ recalls Donne’s work of the same name, to which Herbert’s ‘State Progress of Ill’ was clearly a response, as I discussed in the previous chapter. Both of Herbert’s formal verse satires also bear resemblance to Donne’s own satires. Although the vitriol of ‘The State Progress of Ill’ is more similar in tone to Donne’s ‘Satire 5’, the caustic wit and derision of ‘Satyra Secunda’ bears a resemblance to Donne’s mocking of the ‘motley humourist’ in ‘Satire 1’, and the ribaldry of pretentious courtiers assuming affectations is reminiscent of his ‘Satire 4’.

²³ For more on Jonson’s use of form, and particularly pentameter couplets, see Joshua Scodel, ‘Allusions and Distinctions: Pentameter Couplets in Ben Jonson’s *Epigrams* and *Forest*’, in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Elizabeth Scott-Baumann and Ben Burton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 40-55.

Given these links with Donne's own poems, and the connections with 'The State Progress of Ill', it seems reasonable to wonder why Herbert might have addressed a poem to Jonson which was so unlike the latter's style, and so similar to another poet's. The title of the poem, as we have it from the 1665 edition, does suggest that it was consciously and deliberately linked to Herbert's earlier satire for Donne. Given the fact that the satire addressed to Jonson was titled as a 'second satire', with various echoes of a previous satire, it is possible that Herbert was intending to write a series of satires, in the style of Donne's *Satyres* (c. 1590s), Hall's *Virgidemiarum* (1597, 1598), or Marston's *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598).²⁴ Although the only extant witnesses of the poems are the versions which appear in the posthumous 1665 edition, the specificity of the titles and date (corroborated by internal references to Herbert's own travel itinerary from 1608) suggest that Henry Herbert (who edited and published Herbert's satires in 1665) was probably working from titled and dated drafts of his brother's poems. If it were the case that Herbert intended to write a series of satires, he may have addressed and sent one of his satires to Donne, who had written similar verses himself, and another to Jonson, as both men were involved in a network of verse circulation.

It is possible that Herbert was simply interested in increasing the circulation of his poetry, and knew that Jonson was engaged in the transmission and circulation of verse, particularly formal verse satires. A note from 1608 by Francis Davison consists of a list of 'Manuscripts to gett', and includes 'Satyres, Elegies, Epigrams &c. by John Don. q^{re} some from Eleaz. Hodgson, Ben: Johnson'.²⁵ As Daniel Starza Smith has pointed out, this information

suggests that he knew of a copy of the *Satyres* in Jonson's possession, possibly a version of the witness sent to Lady Bedford in the same year. Jonson's epigram to Lady Bedford indicates a selective transmission of these poems around 1608, the same time Jonson was sending his own epigrams to Donne.²⁶

²⁴ For more on late sixteenth century satirists see: Kernan, *The Cankered Muse*; Selden, *English Verse Satire 1590–1765*; Richard McCabe, *Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); and M. Thomas Hester, *'Kinde Pitty' and 'Brave Scorn': John Donne's Satyres* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1982).

²⁵ BL, Harley MS 298, f. 151, cited in Francis Davison, *A Poetical Rhapsody*, ed. by A. H. Bullen, 2 vols (London: George Bell and Sons, 1890), I, p. liii.

²⁶ Daniel Starza Smith, 'Before (and after) the Miscellany: Reconstructing Donne's *Satyres* in the Conway Papers', in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, ed. by Daniel Starza Smith and Joshua Eckhardt (Ashgate: Farnham, Surrey, 2014), pp. 16-37 (pp. 22-3).

The epigram for Lady Bedford, ‘To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, With Master Donne’s Satires’, links Jonson, Donne, and Bedford in a literary network concerned with inspiration, circulation, and collection.²⁷ However, there is no real manuscript evidence to suggest that Herbert was ever interested in securing patronage for his verse (later in life, when disappointed by his lack of preferment at court, he wrote histories rather than poetry to try and secure patronage), nor indeed that he ever intended to generate a wide circulation of his poems. It is therefore much more likely that Herbert’s satire for Jonson was, like Donne’s *Biathanatos* (discussed in the previous chapter), sent as an exclusive gift designed to reinforce the friendship between the two men.²⁸

A Gift of Satire: ‘Rare poems ask rare friends’

What does it mean to send a satire to a friend, as an act of friendship? Arthur Marotti has argued that Donne’s satires were written for a readership at the Inns of Court, who would have shared Donne’s attitude towards the objects of his satirical wit, and who would have appreciated the common reference points of the poem.²⁹ Thus, satire reinforces friendships by turning on a set of implied or unstated mutual values and references, but also by turning the objects of friendship into the objects of satire. The attraction of a satire, apart from its wit and humour, is therefore its exclusivity – social, moral, or intellectual.

In his poem to Bedford accompanying Donne’s satires, Jonson declares that ‘Rare poems ask rare friends’, suggesting the value of the poems he is forwarding, and that the recipient of those verses is unusually worthy. The phrase also suggests the exclusivity of the poems and their

²⁷ Jonson, *Epigrams*, ed. by Colin Burrow, *CEWBJ*, v, pp. 160-1. For more on this poem see: Robert C. Evans, *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1990); Barbara K. Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), especially Chapter 4, ‘Exercising Power: The Countess of Bedford as Courtier, Patron, and Coterie Poet’, pp. 95-123; and Jennifer R. Taylor, ‘Lucy Countess of Bedford, Jonson, and Donne’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McMaster University, 1979).

²⁸ The importance of gift-giving in early modern friendships, and the obligation that gift-giving produces, have been widely explored. On this, see: Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. by Ian Cunnison (Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino Publishing, 2011); Alison V. Scott, *Selfish Gifts: The Politics of Exchange and English Courtly Literature, 1580-1628* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006); Ilanan Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²⁹ Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

transmission – they are rare artefacts that only a privileged few have access to. As well as indicating both the poems' value and physical exclusivity, the phrase combines these meanings to further suggest their intellectual exclusivity. Jonson's edict also marks a turning point in his poem, where he moves away from praising the addressee, and turns to the satires themselves:

But these [poems] desired by you, the maker's ends
 Crown with their own. Rare poems ask rare friends.
 Yet satires, since the most of mankind be
 Their unavoyded subject, fewest see;
 For none e'er took that pleasure in sin's sense
 But when they heard it taxed took more offence.
 They, then, that living where the matter is bred
 Dare for these poems, yet, both ask and read,
 And like them too, must needfully, though few,
 Be of the best

(ll. 5-14)

Another aspect of the 'rarity' that 'friends' of satires show, Jonson suggests here, is not only that they will be able to understand the poems, but they will also actively seek out satires, and enjoy them, even though they may see their own sins reflected back at them (although here Jonson also suggests that Bedford, free of sin, will not see herself in these satires). Jonson's diplomatic phrasing also removes the implication that Bedford has asked for these poems (whilst admitting that she has) and suggests rather that the poems *asked* for (or required) her. These rhetorical negotiations of gifts and exchange point to the game of knowingness between the participants – Bedford and Jonson both know that Bedford has asked for the poems, and both know the other knows this – as well as the complex navigations of a socially unequal relationship. Bedford is Jonson's social superior and patron, which is reflected in the way that the poem makes itself ask a favour of Bedford, rather than the other way around, whilst still emphasising sociability and friendliness – 'rare poems ask rare *friends*' (my emphasis) – between author and addressee.

All these aspects of reading satire are relevant when considering Herbert's satire for Jonson. It is certainly a 'rare' piece, in the sense that it appears to have had a very limited circulation, if it circulated at all, and also in the sense of being difficult to understand. Although the syntax is sometimes wrenched and often impenetrable, the poem's obscurity mostly comes from allusions and references which to modern readers are puzzling or opaque. A closer analysis indicates that many of these references were intended specifically for Jonson, and the implication

that a poem may somehow require or demand a specific recipient (or a specific kind of recipient) relates to the close homosocial element of this poem. It is also suggestive of the way that a gift – here, poetry – can demand something of its recipient. Alison Scott and Felicity Heal have demonstrated the way that gift-giving in early modern England created a sense of obligation, and implicitly demanded reciprocation.³⁰ It must be noted that Herbert and Jonson were also clearly of unequal status: although Jonson was a well-respected writer, and Herbert his junior by a decade, Herbert was nevertheless an aristocrat and potential patron. The references and allusions to Jonson's work throughout 'Satyra Secunda' may therefore have been included to elicit a response from Jonson, in the form of his inclusion of references to Herbert in his own work, or as a response to allusions to Herbert that were already present in Jonson's work.

'Satyra Secunda' is unique in the canon of Herbert's poetry for its many references to the theatre. The anecdote about Thomas 'Badger', known to be a regular dancer in masques, suggests the theatrical flavour of this verse, while the joke about English travellers being disorientated and confused might recall the fools shipwrecked on the Isle of Dogs in *Eastward Ho!*, which Jonson had co-authored with George Chapman and John Marston in 1605. In the opening lines, moreover, Herbert refers to 'our King *Richard*', recalling Shakespeare's *Richard III*, strengthened by Herbert's reference to infants born with teeth, a myth associated with Richard III.³¹

Another moment in 'Satyra Secunda' which relates to the theatre is one of the most opaque moments in the poem, and has been largely ignored by critics who have dealt with this satire. This is the digression on 'Elpus':

let's but consider, what
Elpus is now become, once young, hansom, and that
 Was such a Wit, as very well with four
 Of the six might have made one, and no more,
 Had he been at their *Valentine*, and could
 Agree, *Tom Rus* should use the stock, who would
 Carefully, in that, ev'n as 'twere his own,
 Put out their jests

(ll. 42-49)

³⁰ Scott, *Selfish Gifts*; Heal, *The Power of Gifts*.

³¹ See, for example, *Henry VI, Part 3*, v.6.52 and 75, and *Richard III*, II.4.27-32.

Moore Smith's gloss on this grammatically confusing and opaque passage is that it alludes to a play or masque in which 'six rustic bumpkins figured at a gathering on St Valentine's day (when swains drew lots for sweethearts), among them one called Tom Rus.'³² He speculates that such a play might be titled 'The Wits' Valentine', and that Herbert here suggests that Elpus and four of the party might pass for one whole wit if Tom Rus was their spokesman. However, there is no evidence of such a play or masque having ever been written or performed, and no other references appear to be made to the characters 'Elpus' or 'Tom Rus', so although ingenious, this seems an ultimately unsatisfying theory.³³

A better explanation may be found by drawing out an allusion briefly noted by Rossi.³⁴ This part of the poem falls immediately after Herbert's foolish traveller believes himself to have mastered the French language – 'learn'd French, now no more Boys, / But perfect Men at Paris' (ll. 35-6) – and the passage relating to 'Elpus' and 'Tom Rus' may relate to a play entered into the Stationers' Register and published in 1607, a year before Herbert's poem was written: *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority*. This allegorical play by Thomas Tomkis was surprisingly popular for an academic play, being reprinted in 1610, 1617, 1622, 1632, and 1657, although there is no clear evidence as to when it was written. There is an internal reference to the year 1602, and possible allusions to Queen Elizabeth could suggest that the play may have been written before her death in 1603. However, some critics have argued that possible references to *Macbeth* (particularly when *Lingua* sleepwalks and confesses her crimes in v.18) indicate a later date of composition, closer to its 1607 date of publication, especially as this has the effect of narrowing the gap between this and Tomkis's next play, *Albumazar the Astronomer*.³⁵

³² Herbert, *Poems*, p. 147.

³³ I have consulted: the *Stationers' Register*, Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 5 vols (1875-94); Thomas L. Berger and Sidney L. Sondergard's *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama: Printed Plays 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), and the *Lost Plays Database* (<<https://www.lostplays.org>>). A search of *Early English Books Online (EEBO)*, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>> also showed no results for either 'Elpus' or 'Tom Rus', apart from in Herbert's poem.

³⁴ Rossi, I, pp. 127-8, n. 42.

³⁵ George Moore Smith suggested that the play dates from 1602, in 'Notes on Some English University Plays', *Modern Language Review*, 3.2 (1908), 141-56 (pp. 146-9), although F. G. Fleay suggests 1603, in 'Annals of Plays acted at Cambridge During Shakespeare's Lifetime', *Shakespeariana*, 2 (1885), 121-130 (pp. 121-2). F. S. Boas suggested that the play was written closer to its publication date in 1607 in 'University Plays', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. by Adolphus William Ward, 15 vols (Cambridge:

Regardless, it was a recent and popular play that Jonson was likely to have seen or read, especially given that the publisher of *Lingua*, George Eld, had also published Jonson's *Sejanus* and *Eastward Ho!*.

Lingua is concerned with the eponymous female personification of language, who asserts her importance against the other five senses, an idea close to Jonson's heart given his views on the superiority of poetry over the visual and mechanic arts.³⁶ *Lingua* departs from the medieval tradition of depicting the senses as female, as the five senses in *Lingua* – Auditus, Visus, Olfactus, Gustus, and Tactus – are portrayed as male, which renders the play's conflict a battle of the sexes, with a misogynistic edge. *Lingua* creates dissent among the senses by offering a prize for the 'worthiest' of them, recalling the judgement of Paris; this may be what Herbert is referring to when he mentions the six 'at their Valentine'. At the end of the play, *Lingua* claims to be the sixth sense, but this is rejected, although it is allowed that women have five and half senses, the half sense being 'the sense of speaking' – it should be noted that ideas about qualities being half male and half female also have relevance to 'Satyra Secunda'. Finally, having drugged the other senses as revenge for only being considered a 'half-sense', *Lingua* falls asleep and confesses her sins as she talks in her sleep, leading to her imprisonment so that she cannot 'wagge abroad'.³⁷ The word 'wit' was used synonymously with 'sense' in the early modern period, and so the reference to Elpus once being 'such a Wit, as very well with four / Of the six might have made one' (ll. 44-5) seems

Cambridge University Press, 1907-27), vi (1910), pp. 293-327 (pp. 314-5). Martin Wiggins and Richardson give the date limits for the play as 1602-7 (Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson (eds), *British Drama 1533-1642*, v (2015), pp. 349-55), but as a best guess for the date of composition suggest some time after Christmas in 1606. 1607, as E. K. Chambers argues, thus seems the most likely date of the play's composition. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), iii, pp. 497-8. For more on this play, see: Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642: A History of the Drama in England from the Accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Closing of the Theatres, to which is Prefixed a Résumé of the Earlier Drama from its Beginnings*, 2 vols (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), ii, pp. 70-1; M. P. Tilley, 'The Comedy of *Lingua* and the *Faerie Queene*', *Modern Language Notes*, 42 (1927), 150-7; Erin Ellerbeck, 'The Female Tongue as Translator in Thomas Tomkis's *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority*', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 32 (2009), 27-45.

³⁶ This is best articulated in Jonson's quarrel with Inigo Jones about the relative worth of poetry and architecture. For a comprehensive discussion see: D. J. Gordon, 'Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel Between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 12 (1949), 152-78.

³⁷ Thomas Tomkis, *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue, and the Five Senses for Superiority* (London: George Eld, 1607), v.17, sig. M4^v.

to fit with this play about the senses.³⁸ Such a focus on the senses also has relevance to contemporary ideas about what makes a ‘good’ traveller: there are various early modern texts which emphasise the importance of the senses in travel literature – in being able to carefully observe and discern the nature of one’s surroundings.³⁹

This leaves the problem of who, or what, ‘Tom Rus’ and ‘Elpus’ may be. Rossi suggests that ‘Tom Rus’ may be a misreading (on Herbert’s part, or someone in the editing and printing process) of the name ‘Thomas Tomkis’, the author of *Lingua*.⁴⁰ ‘Elpus’, Rossi notes, is an anagram of ‘suple’, and it therefore could refer to the supple, flexible intellect, that becomes hard and wrinkled with the mask of affectation.⁴¹ The ‘suppleness’ of the character could relate not only to the flexibility of thought that would be privileged over the senses, but also the malleability and softness of the traveller who allows themselves to become so changed upon arriving in a new country; it is thus both a positive and a negative characteristic, holding a duality which is fitting for Herbert’s slippery satire. This obscure digression would have almost certainly been of interest to Jonson due to its links to the theatre and a play that engaged with Jonson’s interests, and the allusions to supple and malleable travellers, a theme that Jonson satirised in his own plays.

As well as these allusions to the theatre, and issues which would have interested Jonson, ‘Satyra Secunda’ also has several passages which specifically recall Jonson’s plays, in particular *Volpone*. In Jonson’s ‘Epistle’ for the play (written in justification of himself to authorities who had challenged earlier plays, notably *Sejanus* and *Eastward Ho!*), his reference to ‘my youngest infant [who] hath come into the world with all his teeth’ is echoed in Herbert’s description of traveller’s ‘New born to another World, with teeth and hair’ (l. 4).⁴² The figure of the ridiculous

³⁸ Both could mean a faculty or perception, *OED* ‘wit’, n. I.1, 3. The ‘five wits’ were often considered synonymous with the senses, but were also sometimes distinguished as the five ‘inward wits’, as distinct from the five ‘outward wits’, which were the senses of touch, taste, hearing, sight, and smell. The ‘inward wits’ were generally thought of as ‘common wit’, ‘imagination’, ‘fantasy’, ‘estimation’ and ‘memory’.

³⁹ See, for example, the discussion of the ‘external senses’ in observation and cognition in Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia a Description of the Body of Man* (London: W. Jaggard, 1615), p. 432, and the focus on the senses in Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London: J[ohn] L[egat], 1636).

⁴⁰ Rossi, I, pp. 127-8, n. 42. Although Winstanley assigned the play to Anthony Brewer, there is a memorandum in BL Additional MS 27632 by Sir J. Harington which notes ‘The combat of *Lingua* made by Thom. Tomkins in Trinity College Cambridge’, which Chambers suggests ‘is rendered plausible by the resemblance of the play to *Albumazar*’. Chambers, III, p. 498.

⁴¹ Rossi, I, p. 127-8, n. 42.

⁴² Jonson, *Volpone*, ed. by Dutton, *CEWBJ*, III, pp. 3-191, ‘Epistle’, ll. 37-8.

English traveller abroad, embodied in the play's characters Sir Politic Would-Be (Sir Pol) and Peregrine, was probably the inspiration for Herbert's satire, and may help explain why he addressed the poem to Jonson.

Critics have often identified Sir Pol as a satiric caricature of Sir Henry Wotton, who was, at the time of the play, serving as the ambassador in Venice (hence the joke intended when Sir Pol asks Peregrine whether he has yet been to see the ambassador, II.1.17). Like Sir Pol, who sees intrigue and schemes everywhere, Wotton had undertaken a patriotic mission in 1601 with a theatrical flair, when he disguised himself as an Italian merchant, Ottavio Baldi, in order to take a secret message from Ferdinand I, grand Duke of Tuscany, to James VI, informing the King that the Duke had learned of a plot to poison him, and to deliver to James a box of antidotes prepared by Ferdinand's personal physicians.⁴³ Other details in the play suggest that Wotton may have been the source for Sir Pol, especially when Sir Pol states he has been in Venice for fourteen months, the same length of time that Wotton had been in Venice when the play was performed (IV.1.36), and when Sir Pol explains that he is heavily in debt to the Jews of Venice for furnishing his palazzo, just as Wotton was (IV.1.40-1). Herbert probably already knew Wotton at the time that *Volpone* was written, and he would later correspond with him in 1614 during Herbert's travels on the continent, and when Herbert became the ambassador to France.⁴⁴

Herbert would also have been aware of Jonson's interest in satirical travel literature and ridiculous travellers from Jonson's 'commendatory' verses affixed to Thomas Coryate's *Crudities*. Coryate, who had made something of a career out of being the butt of others' jokes, travelled almost two thousand miles mostly by foot across Europe between 14 May and 3 October 1608, and then wrote about it in *Crudities*, a work which is part autobiography and part guidebook. Jonson, and fifty-eight others (including Donne), contributed dedicatory verses, most of which send up Coryate as a mock-heroic traveller. Herbert's satire thus clearly caters to Jonson's taste for satirical

⁴³ A. J. Loomie, 'Wotton, Sir Henry (1568–1639)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁴ In his autobiography, Herbert notes that after taking his leave of Spinola and returning to Court Maurice of Nassau, he met Wotton at Wezel and 'took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army.' Herbert, *Life*, p. 72. In 1619, when Herbert was made ambassador to France and travelled to Paris he noted that 'from Sir Henry Wotton, his Majesty's ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty gentleman, I received all the news of Italy'. *Life*, p. 112.

attacks on transformed travellers, although it should be noted that ‘Satyra Secunda’ was written just before Coryate returned from his travels, and therefore antedates his *Crudities*, which was not published until 1611.⁴⁵ Herbert and Jonson’s shared interest in ridiculous travellers may also explain why Jonson chose to place the poem ‘To Captain Hungry’, a satirical portrait of a traveller, immediately after ‘To Sir Edward Herbert’ in his *Epigrams* (1616). Colin Burrow suggests that the poem may also be intended to satirise Herbert himself, noting: ‘There may be significance in the juxtaposition with the previous poem: Herbert was a notorious traveller, whose autobiography [...] dwells extensively on his political machinations abroad’, as does Jonson’s Captain Hungry.⁴⁶ This seems unlikely, on the whole, as little else about the Captain could be applied to Herbert; however, Jonson may have included it after the epigram for Herbert as more of an in-joke referencing their shared interest in this topic – as well as perhaps remembering ‘Satyra Secunda’.

Richard Dutton has also suggested a link between ‘Satyra Secunda’ and Jonson’s play *Epicene*, which was first performed in either late 1609 or early 1610.⁴⁷ As the exact date of the play’s composition is unknown, it is impossible to say whether Herbert’s poem anticipates or parallels Jonson’s play, but there are several moments of striking similarity. In terms of general themes, the mockery of French customs and misogyny that ‘Satyra Secunda’ displays can also be found in *Epicene*. There are references to tailors working to ‘French intelligences’, and the need to employ a ‘French tailor, barber, linener’ if one is to impress a fashionable woman, and one of the Collegiates assumes that a lady’s establishment will come complete with a ‘French cook’ (2.5.75, 4.1.104, 4.3.22). Most obviously, the play features two characters with French names: Sir Dauphine Eugenie and Sir Amorous La Foole. Dauphine, whose name translates as ‘well-born heir’, is generally considered the ‘hero’ of the play, and he is a gentleman (as indicated by his name) and a virile lover (a typically French stereotype at the time), declaring himself to be in love with all the Collegiates. Sir Amorous La Foole, in contrast, is affected and ridiculous, mocked by the wits of the play and shown to be full of pretension. La Foole continually reminds everyone in

⁴⁵ Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities hastily gobled vp in five moneths traueells in France, Sauoy* (London: W. S., 1611).

⁴⁶ Jonson, *Epigrams*, ed. by Burrow, *CEWBJ*, v, p. 172.

⁴⁷ Jonson, *Epicene*, ed. by Dutton, pp. 16-7.

the play that he is one of ‘the French La Fooles’ (I.4.41), and his first introduction to the audience is in Clerimont’s description of him as ‘one of the Braveries, though he be none o’ the Wits’ (1.3.31-2). La Foole, Clerimont suggests, dresses fashionably (‘brave’ having a contemporary meaning of finely dressed, or showy), but is a man of little intelligence, much like the ridiculous Englishmen in France that Herbert describes in ‘Satyra Secunda’ affecting French dress and customs, ‘putting on / Some forc’d disguise, or labour’d fashion, / To appear strange at home’ (ll. 36-8).⁴⁸

Moreover, La Foole’s constant ‘saluting’ (1.3.31), and incessant chatter bears a similarity to Herbert’s traveller who is full of ‘complemental speeches, / That never go off but below the breeches / Of him he doth salute’ (ll. 68-70). Herbert goes on to describe how this same figure will make a fool of himself by bragging about sleeping with ‘some noble Wench’, when he has done no such thing, comparable to the moment in *Epicene* when Clerimont goads La Foole into claiming that he has had sex with Epicene, which he cannot have done, as ‘she’ is in fact a boy in disguise (v.1). As Dutton also observes, Herbert’s poem ‘ends with a joke which redoubles the whole conceit on which *Epicene* depends’, when Herbert describes another of the strange and unnatural sights that English travellers are likely to behold in Paris are ‘the Italian Comedies, wherein / Women play boys’ (ll. 87-8).⁴⁹ The poem has repeated references to what is perceived as a troubling gender fluidity, such as when Herbert describes ‘one that was grown ripe to another taste’, who has become androgynous: he ‘would perplex / A stranger to define his years, or sex’ (ll. 50, 52-3).

Anxiety around gender in ‘Satyra Secunda’ and *Epicene* also spills into a satirical treatment of women and misogyny directed at women who had personally shown favour to Herbert and Jonson. Dutton, amongst others, argues that the Collegiates in *Epicene* satirise prominent courtly women who were Jonson’s patrons, most notably Lady Bedford. Dutton notes that Jonson’s *Masque of Queens*, from 1609, the same year that *Epicene* was probably written, features a band of

⁴⁸ OED, ‘brave’, *adj.* 2.

⁴⁹ Jonson, *Epicene*, ed. by Dutton, p. 17.

aristocratic ladies, who are seemingly superior to, and independent from, their husbands, and that Jonson may have satirically reworked this feature into the Collegiates of *Epicene*:

When Morose laments “She is my regent already! I have married a Penthesilea, a Semiramis, sold my liberty to a distaff!” (III.4.53-4), we can hardly ignore (or expect contemporaries to have ignored) that fact that Jonson had written the proud role of Penthesilea in *The Masque of Queens* for his patron, Lucy, Countess of Bedford.⁵⁰

This mockery of the Collegiates’ incessant chatter, and Morose’s obsession with silence and finding a woman who will not speak, also shares concerns with *Lingua*, the play Herbert may be obliquely referencing in the digression on ‘Elpus’ and ‘Tom Rus’; ‘Satyra Secunda’, *Lingua*, and especially *Epicene* are all concerned with the theme of ‘hermaphroditical authority’ (a quality that in *Epicene* Truewit describes the Collegiates as wielding unnaturally, I.1.79). In *Epicene*, however, this kind of satirical treatment seems unlikely to have been intended to attack Bedford, or to expose the evils of society. Bedford and her acquaintances probably enjoyed seeing themselves being sent up as the Collegiates, and it is interesting that Jonson indirectly names and identifies Bedford in *Epicene* with the name which he also gave her in his *Masque of Queens* – Penthesilea. Dutton has even suggested that Truewit and Clerimont in this play were intended to be caricatures of Donne and Herbert – wits about town, scheming and mocking others less witty and more pretentious than themselves.⁵¹ Satire in this vein is less of an attack, and more like an in-joke, a point of humour which would only have been enjoyed by a limited group. It is clear that Bedford, Herbert, and Donne are not the real objects of satire, or at least they are only the objects of a satire that is intended to provoke humour and reinforce social groups, rather than a satire that is designed to attack and expose moral degeneracy or corruption.

‘Few Men, and many Beasts’: Biting Satire and Transformative Satire

The crueller and more vicious aspect of satire can also reinforce social relations by representing what groups are opposed to. There are two examples of ‘biting’ satire in ‘Satyra Secunda’, moments which are less jovial and more of an aggressive attack on individuals. In *Epicene* Morose

⁵⁰Jonson, *Epicene*, ed. by Dutton, p. 21.

⁵¹ Jonson, *Epicene*, ed. by Dutton, p. 22.

and what he represents (an opposition to fun and expression, and an attempt to prevent the social advancement of the wits of the town) is clearly the foremost target of satire, while Donne, Herbert, and Bedford are light-heartedly mocked. In ‘Satyra Secunda’, foolish travellers and impressionable men are clearly the main targets of Herbert’s satire, but embedded within the poem are two individuals who become the target of more politically motivated attack. By way of comparison, Jonson’s ‘sending-up’ of Bedford as a Collegiate strikes a very different note to Herbert’s attack on a woman who had shown him favour: Queen Margaret of France. Although Dutton observes that these moments ‘are clearly both products of the same homosocial culture, where misogyny and a fascination with the feminine potential of masculine sexuality are part of the common discourse’, the two jibes indicate different kinds of satire – jest and attack.⁵²

In Herbert’s poem, his comment about Italian comedies is preceded by a surprisingly vitriolic and disgusted remark on ‘that swoln, vitious Queen, *Margaret*, / Who were a monster ev’n without her sin’ (ll. 85-6), referring to Margaret of Valois, the former wife of Henri IV, whose marriage had been annulled in 1599. At first glance, it seems odd that Herbert should speak so disparagingly and harshly of her, when his autobiography suggests that she treated him courteously and that he had enjoyed her company in Paris in 1608, at the same time that he wrote the satire for Jonson. He recalls:

I went sometimes also to the court of Queene Margaret at the hostel called by her name [i.e. Marguerite of Valois], And here I saw many Balls or Masks, In all which It pleased that Queene publicuely to place mee next to her Cheare, not without the wonder of some and the envy of another who was wont to have that favor.⁵³

That in his poem, Herbert refers to her as a ‘swoln’ queen has a particular sting to it, as Margaret had been accused of carrying the bastard child of her lover Champvallon in 1583, and the eventual annulment of her marriage to Henri IV was on the grounds of her sterility. Other contemporary writers had also remarked on her changed physique when she returned to Paris in 1605, with

⁵² Jonson, *Epicene*, ed. by Dutton, p. 17.

⁵³ *Life*, p. 49. Sidney Lee’s somewhat self-righteous footnote in his edition of Herbert’s autobiography notes of this recollection that Margaret had a ‘reputation [which] was not good’, before going on to suggest that ‘Lord Herbert wrote of her with greater justice in his *Satyra* addressed to Ben Jonson’ (p. 105). *Life*, ed. by Lee, p. 56, n. 57. Margaret’s reputation has generally improved, and she is now recognised for generating lively cultural spaces, becoming a major patron of the arts. See Kathleen Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

Tallemant des Réaux noting that she had become ‘horribly stout’.⁵⁴ However, given the language of birth and delivery in Herbert’s poem, and Margaret’s own history, the adjective ‘swoln’ seems particularly pointed, recalling simultaneously the accusations of an unlawful pregnancy, and her failure to become pregnant by her husband, suggestive of the age-old double-bind in which women are so often damned if they do and damned if they do not. Here, Herbert’s attack on her parallels, and in a way inverts, the opening image of Richard III, so that the poem is bookended by visions of grotesque, monstrous monarchs, both representative of unnatural birth and pregnancy. The description of Margaret also feeds into the pervasive concern throughout the poem with things not being quite as they seem – she too is deceptive, appearing pregnant whilst not actually being so. In this sense she is a kind of a hypocrite, whilst the image of an empty pregnancy is also suggestive of another form of ‘emasculatation’ in the idea of male infertility (particularly pointed in the case of Margaret, who appeared to be unable to conceive with her husband, but became pregnant by another man). Metaphorically, the image of the ‘swollen’ but ‘empty’ Margaret also represents what the traveller may become – an empty, puffed up windbag, an image which recalls the empty windbags and orators in Juvenal’s satires.⁵⁵

The theme of birth and rebirth in ‘Satyra Secunda’ is intimately linked with imagery of animals and the monstrous, seen first in the reference to Richard III, which introduces the other, unnamed target of the poem’s satirical attack. The ‘reborn’ traveller, in this poem, is often so changed that they seem to be a beast. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the malleability of travellers was often seen as a weakness, and was regularly criticised or satirised. Travellers who allowed themselves to be fundamentally changed by their travels lacked self-knowledge, and various sixteenth-century pedagogues, such as Roger Ascham, suggested that there was no better argument against travel than to point to its capacity to transform. Comparing travel to Homer’s Circe, Ascham claims that both ‘turne men into beastes’ through ‘pleasant

⁵⁴ See Hugh Noel Williams, *Queen Margot, Wife of Henry Navarre* (London: Harper and Bros, 1907), p. 369.

⁵⁵ For orators and windbags in Juvenal’s satires, see David S. Wiesen, ‘Juvenal and the Intellectuals’, *Hermes*, 101 (1973), 464-83.

inchantmentes'.⁵⁶ Herbert attributes bestial qualities to his transformed traveller, and the poem has several references to contemporary beast fables. These allusions indicate another layer of satire: a political attack with which Jonson would have sympathised.

'Satyra Secunda' itself is not a beast fable, nor is its central theme to do with animals, but the poem is peppered with references to beasts, and to other contemporary beast fables.⁵⁷ Although the dominant conceit of the poem is that travel is like a rebirth, the digression on 'Badger' and the French King's dogs first suggests the ability of travel to 'turne men into beastes'. This metamorphosing of people is later supported by the description of the ridiculously complimentary and verbose traveller as 'serpent like' (l. 73), or the newly-arrived travellers as 'little fry' (l. 82), a term which simultaneously suggests that these new arrivals are both new-born, and animal-like, as 'fry' can refer to both human offspring and the young of an animal, especially fish.⁵⁸

However, the very theme of rebirth also has a link to beast fables in this poem, through Herbert's reference to *Metempsychosis*, when he says that 'new-born' travellers' 'birth is / Only a kind of *Metempsychosis*' (ll. 16-7). At first glance, this suggests both the idea of the transmigratory soul passing from one body to another of different species, and Donne's poem which deals precisely with this topic, written in 1601. That Herbert had this poem in mind when he wrote this line in his own poem seems clear, as I have mentioned above, because his previous satire, 'The State Progress of Ill' was inspired by Donne's poem, and also because Herbert's mention of 'metempsychosis' is preceded by a line lifted from this previous satire, 'The State Progress of Ill'. M. van Wyk Smith has argued that in *Metempsychosis*, Donne went beyond the classical and early modern ideas on the transmigration of the soul and moral order, and 'added the narrative and

⁵⁶ Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Daye, 1570), p. 25. For discussions of humanist debates about travel, see Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2008), and Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994). I am indebted to Natalya Din-Kariuki for her insights on the humanist debates about travel and the malleable self.

⁵⁷ For more on beast fables and beast satire, see: Annabel Patterson, *Fables of Power: Aesopian Writing and Political History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991); Steve Baker, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Anthony G. Petti, 'Beasts and Politics in Elizabethan Literature', *Essays and Studies*, 16 (1963), 68-90; and Erica Fudge, *Humans and Beasts in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

⁵⁸ OED 'fry', n. 1.1 and 1.3.

metaphoric substance of the traditional beast allegory, so that the poem finally issues as a series of brief beast satires within the continuum of degenerative metempsychosis.⁵⁹

Wyk Smith develops this further to suggest that two other beast satires or fables written around the same time as Donne's poem can help to indicate the target of Donne's own satire, namely Robert Cecil. These poems are Spenser's *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubbard's Tale* (1591) and a poem based on it: Richard Niccols' *The Beggar's Ape* (probably 1607, although not published until 1627).⁶⁰ Both lampoon the Cecil family: in Spenser's poem the character of the 'Fox' is almost certainly intended to represent Lord Burghley, whom Queen Elizabeth had nicknamed the 'fox', and the 'Ape' is likely to be his son Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, who is even more clearly caricatured as the central figure in Niccols' poem.⁶¹

The Cecils had both attracted hostility and resentment as they built up and consolidated power in Elizabeth's and James's reigns. The family was not part of the ancient aristocracy, and Burghley's power as he gained control of a number of key posts in Elizabeth's government, and the promotion of his son to some of these posts, led to many accusations of coercion and bribery. The power which Burghley and then his son Cecil amassed led to the charge that England had entered its 'regnum cecilianum'. Both Burghley and Cecil consecutively held the post of the Mastership of the Court of Wards, a position that was constantly open to the temptation and suspicion of bribery. By 1601 Salisbury, also held the posts of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which gave him a great deal of control over borough elections and therefore Parliament, particularly heightened by the fact that the positions of the Lord Warden and the Chancellor were held by Cecil's brother-in-law (Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham) and protégé (John Fortescue) respectively.

⁵⁹ M. van Wyk Smith, 'John Donne's *Metempsychosis*' Part II, *The Review of English Studies*, 24 (1973), 141-52 (p. 141).

⁶⁰ The possible identification of one of the characters in *The Beggar's Ape* as Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, suggests that the poem would not have been written until after 1606, when Percy was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. See the 'Postscript', in Richard Niccols, *The Beggar's Ape*, ed. by Brice Harris (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1957), sig. E3^r-F2^v.

⁶¹ Edmund Spenser's *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubbard's Tale* was published in *Complaints, containing sundry small poems of the world's vanitie* (London: William Ponsonbie, 1591). For more on *Mother Hubbard's Tale* and the largely unknown *The Beggar's Ape*, see Kathryn Perry, 'Political Animals: Spenserian Beast Satire 1591-1628' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Reading, 2000).

Sir Henry Wotton, friend to Donne, Jonson, and Herbert, described Cecil thus:

my Lord Cecill, for whom (indeed) it seemed as necessary there should be reasons, as for the State that they should be prevented. Insomuch as it was then (how unjustly soever) conceived, that though he created none, yet he fomented some conspiracies, that he might give frequent evidences of his loyalty (having no other advantages as the Earl [of Essex] and other had in person) to justifie him in an ordinary estimation, but by eminent services.⁶²

The reference here to the earl of Essex is particularly telling, as Cecil was generally thought to have precipitated the downfall of the flamboyant and popular Essex. Individuals such as Donne (and indeed Herbert) may have felt particularly galled by Cecil due to their own lack of preferment at court, which stood in such stark contrast to Cecil's almost total dominance; ballad writers claimed 'Little Cecil trips up and down / He rules both Court and Crown'.⁶³ A rallying point for this frustration was Sir Walter Raleigh's lack of advancement, which many ascribed to Cecil. Donne, who has been seen as both a follower of Essex and Raleigh, would certainly have had reason to dislike Cecil, and it is significant that the anger and resentment toward Cecil rose to a climax in 1601, the same year that Donne wrote *Metempsychosis*, when Essex was tried and executed. At this time 'Here lieth the toad' was written above Cecil's door in Whitehall, and Cecil was a particular target for beast satires and analogies which ridiculed his person and his physicality. Cecil was short and hunchbacked, and reportedly looked old before his time. Despite Francis Bacon's kinship with him (the Cecils and the Bacons were cousins), Bacon's essay 'On Deformity' was widely thought to be directed at Cecil:

Deformed persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill be them, So doe they by Nature, Being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of Naturall Affection*; And so they have their Revenge of Nature.⁶⁴

Even Elizabeth, who (unlike most) was apparently quite fond of him, called him 'elf' and 'pigmy'. Whilst Burghley was caricatured as a fox in Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, Cecil is clearly the ape in both Donne's *Metempsychosis* and Niccols' *The Beggar's Ape*.

⁶² Henry Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottoniae* (London: G. Bedel, 1651), quoted in Barbara Nielson de Luna, *Jonson's Romish Plot: A Study of Catiline in its Historical Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 53.

⁶³ Ballad, 1601, PRO State Papers Dom. 12/278/23. Cited in P. M. Handover, *The Second Cecil: The Rise to Power 1563-1604 of Sir Robert Cecil, Later First Earl of Salisbury* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1959), p. 230.

⁶⁴ Francis Bacon, *The Essays*, ed. by Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 99.

That Cecil also features in Herbert's 'Satyra Secunda', strengthens the link with *Metempsychosis*. Firstly, the mention of Richard III in the third line of the poem suggests Cecil's hunchback; other contemporaries also drew a connection between the deformed, tyrannical king, and the all-powerful courtier. After Cecil's death in 1612 one derogatory ballad declared:

Here lieth Robin Crooktback, unjustly reckoned
A Richard the Third, he was Judas the Second –
Richard or Robert, which was worse?
A Crooktback great in State is England's Curse.⁶⁵

On 22 June 1602, Philip Henslowe recorded the payment of a loan of ten pounds to Ben Jonson, 'in earnest of a book called *Richard Crookback*', and although there is no surviving copy of this play, nor any evidence that it was ever completed or performed, it is certainly conceivable that Herbert knew of Jonson's intentions to write on this theme, and included the reference to Richard III to simultaneously evoke Cecil, and Jonson's own proposed work on the king.⁶⁶ As well as indicating another link between Herbert's satire and Jonson's works, this also suggests the possibility that Jonson's lost play would also have been an anti-Cecil satire. The reference in 'Satyra Secunda' to one who 'would perplex / A stranger to define his years [...] his wrinkles, when he speaks, doth give / That Age, his words should have' (ll. 52-5) also suggests Cecil's prematurely aged and distorted face; Cecil had been popularly described by John Mylles (a servant of Essex) as 'an unwholesome thing, which hath a wry neck, a crooked back or a splay foot'.⁶⁷

Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* had immortalised the idea of 'awry-transformed traveller', and it became something of a stock figure: Jonson's dramatic corpus contains a significant number of examples of such individuals.⁶⁸ Amorphous, who appears in the masque *Cynthia's Revels* is one such example, but the most obvious, and most relevant to a discussion of Herbert's 'Satyra Secunda' is *Volpone*. The choice of the term 'wry' here is interesting for thinking

⁶⁵ Chamberlain, I, p. 356.

⁶⁶ Ian Donaldson speculates that Jonson's illness late in 1602 may have impeded the work's progress in 'Richard Crookback (lost play)', *CEWBJ*, II, pp. 183-4.

⁶⁷ Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable Marquess of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire* 19 vols (London: HMSO, 1883-1976), XIV, p. 162.

⁶⁸ Philip Sidney, *The Major Works*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, 2008), pp. 212-50 (p. 245), I. 1370.

about Cecil and Herbert's poem, as it denotes both distortion and deflation (especially in facial features) as well as deflection or deviation from a straight course.⁶⁹ Both Cecil and *Metempsychosis* may be seen as 'wry': Cecil, because of his deformities, and Donne's *Metempsychosis* because rather than tracing the soul's ascent from a lower to a higher form of being, the soul spirals downward to beastliness, thus deviating from the proper course. These allusions to Cecil and Donne's poem suggest another link to Jonson in Herbert's poem through *Volpone*.

As previously noted, this satirical play has a whole host of 'wry transformed travellers', and a fair number of animals and beasts. Almost all the characters are given names and characteristics of animals, to the extent that it plays partly as a beast fable: the play's full title – *Volpone, or The Fox* – suggests this. The other principal characters include: Mosca, the fly, Voltore, the vulture, Corbaccio, the raven, and Corvino, the crow. The theme of animals and ridiculous travellers are united in the characters of Peregrine, whose name connotes both a traveller and a falcon, and the other notable traveller of the play, Sir Politic Would-Be, or Sir Pol, and his wife Fine Madam Would-Be, who suggest chattering parrots.⁷⁰ Given the play's subtitle identifying the protagonist as 'the fox', the nickname often given to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and later his son, it is likely that the play could be understood as an anti-Cecil work, and indeed the themes of greed for wealth and power reflect the general feelings about the family. Jonson's guarded opinion of Cecil is suggested in his poem 'To My Muse', which immediately follows on from two poems addressed to Cecil in his *Epigrams*, and begins: 'Away, and leave me, thou thing most abhorred, / That hast betrayed me to a worthless lord' (ll. 1-2).

The most obvious reference to Cecil in *Volpone* is the figure of the dwarf Nano, who may have been intended to evoke Cecil's short stature and hunchback. In addition, the 'entertainment' that Mosca stages for Volpone in Act I, Scene 2 echoes Donne's *Metempsychosis*, and is performed by Nano the dwarf:

For know [*Pointing to Androgyno*], here is enclosed the soul of Pythagoras,
That juggler divine, as hereafter shall follow;

⁶⁹ OED, 'wry', *adj.* 1, 2.

⁷⁰ OED, 'peregrine', *adj.* 1, 2, and 4.

Which soul (fast and loose, sir) came first from Apollo,
 And was breathed into Aethalides, Mercurius his son,
 Where it had the gift to remember all that ever was done.
 From thence it fled forth, and made quick transmigration
 To goldilocked Euphorbus

(1.2.6-12)

The link with Donne's *Metempsychosis* is made even clearer, as the soul Nano describes descends from these lofty heights into ever more beastly repositories: 'Since kings, knights, and beggars, knaves, lords, and fools gat it, / Besides ox and ass, camel, mule goat, and brock, / In all of which it hath spoke, as in the cobbler's cock' (1.2.22-4). When Herbert speaks of travel being 'Only a kind of *Metempsychosis*' (l. 16), he is referring simultaneously to Donne's poem, and to the scene referencing it in *Volpone*, a connection strengthened by Nano's speech describing the soul and being lodged in Androgyno: Herbert's youth who 'would perplex / A stranger to defy his [...] sex' (ll. 52-3) recalls this character. In 1608, just four months before Herbert wrote 'Satyra Secunda', Cecil had been made Lord Treasurer, granting him a previously unprecedented level of political influence.

