

PROVING ONE GOD, ONE HARMONIE:
THE PERSONA OF GEORGE HERBERT'S THE TEMPLE
AND ITS POETIC LEGACY

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ABSTRACT

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The thesis examines the presentation of the persona in George Herbert's The Temple, and uses this persona as a central focus for discussion of Herbert's later "imitators and adaptors". The first part of the thesis deals with the theoretical implications of the term "persona" in relation to the seventeenth century religious lyric, and with Herbert's portrayal of a multivocal persona in The Temple. After a discussion of Herbert's work, other seventeenth century writers who acknowledged a poetic debt to The Temple, Christopher Harvey (The Synagogue), Richard Crashaw (Steps to the Temple), and Henry Vaughan (Silex Scintillans) are dealt with in detail, while the work of some of the less familiar of Herbert's poetic followers is examined in Chapter Six. Throughout this section, the discussion is centred upon the presentation of the persona.

While during the seventeenth century the interest in poetic spiritual autobiography takes the form of verse collections modelled around a central theme, in the eighteenth century this interest is reflected in the growing popularity of the hymn. The second part of the thesis examines the contribution of The Temple to the portrayal of the central voice in the hymns of Isaac Watts, John Wesley and William Cowper. The anonymous Select Hymns, Taken out of Mr Herbert's Temple is also looked at in this section.

In the final chapter, the return to popularity of thematically

orientated verse collections, such as Keble's The Christian Year, is discussed with relation to The Temple. The poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Christina Rossetti are also discussed in terms of Herbert's poetic legacy.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Patrides - C.A. Patrides, George Herbert: The Critical Heritage,
London, 1983.
- Vendler - Helen Vendler, The Poetry of George Herbert, Cambs. Mass.,
1975.
- ELH - Journal of English Literary History.
- JEGP - Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
- PMLA - Publications of the Modern Language Association.
- SEL - Studies in English Literature.
- UTQ - University of Toronto Quarterly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ABBREVIATIONS	iv
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
"A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England", 1658	6
CHAPTER ONE: THE PERSONA OF <u>THE TEMPLE</u> ..	8
I The application of the term ..	8
II The role of the Christian Poet in the seventeenth-century ..	18
III Strategies contributing to the presentation of the persona ..	20
IV The self as treacherous: the dramatic persona	24
CHAPTER TWO: THE MULTIVOCAL PERSONA ..	29
I Encompassing Orders: Orpheus and David	29
i. The Christian Muse ..	31
ii. The Metrical Psalms ..	35
iii. <u>The Temple</u> and the development of the hymn	47
iv. "Ev'ry part hath got a tongue": the part of music in <u>The Temple</u> ..	50
II Representative Voices: Emblem Books and the Love Lyric	58
i. <u>The Temple</u> and the Emblem Tradition	58
ii. The heart in pilgrimage: images of the heart and adaptations of the love lyric in <u>The Temple</u>	65
iii. Inner Voices: The Self within the Self	67
III Meditative techniques and the presentation of the persona	76
IV The poetry of limitation: control and perspective in <u>The Temple</u> ..	79
CHAPTER THREE: THE POET AS TEACHER: THE PERSONA OF HARVEY'S <u>THE SYNAGOGUE</u> ..	85
I <u>The Synagogue</u> : Shadow or Imitation?	85
II The structure of <u>The Synagogue</u> ..	95
III The <u>Schola Cordis</u> ..	100
IV "Torn Meditations": the personal voice	105

	Page
CHAPTER FOUR: RICHARD CRASHAW'S <u>STEPS TO THE TEMPLE</u> : THE DEATH OF THE SELF ..	112
I Ornamentation and Style ..	117
II A personal universe: the accessibility of Crashaw's poetry ..	146
III The depiction of the persona in <u>Steps to the Temple</u> ..	150
 CHAPTER FIVE: THE SPARK WITHIN THE FLINT: THE PERSONA OF VAUGHAN'S <u>SILEX SCINTILLANS</u> ..	 158
I Henry Vaughan: Mystic or Propagandist?	158
II Man in Darkness: Vaughan's contemporary persona	176
III Orphic Hymns: Representations of Nature in <u>Silex Scintillans</u> ..	188
 CHAPTER SIX: THE INFLUENCE OF <u>THE TEMPLE</u> IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ..	 197
I "Doctrine and Life": the Pious Poet	198
II The 1630's and 1640's ..	202
i. Cardell Goodman: <u>Beauty in Raggs</u>	206
ii. Ralph Knevett: <u>A Gallery to the Temple</u>	211
III The 1650's: the variety of influence	215
i. <u>Eliza's Babes, or the Virgin's Offering</u>	216
ii. John Collop: <u>Poesis Rediviva</u> ..	218
iii. Eldred Revett: <u>Poems</u> ..	223
IV Edward Taylor: Poet of Meditation	225
V The poetic legacy of Herbert ..	228
Supplement of poems referred to in Chapter Six	230
 CHAPTER SEVEN: <u>THE TEMPLE</u> AND THE HYMN WRITERS ..	 248
I The development of the hymn in the seventeenth-century ..	250
i. The voice of the hymn ..	256
ii. <u>Select Hymns: taken out of Mr Herbert's Temple (1697)</u>	258
II The hymn in the eighteenth-century	267
i. Isaac Watts: Hymns and Spiritual Songs	270
ii. John Wesley: Rewriting Herbert	280
iii. Hymns as Praise ..	289

	Page
CHAPTER EIGHT: <u>THE TEMPLE AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY</u>	291
I Herbert's poetic reputation in the nineteenth-century	291
II The poets of the Oxford Movement	294
i. John Newman	294
ii. John Keble	297
iii. Isaac Williams	304
III The lyric voice: Christina Rossetti and Gerard Manley Hopkins ..	310
i. The devotional lyrics of Christina Rossetti	310
ii. "Cries Countless": the sonnets of Gerard Manley Hopkins	315
EPILOGUE: "Songs in the house of my pilgrimage"	320
FOOTNOTES	323
BIBLIOGRAPHY	347

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

My musick shall find thee, and ev'ry string
Shall have his attribute to sing;
That all together may accord in thee,
And prove one God, one harmonie.

(The Thanksgiving", ll. 39-42)

The central figure of George Herbert's The Temple has the distinction of being both univocal and multivocal, an idea echoed in the above lines from "The Thanksgiving". The cumulative effect of the work is to create the impression of a modulated whole alongside that of a series of recurrent and sometimes discordant themes, moulded into a final semblance of harmony. Critical opinion on the poetry of The Temple follows the structural principle of the work itself, one of diversity within an encompassing order: interpretations range from J.W. Walker's theory of 'architectonics' (The Architectonics of George Herbert's 'The Temple', ELH, XXIX, 1962) to Stanley Fish's discussion of Herbert's indebtedness to the catechism (The Living Temple: George Herbert and the Catechism, Berkeley, 1978). Earlier critics tended to be influenced by Walton's hagiographical Life of Herbert, with writers such as George Herbert Palmer attempting to link the poems to events in the poet's life in his 1905 edition. The pervasive influence of Walton's work resulted in the picture of the saintly priest overshadowing the precision of the poems as critics attempted to weave the poet himself into the sense. More recently, while Walton's influence is far from negligible, modern criticism of The Temple has tended to fall into the two categories highlighted by the debate between Rosamond Tuve and William Empson; tradition and style.

Tuve discusses Herbert's debt to the medieval traditions of iconography, emblem and church ritual in A Reading of George Herbert (Chicago,

1952). She refers scathingly to Empson's account of the poem 'The Sacrifice': "a reader familiar with the traditions out of which this poem sprang would find Empson's reading inadequate". Herbert's 'medievalism' has also held interest for critics such as Rosemary Freeman, whose chapter on Herbert discusses his use of the emblem tradition (English Emblem Books, London, 1948), and Margaret Bottrall, who states "Herbert's mind operated in the sphere of faith, and he was therefore able to accept and rejoice in many dualities which a truly metaphysical mind might have sought to resolve" (George Herbert, London, 1954). Joseph Summers in George Herbert: his religion and art (Cambridge, Mass., 1954) and M.M. Mahood (Something Understood: the Nature of Herbert's Wit, in Metaphysical Poetry London, 1970) also stress Herbert's conservative Anglicanism and the importance of Christian patterns of experience to the structure of the work. L.L. Martz (The Poetry of Meditation, New Haven, 1954) discusses Herbert's use of the techniques of the religious meditation, finding this an organizing impulse in the structure of the poems and the progression and development of their arguments. More recently, William Halewood (The Poetry of Grace: Reformation Themes and Structures in English Seventeenth-Century Poetry, New Haven & London, 1970) and Barbara Lewalski (Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric, Princeton, 1979) have outlined the influence on Herbert of ideas that are contemporary, English and Protestant: while this approach provides a useful corrective to the view of Herbert as conservative Anglican, it does tend to lose sight of the poetry amongst detailed documentation of sources.

William Empson (Seven Types of Ambiguity, London, 1930) provided an analysis of the complexities and subtleties of the language itself, leading discussion away from the traditionalist perspective favoured by Tuve. Arnold Stein (George Herbert's Lyrics, Baltimore,

1968) has discussed Herbert's poetry in the light of classical and patristic theories of style, while M.E. Rickey (Utmost Art: Complexity in the Verse of George Herbert, Lexington, 1968) has compared the two manuscripts of The Temple to illustrate Herbert's stylistic maturation. Helen Vendler (The Poetry of George Herbert, Cambridge Mass., 1975) notes Herbert's technique of 're-invention', while the 'self-consuming' nature of the language in The Temple has provided a focus for studies by Stanley Fish (Self-Consuming Artifacts: the Experience of Seventeenth Century Literature, Berkeley, 1972), Patrick Grant (The Transformation of Sin, Montreal, 1974), and A.D. Nuttall (Overheard by God: Fiction and Prayer in Herbert, Milton, Dante and St. John, London, 1980).

Discussion of the persona in Herbert's poems has tended to be overshadowed by a stress on the importance of the 'self', and the concern of many critics has been with Augustinian theology and its demand for the ultimate negation of the self. Two recent studies, however, take a rather different line: Sharon Cadman Seelig in The Shadow of Eternity: Belief and Structure in Herbert, Vaughan and Traherne (Lexington, 1981) stresses the importance of the multiple voices within The Temple, while Barbara Leah Harman in Costly Monuments: Representations of the Self in George Herbert's Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) sees self-representation as a 'vexed exercise' in Herbert's poetry. Seelig's study, admirably lucid on the subject of shifts in the persona and perspective within the poems, is limited to a discussion of a small selection of poems, while failing to point out the contemporary techniques which Herbert employs. Harman's study attempts to bridge the gap between discussion of seventeenth-century culture and Herbert's stylistic techniques: "The questions we must ask are how, and under what circumstances, and at what expense, and for how long, and in what ways, do persons and cultures negotiate the representation of the self". However, while the study contains many fine readings of in-

dividual poems, Harman fails to define 'self-representation' satisfactorily: the question of which of Herbert's poetic voices constitute a 'self' is not raised, and the work remains somewhat aloof from the literary conventions of the seventeenth century.

In this thesis, the term 'persona' rather than 'self' is used to denote the central speaker of The Temple. While recognizing the contentiousness of the term, I have continued to use it as it contains the suggestion of dramatic presentation, and can be used constructively to convey the concept of 'selves within the self' - inherent in the multi-vocal voice of The Temple. Chapter I contains a further discussion of the validity of the term within the context of Herbert's poetry. The thesis centres on concerns arising from the presentation of the persona: the chapters on The Temple examine the various techniques, both those influenced by traditional religious and literary elements and those attributable to Herbert's own poetic skill, employed by the poet to depict the persona. Herbert creates a persona which is both individual and representative, and the poems of The Temple create a varied series of attitudes and responses to God; the central persona functions on several levels, as does the central metaphor of the temple.

The principle of diversity within an apparent unity of purpose can be extended to cover the self-professed poetic 'followers' of Herbert. I have dealt at some length with Christopher Harvey, Henry Vaughan and Richard Crashaw not only because they specifically link their poetry to Herbert, but because they were themselves highly popular and influential poets; all are recorded in the list of the most "vendible" books in England, reproduced at the end of this introduction. Herbert's poetic adapters produced collections of personal lyrics, often structured around a central informing metaphor, and influenced both verbally and thematically by the poems of The Temple. A comparison of the persona of The

Temple and the persona presented in other poetic collections, provides a highly profitable focus for a reading of ~~these~~ works.

Chapter VI, dealing with rather less well known poetry of the seventeenth-century, illustrates the varying degrees to which Herbert's contemporaries absorbed and adapted his poetry. Chapter VII is concerned with the influence of The Temple on the development of the Christian hymn, and, in particular, with the central voice of the hymn, while the final chapter deals with the influence of Herbert's work on the religious poetry of the nineteenth century.

The principle of diversity within apparent unity informs both of the main concerns in this thesis: the early chapters on The Temple deal with the complex assortment of voices contained within Herbert's encompassing persona, while the later chapters on Herbert's poetic influence serve to illustrate the variety of responses to The Temple. In dealing with Herbert's 'influence' my aim has not been to point out a succession of verbal parallels, but rather to focus on the central voice of Herbert's poetic inheritors and to illustrate the far-reaching legacy of the 'sweet singer of the Temple'.

A Catalogue of The most vendible Books in England,
Wm. London, Sept. 1658

"POEMS"

Alarm to Poets	4.
Mrs Bradstreet. The 10. muse, a Poem	8.
Psyche, or loves mistery, by J. Beaumont.	4.
Mr Barrons Poems	8.
Mr Cowley, severall love verses.	
-Poems, Misselains, Pindarque odes, and a sacred poem of the troubles of David.	folio.
Mr Curews Poems, with a masque.	8.
Mr Crashaw, Steps to the Temple.	12.
Mr Cartwrights Poems, Traged. and Tragicom.	8.
Mr Cleavelands Poems.	8.
Mr Cotgrave. A collection from the best drammatick Poems.	8.
Mr Chapman. The crown of all homers work, with the battle of Frogs and Mice.	folio.
Bp Corbetts Poems.	4.
Mr Chamberlins Epigrams and Epitaphs.	8.
Mr Colop. Poesis Rediviva.	8.
Mr Denham. The destruction of Troy.	
-Coopers Hill. A Poem.	4.
Mr Davenant. Madagasker, with other Poems.	
-Gondibert. A Poem.	8.
Dr Donne. Poems.	8.
Mr Draytons Poems, Barrons Warres.	8.
-The battle of agincourt, the mysteries of Q.Margaret.	8.
-Ep pastor fido, with other Poems.	4.
Dubartas.	folio
Mr Fanshaws Poems.	8.
Mr Fletcher. The purchased Island, being poetick mis- selanies.	4.
Mr Farlees Emblems.	8.
Godf. of Bulloin, or recovery of Jerusalem, with his life.	folio.
Mr Herbert. Sacred Poems of the Temple.	12.
Mr Heaths Carrestella, Poems, Ellegies, &c.	8.
Mr Hausted. A Poem in honour of Tobacco.	8.
Mr Harvey. The bucolicks of B. Mantua.	8.
-Hist. of Baalam, and Jonah, and J. the Baptist.	8.
Horrace, de arte poetica, englished by B. Johnson, an execration against Vulcan, a mask of Gipsies.	12.
Mr Haulcing. Odes of Horrace.	8.
Henry the Seventh.	8.
Mr Howell. A vote or Poem of royall, presented to his Majesty.	
-Two Counter-Poems. 1.An elegy on the E. of Dorset, 2. An Epithalaminum to the Ld Maior of Dorchest.	
-Anglica suspiria & lachryma.	12.
Mr Harmonds Poems.	8.
J. Hall Esq: Poems.	12.
Mr. Herrick. Poems, Humane and Divine.	12.
Lyptius de constantia.	12.
Mr. Lawrance, the melancholly Knight.	4.
Mr. Milton's Poems with a mask before the Earl of Bridgwater.	12.

Mr Murford, Fragmenta Poetica.	12.
Orlando furioso.	folio. Cuts.
O. Metamorpho.	folio. Cuts.
O Epistle.	8. Cuts.
Mr Oglebie's Virgil	8.
-Esop. with cuts.	4.
Ov. De arte amandi. engl.	12.
Ov. De Tristibus. engl.	8.
Orchestra. A Poem of the antiquity and excellency of dancing.	8.
Poems and fancies by the Lady Marg. Newcastle.	folio.
A sacred Panegerick. by S. Marshall.	4.
Mr Quarels, Poems.	8.
-Emblems.	8.
-Divine fancies.	12.
-Boanerges, and Barnabas.	12.
Fons Lacrimarum, an ellegy on Sr C. Lucas.	12.
-Enchridion.	12.
-Sheperds Oracles.	4.
-Solomon's Recantation.	4.
-Argalus and Parthenia.	4. Cuts.
-Rape of Lucretia.	8.
Mr Stanly. Poems and Works.	8.
Mr Shaksper's Poems.	12.
Mr Stapleton. Muses on Hero and Leander.	12.
-Juvenals, and Satyrs, with Annotations.	8.
-Herodian of Alexandria.	4.
Sr J. Sucklings, Fragmenta aurea.	8.
Mr Shirles Poems with a mask, the triumph of beauty.	8.
Satyr, against Hypocrites.	4.
The sinagogues sacred Poems, in imitation of Mr Herbert Syon and Parnassus, or divine Epigrams.	12.
Mr Short's Poems.	12.
Mr Stevenson's Poems.	8.
Mr Sherbon's Poems.	8.
Mr Tatham. Ostolla. A Poem.	12.
Tenth Muse, or an exact Epitomy of the four monarchies.	8.
The works of J. Taylor, the water Poet.	folio.
Mr Vaughams Poems.	8.
-Silex Scintillans, 2 parts.	8.
Mr Watt's Poems and Epigrams.	8.
Mr Waller's Poems.	8.
Mr Wither's. Brittain's Remembrancer.	8.
-Campo musa.	8.
-Vox pacifica.	8.
-Abuses stript, and whipt.	8.
-Emblems quickened with metricall and divine illustrations, with lotteryies.	folio.
Mr Washbourn's divine Poems.	12.
Mr Wincoll's Poems.	12.
Mr Wishhart's Immanuel.	4.
English Parnassus.	8.
Mr Willan. The Phrigian Fabulist, or Esop. Fab. extracted from the Sat. and moralized.	8.

(Reprinted in Hobbled Pegasus, A Descriptive Bibliography of Minor English Poetry, 1641-60. ed. Joseph Frank (Albuquerque, 1968))

CHAPTER I

THE PERSONA OF THE TEMPLE

I.

The application of the term

The dominance and metamorphoses of the central figure of The Temple play a pivotal role in the progression and structure of Herbert's work. The 'I' contains, amongst others, the moralizing priest of 'The Church Porch', the rebellious figure of 'The Collar', the poet of the 'Jordan' poems and the despairing figure of 'Grief' and 'Longing'. Herbert achieves in the work the portrayal of a central protagonist who is simultaneously one person, (the fictive representation of George Herbert), and a multi-faceted player of a variety of roles. The term 'persona' would seem appropriate for this central figure for two main reasons. Firstly, deriving from the Greek word for an actor's mask, the term means, literally: that through which the sound comes, suggesting a chosen vehicle or device for the presentation of an utterance¹. Secondly, the connection of the term with drama points to the essentially dramatic concept of man's life as depicted in The Temple, with the Christian central figure as protagonist and the passions as dramatis personae.

In The Temple we are dealing with three distinct levels of the persona, ranging from the more conventional external persona to Herbert's highly individual creation of a persona of the "inner self". In the more conventional use of the word, taking on a particular character or role, Herbert uses the persona appropriate to the Christian poet, that of the Psalmist, and to a lesser extent the classical personae of Orpheus and Amphion. The second level concerns the use of Herbert's roles of poet, priest and representative Christian, or Christian Everyman. Finally, emotions and responses to events in life are depicted as personae in the

drama of life. In this way, Herbert fuses the formal, didactic and personal elements of the work into one central figure which contains elements relevant to all three levels.

Herbert's description of The Temple as "a picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master" may only be an invention of Walton's², but the phrase nevertheless serves as an apt description of the work. The idea of conflict is central and necessary to the work. As the self, in Christian theology, has no autonomy, what must be set up is an autonomous projection of the self, creating immediately a degree of dramatic opposition. Here, the concept of a persona is functional as it combines notions of an artificial dramatis persona with the idea that the persona is an extension of the central speaker, allowing the presentation of a central figure who is both sincere and an actor.

The theme of the 'pilgrimage' and the 'way of the cross' is also central to the work, but the didactic intention of Herbert's poetry ensures that it is not simply George Herbert the Christian pilgrim but George Herbert as both individual and representative pilgrim that is the concern of The Temple. This representative aspect demands some degree of distancing, and a central voice which is not wholly personal; this leads to the device of the self, the idea of the self speaking to the self, which occurs in many poems. In the seventeenth century Herbert's role as representative Christian provided the focus for much poetical imitation and laudatory verse. The idea of presenting a persona rather than an autobiographical "I" appears to have been far more congenial to Herbert's contemporaries than to writers of later ages. The conscious artificiality of the prefaced volumes of religious verse, the popular portrayal of Herbert as saint, teacher and Christian poet all contribute to this representative concern.

Consciousness, refers to the fictive 'I':

... in a lyric poem it is clearly not the first person that moves us (the poem need not be in the first person) but rather the I towards which that I reaches. The very confusion in modern literary theory concerning the fictive "I", whether it represents the writer as person or only as persona, may reflect a dialectic inherent in poetry between the relatively self-conscious self, and that self within the self, which resembles Blake's emanation and Shelley's epi-psyche. 3.

In The Temple, the "I towards which that I reaches" is not simply George Herbert, but the figure of a seventeenth-century Christian. Herbert, unlike the writers of the sonnet sequences, uses no story narrative to hold the poems together, and names few events in his life. A biography drawn from Herbert's poetry would tell us little more than the phrase "a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have past betwixt God and my soul"; an idea already popularized in the seventeenth century by manuals of meditation, tracts on devout life and above all, the emblem books. Writers of such different religious temper as Crashaw, Harvey and Vaughan could all view Herbert as the epitome of the ideal Christian, and find points of contact with the speaker of The Temple. The "self within the self" portrayed in the poems is and yet is not, Herbert: the central speaker undergoes many changes of voice but still remains part of one central voice.

Stanley Fish, in The Living Temple remarks that due to Herbert's consciousness of himself as a literary craftsman he

"... becomes his own persona, taking positions he no longer holds, and striking stances that do not reflect his present attitudes or beliefs. It is only a short step from this to a third strategy, one in which the poet disappears altogether except as the craftsman of a series of dramatic monologues complete with "fictional contexts", and a variety of fallible speakers."⁴

Fish does not accept the disappearance of the author, but sees Herbert in the role of catechizing the reader, he substitutes the terms Questionist, Answerer and Narrative for Persona, Reader, Dialogue. However, Fish's concentration on this single role, that of the "Questionist", misses much of the individual qualities of Herbert's speaker.

The poet disappearing except as craftsman is Herbert's explicit aim in poems such as 'The Altar' and 'The Dedication', although of course he does not "disappear" in the sense that the poet is necessary to the making of the poem⁵. The mannered artificiality of the central persona is necessary in Herbert's poetry to bring about the resolution declared in 'The Dedication':

Lord, my first fruits present themselves to thee;
Yet not mine neither: for from thee they come,
And must return. Accept of them and me,
And make us strive, who shall sing best thy name.
Turn their eyes hither, who shall make a gain:
Theirs, who shall hurt themselves or me, refrain.

Herbert sees the poems as artifacts, yet attempts rhetorically to disclaim all authorship, stressing the dynamic nature of religious life and that praise may take many forms but must always be continuous. Yet a central figure is needed to present both the conflicts and praises stressed in the poems, and also to convey the didactic intent. The persona of The Temple changes in various poems, but still remains a part of the central "singing" voice: the notion of a central singer is set up here to provide a parallel with the first Christian singer, the Psalmist.

The persona of the poems is both Herbert and a creation of his, continuing his perception of his various roles. The terms "role" and "self" are to some extent interchangeable, as Friedman points out in Multivalence: The Moral Quality of Form in the Modern Novel: "One might suggest that the concept of roles is an objectification of the concept of

self, and the concept of selves an internalizing of the concept of roles: twin concepts then, two sides of the same coin."⁶ The difficulty of knowing the "dancer from the dance"⁷ accounts for much of the confusion mentioned by Hartman as to whether the "I" represents the writer as person or only as persona. In poetry with an avowed religious didactic intention, the perspective of the self is somewhat narrowed. Indeed, objectification, creating roles for the self is necessary in a religious framework which denies the autonomy of the self. In terms of Herbert's Augustinian theology, the true self is one with God, but the poems portray not this reconciled self but another self. The essential self and the earthly self are clearly separate, truly a divided self. The use in literary criticism, however, of the word self for what is in theological terms the portrayal of a false self leads to confusion. Dramatic action takes place in the realm of the earthly or "false self": in this thesis the term persona is used to denote the dramatic stances taken by the central speaker in various poems.

Sharon Cadman Seelig comments on the many shifts in the persona of The Temple, citing "The Sacrifice" (Christ's voice), "Dialogue" (God) and "The Altar" (the heart). She sees something of the poet in these voices, yet "it would be a mistake simply and uncritically to take these voices as Herbert's own, for they dramatize the spiritual conflicts of which The Temple is a record". Concentrating on the first eleven poems of "The Church", she notes that the persona is often only going through the motions of religion: "the solutions are often those of the persona rather than those of the poet, and hence often fallible and suspect"⁸. Both Fish and Seelig point out important elements in the poetry, Fish stressing the didactic intention while Seelig draws attention to Herbert as playing many roles. The concept of roles alone, however, is not sufficient, the central voice contains something more continuous and

connective.

Helen Vendler, taking a slightly different angle, sees Herbert's poetry as self-allegory:

To allegorize oneself is different from writing about everyman, it means to take one's own personality, exaggerate it, broaden it, delete its more eccentric specificities while retaining its individual character. In the latter aspect it differs from caricature, which is at pains to emphasize particular eccentricities. A self-allegory is recognizable as an individual personality, yet not as wholly identical with the author. Many characteristics of the narrator of "Love Unknown" remind us of Herbert, the liking for colloquy, the tendency to complain, the naivete, the childlike speech, the forthrightness, the attacks of misery. All of these are represented in various lyrics by a genuine authorial "I".⁹

Vendler's "genuine authorial "I" " however, appears to be whatever conforms to her favoured picture of George Herbert, and her approach an extension of that search for autobiography in the poems which George Herbert Palmer's edition¹⁰ of The Temple epitomizes. In Palmer's edition it is his categories that order the poems, and so with Vendler's Herbert. She makes an exception for "Love Unknown", the poem reminiscent of the emblem tradition; "by inventing a genuine persona in "Love Unknown" ... he achieves a detachment from self"¹¹. Here the persona is located in the one poem of The Temple which contains a detailed narrative. All other poems are seen as self-allegory, where the self is nearer to the historical George Herbert. The persona, it appears, can only occur in a highly artificial context, and not in "confessional" poetry: it can only portray a fictionalized picture.