Herbert probably disliked Cecil because of the enormous power he wielded, and so these satirical allusions to Cecil, and allusions to anti-Cecil satire, suggest another dimension to Herbert's poem, that has less to do with comical representations of travellers, and more to do with genuine attacks on resented public figures. The attack on Cecil is also significant because it is oblique; he is the unnamed target of the poem, identifiable only to those who can read the signs used to denote him. Whilst the most obvious target of the poem – English travellers – are identified, and other minor targets (such as Margaret and Thomas 'Badger') are named, the allusions to Cecil mean that the poem also turns on a set of references and allusions which are shared between the writer-readers of this verse to enable them to name the unnamed. The poem contains names that need to be deciphered – Elpus, Tom Rus – as well as names that need to be discovered, which are latent within the poem. Although this reinforces the close friendship network element of the poem, it also suggests the underlying anxiety of the poem's speaker about names, and the ability to know and identify the individuals that surround them.

‘What man art thou, that art so many men’: Being a Man and a Traveller

This chapter has discussed both the ‘rare friends’ that ‘Satyra Secunda’ addresses and alludes to, and the ‘few men and many beasts’ that populate the poem. Throughout, I have been concerned with the way that these named and unnamed figures reinforce or define the sociability of the poem, and situate it within a ‘friendship cluster’ of men, among whom Jonson and Donne are prominent. To conclude, I want to return to Jonson’s rhetorical question – ‘what man art thou, that art so many men’. As I suggested in the Introduction, this question is particularly apt for Herbert, but is also the question that I have been asking throughout this chapter of the many characters in Herbert’s satire: who are Badger, Elpus, and the strange amorphous figures of this poem? A way to combine these two iterations of the question ‘what man art thou’, and to return to the idea that satire is paradoxically both a sociable and an isolating genre, is to consider the extent to which Herbert’s satire is directed at himself, and that the author is one of the poem’s unnamed targets. The poem undoubtedly demands and situates itself among ‘rare friends’, but if references to Jonson’s work and interests are densely layered within this relatively short poem of Herbert’s, a question remains about their strategic function, both within the poem and in terms of Herbert’s own literary standing. Perhaps they suggest that he was either trying to become a part of, or was enjoying being a part of, the network of literary exchange that featured both Donne and Jonson. This was also a network of wit and satire, where the participants were mocked as often as they were celebrated. The ribaldry directed against Coryate is one such example, the satirising of Wotton in *Volpone* another; Jonson’s mockery of Lady Bedford in his depictions of the Collegiats and Donne and Herbert as the wits in *Epicene* is a third instance. As discussed in the previous chapter, Donne’s choice of scribe for the copy of *Biathanatos* sent to Herbert may have been informed by this culture of satire and jesting, mocking Jonson’s dislike of Herbert and Donne’s ‘obscure’ exchanges by implicating him in it.

However, the danger of participating in this culture of satire and mockery is, of course, that one finds oneself on the wrong side of it. Herbert may have been affectionately satirised by Jonson in *Epicene*, and even in the arrangement of the *Epigrams*, but he had found himself somewhat viciously targeted only a year before he wrote ‘Satyra Secunda’ in Niccols’ *The Beggar’s Ape*, one

of the beast fables directed at Robert Cecil. Niccols writes of a ‘golden Asse’, who is ludicrously worsted in a competition with the Horse, presenting the Ass as a vain upstart who has acquired his wealth by means of an opportune marriage. In a postscript to a 1957 facsimile of Niccols’ poem, Brice Harris identifies the Ass as Herbert, who had recently married Mary Herbert, and thus secured his fortune, and the Horse is identified as the Lord Admiral, Lord Howard.⁷¹ The Howards and the Herberts had an ongoing feud, and during his time fighting at the Siege of Juliers in 1610 Herbert abortively attempted to engage Theophilus, Lord Howard of Walden in a duel.⁷² Regarding Herbert’s identification as the ‘golden Asse’ in *The Beggar’s Ape*, Julia Griffin has observed:

if, as seems very likely, this is Herbert, another and sadder reason emerges for his failure to accompany Howard to Spain [in 1604-5] for the ratification of the peace treaty, besides his own guarded reference to ‘the industry of some near me, who desired me to stay at home.’⁷³

In Niccols’ poem, Herbert becomes part of the cast of ‘few men and many beasts’, himself a target of satire.

However, throughout ‘Satyra Secunda’ Herbert seems to be making himself the target of satire. This is most obvious when Herbert describes the route that new, ludicrous, travellers take upon arriving in Paris: ‘they’r cousen’d, mock’d & come / To *Fauxbougs St. Germans*, there take a Room / Lightly about th’ Ambassadors’ (ll. 24-26). This was precisely the route that Herbert, newly arrived in Paris for the first time, took and which he details in his autobiography:

Coming thus to Dover, and passing the seas thence to Callice I iorneyed without any memorable Aduenture till I came to Fauxbourg St. Germaines in Paris, where Sir George Carue (then Ambassedour for the King) lived; I was kindly receiued by him and often invited to his table.⁷⁴

In fact, much of the bluster and incoherence of ‘Satyra Secunda’ can be read as a reflection of Herbert’s anxiety about himself, his own status, and the way he himself appears (as also Donne’s first satire can).⁷⁵ The poem is preoccupied with ideas about knowing when to speak, and how to

⁷¹ Richard Niccols, *The Beggar’s Ape*, ed. by Brice Harris (New York: Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, 1957), sig. E4^v.

⁷² *Life*, p. 54.

⁷³ Griffin, p. 21. *Life*, p. 38.

⁷⁴ *Life*, p. 90.

⁷⁵ For such a reading of this poem, see Barbara Everett, ‘Donne: A London Poet’, in *Poets in Their Time: Essays on English Poetry from Donne to Larkin* (London: Faber, 1986), pp. 1-31.

speak correctly, about acquiring French customs to appear a man of the world, without becoming irrevocably and laughably changed into something entirely new. How did one separate the good from the ridiculous? This is one of Herbert's decidedly more worldly poems, less philosophically rarefied than many of his others, and he may have been particularly anxious about being a 'centred' traveller, given Jonson's own attitudes toward this issue. Thomas M. Greene's influential discussion of 'Ben Jonson and the Centred Self' has detailed the way in which Jonson's 'poems and comedies contrast the self-reliant centred self with characters who are or seek to be metaphysically volatile, who would shift, disguise, transform, and multiply themselves.'⁷⁶ He identifies *Volpone* as the best example of this in Jonson's canon, a play that was clearly in Herbert's mind as he wrote 'Satyra Secunda'. The poem itself is obsessed with change and transformation, from the principal conceit of rebirth, through the allusions to *Metempsychosis*, the parade of amorphous and ridiculous characters, who are neither man nor woman, neither young nor old, neither French nor English, and the constant changing of direction and thought in the poem itself. Given this, and Jonson's ideas about being centred and steady, it is far from impossible to detect in his complimentary poem to Herbert a satirical barb or a piece of implied advice when he asks, 'What man art thou, that art so many men, / All-virtuous Herbert' (ll. 2-3).

Anxieties about travel and change – returning to one's country only to appear ridiculous – are oddly prescient when one considers the influence that Herbert's autobiography has had on his later reputation. This book, written in Herbert's later years, reflects largely on the time he spent travelling abroad, particularly in France, and is principally responsible for Herbert's later characterisation as a dilettante and an object of ridicule (discussed more fully in Chapter 5). Ultimately, 'Satyra Secunda' seems something of a 'metempsychosis' itself – Herbert's soul transmigrating through various allusions to Donne and Jonson and their works. This satirical poem about travellers becomes a journey through literary satires of the day, and like the travellers of the poem, comes away touched and changed by the various works that it encounters. Like the travellers it describes, it too deviates from the straight course; it has an 'indirect approach' (l. 74).

⁷⁶ Thomas M. Greene, 'Ben Jonson and the Centred Self', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 2 (1970), 325-48 (p. 325).

Similarly, like the amorphous characters of 'Satyra Secunda', the poem itself is two things at one: it is both verse letter and satire, Donnean and Jonsonian, 'smiling' and 'biting'. Navigating its winding, 'serpent-like' (l. 73) course through these allusions and references does decisively demonstrate, however, how closely and attentively Herbert had read or watched Jonson's work, and how the two writers were almost certainly closer than has previously been thought. 'Satyra Secunda' is so densely packed with in-jokes and references intended specifically for Jonson that without an understanding of these the poem is hard to follow, and only by carefully sifting through Herbert's convoluted lines is it possible to draw out the connections. What the poem also demonstrates is that throughout the years from 1604 to 1612, Donne, Jonson, and Herbert were engaged in a series of exchanges and interactions which almost always alluded to all three writers. Using 'Satyra Secunda' as a point of triangulation, it is possible to reconstruct the way that Donne and Jonson's relationship at this time was also bound up in their friendship with Herbert, and that the three men formed an important literary 'friendship cluster'.

Herbert, however, was of course a younger man than both Donne and Jonson, eleven years their junior, and his youth may account for a great deal of his anxiety in his satire to Jonson. It is also important to note that while 'Satyra Secunda' does seem to mark the zenith of Herbert's friendship with Jonson, it may also signify the decline of Jonson's, and to a lesser extent, Donne's literary influence on Herbert. Herbert wrote no other satires after the two addressed to Donne and Jonson, and when he next travelled to France in 1619 as ambassador, his approach to what he might learn, and how he might be 'reborn' took on a very different flavour. The anxiety around imitating foreign customs is less present in his later poems, as I shall discuss in my next chapter.

Chapter 3

‘The little World the Great shall blaze’: Thomas Carew, Giambattista Marino, and the Poetics of Embassy

The first chapter of this thesis explored the way that Herbert’s poems present ideas about man’s multiplicity, and the second chapter discussed how Herbert’s satire on travel depicted an anxiety that this multiplicity could lead to malleability and a loss of personal integrity. This chapter develops these ideas further by discussing Herbert’s use of images of microcosm and macrocosm in his poetry, relating this to his philosophical writing and contemporary literary theories and theories of diplomacy. Herbert’s philosophy and poems, particularly the love lyrics inspired by his time abroad as ambassador to France (1619-1621, 1622-1624), show a preoccupation with the parts that make up a whole, and more particularly, the individual integrity of these parts, and the unity of a whole. A richly ambiguous phrase in the third line of Herbert’s ‘A Description’ encapsulates these ideas, and provides my framework for exploring Herbert and Thomas Carew’s adaptations of Giambattista Marino:

I Sing her worth and praises hy
Of whom a Poet cannot ly
The little World the Great shall blaze.

(ll. 1-3)

As in so many of Herbert’s poems, the nouns and pronouns are obscure: who is the woman mentioned in the first line; is ‘she’ a literal woman or rather the ‘World’? Is the ‘I’ of the opening line the same as the ‘Poet’ who, on this occasion, cannot lie, and is ‘singing’ here to be equated with poetry? And what is being sung of, the ‘little World,’ or the ‘Great’? Is the ‘Great’ a greater world, or is it a collective noun, as in ‘the great and the good’? Verbs too become misleading, in particular the term ‘blaze’. The most obvious reading is that the ‘little World’ shall light up and illuminate the ‘Great,’ but the syntax of agency is ambiguous, allowing for the possibility that it is, in fact, the ‘Great’ which will illuminate the ‘little World.’ As well as indicating that something shall be revealed or illuminated, the delayed verb, left hanging at the end of the line, could also suggest something enthused, fired up, or set alight with passion. These fiery actions, balanced in

the potential meaning of the word 'blaze,' also begin to slip dangerously toward destruction (something set alight and burnt down). In these opening lines action, agency, and agents, are all ambiguously abstruse.

Schools of criticism have often presented both Herbert and Carew as the 'little Worlds' which 'blaze forth' the work and poetic genius of their predecessors.¹ Scott Nixon highlights the fact that Carew's verse has been read primarily as deriving 'from the combined influence of [...] two acknowledged masters,' Donne and Jonson. This, Nixon argues, has led to Carew's work being undervalued: 'if Carew is simply a combination of Donne and Jonson, without their brilliance, why bother reading Carew?'² A similar phenomenon has occurred with Herbert: often read as a mere imitation of Donne and Marino, his work has been dismissed as a poorly executed attempt to reproduce the poetry of the great masters. Both Herbert and Carew have been underestimated, and both are overdue modern scholarly editions of their work, the most recent editions being Moore Smith's 1923 edition of Herbert's verse, and Rhodes Dunlap's 1957 edition of Carew's poetry and masque. Nixon's work on Carew has demonstrated how his audacious elegy for Donne does not 'merely celebrate,' but actively engages with Donne and demonstrates Carew's 'ability to distil, reflect, and move beyond [Donne's] poetic achievement.'³ A key part of Nixon's argument (which marked an important turning point in studies of Carew's poetry) rests on Herbert's reference to Carew in his own elegy for Donne:

Having deliver'd now, what praises are,
It rests that I should to the world declare
Thy praises *DUNN*, whom I so lov'd alive,
That with my witty *Carew* I should strive
To celebrate thee dead

(ll. 47-51)

¹ For the most important critical texts which established Herbert's and Carew's places in the 'schools' of Donne and Jonson see Chapter 1, p. 37, n. 51. For a discussion of Donne and Marino's cultural similarities, see David Rees, 'Marino and Donne' in *Essays in Honour of John Humphreys Whitfield*, ed. by H. C. Davis et al. (London: St. George's Press for the Department of Italian, University of Birmingham, 1975), pp. 181-97.

² Scott Nixon, 'Carew's Response to Jonson and Donne,' *Studies in English Literature*, 39 (1999), 89-109 (p. 94).

³ Nixon, 'Carew's Response', p. 104.

Nixon notes that ‘this passage brings together important themes of imitation and competition’.⁴ I would nuance Nixon’s argument slightly, however, by suggesting that (as I argued was the case in readings of Donne’s and Herbert’s verse in Chapter 1) the idea that Carew and Herbert were in ‘competition’ with each other is only one reading of this passage, and a reading which is not alive to the ambiguity of the verb ‘strive’. Nixon understands this as suggesting that Herbert is directly ‘striving’ with Carew, in an effort to outdo one another competitively, whereas the phrase simultaneously suggests that Herbert is saying he and Carew must both ‘strive’ – work together – to find that language worthy of celebrating Donne. The suggestion in these lines that Herbert and Carew were both involved in a shared poetic enterprise (here, celebrating Donne), is reinforced when we consider that Herbert and Carew were ‘striving’ with one another approximately 12 years earlier through shared reworkings of an older poet’s verse when both were in Paris and probably associating with Marino.

Just as ‘the little World the Great shall blaze’ could indicate the illumination of one great world by a smaller, or suggest how the great will be eradicated by the ‘little World,’ Carew’s and Herbert’s adaptations of Marino similarly convey their appreciation for the verse they are imitating, and their attempt to reinvent and appropriate it. This chapter centres on the poetry and philosophy that relates to Herbert’s longest sojourn on the continent, during his time as ambassador, and it develops the idea that Herbert’s poetry arises from his membership of specific social and institutional worlds. In doing so, I argue that Herbert’s literary output and exchanges indicate that the embassy itself was a site of literary production. As an ambassador, Herbert wrote verse in response to eminent continental poets, such as Marino, and exchanged poems with Carew. Both Herbert and Carew can also therefore be considered as kinds of ‘literary ambassadors’, serving as conduits for French and Italian literature in England.

Whereas the previous chapter explored the anxiety around imitating foreign customs and habits and becoming irrevocably changed, this chapter demonstrates how travel also represented an opportunity to *productively* imitate new customs and styles. When Henry Herbert accompanied his

⁴ Nixon, ‘Carew’s Response’, p. 90.

brother Edward to France in 1618, as part of his ambassadorial retinue, their brother George wrote to Henry urging him to ‘bee Covetous, then, of all good which you see in Frenchmen, whether it be knowledge, or in fashion, or in words.’⁵ The poetry that Herbert wrote during his second extended trip abroad was prompted by his time as ambassador, where he was more interested in engaging with his cultural surroundings than his earlier satire would suggest. The art of being a good traveller and a good ambassador (politically and as a kind of ‘literary ambassador’) was to adopt the habits of your host country without becoming too changed. While it is my argument here that Herbert’s poetic style *was* changed by his encounters with continental writers, and particularly by the work of Marino, there is, nevertheless, an *awareness* of adopting but simultaneously *appropriating* styles; changing oneself but also the original you are working from.

The rhetorical practice of metonymy – substituting a part for the whole – reflects the role of the ambassador as a substitute for the monarch, but such metonyms can easily become confused with their referents, or even replace them, as the signifier and the signified are elided. Joanna Craigwood, in her study of diplomacy and metonymy in *3 Henry VI*, has shown how the metonymic characteristics of early modern ambassadorial representation could drift towards antithesis and opposition, so that the earl of Warwick, Edward IV’s ambassador, moves from representing to replacing the sovereign.⁶ Given the nature of his employment when he was encountering and imitating Marino’s verse, Herbert’s poems should be read with an attention to their metonymical devices and arguments. The same concerns of truth and representation are also fundamental to Herbert’s philosophical theories, and are the central topic of his most famous literary work, and the text most associated with Herbert’s embassy and continental residency: *De Veritate*. This chapter shows how the essential themes of this work – truth, and truthful representation – are bound up both with early modern diplomatic and literary theory, and with Herbert’s poems. The complexities of truth and representation in art, life, and embassy are borne

⁵ George Herbert, *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. by F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 366. For more on George Herbert’s attitude toward France, see Anne-Marie Miller-Blaise, ‘George Herbert’s French Connections: Of Books and Brothers,’ *George Herbert Journal*, 37 (2013), 48-68.

⁶ Joanna Craigwood, ‘Diplomatic Metonymy and Antithesis in *3 Henry VI*,’ *Review of English Studies*, 65 (2014), 812-30.

out in the intertwining of the rhetorical tropes of metonymy and mimesis, both concerned with truth and representation. Early modern diplomatic theory suggested that the ambassador stood metonymically for the sovereign, and the poems from Herbert's time as ambassador feature the recurring device of a constituent part of a woman standing metonymically for her entirety. This chapter explores whether, and how, such 'microcosms' can truthfully – mimetically – represent 'macrocosms' in embassy and poetry, ideas which can usefully be explored by using Herbert's theories of truth, as described in *De Veritate*.

This chapter has two focuses. The first half looks at the role of Herbert and his embassy secretary, Thomas Carew, as translators of the work of the Italian poet Giambattista Marino. At its heart is a comparative analysis of Herbert's reworking of one of Marino's sonnets, and a poem by Carew which I show was almost certainly written in parallel with Herbert's. The similarities between Herbert and Carew have not been extensively explored, yet Carew is an interesting figure to place alongside Herbert – both have often been reduced to the role of 'imitator' or 'heir' of older poets, and both have a poetic canon which is overwhelmingly made up of love lyrics. I argue that Carew and Herbert were writing and exchanging verse at the embassy in Paris, and that Carew in particular capitalised on the currency of helping to introduce a new poet to England in the 1620s. In the second half of this chapter I address those poems which make up the majority of Herbert's oeuvre – poems on women and love – and will argue that unlike his contemporaries, Herbert eschews both the erotic impulse seen in so many of Carew's poems, and also the chaste engagement with surface detail favoured by later lyricists such as Stanley and Sherburne. I suggest that the combined influence of Marino, and his role as ambassador, helped to infuse Herbert's love lyrics with the trope of metonymy. Herbert uses this trope to sublimate the women his poems are purportedly addressed to into a state of abstraction and an aesthetic principle, and also to interrogate ideas of truth and representation. These concerns have resonance for Herbert's poetics, diplomacy, and manhood.

'travel is a second birth': Poetry in the Embassy

In 1619 Herbert was appointed ambassador to France. The appointment came as a surprise to him: in his autobiographical *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Written by Himself*, he recalls that when the messenger arrived asking him to come before the privy council he feared he was in some sort of trouble:

My self little knowing then the Honor intended me, askt the Messenger whether I had done any fault that the Lords sent for me so suddainly, wishing him to tell the Lords that I was going to Dinner and would afterwards attend them. I had scarce dined when another Messenger was sent, this made me haste to Whitehall where I was no sooner come, but the Lords saluted me by the Name of Lord Ambassador of France. I told their Lordships thereupon that I was glad it was no worse, and that I doubted by their speedy sending for me, some Complaint, though false might have been made against me.⁷

This passage suggests Herbert's good humour amidst concern that an unwarranted bad reputation has preceded him. Somewhat ironically, of course, accounts such as this in Herbert's *Life* have given him a particular reputation which has often meant that his not inconsiderable achievements as an ambassador have gone unrecognised. Even with James I's often unclear instructions, Herbert generally proved himself to be an able, if somewhat independently-minded, ambassador, despite managing to offend various members of the French court.⁸

In Britain, Herbert was strongly associated with continental Europe, a fact too little recognised in critical responses to his work. He spent most of his time between 1608 and 1610 travelling around France and fighting in the Siege of Juliers. In 1614 he again left England and spent time on the continent, fighting in the Low Countries, meeting with the Prince of Orange, and visiting many European cities, including Heidelberg, Venice, Florence, Rome, Turin, Lyons, and Geneva. Whilst travelling Herbert was also commissioned by the Duke of Savoy to raise 4000 French Protestant troops to help in the fight against the Spanish, and set out to do so, but was arrested and imprisoned as the levying of soldiers on French soil had just been outlawed; luckily, as Herbert had not yet raised any troops he was released. During his travels Herbert proposed (and occasionally fought in) many duels, and became a close friend to Henri I de Montmorency and his son, spending a good deal of time at their houses during his earlier travels, and during his time as

⁷ Herbert, *Life*, p. 89.

⁸ For the details of Herbert's quarrel and threatened duel with the duc de Luynes, the favourite of Louis XIII, which prompted his recall from France in 1621 see the *Life*, pp. 104-110.

ambassador to France. He received this appointment in 1619, was recalled for the first time in 1621, before serving for another two years from 1622 to 1624.⁹

Two of Herbert's best-known and most important literary works are intimately connected with France and his travels on the continent: his philosophical magnum opus, *De Veritate*, and autobiographical *Life*. For an author with a reputation for bragging, Herbert is peculiarly silent about most of his literary endeavours, save *De Veritate*, which was written in Latin and intended for an international and learned audience. Begun in England, the work was predominantly written in France, and finally published in Paris in 1624; the decision to publish the text was the climactic episode of his *Life*. This text, which is largely responsible for Herbert's reputation as a brawling dilettante, charts his life up to the end of his ambassadorship in France, and concludes with his own account of the publication of *De Veritate*. The *Life*, not printed until in 1764, was written when Herbert was in his later years, looking back on the days of his youth, and focuses primarily on Herbert's time abroad travelling around Europe and serving as the ambassador to France. It was most probably intended, as Herbert suggests, as a curiosity and guide for his descendants.¹⁰

De Veritate and the *Life* have, rightly or wrongly, come to define modern critical understandings of Herbert, but the importance of their European context, particularly in the case of the *Life*, has nevertheless failed to be fully appreciated.¹¹ The same is also true of Herbert's poetry: some of Herbert's earliest dateable poems relate to his time travelling between 1608 and 1610 – including the poems, 'I must depart,' 'The State Progress of Ill,' and 'Satyra Secunda' – and a significant number of his poems were either written whilst Herbert was abroad or were inspired by foreign events or writers. These include the poems 'A Description,' 'Upon Combing her Hair,' 'Ditty in imitation of the Spanish *Entre taniaque L'Avril*,' 'A Vision,' 'Ditty to the tune of *A che*

⁹ See Herbert's *Life*, and also Rossi, especially II, Chapter 4.

¹⁰ Herbert's intentions for the *Life* are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

¹¹ See, for example, the essay by Leslie Stephen on Herbert, which dismisses his supposed deist principles in *De Veritate* and condemns 'the singular self-conceit of the autobiography', in 'Lord Herbert of Cherbury', *National Review*, 35 (1900), 669). Eugene Hill argues that this essay 'set the pattern' for much of the following scholarship on Herbert, and 'emerged from a misreading of the autobiography', *Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1987), p. 136.

del Quantomio of Pesarino, 'A Ditty to the tune of *Coseferite*, made by Lorenzo Allegre to one sleeping to be sung,' and 'Kissing'.

Under James I the diplomatic service became increasingly professionalised, with the establishment of permanent embassies at Venice, Paris, the Hague, and Madrid. This process, as Mark Netzloff observes, forged lateral relationships between ambassadors, and 'played a crucial role in this process of nascent professionalism, as did the social life within the embassy, particularly the affective, everyday commerce between diplomats and members of their staff.'¹² Sir Henry Wotton commented to his friend Sir Walter Aston, who had recently been appointed ambassador to Spain, that 'besides our own private friendship, we are now consociates in the public service'.¹³ Netzloff suggests that such a comment reflects the way that 'diplomats represented their social environment in terms of the literary coterie, with its dominant languages of friendship and sociability.'¹⁴ This, then, was the homosocial, political, and literary world in which Herbert and Carew were brought closer together.

Early modern theorists and modern critical scholarship have recognised the productive conversation and overlap between literary and diplomatic words and representation. Timothy Hampton has emphasised the importance of sociability in diplomatic and literary contexts in his discussion of what he terms 'diplomatic poetics' in *Fictions of Embassy*, a study which emphasises dialogue within and across literary and diplomatic texts. This theory also points to the dialogue between artifice and reality in literary texts, recalling Wotton's comment that an ambassador is 'an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country'.¹⁵ Various early modern historians and philosophers drew on literary works and conventions in their discussion of diplomacy, including Alberto Gentili, Hugo Grotius, and Torquato Tasso, and there is also a high incidence of early

¹² Mark Netzloff, 'The Ambassador's Household: Sir Henry Wotton, Domesticity, and Diplomatic Writing', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 155-171 (p. 158).

¹³ Henry Wotton, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. by Logan Pearsall Smith, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), II, p. 213.

¹⁴ Netzloff, p. 158.

¹⁵ Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009). Izaak Walton, 'The Life of Sir Henry Wotton', in *Reliquiae Wottonianæ*, ed. by Izaak Walton (London: Thomas Maxey, 1651), sig. b1^r-c12^v (sig. c1^v).

modern authors who were engaged in diplomatic work: Craigwood lists Thomas More, Thomas Wyatt, Philip Sidney, John Milton, and Andrew Marvell, to which should certainly be added Edward Herbert and Thomas Carew.¹⁶ Craigwood has discussed even more precisely the intersection of literary – and specifically poetic – frameworks and theories of embassy and diplomacy, coining the term ‘poetics of embassy’ to describe ‘a theory of literature informed by diplomatic ideas and a theory of diplomacy informed by literary-theoretical concerns.’¹⁷

Extending these analyses of the intersections of literature and diplomacy prompts a consideration of the embassy itself as an important site of literary production and circulation. Herbert, as his *Life* demonstrates, did not expect to be an ambassador, and it is likely that he chose Carew for his retinue not only for the young poet’s previous diplomatic service and experience, but also for his literary talent, which Herbert was almost certainly aware of. Whenever Herbert, in his poems or his *Life*, mentions Carew, he accompanies his name with the epithet ‘witty’, demonstrating Herbert’s recognition of Carew’s turn of phrase and sense of humour. This quality, it is worth noting, was also essential to the Marinesque style of verse, under the term *arguizia*, denoting keen wit or a sharpness of perception (the plural, *acutetze*, refers to witty expressions).¹⁸

In his *Life* when describing his retinue during his embassy, Herbert makes passing reference to ‘Thomas Carew that excellent Wit’ who was amongst his staff, but gives no indication of whether, or how, he was acquainted with Carew before his time as ambassador. Carew had previous experience serving on diplomatic missions – in 1613 he was in the service of Sir Dudley Carleton, and joined Carleton on his embassy to Venice, remaining in his service there (and in Turin) until Carleton’s return to England in 1615. Carew was also re-engaged by Carleton for his embassy to the Netherlands in 1616, but less than six months later was abruptly dismissed, as Carew had foolishly made defamatory remarks about his employer and Lady Carleton in writings

¹⁶ Herbert was familiar with several of these writers: he owned works by Gentili in his library, as well as poems by Tasso, and was a friend of Grotius. Full details of Herbert’s library will be provided in Dunstan Roberts’s forthcoming book, *The Library of Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (London: The Bibliographical Society). Craigwood, ‘The Poetics of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern England, 1580-1630’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2011), p. 4.

¹⁷ Craigwood, ‘The Poetics of Embassy’, p. 5.

¹⁸ James V. Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvellous: Giambattista Marino* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 116.

which were discovered. The exact nature of these remarks has never been ascertained, as in all the correspondence surrounding the affair no one has repeated the actual substance of the libel.

Although Carew's father, Sir Matthew, feared that his son was 'utterly lost' following his dismissal from Carleton's service, Carew was nevertheless present at court on various occasions, and in 1619 was retained by Herbert for his own embassy.¹⁹

Nixon has speculated that between 1616 and 1619 Carew may have been circulating his verse and promoting his wit to potential patrons and employers, and that these talents may have secured his employment with Herbert. However, it is likely that Herbert had either met or known of Carew from his time employed on Carleton's embassies. Between 1614 and 1615 Herbert records that he spent his time travelling around Europe, and mentions that he travelled to Venice, 'where I was received by the English Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton with much Honor', recounting an example of his host's entertainments:

among other favors shewed mee I was brought to see a Nunne in Murano who being an Admirable beauty and together singing extreemly well, who was thought one of the Rarities note onely of that Place but of the Tyme; we came to a Roome opposite vnto the Cloyster when she coming on the other side of the Grate betwixt vs sung soe extreemly well That when shee departed neither my Lord Ambassador nor his Lady who were then present could finde as much as a word of fitting Language to returne her to the extraordinary Musicke shee gaue us.²⁰

This particular encounter has an analogue in the poem that Herbert later wrote, 'To a Lady who did sing excellently', and Herbert's poem beginning 'Tears, flow no more' is dated to 'Italy 1614', suggesting that he was actively engaged in writing verse during his travels in Venice. It is entirely likely that if Herbert spent a fair amount of time in Carleton's company between 1614 and 1615, and was composing poetry at the time, that he would have made the acquaintance of the witty young poet Carew in Carleton's retinue.²¹ Although Herbert is often mentioned parenthetically as Carew's employer in discussions of Carew's verse, and Carew often receives mention as one of the known poets Herbert associated with, there has been relatively little sustained specific analysis of

¹⁹ Nixon, 'Carew, Thomas (1594/5-1640)', *ODNB*.

²⁰ Herbert, *Life*, p. 73.

²¹ Other examples of literary-minded ambassadors, or statesmen operating on the continent who were writing and/or collecting poetry contemporaneously with Herbert and Carew would include Wotton and Sir Edward Conway. For Conway's verse collection during his time as governor of Brill see Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*.

their relation to one another in their verse, and the circulation of their poetry. A crucial starting point for a comparison of their verse is Marino, by whom both poets were influenced.

Marino was perhaps the greatest Italian poet of the early seventeenth century. Born in Naples, Marino, like Herbert, travelled throughout Europe, becoming entangled in love affairs, violent quarrels, and assassination attempts, as well as enduring spells of imprisonment. He rose to prominence during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, winning early fame with a *canzone* about kisses (which Herbert imitated in his poem 'Kissing'), before publishing his *Rime* in two parts in 1602, and republishing this collection of over 400 poems in 1614 as *La lira*, with an additional third section. However, his greatest works were written and published during his time in Paris, including the *Epitalami* (1616), *La galleria* (1620), and his most famous work, *L'Adone* (1623).

Eugenio Donato describes Marino's verse as 'the highly metaphorical expression of highly sensual material – each of these terms being carried to such an extreme as to leave no doubt about its being treated as an end in itself'; his style influenced poets throughout Europe, and was later described as 'Marinism,' or *secentismo* and *concettismo* (terms which should be used with some caution, as Marino himself never produced a manifesto, and 'secentismo' carries pejorative connotations and wider cultural implications).²² James Mirollo identifies six key terms, used by Marino and his contemporaries, which define the Marinesque style of verse: *arguzia*, keen wit and sharp perception; *ingegno*, the wit of invention or fancy; *concetto*, a concept or conceit; *metafora*, metaphor or transference; *meraviglia*, wonder and surprise at the marvellous or unexpected (often from a witty metaphor); and *novità*, freshness and novelty, a quality bound up with *meraviglia*.²³

The core elements of Marino's verse can thus be summarised as witty concepts or metaphors, which provoke surprise and wonder at their ingenuity and novelty, whilst nevertheless being grounded in rhetorical tropes and literary convention. Marino's amatory poems also have a tendency to focus on a single feature or action of his mistress, such as her earrings, beauty spot, or

²² Eugenio Donato, 'Tesauro's Poetics: Through the Looking Glass,' *Modern Languages Notes*, 78, (1963), 15-30 (p. 15). For more on Marino, and particularly the nuances around the terms 'Marinism,' 'secentismo,' and 'concettismo' see Mirollo, especially p. 177.

²³ Mirollo, pp. 116-20.

the manner in which she sews or rolls dice. In his poem ‘Mentre la sua donna si pettina’, itself an adaptation from Lope de Vega, Marino describes his mistress combing her hair, in an extended metaphor of a ship sailing:

Onde dorate, e l'onde capelli,
 Navicella d'avorio un di fendea;
 Una man pur d'avorio la reggae
 Per questi errori preziosi e quelli;
 E, mentre i flutti tremolanti e belli
 Con drittissimo solco dividea,
 L'or de le rotte fila Amor cogliea,
 Per formarne catene a' suoi rubella
 Per l'aureo mar, che rincrespando apria
 Il procelloso suo biondo tesoro,
 Agitato il mio core a morte gia.
 Ricco naufragio, in cui sommerso io moro,
 Poich'almen fûr, ne la tempesta mia,
 Di diamante lo scoglio e 'l golfo d'oro!²⁴

(Golden waves – and the waves were tresses – an ivory vessel clove one day; a hand also of ivory piloted it here and there through precious paths; and while it plowed the lovely shimmering billows in the most rigid of furrows, Love gathered in the gold of broken threads to forge chains for his rebels. Through the golden sea, which as it rolled revealed its stormy blond treasure, my agitated heart went to its death. Fortunate shipwreck, in which I die drowned, for at least in my storm the reef was of diamond and the gulf gold!)²⁵

The metaphor which runs throughout the poem is revealed in an aside in the first line – ‘e l'ondi capelli’ (‘and the waves were tresses’) – but the poem still generates *meraviglia* through the sustained and wittily unfolded conceit, the ornamentation of the concept, and the way in which metaphors build on one another, so that in the eighth line Love can gather the broken threads from the waves of hair and forge new chains. When Herbert reworked Marino’s verse in his poem ‘A Vision’ he dispensed with the aside in which Marino identified the central conceit of the poem (that the woman’s hair is like a golden sea), and turned the poem into a kind of riddle, finishing with the lines, ‘Let no Philosopher of Knowledge boast, / Unless that he my Vision can unfold’ (ll. 23-4). However, the accompanying authorial marginal notes to this poem offer a gloss on each new aspect of the central conceit, rendering this challenge obsolete. As Mirollo notes, Marino’s *concetti* are at times ‘momentarily puzzling but in almost every instance either the context or some

²⁴ Giambattista Marino, *Poesie Varie*, ed. by Benedetto Croce (Bari: G. Laterza & figli, 1913), p. 78.

²⁵ Translation taken from Mirollo, p. 124.

familiarity with the lyric tradition quickly yields the image or idea. In any event, it is hardly ever intentionally obscure.²⁶ Herbert's love lyrics, and particularly those inspired by Marino, do not display the obscureness of his earlier satires and elegies, but instead possess the lightness of touch, or *sprezzatura*, of Marino's finely-turned lyrics.

Herbert and Carew were amongst the first to adapt and translate Marino's verse into English, and this must be considered in the context of their employment in ambassadorial service. Between 1615 and 1623 – his period of greatest poetic creativity and success – Marino was not only living in Paris, but was honoured by the court and patronised by Louis XIII. Herbert and Carew, based in Paris and frequenting the court between 1619 and 1624, are likely to have met Marino; indeed, Mirollo argues that English visitors to Paris 'could hardly avoid hearing some word of the brilliant [...] poet.'²⁷ Both Herbert and Carew were influenced by him – imitating, paraphrasing, and translating his work in their own poems – making them strong candidates for introducing Marino's poetry to English literary circles. Wotton, with whom Herbert corresponded during his embassy, recognised the importance of imitating continental customs and transferring them to England.²⁸ As I discussed in the previous chapter, authors like Jonson heavily satirised ridiculous travellers who ape the customs of the countries they visit; in *Volpone* (1606), Jonson based the character of Sir Politic Would-Be on Wotton, who was at the time ambassador to Venice. However, although Jonson good-humouredly caricatured his adoption of Italian habits in *Volpone*, Melanie Ord notes that Wotton's 'self-conscious importation of Italian culture [was] key to his strategies of self-presentation' in furthering his courtly success in England.²⁹

Timothy Raylor has argued that 'we have underestimated – and quite seriously underestimated – the nature and extent of contacts between England and the continent prior to the

²⁶ Mirollo, p. 159.

²⁷ Mirollo, pp. 243-4.

²⁸ In his autobiography, Herbert notes that after taking his leave of Spinola and returning to Court Maurice of Nassau, he met Wotton at Wezel and 'took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army.' In 1619, when Herbert was made ambassador to France and travelled to Paris, he noted that 'from Sir Henry Wotton, his Majesty's ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty gentleman, I received all the news of Italy'. Herbert, *Life*, pp. 72, 112.

²⁹ Melanie Ord, 'Returning from Venice to England: Sir Henry Wotton as Diplomat, Pedagogue, and Italian Connoisseur,' in *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 147-67 (p. 148).

Civil War.³⁰ Alongside Herbert and Carew, their contemporaries Samuel Daniel and William Drummond of Hawthornden were other notable early imitators and translators of Marino's verse, with Daniel's 'A Description of Beauty, translated out of Marino' being posthumously published in 1623, and Drummond's works published between 1616 and 1656 containing some two dozen examples of complete or partial translations of Marino.³¹ James Mirollo argues that of Marino's 'personal relationships with English literati we have very little evidence' but points out that in one of Marino's letters he suggested that a sonnet he had composed for James I be shown to Sir William Alexander, a Scottish courtier and literary collaborator of the king. Mirollo notes that 'if we remember that Alexander was a close friend of Drummond of Hawthornden, a warm admirer of Marino's poetry, we have some notion of how Marino's reputation came to flourish in England.'³²

However, Herbert and Carew must be included in any speculation about the transmission of Marino's verse and reputation to England, not least since their work influenced the later community of poet-translators that centred around Thomas Stanley, and who referred to themselves as the 'Order of the Black Riband.'³³ In 1646 Stanley, who had returned from a four-year European tour following the fall of Oxford to Parliamentarians, established a network of writers and aristocrats to 'preserve pre-war traditions of literary community and aristocratic patronage in post-war London,' although the group's *raison d'être* was translating and imitating continental and classical verse.³⁴ Marino was a popular poet within this group, which produced many translations and adaptations of his verse: for example, there is an extant copy of Marino's

³⁰ Timothy Raylor, 'Exiles, Expatriates and Travellers: Towards a Cultural and Intellectual History of the English Abroad, 1640-1660', in *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and Its Aftermath, 1640-1660*, ed. by Philip Major (London: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 15-43 (p. 31). For more on transnational dynamics in literary activities in England and France, see Peter Auger, 'British Responses to Du Bartas' Semaines, 1584-1641' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2012).

³¹ For more on Drummond of Hawthornden's role in introducing continental poetry to Britain see Joshua Scodel, 'Lyric,' in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2: 1550-1660*, ed. by Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 212-47.

³² Mirollo, p. 244.

³³ For more on the translations of Stanley and his associates, see Mario Praz, 'Stanley, Sherburne and Ayres as Translators and Imitators of Italian, Spanish and French Poets,' *Modern Language Review*, 20, nos. 3 and 4 (1925), pp. 280-94, 419-3 and Nicholas McDowell, 'Reviving the "Cavalier Poets": Coterie Verse and the Form of the Poetic Anthology,' *Literature Compass*, 7 (2010), 946-53.

³⁴ McDowell, 'Herrick and the Order of the Black Riband: Literary Community in Civil-War London and the Publication of *Hesperides* (1648),' in *'Lords of Wine and Oile': Community and Conviviality in the Poetry of Robert Herrick*, ed. by Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 106-26.

Della Lira Del Cavalier which Stanley gave to Edward Sherburne, filled with the latter's annotations and notes for translations.³⁵ In particular, the group produced many poems on the themes of love and beauty which Carew and Herbert were so preoccupied with. James Shirley, another member of the network Stanley established, wrote that Stanley had superseded Carew as 'the Oracle of Love,' arguing: 'Thy number carry height, yet cleer and terse, / And innocent, as becomes the soul of verse.'³⁶ Shirley's poem clearly indicates the influence that Carew's poetry had on Stanley, but the 'innocence' of Stanley's verse is in fact similar to Herbert's poetry, particularly his adaptations of Marino, as I discuss in more detail in my close analysis of Herbert's and Carew's responses to Marino.³⁷

Several other continental writers favoured by the 'Order of the Black Riband', during and after the Civil War, had been known to Herbert some years earlier during his time travelling on the continent and as ambassador. Mirollo has made a strong case for Herbert's knowledge of Lope de Vega, whom Stanley translated in his poem 'The Dream', and Herbert may also have met the *libertin* poet Théophile de Viau, another favourite author of Stanley and Charles Cotton, who were the first translators of Théophile into English.³⁸ Herbert probably met Théophile during his time spent at the estates of the Montmorency family at Chantilly and Merlou. The Montmorencies supported and housed various writers and thinkers, including Théophile, whose most famous poem, *La Maison de Sylvie* was inspired by the grounds at Chantilly. Stanley was the first to translate this poem into English, publishing it as *Sylvia's Park* in 1651, and Théophile's poem influenced Andrew Marvell's *Upon Appleton House*. Théophile also met George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, when he was sent to England in the entourage of the maréchal de Cadenet and a large contingent of French officials in 1621, and composed an ode praising Buckingham's liberality; as

³⁵ Giambattista Marino, *Della Lira Del Cavalier, Parte terza, Divisa in amori, lodi, lagrime, devotioni & caprici* (Venice, 1638). Now held at the BL, 1063.a.22.

³⁶ James Shirley, in Thomas Stanley, *Poems and Translations* (London, 1647), sig. A2^v.

³⁷ For more on Stanley and Sherburne's 'chaste' adaptations and translations of Marino and other continental writers, see Nigel Smith, 'Cross-channel cavaliers,' *The Seventeenth Century*, 32 (2017), 433-53 (p. 449) and Reid Barbour, 'Thomas Stanley,' in *Seventeenth-Century British Nondramatic Poets, Third Series*, ed. by M. Thomas Hester (Detroit, MI: Gale, 1993), p. 261.

³⁸ Mirollo, p. 253. See also, Eduardo del Rio, 'Thomas Stanley's Translations of Spanish Verse', *Explanations in Renaissance Culture*, 25 (1999), 67-86.

Herbert owed his appointment as ambassador to Buckingham, there may be some further connection here.³⁹

Reinforcing the argument that Herbert and Carew were jointly involved in a transmission of Marino's verse to England is evidence which suggests that following their return from Paris their poetry was being circulated and read together. Nigel Smith notes that during Carew's time on the continent his verse began to circulate in England in manuscript much more widely, and that some of it was sent to addresses in England from Paris: examples include his elegy on Lady Peniston, 'sent to my Mistresse out of France', 'To my Mistresse in absence', 'To her in absence: A Ship', and 'Vpon some alterations in my Mistresse, after my departure into France'.⁴⁰ As well as an increase in the circulation of his verse during his time abroad, when Carew joined the literary circle of Ben Jonson, Thomas May and John Selden, it was specifically the continental experience behind him that made him stand out, according to Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.⁴¹

There is manuscript evidence which suggests that Herbert and Carew's verse was being compiled and circulated together when they returned from France, particularly in the context of the Inns of Court, demonstrated in a cluster of manuscripts which are all related to one another in their composition history: British Library Additional MSS 25303 (termed the 'Colchester MS' in Beal's *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*) and 21433, and Harley MS 3910.⁴² Brian Butler has demonstrated the likelihood that these manuscripts were the product of a professional scriptorium, with a 'rolling archetype' from which miscellanies were created, suggesting that both Add. MS 25303 and 21433 were copied from a 'shared exemplar of loose sheets and quires, which could be modified by addition, subtraction, and rearrangement', and that this exemplar could have been Harley 3910 in its unbound state.⁴³ All three of the manuscripts thus contain a high degree of

³⁹ For more on Théophile's influence on Marvell and other English poets see Giulio Pertile, 'Marvell as *libertin*: Upon Appleton House and the Legacy of Théophile de Viau,' *Seventeenth Century*, 28 (2013), 395-417.

⁴⁰ Smith, 'Cross-channel cavaliers,' p. 436.

⁴¹ Edward Hyde, *The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Printing House, 1759), pp. 15-16.

⁴² Beal (ed.), *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, 4 vols (London: Mansell, 1980-93), II.i (1987).

⁴³ Brian C. Butler, 'Manuscript Communities in Seventeenth-Century Verse: Thomas Carew and his Readers', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, 2002), pp. 46-55.

shared material, but I will limit my discussion principally to Add. MS 25303, which contains a considerable number of Carew's poems, and some particularly interesting witnesses of Herbert's poems.