Vendler's use of the word, in this sense of masking by taking on another's character completely, highlights the contentiousness of the term persona. Jonathan Culler writing of the "cult" of the persona, sums up its enthusiastic reception by the New Critics:

A poem is not simply a series of sentences: it is spoken by a persona, who expresses an attitude to be defined, speaking in a particular tone which puts the attitude in one of various possible modes or degrees of commitment.

Here, the critic takes it upon himself to define which persona inhabits a poem. However, as Culler later points out, there is one fundamental persona, that of the poet: "To write a poem the author had to take on the character of poet, and it is that semiotic function of poet or writer rather than the biographical function of author which is relevant to discussion of the text"¹². Herbert, along with many other seventeenth-century poets, shows a highly self-conscious view of himself as a Christian poet, and the "essential" Herbert of Vendler's approach acknowledges many roles, amongst them those of poet, priest and individual Christian. Herbert also develops many roles from the conventional view of the Christian poet, and achieves a literary perspective combining with personal experience to produce a poetry which is at once personal and impersonal.

Joan Webber, writing of seventeenth-century prose styles states "the more literary the I, the more "I" and eye together achieve a symbolic existence that transcends personality and begins to obtain infinite vision"¹³. Herbert as author is concerned with moving from the realm of the personal to a larger perspective. His concern is with the persona rather than the personality; not with what is unique to the self, but what is common to the archetypal Christian. His poetry achieves a fusion of both perspectives, linking the individual with a larger persona. The lyric poems are contained in "The Church"; the speaker in this context becomes part of the Christian community, while Herbert's role as priest emphasizes the didactic aspect and relevance of this record of personal experience. The persona fuses the public and private voice, just as the central informing metaphor of the work, the temple, has a

" public" and "private" application, being both the building for public worship and the heart of man. The lack of a personal dimension to the speaker of "The Church Porch" is deliberate, emphasizing that words only, without lived experience, can only create correct but hollow precepts.

This concern with the active properties of words is the theme of the poem "The Windows":

Lord, how can man preach thy eternall word?
He is a brittle crazie glasse:
Yet in thy temple thou dost him afford
This glorious and transcendent place,
To be a window, through thy grace.

But when thou dost anneal in glasse thy starre,
Making thy life to shine within
The holy Preachers; then the light and glorie
Most rev'rend grows, and more doth win:
Which else shows wabish, bleak, and thin.

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

As Christian poet, Herbert desires that his speech should ring deeper than the echoes of words, and strike at the conscience. Christ, portrayed as annealed in man and shining through him, is the true light: what Herbert writes of in The Temple is the obstructions man and the world make to this light. The "brittle crazie glasse" throws many distorted shadows of the false passions and madness of the world. In this poem the temple image is developed a stage further, man here is in God's Temple: a knowledge of the rest of the work adds the image of man as God's Temple. Herbert is, as always, concerned to mine all sources of a word or image, here the double perspective of man as a part of God and as a dwelling place for God is delineated. "Doctrine and life, colours and light" combine: Herbert works on many levels, playing the role of priest teaching Christian doctrine, stressing the importance of personal experience, presenting a highly individual figure who is also a representative

Christian and ultimately a part of Christ, combining all these elements and many more into the complex persona of The Temple.

Theodore Spenser, writing on the sonnet sequences of the sixteenth-century, notes this representative quality:

in the sixteenth century this saving loss of personality, this discovery of self through the presence of an "other" could be accomplished to a considerable extent through convention. Convention is to the poet in an age of belief what the persona is to the poet in an age of bewilderment. By submission to either the poet acquires authority, he feels that is speaking for, is representing, something more important than himself - or, in the case of the persona, he is at least representing something different from his own naked and relatively insignificant ego: in both cases he has taken the first step towards universality.¹⁴

Convention in the seventeenth-century provided Herbert with a persona; that of the Christian poet, who could represent something larger than Herbert the individual Christian. What Herbert adds to the convention, and makes undoubtedly his own, are the many voices of the Christian everyman, the "dramatis personae" which make up the "play of life", a concept simultaneously a dramatic fiction and lived experience.

F.J. Warnke, writing of "the poetic of the jongleur" in the seventeenth-century, comments on the self-assurance of writers of this period:

The Baroque literary artist, whether dramatist or lyric poet, is so serenely sure of his identity that he can play tricks with it, splitting himself into aspects of his own personality, distancing himself from the aspirations and desires most immediate to himself, and achieving simultaneously, the expression of the force of these desires, and an ironic liberation from them; taking on, Viola-like, a person that is not and yet in some strange way is his own.¹⁵

Warnke's view overstresses the sense of assurance: the theological dismissal of the autonomy of self occasioned much disturbance in the

literary artist's view of the virtuous self, but the Protean sense of self that he admits to undoubtedly contributes to the success of the persona portrayed in The Temple. Herbert refuses to settle on any one facet of personality; Herbert as artist, priest, poet, Christian, all elements are conveyed in the persona of the poems, but no single one predominates.

To speak of the persona in The Temple is to speak of a series of complex connections. As the central metaphor works on various levels, so the persona accommodates itself to these levels: in the temple of Christ's Church a Priest; in the Temple of Praise a David figure; in the Temple of the World the Christian traveller or everyman; in the Temple of the heart the individual soul. In the overall structure of The Temple, the central persona, like David in the Psalms, has the intention of praising God announced in 'The Dedication' and 'The Altar'. Single poems, however, often show a single aspect of mood, separated from the central praising figure, but still a part of it.

I have used the term persona to denote a collection of voices and a character playing "in one person many people"¹⁶; the peculiar character of the persona in The Temple stems from the fact that like the Psalmist, it is both participator in and interpreter of its own experience.

II.

The role of Christian Poet in the Seventeenth Century

Ben Jonson writes in Timber of the supposedly divine origin of poetry: "Poesy had her original from heaven, received thence from the Hebrews, and held in prime estimation amongst the Greeks, transmitted to the Latins, and all nations that professed civility." The role of the Christian poet inspired by God's word was well established by the seventeenth-century. Most prominent in this aspect is Du Bartas' La Muse Chretienne, of 1574, translated by Joshua Sylvester. In this work, the poet creates a role for himself as inspired by a Christian as opposed to a classical muse, addressing himself to

"Urania (noblest of the learned Nine)
Coming from Heav'n to call my soul from Earth,
From Love's loose Sonnets and lascivious mirth."¹⁷

Herbert continues in this tradition of bringing poetry to the service of religion, but goes much further than Du Bartas: his muse is no intermediary lifted from classical antiquity, but God himself; and The Temple has no third party negotiating between man and God. It is in this respect that the difference between Herbert and writers such as Du Bartas is most striking. The many verbal parallels with "Astrophil and Stella" suggests a conscious Christianizing of the sonnet sequence form, putting Herbert firmly on the side of Christ rather than Cupid¹⁸.

Although The Temple appears empty of classical allusion at a first glance, Herbert is in fact constantly working with classical parallels, as M.E. Rickey has shown¹⁹. The fact that the allusion is implicit rather than explicit reinforces the idea of Herbert as the avowedly Christian poet. The overall persona of the work is that of the Psalmist, and the poems, in this light, can be seen as songs. The power of David's songs to subdue Saul's madness gives Herbert a powerful

precedent for the relevance of his Christian songs, and he works and develops an extremely profitable line of musical imagery from this parallel. However, it is not solely the Psalmist who provides a persona for the religious poet; Orpheus and Amphion have their parts to play. Puttenham outlines the connection between the religious poet and these classical authors:

Amphion and Orpheus, two Priests of the first ages, one of them, to wit Amphion, builded up cities, and reared walls with the stones that came in heapes to the sound of his harpe, figuring thereby the mortifying of hard and stonie hearts by his sweet and eloquent persuasion. And Orpheus assembled the wilde beasts to come in heards to hearken to his musicke, and by that meanes made them tame; implying thereby, how by his discrete and wholsome lessons uttered in harmonie and with melodious instruments, he brought the rude and savage people to a more civil and orderly life, nothing, as it seemeth, more prevailing a fit to redresse and edifie the cruell & sturdie courage of men than it.²⁰.

The image of working upon the "stonie hearts" of men is crucial to an understanding of The Temple, and Herbert makes use of the persona of Amphion, a priest as Herbert is, building up both the stones as poems into a volume of poetry, The Temple, and as men's hearts to build Christ's Temple on earth, the Church. The persona of Orpheus, which Vaughan was later to use so profitably, also has relevance here, as the religious intention of the work is to draw sweet music to move the strong hearts of men.

By taking on the role of Christian poet, therefore, Herbert can make use of the personae of David, Orpheus and Amphion, yet also achieve a slight distancing from the central figure, who becomes now the representative priest and poet as well as the individual Christian. The personae of Amphion and Orpheus remain however, secondary to that of the Psalmist. Donne writes of the Psalms that they must be considered

historically and literally ... of David. And secondly in their retrospect, as they look back upon the first Adam and so concern Mankind collectively, and so you and I all have a portion in these calamities, and thirdly, we shall consider them in their prospect, in their future relation to the second Adam, in Christ Jesus, in whom also all mankind was collected."²¹

This typological form of analysis has relevance to the poetry of The Temple: the poems are Herbert's, concerned both with "mankind collectively" and with an imitation of the life of Christ. The central persona allows for a fusion of these elements.

III. Strategies contributing to the presentation of the persona

The persona portrayed in The Temple is essentially dramatic, and many of the contemporary influences on Herbert's poetry contribute to this dramatic form of presentation. L.L. Martz has documented the case for viewing Herbert's poetry as a poetry of meditation, and the similarity of meditative techniques to the drama has been noted by many critics. In The Poem of the Mind Martz states that "the essential process of all true meditative poetry depends upon the interaction between a projected, dramatized part of the self, and the whole mind of man". Thomas Sloan elaborates this idea; "Within the rhetoric of meditation, a dialogue occurs, for intuitions, even passions, become participating personae - although the speaker himself may not seem to be directly addressing anyone"²². The meditation provides a dramatic setting or imagined role for the central protagonist, and demands a persona who is a dramatic representation of the meditator. The situation is contrived, artificial, but convincingly real in the Christian interpretation of life's events.

Barbara Lewalski sees Protestant authors in the seventeenth century

as tracing the progress of a particular speaker's soul:

Of particular interest ... are the feelings which sixteenth and seventeenth century Protestants understood to accompany the working out of this paradigm of the spiritual life in the elect Christian soul. These feelings involve well-defined emotional, psychological and spiritual states and conditions which the Christian was urged to try to discern in himself and in his own experience. The emphasis upon the constant scrutiny of personal emotions and feelings is a primary cause of that introspective intensity and keen psychological awareness so characteristic of the seventeenth century religious lyric. The conventional descriptions of the affective states of the elect provide an illuminating perspective upon the subject matter and manner of treatment in such lyrics.¹²³

The idea of observed and defined spiritual states, what Lewalski terms the Pauline paradigm of salvation, casts an interesting light on the highly personal appearance of lyrics such as Herbert's. Personal experience becomes impersonal to the extent that it is part of a preconceived plan of spiritual life, certain states are sought out, and the artificiality of this paradigm encourages dramatic representation of the central figure.

The abundance of emblem literature in the period, concerned with providing a picture of human passions, and picturing the Christian protagonist as conforming to various theological formulae provided another pervasive influence on Herbert's poetry. The pictorial representation of verses, and the "double image" of self portrayed in these books, in particular the "Schola Cordis" tradition, undoubtedly contributed to Herbert's somewhat surrealistic presentation of the heart and the central speaker as having separate voices. The dramatic depiction of the self as multi-faceted and playing a variety of roles with a diversity of voices owes much to the emblem tradition.

Joan Webber writes on the prose style of the period, in The Eloquent 'I':

It is particularly interesting to observe the development of self-consciousness at this time in the seventeenth century, when no writer has either the desire or the terminology to represent himself as uniquely individual, but wishes only to find a significant meaning for his sense of self in terms of his own tradition.²⁴

The relentless Augustinian theology of the essential self being one with God may suggest that the writer has no desire to represent himself as uniquely individual, but the poets of the seventeenth-century certainly did not lack ways of presenting aspects of the self to make sense of actions in life. The voices of projected aspects of the self which make up the poems of The Temple are closely linked with the prescribed voices of the manuals of Rhetoric. Abraham Fraunce writes in The Arcadian Rhetoric of "the application of the voyce to severall affections":

nowe a word or two of peculiar voyces applyable to certain affections. In pitie and lamentation, the voyce must be full, sobbing, flexible ... In anger shrill, sharpe, quicke, short ... In fear and bashfulnesse, contracted, stammering, trembling.²⁵

The rhetorical exercise of Prosopopoeia advocated the representation of various persons, down to an exact imitation of their way of speaking. An author as knowledgeable of rhetoric as Herbert would undoubtedly be familiar with this concept of "peculiar" and appropriate voices; the persona of The Temple contains many voices, each creating a particular persona but all part of one central speaker.

St. Augustine writes in Confessions of the search of the soul for its true self:

When I shall with my whole selfe cleave to Thee, I shall nowhere have sorrow of labour: and my life shall wholly live, as wholly full of thee. But now since whom Thou fittest, Thou liftest up, because I am not full of Thee I am a burden to myself. Lamentable joys strive with joyous sorrows,

and on which side is the victory I know not.
Woe is me: Lord have pity on me I hide
not my wounds; Thou art the Physician, I the
sicke: Thou merciful, I miserable. '26

The ideal state of the soul cleaving to God belongs, in these terms, not to earthly life, but to an after life where there is no separation. Herbert's poetry is undoubtedly informed by the sentiment "In him we live, and move, and have our being", but The Temple presents a picture of man struggling to live life "as wholly full of thee".