Add. MS 25303, which is principally in the hand of an accomplished professional scribe, consists of 191 leaves, and contains a large number of poems, which seem to have been copied over a number of years. The manuscript compiler appears to have had a strong interest in Carew, with 27 of his poems (and second copies of two poems) collected in the volume, which is probably the earliest sizeable collection of Carew's verse, as well as providing the earliest witness for several poems.⁴⁴ The manuscript also contains two poems by Edward Herbert: his elegy for Prince Henry and his poem on Lady Diana Cecil; although these are two of Herbert's most-circulated poems, the witnesses in Add. MS 25303 require special attention, as they suggest a close association with Herbert's wider family and a literary network associated with Carew. Herbert's elegy for Prince Henry had been printed in the third edition of Josuah Sylvester's collection of elegies for the prince, *Lachrymae Lachrymarum* (1613), but this printing of the poem contained several errors which do not appear in the copy in Add. MS 25303, indicating that the manuscript copy did not derive from print.⁴⁵ The manuscript witness of the poem is also subscribed '9^{ber} 9th 1612', a unique detail across all manuscript and early printed witnesses of the poem, which could indicate the date of the poem's composition (Henry died on 6th November 1612).⁴⁶ The poem on Diana Cecil has 13 manuscript witnesses, but Add. MS 25303 is probably the earliest witness of the poem. Diana Cecil, second daughter of William Cecil, second earl of Exeter, was a celebrated beauty and heiress, about whom several poems were written.⁴⁷ Moore Smith tentatively dates Herbert's poem on Diana Cecil to 1621, with little evidence to support this, although the poem was almost certainly written before 1624, when Diana Cecil married Henry de Vere, eighteenth earl of

⁴⁴ Butler, p. 30.

⁴⁵ Josuah Sylvester, *Lachrymae Lachrymarum* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1613)

⁴⁶ BL, Add. MS 25303, f. 2^v. '9^{ber}' is shorthand for November, the 9th month, according to the Old Style calendar.

⁴⁷ An anagram on her name ('Clad al in Ice') can be found in BL, Add. MS 23229, f. 119^r and the National Archives SP 9/51, f. 19^r.

Oxford.⁴⁸ Beal's *CELM* suggests that Add MS 25303 can be dated to the '1620s-30s', but Butler's work on Carew's communities of manuscript readers indicates that of the manuscript's 171 pieces, all but two come from the 1610s and the 1620s, and that the elegies included in the manuscript all span the years from Carew's entrance into the Middle Temple (1612) to Clarendon's reference to Carew there in 1625, and that, '[t]aken together, they indicate a beginning copy date of approximately 1624'.⁴⁹

Add. MS 25303 and its associated manuscripts have some further features of interest to Carew and Herbert. The manuscripts seem to have been closely associated with the Herbert family: as well as containing the two poems by Edward Herbert, they contain a number of poems by William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, and Add. MS 25303 and Harley 3910 are two of only three manuscript witnesses of George Herbert's 'Paradox: that the sicke are better than the whole'. Mary Hobbs has suggested that 'William Browne is the probable source of the link between the 1620s legal circles and the Herberts in these manuscripts', as Browne was a client of William Herbert's, served the Herberts at Wilton, and his autograph manuscript contains some of the rare elegies which also appear in this cluster of manuscripts.⁵⁰ He was also a member of the Middle Temple from 1611, and Butler has shown how Add. MS 25303 is closely associated with the Inns of Court, noting that,

the manuscript is primarily filled with material associated with the two Temples – especially Middle Temple – and the reputedly more aristocratic Gray's Inn. The scribe seems to show the least interest in Lincoln's Inn, perhaps due to its reputation for Puritanism. Lord Richardson was the only Lincoln's Inn lawyer raised to the bench from 1625 to 1640 [...]; the Colchester [Add. MS 25303] scribe includes a disrespectful mock-elegy on his death. Donne, by far the most famous Lincoln's Inn poet, is almost completely absent, despite his wide scribal popularity during the period generally.⁵¹

What all of this suggests is that Add. MS 25303, which demonstrates a clear interest in Carew's verse, contains especially good witnesses of Herbert's verse, was associated with the Herbert

⁴⁸ Moore Smith, p. 153. Victor Stater, 'Vere, Henry de, eighteenth earl of Oxford (1593-1625)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁹ Butler, p. 42.

⁵⁰ Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992), p. 93. For Browne's connections to the Herberts, see Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Browne, William (1590/91-1645?)', *ODNB*.

⁵¹ Butler, p. 33.

family and the Inns of Court, and was probably begun as Herbert and Carew returned from France. The only witnesses of Carew's poem, 'Vpon some alteration in my Mistresse, after my departure into France', appear in the three related manuscripts I have been discussing: Add. MS 25303 and 21433, and Harley 3910, again suggesting that Herbert and Carew exchanged their verse in Paris and were later circulating it at home in England.

As well as sending poems *from* France, Carew was also being influenced by poems *in* France, adapting a number of Marino's verses. Carew's poems 'To A. L. Perswasions in love' and 'A Looking-Glasse' are adaptations of Marino's 'Bellezza caduca' and 'La donna allo specchio' respectively, whilst his 'Celia singing' is another treatment of the 'cantatrice crudele' theme. Herbert's Marinesque poems include 'A Vision' (based on Marino's sonnet 'posie varie'), 'To a Lady who did sing excellently,' 'Upon Combing her Hair,' the ditty 'Can I then live to draw that breath' (which has a possible connection to Marino's *canzone* 'La Lontananza'), and Herbert's poems on colour.

'I sing her worth and praises hy': Chastity, Microcosm, and Macrocosm

Another of Herbert's Marinesque poems is 'A Description,' which Rossi argues was written in 1619, the same year he suggests Carew's 'The Complement' was written.⁵² Both poems are adaptations of Marino's 'Durante il bagno': Moore Smith was the first critic to notice a similarity between the poems, and Rossi acknowledged that Carew and Herbert's poems may have been written in dialogue with one another.⁵³ Both poems, following Marino, are *blasons* of an unnamed woman, and both follow the same progression of features: face, neck, breasts, belly, thighs, and then 'all this', the total sum of the woman's parts. This similarity of progression is not in itself distinctive, as it is the poet's gaze travelling down his mistress's body (we might think of Donne's elegy 'To his Mistress Going to Bed') and the sequence of features seems logical, rather than particularly unique, and can be found in a myriad of poems in the seventeenth century.

⁵² 'The Complement' is titled 'Love's Complement' in the following manuscript sources: BL, Add. MS 21433, 35303, Harley MS 6057, Leeds Archives WYL156/237, St John's College, Cambridge, MS S. 32 (James 423). Rossi, I, pp. 195-6.

⁵³ Herbert, *Poems*, p. 140. Rossi, I, pp. 195-6.

However, various, more distinctive images and phrases across the two poems suggest that Herbert and Carew influenced one another. The two poems, like so many of Herbert's and Carew's, share the same kind of subtle humour and wordplay, and a propensity for extended metaphorical conceits filled with such rich imagery that the object of their verse is often lost under the weight of their fecund descriptions. In 'A Description' and 'The Complement,' both poems refer to their mistress's head as the earth: 'Thy round head, that globe of wonder' ('The Complement,' l. 28) and 'Her Nose, th' *Æquator* of this Globe' ('A Description,' l. 23).⁵⁴ Both also refer to the 'dew', or sweat, of their mistress's hand: 'I love thee not for that moist palme, / Though the dew thereof be balme' ('The Complement,' ll. 49-50); and

Here take her by the Hand, my Muse,
With that sweet Foe, to make my Truce,
To compact Manna, best compar'd,
Whose dewy inside's not full hard.

('A Description,' ll. 45-8)⁵⁵

The most striking echo between the two poems is in the eighth stanza of Carew's and towards the end of Herbert's:

I doe not love thee for those thighes,
Whose **Alabastor rocks** doe rise
So high and even that they **stand**
Like Sea-makers to some happy **land**.
Happy are those eyes have seene them,
More happy they that sail between them.

('The Complement,' ll. 43-8, my emphasis)

At th'entrance of which hidden Treasure,
Happy making above measure,
Two **Alabastor pillars stand**,
To warn all passage from that **Land**;
At foot whereof engraved is,
The sad *Non Ultra* of Mans Bliss:

('A Description,' ll. 55-60, my emphasis)

⁵⁴ Thomas Carew, *The Poems of Thomas Carew, with his Masque Coelum Britannicum*, ed. by Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957). Subsequent references to this edition will appear parenthetically in the text.

⁵⁵ The image also recalls Donne's 'The Ecstasy': 'Our hands were firmly cemented / With fast balm which thence did spring', *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2008), p. 171. Herbert responded to this poem directly in his 'An Ode upon a Question moved, Whether Love should continue for ever?', as discussed in Chapter 1.

These verbal parallels, and the use of the same metre in both poems, suggests that the poets had seen one another's verses, and these two excerpts are also the strongest evidence that Herbert and Carew were responding to Marino's poem 'Durante il bagno,' in which the central conceit is that of the bathing woman's legs as 'due colonne alabastrine' ('two alabaster pillars'):

Durante Il Bagno

Sovra bas d'argento in conca d'oro
 io vidi due colonne alabastrine
 dentro linfe odorate e cristalline
 franger di perle un candido tesoro.
 – O – dissi – del mio mal posa e ristoro,
 di natura e d'amor mète divine,
 stabilite per ultimo confine
 ne l'oceàn de le dolcezze loro;

fossi Alcide novel, che i miei trofie
 dove mai non giungesse uman desio,
 transpiantandovi in braccio erger vorrei;
 o stringer, qual Sanson, vi potess'io,
 che, col vostro cader, dolce darei
 tomba a la Morte, e morte al dolor mio!

(Woman Washing her Legs

Within a shell of gold on silver base
 two alabaster pillars once I saw,
 breaking a treasure of white pearls ablaze
 on scented waves – a crystal with no flaw,
 O solace of my woes, O resting-place
 (I said) where Love and Nature, by God's law,
 set the last limits of their ended race
 in the deep sea of their own bliss and awe!

Would that I were a new Alcides! You
 in these my arms as trophy I would take,
 and know what no man's longing could achieve.
 Or would that I were Samson! Grabbing you,
 with your delightful fall I thus would give
 a tomb to death and death to all my ache.)⁵⁶

All three poems describe alabaster columns, rocks, or pillars representing a woman's thighs, and Carew compares these rocks to 'Sea-markers to some happy land' (l. 46), recalling Marino's reference to 'l'oceàn de le dolcezze' (l. 8, 'the deep sea of [...] bliss'). Marino's subsequent allusion to Heracles by his patronymic, Alcides ('fossi Alcide novel,' l. 9, 'Would that I were a new Alcides'), is picked up in Herbert's description of his mistress's 'alabastor pillars [...]

⁵⁶ Marino, *Poesie Varie*, ed. by Croce p. 77. Translation taken from Joseph Tusiani, 'Classics Revisited: Giambattista Marino and Gabriello Chiabrera,' *Journal of Italian Translation*, 5 (2010), 149-75 (p. 159).

At the foot whereof engraved is, / The sad *Non Ultra* of Mans Bliss' (ll. 57-60). This is an allusion to the Pillars of Heracles (the promontories that flank the entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar), which, according to tradition, bore the warning '*Ne plus ultra*' or '*Non plus ultra*' ('nothing further beyond') as a caution to sailors to go no further, and Marino similarly describes the '*ristoro / di natura e d'amor mète divine / stabilite per ultimo confine*' ('resting-place / [...] where Love and Nature, by God's law, / Set the last limits of their ended race').

However, these moments of greatest similarity between the three poems also indicate their crucial differences. 'A Description' and 'The Complement' are unlike 'Durante il bagno' in that they describe the full body of woman, the poet's gaze travelling down from head to toe, whereas Marino's sonnet is specific in its admiration for a woman bathing her legs, before turning, in the sestet, to describe his own imagined bliss in her embrace. Here, Marino rapturously imagines taking his lady in his arms, or '*vi potess'io, / che, col Vostro cader, dolce darei / tomba a la Morte, e morte al dolor mio!*' (ll. 12-14 'Grabbing you, / with your delightful fall I thus would give a tomb to death and death to all my ache'), and Carew's poem is similarly propelled toward the observer's *petite mort*. 'The Complement' is shot through with gorgeously sumptuous imagery: for example, the stanza in which he describes his mistress's breasts:

I doe not love thee for those mountaines
Hill'd with snow, whence milky fountaines,
(Suger'd sweete, as sirropt berries)
Must one day run through pipes of cherries;
O how much those breasts doe move me,
Yet for them I doe not love thee:

('The Complement,' ll. 31-6)

The smooth sibilance and playful plosives add to the luscious imagery of syrup, berries, sugar and cherries, with the slight innuendo as the poet suggests he has been 'moved' by his mistress's breasts. The poem as a whole is filled with tumescent imagery of 'pillars' and 'towers,' of rocks 'rising,' before turning to his mistress's legs and 'some happy land' located between them. Carew continues with characteristic carefreeness to describe sailing between his lady's thighs and, essentially, dropping anchor; the poem then mentions a 'moistness' and a 'dewy balm' before declaring: 'in thy embracing armes / Though in them one night to lie, / Dearest I would gladly die.' (ll. 49-50, 53, 58-60). Although the sense of the phrase indicates the speaker's willingness to give

his life for one night with his mistress, it also suggests the desire for a different kind of ‘death’ within his mistress’s arms.

In contrast to the sexual energy of Marino’s and Carew’s poems, Herbert’s poem is coolly chaste. Far from sailing between his lady’s thighs, he is warned away from approaching any further: these pillars bear ‘The sad *Non Ultra* of Mans Bliss’ (l. 60). Rossi has accused Herbert’s poem of *not* reaching the logical conclusion of a list of a lady’s beauty, but this dismissal of the poem limits greater consideration of its argument. Herbert’s poem, although not without eroticism and sensuality, does not have the same degree of sexual tension and relish as Carew’s, and so the conclusion of Carew’s poem (the speaker’s metaphorical orgasm, seen in the references to moisture and death in his lady’s arms) is not the same for Herbert.⁵⁷ Unlike the sailor who can happily glide through the alabaster rocks in Carew’s poem, or the Samson of Marino’s who can bring these columns tumbling down to kill his ache for his mistress, the legs of Herbert’s mistress ‘warn all passage from that land’ (l. 58), and the Latin tag engraved at their base signals that what is beyond is unknown and unknowable.

This is a theme common across Herbert’s love lyrics, in sharp distinction to Marino and Carew’s. Although Carew’s poems often depict his undying devotion to ‘Celia’, which Butler describes as ‘somewhat of a holdover, a part of a new revival of chivalric love’, Smith argues that Carew primarily ‘used verse to find the erotic moment’.⁵⁸ Carew’s poems make use of chivalric and mock-chivalric codes, but they are pre-eminently erotic, and it is the explicit eroticism of poems such as ‘A Rapture’ that Carew is best known for, now and in his own time. Although he attempted to alter this reputation it was used by his critics as a stick with which to beat him: in 1640 (the year of the first edition of Carew’s poems) Edward Dering asserted that, along with works by Ovid, Carew’s poems were ‘lascivious, idle, and unprofitable.’⁵⁹ The brash opening declaration of ‘A Rapture’, ‘I will enjoy thee now my Celia’, gives way to Carew’s sensuous descriptions of caressing his lady’s naked body – ‘there I’le behold / Thy bared snow, and thy

⁵⁷ Rossi, I, p. 195.

⁵⁸ Butler, p. 69; Smith, p. 449.

⁵⁹ Quoted in James E. Ruoff, ‘Thomas Carew’s Early Reputation, *Notes and Queries*, 202 (1957), 61-2 (p. 62).

unbraded gold. / There my enfranchiz'd hand, on every side / Shall o're thy naked polish'd Ivory slide' (ll. 27-30) – and 'sinowie thighes' entwining (ll. 79-80). Carew, as in 'The Complement', employs a nautical simile to describe the actual moment of penetration and (male) orgasm:

Thou like a sea of milke shalt lye display'd,
 Whilst I the smooth, calm Ocean, invade
 With such a tempest, as when Jove of old
 Fell downe on Danae in a storm of gold:
 Yet my tall Pine, shall in the Cyprian straight
 Ride safe at Anchor, and unlade her freight:
 My Rudder, with thy bold hand, like a tryde,
 And skilfull Pilot, thou shalt steere, and guide
 My Bark into Loves channel, where it shall
 Dance, as the bounding waves doe rise or fall

(ll. 81-90)

The comparison of his lady to milk and the employment of military metaphors (his reference to 'invading' his lady) were favourite conceits of Marino, who was reworking Petrarchan motifs. In particular, the superseding of a familiar amatory metaphor (the lady's skin as milk) with an additional metaphor which becomes dominant (her body is an *ocean* of milk), is again an especially Marinesque turn.

Marino's verse often displayed a chivalric deferral of the consummation of love, or instead imagined a consummation which is desired (as in 'Durante il bagno'), but some of his poems did tend toward the kind of explicit eroticism couched in sensuous, dazzling metaphors and conceits that is found in Carew. The poems 'La Postorella', 'Amori notturni', 'Il Duello', and 'Trastulli estivi' all focus on the act of sex, described through extended metaphors. Take, for example, the moment of consummation in 'Trastulli estivi':

A la piaga d'Amor cadde trafitta,
 E, vinta al dolce assalto,
 Di bel purpureo smalto
 Rigò le piume, in un lieta ed afflitta.
 Io, vincitor guerriero,
 De la nemica essangue,
 Quasi in trionfo altero,
 Portai ne l'armi e ne le spoglie il sangue.
 Così l'alato arciero
 L'arsura in me temprò concete e viva
 De la fiamma amorosa e de l'estiva.
 Canzon, lasciar intatta
 de sé partire amata donna e bella

Non ‘cortesia’, ma ‘villania’ s’appella.⁶⁰

(Pierced by the wound of Love she fell, and, conquered by the sweet assault, streaked her plumes with a lovely crimson glaze, at once joyous and grieved. I, victorious warrior, in lofty triumph bore arms and spoils bloodied by the pallid victim. Thus, the winged archer tempered in me the live and searing heat of the amorous flame and summer season. Song, to let one’s beloved and beautiful lady depart untouched should not be called ‘courtesy’ but ‘rudeness’.)⁶¹

The erotic delight taken in the image of a bloodied women is also found in Carew’s poems, such as ‘Celia bleeding, to the Surgeon’, a kind of male fetishizing of female penetration and blood which deliberately, I think, borders on satire in its extreme voluptuousness, but nevertheless strikes the modern reader as particularly toxic, especially the image in Marino of the man as a ‘warrior’ whose triumphant ‘spoils’ are ‘bloodied by the pallid victim’.

The women in Herbert’s verse, in contrast, are seemingly impenetrable, his poems universally chaste and chivalric in tone, seen most clearly in ‘A Description’ when the male gaze is averted from the lady’s ‘hidden Treasure’ and warned against passing further. The male gaze in Herbert’s poem travels elsewhere. ‘A Description’ seems generally less concerned with orgasm and male pleasure, than with its results: the capacity for reproduction, a theme emphasised by the Latin and Greek marginalia included in the poem, which has prompted criticism from Rossi and others. At lines 3 and 7 Herbert includes two marginal notes: the first accompanies the line ‘The little World the Great shall blaze’: ‘μυχρόχοσμος μυχρόχοσμος’ (l. 3 ‘microcosm [and] macrocosm’), while the second marginal note provides the Latin aphorism alluded to when Herbert declares ‘thus you prove the Axiom true’: ‘*Sol et homo generant hominem*,’ a translation from Aristotle’s *Physics*, ‘ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιος’ (‘man and the sun beget man’).⁶² These marginal notes have drawn ire from Herbert’s critics: Rossi finds them ‘pedantic’ and off-putting, and Frank J. Warnke declares that they exhibit ‘Herbert’s characteristic vices of pedantry and obscurity.’ Warnke dismisses the poem as a whole as one of Herbert’s ‘least fortunate,’ and

⁶⁰ Marino, *Marino e i Marinisti*, ed. by Giuseppe G. Ferrero (Milan: Ricciardi, 1954), p. 391.

⁶¹ Translation taken from Mirollo, p. 129.

⁶² Aristotle, *Physics*, 194 b 13. George Herbert plays with the same idea in *Musae Responsoriae*: ‘Sol generat populum luce fouente nouum’ (‘The sun produces a new people by its nurturing light’), ‘Augustissimo Potentissimóque Monarchie Iacobo,’ *The Complete Poetry*, ed. by John Drury and Victoria Moul (Milton Keynes: Penguin Books, 2015), pp. 206-55 (p. 206), l. 2.

claims that his attempt at adapting Marino's poem was utterly unsuccessful.⁶³ Rather, I suggest that these two marginal notes indicate the essence of the poem's depth and central preoccupation.

The themes of macrocosm and microcosm, and reproduction, introduced in the third line of the poem (and confirmed by its marginal note), are developed throughout the poem. The Latin tag from Aristotle reinforces these ideas: Herbert's, '*Sol et homo generant hominem*', before he proceeds to describe his mistress's face and eyes in macrocosmic terms as the sky and sun, also suggests her reproductive powers. Later in the poem there is a curious moment that has been hitherto overlooked:

Her Belly is that Magazine,
To whose keepe Nature did resigne
That pretious Mould, by which alone,
There can be framed such a One:
(ll. 51-54)⁶⁴

The description of his mistress's belly as a 'magazine' – a storehouse or repository – suggests the woman's miraculous childbearing capabilities: nature has given her the ability to 'mould' another unique individual. This thought is completely absent in both Marino and Carew's poem – 'The Complement' makes references to his mistress's belly, 'Sleeke as satten, soft as jelly,' without suggesting the possibility of pregnancy – but is essential to Herbert's. Cause and effect, meanwhile, seem entirely absent from Marino's poetic concern with surfaces. The 'little' and 'greater' worlds of the third line of Herbert's 'A Description' can thus also be read as the small child that is carried in the woman's body.

However, the phrase 'the little World the Great shall blaze' is, as I have noted, curiously slippery and ambiguous, and although it can be interpreted to indicate the reproductive, and divine, capabilities of womankind, it can also be read in a far more specifically homosocial, literary manner. The palindromic opening and ending lines of the poem – 'I Sing her worth and praises hy,

⁶³ Rossi, I, p. 196. Frank Warnke, "'This Metaphysick Lord": A Study of the Poetry of Lord Herbert of Cherbury' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1954), pp. 140-1; Warnke, 'Marino and the English Metaphysicals,' *Studies in the Renaissance*, 2 (1955), 160-75 (p. 166).

⁶⁴ The 1665 printing of Herbert's poems has 'At whose peep' at the beginning of l. 52, which is preserved in Moore Smith's edition of Herbert's poem. However, the manuscript Bod. MS Rawlinson poet. 31, f. 15^r, which is perhaps the best extant witness of the poem reads 'To whose keepe,' which makes more sense, and is therefore the reading given here.

/ Of whom a Poet cannot ly' (ll. 1-2, 69-70) – add to the theme of reproduction and repetition in the poem, but also provide a frame which emphasises the 'I' of the speaker and the role of the poet. The opening lines thus modulate the phrase 'the little World the Great shall blaze,' introducing the possibility that the subject of the phrase, the 'little World,' may in fact be the speaker of the poem, and his ability to describe the entire world in his picture of a woman – the presumptively male speaker seeking to reclaim the agency of creativity, encompassment, and reproduction from womankind. And of course, Herbert's poem is a response to Marino's picture of a woman, and not a literal woman, adding the further potential meaning that Herbert, the 'little world,' shall 'blaze forth' the poetry of Marino – reproducing but also reinventing and appropriating it. The poem becomes simultaneously a description of a beautiful woman, a celebration of female reproductive capabilities, and finally an elimination, or subsuming, of the woman in an assertion of male-male reproduction through poetry.

The theme of microcosm and macrocosm also has relevance to the diplomatic context in which Herbert probably wrote this poem. An ambassador had to become the representative of the state and the sovereign, a travelling microcosm of the macrocosm. Crucially, the ambassador had to become the literal embodiment of the sovereign, standing as proxy for them at state events abroad. '[I]f the ambassador shares certain characteristics with the more familiar figure of the courtier,' Hampton writes, 'he also differs from him in important ways. The courtier dissimulates in order to represent himself effectively at court. The ambassador, by contrast, represents himself *while representing another*'; or, as the influential diplomatic theorist Alberto Gentili remarks, the ambassador is both like and unlike an actor playing the role of a king, 'not merely taking part in a play for a few hours, but [...] actually invested with the personality of his sovereign.'⁶⁵ This embodiment, becoming, in effect, a micro-sovereign to the monarch's macro-sovereignty, was achieved through words and rhetoric: Jean Hotman recorded that Demosthenes said, 'Wee giue them not forces or shippes of warre to manage, but words, daies, houres, and moments'.⁶⁶ The

⁶⁵ Hampton, p. 9. Alberico Gentili, *De legationibus libri tres*, trans. by Gordon J. Laing, 2 volumes (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1924), II, p. 139.

⁶⁶ Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador* (London: V[alentine] S[immes], 1603), sig. F1^r.

ways that theories of embassy can be applied to Herbert's poetry, particularly his Marinesque verse, is the focus of the next part of this chapter.

Metonymy and Embassy: 'proportions new, so well exprest'

In his attempt to offer a corrective to Rossi's view of Herbert as a 'dilettante', Eugene Hill stresses Herbert's role as a diplomat, and argues that this is ultimately the defining feature of all of Herbert's writing.⁶⁷ I would not make such a strong claim for the use of diplomatic theory in Herbert's writing, but Herbert's use of the rhetorical trope of metonymy and his concerns regarding truth and truthful representation (and therefore mimesis) are certainly bound up in contemporary diplomatic theory. Carlo Pasquale's treatise *Legatus* (1598) suggests the close connection between embassy and rhetoric:

Itaque quia legatus non in hoc mittitur vt perturbationes animi cantu componat, non vt prolectet aures inepta mulcedine, ne quidem vt loquentiae tympanis cuiquam obstrepat, sed vt armis eloquentiae domitet animos, meritissimo dicitur orator, vt hac voce subinde admoneatur officii sui.⁶⁸

(Therefore the ambassador is very justly called an orator, not because he is sent to soothe the perturbations of the mind with song, nor to lure the ears with foolish delights, nor even to thunder out against anyone with drum-like speech, but because he is sent to tame minds with the weapons of eloquence; and through this term he is constantly reminded of his duty.)⁶⁹

Craigwood has argued that 'Pasquale's evocation of soothing songs and alluring verbal delights places ambassadorial rhetoric on a continuum with the rhetorical qualities and characteristics of poetry', and has demonstrated that early modern writers were closely attuned to the intersections between literary and diplomatic theory.⁷⁰ Examining Herbert's Marinesque poems through the lens of contemporary diplomatic and literary theory demonstrates the close intertwining of these practices, and also suggests how Herbert's philosophical ideas – which were being developed and printed during his time as ambassador – inform the questions of truth and representation which were at stake in diplomatic and literary theory.

⁶⁷ Eugene Hill, *Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1987).

⁶⁸ Carlo Pasquale, *Legatus* (Rothomagi [Rouen]: Raphael Parvivallius, 1598), p. 5.

⁶⁹ Translation taken from Craigwood, 'The Poetics of Embassy', p. 2.

⁷⁰ Craigwood, 'The Poetics of Embassy', p. 2.

One particularly notable example of the connections between literary and diplomatic theory is the intellectual and personal links between Alberto Gentili and Philip Sidney. Gentili, a talented Italian lawyer, moved to London in 1580, where he met Sidney at court. He later went on to become the leading European expert in the emerging field of international law, and was the most influential diplomatic theorist in England in this period. In 1581 he was incorporated into the University of Oxford as professor of Roman law, and in 1587 he became the Regius professor of law until his death in 1608; Wotton was one of Gentili's earliest students, and Gentili published prolifically during his time in England.⁷¹ Gentili dedicated his 1585 diplomatic treatise *De legationibus libri tres* to Sidney, crediting him with helping to influence the theory of embassy that this treatise describes, while Sidney's literary treatise, *The Defence of Poesy* (c.1582) places poetry under the trope of embassy, opening with an anecdote in a diplomatic setting.⁷² Craigwood has traced the personal connection between Sidney and Gentili, who probably met through the earl of Leicester, Sidney's uncle and Gentili's patron, and notes that the *Defence* was written 'during the period Sidney knew Gentili and was actively seeking diplomatic appointments, yet, disillusioned with his lack of success at court, was also turning to poetry as an alternative occupation.'⁷³ She argues that Gentili's diplomatic treatise and Sidney's literary treatise share a single Platonic model for understanding diplomatic and literary representation, and that in their works literary mimesis and the mimetic art of embassy are analogous.

Herbert, by his own admission, did not expect to be made ambassador, but he was clearly profoundly interested in theories of embassy: he owned five books by Gentili, and developed a

⁷¹ A. J. Loomie, 'Wotton, Sir Henry (1586-1639)', *ODNB*. For more on Gentili see: Thomas E. Holland, 'Alberico Gentili', in *Studies in International Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), pp. 1-39; Gezina van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili and the Development of International Law: His Life, Work and Times* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1937); Artemis Gause, 'Gentili, Alberico (1552-1608)', *ODNB*.

⁷² For more on Gentili's dedication to Sidney see: Craigwood, 'The Poetics of Embassy', especially Chapter 1; Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), p. 271; Jan van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 91. Junctures between literature and diplomacy can also be found in Gentili's work: Christopher Warren has suggested there are poetic concerns in his legal work on war, and in his diplomatic theory Timothy Hampton has suggested that there are dramatic and rhetorical elements: Christopher N. Warren, 'Gentili, the Poets, and the Laws of War', in *The Roman Foundations of the Law of Nations: Alberico Gentili and the Justice of Empire*, ed. by Benedict Kingsbury and Benjamin Straumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 146-62; Hampton, pp. 24-5, 164-65.

⁷³ Craigwood, 'The Poetics of Embassy', p. 39.

friendship with Hugo Grotius, who was deeply influenced by Gentili's magnum opus, *De iure belli libri tres* (1598).⁷⁴ I have already argued above that, following his return from France, Herbert's poems began to circulate more widely, and it can be assumed, therefore, that many early readers of his verse knew of him in the context of his being an ambassador. His poems also display a consistent interest in mimesis and truthful representation, concerns which Craigwood has shown were intimately bound up in diplomatic theory. Herbert's explicit reference to the trope of microcosm and macrocosm in 'A Description' also speaks to theories of embassy, which argued that the ambassador had to become a microcosm of the sovereign, a diplomatic version of the rhetorical trope of metonymy, where a part is named for the whole. The poem is also concerned with the problems of representation, particularly poetic mimesis, demonstrated in the opening and closing lines: 'I Sing her worth and praises hy, / Of whom a Poet cannot ly' (ll. 1-2). These themes of mimesis and metonymy, which speak to diplomatic theory of the early seventeenth century, recur throughout Herbert's verse, and can be linked with his theories of truth and perception in *De Veritate* (completed while he was ambassador in France).

The most striking poetic sequence in which Herbert makes use of metonymy is his sequence on black beauty, beginning with a poem addressed to Diana Cecil, later the wife of Henry de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford.⁷⁵ This poem to Diana Cecil circulated in Add. MS 25303 alongside several of Carew's poems (as I have discussed), and was also included in Herbert's personal collection of his verse, British Library Add. MS 37157, where it forms part of a series of poems on black beauty. Mirollo is hesitant to suggest that Herbert's poems on black hair, black eyes, black beauty, and 'To Black itself' could be influenced by Marino, since the theme has its roots in Petrarchism (both English and Italian), and Mirollo notes that when this theme 'occurs among the Marinists [and Marino's verse], it is usually part of a series of poems in which other

⁷⁴ Four of these were bequeathed to Jesus College, Oxford: G.6.25 (1-3) Gall.; G.6.21 (1) Gall. The fifth book is at the National Library of Wales, MS 5298E. Herbert's bequest to Jesus College is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

⁷⁵ Victor Stater, 'Vere, Henry de, eighteenth earl of Oxford (1593-1625)', *ODNB*.

colours are stressed in turn, for the sake of ingenuity and contrast. Such is not the case in Herbert.⁷⁶

However, whilst this is not the case in the *printed* editions of Herbert's verse, when his poems on black beauty are read in the context of his personal *manuscript* collection of poems (BL Add. MS 37157, ff. 1^r-25^v), they *do* appear to be a part of a series of other colours. The collection contains poems celebrating various colours: green-sickness, or anaemic 'white' beauty, brown beauty, and black beauty, with a series on black beauty giving way to a central run of poems celebrating brown and white beauty, before a final series on black beauty.⁷⁷ When reconsidered as part of an ordered and balanced sequence, Herbert's poems do begin to appear very much like a 'series of poems in which other colours are stressed in turn,' in the Marinist manner. These poems are therefore Marinesque both in their treatment of colour as a source of surface wonder and delight, and also in the way that they focus, in turn, on different parts of the woman's body, directing attention to a single surface feature. The poems that form the sequence on black beauty move from 'To Mrs Diana Cecil', to 'To her Eyes', and 'To her Hair'. Thus, individual physical aspects come to speak metonymically for the beauty of the entire woman.

However, unlike Marino, Herbert's poems do not delight in the sensuous surface detail of the woman being described, as all of these poems collapse into a paean to an abstraction, seen in the way they progress from praising the dark woman, to praising her dark eyes and hair, until the poet addresses his verse to the colour black: 'Sonnet on Black Beauty.' Only the name at the beginning of the sequence offers any indication that it is about a specific individual, and in fact Herbert wrote several poems to various 'Dianas'.⁷⁸ These poems move further and further away from the body of the woman they initially describe until they become focused solely on the colour of black itself. Thus the body parts no longer metonymically represent the overall being of the

⁷⁶ Mirollo, 255.

⁷⁷ Griffin, pp. 48-49. The ordering of Herbert's manuscript collection will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

⁷⁸ In the NLW, amongst Herbert's papers, there is a booklet containing several poems written in Herbert's hand, although at least some are by other authors. One, which may have been written by Herbert, is addressed 'To Dianas earthly Deputesse and my Worthy Sister Mrs. Jane Carye', in which Herbert praises her as the moon, declaring her brother to be the sun. The poem may possibly have been addressed to one of Carew's sisters. NLW, HCMP, E3/3.

Since they that know thee best ascend no higher;
 Only be not with common praises woo'd
 Since admiration were no longer good,
 When men might hope more then they understood.

(ll. 19-24)

Diana Cecil's admirers need not wonder *why* they admire her, but rather, in order to truly admire, they must understand *what* it is they are admiring; '[t]he mystery of Diana's 'rare beauty' [...] is to be made understandable', justifying the following sequence of poems.⁸⁰

Black is the most celebrated colour amongst Herbert's love lyrics, but not the only one: he also wrote a series of poems celebrating 'The Brown Beauty', 'The Green-Sickness Beauty', a 'white'-haired beauty.⁸¹ That his chief interest here lay in the nature of these colours themselves, rather than the women who theoretically inspired them, is further suggested by a draft in Herbert's hand amongst his papers in the National Library of Wales, which appears to be the beginning of a treatise on aesthetics. It begins:

The new Philosophy of Beauty
 Of Beauty
 Beauty consists in Proportions and is defined by number & Proportion of the Parts.

Proportion is 3^{fold}, there is Proportion of {
 Collour
 Figure or signature
 Order

Because Beauty is the most visible part of knowledge, I will beginne at the most visible part of beauty, w^{ch} is Collour [...] In this part of Beauty women excell⁸²

As well as recalling Donne's *Anniversaries* (where Donne observes, 'Beauty, that's colour, and proportion', l. 250), this draft treatise demonstrates the extent to which the female 'subjects' of Herbert's love lyrics are in fact often abstractions of aesthetic principles that he is exploring in his verse, an aesthetics concerned principally with the idea of 'proportion' – a phrase which finds literal expression in the poem 'To Mrs Diana Cecil':

Nor is that symmetry of parts and form divine
 Made of one vulgar line,

⁸⁰ McFarland, p. 219.

⁸¹ For a study of Herbert and Carew's poems on green-sickness, another example of verses that they may have written in response to one another during their time in France, see McFarland, 'The Rhetoric of Medicine: Lord Herbert's and Thomas Carew's Poems of Green-Sickness', *Journal of the Historical and Allied Sciences*, 30 (1975), 250-58.

⁸² NLW, HCMP, E2/6/3. A full transcription of the draft is provided in Rossi, III, Appendix 18, pp. 442-3.

Or such as any know how to define,
 But of proportions new, so well exprest,
 That the perfections in each part contest,
 Are beauties to themselves, and to the rest.

(ll. 13-18)

The poem suggests that any ‘part’ of Diana Cecil, as it were, is perfect in itself, and in its relation to the whole, an idea of perfect form. The poem posits this woman as the perfect representation of a metonymical example of a greater truth. Colour becomes a metonym for beauty, and women become a metonym for colour, as Herbert’s poems on colour suggest – ostensibly praising female beauties, but more broadly treating a spectrum of colours, from pale, white beauty (the poem beginning ‘Innumerable Beauties, thou white haire’, the poems on green-sickness and anaemic pale beauty), to brown beauty (‘The Brown Beauty’), and the many poems Herbert wrote on black beauty.

Herbert’s most vivid female figure who does emerge from these poems, and who appears as the most awesome of all the ‘dark beauties’ that he describes, is the figure of Death, in ‘To his Mistress for her true Picture’. This poem’s insistence on the transience of earthly beauty – ‘Flesh-beauty strikes me not at all, I know, / When thou do’st leave them to the grave, they show / Worse then they now show thee’ (ll. 67-9) – may at first suggest that this will be a *carpe diem* verse, but there is no final turn urging young women to love while they still have time. Instead, the poem’s principle concern is with mimesis, and truthful and accurate representation. This theme appears in an earlier poem of Herbert’s in which he describes Death in a specifically diplomatic metaphor. In the poem ‘Parted Souls’ (beginning ‘I must depart, but like to his last breath’), Herbert describes how:

Sleep, Death’s Ambassador, and best
 Image, doth yours often so show,
 That thereby I must plainly know,
 Death unto us must be a freedom and a rest.

(ll. 21-4)

In the year Herbert composed this poem about ‘Death’s Ambassador’, 1608, he himself stayed at an ambassador’s residence – that of George Carew in Paris. ‘Parted Souls’ proposes that in the case of sleep and death, the original *can* truly be represented by its ambassador: sleep approximates death, and through sleep the speaker of the poem ‘*must* plainly know’ (my emphasis) the qualities

of death ('freedom and a rest'). However, this certainty in the mimetic ability of the ambassador is questioned in Herbert's later poem addressed to Death, where he begs her for 'her true Picture':

Death, my lifes Mistress, and the sovereign Queen
Of all that ever breath'd, though yet unseen,
My heart doth love you best, yet I confess,
Your picture I beheld, which doth express
No such eye-taking beauty, you seem lean,
Unless you'r mended since. Sure he did mean
No honour to you, that did draw you so;
Therefore I think it false: Besides, I know
The picture Nature drew (which sure's the best)
Doth figure you by sleep and sweetest rest

(ll. 1-10)

The opening of the poem makes clear the speaker's distrust in pictures representing something else, although this seems to be resolved when it is the 'picture Nature drew'. Several lines later, however, Herbert asks: 'Can pictures have more life / Then the original?', and concludes the poem by asking Death to 'Grant me your true picture', although by this point it is clear that neither the painter's art nor nature's picture is considered a truthful representation of 'my lifes Mistress, and the sovereign Queen / Of all that ever breath'd' (ll. 1-2). This concern with mimesis, particularly of a sovereign, suggests the relevance of diplomatic theories to Herbert's verse.

As Craigwood argues, 'such junctures of literature and diplomacy raise conceptual questions about representation', and these conceptual questions, like Herbert's verse, tend towards the abstract and the metaphysical. In particular, Craigwood identifies an inherent problem in such cases of representation is the 'tendency to re-author and replace [the] original'.⁸³ In the first part of this chapter I suggested that Herbert's imitation of Marino tended towards a re-authoring of his verse, 'blazing' Marino's poems forth in manner which publicised them in England, but also appropriating them and reconfiguring them. Early modern diplomatic theorists considered similar potential in the role of ambassadors, who metonymically, mimetically ought to represent their sovereign, but might instead misrepresent or appropriate the role.

This idea of *true* ambassadorial representation of the sovereign was a theorised ideal, particularly in Gentili's *De legationibus*, where he engaged in the critical dialogue surrounding the

⁸³ Craigwood, 'The Poetics of Embassy', p. 19.

‘perfect ambassador’, begun with Torquato Tasso’s *Il Messaggero*, written in the early 1580s. *Il Messaggero* depicts the author in conversation with an angel, discussing, amongst other things, the political and ethical responsibilities of the ambassador, in particular the ambassador’s control over his instructions and the manner in which the ambassador should convey messages. The angel invokes the Homeric messengers who delivered the exact words they were instructed to convey, but modulates this by suggesting that in some circumstances the ambassador may alter or modify the message, as long as the essence remains the same. Gentili criticised this practice, alluding specifically to Tasso, and insisted on the importance of direct repetition.⁸⁴

Gentili relates the ambassador’s perfect representation of the sovereign to Plato’s work on mimesis, and attempts to reconcile the role of the ambassador with Plato’s argument in the *Republic* that the mimetic arts may be counted as true arts only when they represent ‘sovereign truths’. These sovereign truths are the true conceptual forms of things created by the divine – the first of the tripartite schema that the *Republic* describes – whose truth is imperfectly expressed by individual things. These individual things are then imitatively copied by the mimetic arts, which, Plato suggests, are too distant from the sovereign forms to retain any truth. Herbert describes this familiar Platonic schema in his poem ‘The Idea’, which opens: ‘All Beauties vulgar eyes on earth do see, / At best but some imperfect Copies be, / Of those the Heavens did at first decree’ (ll. 1-3).⁸⁵ The addressee of the poem is an ‘imperfect copy’ of the perfect ‘idea’ which created them; they will eventually discard their ‘outward clay’ and ascend: ‘Thus from above I doubt not to be behold / Your second self renew’d in your own mold, / And rising thence fairer then can be told’ (ll. 73-5). The perfect ‘idea’, Herbert here suggests, cannot be ‘told’ or imitated, and the same thought is present in the poem’s concluding lines: ‘If the picture can / Here entertain a loving absent man, / Much more th’Idea where you first began.’ (ll. 91-3).

⁸⁴ For more on Gentili and his response to Tasso, see: Diego Pirillo, ‘Tasso at the French Embassy: Epic, Diplomacy, and the Law of Nations’, in *Authority and Diplomacy from Dante to Shakespeare*, ed. by Jason E. Powell and William T. Rossiter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 135-44; Hampton, pp. 52-4. For more on Gentili’s idea of the perfect ambassador see Ursula Vollerthun and James L. Richardson (eds), *The Idea of International Society: Erasmus, Vitoria, Gentili and Grotius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 106-44.

⁸⁵ The poem takes as its central focus Plato’s doctrine of ‘ideas’ as described in the *Parmenides*.

Herbert's epistemology, outlined in *De Veritate*, makes an attempt to reconcile this disjuncture between the perfect 'idea' and the mimetic approximation of it. *De Veritate* offers a kind of taxonomy of different kinds of truth, proposing a quadripartite schema: *veritas rei*, which is the equivalent of the Platonic 'idea', an invariable, sovereign truth; *veritas apperentiae*, the truth of appearance, which is 'highly conditional' because it comprises the variant modes through which objects present themselves; *veritas conceptus*, the truth of concept, which is the subjective perception and also the function of the sensory organs; and finally, the *veritas intellectus*, the truth of intellect.⁸⁶ This final kind of truth, like *veritas rei*, is absolute and exists without error; it reconstitutes *veritas rei* through deciphering the *veritas apperentiae* and *veritas conceptus*. These intermediary truths, bookended by the inviolable *veritas rei* and *veritas intellectus*, are where errors (or lies) can be introduced, either as something appears to be other than it is, or as the perceptions of the senses are deceived or mistaken.

Thus, Gavin Herbertson argues, the *veritas apperentiae* that the ambassador cultivates must be disingenuous, as they are trying to approximate the *veritas rei* of the sovereign, rather than their own truth, but this can nevertheless have an ethical and epistemological truth, as the *veritas intellectus* can decipher this representative truth to approach the *veritas rei* of the sovereign.⁸⁷ Herbert's epistemology, Herbertson suggests, helps to reconcile the tension between Gentili's 'perfect' (and therefore theoretical) ambassador, and the position of Jean Hotman (another diplomat acquainted with Sidney), who argued of ambassadors that 'there is not almost any public charge, wherein there is more lying, and sometimes by the Masters commaundment, and for the good of his service', a statement echoed by Wotton's remark about ambassadors being honest men 'sent to lie abroad.'⁸⁸ Herbert's epistemology suggests that a good ambassador, by way of deception, can best approximate the absolute truth. Whilst this attempts to reconcile the tension between the ambassador's metonymic representation of sovereignty and honesty, when applied to

⁸⁶ Herbert, *De Veritate*, trans. by Meyrick H. Carré (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1937), p. 84.

⁸⁷ Gavin Herbertson, "'Death's Embassadour": Herbert of Cherbury in his Diplomatic Contexts', *Porridge* (6 May 2017) < <https://porridgemagazine.com/> > [accessed 15 February 2019].

⁸⁸ Hotman, sig. E6^r and Walton, 'The Life of Sir Henry Wotton', f. c1^v.

reconciles the *veritas rei* and *veritas intellectus* through a congruence between *veritas apperantiae* and *veritas conceptus* – Adam’s mind was able to perceive and name all creatures on earth, whilst now Herbert asks how a mind ‘canst appear / In words?’. The mind, which here metonymically stands for the divine ‘Idea’ is similarly impossible to express.

Herbert’s epistemology in *De Veritate* theorised a way in which the perfect ambassador could be realised, and could, with personal integrity, stand absolutely metonymically for the sovereign. However, the reality of such perfect, mimetic representation of the *veritas rei* in his poetry dissolves into the inexpressible. In Herbert’s verse the microcosm cannot completely, mimetically represent the macrocosm. Nevertheless, Herbert’s philosophy, ambassadorial pursuits, and poetry all display his keen engagement with the question of truthful representation. The first part of this chapter, which explored Herbert’s imitations of Marino’s verse, used as a starting point the potential, contradictory readings of the phrase ‘the Little world the Great shall blaze’ in Herbert’s poem ‘The Complement’. The verb ‘blaze’, I argued, carried the potential meanings of elucidating or consuming, and in its ambiguity points to the potential discontinuity between a part (the ‘Little world’, or microcosm) and the whole (‘the Great’, or macrocosm). The same ambiguity of phrase, and discontinuity between part and whole is expressed in Herbert’s poem for Diana Cecil, when Herbert describes her ‘symmetry of parts and form divine’ being constituted of ‘proportions new, so well exprest, / That the perfections in each part contest, / Are beauties to themselves, and to the rest’ (ll. 13, 16-18). It seems the perfect example of the ideal form – the perfect representation of a greater truth, as ‘each part’ has integrity to itself, ‘and to the rest’. But the sense of the phrase depends on ‘contest’, another ambiguous verb (like ‘strive’, discussed earlier in relation to Carew and Herbert’s elegies for Donne) which represents both discord (striving, contending) and ideal representation, in the now obsolete sense of bearing witness to something.⁸⁹ Herbert seems particularly drawn in his verse to these verbs which signal both unity and tension. The rhyming of ‘exprest’ with ‘contest’ highlights the epistemological paradox at the

⁸⁹ *OED*, ‘contest’, v. 2 and 4.

heart of such ambiguous terms: in their very ambiguity they represent the inexpressible, as their ambiguity cannot be articulated.

This chapter has explored the junctures between literature and embassy in Herbert's works, both literal and more theoretical. Herbert's adaptations and translations of Marino were a literal intersection of poetry and embassy, in the form of poetry that Herbert encountered and imitated when he was abroad. Carew's and Herbert's responses to Marino demonstrate that the embassy itself can be considered an institution of poetic production and circulation, an important physical (as well as theoretical) space for considering the confluences of embassy and literature. Similarly, considering Herbert's adaptations of Marino and asserting that he and Carew were conduits for Marino's verse in England, suggests that such works of poetic *imitatio* can be considered as a form of ambassadorial message, gathering information from abroad to transport home. This also links to the more theoretical convergence of embassy and poetry, as the ambassadorial art of representation (of the sovereign and of more specific messages) overlaps with literary theories of mimesis and truth. Here, Herbert's epistemology and theories of truth demonstrate the essential difference between ambassadorial mimesis and literary mimesis: where embassy combines both words and action, poetry is reliant on words alone, and in Herbert's verse this language repeatedly dissolves into abstraction and the unknowable. Jonson's epigram for Herbert, discussed in the Introduction, can also be read through this lens, again suggestive of the breakdown of metonymy, as the part cannot represent the whole in verse: 'If men get name for some one virtue, then / What man art thou, that art so many men'. Herbert cannot be represented in his entirety by any one of his constituent parts – no single virtue that can stand metonymically for Herbert. Methodologically, this chapter has also argued that the same is true for the study of Herbert now – his thought cannot be singly represented by considering only his philosophical works, or his poetry, or his actions as an ambassador. Instead, his constituent parts *must* be taken together to see how his theories and practices from various disciplines overlap and inform one another.

Chapter 4

‘Who ist that of my words repeats the first and last?’: The Echoing Households of the Sidney-Herberts

The Sidney-Herberts were a supremely literary family, in which literature and family were often inextricably bound together; as Gavin Alexander has noted, within this household ‘poetic and genetic lineage are both foregrounded and at times indistinguishable.’¹ This chapter argues that in the Sidney-Herbert household poetic lineage is often articulated through echoes, with family members staking a claim to their literary inheritance through deliberate and discernible references to the work of other family members, transforming the household into an echo chamber in which poems, lives, phrases, and the mythological character of Echo herself reverberate across literary works. The term ‘echo-chamber’ serves as a fitting description of not just individual poems, but also of collections of verse, physical houses, and the more abstract concept of a household itself.

The Sidney-Herbert household, full of echoes, is attentive to the contradictions implicit in the figure or device of echo, which is simultaneously silent and speaking, secular and divine, powerless and almighty, representative of death and immortality, origin and response. Moreover, aetiologically, ‘echo’ is figured as female, in clear distinction from the ‘manly’ art of *imitatio* that I have been discussing in the previous three chapters of this study, and so the term feels a fitting linguistic framework through which to discuss the Sidney-Herberts, a household filled with brilliant literary women who decisively articulated their claims to a literary role and inheritance through echoes. Amidst a culture of aristocratic literary families, the Sidney-Herberts were unique in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century for the predominance of prominent literary women, figures like Mary Wroth (née Sidney) and Magdalen Herbert, who were important writers and patrons. This chapter is about echoes in households that were presided over by such matriarchs, and explores how ‘echoes’ – a female-gendered form of imitation – are not reductive or imperfect

¹ Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p 148.

repetitions, but rather responses which reveal power and agency, actively reinterpreting and changing what is being echoed.

In a draft of his sacred echo poem, ‘Echo in a Church’, Herbert’s speaker asks, ‘Who ist that of my words repeats the first and last?’² The broader implications of an ‘echo’ that can anticipate, as well as simply repeat, someone’s words poses a series of interesting questions, and the phrase provides both a fitting and useful starting, as well as ending, point for this chapter on echoes within the social-textual world of the Sidney-Herbert households. What is an echo? There is the literal understanding of the term – a ‘repetition of sound produced by the reflexion of the sound-waves due to their incidence on something denser than the aerial medium in which they are propagated’.³ There is also the metaphorical, allusive meaning of echoes, relating to conscious or unconscious references to another(’s) work in a text. There is finally the mythological understanding of the character of Echo, who appears in various forms and narratives, but is best known from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*: a nymph who ultimately suffers from her various encounters with male characters, and who inhabits a specifically pastoral landscape. What is distinct about an echo? It is clearly not always simply synonymous with ‘reference’ or ‘allusion’, although I will employ these terms to describe aspects or examples of the echoic function, and I draw on Christopher Ricks’s discussion of allusion as a form of reference which ‘is also more than a source, being not only of the making of the poem but of its meaning’.⁴ Making and meaning are indispensable qualities of allusion, of which echo is yet another refinement.

Within all versions of the Echo myth, what distinguishes the echo is that it is an imperfect, incomplete repetition. These words are misleadingly pejorative, but what I mean to indicate is that the echo is not a verbatim repetition; it is curtailed, and necessarily is often selective. Often the element of discourse that is echoed and repeated acquires a new, distinct meaning and intention from the original utterance. An example in Ovid can be seen when Narcissus mistakes Echo’s voice for that of the friends he is trying to locate:

Perstat et alternae deceptus imagine vocis

² London, The National Archives, PRO 30/53/9/10, f. 2^r.

³ *OED*, ‘echo’, *n*.

⁴ Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 4.

‘huc coeamus’ ait, nullique libentius umquam
Responsura sono ‘coeamus’ rettulit Echo

(He stands still, deceived by the answering voice, and ‘Here let us meet’, he cries.
Echo, never to answer other sound more gladly, cries: ‘Let us meet’)⁵

Here, Ovid plays with the double meaning of the Latin *coetus* – ‘to meet’ and also ‘to copulate’, and so the lost Narcissus requests a meeting, whilst Echo enthusiastically agrees to having sex. A better translation, which conveys this, is given by David Raeburn: Narcissus cries out ‘This way! We must come together!’, to which Echo ‘rapturously’ responds ‘We must come together!’⁶ As Gina Bloom notes, when Echo repeats back ‘coeamus’, she capitalises on its sexual connotations, and so changes the meaning of the word, allowing ‘her to express interest in erotic conversation with Narcissus but also suggest[ing] that this meaning was embedded in Narcissus’s call.’⁷ Crucially, such a repetition has become both less and more than mere repetition – less because it is a briefer, truncated version of the original, and more because it contributes to and modulates meaning, retrospectively altering the ‘original’. Rather than a simple repetition, then, an echo is a form of response, repetition, or recall (literally, re-calling) which crucially forms a *dialogue* with the original speaker. Echoes can even go beyond this, paradoxically changing the original for a reader or listener, indicating the power and agency of a pattern of imitation that has often been read as passive.

‘it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my ancestors’: Poetic and Genetic Lineages

Philip Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella* opens with a metaphor about the speaker’s discursive fertility, as Astrophil describes himself as: ‘great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes’.⁸ Here, literary creativity and procreativity become inextricably linked. The association of pregnancy and literary generativity is hardly unique; the polysemous nature of the word ‘conceive’ (and the related ‘concept’ and ‘conceit’, used interchangeably in the period) is a good example of this

⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses, Volume I: Books 1-8*, trans. by Frank Justus Miller, rev. by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 42. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916), III, ll. 385-87.

⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by David Raeburn (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 111.

⁷ Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 164.

⁸ Philip Sidney, *The Major Works*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

connection as its two main meanings are: ‘to conceive seed or offspring’ and ‘to take into, or form in, the mind’. However, when read in the context of family and household literary activities, it becomes a particularly rich and sometimes fraught metaphor, especially for men.⁹ Katharine Eisman Maus has suggested that men appropriate images of pregnancy and labour due to an envy of women’s ability to give birth, and more profoundly because of a desire to appropriate some of the mysteriousness of femininity, and Elizabeth D. Harvey and Tom MacFaul have both argued that male images of birth and paternity often display profound anxieties about writing, paternity, and manhood.¹⁰

As the previous two chapters have demonstrated, Herbert’s own verse employs images of pregnancy and birth to articulate both anxieties (in his satire to Jonson) and ideas about authority (in his adaptation of Marino). Herbert literalised the metaphor of birth and writing in his poem congratulating his distant cousin Mary Wroth on the birth of her children, fathered by William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, a mutual cousin of both Wroth and Herbert. The poem is entitled ‘A merry Rime sent to the Lady Wroth upon the Birth of my L. of Pembroke’s Child, born in the Spring’:

Madam, though I am one of those
That every Spring use to compose,
That is, add feet unto round Prose:
Yet you a further art disclose,
And can, as every body knows,
Add to those feet fine dainty toes,
Satyrs add nails, but they are shrews,
My Muse therefore no further goes,
But for her feet craves shooes and hose.
Let a fair season add a Rose,
While thus attired wee’l oppose
The tragick buskins of our foes.
And herewith, Madam, I will close,
And ’tis no matter how it shews,
All I care is, if the child grows.

(ll. 1-15)

⁹ *OED*, ‘conceive’, v. I and II.

¹⁰ Katharine Eisman Maus, *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 185-90; Elizabeth D. Harvey, *Ventriloquised Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (London: Routledge, 1991), especially Chapter 3; Tom MacFaul, *Poetry and Paternity in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Herbert's suggestion that he is 'one of those / That every Spring use to compose' reinforces the amalgamation of birth and writing, not least because the title indicates that the poem was written in the spring for the birth of Wroth's children, and the play on 'feet' merges literary – and specifically poetic – production with childbirth. The conceit of 'feet' relating both to a unit of prosody, and the feet of a new-born is continued throughout the poem: Herbert first asserts that he is one who 'add[s] feet unto round prose', writing poetry, but that Wroth goes a step further and can 'add to those feet fine dainty toes'. Herbert then shifts the metaphor back to poetry when he writes that 'Satyrs add nails' to such feet, suggesting both satirical verses (with perhaps a nod to Wroth's satirical turn in her prose romance *Urania*) and the mythological satyrs (which in the seventeenth century were erroneously believed to be the etymological root of the literary genre), which according to Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* had sharp fingernails ('ὀνύχεςσι').¹¹

Herbert then appears to shift the conceit away from the literary and back to the literal: 'My Muse therefore no further goes, / But for her feet craves shoes and hose', moving away from the 'feet' of the poem and the child to the apparel that the child's feet will require. However, despite suggesting a departure from the poetic and a move to the more literal domestic world – 'My Muse therefore no further goes' – Herbert simultaneously continues the conceit, and pays Wroth the compliment of indicating that, although Herbert's own inspiration cannot go any further, he requires further refinements for his 'feet', or verse, and Wroth may provide them. The metaphor moves firmly back to the realm of the literary when, having suggested the addition of shoes, hose (a long stocking) and a 'rose' (a decoration, rather like a rosette, worn on the front of the shoe), 'thus attired wee'l oppose / The tragick buskin of our foes'.¹² A 'buskin' was 'a type of boot worn especially by actors of Athenian tragedy in ancient Greece, typically consisting of a laced upper section and a thick sole intended to increase the wearer's height', and thus contrasts the satyr's 'nails', as a satyr-play was a direct parody of tragedy.¹³ Thus, Herbert's seemingly simple conceit

¹¹ Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 38.6.

¹² *OED*, 'rose', n.1, 14.a.

¹³ *OED* 'buskin', n.1, 2.a.

is extended beyond the ‘feet’ of poetry and the ‘feet’ of little children, to include the accoutrements of hosiery for decorating feet and verse, which then stands metonymically for the world of theatre.

Although occasional verse on births was customary, Herbert’s poem to his cousin joins birth and writing in a way that resonates throughout Herbert’s corpus, but also the household of the Sidney-Herberts. In particular, this poem is concerned with ideas about reproduction and fertility, and with that the importance of inheritance and legacy within families and literature, and reflects the insistent intertwining of literary fiction and family narrative within the Sidney-Herbert family. This poem is in fact some of the best evidence we have about the birth of Wroth and Pembroke’s illegitimate children, along with a letter from John Chamberlain in August 1624 informing Dudley Carleton of the ‘whispering of a Lady’ who had just given birth, despite being a widow for some time, and who is ‘learned and in print’.¹⁴ It was, of course, Wroth’s *Urania* which was ‘in print’ by 1624, and caused something of a scandal as Wroth drew heavily on contemporary politics and society, with several of the storylines clearly based on court life and Wroth’s own family, and which Herbert may be alluding to in his reference to ‘satyrs’. Herbert’s poem, with its indirect references to prose and theatre acts as an intertextual crossroads pointing to the other texts with which my chapter is concerned: Wroth’s *Urania*, her play *Love’s Victory*, and Edward Herbert’s unfinished drama *The Amazon*, as well as poetry by Wroth, Pembroke, Herbert, and Edward’s brother George.

Herbert’s poem’s gallant suggestion that Wroth can refine and improve his own verse, also touches on the way that echoes are carried back and forth between writers’ work, with the effect of creating an ongoing dialogue which constitutes a family narrative. Within the Sidney-Herbert household literary texts often spell out fictionalised accounts of real family drama, and the echoes between texts bounce back along the corridors of households to inform and reform one another. For example, and returning to the image of pregnant creativity, it is significant that Mary Herbert, countess of Pembroke, completed Sidney’s translation of the psalms with what Naomi Miller describes as ‘an attention to the connections of pregnant mother and child that achieves a

¹⁴ John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. by Norman Egbert McClue, 2 vols (Philadelphia, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), II, p. 575.

distinctive maternal stamp quite different from the imagery adopted in the King James Bible of 1611.¹⁵ Similarly, when Wroth wrote her sonnet sequence *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, she linked disappointment in love to miscarriage, and later used metaphors of pregnancy and childbirth to attack the falsehood of male sonneteers, who use the name of love to disguise their love in order to ‘beget / This childe for love, who ought like monster borne / Bee from the court of Love, and reason torne’.¹⁶ As Miller notes, Wroth’s imagery here is a ‘dramatic reconfiguration of the obstetrical terms of Philip Sidney’s opening sonnet’, and also an echo of her aunt’s reworking of pregnancy images in hers and Sidney’s translations.¹⁷ Of course, the echo of Sidney’s opening image is made even clearer by the fact that Wroth’s *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* is based on Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella*: both are pastoral narratives informed by the author’s own unhappy love affair (Sidney’s with Penelope Devereux, and Wroth’s with her cousin Pembroke). *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* was also first published within Wroth’s *Urania*, or to give it its full name, *The Countess of Montgomery’s Urania*, which is also clearly based on Sidney’s *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia*. The countess of Pembroke was Mary Sidney, who became the third wife of Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke, and the countess of Montgomery was Susan Vere, who was married to Philip Herbert, first earl of Montgomery, and therefore Wroth’s cousin by marriage. This brief account demonstrates just how closely literary and familial ties ran within the Sidney-Herbert family.

The two families were closely linked since the mid-sixteenth century, consolidating the alliance in 1577 when Henry Sidney, second earl of Pembroke, son of William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke, married Sir Henry Sidney’s daughter, Mary. The Sidneys and the Herberts remained close until the 1650s, and their well-established links often revolved around meetings – convivial, literary, political – at the Herbert residences of Baynard’s Castle in London and Wilton House near

¹⁵ Naomi J. Miller, ‘Allegiance and Alliance: Maternal Genealogies in the Works of Mary Wroth’, in *Family Politics in Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Hannah Crawforth and Sarah Lewis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 117-133 (p. 122).

¹⁶ Mary Wroth, *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. by Josephine A. Roberts (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983).

¹⁷ Miller, p. 122.

Salisbury, and the Sidneys' at Penshurst.¹⁸ These are two interrelated families whose relationships were bound up with the houses and households they so often shared; Michael Brennan has observed that throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James 'the Sidneys and the Herberts continued to regard themselves as an extended family and political unit.'¹⁹ Discussion of the Sidney-Herberts has generally considered the two generations of the hugely influential Sidneys and the Herberts of Pembroke and Montgomery; the first generation included the trio of sibling writers, Philip Sidney, his brother Robert, and their sister Mary, who married Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke, himself an important antiquarian and patron. The second generation included Henry and Mary's children, William and Philip, both influential literary patrons (and occasional poets), and Robert Sidney's daughter Mary, a poet and writer, who married Robert Wroth (the recipient of Jonson's 'To Sir Robert Wroth' in *The Forest*) and had an ongoing relationship with her cousin William. And, of course, the extended Herbert family also included the literary children of Magdalen and Richard Herbert: Edward, Henry, and George, who were distant cousins to the earls of Pembroke through their great-great grandfather, Richard Herbert of Coldbrook, who was great-great uncle to William and Philip Herbert (see Appendix 2 for the family tree showing the connections between the two families).

'Household' is a better term than 'family' for discussing the Sidney-Herberts, a group related by ties of 'kinship', who formed an extended collection of writers and relations. Hannah Crawforth and Sarah Lewis's *Family Politics in Early Modern Literature* has shown the importance of 'broaden[ing] our sense of the early modern 'family' from a relatively small, nuclear, unit of people who bear a close genetic relationship to one another to something much larger and more fluid, defined by social bonds as much as biological ones'.²⁰ The term 'kinship' is

¹⁸ For more of the connections of the Sidney and Herbert families see Michael G. Brennan, 'Family Networks: The Sidneys, Dudleys, and Herberts', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to The Sidneys, 1500-1700*, ed. by Margaret Hannay, Michael Brennan, and Mary Ellen Lamb, 2 vols (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), I, pp. 3-19.

¹⁹ Brennan, 'Family Networks', p. 13.

²⁰ Hannah Crawforth and Sarah Lewis, 'Introduction', in *Family Politics in Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Hannah Crawforth and Sarah Lewis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 1-15 (p. 2). For one of the most seminal studies of early modern families see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1977). For more recent work which broadens the sense of family in the early modern period see Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996) and R.C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester

interestingly employed in several of the chapters of this book, and Crawford and Lewis note its aptness as a term that is etymologically linked to ‘kind’, therefore ‘encompass[ing] a sense of emotional allegiance as well as biological proximity, implying a generosity of spirit, as well as a familial or societal connection.’²¹ This applies particularly well to the Sidney-Herberts, who acquired a reputation as munificent patrons, from the time of Philip Sidney and his sister Mary Sidney, countess of Pembroke. Alexander has noted that, although for a time Lucy Russell, countess of Bedford was seen as successor to the countess of Pembroke (Gervase Markham entered his next-generation continuation of Sidney’s *Arcadia* into the Stationers’ Register as ‘the *Countesse of BEDFORDES Arcadia / begynnyng where the Countesse of PEMBROOKES ends*’), there were others who could fill the shoes of Philip and Mary Sidney from among those Josuah Sylvester addressed as ‘all the Noble SIDNEYS and SEMI-SIDNEYS’.²² Most notable are Mary Sidney’s sons, William and Philip Herbert, the third and fourth earls of Pembroke respectively, their cousin Mary Wroth, and Magdalen Herbert. Alexander comments that, ‘[b]etween them, the Sidneys and Herberts of the 1600s more than matched in range and imagination the support of artists, musicians, and writers that had been offered by Philip Sidney and his sister in the 1570s, 80s, and 90s.’²³ There are numerous poems which emphasise the literary lineage and inheritance of Wroth and Pembroke, and Jonson depicted the Sidney-Herberts as ‘an ideal community of patron-friends’ in his *Epigrams*, where a significant cluster of poems are addressed to Pembroke, Wroth, and Edward Herbert.

Jonson’s *The Forest*, which in the 1616 folio of Jonson’s work follows directly on from *Epigrams*, was dedicated to Pembroke, and opens with the famous poem ‘To Penshurst’, celebrating the family seat of the Sidneys. The physical spaces for patronage that the Sidney-Herberts cultivated are reflected not just in this poem, but also in a letter from Donne, where he declared that he ‘made up my Tusculan’ in the Chelsea house of Magdalen Herbert. Donne, who

University Press, 2010), and Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavnech Klos (eds), *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World: Sisters, Brothers, and Others* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

²¹ Crawford and Lewis, p. 3.

²² *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.*, ed. by Edward Arber, 5 vols (London: privately printed, 1875-94), III, p. 133. Alexander, p. 141.

²³ Alexander, p. 141.

was closely involved in the literary efforts of the Sidney-Herbert family in various capacities, is alluding to the Tusculan retreats of Cicero and Maecenas, and John Aubrey, who also wrote biographies of George and Edward Herbert, declared William Herbert to be ‘the greatest Maecenas to learned men of any peer of his time or since’.²⁴

Donne’s reference to his ‘Tusculan’ also suggests another useful term for thinking about the large and complex unit that is the Sidney-Herberts, and which is discussed by Crawford and Lewis: household. This term moves away from the more narrow idea of ‘family’ – Crawford and Lewis note how it encompasses the idea of families as ‘organisations comprising favourites, wards, guardians, serving staff, apprentices and even pets and other domestic animals, alongside primary family members’ – and it is also helpfully suggestive of physical space.²⁵ In a chapter concerned with echoes, the physical space which facilitates intriguing reverberations is particularly important. It was not simply through blood and marriage that the Sidney-Herberts were united, but through the shared household and personal spaces that they so often occupied. Baynard’s Castle, Wilton, and Penshurst have already been mentioned, but Montgomery Castle – owned by Edward Herbert and, briefly, by Philip Herbert, later fourth earl of Pembroke – Woodford, Loughton Hall, and Ribbesford can also be included as sites where the families came together.

Not only a unit of residence, the household in its broad sense is also a unit of authority and of literary production – and few households were as literarily productive as those of the Sidney-Herberts. Combining ideas of ‘kinship’ (and generosity of spirit) and ‘households’, the physical houses of members of the Sidney-Herberts family were often important sites of patronage, as Donne’s reference to his ‘Tusculan’ suggests. Penshurst, celebrated in Jonson’s poem, was an important site of literary patronage and production. Simon Jackson has also shown the importance of Wilton House to the poetic and musical activities of George Herbert and the role of Pembroke as

²⁴ Alfred Kempe, *The Loseley Manuscripts, and Other Rare Documents* (London: John Murray, 1836), p. 317. John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: with An Apparatus for the Lives of Our English Mathematical Writers*, ed. by Kate Bennett, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), I, p. 251. For more on Pembroke as a patron see Michael G. Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (London: Routledge, 1988) and on the musical aspect of the Sidneys see Gavin Alexander, ‘The Musical Sidneys’, *John Donne Journal*, 25 (2006), 65-105.

²⁵ Crawford and Lewis, pp. 2-3.

a patron and poet, emphasising the importance of the house as a space with a strong musical characteristic, where family members produced literature with features of dialogue, repartee, and exchange.²⁶ Magdalen Herbert's homes at Charing Cross and later Chelsea were also important sites of patronage; her household book (more commonly known as 'Mrs Herbert's Kitchin Book', and now held at Powis Castle, Powys) from April 1601 indicates that she kept a large household at Charing Cross, often consisting of family members and musicians: John Bull and William Byrd, the famous musicians, were both guests at dinner, and the most frequent mealtime guests were Thomas Lawley, Robert Harley, and Edward Cooke, who were all related in various capacities to Magdalen Herbert, as well as notable writers such as Donne and William Camden.²⁷

As the example of Magdalen Herbert demonstrates, the households of the Sidney-Herberts were also notable for so often being seats of female authority: Mary Sidney, countess of Pembroke and Mary Wroth are both other significant examples. Marion Wynne-Davies has argued how Penshurst, particularly during Wroth's time in residence there, became a kind of 'safe house' for women in the Sidney-Herbert circle: Lady Anne Clifford made several visits to Penshurst in August 1617, all recorded in her diary. She visits 'Lady Wroth' and 'Lady Rich' and spends time hearing 'Moll Neville reading the *Arcadia*'. On one occasion she recalls:

I went to Penshurst on Horseback to my Lord Lisle where I found my Lady Dorothy Sidney, my Lady Manners, with whom I had much talk, & my Lord Norris, she and I being very kind. There was Lady Wroth who told me a great deal of news from beyond the sea, so we came home at night, my Coz. Barbara Sidney bringing me a good part of the way.²⁸

All of the women listed in this account were part of the same familial grouping (the complexity of their relationships can be seen in Appendix 2) and all were, or were soon to be, engaged in difficulties which often led to their expulsion from the court. Wroth was having an adulterous

²⁶ Simon Jackson, 'The literary and musical activities of the Herbert family' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2011), especially Chapter 1, 'Coterie Literature at Wilton House', pp. 17-65.

²⁷ See Amy M. Charles, 'Mrs Herbert's Kitchin Booke', *English Literary Renaissance*, 4 (1974), 164-173.

²⁸ Wynne-Davies notes that the reference to 'Lord Norris' is probably an allusion to both Francis Norris and his wife Lay Bridget Vere Norris, thus explaining the female pronoun following: 'my Lord Norris, she and I being very kind.' Marion Wynne-Davies, "'For Worth, Not Weakness, Makes in Use but One": Literary Dialogues in an English Renaissance Family', in Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke (eds), *This Double Voice: Gendered Writing in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000), pp. 164-184 (pp. 168-70). Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. by D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1990), pp. 60-1.

affair with her cousin Pembroke, Anne Clifford was fighting a legal battle to win her inheritance, Dorothy Sidney had been clandestinely married in 1616, as Isabella Rich would be in 1618, Bridget Vere Norris often lived apart from her husband, and Barbara Gamage Sidney arranged a match against the Queen's wishes. Wynne-Davies suggests, therefore, that Penshurst became both a genuine 'safe house' for women, but was also a kind of female 'academy', where news was discussed and literary texts read. These accounts indicate the importance of female authorities within the households of the Sidney-Herberts, and also the notable literariness of the Sidney-Herberts' households.

As well as being 'safe houses' for the female authorities within the extended Sidney-Herbert household, the physical houses have become useful tools for studying the echoes between the literary texts of family members, and Wynne-Davies has shown how it is possible to trace 'the patterns of travelling and composition within the family'.²⁹ Mary Sidney worked on two versions of her psalm translations, kept at Wilton and Baynard's Castle, and Mary Wroth could have consulted her aunt's work in either place, and read her father's poems which were kept at Penshurst. Wynne-Davies speculates that William Herbert worked on some of his poems at Baynard's Castle, and that 'these could well have included the key companion pieces between him and Wroth.'³⁰ Such 'companion pieces' of literature, works that respond to and echo one another, were numerous within the Sidney-Herbert households. These ranged from individual poems, such as George Herbert's 'A Parodie' in response to Pembroke's 'Soules Joy', to extended poetic sequences, such as Pembroke and Benjamin Rudyerd's exchanges on love and reason, to prose romance, such as the *Arcadia* and *Urania*.

There are, however, important differences when considering the sociality of these particular exchanges, as George Herbert and Rudyerd were both clients, dependent to some extent on Pembroke's patronage. Although Edward and George Herbert were related to the Herberts of Pembroke and Montgomery, they were the descendants of a less illustrious branch of the family, and George especially benefitted from the patronage of their wealthier relatives, having been

²⁹ Wynne-Davies "For *Worth*", p. 167.

³⁰ Wynne-Davies "For *Worth*", p. 167.

granted his living at Bemerton in 1630 by King Charles at the request of either William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, or his brother Philip Herbert, fourth earl of Pembroke.³¹ Rosemond Tuve and Cristina Malcolmson have discussed the ways that George's 'A Parodie' answers Pembroke's 'Soules Joy' in the form of a sacred response to a declaration of secular love, offering a religious explanation for the mutual love that Pembroke's verse describes, and both Tuve and Malcolmson situate this exchange within George and Pembroke's relationship of client and patron.³² Jackson has developed this further by examining how *The Temple* might more generally be understood as a product of the client-patron relationship.³³ Edward Herbert occupies a slightly more complex position in relation to his wealthy relatives; as the eldest son he was in theory the male head of the household, and therefore on a somewhat more equal footing to his nobler cousins. Although Herbert does not appear to have exchanged literary works with Pembroke and Wroth in a bid to win patronage, echoes between the texts of these writers can be detected. A character in Wroth's *Urania* contains echoes of a moment from the *Arcadia* and Herbert's *Life*, and Wroth's *Love's Victory* speaks to Herbert's unfinished play *The Amazon*.

'An eclogue betwixt himself and the echo': Echoes and Romance

Mary Wroth's *Urania* is a text overwhelmingly full of echoes. Susan Anderson suggests that 'Echo is a remarkably apt emblem for Wroth's achievement', and it is 'unsurprising then that scholars regularly invoke echo in the terminology that they use to describe Wroth': Clare Kinney finds 'echo [...] and variation' of *The Winter's Tale* in book 5 of the *Urania*; Josephine Roberts has noted how 'Wroth echoes Cervantes'; and Mary Ellen Lamb points out 'the unmistakable echoes of Sidney's *Arcadia*'.³⁴ The echoes of the *Arcadia* particularly interest me, as it is through these

³¹ George was granted the living on 16 April 1630, and as William Herbert died on 10 April 1630 it is unclear whether it was him or his brother Philip (or both) who used his influence on George's behalf. Helen Wilcox, 'Herbert, George (1593-1633)', *ODNB*.

³² Rosemond Tuve, 'Sacred "Parody" of Love Poetry, and Herbert', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961), 249-90; Cristina Malcolmson, 'George Herbert and Coterie Verse', in *Renaissance Poetry*, ed. by Cristina Malcolmson (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 205-227, and *George Herbert: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

³³ Jackson, especially Chapter 1, 'Coterie Literature at Wilton House', pp. 17-65.

³⁴ Susan L. Anderson, *Echo and Meaning on Early Modern English Stages* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 115. Clare Kinney, 'Critical Theater: Restaging Romance in *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*', *Sidney Journal*, 31 (2013), 101-15 (p. 113). Wroth, *The First Part of the Countess of*

echoes that Wroth stakes her claim as Sidney's literary inheritor, and simultaneously uses echoes (and Echo) to assert her status as a powerful literary woman.

The very opening of *Urania* is concerned with questions of genealogy and inheritance, and specifically invokes Echo, as Urania bewails her recent discovery that she is an orphan and does not know her parents, and begins a poem in which she thanks Echo for accompanying her in her misery:

Unseene, unknowne, I here alone complaine
 To Rocks, to Hills, to Meadowes, and to Springs,
 Which can no helpe returne to ease my paine,
 But back my sorrowes the sad Eccho brings.
 Thus still encreasing are my woes to me,
 Doubly resounded by that monefull voice,
 Which seemes to second me in miserie,
 And answeere gives like friend of mine owne choice.
 Thus onley she doth my companion prove.³⁵

There are numerous ways in which Wroth's *Urania* echoes and recalls Sidney's *Arcadia* and other literary works: the titles, each dedicating the work to an aristocratic female family member; the genre; the pastoral setting; the way that each text is a fictionalised account of the author's unhappy love affair (in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* and Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*). The very character of Urania is taken from the *Arcadia*: a minor figure in that narrative, promoted in Wroth's text to the eponymous heroine. The opening recalls the *Arcadia* because Urania also figures at the opening of that text, and both the *Arcadia* and *Urania* also begin by lamenting absent figures. Sidney's revised *New Arcadia* begins with two shepherds competitively bewailing the absence of their beloved Urania, but, as Anderson points out,

rather than echoing their laments, Wroth echoes the character who is only created as an absence [...] Thus, the starting point of Wroth's work is the act of supplying the voice and person of a missing woman, using the gap created in Sidney's scene as an opportunity to project her own voice.³⁶

Urania, in Wroth's opening, is a richly oxymoronic figure, both an echo and an original: as she says in her poem, she is both 'alone' and has a 'companion'; she is an echo of a previous text, but

Montgomery's Urania, ed. by Josephine Roberts (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), p. xxiii. Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Biopolitics of Romance in Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 31 (2001), 107-130 (115).

³⁵ Wroth, *The First Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, ed. by Roberts, pp. 1-2.

³⁶ Anderson, p. 113

nevertheless is an original voice which creates its own echoes, and is also subversion of both that original text and the myth of Echo she invokes. Danielle Clark observes that Urania's 'poem is a remarkable intervention in the tradition of Echo and echoing poems, precisely because Urania does not mourn the loss of a male lover (as Echo does) but the loss of her *self*.'³⁷ This moment of intensely layered references and echoes is a decisive articulation of Wroth's assertion of her place as Sidney's poetic inheritor, and her remaking of her uncle's male-centric literary world into a space of female agency and vocalisation.

It has not previously been noticed that Edward Herbert also makes a cameo appearance in *Urania* in another moment replete with echoes between Sidney-Herbert texts, with echoes between the *Arcadia*, *Urania*, and Herbert's *Life*. Wroth's prose romance not only fictionalises her love affair with her cousin Pembroke, but its characters and episodes carry echoes of the lives of Wroth's family, friends, and social milieu. Edward Denny, Baron of Waltham, upon reading the romance, was so offended at what he saw as Wroth's allusion to his own family life within *Urania*, that he complained to the king about the text, and derided Wroth in a condemnatory poem, which in yet another form of echoing, she responded to in a perfect imitation and inversion of the original.³⁸

In his autobiographical work, *The Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, Herbert describes how in c.1609 he had a portrait painted of himself, which he intended for his friend Sir Thomas Lucy, who had a matching portrait commissioned.³⁹ On returning from his travels on the continent in late September 1610, he was amazed to find that several people of note had obtained copies of this picture, in particular the wife of Sir John Eyres, whom he describes as having commissioned Isaac Oliver to adapt the picture into a miniature.⁴⁰ Herbert then relates a particular incident

³⁷ Danielle Clark, 'Speaking Women: Rhetoric and the Construction of Female Talk', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 70-88 (p. 87).

³⁸ For more on this, see Wroth, *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. by Josephine Roberts (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), p. 238.

³⁹ The two portraits are amongst the only definite attributions to the painter William Larkin. They are life-sized, head-and-shoulder portraits in oil on copper of both Edward Herbert and Thomas Lucy (both c.1609-10). Now held at Charlecote Park, Warwickshire, National Trust. Herbert, *Life*, p. 60.

⁴⁰ This portrait has not been identified. There is one surviving miniature of Edward Herbert painted by Isaac Oliver (discussed in the Introduction), which is held at Powis Castle, Powys, National Trust, but this is clearly a very different picture from the one painted by Larkin, as it depicts Herbert lying in a melancholy

concerning this portrait and the lady, where he encounters Lady Eyres sighing over a copy of this miniature, declaring herself to be in love with him. Notably, both Herbert's account, and the woman's actions, echo the moment in Sidney's *Arcadia* that initiates the action of the romance: when Pyrocles sees a picture of Philoclea at a gallery and immediately falls in love with her.

However, Herbert's full account of the incident also has striking parallels with *Urania*:

Coming one daye into her Chamber I sawe her through the Courtaines lying vpon her bed with a wax Candle in one hand and the Picture I formerly mentioned in the other. I coming therevpon somewhat boldy to her shee blew out the Candle and hid the Picture from mee; My selfe therevpon being Curious to know what that was shee held in her hand got the Candle to bee lighted againe, by means whereof I found it was my Picture shee looked vpon with more earnestnesse and Passion than I could haue easily believed especially since my self was not ingaged in any affection towards her.⁴¹

Readers of Wroth's *Urania* may recognise the similarity that this incident bears to an encounter with a lady related by Pamphilia's brother Philarchos to Pamphilia and Veralinda in *The Second Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania*. In this episode, Philarchos tells the ladies how, in the middle of the night, he unexpectedly happened upon a beautiful Lycian woman in bed, who is in love with him:

Seeking up and downe the roome, beehind the hangings neere a compass window, I found a doore [...] I opend itt. When coming into a most pleasant Chamber to sight (if to others, nott to mee, as itt proved), trickt up with all curiosities of sweets and flowers, a most rich bed standing in the midst of the roome [...] In this bed lay a lady of admirable beautie, butt sad to the height of sadnes: soe farr indeed possesst with all as she did neither heere the dore open nor my coming to the bed side, her eyes in a constant settlednes of closing.⁴²

At this point in the narrative, Philarchos recounts the lady sighing words of love for him, and cursing her misfortune in love, for Philarchos is already married to the Lady Orilena. At one point she declares: 'His picture I had often seene, and as that first love was to a picture, soe still hath he continued to mee a shaddowe love and noe substance.'⁴³ The lady's reference here to a picture strengthens the connection with Herbert's unexpected night-time rendezvous with a lovesick lady.

pose by the side of a stream. The only surviving copy of the Larkin portrait is also held at Powis Castle, but dates from c.1800.

⁴¹ Herbert, *Life*, p. 61.

⁴² Mary Wroth, *The Second Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, ed. by Josephine Roberts, completed by Suzanne Gossett and Janel Mueller (Tempe, AZ: *Renaissance English Text Society*, in conjunction with the *Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 1999), p. 124.

⁴³ Wroth, *The Second Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, p. 124.

The likelihood that Wroth based this particular episode on Herbert is further strengthened by the events that followed Herbert's encounter with Lady Eyres. Not long after this, Herbert was sent word by Robert Sidney, second earl of Leicester, and Wroth's brother, that Sir John Eyres intended to murder Herbert for whoring his wife. The report was confirmed, Herbert narrates, by Lady Elizabeth Hoby (second wife of Sir Edward Hoby) and Lucy, countess of Bedford, a mutual friend of Wroth, Herbert, and Pembroke. Herbert then recounts enlisting Pembroke himself to go to Eyres and tell him that 'I marvelled much at the Information given mee by these greate Persons', that there were no grounds for Eyres's threat, but that Herbert was nevertheless prepared to fight him as soon as he recovered from an illness.⁴⁴ With the involvement of so many mutual acquaintances, it is easy to see how Herbert's misadventure could have got back to Wroth. The matter came to a head when Eyres attacked Herbert with a group of men; Herbert recounts how he bravely (and somewhat implausibly) bested all of them with only minor injuries to himself, before the matter was brought to the Privy Council, and both parties were instructed not to engage in further skirmishes. Eyres was subsequently disinherited by his father.⁴⁵

As well as being an interesting identification of Herbert in his cousin's text, this is a striking moment when lived 'fact' and literary fiction come together in a series of echoes. The episodes in both the *Life* and *Urania* also carry echoes of the Ovidian Echo myth, with people falling in love with images of a face, lost men wandering through forests or houses (who never seem to ask for directions) and sighing over spurned lovers. Within this framework of reference both Herbert and Philarchos become aligned with Narcissus, a seemingly fitting association for Herbert given the reputation for boastfulness and egotism he acquired from the *Life* (discussed in Chapter 5). The echoes between Herbert's *Life*, the *Arcadia* and *Urania* form a tightly layered moment of intertextuality. Lady Eyres herself may have been deliberately imitating Sidney's *Arcadia* in her actions, when she procured Herbert's picture. Given the difficulty in reliably dating the events that Herbert describes, these texts provide a slightly haphazard chronology. In theory, at least, Herbert first stumbled across Lady Eyres, then Wroth wrote *The Second Part of the Countess*

⁴⁴ Herbert, *Life*, p. 61.

⁴⁵ Herbert, *Life*, p. 65.

of Montgomery's *Urania*, and then much later Herbert wrote his *Life*. It is thus hard to determine exactly who is echoing whom. Is Wroth echoing Sidney's *Arcadia* and including a knowing reference to a family scandal involving Herbert? In this case Herbert's encounter is a strangely coincidental occasion of life mirroring art, or Herbert may in fact have been deliberately recalling Sidney in his *Life*, and/or deliberately echoing Wroth, meaning he must have been an early reader of the manuscript of *The Second Part of ... Urania*. At any rate, rather like Urania's opening lament in Wroth's romance, this episode is another instance within the Sidney-Herbert households where echoes rebound across texts, obscuring any clear sense of originator and respondent.

Dramatic Echoes: 'The estate of an Amazon Lady'

The links between Wroth's *Urania* and Herbert's *Life* reveal the ways that life and art coalesce in these texts, in a series of echoes between literary works and lived experiences in the Sidney-Herbert household. The moment when Philarchos surprises a lady in her bed, and hears her confess her love for him, not only echoes Herbert's lived experiences, but also echoes the seductive moments of female lamenter, made conventional by Sidney. The Philarchos episode enacts 'both a sceptical take on the concerns of her predecessors', Mary Trull argues, 'and a turn to Wroth's central interest in husbands' and wives' disparate experiences of marriage.'⁴⁶ Echoing moments of eavesdropping in Sidney – such as when Pyrocles eavesdrops on Philoclea reading her poems, or Pyrocles witnesses Gynecia's private complaint – Wroth's response in the Philarchos episode gently mocks the seductive modesty of the female lamenter in Sidney, and Philarchos, as the male voyeur, tells his tale somewhat at his own expense, describing his situation with some self-mockery, and 'emphasizing contradictory emotions and his ingenuity in justifying inconstancy.'⁴⁷ Wroth's echo comments on and reinterprets both Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Herbert's behaviour. Philarchos's actions in this episode in *Urania* have generally been negatively interpreted, and his kissing and caressing of the lovesick lady seen to display male hypocrisy and patriarchal double-

⁴⁶ Mary E. Trull, *Performing Privacy and Gender in Early Modern Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 119.

⁴⁷ Trull, p. 121.

standards.⁴⁸ Similarly, Herbert's accounts of his romances and other interactions with women in his *Life* have led to a general impression of his dislike of strong women, particularly his asides about his mother keeping 'a greater Family then became [...] my Mothers widows estate', and his disagreement with his wife about settling money on their children.⁴⁹ However, Herbert's play *The Amazon*, discovered in Powis Castle, reveals his keen concern with 'husbands' and wives' disparate experiences of marriage', as well as the subjugation of women as a result of patriarchal double-standards.⁵⁰ There are various elements to Herbert's play which link it to Wroth and Pembroke, and it also contains echoes of Wroth's only-known drama, *Love's Victory*, similarly concerned with female agency and rights. Herbert's *The Amazon* thus forms part of the ongoing household discussion of female agency and authority.

Amazonian echoes populate the corridors and halls of the Sidney-Herbert households: in Sidney's *Arcadia*, when Pyrocles sees Philoclea's picture and immediately falls in love, he decides to disguise himself as an Amazon, in order to get close to the object of his affections, and names himself Cleophilia. This decision initiates the events that will lead to the complex 'love square' within Philoclea's family (and the seeming murder of Philoclea's father which forms the major crisis point of the romance), and Herbert's unfinished play is also populated with Amazonian women and complicated familial structures. As I have previously discussed, the physical houses that members of the Sidney-Herbert households resided at and visited often have relevance to their literary works, and Herbert's play is another example. Herbert would probably have frequented Wroth's houses: Henry Herbert's home at Woodford was situated just four miles from Wroth's residence at Loughton, and Margaret Hannay has suggested that Edward Herbert was likely to have spent time with Wroth when visiting his brother, quite possibly even meeting Wroth and

⁴⁸ On the Philarchos episode, see Trull, pp. 119-22 and Rahel Orgis, *Narrative Structure and Reader Formation in Lady Mary Wroth's Urania* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 75.