Stanley Fish writes of the concept of God's word being all as self-destructive; "acquiring it involves abanding the perceptual and conceptual categories within which the self moves and by means of which it separately exists". He sees Herbert's poetry as a "letting go":

'Learning to spell' in these terms is a self-diminishing action, in the course of which the individual lets go, one by one, of all the ways of thinking, seeing and saying that sustain the illusion of his independence, until finally he is absorbed into the deity, whose omnipresence he has acknowledged. ²⁷

The illusion of his independence is, however, the impression conveyed by The Temple: the solutions are fictive, and the sense of a "self" remains. The persona is only absorbed rhetorically, and the tensions between "mine" and "thine" never disappears. Man remains the central protagonist, although, theoretically, God is the central logos. By combining the devices of meditation, emblem and rhetoric with his own particular genius, Herbert creates a persona conveying the sense of a lively and dynamic self within a theological framework which denies the self's autonomy.

IV. The self as treacherous: the dramatic persona

Wolfgang Iser in The Implied Reader, notes that "the very form of the monologue presupposes an inner self as addressee"²⁸. This idea of the self speaking to the inner self is powerfully conveyed in John Hall's poem 'Self':

I

TRAITOR Self, why do I try
Thee, my bitterest enemy?
What can I bear.
Alas! more dear,
Than is this centre of myself, my heart?
Yet all those trains that blow me up lie there,
Hid in so small a part.

II

How many backbones nourished have
Crawling serpents in the grave!
I am alive,
Yet life do give
To myriads of adders in my breast,
Which do not there consume, but grow and thrive,
And undisturbed rest.

III

Still gnawing where they first were bred,
Consuming where they've nourished.
Endeavouring still
Even him to kill
That gives them life and loses of his bliss
To entertain them: that tyrannic ill
So radicated is.

IV

Most fatal men! what can we have
To trust?. Our bosoms will deceive:
The clearest thought,
To witness brought,
Will speak against us, and condemn us too;
Yea, and they all are known. O, how we ought
To sift them through!

Yet what's our diligence? even all
 Those sands to number that do fall
 Chas'd by the wind?
 Nay, we may find
 A mighty difference; who would suppose
 This little thing so fruitful were and blind
 As its own ruin shows?²⁹

Hall's version of the fragmented self is highly dramatic, with its apostrophe to "Traitor Self" and striking images of serpents and sands of time. The unpredictability and capriciousness of the self is stressed, pointing to a fundamental assumption of the seventeenth century; the active power of the false self to turn man from the light of God. This assumption highlights a basic difference in attitude between the seventeenth-century wariness of the self, and the Post-Romantic abandonment of the self (as in the poems of Christina Rossetti).

Hall's portrayal of this treacherous self illustrates what Herbert expressed in a far more subtle manner in his poetry, a peculiar objectifying of this worldly self into a double persona: the self who addresses, and the self who is addressed. This curious splitting of personality creates a dramatic situation, in which the dramatis personae are the two selves, one of which has played the wrong part. Meditative techniques of self address contribute to this fictional representation of self, and a persona is created who is not the central figure but a part of it.

What Herbert brings to this popular representation of the self is a unified central figure. His main difference from his poetic predecessors lies in the writing of a "modular" poetry, a volume of poems revolving around and informed by a central metaphor. The Temple comes closest in its structure to the Psalms and the love sonnets sequences; like the Psalms it is a series of cries of the soul to God. Like the sonnet sequences it seeks to illustrate all aspects of a relationship between lover and beloved. Herbert's collection of lyrics is held together

not by events, as in the works of Googe and Gascoigne, but by a persona central to the understanding of the central metaphor, a persona that can work on all the levels supplied by the temple image. The many imitations of The Temple show how the concept of this central persona was recognised, but, with the exception of Vaughan's Silex Scintillans poorly expressed.

Proposing the "school" of any poet is always a dangerous practice, as other influences, both literary and cultural, are often ignored. The Temple, nevertheless, proved congenial to the writers of the seventeenth century. Herbert, writing before the Civil War, produced a unified voice, giving a role to the poet as priest and teacher. His "spiritual autobiography", reading the world in an unwordly way, represents a development from the art of the emblem books towards Bunyan and the dissenters. His popularity with the hymn writers of the eighteenth-century is due in large part to his portrayal of general experience in a highly individual way, without the didacticism apparent in many hymns. The Temple combines the everyday imagery of the Psalms with their personal and troubled elements: Watts and Wesley drew on the "simple" imagery for their hymnals. Others, such as Cowper, responded with troubled recognition to the more poignant elements. In the seventeenth-century Herbert was viewed as the champion of Anglicanism, but the influence of his poetry continues far outside this period. Outside the specific context of religious strife he is viewed as portraying the soul reconciled with God by such writers as Christina Rossetti and Gerard Manley Hopkins. The central persona allows the poetry to work on didactic, representative and personal levels, accounting to a large extent for the wide appeal of Herbert's poetry to writers of many different religious persuasions.

V. The question of sincerity: Autobiography versus Persona

Donald Davie, writing on the concept of sincerity in poetry, sums up the attitudes of the champions of autobiography:

Confessional poetry, of its nature and necessarily, is superior to dramatic or histrionic poetry; a poem in which the I stands immediately and unequivocally for the author is essentially and necessarily superior to a poem in which the "I" stands not for the author but for a persona of the authors.³⁰

Davie disagrees with this, seeing no basic contradiction between the idea of persona and the questions of poetic sincerity: authors of the seventeenth-century, well versed in rhetorical techniques, appear to have found no difficulty in combining the two. The idea of the world as a stage and life as a play occurs consistently throughout the poetry, prose and drama of the period, and religious literature in particular abounds in dramatic characterisation.

Richard Lanham, writing on the hostility of many critics to a rhetorical and dramatic view of life, suggests "The concept of a central self, true or not, flatters man immensely. It gives him an identity outside time and change that he sees nowhere else in the universe". Lanham champions the rhetorical concept of the self :

If truly free of rhetoric, we would be pure essence. We would retain no social dimension. We would divest ourselves of what alone makes social life tolerable, of the very mechanism of forgiveness. For what is forgiveness but the acknowledgement that the sinner is not truly himself, plays but a misguided role? If always truly ourselves, which of us shall scape hanging? To liberate man from his rhetorical dimension is to freeze him in the nightmarish prison of unchanging essence Plato so powerfully invoked in The Republic.³¹

Herbert's portrayal of the central persona as a player of many roles, the protagonist of various dramatic situations is in keeping with the rhetorical view of life where man is constantly re-presented. Language shows the man, and must be appropriate to the passions portrayed.

Herbert's incessant re-presentation of the persona conveys the idea of a Protean capricious self, as well as a player of roles. In writing The Temple Herbert has a larger design than recording his own autobiography, he wishes to teach and instruct: the persona figure conveys simultaneously the sense of an individual and of Everyman.

Herbert achieves in the persona of The Temple a fusion of literary personae, representative roles, and dramatic depictions of an individual's experience of life. The persona is a dynamic figure, changing from poem to poem, sometimes splitting into two figures, sometimes taking on another role, but always remaining the voice of the "sweet singer of the Temple".³² To confine the use of the word to the realms of the artificial and therefore insincere would be to mistake Herbert's use of art. He manipulates the dramatic and conventional uses of the persona as he manipulates the central image of the temple; his ultimate aim is, in the rhetoric of The Temple, to work upon stony hearts, the property of the earthly self, and to build the stones into a temple of praise. Regenerate man is Herbert's goal, his poetry records the trials of the imperfect worldly man; his aim is to prepare a place in the house of the Lord where "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out". (Rev: III: 12)

CHAPTER II

THE MULTIVOCAL PERSONA

I. Encompassing Orders: Orpheus and David

The image of the temple has far reaching implications for a reading of Herbert's work: functioning as it does on many different levels, the image provides a perspective for viewing the various roles of the persona in The Temple. The image, surely one of the most widely used in seventeenth-century religious poetry, can be interpreted as the biblical Temple, the soul of man, man himself, the heart of man, prayer, a place of worship and the world¹. Of paramount importance to Herbert's work, it has simultaneously both classical and Christian implications; the following biblical passage from Acts XVII has particular relevance in this context:

22. Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' hill, and said,
Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye
are too superstitious.
23. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I
found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN
GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him
declare I unto you.
24. God that made the world and all things therein,
seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth
not in temples made with hands:

The image of the temple used in this passage has two important points of contact with Herbert's volume. Firstly, the juxtapositioning of Christian and classical temple allows Herbert to dedicate his poems to the Christian God as opposed to the traditional classical muses, and to use a specifically Christian persona, that of David, which can both dominate and contain the classical personae of Orpheus and Amphion. The many building images that occur in The Temple are relevant to this encompassing persona: the stories of Amphion building walls from stones and Orpheus making stones sing are subordinate to the images of stones as poems or songs, and

stones as human hearts. Both images connect with the figure of the Christian psalmist, whose work was acknowledged to cover the wide range of emotions known to man. Secondly, the concept that God "Dwelleth not in temples made with hands" reinforces the image of the temple as man himself, and particularly the heart of man, an image expressed in Donne's lines from "A Litanie":

O Holy Ghost, whose temple I
Am but of mudde walls, and condensed dust.²

The connection between Orpheus and David is observed by D.P. Walker in The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century (London, 1972):

Orpheus with his lyre charming the rocks, trees and wild animals was normally interpreted as meaning that he was a divinely inspired poetic teacher, possessed by Platonic furor, who reformed and civilized his barbarous contemporaries, 'the stony and beastly people' as Sir Philip Sidney calls them. Ficino, who developed the doctrine of the furores so that the greatest poets were thought to be possessed not only by the poetic furor, but also by the religious (Bacchic), prophetic and amorous ones, gives Orpheus as an example of this: 'That Orpheus was possessed by all these furores his books can bear witness'. It was a characteristic of such inspiration that the poet received supernaturally revealed knowledge of human and divine things. Thus Orpheus the legendary singer reinforces the claim of Orpheus the theologian to be in receipt of divine revelation. The same consequence, an increase in his authority, was produced by the frequently made comparisons between Orpheus and David, whose music was powerful enough to cure Saul's madness, and who also write divinely inspired songs of religious content.³

Many prefaces to collection of poetry in the seventeenth century contain allusions to Orpheus and David, and Herbert's work, utilising the image of the singing stones, is part of this tradition. However, The Temple, with its stress on poems as songs and "grones" from the heart of the individual Christian, gives prominence at all times to the Christian elements of literary tradition rather than classical elements. The

apparently 'simple' language of the work makes little use of the classical allusion favoured by many of Herbert's contemporaries, and a dominant concern in the work is the emphasis on the biblical word as all, with the poetry aspiring to the 'simplicity' of the Biblical text. David, the sweet singer of the Psalms, was seen as the archetypal Christian poet; the persona of The Temple is also that of the Christian poet, a role self-consciously adopted by many religious poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth century in the light of the controversy between the writing of classically influenced poetry, and poetry of a specifically Christian character.

i. The Christian Muse

Richard Rowlands'"Ode in Imitation of the Seven Penitential Psalms" illustrates how the opposing camps of classical and Christian poetry were viewed by many religious poets of the seventeenth century:

The vaine conceits of love's delight
I leave to Ovid's arte,
Of warres and bloody broyles to write
Is fit for Vergil's parte.
Of tragedies in doleful tales
Let Sophocles entreat:
And how unstable fortunes failes
Al Poets do repeat.
But unto our eternal king
My verse and voyce I frame
And of his Saintes I mean to sing
In them to praise his name.⁴

The controversy about the suitability of classical models and subjects to Christian poetry led to a renewal of interest in the Bible as a poetic model, and the language of the Bible as itself poetic. Herbert realises the importance of popular religious verse and accessible language, as Walton notes when recalling Herbert's first sermon at Bemerton;

(Herbert)

Delivered his sermon after a most florid manner:
both with great learning and eloquence. But at the
close of this Sermon told them, That should not be
his constant way of preaching; for since Almighty
God does not intend to lead Men unto heaven by hard
questions, he would not therefore fill their heads
with unnecessary notions but that for their sakes
his language and his expression should be more plain
and practical in his future sermons.⁵

Herbert's "plain and practical" language shares with the contemporary
practice of psalm translation the concern of returning to the Bible as a
model for poetry. As Herbert saw it, "Thy word is all, if we could
spell"⁶, and many of the poems in The Temple function by augmenting
fundamental Biblical language.

Samuel Johnson, attacking poetical devotion in his Life of Waller
states that "contemplative piety" cannot be poetical:

Omnipotence cannot be exalted; Infinity cannot be
amplified; Perfection cannot be improved.... All
that pious verse can do is to help the memory and
delight the ear... it supplies nothing to the mind.
The ideas of Christian theology are too simple for
eloquence, too sacred for fiction and too majestick
for ornament.⁷

This statement provides a useful perspective on Herbert's verse, which
certainly fulfils the criteria of helping the memory and delighting the
ear. Furthermore, it illustrates the distance between the religious
poets of the seventeenth century and Johnson's own day.

To the Christian poets of Herbert's time, the Bible provided the
supreme and sacred literary model. Johnson's objection that the ideas of
Christian theology are "too simple for eloquence" would have been
challenged in an age where handbooks such as Philip Melancthon's
Institutiones Rhetoricae (1521) and Illyricus' Clavis Scripturae (1617)⁸
produced evidence that all rhetorical figures were to be found in the
Bible. Herbert's contemporary, George Wither, wrote of the Bible "Were
I pleased to enter into such a task, I dare both promise and performe,

even from hence, to bring examples of every Rhetorical figure which may be found in any learned poet, even among the Greeks and Latines."