⁴⁹ Herbert requested his wife to settle her estates on their three children in her lifetime, because there was the chance of either of them dying, and the survivor remarrying. The future offspring of such a match might damage the financial prospects of their existing family. Herbert's wife replied that she would not potentially put herself in the power of her children – she 'would not draw the Cradle vpon her head' – and so Herbert declared that if she would not do this then he would go abroad travelling. Herbert left for France 'without delay', *Life*, pp. 40-1. On Herbert's relationship with his wife, see Antonia Fraser's indignant discussion of their conversation before he goes abroad in *The Weaker Vessel: Women's Lot in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Phoenix Press, 2009), p. 105.

⁵⁰ Trull, p. 119.

Pembroke's illegitimate children, about whom he wrote his 'merry Rime', and who were probably born in 1624.⁵¹

In the same year it is likely that Herbert wrote his only known drama, *The Amazon*, which Cristina Malcolmson has suggested was written as a household entertainment for Wroth and Pembroke, in the same vein as Wroth's *Love's Victory*, which may have been performed for one of Pembroke's households. In 2009 a manuscript was found at Powis Castle by John Herbert, eighth earl of Powis, and Felix Pryor of Bonhams auction house, of a hitherto unknown play by Edward Herbert, incomplete and titled *The Amazon*.⁵² From the paper's watermark, Malcolmson has dated the draft to around 1624, and suggested that the paper was bought while Herbert was serving in France between 1619 and 1624, as the same stock of paper was used for Herbert's diplomatic letters between July 1623 and February 1624.⁵³ Hannay has argued that Wroth and Pembroke's illegitimate children were born in March 1624, and in letters written to King James and Buckingham dated to April 1624 from Paris, Herbert makes reference to his future 'journey to England' (a journey he hoped was the only cause of the rumours about his dismissal as ambassador, though this proved not to be the case).⁵⁴ Malcolmson speculates that the cluster of these events may suggest that part of Herbert's intention when visiting England was to offer *The Amazon* as an entertainment for Wroth and Pembroke.⁵⁵

The play begins with two Amazons, Orethia and Callerhoe, discussing relations between the sexes, and bemoaning marriage as a form of tyranny practised against women. They argue that all parties in a marriage should be able to divorce on the grounds of incompatibility, in order to avoid unhappiness and sin; in such a situation, they argue, adultery should be punishable by death. They then meet Agitite, a mountebank, who tries to sell them various goods, but leave him and walk to the nearby temple, which is decorated with a prophecy that if a man ever enters this temple, the Amazons' empire will fall. In the next scene Cleobulus, identified in the cast list as a

⁵¹ Margaret Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 252.

⁵² Now British Library Additional MS 88926.

⁵³ Herbert, 'Edward Herbert's *The Amazon*', ed. by Malcolmson, *Malone Society Collections*, 17 (2015), pp. 187-222 (pp. 200-2).

⁵⁴ Hannay, pp. 251-2. London, The National Archives, SP 78/72/154-5, NLW, P.II.1.1-2.

⁵⁵ Herbert, 'The Amazon', ed. by Malcolmson, pp. 206-7.

king, enters attended by his courtiers. He describes how it has been almost 21 years since his infants were lost to pirates, and wonders whether he will see them again, as the oracle at Delphi had prophesised that the children would be returned soon, after certain signs from heaven. Cleobulus then sends a messenger to the port to ask after the Amazons, who were expected to fall into civil war when the line of the late queen was extinguished. Nevertheless, he remarks, the Amazons seem to be at peace, governed by a young queen and her sister. Cleobulus then turns to one of his courtiers, and asks what the man thinks of their beautiful, but deadly neighbours, to which the courtier, identified as a misogynist, replies that he prefers an empire over love. Cleobulus disagrees and says that he does not trust people unmoved by affection, but now that he is older he has made his love the subject of his reason, and so he would be happy to meet a partner who could esteem him as much as he her. The misogynist merely responds that having women ruling so nearby makes Cleobulus appear weak. The scene then changes and two men, Polidorus and Aristander enter, singing about the power of love in a metaphysical verse which compares love to a kind of celestial fire, transforming everything it touches.

As the play is unfinished, it is difficult to be certain of the exact purpose of the work, and there have been various hypotheses about it: Felix Pryor argued that it could not be ruled out that the play was intended for the commercial theatre based on the layout of the manuscript, and that it has several features of a Jacobean court masque (dialogue in rhyming couplets, and a song at the end of the fragment), whilst Martin Wiggins suggested that the play could be a Caroline court play.⁵⁶ Wiggins demonstrates that the emphasis on character and plot in the opening scenes of *The Amazon* indicate that it was not a masque, and Malcolmson has argued that the play is most likely to have been intended as a private household entertainment. She identifies a note on the cast list in the manuscript which supports this: next to the character ‘Myops the Pedant’ Herbert has written

⁵⁶ Felix Pryor, Bonhams Auctioneers, Sale Catalogue, ‘Printed Books and Manuscripts’ (10 November 2009), Lot 56, <<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16869/lot/56/>> [last accessed 13 April 2019]. Pryor argues that the work is ‘The Mask of Amazons, or the Ladies’ Mask’, scheduled for January 1, 1618. Martin Wiggins, ‘The Masque Slips’, *Around the Globe*, 44 (2010), 20-21 and ‘Where to Find Lost Plays’, in *Lost Plays in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. by David McInnis and Matthew Steggle (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 255-78 (p. 261).

‘yf that you me will like for I thinke myself to bee lovely’.⁵⁷ Given that the adjective ‘lovely’ could also mean ‘excellent’, this note suggests that Herbert was recommending himself to play the pedantic scholar.⁵⁸ Malcolmson argues that:

Herbert’s note implies that he was writing the play for a specific time and place, and with a particular person in mind who would be organising the performance. It also implies that, if the work were planned as a private household performance, it would not have been at Herbert’s home, where the author would usually be in charge of the staging. Rather Herbert assumes that someone else would be casting the roles, directing the play, and staging the production.⁵⁹

Another feature of the play which supports the theory that it might have been intended for performance at one of the Sidney-Herbert households is the song performed by Polidorus and Aristander, which forms the final scene in the manuscript, but must have been intended to appear relatively early in the overall play. As Jackson and others have shown, the Sidney-Herbert family included a remarkable number of lutenists and musicians, and Pembroke established a musical coterie operating at Wilton House. Thus, Herbert may have written the play with the intention of making use of the musicians within the family households; he himself was an accomplished lutenist, and his lute book has been described by musicologists as ‘rank[ing] among the most important documents of its kind still in existence’.⁶⁰

As well as its form, the play’s subject may have appealed to Wroth and Pembroke. As discussed, the play begins with two Amazons, Orethia and Callerrhoe, discussing the value of divorce, arguing that currently marriage is a ‘tirany, wch husbands gainst our sexe / do exercise’ (ll. 25-6). In a radical and impassioned argument for divorce, the Amazon Orethia asks why both parties in a marriage may have the freedom to will their property to whomever they choose, but cannot rectify an ‘error’ made in marriage:

And this so would save
From sin, as well as shame, both man and wife,
Who when they might enjoy, without all strife,

⁵⁷ Herbert, *The Amazon*, ed. by Malcolmson, l. 5.

⁵⁸ *OED*, ‘lovely’, *adj.*, 4.a.

⁵⁹ Herbert, *The Amazon*, ed. by Malcolmson, p. 206.

⁶⁰ Jackson, *passim*. Thomas Dart, ‘Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Lute-Book’, *Music and Letters*, 38 (1957), 136-48 (p. 138). For more on Herbert’s lute book see: John P. Cutts, ‘Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Lute-Book’, *Music & Letters*, 38 (1957), 136-48; Curtis A. Price, ‘An Organisational Peculiarity of Herbert of Cherbury’s Lute-Book’, *The Lute*, 11 (1969), 5-27; and Julia Craig-McFeely, ‘A Can of Worms: Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Lute Book’, *The Lute*, 31 (1991), 20-48.

What they desire, need not so use their wit
 To act those secret mischiefs, they commit
 In darkness and in corners, which extend
 Even to Posterity, and do not end
 Where their damnation doth.

[...] O happy state
 If either sex might without all debate
 or force enjoy their free and proper will
 In that which tends both to avoid an Ill
 And choose a good; and a just state withal,
 Since, if where Laws are strictest, it doth fall
 Within the power and License of each one
 To pass away their goods, is it alone
 Their ills they cannot leave? must they bee slaves
 To their own errors when each party craves
 To bee absolved, or can they bee denied
 The Liberty, to which even those slaves are borne,
 To have at Least their love free...

(ll. 56-75)

Here, allowing ‘either sex’ to ‘enjoy their free and proper will’ does not encourage immoral behaviour, but rather discourages it, whilst at the same time promoting individuals’ happiness. If allowed to separate freely, married individuals would not ‘use their wit / To act those secret mischiefs, they commit / In darkness and in corners’, and which, Oretia argues, have ramifications for future generations. The passage goes on to play on the words ‘good’ and ‘ill’ to designate both vice and virtue, but also suggest ‘goods’ as legal property: unhappily married individuals are likely to commit adultery and bear illegitimate children to whom they may be able to pass their ‘goods’ onto, but also some mark of their ‘ill’ (Herbert is perhaps also playing on ‘illegitimate’ here) and sin.

This, in 1624, would of course have had special significance for Wroth and Pembroke, whose own illegitimate children had just been born. By all accounts the family were openly positive about the children, as Herbert’s poem to Wroth suggests, and indicated by the preoccupation with, and pride for, illegitimate children who appear in the second part of *Urania*. Gary Waller has argued that the Sidney-Herbert family seems to have given both of Wroth and Pembroke’s children support and advancement: although Pembroke died without leaving a will (where he might reasonably have provided for his illegitimate son and daughter), William was helped by Philip Herbert, first earl of Montgomery and later fourth earl of Pembroke, to a ‘brave living in Ireland’, whilst Catherine married a ‘Mr Lovel neare Oxford’, possibly a tutor in the

household of Wroth's brother Robert Sidney, second earl of Leicester, in the 1640s.⁶¹ Sharon Valiant has speculated that Catherine's daughter, Wroth's granddaughter, may well have been the woman later known as Aphra Behn, an intriguing twist in a story of complex literary inheritance and succession.⁶² As well as a discussion of the rights of property and illegitimate children, arguing for divorce on the grounds of incompatibility would also have been relevant for Wroth and Pembroke, given their unhappy marriages. Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden that 'my Lady Wroth is unworthily married to a jealous husband', and many years after Pembroke had been married Edward Hyde, first earl of Clarendon, remarked that Pembroke 'paid much too dear for his wife's fortune by taking her person into the bargain.'⁶³

This debate about women and marriage was not limited to the Sidney-Herbert household: *The Amazon* was written not long after the debate about women, or *querelle des femmes* was particularly heated in England during the 1610s and 1620s, although Herbert's attitude in the play was particularly radical. Between 1615 and 1620 there was a pamphlet war, prompted by Joseph Swetnam's popular *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615), and answered by three pamphlets in 1617: Rachel Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, Esther Sowernam's *Ester Hath Hang'd Haman*, and Constantia Mundi's *The Worming of a Mad Dog*. This pamphlet war was dramatised in the play *Swetnam the Woman-Hater Arraigned by Women*, published in 1620, and in which an Amazon woman verbally defeats and humiliates Swetnam, represented by a character called 'Misogynos'; Swetnam subsequently falls in love with the Amazon, who turns out to be a man. Herbert's play, written in the wake of this heated debate about women's rights, is, as Malcolmson notes, 'quite radical': England was currently the only Protestant country which had not reformed ecclesiastical laws on divorce to allow for a legalised separation with the possibility of remarriage, and there were ongoing attempts to institute such reforms,

⁶¹ Gary Waller, *The Sidney Family Romance: Mary Wroth, William Herbert, and the Early Modern Construction of Gender* (Detroit MI: Wayne State University Press, 1993), p. 126.

⁶² Sharon Valiant, 'Sidney's Sister, Pembroke's Mother ... and Aphra Behan's Great-Grandmother?', delivered at the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, New Orleans, 1989. Quoted in Waller, p. 126.

⁶³ William Drummond, *Informations to William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed by Ian Donaldson, *CEWBJ*, v, pp. 377; Edward Hyde, *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. by W. Dunn Macray, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), I, p. 72.

although Thomas Cranmer and Martin Bucer had failed in their attempts to secure this.⁶⁴

Generally, remarriage in England was only possible following an annulment on grounds of incest or incapacity. Herbert goes even further than this, though, when his Amazons argue that ‘either sexe’ should have the right to divorce on the grounds of incompatibility (as well as adultery), and that this is ‘a moral and compassionate release from an unhappy state that could easily lead to sin’; in law and in most proposals only husbands, and not wives, could seek redress on the grounds of adultery.⁶⁵ Not until 1645 would John Milton argue for divorce on the grounds of incompatibility for both partners; even then his argument was radical, and in *Divorce and Discipline of Divorce* (1643-4) he did not allow for this, which gives some indication of how progressive the views expressed in the opening scene of *The Amazon* are, and how they would probably have appealed to Pembroke and Wroth.

Malcolmson concludes her introduction to *The Amazon* by noting that it could have been written as a response to, or imitation of, Wroth’s *Love’s Victory*, pointing out that both share ‘a remote location, temples and priests, a magic potion, and an extensive consideration of how the legal state of marriage tragically destroys honest love’, and that in both a refusal to ‘participate in love is linked with misogyny’.⁶⁶ Wroth’s pastoral tragicomedy was written in 1618, and, Barbara Lewalski speculates, ‘was probably known only to a small coterie of readership and audience.’⁶⁷ It is concerned with defending women’s right to choose whom they marry, and whether they marry at all, and presents a pastoral world which celebrates the power of Venus and female friendship. As a fragment, it is difficult to make firm claims about the overall effect of *The Amazon*, but it is possible that Herbert intended the play as a kind of continuation or furthering of Wroth’s concerns about women’s rights in marriage. If *Love’s Victory* is about the right of women to choose before

⁶⁴ Herbert, ‘*The Amazon*’, ed. by Malcolmson, p. 205.

⁶⁵ Herbert, ‘*The Amazon*’, ed. by Malcolmson, p. 205. For more on the history of divorce in early modern England see: Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England, 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Tim Stretton, ‘Marriage, Separation and the Common Law in England, 1640-1660’ in *The Family in Early Modern England*, ed. by Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 18-39; Bernard Capp, ‘Bigamous Marriage in Early Modern England’, *Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 537-56.

⁶⁶ Herbert, ‘*The Amazon*’, ed. by Malcolmson, p. 207.

⁶⁷ Barbara Lewalski, ‘*Love’s Victory*’, in *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700: Volume 4 Mary Wroth*, ed. by Clare R. Kinney (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 289-304 (p. 289).

marriage (whom they marry, and the terms upon which they marry), then *The Amazon* can be seen as a continuation of this, about the right to choose *within* a marriage.

In this fragment of a play a more progressive, liberal Herbert emerges than appears in his *Life*, in particular, has suggested, with an impassioned, radical argument for female emancipation from loveless – not only abusive, or unfaithful – marriages. Of course, there is the possibility that the argument that the two Amazons lay out at the beginning was intended to be refuted or undermined throughout the play, and the ending would assert a patriarchal norm, with the Amazons either defeated or subsumed into Cleobulus's kingdom through marriage; it seems likely that Polidorus and Aristander would end up marrying either the Amazons Orethia and Callerhoe, or the Amazonian queen and her sister, and that Cleobulus and the old Amazon queen might form a match, rather like the happy ending and weddings in *A Comedy of Errors*. Nevertheless, even with this ending, Herbert may have been aiming at a restoration of the patriarchy which still recognises women's ability to govern, and in which there are marriages without a sexual double standard. It should be noted that Herbert's character 'Cleobulus' is named after one of the seven sages of ancient Greece, who was both a philosopher and the ruler of Rhodes; he and his daughters were also poets, a detail which recalls Wroth and her own literary heritage. The isolation of the misogynistic courtier suggests that he was probably intended as a problematic, or comic figure; combined with the likely occasion of the play as a gift for Wroth, perhaps performed in one of the Sidney-Herbert households, this suggests that the play would have been a more progressive piece of drama, arguing for women's rights in a manner that must have been particularly appealing to Wroth, whose own drama is full of female communities which support and assist one another. Given Wroth's clear concern with asserting women's voices, it is notable that Herbert's play begins with two assertive, eloquent female voices, while it is the men in the following scenes who appear to be merely reacting to events, or providing pastoral entertainment in singing songs.

The Amazon extends the conversation about female authority and agency within the Sidney-Herbert household, as well as engaging with conversations about mutual love seen in *Love's Victory* and Pembroke's poems. Herbert's suggestion in the manuscript of *The Amazon* that he should play that part of 'Myops the Pedant' may also suggest that Herbert based some of the

characters of his play on members of the household – identifying himself as a pedant may reference a shared family joke, or Herbert’s recently-completed philosophical treatise *De Veritate*. Perhaps he intended Wroth and one of the female members of the extended household to play the pair of defiant Amazons, or the Amazonian princess who has become queen. Sidney’s and Wroth’s prose romances establish a household tradition of situating family members within the world of their fiction, and within *Love’s Victory* there are various puns and points of plot which seem to identify the play’s central pair – Musella and Philisses – as Wroth and Pembroke. In Alison Findlay’s 2018 production of *Love’s Victory* at Penshurst Place, this link was subtly but artfully articulated when in Act Two the characters choose fortunes from a book brought by Arcas, and the prop book used by the actors was modelled on the ‘Penshurst manuscript’, an autograph presentation copy of *Love’s Victory* by Wroth, with Wroth and Pembroke’s initials intertwined on the binding.⁶⁸ The play also directly evokes and even answers some of Pembroke’s poems. Wynne-Davies identifies a moment in Act Two of *Love’s Victory* which particularly recalls Pembroke’s poems: the shepherds and shepherdesses draw fortunes from a book which are rehearsed in rhyme, at the end of which Philisses concludes:

Love and Reason once at war,
 Jove came down to end the jar.
 ‘Cupid,’ said Love, ‘must have his place’;
 Reason, that it was his grace.
 Jove then brought it to this end:
 Reason should on Love attend;
 Love takes Reason for his guide,
 Reason cannot from Love slide.
 This agreed, they pleased did part,
 Reason ruling Cupid’s dart.
 So as sure Love cannot miss,
 Since that Reason ruler is.⁶⁹

These lines, as Wynne-Davies puts it, are ‘a direct refutation’ of Pembroke’s poetical defence of love against reason in ‘It is enough, a Master you grant *Love*’:

It is enough, a Master you grant *Love*
 At one weapon, ’twas all I sought to prove:

⁶⁸ Mary Wroth, *Love’s Victory*, dir. by Martin Hodgson (Kent: Penshurst Place, 2018). The Penshurst manuscript is owned by the Viscount De L’Isle and is held at Penshurst Place. The text is edited in Brennan, *Lady Mary Wroth’s Love’s Victory: The Penshurst Manuscript* (Roxburgh Club, London, 1988).

⁶⁹ Mary Wroth, *Love’s Victory in Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents*, ed. by S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 90-126, II.1.213-24.

For worth, not weakness, makes him use but one;
While that subdues all strength, all Art alone.⁷⁰

Pembroke's verse even puns on Wroth's name in his description of 'worth, not weakness' (my emphasis). Here, Wroth and Pembroke's verses offer counter-arguments to one another, and Herbert's play similarly recalls Pembroke's verses on love and reason. Malcolmson notes:

In the second scene of Herbert's play, the debate between Cleobulus and his misogynous counselor takes its cue from Bembo's defense of love in answer to Gasparo in the fourth book of *The Courtier*, the argument for love made by Pyrocles dressed as an Amazon in Sidney's *Arcadia*, and William Herbert's poetic justification for passion in response to Benjamin Rudyerd's voice of reason, published in 1660 by John Donne's son, but in circulation long before.⁷¹

There is good evidence to suggest that Herbert and his brothers were amongst those who read Pembroke's verse before its publication: George Herbert's poem 'A Parodie' is a direct response to, and reworking of Pembroke's 'Soules Joy'. Tuve has argued that the term 'parody' should be interpreted as referring to a musical term denoting the replacement of text for a known tune, rather than as an indication of mockery.⁷² In his response to Pembroke, George's poem is at once a repetition and a change, and less of a challenge than it is a tribute. Rather than replacing the mutual love of Pembroke's 'Soules Joy' with religious worship, 'A Parodie' recasts the same ideas in a sacred mould, and offers a religious explanation for the secular phenomenon that Pembroke describes. 'A Parodie', echoing 'Soules Joy', does not offer a neutral imitation, nor a challenging refutation, but rather a response that informs and changes the original. This pattern of sacred reformulations of secular experiences can also be seen in a striking series of echoes between Edward and George Herbert's two echo poems: 'Echo in a Church' and 'Heaven'.

Heavenly Echoes and Sacred Parodies: 'Thou Echo, thou art mortal, all men know'

Having established a wider socio-literary network within the Sidney-Herbert household, and having situated Herbert's poetry and drama within that household (particularly in relation to his

⁷⁰ William Herbert, *Poems Written by the Right Honourable William Earl of Pembroke*, ed. by Gaby Onderwyzer (Los Angeles, CA: Augustan Reprint Society, 1959), p. 7. Wynne-Davies, "'For Worth, Not Weakness, Makes in Use but One'", p. 176.

⁷¹ Herbert, 'The Amazon', ed. by Malcolmson, p. 206.

⁷² Tuve, p. 254.

cousin Wroth's works), this then raises the question of echoes and responses within the smaller, more immediate Herbert household. Edward and George both wrote echo poems, and more specifically both wrote sacred echo poems. George Herbert's 'Heaven' invokes the Echo of Ovid, only to transplant her, and the pastoral landscape she inhabits, into a sacred, divine space:

Thou, Echo, thou art mortal, all men know.
Echo. No
 Wert thou not born among the trees and leaves?
Echo. Leaves

(ll. 3-6)⁷³

The leaves of the woods where the nymph Echo wandered become the leaves of the Bible, in a delicately balanced moment of transition, as the pagan, pastoral form of echo becomes the sacred echo of a Christian God, preserved in the words of the Bible. Such a transition – from mortal and pastoral, to celestial and divine – is in fact present in an alternative aetiology of the nymph Echo. This celestial version of the myth locates Echo in a sacred space, which relates to the two earliest divine echo poems in English, Edward's 'Echo in Church' and George's 'Heaven'.

In Ovid's account of Echo, she is introduced as a subsidiary character in the tale of Narcissus, and in an aside it is described how she used to keep Juno distracted with idle talk, while Jove consorted with other nymphs; when Juno discovered this she cursed Echo, and decreed that henceforth her power of speech would be reduced to merely repeating the final words of others. Wandering one day in the woods Echo encountered Narcissus, who had lost his companions, and immediately fell in love with him, but had to follow hoping he would speak first, so she might answer. When he finally called out for his friends, Echo answered and declared her love, but Narcissus spurned her, and her grief caused her to waste away until all that remained of her was her voice, echoing in the woods and mountainsides.

Echo is thus a figure who inhabits a specifically pastoral landscape. There are other versions of the Echo myth, which were less well known in the seventeenth century, but which nevertheless have important reverberations: one example is Longus's Greek prose romance

⁷³ George Herbert, 'Heaven', *The Complete Poetry*, ed. by John Drury and Victoria Moul (London: Penguin Classics, 2015), p. 180 (p. 180). All future references will be to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the main text.

Daphnis and Chloe, in which the tale of Echo is told during the courtship of the two eponymous lovers. In this narrative Echo is a talented musician who is favoured by the Muses, and who has no interest in the company of men. The god Pan loves and pursues her, but Echo spurns his advances, and so Pan punishes her by turning the hearts of men against her, and in their madness and anger they tear Echo to pieces. As she is being dismembered, Echo sings her songs, and because the earth favoured her it keeps them alive in echoes, which Pan in his confusion chases after. Other versions of the myth depict Echo as the wife of Pan; Macrobius's *Saturnalia* follows this version and suggests that Pan was the creator of the sevenfold pipe, and thereby the creator of the sevenfold planetary music. He thus allegorises Echo as celestial harmony: invisible to human sight, and therefore an apt symbol of *harmonia coeliae* which our senses cannot perceive.⁷⁴

In *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, Francis Bacon's mythography depicts an Echo who is no longer a heartbroken nymph who fades into oblivion, nor a victimised virgin torn to shreds by wild men, but an emblem of discourse, dialogue, and 'true philosophy':

Lastly, It is not to be wondred at, that there is nothing attributed unto Pan concerning Loves, but only of his marriage with Echo: For the World or Nature doth enjoy it self, and in it self all things else. Now he that loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough, there is no place left to desire. Therefore there can be no wanting love in Pan, or the World, nor desire to obtain any thing (seeing he is contented with himself) but only Speeches, which (if plain) may be intimated by the Nymph Echo, [...] It is an excellent invention that Pan, or the World is said to make choice of Echo only (above all other Speeches or Voices) for his Wife: For that alone is true Philosophy, which doth faithfully render the very words of the World.⁷⁵

As Bloom notes, Bacon here allegorises Echo as representative of 'the purity of philosophical discourse, the most transcendent form of the human voice.'⁷⁶ It is evident that the Sidney-Herbert households employed echo to recall and respond to one another's work, creating a shared narrative and dialogue across various texts. In the latter part of this chapter, I want to continue this argument, but address the divine echoes in the Sidney-Herbert households. One example of a direct

⁷⁴ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 22. For more on the echo myth see John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981).

⁷⁵ Francis Bacon, *The essays, or, Councils, civil and moral, of Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban with a table of the colours of good and evil, and a discourse of the wisdom of the ancients: to this edition is added the character of Queen Elizabeth, never before printed in English* (London: for George Sawbridge, 1696), p. 33 (sig. Q1^r).

⁷⁶ Bloom, p. 178.

interaction of pastoral, or secular, and divine echoes, which I have already mentioned, is George Herbert's answer poem, 'A Parodie', responding to Pembroke's 'Soules Joy'. The most notable examples of divine echoes within the Sidney-Herbert households, however, are Edward and George's sacred echo poems, 'Echo in a Church' and 'Heaven'. Generally, little has been said about Edward and George as a pair, and they have often been depicted as antagonists, or opposites. However, there is much to suggest that they read, engaged with, and responded to one another's works.

Divine intervention, and divine echoes, are not a common theme in Edward's work, but both appear in texts that can be linked to George and which were written around the same time: *De Veritate* and the poem 'Echo in a Church'. In 1624, roughly when he would have been writing *The Amazon*, Edward Herbert was in Paris preparing the publication of his most famous philosophical work, *De Veritate*. Although two of his friends, Daniel Tielenus and Hugo Grotius, had urged him to publish the text previously, Herbert declared that he would 'suppress' the work, unless he received 'some sign from heaven'. 'I had no sooner spoken those words,' he recalls in his *Life*,

but a Loud though yet Gentle noise came from the Heavens (for it was like nothing on Earth) which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my Petition as granted, and that I had the Signe I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my Book.⁷⁷

The 1622 version of *De Veritate* contains a dedication of the work to George:

Dilectiss	Lectiss
Frati	Amico
Ge: Herbert	Guil. Boswell
Hunc librum suum commendatum voluit	
Ed. Herbert	
ea lege	
ut siquid contra bonos mores vel quod	
Fidei veræ Cathol. Adversetur	
expungent;	
quo pacto	
Æterna tandem fuerim cum Luce positus	
Luce sua saltem gaudeat iste Liber:	
E. H.	15 Dec.
	1622

(To my dearest brother George Herbert and my most learned friend William Boswell [Edward's secretary] with this condition that if there is anything in it which is opposed to good morals or true catholic faith, they are to expunge it. With which agreement,

⁷⁷ Herbert, *Life*, p. 121.

when at last I shall be placed in eternal light, may this book immediately rejoice in its light.)⁷⁸

Generally, this dedication has been seen as a deadpan mockery of George, whose religious views differed so greatly from Edward's own. However, this dedication, and Edward and George's echo poems, both written in the mid-1620s, suggest that the two brothers shared a mutual and linked interest in divine echoes at this time, and were even writing for one another. Although various critics have noticed and commented on the possible link between Edward's poem 'Echo in a Church' and George's 'Heaven', the poems have not been explored together beyond suggesting that one poem may have inspired the other.

There is manuscript evidence that suggests that both brothers wrote their echo poems at around the same time, not long after the publication of *De Veritate* and the likely date of *The Amazon*'s composition, which might suggest that Edward Herbert was particularly engaged with the Sidney-Herbert household at this time. 'Echo in a Church', and 'Heaven' were first published posthumously in 1665 and 1633 respectively, but both poems can be found in earlier personal collections of poems overseen by the author: 'Echo in a Church' appears in British Library Add. MS 37157, a collection of Edward Herbert's poems in the hand of an amanuensis with autograph corrections, dated 1631; and 'Heaven' is included in Dr Williams Library, MS Jones B.62 (generally known as the Williams MS), a collection of George Herbert's poems containing autograph Latin poems and English poems in the hand of an amanuensis, with autograph corrections and revisions.⁷⁹ Frank Huntley has dated the Williams MS to 1626, based on an account told by Edmund Duncon to Izaak Walton, which appeared in Walton's 1670 life of George Herbert. In this narrative, Duncon describes visiting George on his death-bed, and being given a 'little book' of his poems to take back to Nicholas Ferrar. This account was believed to have taken place in 1633, and the 'little book' has traditionally been believed to refer to a completed manuscript of *The Temple* (now lost, but from which the manuscript copy of *The Temple* at the

⁷⁸ BL, Sloane MS 3957, f. 1^r. Translation taken from John Drury, *Music at Midnight: The Life and Poetry of George Herbert* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), p. 103.

⁷⁹ The date given in Edward Herbert's autograph in BL, Add. MS 37157 is 1630. This date is problematic, as the manuscript contains an elegy for Donne, who died on 30 March 1631. It is possible that this dating is the result of Herbert's use of the old calendar, or that his date was simply wrong when it was added.

Bodleian was made).⁸⁰ Huntley suggests that the ‘little book’ Duncon received was the Williams MS, an incomplete version of *The Temple*, that George wished to be given to Ferrar when he believed himself to be dying of a quotidian fever in 1626.⁸¹ Although dating the Williams MS to 1626 suggests that ‘Echo in a Church’ and ‘Heaven’ may have been written half a decade apart (BL Add. MS 37157 being dated to 1631), further manuscript evidence indicates that they may have been composed at a similar time to one another. Three autograph drafts of ‘Echo in a Church’, held in The National Archives, can be found in a composite folio which contains Edward’s writing on the war in Spain, dating the manuscript to 1625.⁸²

Edward’s dedication of his manuscript version of *De Veritate* to George just before this indicates that the two brothers had one another in mind when composing their literary works at this time, seen most fully in the way that the two poems ‘Echo in a Church’ and ‘Heaven’ speak to one another. At first reading, the two poems appear markedly different. Metrically, they differ greatly, with the neat iambic pentameter of George’s poem contrasting with the irregular rhythm of Edward’s verse, where the echoing reply is unpredictably and unevenly spaced throughout the poem. Likewise, the arguments of the poems, although both testifying to the divine presence of God’s reassurance through the mouthpiece of an echo, are dissimilar. George’s poem moves steadily from incredulity to peacefulness and contentment, the speaker’s initially imperious questioning receiving simple and elegant answers from the echo with a reassurance of divine bliss in heaven, whereas Edward’s poem is obscure and at times repetitive, the speaker’s opening anguished cry diminishing not to peace, but sheer exhaustion at the end of the poem, with the inscrutable answers offered by the echo raising more questions than they answer. This can be seen in the opening and closing echoes of each poem. ‘Heaven’ begins:

O who will show me those delights on high?

Echo. I.

Thou Echo, thou art mortal, all men know.

Echo. No.

(ll. 1-4)

⁸⁰ Bod. MS Tanner 307 (the Tanner Manuscript).

⁸¹ Frank Huntley, ‘The Williams Manuscript, Edmund Duncon, and Herbert’s Quotidian Fever’, *George Herbert Journal*, 10 (1986), 23-32.

⁸² London, The National Archives, PRO 30/53/9/10, ff. 1^r, 2^r, 21^r-2^v. See Rossi, II, pp. 407-16.

to which the echo comfortingly responds ‘*Ever.*’ (ll. 19-20). In contrast, Edward’s poem ends on an unsettled note. This is not the case in the earlier drafts, in which the final stanza appears thus:

wth crying grow so faint
I must desire thee to acquaint
Whether thou bee thee lord, or but a ^some^ voice
Wch by his Providence and choice
To comfort mee from Heaven came
O tell before, I wholly weary am E. I am⁸⁴

Here, the emphatic final words clearly assert the echo’s divine identity. The tetragrammaton is preserved in the later version, but the meaning is lost:

Then quickly speak,
Since now with crying I am grown so weak,
I shall want force even to crave thy name,
O speak before I wholly weary am.
Echo I am

(ll. 22-6)

In the later version the final echo does not appear in response to any question, and so loses much of its force and reassurance.

Most critics who have treated these two poems together have remarked on these differences in their resolution and comfort, and on George’s more rigorous and subtle exploration of the echo’s identity. Other critics have noticed links or similarities between the poems. Amy Charles connected the brothers through their interest in music, noting that ‘some impression of the extent of [George Herbert’s] musical knowledge may be drawn from his brother Edward’s lute book.’⁸⁵ Mary Ellen Rickey drew parallels between Edward’s verse-form experimentation and George’s frequently praised formal originality, and suggested that the literary evidence implies ‘that George Herbert read at least part of his brother’s verse in manuscript and appropriated some of its formal qualities for his own use’.⁸⁶ Malcolmson explores this at greater length, arguing that

The Temple was conceived within the context of the Herbert family coterie and alluded continually to it; that George Herbert almost certainly sang or recited his

⁸⁴ The National Archives, PRO 30/53/9/10, f. 2^r. The draft on f.2^r seems to be the final version of the poem in this manuscript; it has incorporated the revisions of the other two drafts in neat, and itself contains only minor revisions. The poem as it appears in British Library Add. MS 37157 incorporates many of the revisions found in PRO 30/53/9/10, and is clearly written at a later date with autograph corrections, and is almost identical to the version published in 1665, and so may be taken to represent Edward Herbert’s final version of the poem.

⁸⁵ Amy Charles, *A Life of George Herbert* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), p. 164.

⁸⁶ Mary Ellen Rickey, ‘Rhymecraft in Edward and George Herbert’, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 57 (1958), 502-11 (p. 511).

religious lyrics in the family homes of Chelsea and in Wiltshire; and that it is possible that some of his manuscripts circulated.⁸⁷

In an essay that combines the ideas that Edward Herbert's forms were influenced by musical models, that his musical interests may have overlapped with George's, and that the two brothers circulated manuscripts of their poems within the family circle, Jonathan Nauman explores some of the connections between 'Echo in a Church' and 'Heaven'. Nauman argues that Edward's trip to Italy in 1614-5 was at a time when echo motets were making their débuts, and that, 'given his interest in sacred music and his ensuing poetic experimentation, it seems quite probable that Edward heard performances of one or more of these pieces', pieces which, Nauman suggests, were the inspiration for 'Echo in a Church' and subsequently 'Heaven.'⁸⁸ Nauman concludes:

The formal similarities between Edward and George Herbert's verses show that the brothers probably shared poetic manuscripts with each other; and the absence of any English exemplars of the sacred echo lyrics prior to the Herberts seems to imply that the innovation emanated from the brothers' shared musical interests, and specifically from Edward's knowledge of Italian sacred music.⁸⁹

This is reinforced by another of Herbert's echo poems, which is explicitly linked with Italian music: the poem titled 'Ditty to the tune of *A che del Quantomio of Pesarino*'. It is also worth noting that Herbert has at least eight poems titled 'Ditty' or 'Madrigal', several of which also identify a specific tune to which they should be sung, and two manuscript witnesses of 'Echo in a Church' set the poem to music.⁹⁰ Generally speaking, 'Heaven' has been seen as a poem whose form was possibly inspired by 'Echo in a Church', and whose argument offers a Protestant rejoinder to the Italian echo motets in its emphasis on the sufficiency of the Scriptures for doctrinal knowledge.

Edward and George's poems show similarities beyond their formal features, however, and the arguments and composition of each can be linked. Indeed, George's 'Heaven' may not only have been inspired by Edward's 'Echo in a Church', but may have been composed as a response or

⁸⁷ Malcolmson, 'George Herbert and Coterie Verse', p. 206.

⁸⁸ Jonathan Nauman, 'Herbert and Monteverdi: Sacred Echo and the Italian Baroque', *George Herbert Journal*, 30 (2006), 96-108 (p. 99).

⁸⁹ Nauman, p. 103.

⁹⁰ BL, Add. MS 53723, ff. 82^v-3^r and Los Angeles, Clark Library, C6967M4 Bound, ff. 10^v-12^r. Several other continental contrafacta are found amongst Herbert's poems: 'Ditty in imitation of the Spanish *Entre tantoque L'Avril*', and 'Ditty to the tune of *Coseferite*, made by *Lorenzo Allegre* to one sleeping to be sung', *Poems*, pp. 8-9, 29-30.

mirror to it, the dissimilar elements of the two poems not simply contrasting one another, but even pointing to George's inversion of Edward's verse. 'Echo in a Church' begins with the speaker asking, 'Where shall my troubled soul, at large, / Discharge / The burden of her sins, oh where?' (ll. 1-3), to which, as already discussed, the echo responds with the unknown indexical 'Here'. This preoccupation with location and place, the 'here' of the poem, shifts to a preoccupation with identity and origin, seen in the assonant opening words of the next two lines: 'Whence comes this voice I hear? / Who doth this grace afford?' (ll. 5-6). The opening of 'Heaven' reads almost as an inversion of this, the poem initially concerned with identity rather than location, asking 'O who will show me those delights on high?' and receiving the similarly mysterious indexical response, 'I' (ll. 1-2). The preoccupation of the poem shifts as the speaker, having identified the 'I' of the echo, turns their attention to the 'delights on high', the place and location of bliss, identified in the poem's title as heaven. The endings of the poems likewise mirror and invert one another. 'Echo in a Church' ends with the speaker having 'grown so weak / I shall want force even to crave thy name', begging the echo to 'speak before I wholly weary am' (ll. 23-5), a downbeat ending where the speaker appears exhausted and uncertain. This is contrasted by the contentment and positivity of the final lines of 'Heaven', describing the 'light, joy, and leisure' that the speaker anticipates (l. 19). However, the two endings remain linked by their final statement on the eternal nature of God, the 'I am' of 'Echo in a Church' and elegant and simple conclusion of 'Heaven': 'Light, joy, and leisure; but shall they persevere? / *Echo*. Ever.' (ll. 19-20).

This final 'I am' of 'Echo in a Church' suggests another way in which the two poems may be interacting with one another. The use of the tetragrammaton links the poem with the Old Testament, reinforced by the premise of the speaker communicating directly with God. The poem's obscureness is perhaps not just a feature of Edward Herbert's 'metaphysical' style of poetry, but also indicative of the inscrutability of God. The echo's cryptic replies and the speaker's uncertainty thus articulate the unknowable nature of the divine. 'Heaven', however, makes explicitly clear that the echo is not the voice of God directly, but is the Holy Scriptures, 'the Echo [...] of bliss' (l. 11). It is possible that George responded to the inscrutable God of Edward's poem and depicted his

echo as the voice of God accessible on earth through the Bible, an echo that would offer reassurance and calm. As Rickey notes,

the fact remains that, though as a representative of Heaven, the voice is wiser than the speaker, it *does* echo the human personage of the poem; and appropriately so, for the Bible, as Herbert has elsewhere said, is God's explanation to men of Himself through human exempla. By reading about other people in the Scriptures, man can learn of God and of His dwelling place.⁹¹

From the direct but unknowable God of the Old Testament, to the voice of God through humankind in the Scriptures of the New Testament, the two poems form a striking pair.

'Echo in a Church' and 'Heaven' can also be read as the development of the Christian soul, moving from sin (in 'Echo in a Church') to grace (in 'Heaven'). 'Echo in a Church' is concerned throughout with transgression and sin, made explicit in the opening lines: 'Where shall my troubled soul at large / Discharge / The burden of her sins, oh where?' (ll. 1-3), and the theme recurs later in the poem:

Then though I fall,
 Thy Grace will my defects supply,
 But who will keep my soul from ill,
 Quench bad desires, reform my will?
 (ll. 12-5)

Past, present, and future transgressions concern the speaker of 'Echo in a Church', and the nature of the 'grace' that 'will my defects supply' is not discussed at all in the poem. In contrast, grace, redemption, and the promise of an eternal reward are central to 'Heaven'.

Linguistic echoes resound between the two poems. Both include a powerful imperative from the echoing voice that invites deeper speculation about the nature of the echo: in 'Echo in a Church' the speaker asks 'who undertakes this task' and is instructed to 'Ask' (ll. 20-1), and in 'Heaven' the speaker asks if there 'are any leaves, that still abide' and is told to 'Bide' (ll. 7-8). One of the most striking moments in 'Heaven' comes when the speaker dismisses the echo they hear as mortal, and receives stony denial: 'Thou, Echo, thou art mortal, all men know. / *Echo*. No.' (ll. 3-4). In the earlier drafts of 'Echo in a Church', Edward includes the following lines in his poem:

⁹¹ Rickey, *Utmost Art: Complexity in the Verse of George Herbert* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), p. 36.

Blest bee thy name, and so much more yet blest
 When for the rest
 Thou wouldst this farther mercy show
~~It is o lord that I thy~~ ^That though a mortall I thy^ face might knowe E. no⁹²

In Edward's lines, the speaker begs to know the divine, despite being mortal, and meets a stern refusal. In 'Heaven', George wittily inverts this moment, as his mortal speaker dismisses the immortal echo, and is met with a firm denial. In the earlier drafts of Edward's poem, the echo is identified as coming directly from heaven:

I must desire thee to acquaint
 Whether thou bee thee lord, or but a ^some^ voice
 Wch by his Providence and choice
 To comfort mee from Heaven came
 O tell before, I wholly weary am. E. I am.⁹³

In 'Heaven', of course, the echo does not come *from* heaven, but can describe that state of everlasting bliss to the listener. These examples of the similarities between the poems are not enough by themselves to suggest that George was responding to Edward's poem when he came to write 'Heaven', but together with the development of argument and theme they do suggest that George was engaging much more closely with Edward's poem than has previously been appreciated.

These poems also complicate ideas of authority, autonomy, and gender through the use of echo. Echo, a female voice that gains her power by manipulating her seeming powerlessness – finding and articulating meanings in another's words that were not necessarily intended – is a far cry from the authoritative divine voice that figures in both Edward and George's poems, a voice traditionally characterised as male. These poems also complicate ideas about origin and repetition – the echoes of divinity can surely not be mere repetition of a mortal voice. 'Heaven' resolves this by implying that the knowledge the echo returns to the speaker was somehow always latent within the speaker themselves. Edward seems to be working to resolve this in one of his drafts with a curious feature: the echo's apparent ability to pre-empt the speaker's next final words:

Ec. Here
Where shall my troubled soule at large
 It selfe discharge

⁹² The National Archives, PRO 30/53/9/10, f. 2^r.

⁹³ The National Archives, PRO 30/53/9/10, f. 2^r.

Or wounded conscience comfort find o where E. Here
 Ec. Hence
Whence comes this voice I hear.
 Who ist that of my words repeats the first and last E. the first and last⁹⁴

The echo's ability to predict the speaker's words disrupts entirely the idea that the echo is merely a repetition of an original statement; in fact, the echo in Edward's poem *becomes* the original statement, the first word, both 'the first and last'.

The more metaphorical echoes between George and Herbert's poems are similarly complex when it comes to ideas about original and imitation. Like the echo who 'of my words repeats the first and last', George may not simply have echoed and engaged with 'Echo in a Church' when he wrote 'Heaven'; Edward may have subsequently imitated or echoed George's poem, suggested by manuscript evidence. In 1626, thinking he was dying, George Herbert may have presented Duncon with the Williams Manuscript, containing a copy of 'Heaven'. As Charles and Lillian Myers have pointed out, the layout and ordering of the poems in this manuscript is clearly deliberate and significant.⁹⁵ Myers writes:

it appears that when [George] Herbert worked out the sequencing of the collection he was concerned with much more than merely the order of the poems. He must have calculated verso and recto positionings carefully and deliberately, and fitted the other poems in between, consistently choosing the verso position to mark beginnings and the recto to mark endings.⁹⁶

The placement of 'Heaven' in the collection was clearly significant, and Helen Wilcox has described *The Temple* as a 'poetic echo-chamber', internally echoing across the poems; the same could be said about Edward's personal collections of his poems, and about echoes between the two collections of verse.⁹⁷ When Edward came to compile several of his poems in a small manuscript collection in 1631 (BL, Add. MS 37157), the order of the poems seems to have been important. Julia Griffin has remarked that, 'the manuscript appears 'to be ordered with considerable care, with an eye to both symmetry and variety.'⁹⁸ It appears that the collection was a deliberate selection of

⁹⁴ The National Archives, PRO 30/53/9/10, f. 2^r.

⁹⁵ Charles, *The Williams Manuscript of George Herbert's Poems: A Facsimile Reproduction* (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1977), pp. x-xii.

⁹⁶ Lillian Myers, 'Facing Pages: Layout in the Williams Manuscript of George Herbert's Poems', *George Herbert Journal*, 21 (1997), 73-82 (p. 79).

⁹⁷ George Herbert, *The English Poems of George Herbert*, ed. by Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. xxvii.

⁹⁸ Griffin, p. 48.

his poetry, as Edward had written several poems by 1631 which were not included in the manuscript: 'I must depart', 'How should I love', 'Dear, when I did', the two satires, the epigram for Jonson's 'Horace', the elegies for Cecilia Bulstrode (who died in 1609), Prince Henry (1612), and King James (1625), the poem to Wroth about 'my L. of Pembroke's Child', and three of the four poems that appear in Bod. Rowl. poet 31 and the 1665 edition as a sequence – 'A Description', 'To Her Face', 'To Her Body', and 'To Her Mind'. Not only were the poems for the manuscript deliberately selected, but the arrangement seems to have been significant. On folio 10^r the poem 'To the C. of D.' has been neatly crossed out, and reappears on folio 21^r in an identical form (except that the later entry is titled). There seems to be nothing wrong with the earlier entry, and that it has not been torn out suggests the poem on the reverse of the folio was already in the place Herbert wished it to be.

In both of these collections – deliberately ordered and overseen by the author, who in each case left autograph revisions in the manuscripts – the divine echo poems appear at the conclusion of the collection. In the Williams Manuscript, 'Heaven' is the penultimate poem in *The Temple*, and it is worth noting that George seems to have finished work on this manuscript, or at least was in possession of it, when he was staying at his brother Henry Herbert's house in Woodford, Essex, in 1626.⁹⁹ Edward was in England at this time, having been recalled from France in 1624, and there is a strong possibility, particularly given that George was in Woodford with Henry, that Edward would have seen this manuscript before it was given to Ferrar, once again suggesting the importance of physical household spaces within the Sidney-Herbert households for inspiring poems, and tracing these echoes between works. Several years later, when Edward put together his own collection of poems, he seems to have mimicked George's ordering, and placed 'Echo in a Church' as the final poem of the collection.

In both collections the echo poems are also preceded by poems on death: George's 'Death', appearing two poems before 'Heaven', and Edward's 'To his Mistress for her true Picture' which immediately precedes 'Echo in a Church'. These two poems on death, although at first

⁹⁹ Huntley, pp. 24-6.

glance extremely different, relate to one another in a similar fashion to ‘Echo in a Church’ and ‘Heaven’, and Malcolmson has commented that, ‘Edward Herbert’s ‘To His Mistress for Her True Picture’ is addressed to death, and rebukes the speaker’s attachment to earthly lovers in terms reminiscent of [George] Herbert’s sonnets.’¹⁰⁰ Both poems treat death as something misunderstood and ultimately positive, but whilst George’s poem turns to the grace of Christ to offer meaning to death, Edward’s poem turns to the ‘noble Worms’ who will dissolve the body (l. 107). George’s poem deals with the spirituality of death, whilst Edward looks to the earth. If we accept Henry Herbert’s title of Edward’s echo poem, then the titles of the brothers’ echo poems suggest a pattern like that in their poems on death: ‘Echo in a Church’ and ‘Heaven’ are concerned with earthly spirituality (the church), and the divine (heaven) respectively.

The households of the Sidney-Herbert resound with literary echoes between texts, and the writers in these households seem especially attuned to the ways that echoes can relate to ideas of lineage, origins, authority, and gender. In particular, their texts are curiously sensitive to the contradictions of Echo/echo: a figure or device which is simultaneously silent and speaking, secular and divine, powerless and almighty, representative of death and immortality, origin and response. All these ideas and tensions figure throughout the writings of the Sidney-Herbert households, and the echoes of their work are at their most revealing when read as a shared dialogue and series of responses. In particular, Mary Wroth’s use of echo (and Echo) is bound up with her assertion of her place in the literary lineage and inheritance of the Sidney-Herbert family. This was also part of what Herbert was doing when he echoed *Love’s Victory* in *The Amazon*, as well as strengthening ties with his relatives. In the final chapter of my thesis I explore this idea further, suggesting how Herbert continued to assert a literary heritage (one specifically linked to prose romance) through ideas about literary inheritance, as well as exploring the textual afterlives of Herbert’s poetry and prose.

¹⁰⁰ Malcolmson, ‘George Herbert and Coterie Verse’, p. 215.

Chapter 5

‘Where authors of all complexions are preserved’: Herbert’s Literary Legacy

The 1665 edition of Herbert’s verse begins with a poem about the paradoxes of time, titled, ‘To his Watch, when he could not sleep’:

Uncessant Minutes, whil’st you move you tell
 The time that tells our life, which though it run
 Never so fast or farr, you’r new begun
 Short steps shall overtake; for though life well

May scape his own Account, it shall not yours,
 You are Death’s Auditors, that both divide
 And summ what ere that life inspir’d endures
 Past a beginning, and through you we bide

The doom of Fate, whose unrecall’d Decree
 You date, bring, execute; making what’s new
 Ill and good, old, for as we die in you,
 You die in Time, Time in Eternity.

(ll. 1-12)¹

It is one of Herbert’s most elegant verses. Out of all of the poems previously discussed in this thesis, its tone is most similar to ‘Echo in Church’, although it is both more melancholy, and more quietly triumphant than most of Herbert’s poems. The single, long sentence is delicately broken by the staccato alliteration of the repeated ‘t’ in the first two lines – onomatopoeically mimicking the ticking clock – whilst the persistent enjambment both drags the verse inexorably onwards, and creates a halting rhythm. Throughout, the tension between the individual – a moment, a person, a life – and the eternal finds expression through a series of neatly turned contradictions or paradoxes which suffuse the poem. The minutes are ‘uncessant’, but it is only ‘*whil’st* you move’ that they ‘tell / The time that tells our life’, already looking forward to the end of the poem when time will cease (ll. 1-2, my emphasis). The minutes have ‘Short steps’ which nevertheless ‘shall overtake’; they both ‘divide / And summ’ (ll. 4, 6-7). Time, and the minutes which measure it, are ‘Death’s Auditors’, and the executors of the ‘doom of Fate’ (ll. 6, 9), but in the penultimate line the conceit of the poem changes. Throughout Herbert has read the self into the clock (‘The time that tells our

¹ Herbert, *Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury and Castle-Island, Deceased in August, 1648* (London: T. R., 1665), p. 1.

life', l. 2), but now the clock is read into the self: 'for as we die in you / You die in Time, Time in Eternity'. The minutes infinitely measure out a time that is finite, for beyond death there is the eternal. Time 'tells our life', but in our death time itself will end.²

If 'To his Watch' runs relentlessly towards death, it is primarily preoccupied with life, and particularly the summation of a life, the theme which this chapter explores. 'To his Watch' differs from Milton's poem on a similar theme, 'On Time', which halfway through moves beyond the mortal realm to describe the 'long eternity [that] shall greet our bliss', and the 'joy', 'truth, and peace and love' that awaits, comparable to George's echo poem discussed in the previous chapter, and in contrast to Edward's echo poem.³ By contrast, Herbert's poem moves only through mortal life, and looks back to it with concern for 'The time that tells our life', noting that 'though life well / May scape his own Account, it shall not yours' (ll. 2, 4-5). Like Herbert here, this chapter is interested in the idea of 'telling a life', and particularly the way that time 'tells a life', and how time affects the accounts we make of our lives. It will address the ways in which Herbert's autobiographical *Life of Himself*, like his poems, has been subject to a series of narratives that have been imposed on it over time: both the *Life* and Herbert's poems were, after all, published posthumously. Like 'To his Watch', this chapter is concerned with Herbert's life, his (literary) life after death, and the retrospective accounts and readings of that life.

This thesis began by considering Jonson's poem, and the many 'parts' or 'virtues' that make up a man. This chapter ties together several themes and arguments of the thesis, examining Herbert's *Life* and his *Poems* by thinking about the literary legacy they provided for Herbert. In the Introduction I discussed Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* and ideas about imitation, and much of this text centres around Sidney's comparison of philosophers, historians, and poets. These are the principal 'names' by which Herbert has been known – in fact, he has been principally known as either a 'philosopher' or an 'historian', and this thesis has recognised him as a 'poet'. However, as Chapter

² Ronald Bedford and Philippa Kelly suggest that Herbert is 'contributing to a controversy, still active in the seventeenth century, over the Averroists' denial of personal immortality, and is arguing that each person, conscious of its selfhood, will rise from the dead with the same identity as in life', *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation 1500-1660* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 27.

³ John Milton, 'On Time' in *The Major Works*, ed. by Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 15-6 (p. 15), ll. 11, 13, 16.

3 argued, one constitutive ‘part’ of a whole cannot stand metonymically for the whole. Herbert’s *Life* is the text which best encapsulates the three imitative writers that Sidney identified, and which Herbert has been defined by: philosopher, historian, and poet. The *Life* is Herbert’s history of himself, informed by his philosophy, and the principles of imitation that his poems exemplify as this thesis has explored.

Like the theories of imitation and *imitatio* discussed in Chapter 1, Herbert’s *Life* is about becoming a man – a good virtuous, man – through imitation, and like the previous chapter, this chapter is concerned with family and self-representation and -preservation in literature. This chapter addresses Herbert’s attempts to use his writings to teach and bequeath a certain ideal of manhood to his heirs. In his *Life*, Herbert tells his heirs and descendants that if they imitate the model or pattern that he lays out in the *Life*, that they will become virtuous men. However, Herbert’s narrative strategy to depict this ideal manhood involves his own act of imitation: modelling his life, and the history of that life, on chivalric romances. This has left Herbert open to the charge of being a ridiculous, Don Quixote-like fool, who lived his life by imitating art. As Chapter 2 of this thesis showed, and as this chapter demonstrates further, imitation (and the charges of mutability that successful imitation of another can bring) is liable to satirical attack. The history of the *Life*’s publication by Horace Walpole bears this out. However, Walpole’s manipulation of Herbert’s posthumous reputation was not without precedent. This chapter, after an extended consideration of Herbert’s *Life*, explores the role that Edward’s brother Henry Herbert played in the publication of both his poems and the *Life*, and argues that Henry’s publication of Edward’s poems played on a Royalist nostalgia to improve Edward’s (and Henry’s) reputation after the restoration of Charles II, and attempted to counter claims of Edward’s atheism.

This chapter will approach the poems and the *Life* as literary artefacts and as material texts, untangling their complex publication history, and relating it to the circulation of Herbert’s verse. The quotation which forms the title of this chapter describes Herbert’s library, and is taken from Donne’s dedicatory letter which accompanied the text of *Biathanatos* sent to Herbert: ‘my book cannot choose a wholesomer air than your library, where authors of all complexions are

[preservd].⁴ Libraries, archives, and repositories feature throughout this chapter in my discussion of the ‘preservation’ of Herbert, but I will also attend to the ways that this ‘preservation’ has been artfully constructed by later publishers, and how Herbert’s ‘complexion’ has been manipulated in doing so. What might we take ‘authors of all complexions’ to mean? While on one level Donne is complimenting Herbert on his varied and diverse collection of books, ‘preservation’ and ‘complexion’ also suggest ideas about the ‘preservation’ of Herbert’s literary texts, and the composite elements that make up the man and his verse. The phrase carries further resonances: ‘complexion’ can refer to both outward and inward characteristics, suggesting a person’s visible aspect or appearance and their temperament, as well as the combination of the four humours in a certain proportion.⁵ The word ‘complexion’ could also be used as a transitive verb, meaning ‘to constitute by various elements; to put together, compose’.⁶ The phrase thus prompts a consideration of how Herbert is preserved and presented in the various repositories he appears in, whether they are manuscript collections of poetry, overlooked chests in country estates, or his own literary works. In many ways this thesis has been concerned with drawing the ‘complexion’ of Herbert, addressing the composite, various elements that make up the man and the poetry. Here, I am also interested in the ways that Herbert tried to bequeath this ‘complexion’ to his heirs, by setting himself up as model to be imitated.

My approach in this chapter is influenced by work on the reception of poets, in particular Gavin Alexander’s research into the literary ‘responses’ to Sidney, and Katherine Rundell’s work on the textual afterlives of Donne’s verse, and her strategy of ‘strip[ping] away modern notions of what “Donne” is and seek[ing] multiple afterlives’.⁷ Similarly, this chapter explores the ‘multiple afterlives’ of Herbert’s texts and his ‘self’, arguing that these have been modulated and

⁴ John Donne, *Selected Letters*, ed. by P. M. Oliver (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2002), p. 38. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in the first edition of Donne’s letters the letter reads: ‘it cannot chuse a wholsomeraire then your Library, where Authors of all complexions are presented’, a reading which Oliver’s edition preserves. However, the manuscript original (Oxford, Bodleian, MS.e.Mus.131, p. x) of the letter clearly reads ‘preservd’ rather than ‘presented’, which is the reading I have supplied in the above quotation. Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (London: Richard Marriot, 1651), p. 20.

⁵ *OED*, ‘complexion’, *n.*, I. 1a, 3, 4a.

⁶ *OED*, ‘complexion’, *v.* 1.

⁷ Katherine Rundell, “‘And I am Re-Begot’”: The Textual Afterlives of John Donne’ (unpublished D.Phil., University of Oxford, 2016), p. 3

manipulated by later publishers and readers. ‘To his Watch’ suggests Herbert’s preoccupation with making an account of himself, the driving impulse behind his *Life of Himself*, with which this chapter will be principally concerned. Any consideration of Herbert’s poetry ignores his *Life* at its peril, as the two overlap considerably in subject matter, style, and publication history, and are mutually illuminating. In addition, the *Life* – despite being one of Herbert’s best-known works – is also rarely considered in detail, and as an early example of a deliberately autobiographical work at a time when that genre was just beginning to develop and proliferate, it is fascinating and warrants a more detailed analysis. The *Life* is also one of the most accessible, entertaining, and engaging pieces of writing that Herbert produced.

Moreover, considering the *Life* in the context of Herbert’s poetry is revealing, because it includes a version of one of Herbert’s poems, and because it refers to several incidents and occasions which appear to have inspired Herbert’s poetry. For example, Herbert recounts in the *Life* two occasions on which he was particularly struck by a woman singing. The first, in Venice, was when Sir Dudley Carleton took him to see a nun in Murano, who sang so beautifully that Herbert observed to her afterwards, ‘Dye whensoever you will you neither neede to Change voice nor face to bee an Angell’.⁸ Not long after, whilst in Milan, Herbert describes unexpectedly hearing another nun sing: ‘Hey Uoyce was the sweetest strongest and clearest that euer I heard In the vseing whereof also she shewed that Art as ravisht vs into Admiration’.⁹ Both may well have prompted Herbert’s poem, ‘To a Lady who did sing excellently’, dated to 1618 in Add. MS 37157:

When our rude & unfashion’d words, that long
 A being in their elements enjoy’d,
 Senseless and void,
 Come at last to be formed by thy tongue,
 And from thy breath receive that life and place,
 And perfect grace
 That now thy power diffus’d through all their parts
 Are able to remove
 All the obstructions of the hardest hearts,
 And teach the most unwilling how to love
(ll. 1-10)

⁸ Herbert, *Life*, p. 73.

⁹ Herbert, *Life*, p. 76.

Similarly, Herbert describes at length the appearance of the daughter of an innkeeper during his journey to France to raise troops for the Duke of Savoy, focusing particularly on her dark features: ‘her haire being of a shining Black was naturally curled [...] her Eyes which were round and black seemed to bee a Modell of her whole beautye and in some sort her heyre while a kynde of light or flame came from them’.¹⁰ This incident may have been the inspiration for some of Herbert’s various poems on dark beauty, and certainly indicates thematic and ideational similarity between the *Life* and the poems, particularly the poem ‘To her Hair’, which opens, ‘Black beamy hairs, which so seem to arise / From the extraction of those eyes’ (ll. 1-2). Even if neither of these incidents were the direct inspiration for Herbert’s poems, the two texts inform one another’s responses to a shared interest.

The *Life* also contains one – or two, in one witness of the work – of Herbert’s poems which are illustrative of thematic overlaps between the *Life* and the poems, as well as the complex textual history of both texts. Having described his own childhood, Herbert remarks that,

when I came to riper years I made this Observation which afterwards a litle Comforted mee, that as I found my selfe in possession of this life without knowing any thing of the Pangs and throwes my Mother suffered when yet doubtlesse they did noe less presse and afflict mee then her, soe I hope my Soule shall passe to a better life then this without being sensible of the Anguish and paines my body shall feele in death, For as I beleieve then I shalbee transmitted to a more happy estate by Gods Greate Grace I am confident I shall noe more knowe how I came out of this worlde then how I came into it; And because since that tyme I haue made verses to this Purpose I haue thought fit to insert them here as a place proper for them¹¹

What follows is a Latin poem – titled ‘Vita’ in the *Life* – which describes four stages of life: first, the fertile seed of life, which is imbued with the ‘Vis Plastica or Formatrix’; second, the formation of the foetus in the womb, where it develops the senses and creates a shelter for the mind, which ‘Caelo delapsa’ (‘glides down from Heaven’); third, the theatre of Earth and Heaven is revealed, in which the soul wanders, and perceives the divinity from afar; fourth, the mind is rarefied and anticipates a better fate beyond this life.¹² In a similar fashion to ‘To his Watch’, the poem ostensibly drives forward towards an eternal, greater life, which is never described, and so the

¹⁰ Herbert, *Life*, p. 79.

¹¹ Herbert, *Life*, p. 12.

¹² Herbert, *Life*, p. 12.

poem itself preserves a retrospective focus, even as its drive is anticipatory. The tension between looking forward and looking backward pervades the *Life*, and Herbert links both through the imagery of birth and rebirth. Both Herbert's *Life* and his poems indicate his interest in the stages of life, and the growth and development of a man.

There are however several versions of the poem 'Vita' – which shares so many of the concerns of the *Life* – and these different versions are suggestive of some of the knotty issues which surround the publication of the *Life* and the poems. One version is included in the manuscript copy of the *Life* that bears authorial annotations and corrections (this is the version I have been discussing), but there is a longer version of the poem included in a later manuscript witness of the *Life*, where it is also followed by another poem titled 'Ed Vita Caelesti Conjectura' (which Moore Smith gives the title 'De Vita cœlesti, ex iisdem principiis conjectura'). Both poems also appeared in Herbert's *De Causis Errorum* in 1645 and 1656. Moore Smith includes the version of 'Vita' found in *De Causis Errorum* in his edition of the poems under the title 'De Vita Humana Philosophica Disquisitio' (this long version describes a fifth and sixth stage of life, the heavenly reward). It is entirely possible that the poems were copied into the later manuscript version of the *Life* from *De Causis Errorum*, but this raises a further curiosity. After 'De Vita Humana' and 'De Vita Cœlesti', *De Causis Errorum* includes a third poem, on a similar theme: 'Hæred. Ac Nepot. Suis Præcepta & Consilia E. B. H. de C. & C. I. de K.' (consisting of 372 lines in the 1645 edition, and 116 lines in the 1656 edition). Of the three poems, this final one most resembles the rest of *Life*, repeating some of the advice that Herbert gives to his heirs in that text. It also recalls another text which I will discuss shortly: Herbert's will, in that it includes references to Herbert's books and library, that anticipate the directions that he would give in his will. It is curious, then, not only that the poem is not included in any of the copies of the *Life*, but that, despite being printed some twenty years before, it is also not included in the 1665 edition of Herbert's poems printed by his brother Henry. These poems, in their variant states, capture some of the complications surrounding the posthumous publication of Herbert's *Life* and his poems, and the problems of omission and authorial intention.

‘as my Age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions’: Herbert’s *Life of Himself*

Generically the *Life* can be described as many things – memoir, recollection, autobiography, self-eulogy, and manifesto – and different terms have been employed by later publishers and readers to impose variant readings on the text, and Herbert. The *Life* itself does not offer a complete account of Herbert’s life, but breaks off in 1624, concluding with Herbert’s decision to publish *De Veritate* in Paris, and just before he was recalled from his embassy in France. Roughly speaking, it is divided into three sections: a history of the Herbert family and advice on education, along with an account Herbert’s own childhood (pp. 1-41); Herbert’s first travels in Europe between 1608-10 and 1614-7, and the esteem in which he was held in England after this time (pp. 42-87); and Herbert’s time as ambassador in France (pp. 88-121). Before considering the text’s stated intentions and narrative strategy, it is useful to establish a full overview of the work, since the text is often very selectively represented in modern critical accounts.

The first section is principally concerned with asserting Herbert’s noble lineage and giving an overview of his immediate family, as well as providing an extensive account of his own education and learning, and advising the kinds of skills and education that his male heirs should be taught. This part of the text has generally received little critical attention, with the exception of the few details that Herbert offers about his mother and his brother George. Having described his father’s side of the family back by four generations, recounting various stories testifying to his ancestors’ bravery and sense of justice, Herbert describes his mother and grandmother, commending the latter particularly for the way in which she handled her domestic and financial affairs. His description of his mother is brief, praising her principally for her conduct in regards to his father, before concluding that she ‘was that Woman Dr Donne hath described in his funeral Sermon of her printed’, a comment which directs curious readers elsewhere, outside of Herbert’s own *Life* to Donne’s memorial sermon for Magdalen Herbert (p. 8). Herbert has relatively little to say about his brothers – much to the chagrin of later George Herbert scholars – apart from his youngest brother Thomas, whose military adventures and accomplishments Herbert recounts in some detail. Thomas was not the only of Herbert’s brothers who distinguished himself in fighting

and travelling, which some critics have suggested is the reason for his preferential treatment in the *Life*; Herbert recounts that Richard and Henry also gave ‘several proofs of [their] Courage in Duells’ (p. 9), whilst William performed impressive feats in battle in Denmark. Instead it is quite possible that Thomas was simply Edward’s favourite, as the youngest son, born after the death of their father, and that Edward viewed him as a kind of son, a view that may have been exacerbated by his somewhat strained relationship with his own children around the time that he was writing his *Life*.¹³

A large section of the opening of the *Life* (pp. 17-37) is devoted to Herbert’s ‘observations concerning ordinary Education; euen from the first Infancy vntill the departure from the Vniversity As being desirous (together with the Narration of my life) to deliuer such rules as I conceiue may bee useful to my posterity.’ (p. 17). Here, Herbert stipulates that young boys attend school and better their learning and manners, and that they are attended at university so as not to fall into vice, and keep good company at all times, privileging goodness and manners above learning and knowledge (p. 19). Herbert particularly recommends that gentlemen have an understanding of military matters and of medicine, relaying some account of his own success treating various illnesses, and providing lists of medical texts. He then goes on to address ‘morall vertues and Theologicall learning’, recommending piety, forgiveness, the learning of rhetoric, and laying down the five common notions which he recommends in *De Veritate*. For exercise, Herbert foremost recommends a man learn dancing, fencing, and riding the great horse – in that particular order – and secondarily recommends learning to swim, although he admits that he never really learnt to dance or to swim. He is unequivocal in his disapproval of hunting and gambling, and we might speculate whether Herbert’s dislike of hunting and his lack of skills as a dancer were at least partly responsible for his lack of preferment from King James, who was a keen hunter and delighted in the dancing of his favourites, notably Buckingham, in court masques.

¹³ Herbert had quarrelled with his eldest son Richard over the latter’s debts in 1635-6, although in 1642 Herbert appears to have taken in Richard’s family at Montgomery. Nevertheless the two certainly were at odds over Herbert’s actions during the Civil War, particularly when he surrendered Montgomery castle to Parliamentary forces in 1644. For more on this, see J. H. Hanford, ‘Lord Herbert of Cherbury and his Son’, *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 5 (1942), 317-32. Herbert also appears at one point to have been on bad terms with his daughter Beatrice, suggested by a letter from 1643 (TNA, PRO 30/53/7/30).

Following his discursus on education, Herbert narrates his time spent abroad travelling in Europe, where he became a close friend to Henri I de Montmorency and his son, spending a good deal of time at their houses at Merlou and Chantilly, riding and hunting (despite his avowed disapproval of this form of exercise), before recounting the warm reception he received in England when he returned in early 1610, and again in the summer of the same year after his journey abroad to fight at the siege of Juliers. Herbert describes how in 1614 he again left England and spent time on the continent, fighting in the Low Countries, meeting with the Prince of Orange, and visiting many European cities, including Heidelberg, Venice, Florence, Rome, Turin, Lyons, and Geneva.

The overriding theme of this section of the *Life* is Herbert asserting his valour and honour through feats of arms, particularly in battle and in his regular challenges (and occasional fights) in duels, and therefore this is the section of the work which is most often discussed. The theme of violent quarrels is still present, although less dominant in the final section of the text. However, Herbert's principal preoccupation in the final third of the *Life* is to narrate his time and role as ambassador in France, emphasising his successes and offering some explanation of his difficulties, particularly his disagreement with the Duc de Luynes, the favourite of Louis. Herbert describes his campaigns on behalf of the Elector Palatine with both James and Louis, and the preoccupation with the French marriage negotiations during his second embassy. He also treats the reader to a few details about 'my selfe which though they may seeme scarce Credible yet I protest before God are true': how he mysteriously grew taller during his embassy, weighed less than men slimmer and shorter than himself, had a pulse in the crown of his head, and how 'the shirts waste Coates and other Garments I weare next my body are sweete beyond what either easily can bee beleiued or hath bin obserued in any els'.¹⁴ Finally, the *Life* ends abruptly with Herbert's replacement as ambassador, for which no reason is offered, other than the statement: 'the Treaty of a Match with France continuing still, It was though fit for the concluding thereof that the Earle of Carlile and the Earle of Holland should be sent Extraordinary Ambassadors to France.'¹⁵

¹⁴ Herbert, *Life*, pp. 101-2.

¹⁵ Herbert, *Life*, p. 121.

The *Life*'s early modern readership would have perceived this text as part memoir, part self-eulogy, and part manual for living well, but since the nineteenth century it has been most commonly seen as an autobiography. This term brings with it difficulties as well as advantages. The term 'autobiography' was first used by Robert Southey in 1807, and a more general identification of the literary genre is a late twentieth-century phenomenon; as Conal Condren puts it, the word 'autobiography' is

a neologism invented to encapsulate clear forms of reflexive narrative from the late eighteenth century onward and is now readily seen as a distinct genre of writing. Yet how far back its range can be extended backward and what is actually gained by doing so are altogether more tricky issues.¹⁶

A long-running debate which has informed many studies of early modern 'autobiographies', and which owes much to Jacob Burckhardt, is the narrative of the 'birth' of early modern subjectivity, which suggests that as the seventeenth century progressed, the human mind developed, approaching a more 'perfect' state of 'self-awareness'; Paul Delany's work falls broadly into this category, and he derides Herbert's *Life* for failing to 'advance the art of introspection'.¹⁷ Ronald Bedford and Philippa Kelly, on the other hand, argue that 'studies of autobiography frequently assume an essential value or trajectory as intrinsic to autobiographical discourse', placing particular emphasis on the emergence of the 'self', in many ways an anachronistic concept for the seventeenth century.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Adam Smyth identifies two major problems with the 'birth of subjectivity' thesis: that it prioritises a decidedly modern model of subjectivity, and that the claims

¹⁶ Conal Condren, 'Specifying the Subject in Early Modern Autobiography', in *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices*, ed. by Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis, & Philippa Kelly (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp. 35-48 (p. 35).

¹⁷ Paul Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969) (p. 16).

¹⁸ Bedford and Kelly, p. 6. They point to several approaches to autobiography. Formalist-stylistic approaches: John Sturrock, *The Language of Autobiography: Studies in the First Person Singular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); James Olney, *Metaphors of the Self: The Meaning of Autobiography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972); and William C. Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980). Historical approaches: Dean Ebner, *Autobiography in Seventeenth-Century England: Theology and the Self* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971); Patricia Ann Meyer Spacks, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997). Feminist perspectives: Nancy K. Miller, *Getting Personal: Feminist Occasions and other Autobiographical Acts* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991); and postmodern accounts: Robert Elbaz, *The Changing Nature of the Self: A Critical Study of the Autobiographical Discourse* (London: Croom Helm, 1988).

made about the particular developments of subjectivity and ideas of self in the seventeenth century can be made for many other periods in history.¹⁹

As alternative terms to ‘autobiography’, and all of its anachronistic ideas about the self in relation to the world, various critics have suggested ‘life-writing’, a term, as Smyth puts it, ‘designating, more broadly, written records of a writer’s experiences. This label’s lack of baggage enables some consideration of genre or convention without the imposition of anachronistic expectations of coherence.’²⁰ Another alternative term is a description of a text as ‘autobiographical’, or to speak of an ‘autobiographical act’ rather than a text, which Meredith Ann Skura suggests is especially useful ‘because it reminds us that ‘autobiography’ implies an act as well as a text’, and that it emphasises ‘what an author is doing as well as what she says.’²¹ In general this is the term that I have opted to use to discuss Herbert’s *Life of Himself*, because I think its adjectival nature usefully denotes that it is only one approach to think of the text in terms of autobiography, as well as retaining the word ‘autobiography’ itself. Smyth argues that the problems the term ‘autobiography’ raises can be critically productive, and that it ‘helps to foreground those often problematic assumptions, and to illuminate the instability of forms of early modern written lives’.²² Awareness of the anachronistic assumptions within ‘autobiography’ is also a useful way to reveal how mid-eighteenth-century understandings of manhood, romance, and autobiography were overlaid onto Herbert’s text, and how this has shaped subsequent readings of the work. In many ways the *Life* has the form of what we would, in modern terms, expect of an autobiography, but has also been criticised for lacking the introspection that a modern autobiography is expected to display. This, in turn, has fostered an opinion of the work which depicts Herbert himself as an anachronism, a dinosaur championing outdated models of manhood. What begins to emerge from a consideration of Herbert’s ‘autobiographical’ *Life* is the way in

¹⁹ Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 10-11.

²⁰ Smyth, *Autobiography*, pp. 13-4.

²¹ Meredith Ann Skura, *Tudor Autobiography: Listening for Inwardness* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 9.

²² Smyth, *Autobiography*, p. 14.

which critical anachronism breeds further critical anachronisms, as the text is wrenched into unfamiliar reading models.

Romance, Chivalry, and the *Life*: ‘not vnlike the Romances of Knights Errands’

It is necessary to adjust our view of the *Life* by becoming aware of the accreted layers of interpretation and framings that have brought the text to its modern readers and critics, and when we do so, its relation to the poems becomes clearer. Discussing the first publication of the *Life*, and the kinds of readings and interpretations this prompted, helps to highlight the importance of romance and chivalry to the narrative strategy of the *Life*, and prompts a consideration of the ways in which romance and autobiography coalesce in interpretatively productive ways. Herbert’s *Life* has, since its publication in 1764, been read as an amusement and a distraction. Horace Walpole, who first published the text at his Strawberry Hill press, framed the text in this way in both his correspondence and his preface. Walpole’s letters narrate how he came across the manuscript of the *Life* at the house of Lady Hertford, and read it to the recently widowed Lady Waldegrave:

Gray and I read it to amuse her – we could not go on for laughing and screaming. I begged to have it in print – Lord Powis [Herbert’s descendant], sensible of the extravagance, refused. I insisted – he persisted. I told my Lady Hertford it was no matter, I would print it, I was determined. I sat down and wrote a flattering dedication to Lord Powis, which I knew he would swallow: He did, and gave up his ancestor.²³

Herbert’s *Life* is here figured as a distraction for the Lady Waldegrave, and as a thing of amusement and ridicule. Walpole’s correspondence following the text’s publication confirms this: ‘I rejoice Lord Herbert has diverted you. I own, it appears to me the most singular book that was ever written. I am overpaid if it has answered my purpose in amusing you.’²⁴ In regards to the preface of the text, Walpole wrote that:

I was resolved that the world should not think I admired it seriously (though there are really fine passages in it and good sense too) – I drew up an equivocal preface, in which you will discover my opinion; and sent it with the dedication. The Earl gulped down the one under the palliative of the other.²⁵

²³ Horace Walpole, *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, ed. by W.S. Lewis, 48 vols, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937-83), x (1941) pp. 129-30.

²⁴ Walpole, *Correspondence*, xxxv (1973), p. 452.

²⁵ Walpole, *Correspondence*, x (1941) p. 130.

Walpole's preface is suffused with an ironic tone, mocking where it seems to praise, and repeatedly referring to Herbert, ambiguously, as 'extraordinary': in the dedication Walpole states, 'hitherto Lord Herbert has been little known but as an Author. I much mistake, if hereafter he is not considered as one of the most extraordinary characters which this country has produced.'²⁶

Walpole's most enduring comment, which explicitly directs and dictates the reader's response to Herbert, is both misleading and revealing: 'I will anticipate the Reader's surprize, tho' it shall be but in a word: to his astonishment he will find, that the History of Don Quixote was the Life of Plato'.²⁷ It was an observation that clearly caught readers' attention: Alex Davis comments that 'Walpole's correspondence indicates that his readers accepted Herbert's *Life* on the terms that it was offered to them', noting how in 1777 one George Hardinge wrote to Walpole 'in the Quixot spirit of your hero, my Lord Herbert', and the Reverend William Cole wondered how the author of *De Veritate* 'could have lived and acted the part of Don Quixote in reality'.²⁸ Walpole's direction to the reader of the *Life* captures what Davis describes as the two key themes of Walpole's edition of Herbert's *Life*: 'contradiction and Quixotism'. Walpole, through the preface and dedication and his correspondence surrounding the *Life*, suggests that Herbert's life conflicts with his philosophical interests, and that the 'chivalric colouring' with which Herbert describes his life suggests that Herbert was out of touch with reality.²⁹

It is a view which has dominated criticism of the work ever since: Sidney Lee declared Herbert a 'freak of nature', who may have sought his 'home in dreamland'; Basil Willey, in his article, 'Lord Herbert of Cherbury: A Spiritual Quixote of the Seventeenth Century', sees in Herbert both the 'Middle Ages and the modern world [...] Quixotry with Deism', but ultimately finds that these qualities 'contrast strangely'.³⁰ Shuttleworth, the editor of the most recent edition

²⁶ Herbert, *The Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Written by Himself*, ed. by Horace Walpole (Strawberry Hill, 1764), sig. A1^v.

²⁷ Herbert, *The Life of Edward Herbert*, ed. by Walpole, p. xiii.

²⁸ Davis's study of Herbert's autobiography offers an important nuance to the comedy which has been read into Herbert's *Life*. Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 144.

²⁹ Davis, p. 143.

³⁰ Herbert, *Life*, ed. by Lee, p. xl. Basil Willey, 'Lord Herbert of Cherbury: A Spiritual Quixote of the Seventeenth Century', *Essays and Studies of the English Association*, 27 (1941), 22-9 (p. 22).

of the *Life*, begins his introduction to the text by listing all of Herbert's supposed 'contradictions', before concluding: 'He was, in sum, as self-contradictory as the political and intellectual age in which he lived: a gentleman adventurer and dilettante philosopher, the last knight-errant and the first deist.'³¹ The cumulative result of the influence of Walpole's edition has been to render Herbert a self-contradictory figure, who can be caricatured as a figure of comedy. Griffin's only reference to Walpole's famous pronouncement is given in a footnote, followed by a weary, parenthetical aside: 'It may seem churlish to relegate such a smart remark to a footnote; but all who work on Herbert know how very thin it wears.'³²

Eugene Hill has attempted to nuance this view by suggesting that Herbert is deliberately figuring his younger self as a figure of fun: 'the error [...] lies not in the reader's laughing, but in missing the point that the author is laughing all the way.'³³ While partially absolving Herbert from the charge of Quixotism, Hill's approach nevertheless preserves the comedy of a perceived Quixotism 'by reproducing it on another, chronological, level'.³⁴ Focusing on Herbert's practice of duelling in the *Life*, Davis shows how Herbert was neither 'extraordinary' nor 'contradictory', suggesting that his philosophical commitment to truth is 'entirely aristocratic' and in line with his chivalric duelling, in regards to which 'so far as Herbert himself is concerned, his actions are eminently honourable – and moreover totally in tune with society at large'.³⁵ Take, for example, the incident when Herbert witnesses a French cavalier take a ribbon from the ten-year-old granddaughter of the Duc de Montmorency, and attempts to retrieve it for her, before challenging the cavalier to a duel 'because I thought my selfe obliged thereunto by the oath taken when I was made Knight of the Bath.'³⁶ Walpole derides Herbert's behaviour in one of his longest footnotes, concluding that:

³¹ Herbert, *Life*, p. x.

³² Davis, p. 144; Griffin, p. 2.

³³ Eugene Hill, *Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (Boston, MA: Tulane Publishers, 1987), pp. 108-9.

³⁴ Davis, p. 145.

³⁵ Davis, pp. 165, 145. Truth was a central issue to the duel, hence the importance of 'giving the lie' in the preliminary provocations of the duel. For more on the duel in early modern England see Jennifer Low, *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

³⁶ Herbert, *Life*, p. 42.

This Oath being no longer supposed to bind, it is a strange mockery to invoke Heaven on so trifling an occasion. It wou'd be more strange if every Knight, like the too conscientious Lord Herbert, thought himself bound to cut a man's throat every time a Miss lost her topknot!³⁷

However, Herbert's contemporaries did not find the incident strange: when he hears of this altercation, Montmorency dismisses the French cavalier, and 'That Braue Conestable de France *testifying now more than formerly his regard of mee* at his departure from Merlou to his faire house att Chantilly fiue or six mile distant said he left that Castle to bee Commanded by mee' (my emphasis).³⁸ Davis argues that if Herbert's 'actions seems misplaced, breaching some hidden principle of decorum or proportion [...] may it not be instead that the eighteenth century's perceptions of what is congruent are misplaced in a seventeenth-century context?'³⁹ Labelling Herbert and his actions as anachronistic is, in fact, itself an anachronistic application of eighteenth-century attitudes to heroism, romance, and masculinity.

Walpole, it must be remembered, was publishing his edition of Herbert's *Life* in the wake of a flurry of purportedly autobiographical comic novels such as *Pamela* (1740), *Tom Jones* (1749), and *Tristram Shandy* (1759-67), and at the same time that he was writing and publishing his own gothic text, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764).⁴⁰ *Otranto*, with its prefatory discussion of 'discovering' manuscripts, and its hyperbolic depiction of early medieval chivalry and romance, is an intriguing counterpoint to Walpole's framing of Herbert's *Life*, which has not previously been considered. What *Otranto*'s preface suggests is Walpole's investment in chivalry and romance as specifically medieval, 'ancient' models of behaviour which by the mid-seventeenth century are obsolete; Davis comments that for Walpole and later critics who view Herbert as an anachronistic Quixote 'there is [...] something incongruous in the spectacle of a man of the Jacobean era – the early *modern* period, no less – regulating his conduct in line with what they consider to be the ideals of a bygone age.'⁴¹ In the preface to *Otranto*, Walpole's fiction of discovering a 1529

³⁷ Herbert, *The Life of Edward Herbert*, ed. by Walpole, p. 60.

³⁸ Herbert, *Life*, pp. 43, 45.

³⁹ Davis, p. 145.

⁴⁰ Walpole, *The castle of Otranto, a story. Translated by William Marshal, Gent. From the original Italian of Onuphrio Muralto* (London: Tho[mas] Lownds, 1764).

⁴¹ Davis, p. 167.

translation of a manuscript containing tales of knightly chivalry and romance, dated to some time during the Crusades, must have been complicated when he really did ‘discover’ a manuscript containing knightly duels of honour, written by Herbert in the 1640s, only 120 years earlier. An easy way to reconcile what was viewed as a specifically medieval code of conduct and a forward-thinking Jacobean aristocrat was to reduce Herbert to a comical anachronism. Walpole was thus clearly keen to enjoy – and market – Herbert’s *Life* as a curiosity. Davis’s argument that Herbert’s behaviour, particularly regarding duelling, was not anachronistic, but was congruent with contemporary social and cultural norms, makes an important intervention in studies of Herbert’s *Life*, but his aim of completely normalising the ‘heroic ethos’ that pervades the *Life* has the downside of eliding the importance of fictional romance in the text. Whilst I agree that Herbert is not, as Walpole would have it, a Quixotic figure who was so consumed by reading romance that he tried to live his life according to a fiction, there is an engaging imitative interplay between historical life and fictional romance in Herbert’s *Life*, which forms an important part of the text’s narrative strategy.

I find Walpole’s comment about the life of Plato and the history of Don Quixote, for all that is misleading in it, to be usefully problematic, emphasising in particular the blurring of fact and fiction that might be found in the *Life*. Rossi has, almost exhaustively, shown that Herbert’s *Life* is factually correct in nearly all its particulars, regarding events and dates, although there are clearly some inconsistencies which can be attributed to a biased, subjective retelling of events (such as the varying accounts of the duel between Herbert and Howard, Lord Waldon, for example).⁴² However, the text is also shot through with allusions to reading and fiction: the text contains many references to books Herbert acquired for his library, from works on medicine, science, and botany, to continental romances, as well as containing one of Herbert’s poems, and

⁴² An alternative account of the quarrel, and the subsequent attempted duel between Herbert and Howard is given by Howard’s second, Sir Thomas Peyton, in BL, Lansdowne MS 99. Herbert states that the duel was prevented from occurring, whilst Peyton argues that Herbert failed to appear at the appointed place. Neither of their accounts is reliable (Peyton’s timing and some details are incorrect, as noted by Rossi, III, pp. 382-5). Lee included Peyton’s account in his edition of the *Life*, and according to Shuttleworth ‘wilfully altered the MS to make Herbert appear in the worst possible light’. Herbert, *Life*, p. 144.

detailed encounters (particularly during his time in France) which clearly describe events which inspired some of his poetry.

Most significantly, Herbert repeatedly makes references to popular continental prose romances, first when he praises his ancestors for their martial deeds:

My Great Great Grand-father Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook was that incomparable Heroe (who in the History of Hall and Grafton) as it appears, twice passed through a Great Army of Northern men alone, with his Poll-ax in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt which is more than is famed of *Amadis de Gall, or the Knight of the Sun*.⁴³

Herbert not only aligns his ancestors with the heroes of continental romance, but also compares himself to such figures. When describing his investiture as a knight of the Bath, he states that the role required men to assume similar honour codes to those carried by the figures in romances:

After which they take an Oath neuer to sit in a place where injustice should bee done but they shall right it to the vttermost of their power and particularly Ladyes and Gentlewomen that shalbe wronged in their honor, if they demand Assistance, and many other Poynts not vnlike *the Romances of Knights Errands*.⁴⁴

Dunstan Roberts has shown that at his library in Montgomery Castle, Herbert had a number of vernacular literary titles, including Guarini's *Il pastor fido*, Tasso's *Il Goffredo*, comedies by Pietro Aretino, and Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, and has observed that these works suggest a side of Herbert's reading which has not previously been considered, and which 'casts light on the themes of romance and errantry which have caught the attention of many readers of his autobiography.'⁴⁵ Herbert also owned practical conduct manuals on chivalry and duelling, such as William Segar's *Honor, Military and Ciuill: Contained in Foure Bookes* (1602).⁴⁶ Herbert's advice to his heirs, and his narration of his own actions, suggest that he was modelling his autobiographical text on such works – both prose romances and conduct manuals.

In the previous chapter I argued that Herbert's late-night encounter with Lady Eyres, described in the *Life*, shares parallels with Sidney's *Arcadia* and Wroth's *Urania*; Lady Eyres, in

⁴³ Herbert, *Life*, p. 5 (my emphasis).

⁴⁴ Herbert, *Life*, pp. 37-7 (my emphasis).

⁴⁵ Dunstan Roberts, "'Abundantly replenisht with Books of his own purchasing and choyce": Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Library at Montgomery Castle', *Library & Information History*, 31 (2015), 117-136 (p. 132).

⁴⁶ The book as sold from Powis Castle in the 1956 sale (lot 407) and is now at Cambridge, MA, Harvard, Houghton Library, f STC 22164 (B).