Johnson's second objection, "too sacred for fiction" could also be challenged by reference to the Bible. Sidney provides a useful comment upon this subject referring to the parables of Christ:

Certainly, even our Saviour Christ could as well have given the moral commonplaces of uncharitableness and humbleness as the divine narration of Dives and Lazarus, or of disobedience and mercy, as that heavenly discourse of the lost child and the gracious father, but that his through-searching wisdom knew that the estate of Dives burning in Hell, and of Lazarus being in Abraham's bosom, would more constantly, (as it were), inhabit both the memory and the judgement.⁹

As to the final objection, "too majestick for ornament", Henry Peacham's Garden of Eloquence of 1577 dealt with the topic of ornament in the Bible, while Sidney writes of Christ using the "flowers of poetry"¹⁰.

The Bible, therefore, was viewed as a model for the writing of divine verse¹¹. In the field of the lyric, the movement begun in the sixteenth-century to turn the poetry of such collections as England's Helicon and The Paradise of Dainty Delights to the service of religion resulted in such volumes as Hall's Court of Vertue (1565) and the influential L'Uranie of Du Bartas, published in 1574, where Urania, the muse of astronomy, was adopted as the Christian muse. Joshua Sylvester produced an English translation for King James which contained such rallying lines as the following:

Urania, noblest of the learned Nine,
Coming from Heav'n to call my muse from Earth
From Love's loose sonnets, and lascivious mirth.¹²

and the tradition of invoking this muse continues up to Milton's time.

This concern with the writing of explicitly Christian as opposed to classically influenced poetry led to a marked self-consciousness on the part of religious poets in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.

Seeing themselves as part of a tradition of Christian poets following, albeit at many removes, in the steps of David and Solomon, many poets produced verses where didacticism and moralising predominates, and the portrayal of individual religious experience is overshadowed by these features.

The profusion of these correctives to "Love's loose sonnets" led Hall to write the following satire:

Hence ye profane: mell not with holy things
That Sion muse from Palestina brings.
Parnassus is transform'd to Sion hill,
And iv'ry-palmes her steep ascents done fill.
Now good Saint Peter weeps pure Helicon,
And both the Maries make a Musick mone:
Yea and the Prophet of heavenly lyre,
Great Solomon, sings in the English Quire,
And is become a newfound Sonetist,
Singing his love, the holy spouse of Christ,
Like as she were some light skirts of the rest,
In mightiest Ink-hornismes he can thither wrest.
Ye Sion Muses shall be my deare will,
For this your zeale, and far-admired skill,
Be straight transported from Jerusalem
Unto the holy house of Betleem.¹³

Herbert, while following in this tradition of the Christian love-lyric, does not follow the practice of these earlier muses of Sion; The Temple is conspicuously free from classical allusion¹⁴, and Herbert does not merely apply classical epithets to Christian figures as do poets such as Thomas Lodge . It is safe to assume that Hall would not have wished Herbert transported to Bedlam, and would have seen Herbert as taking Sidney's advice, and writing

That lyrical kind of songs and sonnets which,
Lord, if he gave us so good minds, how well it
might be employed and with how heavenly fruit,
both public and private, in singing the praises
of the immortal beauty, the immortal goodness of
that God who giveth us hands to write and wits
to conceive; of which we might well want words,
but never matter.¹⁵

The "matter" of The Temple shows the beginnings of a subtle

development in the personal Christian lyric: it is not a reiteration of Biblical stories or Anglican dogma, but the interpretation of personal experience. Herbert sets out to record an individual voice in a tradition which denies the autonomy of the individual, and where all conclusions are already formulated. The tension inherent in religious poetry between experience and religious formulations of experience has many implications for the presentation of the "voice" of The Temple. The exaggerated persona, the individual voice which is so strong a feature of the volume and its later adaptations disappears from the accepted canons of poetry at the end of the century, not to reappear until Cowper, but is continued in the developing hymn tradition by writers such as Watts and Wesley. Herbert, appropriating as much as possible the language of the Bible, and modelling his persona on the voice of the Christian Psalmist, invites a reading within the context of psalmody; the development of the metrical psalms and the growth of the hymn in the seventeenth-century cast light on Herbert's use of the persona. In The Temple elements from both these traditions can be seen to inform the complex presentation of the central voice.

ii. The Metrical Psalms

The Book of Psalms, with its record of spiritual struggle, provided a Biblical precedent for the persona of The Temple. Luther termed the book "a little Bible" and it was widely held to contain all spiritual states possible to man. Calvin elaborates upon this theme:

Not without cause am I wont to terme this book
the Anatomy of all the partes of the Soule,
inasmuch as a man shall not find any affection in
himself, Whereof the Image appeereth not in this
glasse. Yea rather, the Holy Ghost hath heere
lyvely set out before our eyes, all the greefes,
sorrowes, feares, doutes, hopes, cares, anguishes,
and finally all the troublesome motions wherewith
mennes mindes are wont to be turmoiled.¹⁶

The Marian exiles presented a copy of the book to Elizabeth upon her accession to the throne, presumably on the premise that the government of spiritual states in the little world of man, (or in this case, woman), informs the government of the material state. The Psalms provided a model for variety within an encompassing order, and also of a certain fluidity of order, as St. Augustine observes "the rational and well-ordered concord of diverse sounds in harmonious variety suggests the well-ordered City of God."¹⁷. In The Temple even proud and rebellious states are included in the overall harmony, and are found to be instructive in the search for knowledge of God's love.

Coburn Freer, in his study Music for a King: George Herbert's Style and the Metrical Psalms (Baltimore, 1972), notes "A poet and parson like Herbert, who recommended metrical psalms and could write perhaps the best English psalm of his age, invites a reading within the context of psalmody."¹⁸. Freer's concern, as his title states, is with Herbert's style; he discusses the role of humility in the structure of the poems and the importance of 'orchestral' and 'tentative' form. The persona, however, receives little attention in Freer's study, and the question of how far Herbert's presentation of the persona is indebted to the techniques of the metrical psalms, and of how far Herbert's presentation affects the depiction of the persona in the developing hymn tradition, remains to be examined.

As a model the Book of Psalms contains many features that proved useful to Herbert. Freer comments at length on the process of weakness becoming strength which is a characteristic of both the Psalms and The Temple, citing "The Collar" and the "Affliction" poems as works following this pattern. This stress on the essential unity of experience is used to invest apparently meaningless situations with a purpose, as the following lines illustrate:

Whether I flie with angels, fall with dust,
Thy hands made both, and I am there."

(The Temper, ll. 25-6)

The Psalms also provided Herbert with a model for a variety of voices contained within one central speaker: like the Psalmist, Herbert's speaker is sometimes the individual and often rebellious Christian, ("The Holdfast" and "Redemption"), sometimes representative of the whole company of the faithful, ("Antiphon"), and occasionally personating the Divine voice, ("The Sacrifice" and "Dialogue"). The number of poems addressed to God, to the heart, to the reader and to the self indicate the centrality of these areas of poetic address.

As Donne observed, "David was not onely a clear prophet of Christ himself, but a prophet of every particular Christian; he foretells what I, what any, shall doe and suffer and say"¹⁹: and in the persona of The Temple Herbert creates a "self" which is, like the persona of the Book of Psalms, typological, individual and representative. Augustine interpreted the Psalms as the voices of the Church and of Christ: "Scarce is it possible to find any voices but those of the Church and Christ, or of Christ only, or of the Church only, which truly in part we also are"²⁰, and these aspects of the central speaker are also incorporated in the persona of The Temple²¹.

Many of the features found in the poems which Martz²² ascribes to meditative techniques can also be found in the Psalms; most notable are the exaggerated self-address and the heightened situations and resolutions. Thomas Sloan notes in The Rhetoric of Renaissance Poetry - From Wyatt to Milton that "within the rhetoric of meditation a dialogue occurs, for intentions, even passions, become participating personae, although the speaker himself may not seem to be directly addressing anyone"²³. This observation could be equally applied to the Psalms, where exaggerated states of mind serve the function of rhetorical personae.

Margaret Bottrall remarks in George Herbert, (London, 1954), on the function of colloquy in the Psalms: "The influence of the Psalms upon Herbert's poetry cannot be measured by accurate notation of echoes, but rather deduced from the ease with which the poet embarks upon a colloquy with his Lord."²⁴ This fluidity between states of rebellion and loss of God, and assurance and familiarity which pervades the Psalms is also a hallmark of The Temple.

The Book of Psalms, therefore provided a model for The Temple in many aspects of its structure and organization. An equally important influence was the widespread contemporary practice of translating sections of the Bible into verse. Most translators dealt with the books of Lamentations, Canticles and the Psalms, although some braved the less obviously poetic books: Christopher Tye produced The acts of the Apostles, translated into English metre in 1553, where the words rarely matched up to the excellence of the music, as these lines suggest:

A certayne man who was named
Ananias trulye,
With Saphira his wife framed
Unto the Lord a lye.

The Old Testament was by no means neglected; William Hunnis published The Hyve full of hunnye; contayning the first booke of Moses called Genesis, turned into English metre in 1578, a translation running into fourteen books.

Most translators, however, confined their attention to the Book of Psalms, where the difficulties inherent in the text made the work an acknowledged challenge as an exercise in translation. The most widely read version remained the so-called Old Version of Sternhold and Hopkins, which found great popularity with the church congregations and continued in use long after it had been officially replaced by Tate and Brady's "New Version"²⁵. In poetic circles, however, the Old Version was less

enthusiastically received, John Donne for one found it rather less than perfect:

Shall our Church, unto our Spouse and King,
More hoarse, more harsh than any other sing?²⁶

and the work was notorious for its concentration upon the more violent passages of the psalms, an example being these lines from Psalm 18.41:

And still like dust before the wind,
I drive them under feete:
And sweepe them out like filthy clay
That stinketh in the streets.

Many psalms from the Old Version were sung by troops of both sides during the Civil War, and their influence can be seen in ballads such as "The Battle of Worcester" of 1650;

The mighty God hath once again
Appear'd from Heav'n high,
His people to deliver from
The house of slavery.

The Iron yoke he lately broke,
Which men prepared had,
To put upon the necks of saints,
And make their hearts full sad²⁷

where the stress on retribution and warlike imagery is wholly consistent with many of the Old Version translations.

Herbert recognised the popularity of the Old Version, observing in "Antiphon"(1) that "The church with psalms must shout / No doore can keep them out" (ll. 9-10), and seems to have approved of their emotive appeal:

Whereas if the heart be moved,
Although the verse be somewhat scant,
God doth supplie the want.

(A 'True Hymn' ll. 16-18)

He makes use of their simple language and the end stopped line in his own poems. Freer has examined Herbert's use of bathos, and his positive use for a weak end rhyme, in the light of metrical psalm translation,

However, although he may have recognised their positive qualities, the Old Version had more than its fair share of critics who saw plenty of room for improvement. A common taunt was "Geneva jigs", and George Wither comments, with characteristic lack of restraint, that a reader of the Old Version will "Lose the sense of the Prophet; yea, and sometimes fall upon direct nonsense, among those many impertinent circumlocations amongst which he is (for rhymes sake) compelled to wander through in that translation"²⁸. The Psalm translations of the Old Version did not always keep to the original sense, and often sacrifice the Biblical meaning for emotive effect, a charge that cannot be made against the work that provided perhaps the greatest influence on Herbert's poetry: the Psalm translations of Sidney²⁹.

Sidney's model was the Marot-Beze Psalter, commissioned by Calvin, which appeared in 1562. This Psalter contained an immense variety of verse forms, as does Sidney's polished work: in the Sidneian Psalter, the ballad stanza or fourteenner is consciously avoided, and not one of his 43 translations repeats a stanza pattern. This stanzaic variety allows for a flexibility of translation that the insistent end-stopped line of the Old Version denied. Martz observes "the important thing is what is represented in Sidney's Psalms, the attempt to bring the art of the Elizabethan lyric into the service of psalmody, and to perform this in such a way that makes the psalm an intimate personal cry of the soul to God"³⁰, although Sidney was not the first to attempt this, as Wyatt's translation of 1541 shows. To Sidney poetry, "a speaking picture with this end, to teach and delight" was the perfect medium for religious expression, and in his psalm translations he achieves an integrated persona which Herbert was to draw on for his presentation of the persona in The Temple.

The integration of rhythm, stanza form and idea prevalent in

Sidney's poetry illustrates another similarity between the two poets: an example of this technique can be seen in the following passage from Sidney's translation of Psalm 13 where he translates the Geneva Bible original, "Behold and hear me, O lord my God; lighten mine eyes that I slepe not as in death":

Behold me, Lord, let to Thy hearing creep
My crying,
Nay give me eyes and light, lest that I sleep
In dying.³¹ (ll. 9-12)

In Sidney's lines the misery and insignificance of man are stressed, and the importance of seeing clearly is highlighted. The shorter lines stress the emotive words of the original and this pattern is repeated throughout the translation, portraying a rising and falling of hope which the original does not convey. The passage forms an interesting comparison with Sternhold and Hopkins' translation:

Behold me now my Lord and God,
And heare me sore opprest.
Lighten myne eyes lest that I sleep
As one by death possesst.³²

Here the subordination of the words to the rhyme and beat of the stanza lessens the emotive power of the stanza, and the tension between fear and hope that Sidney's translation conveyed is passed over.

Another prominent feature of Sidney's psalms is their musical quality: rather than being written for established tunes as the Old Version was, Sidney's psalms depend upon their own internal music. A clear metrical beat is discernible throughout Sidney's psalms, although some of the stanza forms would have presented singers with some difficulty. Psalm 42 provides an example of this musical quality, which is a feature both of Sidney's work and The Temple:

All Thy floods on me abounded,
Over me all thy waves went;
Yet thus still my hope is grounded

That thy anger being spent,
I by day thy love shall tast,
I by night shall singing last,
Praying, prayers still bequeathing,
To my God, that gave me breathing.³³

The interplay of "my" and "thy" anticipates Herbert's use of "mine and Thine" in poems such as "Clasping of Hands" and the reciprocal action and assurance of these lines, with their stress on the tenderness of God, suggest that much of what Martz, in The Poetry of Meditation,

attributes to the influence of Saint Francois de Sales can also be seen as a legacy of Sidney.