Herbert's account, claims to have fallen in love with Herbert after seeing his picture, recalling Sidney's Pyrocles, who sees a picture of Philoclea at a gallery and immediately falls in love with her. Herbert stumbling upon Lady Eyres at night, while she gazes at his picture, parallels Wroth's Philarchos, who also stumbles across a lady lying in bed sighing over his image. The chronology of these narratives is impossible to determine – is Wroth fictionalising Herbert's real-life encounter in *Urania*, or does Herbert record the encounter in the *Life* in such a way as to deliberately suggest parallels with the episode in *Urania*? Is Lady Eyres in fact also mimicking romance narratives when she obtained Herbert's picture and fell in love, modelling herself on Pyrocles? There are no clear answers to these questions, but this chapter argues that Herbert did deliberately write romance into his *Life*, and that this itself is inseparable from the idea that Herbert also lived his life as a romance. This is not intended to reinforce Walpole's charge of Quixotism: Davis has shown how seventeenth century depictions of Quixotism (particularly on stage) emphasised the humour of the *social* transgressions of a parvenu knight. It was ridiculous for one to think themselves socially superior, not necessarily ridiculous to imitate romances. Chivalric demonstrations played out social contests, and were not indicative of the humour of anachronism implicit in Walpole's criticism of Herbert.

Herbert was far from alone in modelling his life on romance. The most notorious example from the 1620s was Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham's journey to Madrid, in disguise, to woo the Spanish Infanta. According to Clarendon, Buckingham urged Charles to undertake this daring quest and

discoursed how gallant and how brave a thing it would be for his highness to make a journey into Spain and to fetch home his mistress [...] These discourses made so deep impression upon the mind and spirit of the Prince (whose nature was inclined to adventures,) that he was transported with the thought of it, and most impatiently solicitous to bring it to pass.⁴⁷

What Clarendon suggests here is that Charles was motivated to travel to Madrid in part to live out the kind of adventure story that he was already 'inclined to'. James's letters to his son and favourite make the connection between their 'adventure' and romance even more explicit, referring

⁴⁷ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. by W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), I, p. 14

to them as ‘My sweet boys and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romance’, and Edward Conway described the journey as ‘a voyage of the Knights of Adventure.’⁴⁸ John Kerrigan notes that such allusions were widespread as ‘observers invoked the language of chivalry’.⁴⁹ Herbert’s narration of the same event, although principally concerned with the tricky diplomatic situation that Charles and Buckingham put him in when they arrived in Paris, en route to Madrid, also draws explicit links with literary romance, when he comments that,

The Duke of Savoy said that the Prince’s Iourney was, Un tiro di quelli Caellieri antichi che andavano cosi per il Mondon a diffare li incanti, That it was a Trick of those ancient Knights Errands who went up and down the World after that manner to undoe Inchantments⁵⁰

Charles and Buckingham’s ‘adventurous romance’ was not limited to their journey to Madrid:

James Howell narrates that when they arrived Charles heard that the Infanta was at Casa de Campo, and so he ‘got on top of the wall, and sprung down a great height’ to surprise her, whereupon the Infanta swiftly left the garden.⁵¹ This is another example of Charles bringing romance to life: Glyn Redworth has shown that Charles was acting out the opening scene from Fernando de Rojas’s popular *La Celestina* (1499), where the hero Calisto professes his love to Melibea in a garden, but is spurned. Charles had recently bought a copy of the work in Madrid.⁵²

Sir Kenelm Digby is another prime example of a writer who blended romance and autobiography, and who participated in this culture of what Nigel Smith terms ‘lived romance’.⁵³ Digby’s *Loose Fantasies*, an autobiographical romance, rewrites his voyage in the Mediterranean in 1628 as a Heliodoran romance, and Joe Moshenska’s study of this work has provided a powerful model for thinking about autobiographical and lived romance, arguing that Digby used the textual

⁴⁸ James I, *The Letters of King James VI and I*, ed. by G. P. V. Akrigg (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), p. 388; Edward Conway, The National Archives, State Papers 14/139/26.

⁴⁹ John Kerrigan, ‘Thomas Carew’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 74 (1988), 311-350 (p. 311).

⁵⁰ Herbert, *Life*, p. 118.

⁵¹ According to English reports she ran off with a shriek, whilst the Spanish insisted she calmly walked away, feigning ignorance of the prince’s presence. James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae: familiar letters domestick and foreign, divided into four books; partly historical, political, philosophical: upon emergent occasions* (London: 1737), pp. 19-20.

⁵² Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 98.

⁵³ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 235.

strategy of interruption to avert threats and depict the success of his voyage.⁵⁴ In particular, Moshenska has suggested an alternative to reading the Quixotic idea of a ‘lived romance’ as comic, instead normalising the living out of generic norms as ‘routine’, suggesting that such an approach allows critics to ‘better grasp the active, structuring role that literary texts and their genres play both in historical events and individual lives.’⁵⁵ I have already argued in the previous chapter that Herbert used the narrative strategy of echo and recall in the *Life* to assert a place in the Sidney-Herbert household narrative, but I also want to suggest Herbert – like Digby – makes use of the narrative strategies of digression and deferral, so often found in romance, to assert both family status and continuity in his work, as well as also employing the rhetorical narrative strategy of praise to structure the text as a guide to his male heirs.⁵⁶ The text follows a structure of praise derived from classical rhetoric, as laid out for instance by Thomas Wilson in *The Arte of*

Rhetorique:

The birthe, and infancie		Whether the persone be a man, or a woman
The childhood		The bringing vp, the nurturing, and the behauour of his life
The Striplying age, or Springtide		To what study he taketh himself vnto, what company he useth, how he liueth
The mannes state	Whereunto are referred these	Prowesse doen, either abrode, or at home
The old age		His pollicies and wittie deuises, in behoufe of the publike weale
The tyme of his departure or death		Things that haue happened about his death ⁵⁷

Written in his later life, the *Life* models itself on this pattern of praise, and could be seen as Herbert’s eulogy for himself, a trait he also displayed in his verse, as he composed several poetic

⁵⁴ Joe Moshenska, ‘Sir Kenelm Digby’s Interruptions: Piracy and Lived Romance in the 1620s’, *Studies in Philology*, 113 (2016), 424-83. For more on Digby’s life and works, see Moshenska’s vivid *A Stain in the Blood: The Remarkable Voyage of Sir Kenelm Digby, Pirate and Poet, Courtier and Cook, King’s Servant and Traitor’s Son* (London: William Heinemann, 2016).

⁵⁵ Moshenska, ‘Sir Kenelm Digby’s Interruptions’, p. 430.

⁵⁶ For more on the narrative strategies of romance, see: Rahel Orgis, *Narrative Structure and Reader Formation in Lady Mary Wroth’s Urania* (London: Routledge, 2017) and Moshenska, ‘Sir Kenelm Digby’s Interruptions’, pp. 458-70.

⁵⁷ Thomas Wilson, *The Art of Rhetorique* (London: George Robinson, 1553, repr. 1585), p. 12.

epitaphs for himself.⁵⁸ In his English ‘Epitaph for Himself’, Herbert emphasises once again ideas about multiplicity within the individual which is so present in his verse, describing himself as,

A man, who was so free from either hope or fear
To have or loose this ordinary light,
That when to elements his body turned were
He knew that as those elements would fight,
So his Immortal Soul should find above,
With his Creator, Peace, Joy, Truth, and Love.

(ll. 4-6)

This multiplicity – a multiplicity which Walpole’s edition of the *Life* sought to reduce to a binary dichotomy – is a persistent theme throughout Herbert’s poetry, and particularly in his presentation of manhood. The epitaph also demonstrates Herbert’s willingness to write of himself in the past tense, and to describe the final stage that Wilton identifies: ‘the tyme of his departure or death.’

However, the *Life* abruptly ceases during the stage of life that Wilson identifies as ‘the mannes state’, describing ‘Prowesse doen, either abrode, or at home’, breaking off with his recall from France. This sudden conclusion suggests that Herbert had not completed the work, an idea strengthened by a brief aside with which Herbert concludes an anecdote about a disagreement between himself and Gaspar de Séguiran (identified as ‘Pere Segnerand’ in the *Life*), Louis’ confessor. Having received Séguiran’s threat that ‘wheresoever I was in the World, he would hinder my Fortune’, Herbert placidly declares,

What Pere Segnerand did afterwards in way of performing his threat I know not, but sure I am that had I been Ambitious of Worldly greatness I might have often remembered his words, though as I ever loved my Book and a private life more than any other busie Preferments, I did frustrate and render vain his greatest power to hurt me.⁵⁹

This statement, which falls right at the end of the *Life*, suggests that Herbert was setting that stage for a narration of his life after he returned from Paris, recasting his lack of preferment and further courtly employment as a personal victory, a movement from *negotium* to *otium*.⁶⁰ However, this

⁵⁸ ‘Epitaph for Himself’ and ‘Epitaphium in Anagramma nominis sui, Reddor ut herbae’, Herbert, *Poems*, pp. 54, 87.

⁵⁹ Herbert, *Life*, pp. 119-20.

⁶⁰ On this topic see Brian Vickers, ‘Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: The Ambivalence of Otium’, *Renaissance Studies*, 4.1 and 4.2 (1990), 1-37, 107-54.

aposiopesis heightens the sense of the importance of having reached ‘The mannes state’ or man’s estate, making this feel like the apotheosis of Herbert’s narrative and life.

Despite this, deferrals are peppered throughout the *Life*: Herbert proleptically looks forward to later events, such as when he discusses his wife’s ancestor, adding, ‘whose Daughter and Hair I after married, as shall be told in its place’, before continuing to discuss the very union of two family strands that this alliance confirmed, both here and later.⁶¹ Herbert also repeatedly makes references to future works which will expound on the ideas that he is discussing in the text: having declared that he is writing the *Life* to guide his heirs, ‘whether their Life were private, and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their Children, Servants, Tenants, Kinsmen, and Neighbours’, he later states:

It will deserue a particular Lecture or Recherche how one ought to behaue himself with his Children Neighbours Tennants and Servants [...] I confesse I haue collected many things to this purpose which I forbear to set downe here because (If God graunt mee life and health) I intend to make a litle Treatise concerning these poynts⁶²

Similarly, Herbert interrupts his own account of his commission to renew the Oath of Alliance between the French and English crowns:

And now I shall mention some particular Passages concerning my selfe without entering yet any way into the wholle frame and Context off my Negotiation reserving it (as I said before) to a particular Treatise⁶³

As well as these deferrals, Herbert inserts various digressions into his narrative, such as the interlude on the education of young men, described by various critics explicitly as a ‘digression’, which Herbert bookends by acknowledging a break in his narrative: beginning, ‘Being gotten thus farre into my Age, I shall giue some observations concerning ordinary Education’, and closing, ‘I shall returne now to the Relation of my own History.’⁶⁴ Elsewhere, Herbert explicitly acknowledges his own tendency to digression: after describing several occasions where ‘I engaged

⁶¹ Herbert, *Life*, p. 7.

⁶² Herbert, *Life*, pp. 1, 36.

⁶³ Herbert, *Life*, p. 97.

⁶⁴ Lee repeatedly refers the ‘digression on education’, Herbert, *Life*, ed. by Lee, pp. xiv, xxxvi. *Life*, pp. 17, 36.

my selfe to Challenge men to fight with mee who I conceiued had Iniured Ladyes and Gentlewomen’, he states: ‘After this digression I shall returne to my History in France.’⁶⁵

Moshenska has shown how interruption in romance both disrupts and perpetuates the motion of the narrative, and digression and deferral fulfils a similar function in Herbert’s *Life*, adding to the central impulse of the text: the continuation and perpetuation of the Herbert family, a task which is to be achieved through Edward’s articulation of a gentlemanly, chivalric code.⁶⁶ In other words, Herbert imitates chivalric romances in his *Life* so that his heirs can imitate the model that he provides. Herbert depicts his male forbears by invoking romances and chivalric knights – his great-great-grandfather performs feats of arms ‘which [are] more than is famed of Amadis de Gall, or the Knight of the Sun’ – and so the *Life* can be read as Herbert’s attempt to fashion himself in the same mould, by both asserting a lineage of heroic male ancestors and depicting his own place within that lineage. Deferral and digression may also serve another purpose in the *Life*. The text’s abrupt aposiopesis indicates that it was unfinished, and the repeated references to future ‘treatises’ Herbert intended to write indicate an unfulfilled narrative drive. Patricia Meyer Spacks has observed that autobiographical texts ‘rely on a rhetoric of explanation’, and both the opening of the *Life* and an aside in Herbert’s will may indicate the *Life* was simultaneously a model or conduct book, self-eulogy, *and* an explanation or justification of Herbert’s actions.⁶⁷

‘of all of us, there now remains but you and I to brother it’: Henry Herbert and his Brother’s Literary Works

Herbert may have intended the *Life* to be an explanation for his actions, and a kind of defence or apology, which is suggested by both its textual history, and a possible reference to the *Life* in Herbert’s will. I will first consider the *Life*’s textual history and Herbert’s will in detail, as well as Henry Herbert’s possible involvement in the dispersal of the manuscripts of the *Life*. Henry was Edward’s junior by 12 years, and the two brothers seem generally to have been close; Henry acted

⁶⁵ Herbert, *Life*, pp. 43, 45.

⁶⁶ Moshenska, ‘Sir Kenelm Digby’s Interruptions’, p. 462.

⁶⁷ Meyer Spacks, p. 313.

as Edward's second in various duels, and accompanied him to France during Edward's time as ambassador; Edward wrote of Henry with praise in the *Life*:

Henry after he had been brought up in Learning as the other Brothers were, was sent by his Friends into France, where he attained the Language of that Country in much perfection, after which time he came to Court, and was made Gentleman of the Kings privy Chamber, and Master of the Revells, by which means as also by a good Marriage, he attained to great fortunes, for himself and Prosperity to enjoy: he also hath given several proofs of his Courage in Duells, and otherwise being no less dexterous in the Ways of the Court as having gotten much by it.⁶⁸

Henry, like his brothers Edward and George, also had literary interests. As well as serving as Master of the Revels under Charles I and Charles II, Henry published his own translation of a treatise on the principles of statesmanship, the two parts of Jean de Silhon's *The Minister of State*, in 1658 and 1663.⁶⁹ He also wrote two prose meditations, *The Broken Heart* (1620/21) and *Herberts Golden Harp* (1624), as well as verse play, *The Emperor Otho*.⁷⁰

Henry's involvement in his older brother's literary afterlife is curious, and has links with both the *Life* and Edward's poems. The manuscript history of the *Life* is complex, but it is possible that Henry was involved in the text's transmission after Edward's death. He was not named as literary executor in Edward Herbert's will (dated 1 August 1648) – this task was given to John Selden of the Inner Temple and Evan Thomas of Bishop's Castle, Shropshire – but he appears to have nevertheless appointed himself to the role in various ways. Edward's son, Richard Herbert, second Lord Herbert of Cherbury, when he came to write his own will (dated 30 January 1655), made reference to an unresolved issue in his father's will, concerning Edward's library. Richard Herbert's will states that his father's library should be

carefully preserved, and all brookes [*sic*] lent abroade be called for and brought vnto it againe especially those which I gawe way for my deare brother Edward Herbert Esq[ui]r[e] to make vse of in the tyme they were in my vnckle S[i]r Henry Herberts Custodye And all bookes w[hi]ch are imperfect I desire they be supplied or others bought by my sonne [Edward] accordinge as he

⁶⁸ Herbert, *Life*, p. 9.

⁶⁹ Jean de Silhon, *The minister of state: wherein is shewn, the true use of modern policy*, trans. by Henry Herbert (London: Thomas Dring, 1658); Silhon, *The second part of the minister of state*, trans. by Henry Herbert (London: Thomas Dring, 1663).

⁷⁰ Richard Dutton, 'Herbert, Sir Henry (bap. 1594, d. 1673)', *ODNB*. Oxford, Bodleian, MS Don, fols. 26-7; Huntington MS HM 85; NLW, MS 5302B. See Henry Herbert, *Herbert's Golden Harpe or His Heauenly Hymne: A Transcription of Huntington Library MS HM 85*, ed. by Chauncey Wood, *George Herbert Journal*, 20 (1996), 1-85. *The Emperor Otho* is currently being edited by Richard Dutton. I am grateful to all those who participated in a read-through of this fascinating play in November 2016.

shalbe directed by doctor Ieremy Taylor Mr Edward Lewys Mr Robert Wareinge and Mr Francis Palmer ministers of Gods word.⁷¹

This is in reference to Edward Herbert's library at Montgomery castle, which was demolished in 1649. The books were probably moved at this time to another of the family properties in the local area, either Blackhall, in Montgomery (presumed to have belonged to Richard Herbert) or Llyssyn, a modestly-sized manor house about 16 miles to the west of Montgomery (bequeathed by Edward Herbert to his second son, also called Edward).⁷² It is clear from this that some or all of Edward Herbert's books from Montgomery had been stored by his brother Henry, most probably at his house in Ribbesford, and Henry similarly appears to have taken possession of the books from his brother's London library. Henry also took on the responsibility of despatching Edward's books to Jesus College, Oxford, to whom Edward had bequeathed a large number in his will, bestowing 'all my printed bookes in latine and greeke which are nowe in my house in Queenestreete vnto the [...] fellowes of Iesus Colledge for the vse of the colledge and as an inception of a library there'.⁷³ Henry sent the books to Jesus in two consignments, the first much smaller, and the second only reaching the college after John Selden intervened: in a letter (dated 12 September 1648), Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, explained the situation to John Selden, whom Herbert had named as one of his executors:

This morning Doctor Mansill Principall of Jesus Coll: came and shewed me a Catalogue of those two boxes of books which they received from S^r Hen: Herbert, as the legacy of my lord of Cherbury. They did expect much more, my Lord in his life time haveing severall times professed his intention to bequeath his whole library to them: the Doctor desired me to present his service to you, & if it lay in your way, to befriend them in this case; to that purpose he intends to cause a friend to wait upon you with a transcript of the catalogue.⁷⁴

Roberts speculates that Henry Herbert may have hoped that the first consignment, 'perhaps containing books which did not interest him or which he already owned, would make the college

⁷¹ The National Archives, PROB 11/248/422.

⁷² I am grateful to Roberts (private correspondence) for this information. See also Roberts's forthcoming book, *The Library of Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (London: The Bibliographical Society).

⁷³ For more on the library at Jesus see Roberts, 'The books of Lord Herbert of Cherbury', *Jesus College Record* (2013), pp. 69-70.

⁷⁴ A transcription of the letter appears in R.W. Chapman, 'Lord Herbert of Cherbury and the Bodleian', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 7 (1932-34), 174-75 (p. 174). The catalogue to which Langbaine refers is Oxford, Jesus College Archives, LI.3 (e).

think that it had received its due.⁷⁵ Given that not all of Edward Herbert's books arrived at Jesus, and have subsequently become lost, Henry may thus be considered a suspect regarding the disappearance of books which were not sent to the college, as having withheld books from the first consignment, he may also have withheld books from the second.

In addition to this, Henry also seems to have acquired some of his older brother's manuscripts, including an early draft of *De Veritate*, some ambassadorial dispatches, a catalogue of his London library, and possibly the fair collection of Edward Herbert's poems (BL Add. MS 37157) and a copy of Edward's autobiographical *Life*, which is now lost and which I discuss below.⁷⁶ No manuscripts were bequeathed to Henry in his brother's will, and although he may have acquired some of them during Edward's lifetime, it seems more likely that Henry instead obtained them after his brother had died, possibly via Edward's second son, also called Edward. This son, Edward, in September 1648, just after his father's death, petitioned the House of Lords for a 14-year privilege for the publication of certain manuscripts of his father's works.⁷⁷ However, none of the documents were published, possibly because of a lack of cooperation from Sir Henry Herbert. A letter dated to 18 December 1648 from Edward Herbert's grandson, Edward, later third Lord Herbert of Cherbury, to Henry Herbert declares: 'I have had three or four letters from my Uncle Edward about the odde sheetes that are to make the bookes *de Veritate* compleate, which (since they bee in your house) I desire you to deliver them, or at lest lett my cosen Herbert, that I may receive some profit from them'.⁷⁸

Most of these texts ended up in the British Library after passing through the hands of several families: the line of direct male descent from Sir Henry ended in 1738 with the death of his grandson, sixth Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who died without issue.⁷⁹ The Ribbesford estate then

⁷⁵ Roberts, private correspondence.

⁷⁶ The draft of *De Veritate* is now held at the British Library (Add. MS 7081), as are the poems (Add. MS 37157, ff. 1-25), and the ambassadorial dispatches (Add. MS 7082). The library catalogue is held at the NLW (MS 5298E).

⁷⁷ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/272.

⁷⁸ *Epistolary Curiosities: Series the First: Consisting of Unpublished Letters, of the Seventeenth Century, Illustrative of the Herbert Family*, ed. by Rebecca Warner, (Bath: Richard Cruttwell, 1818), pp. 40-1.

⁷⁹ The title of Cherbury had passed to Henry's line of descent in 1678 upon the death of Edward Herbert, third Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who died without issue.

passed through the hands of Charles Morley, Henry Morley, Francis Walker, Frederick Cornwall, Captain Frederick Cornwall, Jonathan Scott of Shrewsbury and his son, also called Jonathan Scott – who gave a few items to Lady Powis at Powis Castle – and finally to W. R. Stokes, who donated some of the collection (including the draft of *De Veritate* and the ambassadorial dispatches) to the British Museum in 1829.⁸⁰ The others papers at Ribbesford were passed down in the Cornewell family, coming into the possession of Ada South (née Cornewell), who in 1905 sold four collections of manuscripts to the British Museum, including the collection of Edward Herbert's poems.⁸¹ South later sold further papers to Bernard Quaritch, which were then acquired by the National Library of Wales, including Herbert's library catalogue.⁸² The final manuscripts of Edward Herbert's works which were in Henry Herbert's possession have now been traced to an old wooden chest which remained at Ribbesford, containing some of Henry Herbert's most important papers, and possibly a copy of Edward Herbert's *Life*, which was discovered in 1789 by Francis Ingram. The contents of this chest are now lost, but I shall try here to give an overview of their probable history.

Whether or not a copy of Herbert's *Life* was amongst the manuscripts in this chest is something of a mystery. There are two surviving manuscripts of the *Life*: the draft in Rowland Evans's hand, mentioned above, which is incomplete, and a later seventeenth-century copy of the complete work, which has alterations in several hands, including that of Horace Walpole, and which served as the copy-text for Walpole's 1764 edition of the work. Both of these manuscripts are now held at the National Library of Wales.⁸³ The earlier text (designated *AuE* by Rossi) was found in Lymore in about 1716, and was held at Powis castle before being deposited at the National Library of Wales. The second, later, manuscript (designated *AuW* by Rossi) seems to have been owned by Henry's family: in his introduction to the *Life*, Walpole states that *AuW* came to the

⁸⁰ BL, Add. MSS 7058-84; also Add. 37407, which was originally part of the collection but became detached from it accidentally. For full details see *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-73*, ed. by N.W. Bawcutt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 14-5.

⁸¹ BL, Add. MSS 37155-8.

⁸² NLW, MSS 5295-5313.

⁸³ NLW, HCMP, E1/1 and E1/2.

Earl of Powis in 1737 by ‘a Gentleman whose father had purchased an Estate of Henry Herbert of Ribbisford’.⁸⁴ N. W. Bawcutt has shown that this gentleman was James Howe, and that the estate was that of Stokes Manor, which had passed to Edward’s brother Henry in 1653, and which had been sold to John Howe in 1713; his son James then sent the manuscript to the earl of Powis.⁸⁵

Bawcutt has also made the case for a third copy of the manuscript, which I am designating *AuB*, which he argues was found in the chest by Francis Ingram, but has subsequently been lost. The evidence that Bawcutt offers for the existence of *AuB* relies on two acknowledgements in works concerning the Herberts. The first is by Walpole, regarding a passage in the *Life* concerning Herbert’s challenge to Walter Baker on behalf of Sir Francis Newport’s daughter, which had been omitted in *AuW*.⁸⁶ In 1789 William Seward sent Walpole the short extract which had been omitted, and Walpole inserted this paper into his own copy of the 1770 edition of the autobiography, along with the following note:

This paper was given to me in 1789, by W. Seward, Esq, who told me it was copied by Mr. Ingram from which the original MS, which MS, I suppose, is the copy of the Memoires of which I have heard but never saw. The passage was not in the copy which Lord Powis lent me, and from which this edition was printed.⁸⁷

Walpole states that what Seward had seen was in fact a manuscript copied from *AuE*. Francis Ingram had bought Ribbesford in 1787, and it appears that there he discovered an old chest which had been forgotten about, but which contained various items including Henry Herbert’s office book, in which he recorded his activities as Master of the Revels. Edmond Malone quoted from this text in his *Historical Account of the English Stage*, which was a part of his 1790 edition of Shakespeare’s plays and poems.⁸⁸ In the same text Malone thanked Ingram for allowing him to view Henry Herbert’s office-book:

⁸⁴ Herbert, *The Life of Edward Herbert*, ed. by Walpole, sig. B2^r.

⁸⁵ N. W. Bawcutt, ‘The Manuscripts of Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Autobiography’, *The Library*, 12 (1990), 133-6 (p. 134).

⁸⁶ This passage occurs in Herbert, *Life*, p. 43 and does not appear in *AuE*.

⁸⁷ The note is printed in Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. by Peter Cunningham, 9 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1857-59), IV (1857), p. 275.

⁸⁸ William Shakespeare, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, in Ten Volumes; Collated Verbatim With the Most Authentick Copies: With the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators, to Which are Added, An Essay on the Chronological Order of his Plays; an Essay Relative to Shakespeare and Jonson; a Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI; An Historical Account of the English Stage; and Notes*, ed. by Edward Malone (London: J. Rivington & Sons, 1790).

For this use of this very curious and valuable Manuscript I am indebted to Francis Ingram, of Ribbisford near Bewdley in Worcestershire, Esq. Deputy Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer. It has lately been found in the same old chest which contained the manuscript Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, from which Mr. Walpole about twenty years ago printed the *Life* of that nobleman, who was elder brother to Sir Henry Herbert.⁸⁹

It appears that there are two accounts of material relating to the *Life* coming from the chest at Ribbesford, via Ingram, around 1789-90. The contents of the chest vanished in about 1818, but based on these acknowledgements, Bawcutt concludes that ‘if that full set of papers ever does come to light it will contain, I suggest, a third manuscript copy of Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s *Autobiography*’, and certainly the coincidence of dates and names make the existence of *AuB* within the chest at Ribbesford seem very plausible.⁹⁰

There are, however, some considerations which should prompt hesitation over the existence of *AuB*, the evidence for which depends principally on second- and third-hand knowledge, which contain inaccuracies. Firstly, Malone never specifies that he has seen the manuscript of the *Life* from the chest at Ribbesford, and he is certainly wrong in thinking that Walpole printed his 1764 edition of the *Life* from that manuscript (*AuB*); Walpole’s own account of his manuscript sources, and his annotations in *AuW* disprove this. And secondly, Walpole himself is often unreliable when discussing his manuscript sources. For example, in his ‘Advertisement’ to the first edition of the *Life*, Walpole recounts the history of *AuE* and *AuW*, suggesting that the ‘original Manuscript’ was preserved at Lymore after the demolition of Montgomery castle, and that ‘some years after’ the death of Lady Herbert (née Newport) in 1714 it came to light ‘in a very bad condition, several leaves being torn out and others stained to such a degree as to make it scarcely legible’, a description suggestive of *AuE*. Walpole states that the illegibility of this text prompted a duplicate to be sought from the Herberts of Ribbesford, which eventually produced *AuW*, ‘which not only by contents (as far as it was possible to collate it with the original) but by the similitude of the Writing, appeared to be the Duplicate, so much sought

⁸⁹ Malone, ‘An Historical Account of the English Stage’, in *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, p. 45, n. 2.

⁹⁰ Bawcutt, p. 136.

after.⁹¹ In all likelihood, Walpole never saw *AuE*, as *AuE* and *AuW* are clearly written in different hands, and so his reliability as a source for the manuscript history is limited.

If *AuB* did (or does) exist, and was a part of the collection of manuscripts in the chest found at Ribbesford, then there is the possibility that Henry Herbert (Edward's brother) owned it, and given that *AuW* is associated with Henry Herbert's descendants there is the possibility that he also owned that copy of the *Life* at some point. However, there is the additional complicating factor of the dates of the manuscripts to consider. There is no accurate date for *AuW*, but it appears to have been written in the late seventeenth century (*CELM* gives the date as *c.*1700, and Shuttleworth argues that the paper's watermarks date from about 1698-1729), and was probably copied from a lost intermediate manuscript, which Shuttleworth designates *AuX*.⁹² Evidence for this intermediate manuscript can be seen in the fact that *AuW* does not follow the corrections and emendations visible in *AuE*, including for example passages of the text that have been heavily deleted, and also does not include several passages which do appear in *AuE*. The evidence for the existence of *AuX* is textual, and the evidence for *AuB* is largely based on unreliable reports, so the two should not necessarily be conflated, but it is entirely possible that they are the same text, or that *AuB* was, like *AuW*, copied from *AuX* (see the stemmata of the possible transmission histories of the manuscripts of the *Life* in Appendix 5). Given that Henry Herbert died in 1673 it is conceivable that *AuB*, or the lost intermediary manuscript *AuX* from which *AuW* was copied, could have been produced during Henry's lifetime, although both could also have been produced after his death.

Edward Herbert's Will and Poems: 'it may be presumed he would have given it to you, as the best Legacy'

As well as the possibility that Henry Herbert had manuscript copies of his brother's *Life* and poems, the two texts are also linked through a curious line in Edward's will. A consideration of how and why Henry chose to publish his brother's poems in the way that he did, reveals how

⁹¹ Herbert, *The Life of Edward Herbert*, ed. by Walpole, sig. B2^r.

⁹² *CELM*, 'Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury', HrE 95. Herbert, *Life*, pp. xx-xxi.

Henry sought to present, or rather re-present, his brother as a poet. Other pre-Civil War writers were also being re-presented during the restoration: Izaak Walton's *Lives* of Donne and George Herbert – drawn almost to the hagiographical mode – depicted George as an 'Anglican saint' and Donne as devotional lyricist who privately circulated his verse, whilst others politicised Donne's voice for the Royalist cause.⁹³ Overall there is a good deal of circumstantial evidence that Henry Herbert had a copy of his brother's *Life* at some point, although nothing decisively proves this. To add to this murky puzzle there is another piece of evidence worth considering. In Edward Herbert's will there is a curious passage following his instructions regarding his books:

And whereas I haue begun a manifest of my actions in these late troubles, but am prevented in the review thereof I doe hereby leaue it to a person whom I shall by word intreate to finish the same and to publish it to the world by my direcc[i]on and as hauing this expresse charge layd vpon him by mee for doing it.⁹⁴

Sidney Lee and Margaret Bottrall both assumed that the text referred to here was Herbert's autobiographical *Life*, whilst Griffin seems to have misread the passage and assumes that it refers to both the *Life*, and a separate text, now lost.⁹⁵ Rossi, with his characteristic directness, dismisses this out of hand:

Il Lee suppose che *Au.* fosse appunto il principio de questo 'manifesto'. Ma è un'ipotesi assurda. Anzitutto perché l'introduzione di *Au.* dimostra che esso venne pensato come una specie di confessione generale ad uso di stretti parenti e non del pubblico. In secondo luogo, Herbert non avrebbe certo iniziato su così larga scala un 'manifesto' che, per essere completato, avrebbe dovuto divenire opera colossale.

(Lee assumed that [the *Life*] was specifically the principle of this 'manifesto'. But this is an absurd hypothesis. First of all because the introduction [of the *Life*] shows that it was thought of as a kind of general confession for the use of close relatives and not the public. Secondly, Herbert would certainly not have started on such a large scale a 'manifesto' which, to be completed, would have to become a colossal work.)⁹⁶

Rossi suggests that whoever was entrusted by Herbert to complete a defence of his actions 'in these late troubles' (which Rossi assumes refers to the surrender of Montgomery castle in 1644) simply took all the documents relating to this and 'gettato nel cestino' (threw [it] in the trash can'); he

⁹³ See Rundell, especially Chapter 2, 'The Digestion of Donne', which demonstrates how publishers after Donne's death, particularly Humphrey Moseley and John Grismond junior, used Donne's verse to evoke the world of the 1630s. See also David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁹⁴ TNA, PROB 10/697.

⁹⁵ Lee, p. 160. Margaret Bottrall, *Every Man a Phoenix: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Autobiography* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1958), p. 160. Griffin, pp. 10, 341.

⁹⁶ Rossi, III, p. 513. Translation my own.

attributes Herbert's later reputation amongst Royalists as a turncoat to the 'disonesta di questo ignoto' ('dishonesty of this unknown person').

It is possible that the text to which Herbert refers in his will, the 'manifest of my actions' has simply been lost, but there are reasons to keep alive the possibility that Herbert could be referring to the *Life*. A 'manifest' is 'a public proclamation or declaration; an open statement', and whilst Rossi is right to point out that the *Life* addresses itself principally to Herbert's relatives and descendants, this does not exclude the possibility that he also intended the text to be published more widely.⁹⁷ Additionally, at the beginning of the *Life* Herbert outlines his intentions for the work:

as my Age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what hath been done well or ill, to the intent that I may reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also to comfort my self in those things which through Gods great grace and favour, have been done according to the Rules of Conscience, Vertue, and Honor.⁹⁸

Herbert has been criticised for doing rather more comforting of himself for his successes than examining what he has done 'ill' and so 'reform[ing] that which was amiss'; the only real regret articulated in the text is Herbert's apparent admission that he had several affairs in France.⁹⁹ The fact that the *Life* only covers Herbert's life up until his dismissal as ambassador, and ends so abruptly, suggests not only that it was unfinished, but more interestingly that his intention to examine 'what hath been done [...] ill' was going to be fulfilled in the latter stages of the text, which would support the identification of the *Life* with the 'manifest of my actions in these late troubles'.

There is, of course, the question of the date of the *Life*, which was probably written some time between 1639 and 1644. The exact date of composition of Herbert's *Life* is unknown; the only extant evidence is the draft manuscript of the text, in the hand of Herbert's secretary Rowland Evans, with autograph corrections and revisions (*AuE*). The majority of material associated with

⁹⁷ *OED*, 'manifest', n. 2.

⁹⁸ Herbert, *Life*, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Herbert recalls that following his illness, his perfect health 'disposed mee to some follyes which I afterwards repented and doe still repent of. But as my wife refused to come over [to France] and my Temptations were greate I hope the faults I committed are the more pardonable', *Life*, p. 101.

the Herbert family in the handwriting of Evans dates from 1642-4, although Rossi and Shuttleworth give his time as secretary as 1639-45. This later date is likely to be incorrect, as it is probably based on a certificate in which Evans declared he had heard John Thomas of Dudston say that he had heard Thomas Middleton say in early September 1644 that he would not meddle with Edward Herbert, nor his castle, which is dated to 8 April 1645.¹⁰⁰ However, this document does not necessarily indicate that Evans was still employed by Herbert at this time, particularly as it relates to events that had taken place seven months earlier. The final document in Evans's hand, which explicitly indicates Evans was still in Herbert's employ, dates from midway through Herbert's journey from Montgomery to London in 1644, after which he seems to have disappeared from Herbert's service without a trace, rather like Lear's Fool – an analogy which seems particularly fitting considering that Herbert's relationship with his children, his will distributing his goods, and the treatment of his brothers in his *Life*, meant that a good deal of filial and fraternal frustration ensued in the Herbert family.¹⁰¹ The date of 1645 that the National Library of Wales gives *AuE* is probably a *terminus ad quem* based on Shuttleworth and Rossi's argument that this marked the end of Evans's time as Herbert's secretary, and is quite likely to be wrong.¹⁰² *CELM* gives the probable date of *AuE*'s composition as 1643, the midpoint of Evans's employment as Herbert's secretary, which seems more likely, although all that can be said with any real certainty is that the most likely date of composition is between 1642 and 1644, when Herbert was in his early sixties and based at Montgomery castle.¹⁰³ If Herbert began his *Life* toward the end of this period, then it is quite possible that the text was always intended to ultimately become 'a manifest of my actions in these late troubles', the 'late troubles' referring to Herbert's inconveniences and injuries during the Civil War: in 1642 he was taken into Parliamentary custody for his moderate defence of the king, which prompted Herbert to withdraw from London to Montgomery; in the following year Herbert was on bad terms with his daughter and had a disagreement with his brother Henry about his ability to

¹⁰⁰ NLW, HCMP, E6/1/11. Herbert, *Life*, p. xviii. Rossi, III, Chapter 6, 'La Vecchiaia (1639-1644).

¹⁰¹ NLW, HCMP, E6/1/5.

¹⁰² NLW, HCMP, E1/1.

¹⁰³ *CELM*, 'Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury', HrE 94. Rossi dates *AuE* (and the composition of the *Life* in general) to 1643-44. Rossi, III, p. 512.

provide pastorage for Henry's horses at Montgomery; and in 1644 Herbert surrendered Montgomery to parliamentary forces, which set him at odds with his Royalist family.¹⁰⁴

Whether the 'manifest of my actions' that Herbert referred to in his will was the *Life* or not, there still remains the question of who the person was that Herbert intended to 'by word intreate to finish the same and to publish it to the world'. Henry Herbert seems a likely candidate for this role; despite Edward and Henry's disagreement about the pastorage of horses in 1643 (which seems to have been based on a miscommunication, according to Edward), in 1648/9 Henry was moved enough to give £10 to St Giles-in-the-Fields following Edward's burial there, and generally the two seem to have been on good terms.¹⁰⁵ Edward's son Richard (later second lord Herbert of Cherbury) is an unlikely possibility, because as a staunch Royalist he had little sympathy for his father's situation, and the two quarrelled on several occasions.¹⁰⁶ As discussed above, Rowland Evans does not seem to have been in Herbert's employ beyond 1644 (Herbert's later petitions to parliament appear to have been written in another hand), and Herbert's grandson Edward (later third Lord Herbert of Cherbury) was too young to have been entrusted with the task. Moreover, as the *Life* was in all likelihood intended for the young Edward, it would seem odd to request him to complete it.¹⁰⁷ Edward's brother Henry was of course also a Royalist, but his views towards the crown were not as uncritical as has been thought; in 1645 he had negotiated to come to terms with Parliament, taking the solemn league and covenant in 1646, and in 1648 the Commons

¹⁰⁴ It is recorded that Herbert, in the debate of the second vote in 1642 declared, 'I should agree to it, if I could be satisfied that the King would make War upon the Parliament without Cause', and that in consequence 'he was commanded to withdraw, which accordingly he did; and because it was now late, it is ORDERED, That the Lord *Herbert of Cherbury* shall stand committed to the Custody of the Gentleman Usher for the present'. Herbert petitioned for his release the next day, apologising for his words, and was released. *Journals of the House of Lords*, V (1642), p. 77. On the disagreement between Edward and Henry about horses, see *Epistolary Curiosities*, pp. 31-2.

¹⁰⁵ The entry in recorded in the churchwardens' accounts for St Giles-in-the-Fields reads: 'The Lord Herberts brother sent Tenn pownds to bee presently given to the poore and sent one w[i]th the money to see it distributed'. Although the entry has not been individually dated, it occurs within the accounts for the period 1 June 1648 to 1 June 1649. London, Camden Archives, P/GF/CW/1/1.

¹⁰⁶ See Hanford.

¹⁰⁷ The petitions to Parliament which are not in Evans's hand are NLW, HCMP, E6/1/6, E6/1/7, E6/1/8, E6/1/12, E6/1/13, E6/1/14, E6/1/15, E6/1/16, E6/1/19, and E6/1/20. There may be more of Herbert's documents in the same hand which also date from 1646/7. See Rossi, III, p. 512. Herbert's grandson Edward was Herbert's favourite grandchild, who benefitted very well from Herbert's will. Henry Herbert dedicated his brother's poems to Edward, later third Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

pardoned his delinquency and removed the sequestration of his estate.¹⁰⁸ It is also clear that Henry Herbert appointed himself his brother's literary executor, taking and/or storing a large consignment of Edward Herbert's books, and quite possibly some of his manuscripts as well, none of which had been promised to Henry in Edward's will. One explanation for this is that Henry, having been charged with the task of completing and publishing 'to the world' some work of his brother's (whether the *Life* or a now lost text), felt entitled to make use of his books and manuscripts.

Certainly, Henry Herbert was responsible for editing and publishing some of his brother Edward's work, as in 1665 he had his brother's poems published, dedicating the work to Edward's favourite grandson Edward, third Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In the dedication, Henry Herbert declares that 'had it been in his [Edward, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury] power t'have bequeathed his Learning by Will, as his Library and personal Estate, it may be presumed he would have given it to you, as the best Legacy'.¹⁰⁹ The rest of the dedication is given over to a discussion of 'learning': how it cannot be bequeathed, and the great age of learning is past, and that ignorance is both the 'Mother of devotion amongst the Papists' and the 'Mother of Atheisme amongst the Ignorant'. This is slightly curious given that Henry may have known about, read, or even been tasked with completing, his brother Edward's autobiographical *Life*, which, according to Edward Herbert himself, was for the 'instruction' of his heirs and contained a good part of his own learning. Perhaps the dedication of the *Poems* indicates that Henry Herbert had neither seen, nor been asked to complete his brother's *Life*; alternatively it could be read as a publication offered in lieu of the completed 'manifest of my actions in these late troubles', with Henry even echoing this charge in his description of the 'collection of [...] Verses, composed in various and perplexed times'.

A further puzzle comes from a Latin poem, included in *De Causis Errorum*, specifically addressed to Herbert's 'Hæred[ibus] ac Nepot[ibus]', his heirs and descendants, or even more specifically his grandson Edward Herbert, third Baron Herbert of Cherbury. The poem contains several pieces of the advice found in Herbert's *Life* (including his five articles on religion, laid out

¹⁰⁸ See Bawcutt, *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama* and Dutton, *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁹ Herbert, *Poems*, unpaginated.

most fully in *De Veritate*, ll. 7-36, and his views on education, ll. 127-160), and some of the instructions that are echoed in Edward's will regarding his library (ll. 363-72). Given that Henry Herbert must have been aware of this poem (as it had already been published), it seems odd that it was not included in the 1665 edition of the poems, particularly considering Henry's dedication to his great-nephew about bequeathing learning.¹¹⁰

There is another layer of meaning in Henry's phrasing when he states that 'had it been in his power t'have bequeathed his Learning by Will, as his Library and personal Estate, it may be presumed he would have given it to you, as the best Legacy'. This can be read uncharitably as implying that Henry's great-nephew Edward's intellect was not equal to the books that had been given him, but this also draws attention to the fact that Edward, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *had* bequeathed his books to his grandson Edward. Highlighting this is odd given that Henry seems to have acquired (or just taken for himself) several hundred of his brother's books.¹¹¹

Leaving aside Henry's claim to be publishing his brother's poems as a substitute for Herbert's 'Learning by Will', it seems salutary to consider what might have prompted Henry to publish Edward's poems in 1665. During the interregnum Henry had lived quietly on his estates, and after Charles II's restoration, had resumed most of his former offices as Master of the Revels. However, despite Henry's protests, Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant gained a monopoly of London playing, and in 1660 were granted the right to license their own plays without reference to the Master of the Revels. Henry endured two years of legal disputes following this, which only succeeded in granting him the right to license and censor plays, but to have no other influence in London theatrical affairs, and his authority elsewhere in the country was similarly challenged during these years. Finally, in 1665 he was dismissed from his office.¹¹²

Thus, his decision to publish the poems came at a time when his own professional career was waning, and the collection may have been an exercise in a nostalgia, looking back to the first

¹¹⁰ Henry was, like many seventeenth century editors and publishers, clearly not averse to including poems that had previously been published, as Edward's elegy for Prince Henry had been printed previously by Josuah Sylvester, *Lachrymae Lachrymarum* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1613).

¹¹¹ I am grateful to Roberts for this observation.

¹¹² Dutton, *ODNB*.

three decades of the seventeenth century, when Edward wrote most of his poems. Henry may also have hoped that this nostalgic impulse in publishing pre-Civil War poems might have ingratiated him with the royal family, and gone some way to alleviate the stain on Edward's reputation that arose from his decision to surrender Montgomery Castle to Parliamentary forces in 1644. Such a tactic was common: in 1664 and 1665 the majority of collections of verse published were reprints of poems first published in the 1630s (such as Francis Quarles's *Divine Poems*, 1664 and Thomas Randolph's *Poems*, 1664), or reprints of Royalist verse from the 1650s, with additional Royalist material (such as John Cleveland's *Poems*, 1665, or Henry King's *Poems, elegies, paradoxes, and sonets*, 1664, which was augmented with an elegy for Charles I).¹¹³ Edmund Waller, whose *Poems, &c. written upon several occasions* was published in 1664 is an interesting comparison point, as he had also been a Royalist who had later accepted the legitimacy of Cromwell's regime, and used his poems (particularly his panegyrics and poems of compliment, for which he was best known) to reassert his loyalty to the crown.¹¹⁴

Henry's collection of his brother's verse also seems to have an agenda with regards to Edward's reputation on religious matters. There is no obvious, unifying principle behind the ordering of the poems in the 1665 edition, but there is some logic and patterning discernible. The English and the Latin poems are separated in the 1665 printing, and I am here concerned specifically with the English poems.¹¹⁵ This collection gives the impression of being arranged chronologically, reinforced by the elegies and epitaphs that are regularly spaced throughout the collection – the first for Cecilia Bulstrode (1609) and the last for Donne (1631) – which signal dateable events. However, the elegies are not always in chronological order: the 'Elegy of King James' (1625) appears before 'Elegy over a Tomb', dated to 1617, or the 'merry Rime' sent to Mary Wroth on the birth of a child in 1624. In this instance at least the ordering makes some

¹¹³ Francis Quarles, *Divine Poems: containing the history of Jonah, Ester, Job, Sampson, together with sonets. Elegies* (London: Edward Mottershead, 1664); Thomas Randolph, *Poems, with the Muses looking-glass, and Amyntas: whereunto is added, the jealous lovers* (London: F. Bowman, 1664); John Cleveland, *Poems* (London: S. G., 1665); Henry King, *Poems, elegies, paradoxes, and sonets* (London: Henry Herringman, 1664).

¹¹⁴ Edmund Waller, *Poems, &c. written upon several occasions, and to several persons* (London: Henry Herringman, 1664); Warren Chernaik, 'Waller, Edmund (1606-1687)', *ODNB*.

¹¹⁵ The constraints of time – and space – prevent an in-depth consideration of Herbert's Latin poems.

logical sense, as the elegy for James is placed alongside the ‘Elegy for the Prince’ (1612), so that the poems for father and son appear next to each other. However, throughout the collection there are numerous other examples of poems not appearing in chronological order, such as ‘A Description’, almost certainly written in 1618, appearing before the two satires, dated to 1608. It seems that Henry (if he was responsible for the ordering of the poems) nevertheless wished to give the overall *impression* of a chronological ordering, not dissimilar to the 1635 edition of Donne’s poems, which was deliberately arranged to create a more biographically suggestive collection than the first 1633 edition.¹¹⁶

There are groupings of related poems throughout the collection, such as the two elegies for Prince Henry and James. Other examples include: the poems which relate to Herbert’s first trip abroad, ‘The State Progress of Ill’, ‘Satyra Secunda’ and ‘Parted Souls’; the series on blackness beginning with the poem ‘To Mrs Diana Cecil’; and three echo poems, ‘Melander, suppos’d to love Susan, but did love Ann’, ‘Echo to a Rock’, and ‘Echo in a Church’. These groups of poems unified by theme or form add to the general impression of a deliberately ordered collection. Most strikingly, the collection is bookended by two groupings of Herbert’s most reflective and devotional poems: at the beginning of the collection are, ‘To his Watch when he could not sleep’, ‘Ditty’ (beginning ‘Deep sighs, Records of my unpitied grief’), and ‘A Sinner’s Lament’, and at the end, ‘The Idea, Made of Alnwick in his Expedition to Scotland with the Army, 1639’, ‘An appeal to his hopes not to fail him’, ‘A Meditation upon his Wax-Candle burning out’, and ‘October 14. 1644’. The grouping which begins the collection is principally concerned with ‘the doom of Fate’ (‘To his Watch’, l. 9) and anxieties about man’s sinful state. ‘A Sinner’s Lament’ recalls George Herbert’s ‘Sin’s Round’, as it details the constant and seemingly unending pattern of man’s sinfulness. In contrast, the group of poems at the end of 1665, although touching on the same themes (particularly ‘An appeal to his hopes not to fail him’) are more uplifting, anticipating

¹¹⁶ John T. Shawcross notes that the 1635 printing of Donne’s verse is one of the first printed English verse collections arranged by genre; see ‘The Arrangement and Order of John Donne’s Poems’, in *Poems in Their Place: The Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections*, ed. by Neil Fraistat (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), pp. 119-163, especially pp. 120, 140-46. See also Erin McCarthy, ‘Poems by J. D. (1635) and the Creation of John Donne’s Literary Biography’, *John Donne Journal*, 32 (2013), 57-83.

an ascent to heaven and being ‘victorious over Death and Fate, / And happy in your everlasting state, / You shall triumphant enter Heaven’s gate’ (‘The Idea’, ll. 85-7), or ascending to ‘Where faithful loving Souls with joys are crown’d’ and reaching the soul’s ‘desired place’ (‘A Meditation’, l. 60; ‘October 14. 1644’, l. 25).

Grouping the poems in this way and framing the collection with them, seems a deliberate attempt to frame Edward as more devout and spiritually assured than might otherwise be felt from the poems. That this was Henry’s intention is further suggested by his condemnation of atheism in the dedication to the poems:

That the learned Centuries are past, and Learning in declension, is too great a truth, which may introduce Atheisme with Ignorance; for as Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion amongst the Papists, so ’tis the Mother of Atheisme amongst the Ignorant; The great and most dangerous design of our Church and National Enemies, is to make us out of love with Learning, as a Mechanick thing, and beneath the Spirits of the Nobility and of Princes: Whereas nothing improves and inlightens th’ understandings of great Persons, but Learning, and not only innobles them far above their birth, but inables them t’impose on others, and give, rather than take advice: The Learned, Generous, and Vertuous Person needs no Ancestors¹¹⁷

This final comment, about the ‘learned’ person ‘needing no ancestors’ is again strange, given Edward’s insistence in the *Life* that a narration of his life is the best guidance he can give his heirs, thus indicating that ancestral precedent is preeminent; nevertheless, this passage does perhaps indicate that Henry was attempting to combat an image of his brother as an atheist that had sprung up by the time he published Edward’s poems. The circumstances surrounding Edward’s death may in part have prompted this. Upon his deathbed Edward sent for his friend James Usher, Lord Primate of Ireland, and asked to receive the sacrament from Usher’s hand, and Aubrey records: ‘He sayd indifferently of it that if ther if there [sic] was good in any-thing, ’twas in that, or if it did no good ’twould doe no hurt. The Primate refused it. for which many blamed him.’ Edward asked for the time, declared that he would be dead within an hour, and then ‘turned his head to the other side and expired’.¹¹⁸ Despite this, Aubrey also records that Edward ‘had constantly prayers twice a day in his house.’¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Herbert, *Poems*, unpaginated.

¹¹⁸ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: with An Apparatus for the Lives of our English Mathematical Writers*, ed by Kate Bennett, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), I, p. 579.

¹¹⁹ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, I, p. 693.

There are further frustratingly rich but confusing details of Henry's dedication in the *Poems*, which include his description of the poems themselves: 'This Collection of some of the scattered Copies of Verses, composed in various and perplexed times'. This is curious because it is clear that Henry did not use the fair copy of Edward Herbert's poems (BL Add. MS 37157) as his copy-text, despite the fact that this manuscript collection seems to have been in Henry's possession at some point (although possibly not in 1665). Collating poems in Add. MS 37157 and the 1665 edition indicates significant textual differences, such that the 1665 edition could not derive from Add. MS 37157. In addition, Add. MS 37157 contains two poems which are not included in the 1665 edition: the sonnet beginning 'Innumerable Beauties, thou white haire' and the poem titled 'To one Blacke and not very Hansome, who expected comendation'.

Moore Smith, when justifying his use of the 1665 edition of the poems as a copy-text, argues that 'The general impression [...] left after comparing, say, the poems in Add. MS 37157 with the same poems as they appear in 1665, is that the printed book is based on a manuscript which represented Herbert's second thoughts.'¹²⁰ Here, he makes two assumptions: firstly, that Henry based the 1665 edition on a single manuscript copy of poems, and secondly that whatever Henry did use as a copy-text represented his brother's 'second thoughts'. Henry's reference in the dedication to 'scattered Copies of Verses' hardly suggests a single manuscript of poems, and another argument against this is his inclusion of the poem 'Echo to a Rock' in the 1665 edition, which is by Henry Reynolds and clearly attributed to him in the Stoughton Manuscript; this poem would hardly have been included in a personal collection of Edward's poems.¹²¹

Instead, it seems likely that Henry either sent off for copies of Edward's poems from various owners (rather as Donne attempted to do in 1614, when he wrote to Goodere asking him to return a number of them for a projected edition), or instead had access to a number of copies of various poems amongst Edward's manuscripts which Henry acquired after his death and which are now lost, or a combination of both.¹²² What this seems to suggest again, however, is another case

¹²⁰ Herbert, *Poems*, p. xxvii.

¹²¹ Rosemary Williams, *Stoughton Manuscript*, p. 73.

¹²² Donne, *Letters*, p. 79.

of Henry coming into the possession of Edward's manuscripts, which subsequently disappear, or are lost. No clear copy-text for the 1665 edition of the poems can be determined, as there are relatively few extant witnesses of Herbert's poems, and collating these with the printed edition reveals no consistent or clear pattern of descent; furthermore, several poems in the 1665 edition have no other extant witnesses.

The publication of Edward's poems thus suggests an exercise in nostalgia, which was also true of some of the early manuscript witnesses of the poems. Edward's relatively small number of poems (around 90, not including the handful that Rossi ascribed to him, and which cannot authoritatively be included in the canon) do not appear to have circulated widely, appearing in around 60 manuscripts and printed books.¹²³ Although a handful of Edward's poems were printed before his death, most poems have only one or two manuscript witnesses; the most widely circulated poems were 'Ode: of our Sense of Sin', Herbert's elegy on Prince Henry, his poem for Diana Cecil, and 'The Thought', having between 7 and 13 witnesses. Herbert's poems occur almost exclusively within manuscript miscellanies, and principally alongside poems by Donne and Carew – hardly surprising, given that Donne and Carew were two of the most widely circulated manuscript poets in the early seventeenth century, but they were also both individuals Herbert knew personally, and, as this thesis has shown, exchanged poetry with, and several of Herbert's poems have been attributed to Donne and Carew.¹²⁴ Herbert's verse also regularly circulated alongside that of his cousin William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, and in some manuscripts their work was grouped together, suggesting that at least some compilers of verse miscellanies were interested in collecting 'Herbert' poetry, and viewed Herbert and Pembroke as part of the same group: Bodleian Rawlinson poet. 31 is the best example of such practice.

¹²³ Rossi, III, pp. 393-8. See also *CELM*.

¹²⁴ The poem 'Ode: Of our Sense of Sinne', beginning 'Vengeance will sit', attributed to both Donne and Herbert is discussed below and in Chapter 1. 'To a Lady that desired I would love her', beginning, 'Now you have freely given leave to love', has been attributed to both Herbert and Carew (Herbert, *Poems*, p. 123; Carew *The Poems of Thomas Carew, with his Masque Coelum Britannicum*, ed. by Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 81-2. The poem appears in two manuscripts: Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, MS La. III. 468, ff. 73^r-74^r and Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, MS 1083/17, f. 79^{r-v}.

The miscellany Rawlinson poet. 31 includes several of Herbert's poems, and is one of the most important collection of manuscript witnesses of his verse, containing seven poems ascribed to Herbert, three of them unique copies: 'Ode: of our Sense of Sin', 'A Description', 'To Her Face', 'To Her Body', 'To Her Mind', 'Inconstancy', and his Epitaph for Cecilia Bulstrode. One poem, 'Ode: of our Sense of Sin' may not in fact be by Herbert; Gregory Kneidel has recently claimed that the poem was written *by* Donne *for* Herbert, as part of an ongoing exchange about the nature of sin.¹²⁵ There are good reasons for keeping the poem amongst Donne and Herbert's dubia, and it certainly seems to have been associated with both of them.¹²⁶ Regardless of whether the poem is by Herbert or intended for him, Rawlinson poet. 31 represents an individual with a clear interest in Herbert's poems, and is also an important manuscript miscellany in its own right, as it is the only surviving manuscript of poetry entirely in the hand of the prolific professional scribe that Peter Beal dubbed the 'Feathery Scribe'.¹²⁷

Rawlinson poet. 31, the product of a professional scribe who worked in a scriptorium, with generously arranged design and layout, is an example of a commercially produced manuscript anthology, which Beal argues 'must surely have been a commissioned anthology'.¹²⁸ The verse collected in this manuscript has a strong social character, and contains poems exclusively from the 1590s to around 1610. This is curious given that the manuscript appears to have been produced in the mid- to late-1630s; other similar manuscripts produced at around the same time, such as the 'Chute' manuscript, produced for Chaloner Chute and his family, include many of the same poets represented in Rawl. poet. 31, but also include verse by a younger generation of poets, such as Robert Herrick, James Shirely, William Davenant, and Carew. These writers are absent from Rawl. poet. 31, and Michelle O'Callaghan has suggested that this lack of any verse from the younger,

¹²⁵ Gregory Kneidel, 'A New Donne Poem', Renaissance Society of America annual conference, New Orleans, 22-24 March 2018.

¹²⁶ See the discussion in Chapter 1.

¹²⁷ Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

¹²⁸ Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*, p. 104.

Caroline generation of poets ‘lends the collection a stylistic and social coherence, [but] also produces an anthology that is retrospective rather than contemporary.’¹²⁹

This retrospective focus is one distinctive feature of the collection; O’Callaghan identifies another:

Sociality is one of the key intellectual structures that organises the content and provides the anthology with its significant shape. A characteristic pattern of compilation places poets in relation to one another, and it is noticeable in the interlaced set of poems by Donne, Jonson, Herbert, Sir John Roe, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, and Beaumont that structure the collection.¹³⁰

Edward Herbert’s poems were being retrospectively compiled in the company of poets who had close social connections to him, a point strengthened by O’Callaghan’s identification of Lucy Russel, countess of Bedford as the epicentre of this scribal network, with the largest group of poems in the collection consisting of verses that were addressed to, commissioned by, or closely associated with, her; Herbert’s elegy for Bedford’s close friend Cecilia Bulstrode is one notable example. Herbert is also one of the few named authors in the collection (John Harrington is another), although other poets are named as the addressees of verse epistles, and some can be identified by their initials, suggesting that the aim of the collection ‘was not to canonise the works of a particular set of authors; rather, authority is invested in the milieu defined by the collection.’¹³¹ Herbert was a close friend of Bedford’s; as well as noting that she was involved in warning him of Lord Eyres’s threats against his life, Herbert recounts an amusingly domestic and light-hearted interaction with her in the *Life*: ‘a litle before my departure [from England to France in 1619] I remember That William Earle of Pembrokee and my selfe did measure haights together at the request of the Countesse of Bedford.’¹³² Herbert goes on to delightedly recount that at that time Pembroke ‘was then higher than I by about the Breadth of my litle finger: At my returne therefore

¹²⁹ Michelle O’Callaghan, ‘Collecting Verse: “Significant Shape” and the Paper-Book in the Early Seventeenth Century’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 80 (2017), 309-24 (p. 320).

¹³⁰ O’Callaghan, p. 322.

¹³¹ O’Callaghan, p. 322.

¹³² Herbert, *Life*, pp. 100-1.

into England I measured againe with the same Earle and to both out greate wonders found my selfe taller than hee by the Breadth of a litle Finger.’¹³³

Herbert’s poetry, as can be seen from the example of Rawl. poet. 31, circulated within a fairly close network of readers and compilers, many of whom were known to Herbert himself. It also seems, as with most poets in the early seventeenth century, that the early verse manuscript circulation of Herbert’s poems was principally associated with the Inns of Court and other legal circles. As one example, discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, three related manuscripts, all associated with the Inns of Court, contain early witnesses of Herbert’s poetry: British Library Add. MS 25303, Add. MS 21433, and also Harley MS 3910 all contain Herbert’s poem on Lady Diana Cecil, which Herbert included in his personal collections of poems in 1631 (Add. MS 37157), where he revised elements of the poem. Almost all the manuscripts that contain Herbert’s Diana poem follow the 1631 revisions, but Add. MS 25303, Add. MS 21433, and Harley MS 3910 do not share these variants, indicating the poem was circulating in this network long before Herbert’s revisions.¹³⁴ It is not entirely clear what Herbert intended the 1631 collection of his poems (Add. MS 37157) for; perhaps as a presentation copy for a friend or patron, or because he intended to print them, or as his own exercise in nostalgia for his younger days. Nor does it seem clear why, if the document was in Henry Herbert’s possession, he did not make use of it when he published his brother Edward’s verse in 1665. It seems likely that further manuscripts containing Herbert’s poetry may still be discovered, particularly amongst the family papers, just as *The Amazon* was found at Powis Castle in 2009.

Until new evidence comes to light – a more accurate date for the surviving manuscripts of the *Life*, new evidence about its date of composition, the possible (re)discovery of *AuB*, the discovery of a new work by Edward Herbert defending his actions during the Civil War, any new material relating to Henry Herbert’s preparation of the 1665 edition of the poems – little can be said conclusively. What is clear, however, is that Henry Herbert took some very active control over

¹³³ Herbert, *Life*, p. 101.

¹³⁴ For a more detailed account of these manuscripts, and their relation to the Inns of Court, see Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992), pp. 92-3.

his brother's literary works after Edward's death, and therefore played an important part in determining Edward's posthumous literary reputation. Both Herbert's poems and his *Life* were controlled by their editors to project a certain kind of masculinity for Herbert – in the case of the poems, one that is nostalgic and repentant, and in the *Life* as a comic anachronism. Herbert has been repeatedly used as a figure of nostalgia – for social reasons, for political reasons, and for comic purposes, but Herbert's own nostalgic recollections were rather intended for the continuity and development of a heroic male line.

Conclusion

October 14. 1644

Enraging Griefs, though you most divers be
 In your first Causes, you may yet agree
 To take an equal share within my heart,
 Since if each grief strive for the greatest part,
 You needs must vex your selves as well as me.

For your own sakes and mine then make an end,
 In vain you do about a Heart contend,
 Which though it seem in greatness to dilate,
 Is but a tumour, which in this its state
 The choicest remedies would but offend

Then storm't at once, I neither feel constraint
 Scorning your worst, nor suffer any taint
 Dying by multitudes, though if you strive
 I fear my heart may thus be kept alive
 Until it under its own burden faint.

What, is't not done? Why then, my God, I find,
 Would have me use you to reform my mind:
 Since through his help I may from you extract
 An essence pure, so spriteful and compact,
 As it will be from grosser parts refin'd.

Which b'ing again converted by his Grace
 To godly sorrow, I may both efface
 Those sins first caus'd you, and together have
 Your pow'r to kill turn'd to a power to save,
 And bring my soul to its desired place.

(ll. 1-25)

The previous chapter demonstrated that in the 1665 printing of Herbert's verse the English poems were arranged so that 'October 14. 1644' would parallel 'To his Watch, when he could not sleep', the two poems bookending the collection. They share a similar movement of thought and circularity of argument, although 'October 14. 1644' is more intense in its power and feeling, without the meditative quality of 'To his Watch'. The themes –death, redemption, an expression of simultaneous stasis and advancement – indicate that the two poems were probably written around the same time, in the last few years of Herbert's life. 'October 14. 1644' is Herbert's latest dateable poem, although its dating to 1644 is speculative. In the 1665 printing the titular date is given as 'October 14. 1664', which must be incorrect given that Herbert died in August 1633; Moore Smith

emends this to 1644 on the basis that it was a printer's error.¹ Assuming that this emendation is correct, this would indicate that the poem was composed in the weeks after Herbert's surrender of Montgomery Castle to Parliamentary forces, and quite possibly during Herbert's journey from Montgomery to London. The impassioned opening image of 'enraging griefs' – an unusually personal and fervently emotional beginning for Herbert – and the hope that these conflicting griefs will overwhelm the speaker in such a way that will allow them to find peace, seem particularly resonant with Herbert's personal predicament in mid-October 1644.

Despite its late dating, 'October 14. 1644' also shares themes with Herbert's earliest dateable poem, 'The State Progress of Ill', dated to August 1608 and sent to Donne, which I discussed in Chapter 1. 'The State Progress of Ill' begins by ruminating on the origins of sin, which 'must come / From causes great and far' (ll. 6-7), an image which is echoed in 'October 14. 1644': 'Enraging Griefs, though you most divers be / In your first Causes' (ll. 1-2). The 'universal' ill (l. 6) of 'The State Progress of Ill' has become the deeply personal 'enraging griefs' of 'October 14. 1644', but themes of sin and multiplicity clearly stretch right across Herbert's poetic career. Whereas the multiplicity and warring diverse parts of an individual – the vying 'beasts' confined in the ark, to borrow Herbert's imagery from 'The State Progress' – are a topic of satirical scorn in 'The State Progress' and a target for satirical humour in 'Satyra Secunda' (as discussed in Chapter 2), in 'October 14. 1644' they are transformed into the redemptive means by which wholeness and peace are achieved. The penultimate stanza where this turn occurs recalls Herbert's philosophically-inclined love lyrics (discussed in Chapter 3), particularly his poems on the colour black, with the movement from the manifold to the 'essence pure', the abstracted ideal 'from grosser parts refin'd' (ll. 19, 20). The pattern of a grief that becomes its own redemption – the 'pow'r to kill turn'd to a power to save' (l. 24) – reflects 'Echo in a Church' (discussed in Chapter 4), where the speaker's grief prompts the redemptive response of a divine echo. The dating of 'October 14. 1644' indicates that it was probably being composed at the same time that the *Life*

¹ On the date of Herbert's death see Dunstan Robert, 'The Death of Lord Herbert of Cherbury Revisited', *Notes and Queries*, 63 (2016), 44-5. Rossi corrects the date to 1646, III, p. 246. Herbert, *Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury and Castle-Island, Deceased in August, 1648* (London: T. R., 1665), p. 85.

was written, and the social and political concerns preoccupying Herbert at this time were the focus of the previous chapter.

In many ways, ‘October 14. 1644’ reads as a summary of all the topics that this thesis has treated. Multiplicity, sin, refinement, and abstraction are themes which recur in Herbert’s verse repeatedly, and which prompt questions about imitation, homosociality, and manhood. The image of the manifold parts that make up an individual ‘striving’ with one another (‘Since if each grief strive for the greatest part’, l. 4) returns us to the ambiguous verbs – like ‘match’ and ‘strive’ – which contemporaries used to describe Herbert’s own writing practice, verbs which rely on prepositions to clarify meaning: do these parts strive ‘with’ or ‘against’ one another? In ‘October 14. 1644’ the idea that unity and wholeness can only be found through multiplicity and the various constituent parts of a whole is explicitly articulated: ‘I may from you extract / An essence pure’ (ll. 18-9).

‘October 14. 1644’, Herbert’s latest dateable poem, and perhaps the last poem he wrote, ends with a personal articulation of another recurrent motif in Herbert’s verse: the doctrine of scholastic physicists that a body tends to ‘its place’. The concept that everything had its ‘proper place’ is ancient, argued by Aristotle (especially in the *Physics*) and Plato, and central to the concept of the Great Chain of Being. Johannes Stierius described the concept in his summary of Aristotelian teachings, *Praecepta Logicae, Ethicae, Physicae, Metaphysicae, Spaericaeque*: ‘omne corpus ad locum suae naturae accommodatum fertur, in eoque quiescit’ (‘Every body is borne to the place suited to its nature and remains there’).² A thing’s ‘place’ appears repeatedly throughout Herbert’s verse:

When again all these rare perfections meet,
Composed in the circle of thy face,
As in their place
(‘To a Lady who did sing excellently’, ll. 21-3)

While the two contraries of Black and White,
In the Brown *Phaie* are so well unite,
That they no longer now seem opposite,
Who doubts but love, hath this his colour chose,
Since he therein doth both th’extremes compose

² Johannes Stierius, *Praecepta Logicae, Ethicae, Physicae, Metaphysicae, Spaericaeque Brevibus Tabellis Compacta: Una Questionibus Physicae Controversis* (Cambridge: Ex officina Rogeri Danielis, 1647), p. 10

And as within their proper Centre close?
 ('The Brown Beauty', ll. 1-6)

As Statuaries yet having fram'd in Clay
 An hollow Image, afterwards convey
 The molten mettles through each several way;
 But when it once unto its place hath past,
 And th'inward Statua perfectly is cast,
 Do throw away the outward Clay at last
 ('The Idea', ll. 58-63)

While thy ambitious flame doth strive for height,
 Yet burneth down, as clogged with the weight
 Of earthly parts, to which thou art combin'd,
 Thou still do'st grow more short of thy desire,
 And do'st in vain unto that place aspire,
 To which thy native powers seem inclin'd.
 ('A Meditation upon his Wax-Candle burning out', ll. 1-6)

The theme was also central to Herbert's philosophy, as Griffin has demonstrated.³ The only time, however, that he speaks of personal sense of a 'proper place' is in his final poem: 'bring my Soul to its desired place' (l. 25).

This place can only be reached, 'October 14. 1644' suggests, by 'dying by multitudes' (l. 13). It is a phrase peculiarly resonant with Herbert's fate as an author. A language of synecdoche has pervaded studies of Herbert: his poetry is taken apart to find the elements which best represent his imitation of another writer; he himself is seen as philosopher, historian, or poet – either a Plato or a Don Quixote. Scholarly work on Herbert has been dominated by this notion of an essential contradiction between Herbert the philosopher and poet on the one hand, and Herbert the soldier and duellist on the other. This thesis has worked to reconcile this duality, arguing that Herbert's philosophical and diplomatic theories and chivalric pursuits informed his verse, and moreover that in the place of binary reduction (duality), readers should be attuned to a manifold productivity (multiplicity) in Herbert's verse.

Parts and wholes are images which run throughout Herbert's poems, and they inform ideas about manhood and multiplicity. My aim in this thesis has been to show the importance of poetry in expressing and developing ideas of manhood within homosocial groups, and how this is informed by practices of imitation. Being a man and a poet meant imitating other men, a practice

³ See Griffin, Chapter 2, 'The Philosopher', especially 'Knowledge and Freedom', pp. 108-17.

that was not always simple or straightforward. As humanist pedagogy about *imitatio* demonstrates, imitation was a gendered and disputed practice, that could be seen as derivative or competitive. Modern scholarship has often treated the practice in this light, and the more dialogic, collaborative practices of imitation in the early seventeenth century have been overlooked. However, imitation was not without its dangers: if a man imitated others too much he could be accused of becoming malleable, and therefore ‘effeminate’.

Imitation, as this thesis has shown, was an intensely gendered practice, and as we are increasingly aware of the importance of recognising the social and institutional contexts in which poems were composed, disseminated, and read, it is also crucial to recognise and understand the imitative practices which informed this. Imitation was not just the practice of modelling oneself on classical paradigms but was also a way of asserting and articulating friendships and family lineage. It could leave one open to satirical attack, and in particular an attack on one’s ‘manhood’. Questions about imitation were at the heart of some of the most important literary treatises of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, which asked whether art *could* imitate life, and whether life *should* imitate art – concerns which inform Sidney’s *Defence of Poesy* and overwhelm Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*. Modern scholarship has, broadly, read Herbert as an imitative poet, a writer notable principally for having been one of the earliest ‘members’ of the ‘school of Donne’, but otherwise unremarkable. This thesis has not sought to challenge the view of Herbert as imitative, but rather to offer a series of redefinitions of how that term might be understood, and the implications it has for thinking about family, friendship, and masculinity.

Edward Herbert died in August 1648, and his brother Henry died in April 1673. Upon the death of Edward’s grandson, Edward Herbert, third Baron Herbert of Cherbury, in 1678, Edward’s line was ended, although the title of Baron of Cherbury was later given to Henry’s son, also called Henry in 1694. The line of direct male descent from Henry ended in 1738 with the death of his grandson, sixth Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who died without issue. The death of the brothers Edward and Henry, and their heirs, exerts a teleological pull on my thesis, and provides a natural closure to my discussion, which has followed a biographical narrative. Since the 1665 printing of Edward’s poems, edited by his brother Henry, there have been only two editions of his poems: one,

edited by John Churton Collins in 1881, and Moore Smith's 1924 edition.⁴ A scattering of Herbert's poems have appeared in anthologies over the last few decades, although they are rarely discussed in scholarship.⁵ This thesis has shown how rich a line of enquiry there is to be pursued in Herbert's verse, and in part this should demonstrate the need for a new, updated edition of Herbert's poetry, one which is attentive to the institutions and literary networks in which Herbert wrote and circulated his verse, as well as his philosophical, diplomatic, and chivalric ideals. A new edition of Herbert's verse which provided translations of his Latin poems, would also enable more detailed studies of Herbert's extended socio-literary networks, which has been beyond the scope of this present study. Such friendships and relationships, as this thesis has shown, informed Herbert's verse, and indicate how practices of imitation within such relationships could articulate complex ideas about friendship, literary inheritance, multiplicity, malleability, and gender.

⁴ Herbert, *The Poems of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. by John Churton Collins (London: Chatto and Windus, 1881).

⁵ For example, 'Sonnet of Black Beauty' appeared in the first edition of the *Norton Anthology on English Literature*, ed. by M. H. Abrams 2 vols (New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Sons, 1962), I, p. 1012, but in no subsequent editions. Herbert's 'Sonnet' beginning 'You well compacted Groves, whose light & shade', is included in *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse: 1509-1659*, ed. by Henry Woudhuysen (London: Penguin Books, 1993), p. 443. 'To Mrs Diana Cecyll', 'The Brown Beauty', 'Sonnet of Black Beauty', and 'Another Sonnet to Black it Self' appear in *An Anthology of Interracial Literature: Black-White Contacts in the Old World and the New*, ed. by Werner Sollors (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2004), pp. 107-9. 'To His Watch When He Could Not Sleep', 'Upon Combing her Hair' and 'Kissing' were included in *Elizabethan Poetry: An Anthology*, ed. by Paul Negri (Mineola, NY: Dover Publishing, 2005), pp. 88-9.

Appendix 1: References for Chapter Subheadings

Introduction

p. 11: 'The Monument which thou beholdest here, / Presents Edward Lord Herbert, to thy sight', Edward Herbert, 'Epitaph for himself', *The Poems, English and Latin, of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. by G. C. Moore Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 54, ll. 1-2.

Chapter 1: 'This dialogue of one': Becoming a Poet and Becoming a Man in the Verse of John Donne and Edward Herbert

p. 29: 'Of that short roll of friends writ in my heart', John Donne, 'To Mr Ingram Lister', *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson, 2008), pp. 35-6 (p. 35), l.1.

p. 37: 'Two joined can themselves dilate', Herbert, 'An Ode', *Poems*, pp. 61-6 (p. 66), l. 126.

p. 43: 'for man into himself can draw / All', Donne, 'To Sir Edward Herbert at Juliers', *Poems*, pp. 100-3 (p. 103) ll. 37-8.

p. 53: 'you who know us all, can best moderate', Donne, *Selected Letters*, ed. by P. M. Oliver (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2002), p. 88.

Chapter 2: 'What man art thou': Herbert and Jonson's Satirical Friendships

p. 65: 'Of Travellers: (from Paris)', Herbert, 'Satyra Secunda', *Poems*, pp. 14-6 (p. 14).

p. 72: 'Rare poems ask rare friends', Ben Jonson, '94 To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, With Master Donne's Satires', *Epigrams*, ed. by Colin Burrow, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson (CEWBJ)*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), v, pp. 160-1 (p. 160), l. 6.

p. 81: 'Few Men, and many Beasts', Herbert, 'The State Progress of Ill', *Poems*, pp. 9-13 (p. 13), l. 126.

p. 90: 'What man art thou, that art so many men', Jonson, '106 To Sir Edward Herbert', *Epigrams*, ed. by Burrow, in *CEWBJ*, v, pp. 101-98 (p. 106), l. 2.

Chapter 3: 'The little World the Great shall blaze': Thomas Carew, Giambattista Marino, and the Poetics of Embassy

p. 98: 'travel is a second birth', Herbert, 'Satyra Secunda', *Poems*, pp. 14-6 (p. 14), l. 1.

p. 112: 'I sing her worth and praises hy', Herbert, 'A Description', *Poems*, pp. 2-5 (p. 2), l. 1.

p. 121: 'proportions new, so well exprest', Herbert, 'To Mrs Diana Cecyll', *Poems*, pp. 34-5 (p. 35), l. 16.

Chapter 4: ‘Who ist that of my words repeats the first and last?’: The Echoing Households of the Sidney-Herberts

p. 136: ‘it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my ancestors’, Herbert, *The Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. by J. M. Shuttleworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 1.

p. 146: ‘An eclogue betwixt himself and the echo’, Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia: The Old Arcadia*, ed. by Jean Robertson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 159.

p. 151: ‘The estate of an Amazon Lady’, Sidney, *Arcadia*, p. 18.

p. 161: ‘Thou Echo, thou art mortal, all men know’, George Herbert, ‘Heaven’, *The Complete Poetry*, ed. by John Drury and Victoria Moul (London: Penguin Classics, 2015), p. 180, l. 3.

Chapter 5: ‘Where authors of all complexions are preserved’: Herbert’s Literary Legacy

p. 183: ‘as my Age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions’, Herbert, *Life*, p. 1.

p. 188: ‘not vnlike the Romances of Knights Errands’, Herbert, *Life*, p. 38.

p. 199: ‘of all of us, there now remains but you and I to brother it’, Herbert, in *Epistolary Curiosities: Series the First: Consisting of Unpublished Letters, of the Seventeenth Century, Illustrative of the Herbert Family*, ed. by Rebecca Warner, (Bath: Richard Cruttwell, 1818), p. 30.

p. 206: ‘it may be presumed he would have given it to you, as the best Legacy’, Henry Herbert, dedication, *Poems*, unpaginated.

Appendix 3: Transcription of 'Echo in a Church' Drafts

The National Archives, PRO 30/53.9, ff. 1^r, 2^r, 25^v

Rossi treats these drafts briefly (III, pp. 389-91). He remarks: 'Egli si dimostra scrittore penoso e laborioso, tanto che è quasi impossibile rirodurre tutte le sue correzioni' ('He [Herbert] proves himself to be a thoughtful and industrious writer, so much so that it is almost impossible to reproduce all of his revisions'). Carets (^) have been used to indicate where words have been written above the line, and a strikethrough (~~xxx~~) indicates words which have been deleted. Unidentifiable words are given as an 'x', and words which are illegible are identified by angled parentheses (<xxx>). Words which have been written, and then had another word written over them are given in braces ({}) immediately preceding the superseding word. False-line breaks (where a line has run onto two lines in my transcription) are marked by a vertical line (|). Abbreviations have not been expanded and the punctuation and underlining are given as they appear in the original.

TNA, PRO 30/53/9, f.1^r

Eccho here

Where shall my ~~wounded~~ ^troubled^ soul at large

it selfe dischare

or ~~troubled~~ ^wounded^ consscience comfort find. o where. Eccho here

Eccho hence

Whence comes the voice I heare,

Who ist that of my words repeats the first and last. E. the first and last

I now should I growe agast

did I not hope for ~~t~~ ~~What~~ ^that^ it is thou o lord

~~That~~ Who doest this grace afford

~~Doest~~ ^Wilt^ thou then hear my words when I do call. E. all

And ~~doest~~ ^{shalt} wilt^ thou <xxx> ^pi{p}tty^ grant, when I do cry. E. I.

Then though I fall

Thy grace will my defects supply

What ~~How You shall~~ I do I yet yf ~~t~~ oft

~~I on thy grace ^should theron thy grace^ attempt~~ E. tempt
~~But since no men from frailty yet ^are is^ exempt~~
~~What should ^shall^ {hee} I do not for to bee of crime the prey.~~ E. pray
 But who will teach the way
 to one to who will preserve ^By weh I m{ay} ^But who will keepe^ my soule
 | from ill
 Quench bad desires, reforme my will – I will;
 I must confesse, {a} At least
~~I must confesse my cares ^my cares wth these thy hands are blest^ My cares are blest but mayst~~
~~| thou yet one ^wilt {have} thou not yet thy {to} {this} thy further further^ favor show~~
~~And tell If ^that mortall man may^ face to face I may thee know.~~ E. no
 Thus farre yet ^I pray thee^ to my prayers incline
 Tell art thou God or but a voice divine. ~~Div~~ Ec divine
 I can not ~~teH~~ ^reade^, but growe wth cryinge now so faint
 I must desire thee to acquaint
 Whether thou bee
~~Art thou ^Whether thou bee^ the Lord, or but a voice ^that doest my soule rejoyce^ from~~
~~| Heaven came~~
 or but a voice
~~Oh tell before, I wholly weary am. E. I am ^wch by his choice^~~
~~Wch by his providence from Heaven came ^Wch by his providence and choice^~~
 From heaven ~~to my~~ ^to mee^ {comfort} ^sinnere^ came
 Oh tell before I wholly weary am E. I am

TNA, PRO 30/53/9, f.2^r

Eccho

Ec. Here

Where shall my troubled soule at large

It selfe discharge

Or wounded conscience comfort find o where. E. Here

Ec. Hence

Whence comes this voice I heare.

Who ist that of my words repeats the first and last. E. the first and last

I now should growe agast

Did I not hope that it is thou o lord

[...] though a mortall ~~But who will keepe my soule from ill~~
 [...]y face may knowe ~~Quench bad desires reforme my will.~~ E. I w[ill]
 E. no I must confese at least
~~My cares wth these thy wordes are blest~~
~~But wilt not yet ^this^ further mercy {k}showe~~
~~That though a mortall I thy face may know~~
 O Thus farre yet vnto my prayres incline
 Tell art thou God or but a voice divine E. div[ine]
 I cannot ~~rede~~ but ~~grow~~ wth crying ~~now~~ ^growe^ so faint
 I must desire thee to acquaint
 Whether thou bee the lord, or but a voice
 Wch by his providence and choice
 To comfort mee from Heaven came
 Oh tell before I wholly weary am E. I am;

Appendix 4: Contents pages for BL Add. MS 37157 and Herbert's Poems (1665)

BL Add. MS 37157

Poems without a title have been identified by the first line in square brackets, or by the title most commonly associated with the poem in square brackets.

Folio in MS	Poem	Page in <i>Poems</i>
1 ^r	'To a Lady who did sing excellently'	44
1 ^v	'On my L. of Dorsets first sonne'	30
2 ^r	'Ditty' ['Tears, flow no more']	26
2 ^v	'Ditty' ['If you refuse me once']	31
3 ^v	'Elegy over a Tomb'	32
4 ^v	['Diana Cecyll']	34
5 ^r	'To her Eyes'	35
6 ^r	'To her Hair'	37
7 ^r	'Sonnet' ['Sonnet of Black Beauty']	38
7 ^v	'The first meeting'	39
9 ^r	'The Thought'	43
10 ^r	'To the C. of D.', crossed out	
10 ^v	'Sonnet' ['You well compacted Groves']	54
11 ^r	'The Brown Beauty'	60
11 ^v	'The Green-Sickness Beauty'	68
12 ^v	'The Green-Sickness Beauty'	67
13 ^v	'Ode'	61
17 ^r	['Innumerable Beauties, thou white haire']	97
17 ^r	'Ditty' [one stanza of 'Why dost thou hate']	56
17 ^v	'To one Blacke, and not very Hansome'	97
18 ^r	'To Blacke it selfe'	39
18 ^v	[Blank]	
19 ^r	'Elegy for Dr Dunne'	57
21 ^r	'To the C. of D.'	55
21 ^v	'To my Mtris for her true Picture'	48
24 ^v	[Blank]	
25 ^r	['Echo in a Church']	47

Edward Herbert, *Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbery and Castle-Island, Deceased in August, 1648* (London: T. R., 1665)

Poems without a title in the original edition have been identified by the first line in square brackets.

'To his Watch, when he could not sleep'	1
['Lord, thus I sin, repent, and sin again']	2
'A Description'	2
'To her Face'	5
'To her Body'	5
'To her Mind'	6
['Thus ends my Love, but this doth grieve me most']	6
'Upon Combing her Hair'	7
'Ditty in imitation of the Spanish <i>Entre tanto que L'Avril</i> '	8
'The State Progress of Ill'	9
'Satyra Secund: Of Travellers from Paris'	14

['I must depart, but like to his last breath']	17
'Madrigal' ['How should I love my best?']	18
'Another' ['Dear, when I did from you remove']	19
'To his Friend, Ben Johnson, of his Horace, made English'	19
'Epitaph. Cæcil. Boulstr.'	20
'Epitaph. Guil. Herbert de Swansey'	21
'In a Glass-Window for Inconstancy'	21
'Elegy for the Prince'	22
'Epitaph of King James'	24
'A Vision'	24
['Tears, flow no more, or if you needs must flow,']	26
'Ditty to the tune of <i>A che del Quantomio of Pesarino</i> '	26
'Ditty' ['Can I then love to draw that breath']	27
'Epitaph of a stinking Poet'	29
'A Ditty to the tune of <i>Cose serite</i> , made by Lorenzo Allege to one sleeping to be sung'	29
'Epitaph on Sir Edward Saquevile's Child, who dyed in his Birth'	30
'Kissing'	30
'Ditty' ['If you refuse me once, and think again']	31
'Elegy over a Tomb'	32
'Epitaph on Sir Francis Vere'	34
'To M ^{rs} Diana Cecyll'	34
'To her Eyes'	35
'To her Hair'	37
'Sonnet of Black Beauty'	38
'Another Sonnet to Black it self'	39
'The first Meeting'	39
'A merry Rime sent to the Lady Wroth, upon the Birth of my L. of Pembroke's Child'	42
'The Thought'	43
'To a Lady who did sing excellently'	44
'Melander suppos'd to love Susan, but did love Ann'	46
'Echo to a Rock'	46
'Echo in Church'	47
'To his Mistress for her true Picture'	48
'Epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney'	53
'Epitaph for himself'	54
'Sonnet' ['You well compacted Groves, whose light & shade']	54
'To the C. of D.'	55
'Ditty' ['Why dost thou hate return instead of love']	56
'Elegy for Doctor Dunn'	57
'The Brown Beauty'	60
'An Ode upon a Question moved, Whether Love should continue for ever?'	61
'The Green-Sickness Beauty' ['Though the pale white within your cheeks compos'd']	67
'The Green-Sickness Beauty' ['From thy pale look, while angry Love doth seem']	68
'La Gialletta Gallante, or The Sun-burn'd Exotique Beauty'	69
'Platonick Love' ['Madam, your beauty and your lovely parts']	71
'Platonick Love' ['Madam, believe't, Love is not such a toy']	72
'The Idea, Made of Alnwick in his Expedition to Scotland with the Army, 1639'	75
'Platonick Love' ['Disconsolate and sad']	79
['Restrained hopes, though you dare not aspire']	81
'A Meditation upon his Wax-Candle burning out'	83
'October 14. 1664.'	85

'In statuam ligneam Overburii'	87
'De C. de S.'	87
'Epitaphium in Anagramma nominis sui: Reddor ut herbæ'	87

‘Epitaph. In se Romæ factum, 1615’	88
‘In tumulum Domini Francisci Vere’	88
‘In diem Natalitium, viz. 3 Mar.’	88
‘For a Dyal’	89
‘In Answer to the Verses of Guiet for the <i>Pucelle d’Orleans</i> , quasi extempore’	89
‘In Answer to Tilenus, when I had that fatal Dedluxion in my Hand’	90
‘De Hugone Grotio Arca incluso & a Carcere liberato’	90
‘Pro Laureato Poeta’	90
‘Ad. Sereniss. Regem Gustravum A.D. 1631’	92
‘Euryale Mœrens’	93
Mensa Lusoria, or a Shovelboard-table to Mr Master’	93
‘Charissimo, Doctissimo, Fucundissimoque juxtim Amico Thomæ Master’	94

Appendix 5: Stemmata of *Life* Manuscripts

AuE designates the incomplete copy of the *Life* in Rowland Evans's hand, dated to c.1642-4

AuW designates the complete, later seventeenth century copy of the *Life*, with alterations in several hands, including that of Horace Walpole. Dated to c.1698-1729. This was Walpole's copy-text for his 1765 edition of the *Life*.

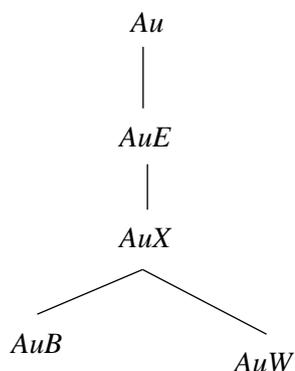
AuB designates the possible lost copy of the *Life* which was held in a wooden chest at Ribbesford, discovered by Francis Ingram in c. 1789.

AuX designates a hypothetical lost intermediate copy of the *Life*.

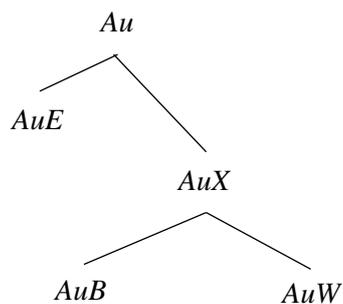
Au designates a hypothetical original complete copy of the *Life*.

The following diagrams represent several possible transmission histories of the *Life*.

1.



2.



3.



List of Works Cited

For Common Abbreviations, see p. vi.

Primary Sources: Manuscripts

Aberystwyth

National Library of Wales

Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E1/1
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E1/2
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E2/6/3
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E2/6/4
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E3/3
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E4/9
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/6
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/7
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/8
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/11
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/12
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/13
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/14
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/15
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/16
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/19
 Herbert of Cherbury Manuscripts and Papers, E6/1/20
 MS 5295
 MS 5296
 MS 5297
 MS 5298
 MS 5299
 MS 5300
 MS 5301
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