Sidney's Psalms form a contrast to the Psalms of the Old Version in their tendency to distance the more violent imagery: Sidney's translations are self-contained lyrics, and Sidney uses the syntax to control aggressive tendencies in the Psalm originals. The effect, as in The Temple, is one of resolved conflict, and an example of this occurs in Psalm 9 (l. 46-50):

No sooner said, but (lo) myne Enemyes sink
Down in the pitt, which they themselves had wrought,
And in that nett, which they well hidden think
Is their own foot, led by their own ill thought,
most surely caught.³⁴ (ll. 46-50).

These lines contain none of the relish for retributive imagery which is so prominent a feature of the Old Version, and the convoluted syntax effectively circumlocutes and distances the actual events.

In his edition of Sidney, Ringler describes the psalm translations as "an exhibition of virtuosity"³⁵, and this insistence upon innovative stanza forms can sometimes be a drawback. In many of the translations the effect is one of a rather contrived lyric, with little attempt to imitate spontaneous emotional response, unlike the translations of Wyatt where the poetry demonstrates the enfeebled and fluctuating states that the Psalms describe. In comparison, Sidney's Psalms appear rather formal; in this respect Sidney is more successful

in Astrophil and Stella, where Astrophil is torn between ceremonial worship of his mistress and the sceptical explorations of his own mind, a conflict which also confronts the speaker in The Temple where Christ takes the place of the mistress. Herbert, however, undoubtedly gains much from his own exhibition of virtuosity. The freedom and variety of verse forms in The Temple allows him to break away from the conventional use of the sonnet form to express the fluctuations of religious experience, and to make use of muscular and irregular syntax to convey various emotions. Again, Herbert is of pivotal importance in the development of the hymn tradition; as hymns, concerned with the portrayal of religious experience, came to be written in a wide variety of poetic forms.

One of the problems inherent in any translation is the conflict between translation and impulse: in his Psalms, Sidney keeps close to the Geneva Bible original, and this presents difficulties in that he sometimes has to render blatantly unpoetical language in a passably poetical fashion. An example of this can be seen when Sidney is faced with the following line from Psalm 22: "Save me from the Lion's mouth, and answer me from the horns of the Unicorn". Sidney's translation remains faithful to the sense of the original:

From lion's mouth, O help, and shew to heare me
By aiding when fierce unicorns come near me.³⁶ (11. 49-50)

In the Old Version's translation of these lines, the figures of lion and unicorn appear merely as poetic embellishment, and the hint of violent imagery is exploited with relish:

And from the lion's mouth that would
Me all in sunder shiver
And from the horns of unicorns
Lord safely me deliver.

It is in this respect that Herbert's poetry differs from the

Sidneian Psalms: while the Biblical Psalms may provide a basic structure for his work, he is much freer in respect of his subject matter, and his poems appear far more personal than Sidney's. A comparison of Herbert's only authenticated psalm translation, Psalm 23, with the translations of Sidney and of the Old Version shows the personal focus of Herbert's art. The Sternhold and Hopkins version reads as follows:

- 1 The Lord is onely my support,
And he that doth me feede:
How can I then lacke anything,
Whereof I stand in neede.
- 2 He doth me folde in coates most safe,
The tender grasse fast by;
And after drives me to the streames
Which runne most pleasantly.

Despite the weak rhymes of the last stanza and the impersonal term of "support" the Old Version does have a sense of a personal Lord which Sidney's translation loses:

The lord, the lord my shepherd is,
And so can never I
Tast misery.
He rests me in green pastures his
By waters still, and sweet
He guides my feet.³⁷

Here the main impression is one of an elegant and polished lyric with the stress on the Lord as a gracious and decorous guardian, rather than the homely Lord of the Old Version. In Sidney's version the effect is controlled and somewhat impersonal, with the carefully constructed rhyme scheme appearing rather too insistent and intrusive at times:

With oyle Thou dost annoynt my head,
And so my cup dost fill
That it doth spill.
Thus thus shall all my days be rede,
This mercy is so sure
It shall endure,

And long yea long abide I shall.
There where the Lord of all
Doth hold his hall. (ll. 19-26)

Again, the Lord appears as distant and majestic, and the effect is once more that of a careful distancing with phrases such as "There where the Lord of all/Doth hold his hall." conveying a concept rather than a personal Lord. The overall impression is one of a very beautiful lyric, with carefully measured simple language, but also of a lack of the immediacy with which Herbert was able to invest his translation:

The God of Love my shepherd is,
And he that doth me feed:
While he is mine, and I am his,
What can I want or need? (ll. 1-4)

Herbert's translation contains elements from both the Old Version and Sidney's translation: he employs the ballad stanza of the Old Version, and its technique of direct statement and simple language, but it is Herbert's own touch that this God should be the God of Love, "love" not being in the Biblical original. The translation brings together both the popular ballad form of the Old Version and the symmetry and ease of Sidney's translation. Sidney's Lord appeared as a majestic guiding principle, Sternhold and Hopkins portrayed a more familiar Lord, but Herbert's God is his true love:

While he is mine, and I am his,
What can I want or need?

The idea of man as a stray sheep is brought out in Herbert's translation, as is the tenderness of the shepherd:

Or if I stray, he doth convert
And bring my mind in frame:
And all this not for my desert,
But for his holy name, (ll. 9-12)

and throughout the translation the stress is upon the reciprocal relationship between man and God, and the decorous relationship

portrayed in Sidney's translation becomes here the tender love between Christ and the speaker. The interplay of "my" and "thy" throughout the poem fuses in the last stanza, where the two become interdependent:

Surely thy sweet and wondrous love
Shall measure all my dayes;
And as it never shall remove
So neither shall my praise. (ll. 21-24).

Herbert's insistence on praise as the ultimate aim of his portrayal of man's experiences and emotions provides a further link between his poetry and the Book of Psalms. The Biblical Psalms provided a speaker who, while expressing states of mind ranging from the anguished to the ecstatic, has the central function of praising God and harmonizing experience to songs of praise. The Sidneian psalter, with its delicacy of imagery and variety of verse forms and models provided Herbert with an example of portraying both a comprehensive range of emotions and a wide range of poetic techniques within an overall structure of praise. In the Old Version of Sternhold and Hopkins, Herbert perceived the power of emotional directness and simple language, and used these elements to great effect within his work. In his study of French devotional literature, T.C. Cave remarks that England had no equivalent of the French verse meditations on the Psalms; The Temple is perhaps the closest of any English work in this respect. In his poetry, Herbert is able to combine the role of the Christian poet (in the tradition of the opposition between Christian and Classical poetry), and that of the Christian psalmist into an encompassing and unifying persona. Occurring as it does at a point when the development of the hymn is in its infancy, The Temple, with its variety and ingenuity of religious expression, provided much inspiration for writers of that heir of the metrical psalm tradition, the hymn.

iii. The Temple and the Development of the Hymn

Herbert's stress on the reciprocal relationship between God and man, with man depicted as the music of God's measure is Herbert's own addition to the 23rd Psalm: the above comparisons with Sidney's psalm translation illustrate the advantages of Herbert's moving away from the text towards a more individual persona. This move towards a less representative persona brings Herbert's poetry more in line with the developing hymn tradition, emerging from the popular psalm translations and emblem books. The words "psalm" and "hymn" could originally be interchanged, but became quite definitely separate in the dispute between Luther and Calvin: Luther wrote many hymns, and used them in his church services, but Calvin would allow only psalm translations, on the grounds that the psalms were the direct word of God. In England hymns had been officially in use since 1559, when an Injunction was issued, stating "In the beginning, or in the end of the common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung a hymn or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of hymn may be understood and perceived"; and although the monopoly of the Stationers Company on the Old Version meant that no new hymn or psalm editions were in official use, many hymnals were written, amongst them works by Wither and Baxter³⁸, both admirers of Herbert's poetry.

The poems of The Temple are not "hymns" in the sense that Wither's and Baxter's are in that they are not written to be sung to established tunes, or at specific religious occasions, although "Antiphon (1)" and "Praise (II)" are still found in modern hymnals. Rather, Herbert seems to be obeying the injunction of Ephesians 5. 18-19: "And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit; Speaking to yourselves in psalmes and hymnes and

spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord," and his poems are not dominated by musical interest but by their content, the melody of the heart. As Herbert observes in "A true Hymn",

The finenesse which a hymn or psalme affords
Is, when the soul unto the lines accords (ll. 9110)

and throughout The Temple the importance of the melody of the heart is stressed:

The church with psalmes must shout
No doore can keep them out.
But, above all the heart
Must bear the longest part. (Antiphon ll. 9-12)

The best hymns are those that set out to record experience rather than to define dogma, and in this respect Herbert's poems can be seen as superlative hymns. The Temple is remarkably free from dogma; Herbert is not concerned with justifying the ways of the church to men, he writes within an assured perspective, before the Civil War, and his poems are free of the pedantry which dogs Harvey's The Synagogue. In the structure of a hymn two main stages can be observed: in the first place, the self is to some extent objectified and the situation set up, and secondly it is absorbed into a larger perspective. Thus the hymn manages to satisfy the impulse for exaggeration of and concentration upon the self, while at the same time positing a larger design to incorporate or negate the self. The first stage of setting up an objectified self is helped by the distancing techniques of emblem and meditation as well as the classic rhetorical devices that Herbert would have been so familiar with; examples from The Temple are the opening lines "When first thou didst entice to me thy heart," (Affliction, I); "Poore silly soul, whose hope and head lies low" (Vanities, II) and "Wounded I sing, tormented I indite" (Joseph's Coat). Like the psalm, the structure of the hymn attempts to be all encompassing, and calls for a mastering of the original emotion, and an

interpretative habit of mind.

An example can be seen in the poem "Joseph's Coat". The poem begins by setting up an exaggerated persona:

Wounded I sing, tormented I indite,
Thrown down I fall into a bed, and rest. (ll. 1-2)

The reader is brought abruptly to a stop with the unexpected "and rest": this initiates the idea in the poem that life is made up of juxtaposed joys and griefs. The speaker resigns himself to the will of God:

such is his will,
Who changeth all things, as him pleaseth best,
(ll. 3-4)

but the torments have not yet disappeared:

If but one grief and smart
Among my many had his full career,
Sure it would carry with it even my heart,
And both would runne untill they found a biere
To fetch the body; both being due to grief.
(ll. 5-9).

The griefs are no less for being curtailed, and although the last lines attempt to negate the self, and to show man as merely an instrument of God,

I live to show his power, who once did bring
My joyes to weep, and now my griefs to sing (ll. 13-14),

the griefs still remain prevalent. It was the open ended poems such as this, in particular "The Elixer", that Watts found too ambiguous, and felt obliged to revise. What is important in the development of the voice of the hymn is the way in which Herbert is able to make the voice both personal and representative without falling into the pitfalls of the over-personal or of dogma. "My joyes to weep, and now my griefs to sing" implies that although man may be the instrument of God, his joys and griefs are still very real.

If Herbert himself did set any of his poems to music, none of the settings now remain, although some contemporary settings, such as Jefferies' 1677 setting of "Easter" and the poems in Henry Playford's The Divine Companion, or David's Harp new tun'd (1701) have survived. In the seventeenth century, many religious lyrics were set to airs, such as those of Campion and Dowland, but in Herbert's poetry, as in Sidney's, it is the internal music and harmony of the poetry which is of importance.

Pattison writes in Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance, (London, 1948) that Donne "Initiates a separation between music and poetry that widens as the century progresses"³⁹: in Donne's Songs and Sonnets the stanza forms often make for difficult musical scansion, and the songs and sonnets are literary rather than musical. This is also the case in Herbert's poetry, poems such as "Easter Wings" or "Love Unknown" would not fit easily into a musical setting; this freedom from the demands made by music allows Herbert to experiment with various forms in which to portray his persona, and the poems of The Temple were to provide a model for the later writers of the hymn⁴⁰

iv. Ev'ry part hath got a tongue: The part of music in The Temple

St. Augustine's reference to the Psalms as "the rational and well-ordered concord of diverse sounds in harmonious variety" provides a theme which is picked up again and again throughout The Temple. The theory of musical harmony contributes directly to Herbert's presentation of a multivocal persona, and the image of the broken heart with many tongues recurs throughout the volume. The idea of the essential harmony of music, the world and man was used extensively in the poetic imagery of the time⁴¹. Donne stated that "God made the world in such a

uniformity, such a correspondency, such a concinnity of parts that as it were an Instrument, perfectly in tune"⁴², and throughout The Temple the images of musical parts, harmony, closes and unity are skilfully played upon. Herbert's ideal man seems close to that described by Clement of Alexandria:

He who sprang from David ... scorned those lifeless instruments of lyre and harp. By the power of the Holy Spirit He arranged in harmonious order this great world, yes and the little world of man too, body and soul together; and on this many voiced instrument of the universe he makes music to God, and sings to the human instrument.... The Lord fashioned man a beautiful breathing instrument, after his own image, and assuredly he himself is an all harmonious instrument of God, melodious and holy.⁴³

"An all harmonious instrument of God, melodious and holy" would appear to be Herbert's ideal persona; states of restlessness and discontent are described in images of musical discord, and Herbert describes these as "but tuning of my breast, /To make thy musick better" (The Temper, I, ll. 23-24). The poem "Easter Wings" illustrates this portrayal of man as God's instrument; the heart is enjoined to sing praises to the Lord, and to "rise" in harmony with God. The second stanza picks up the musical imagery of the first:

Awake, my lute, and struggle for thy part
 With all thy art.
The crosse taught all wood to resound his name,
 Who bore the same.
His stretched sinews taught all strings, what key
Is best to celebrate this most high day. (ll. 7-12).

The stringed lute was the traditional emblem for the singing voice, the speaker's voice must struggle to take its proper part in the praise of God. The "stretched sinews" of Christ on the cross become the proper pitch of all strings, all men and all voices; as in every poem of the work the centrality of Christ's sacrifice is stressed. Herbert's lute is both the voice of man praising God; "taught" suggesting both the

instructed and ordained function of the instrument, and its tuning to its proper tautness, or pitch.

In the third stanza, both heart and lute become caught up in the harmony and "Twist a song": but although man may now be God's melodious and harmonious instrument, he is not holy, so Herbert entreats God for the final part of the harmony:

Or since all musick is but three parts vied
 And multiplied;
O let thy blessed Spirit bear a part,
And make up our defects with his sweet art. (ll. 15-18).

The following stanzas exemplify this "sweet art" in their regular and harmonious form, with the poet stressing the central harmony of Christ, "There is but one, and that one ever" (l. 30).

The "sweet art" of music was portrayed in emblem literature as instigated by love, "Amor musicam docet" being a popular emblem⁴⁴; in The Temple Christ's love, "Thy art of love, which I'll turn back on thee" ("The Thanksgiving", l. 47), is frequently intimated by images of musical harmony. The sweetness of love and of music become one and the same; "There is in love a sweetness ready penn'd" (Jordan, l. 17), and it is this sweetness and harmony that the persona of the poems constantly attempts to catch. Order and harmony appear of the greatest importance to Herbert, his depiction of the chaos at Doomsday is imagined in musical terms:

Man is out of order Hurl'd
Parcel'd out to all the world.
Lord thy broken consort raise,
And the music shall be praise. (Dooms-day, ll. 27-30).

The reciprocal action of many of the poems echoes the action of musical phrases, examples can be seen in "Dialogue" and "The Reprisal"; and a predominant image of The Temple is that of man and God singing their proper parts, as the following lines illustrate:

My musick shall find thee, and every string
Shall have his attribute to sing;
That all together may accord in thee,
And prove one God, one harmonie. ("The Thanksgiving"
11. 39-42).

Bacon, in The Advancement of Learning notes "A discord ending immediately in a concord sets off the harmony is a rule in music.

The same holds in ethics and in the affections",⁴⁵ in The Temple Herbert makes use of this musical parallel. The various unruly emotions portrayed are seen as untuned strings, unwilling to accord to the true chord, Christ. As in the Psalms, The Temple works by juxtaposing disparate emotional attitudes; discords and concords are worked into an attempt to portray a comprehensive view of religious experience. This idea of discords ending in harmony favours the setting up of an exaggerated persona which must be tuned into harmony, and the many changes of mood in the poems are accentuated by subtle changes in rhythm. In musical harmony, one part cannot predominate at the expense of the rest; in The Temple one voice, one aspect of the persona is never allowed priority for long, and unruly emotions are seen as results of the "Tuning" of the soul into the central harmony.

Musical theory, therefore, provided Herbert with a model for discord within an encompassing unity, and gave an impetus to the portrayal of the persona. Herbert also had a use for the actual music of the poems: this is illustrated by an analysis of "Vertue", a poem which has a deceptively simple appearance since, as Rosalie Colie observes, "The poems of George Herbert, so transparent, so simple, so direct, have the distinction of being amongst the hardest poems in the English language to paraphrase"⁴⁶. Herbert works within self-imposed limits, but the words in the poem are exploited to the fullest possible extent, an example being the title "Vertue", which is relevant not only in the moral sense of the word, but also in the sense of virtue as essence,

the central element of any one thing.

The first stanza, with its carefully measured rhythm plays with the musical images of "sweet" and "fall": the day, cool, calm and bright, does not remain so for long, the sweetness is soon tempered by its fall, and the stanza ends with the insistent close "For thou must die". In the second stanza, the musicality of the verse allows the words to flow so smoothly that the contradiction of the "sweet rose" is not immediately obvious, although there is nothing sweet about this rose which is "angrie and brave" and grows both from and into corruption and death. The third stanza again picks up the musical imagery:

Sweet spring, full of sweet days and roses,
A box where sweets compacted lie;
My musick shows ye have your closes,
And all must die; (ll. 9-12)

the overworked "sweet" has now taken on more connotations. Nothing is sweet for long, as the first stanza shows, sweetness may grow from corruption, as the rose, emblematic of earthly beauty, does. The "sweet spring" contains days, roses and many sweets; time and beauty are reduced to an enclosed box, becoming finally the grave where "all must die". The lines are reminiscent of Shakespeare's,

The setting sun, and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance more than things long past: (Richard II,
II, ii, 12-14)

all sweetness becomes bitter-sweet as its end is implicit in its beginning.

In the final stanza the perspective changes from the outward world to the little world of man, where the same rules of harmony apply but

Onely a sweet and vertuous soul
Like season'd timber never gives; (ll. 13-14)

the rhythm of the stanzas has been broken, with the insistent "onely" taking the place of "sweet" in the preceding stanzas. "Sweet" itself has not only changed its position in the line, but acquired its true meaning. The soul, with its true "vertue" in Christ remains sweet and fresh and true in pitch. Like seasoned timber it has been through all seasons and weathers, days of spring and roses; the allusion to the cross as the centre of the Christian faith strengthens this image of endurance. Herbert, with masterly skill, completely reverses the proportion of the poem: the world which dominated the first three stanzas falls away and is consumed into "coal", while the image of the virtuous soul, tuned and strengthened by Christ overshadows all, and the poem ends with the exultant and positive "lives" rather than with a dying fall.

"Affliction" (IV) provides an instance of a poem illustrating Herbert's concern with the Psalms, the theory of musical harmony and the importance of praising God. The poem begins on an intensely personal note:

Broken in pieces all asunder,
Lord, hunt me not,
A thing forgot,
Once a poore creature, now a wonder,
A wonder tortur'd in the space
Betwixt this world and that of grace. (ll. 1-6).

Characteristically, Herbert uses a highly individual verse form, with syntax and content fused in this stanza. The irregular line lengths contribute to the image of the persona as "Broken in pieces all asunder", and the inclusion of lines of varying syllables heightens the sense of being in limbo, outside space and time. The speaker, "a thing forgot", goes on to bewail his lot:

My thoughts are all a case of knives,
Wounding my heart

With scatter'd smart,
As wat'ring pots give flowers their lives.
Nothing their furie can controll,
While they do wound and prick my soul.

All my attendants are at strife,
Quitting their place
Unto my face:
Nothing performs the task of life:
The elements are let loose to right,
And while I live, trie out their might. (ll. 7-18).

The everyday imagery is reminiscent of the Old Version psalms, while the elaborate verse forms recall Sidney. The sense of chaos within man, created in these two stanzas, recalls the multivocal heart of "The Reprisall" and "Longing": in "Affliction" (IV) the thoughts, "a case of knives", torture the heart of the speaker and further accentuate the sense of restlessness in the poem. The persona finds no sense of security within the world or within himself; looking in his heart he finds only chaos to write of.

The fourth stanza opens with a direct cry to God:

Oh help, my God! let not their plot,
Kill them and me,
And also thee,
Who art my life: dissolve the knot,
As the sunne scatters by his light
All the rebellions of the night. (ll. 19-24).

In this stanza the dimensions of the persona are both expanded and contracted: God, "who art my life", becomes included with the central figure (a concept suggested in the first stanza by the term "a wonder" (p. 4), which occurs in Psalm 71.7: "I am as a wonder unto many, but thou art my strong refuge") and the "thoughts" of the second stanza become a dissociated "them", with parts of the central persona seen as plotting against the central figure and against God as part of that central figure. In the final stanza a skilful change in the mood of the poem is effected:

Then shall those powers, which work for grief,
Enter thy pay
And day by day
Labour they praise, and my relief;
With care and courage building me,
Till I reach heav'n, and much more thee. (11. 25-30)

The close of the poem effects a sense of security, reflected in the syntax where the short lines are enclosed and more regular in rhythm. The rebellious "powers" are returned to working for God; the multivocal persona is fused into a unified voice, working for the praise of God. The image of unity is further extended in the final two lines: "With care and courage building me,/Till I reach heav'n, and much more thee". The unprofitable "thoughts" and "attendants" of the earlier stanzas are now included in this building metaphor; building a road through life, reforming the broken heart, fusing discords into a song of praise, the many voices work towards one end, God. The sense of a personal God, so characteristic of the Psalms, is conveyed in the poem by the direct address to God, and the closing words, "and much more thee", in which the desired intimacy between God and the speaker is contained.

"Affliction" (IV) is interesting in respect to the Psalms and the persona of David in that it begins as a lament, and ends as a song of praise, a pattern followed by many of the poems in The Temple and by many of the Psalms. The central persona, while lamenting his own individual experience, also has a responsibility as the Christian poet to "Turn their eyes hither who shall make a gain" ("The Dedication"); and to turn seemingly disparate experiences into a song of praise. The persona remains both individual and representative, both the individual singer and the Christian singer; and, like all the poems in The Temple, "Affliction" (V) conveys a sense of both one man's spiritual struggle and the spiritual affliction of Everyman.

II Representative Voices: Emblem Books and the Love Lyric

In his presentation of the persona Herbert is greatly influenced by two highly different forms of poetry popular in the seventeenth-century: the emblem poems and the love lyric. While apparently unconnected in tone, presentation or subject matter, both types of poem provide a distinct representative voice. In the emblem books this voice is often that of the moralist, in the love lyric the voice of the lover⁴⁷. Herbert makes use of both these voices in The Temple; and the development of these voices contributes to a marked extension in the limits of the individual religious lyric.

i. The Temple and the emblem tradition

Prynne, writing against the use of elaborate church music, states "We must sing to God with the heart"⁴⁸; Herbert, although fond of church music, would have agreed with him. Throughout The Temple he stresses the importance of praising God with the whole heart, and his poems can be seen as hymns of the heart; one of the most distinctive features of the persona of the work is the peculiar dissociation between the central figure and the heart. This is evident in such poems as "The Offering", "The Size" and "Easter" and this dissociation undoubtedly derives from the pictorial emblem tradition, in particular the "Schola Cordis" tradition where representations of the heart alongside the central figure are common⁴⁹. Both Protestants and Catholics produced emblem books of this kind; Harvey, an adaptor of The Temple, produced his own Anglican "Schola Cordis" while the poetry of Crashaw draws upon images from the Jesuit books in this tradition, where the heart is wounded with darts of love.

Herbert uses this emblematic technique of dissociation with

profit in the central preoccupation of The Temple with the many and fluctuating emotional states of man: traditions such as emblem facilitate the attempt to objectify the self, and to display several facets of the central persona, an example being "The Quip", where several possible selves parade by. The idea of the heart as having many voices, and being continually broken and remade provides a central image on which to focus: the broken heart has many voices,

Lord JESU, heare my heart,
Which hath been broken now so long,
That ev'ry part
Hath got a tongue. ("Longing", ll. 73-76).

This image again provides Herbert with a focus for disunity within unity, where the tongues of the broken heart become participating personae.

The poem "Love Unknown" provides an interesting example of Herbert's use of the emblem tradition and the image of the heart. The poem is addressed to a "Friend" whom the speaker trusts to listen through the long, sad tale, and begins in an emblematic and surreal way: the speaker's heart is placed as a sacrifice in the middle of a dish of fruit and presented to the Lord. But however appropriate this emblematic vignette may be, it fails to please the Lord, whose servant ignores the carefully arranged fruit and throws the heart into the font. This servant "Who did know his eye" (p. 9), is another of the speaker's selves, who sees more clearly than the short sighted narrator. The heart is then thrown into a font of blood: the typological significance of this image encompasses both the water from the rock struck by Moses, and the blood of Christ's sacrifice; the heart is washed and wrung in this blood, producing tears from the speaker.

After having been purified by this blood, the speaker describes a time of peace where "My heart was well" (l. 22), but this is not to

last long, and the speaker comes to the emblematic cauldron of Affliction, where again, his most precious sacrifice, the heart, is thrown into the scalding pan and found to be still hard. Throughout the poem the heart shifts from being an objectified, separate entity to an integral part of the persona, and this fluidity from persona to object prevents the poetry from petrifying into conventional emblem. The speaker goes home, and attempts to sleep, but finds, "that some had stuff'd the bed with thoughts,/I would say thorns" (ll. 51-2): the cause of this is established by the Friend, "Your heart was dull, I fear" (l. 56). The Friend then proceeds to give the traditional Christian interpretation of these emblematic events:

All did but strive to mend, what you had marr'd.
Wherefore be cheer'd, and praise him to the full,
Each day, each houre, each moment of the week,
Who fain would have to be, new, tender, quick. (ll. 67-79).

Walton tells us that Herbert's first text for a sermon at Bemerton was "Keep thy heart with all dillegence"⁵⁰, and this appears as one of the central concerns of The Temple: throughout the work the necessity for constant watchfulness is stressed, and the heart can never be left unguarded.

Herbert writes, "Oh, let us all take heed what we do, God sees us, he sees whether I speak as I ought, or you hear as you ought, he sees hearts as we see faces"⁵¹: this idea has considerable importance for Herbert's presentation of the persona as sometimes an emblematic heart, or sometimes addressing his own heart. The heart is the Temple of Christ; the idea of the heart as a temple is set out in these lines from "The Church Porch":

Let vain and busie thoughts have there no part:
Bring not thy plough, thy plots, thy pleasures
thither.
Christ purg'd his Temple, so must thou thy heart
All worldly thoughts are but theeves met together
To couzin thee. (ll. 421-425).

Throughout the work, the heart, in order to become a quick and living dwelling for Christ, as opposed to the inanimate Old Testament Temple, is continually subjected to, and purged of, worldly thoughts. The opposition is further elaborated in the poem "Sion": the Old Testament Temple, with its gold and carved wood is not the aim of God,

And now thy Architecture meets with sinne;
For all thy frame and fabrick is within. (ll. 11-12).

The true temple of God is the peevish heart, which must be continually purged; the groans occasioned by this purging are "musick for a king", and the poems of The Temple.

In "Nature" Herbert makes use of the lines from Ezekiel 11:19, "And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh and will give them a heart of flesh" to expand further the image of the heart. The art of God is applied to the living heart, not to the calcined stone: the new covenant is written in the heart,

O smooth my rugged heart, and there
Engrave thy rev'rend law and fear;
Or make a new one, since the old
Is saplesse grown,
And a much fitter stone
To hide my dust, then thee to hold. (ll. 12-17).

Joseph Hall wrote "Every renewed man is the individual temple of God"⁵², in Herbert's work every renewed heart is Christ's temple. As he writes in "Velum Scissum", "He does not merely unify a city, but the whole world, and numbers his altars according to human hearts"⁵³, and this stress upon renewing the heart as a proper sacrifice accentuates the restless and provisional tone of the work.

The heart of man, although continually broken, provides the true sacrifice:

A HEART alone
Is such a stone,
As nothing but
Thy pow'r doth cut.
Wherefore each part
Of my hard heart
Meets in this frame,
To praise thy name. ("The Altar", ll. 5-12).

The heart is hewn and carved by Christ: taking the complete work, The Temple, as the complete sacrifice, each poem is a stone, or a part of the heart, and each part has a voice with these voices forming the various personae which make the speaker of The Temple. It is in this sense that the image of the temple is central to the work; critics such as Walker who sees the divisions of the work as corresponding to the Porch, Holy Place and the Holy of Holies provide a rather suspect structural analogy since, as Endicott observes, the whole rationale behind the Old Testament building is antipathetic to Christian thought⁵⁴.

Rosemary Freeman writes "It cannot be too strongly emphasised that Herbert's images remain emblems"⁵⁵. This would seem to overstate the case, as Herbert's images never hold to any single proscribed field of reference, but have a fluidity which traditional emblems lack. A passage from Francis Quarles' Emblems, by far the most popular emblem book of the seventeenth-century, containing many images that are used extensively in The Temple, serves to illustrate the difference between the two poets:

He is my Altar; I, his Holy Place;
I am his guest; and he, my living food;
I'm his by penitence; he mine by grace;
I'm his by purchase; he is mine, by blood;
He's my supporting elm; and I his vine:
Thus I my best-beloved's am; thus he is mine.⁵⁶

Quarles' technique is to use a reductive equating list of religious imagery, with little attempt to convey the highly personal implications of the imagery. As in much emblem poetry, the result is a catalogue of

small, emblematic illustrations in verse. What Herbert does inherit from the emblem tradition is its psychological rather than pictorial quality, as all the frame and fabric is within, and it is from this aspect that the poems could be termed emblematic. In The Temple, due to its preoccupation with emotional states, verbs are made to work much harder than adjectives, and the result is a poetry which does not form pictorial images on which to focus, but has a fluid and abstract quality.

"The Pilgrimage" provides an illustration of this: although Herbert uses emblem, his pilgrimage is not that of Bunyan, neither is the landscape described with the detail found in Spenser, or the attention to the natural world of Vaughan's "Regeneration". The landscape is very much a landscape within: the pilgrim travels toward the hill "where lay/My expectation" (ll. 1-2), drawing on the image of Christ's road to Calvary, travelling a long and weary way. Life is reduced to a few emblems: the cave of Desperation, the rock of Pride, Phansies meadow and Cares cops, but Herbert does not elaborate on these locations. They appear as merely conventional signposts on the spiritual pilgrimage, passed by almost glibly and rather lightly, as the tripping rhythm of the lines suggests,

So to Cares cops I came, and then got through
With much ado. (ll. 11-12).

The pilgrim then arrives in the "wild of Passion", where he is robbed of all but a guardian angel, and finally arrives at his expected goal:

At length I got unto the gladsome hill,
Where lay my hope,
Where lay my heart; and climbing still,
When I had gain'd the brow and top,
A lake of brackish waters on the ground
Was all I found. (ll. 19-24)

The expected goal turns out to be nothing like the pilgrim's ideal: his true heart is not there, he has imitated the way of Christ to the cross, but to no avail, and he finds only bitter water. Herbert undermines the expectations set up by the traditional emblematic format of the preceding stanzas: to use Vendler's term he "reinvents" the situation. The pilgrim now changes from the remote figure of the earlier stanzas to a more immediate persona, struck and stung by the fears that now swarm in on him:

Alas my King;
Can both the way and end be tears? (ll. 27-8).

Finally he sees "My hill was further" (p. 31), and begins his next journey although knowing it will end in Death, which, after the disappointments of this life becomes a chair. As in all the poems of The Temple the situation is never what it seems at first, no states remain settled until the final union of the pilgrim and Christ in "Love (III)".

Herbert's use of the emblem tradition is rarely conventional, he constantly reinvents situations and always turns the general commonplace into the personal statement. The following lines from "Miserie" show Herbert using conventional emblems of man as fixed to the earth and as a mariner upon the troubled sea of life, but investing them with an immediacy that poets such as Quarles and Wither rarely achieve:

But sinne hath fool'd him. Now he is
A lump of flesh, without a foot or wing
To raise him to the glimpse of blisse;
A sick toss'd vessel, dashing on each thing;
Nay, his own shelf;
My god, I mean my self. (ll. 73-8).

In Herbert's poetry the persona moves away from the emblematic everyman towards the individual and yet representative voice which is so much a feature of the hymn tradition, and a hallmark of The Temple.

ii. The Heart in Pilgrimage: Images of the heart and adaptations of the love lyric in The Temple

The poems of The Temple are held together by careful verbal interplay between the poems, and by the fluidity and inclusiveness of the central metaphor itself. The volume inspired a short-lived fashion for collections of religious poetry under one central title, such as Harvey's The Synagogue, Knévelt's The Gallery and Vaughan's Silex Scintillans⁵⁷. The lyrics in The Temple are far more self-contained than those of the sixteenth-century poets such as Tuberville and Gascoigne⁵⁸, who were amongst the first to publish collections of their own lyrics. These early collections of love-lyrics are strung along a thread of connecting narrative, and the dramatization of the lover, set in the contemporary social scene, is finally balanced in the light of accepted moral judgement. The persona is hedged around by moral commonplaces and the events are strictly "placed" by the long elaborate titles of the poems. G.K. Hunter comments on these collections:

They aim not only at weight and solidity, but also at effects of plainness. The persona they seek is that of the homespun philosopher, be-
loamed with proverbs and downright opinions,
happy to echo the formulae other men use, and
to depend upon the same formulaic abstractions.⁵⁹

By the time of Sidney's Astrophil and Stella the connecting titles and narrative have disappeared, the process of "placing" is less important, and a more self-contained and sceptical persona has come to the fore. The Temple continues the development of this process, the emotions of the persona provide the situation for the lyric, and the fluid structure does not impose any hard and fast order: the principle is that of the Book of Psalms.

Herbert writes "They say it is an ill Mason that refuseth any stone"⁶⁰, and certainly leaves no stone unturned in his use of the poetic forms catalogued by Puttenham. The Temple contains many of the

contemporary forms of the love-lyric: "Heaven" parodies the secular echo song, "Doomsday" with its "Come away" refrain forms a parody of the popular love song. "The Rose" is in ballad metre, Christ takes the place of the conventional mistress in "A Parodie", and in "Love (III)" the Elizabethan technique of the love dialogue is transferred to Christ and the faithful soul.

Herbert, in keeping with his presentation of himself as Christian poet, is consciously putting the conventions of the love-lyric to the service of religion; and his predominant image is well in keeping with the donnée of the secular love-lyric. Christ is Love, the "sweetness ready penn'd" is central to the work: Herbert, taking his cue from Astrophil and Stella, looks in his heart and writes, what he finds there is not the image of the traditional mistress of the love-lyric, but the heart of his heart⁶¹, Christ.

The book of Canticles provided Herbert with a Biblical precedent for the use of love imagery⁶²; while Vaughan draws on the book for its natural imagery, Herbert draws upon the central idea of the soul as the bride of Christ, and is able to combine the techniques of love lyrics, such as the following example by Campion, with Biblical imagery:

Thou art not fair, for all thy red and white
For all thy rosie ornaments in thee.
Thou art not sweet, though made of mere delight,
Nor faire, nor sweet, unlesse thou pitie me.
I will not soothe thy fancies, thou shalt prove
That beautie is not beautie without love.⁶³

Herbert is able to make use of this carefully contrived and specious form of argument in his poems, and in "Dulnesse" he uses the same imagery of red and white, but infuses it with Biblical connotations:

Thou art my lovelinesse, my life, my light,
Beautie alone to me;
Thy bloody death and undeserv'd, makes thee
Pure red and white. (ll. 9-12).

Throughout The Temple Herbert's concern is with the "art of Love" of Christ as opposed to Ovid, with the speaker sometimes taking the role of the mistress, as in the following lines,

My God, what is a heart,
That thou shouldst it so eye and woove,
Powring upon it all thy art,
As if thou hadst nothing else to do; ("Mattens",
11. 9-12)

and sometimes the lover, as in these lines from "Longing":

My Love, my sweetness heare.
By these thy feet, at which my heart
Lies all the yeare,
Pluck out thy dart. (11. 79-82).

In the poems of The Temple the techniques of the love-lyric are skillfully used to give an immediacy of the persona's predicament, and to supply a persona for the other, Christ, by depicting Christ as the mistress, lover or the God of Love. Herbert manages to make use of an essentially pagan literary mode in the light of Christian doctrine.

iii. Inner Voices: the self within the self

"Discovery" in the poems of The Temple

In one of Herbert's early, and least successful attempts to write a parody of the secular love-lyric, he writes

Why should I Women's eyes for Chrystal take?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind,
Whose fire is wild and doth not upward go
To praise, and on thee Lord, some Ink bestow.
Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
In the best face but filth, when Lord, in thee
The beauty lies in the discovery.⁶⁴

To return to Johnson's critique quoted at the beginning of this

chapter that contemplative poetry can "supply nothing to the mind", Herbert's purpose is not to supply anything new, but to re-reveal what is already there, the quality which Donne praised in Sidney's Psalms⁶⁵. The beauty of the poems lies in the discovery, and this discovery must lead, in the terms of Christian theology, to God: as Browne states, "Only God is all others are something by distinction"⁶⁶. Rosalie Colie comments on this characteristic of religious art, that "the idea of God, God the word, is the ultimately self-sufficient idea"⁶⁷, nevertheless Herbert the poet has to work through metaphor, despite the inadequacy of any approximation, and the Christian poet must, therefore, attempt to show the centrality of Christ to all metaphor.

The poem central to the structuring of The Temple is "The Sacrifice": throughout the work Christ is shown as "preventing", or anticipating all actions and solutions of the persona, and the poems constantly refer back to "The Sacrifice"; this is especially true of the first five poems, where the pattern of correspondences is explicitly set up in the links between the titles of the poems and the first lines.

As Tuve has illustrated at length, the poem owes much to the Improperia, or Reproaches of Good Friday of the medieval church ritual⁶⁸: however, the importance of the poem lies not in its sources but in its relation to the overall structure of The Temple. It is addressed to "all ye, who passe by", and progresses through the traditional Christian paradoxes of man being blind to the true light, and of denying life to the giver of life. All the torments which afflict the persona of The Temple are shown here happening to Christ: he is scourged, derided, made to carry his own cross, rebellious, facing death, despairing:

But O my God, my God, why leav'st thou me,
The sonne, in whom thou dost delight to be?
My God, my God --
Never was grief like mine. (ll. 212-5).

Lines 89-90 illustrate perfectly Herbert's technique in the poems:

I answer nothing, but with patience prove
If stonie hearts will melt with gentle love.

In poems such as "The Collar" questions from the rebellious heart meet with no answer, and the stony heart is broken by unendurable love.

The poem ends on the note that the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God

But now I die; now all is finished.
My wo, man's weal: and now I bow my head. (ll. 249-250);

throughout The Temple Christ's woe is seen as man's salvation, and man's weal as death to Christ in man's heart.

In the two poems following "The Sacrifice" Herbert sets up the pattern of inter-connection which pervades the volume. The word patterns are explicit: "grief" at the end of "The Sacrifice" is repeated in the first line of "The Thanksgiving", and "passion" in line 49 of "The Thanksgiving" is echoed in line 2 of "The Reprisall". In these poems the theme of a duel is set up: Christ is the "King of grief", and the question of the speaker of "The Thanksgiving" is "how shall I grieve for thee/Who in all grief preventest me?". The opposition of mine and thine is repeated throughout the poem, with the speaker constantly attempting to match his actions with those of Christ. The persona appears flamboyant and emotional, "Shall I weep bloud?", "Shall I be scourged, flouted, boxed, sold?", but such imitations are insignificant as "the tale is told". Such an exaggerated sacrifice is not enough, the speaker then turns to the idea of his poetry as a sacrifice:

Shall I then sing, skipping thy dolefull storie,
And side with thy triumphant glorie?
Shall thy strokes be my stroking? thorns, my flower?
Thy rod my posie? crosse, my bower? (ll. 11-14).

The parallels drawn are true in the terms of Christian doctrine: the strokes, thorns, rod and cross of Christ's sacrifice provide man's redemption, and the cross becomes man's bower. But it is not enough to echo the passion in pleasing verse, Sidney's "flowers" of poetry are shown as inadequate, skipping and "stroking" lightly the sacrifice of Christ, touching the strings of music but not of man's heart. The speaker then returns to the overwhelming question,

But how then shall I imitate thee, and
Copie thy faire, though bloudie hand? (ll. 15-16)

a question that reappears throughout The Temple.

The solution posited by the persona is one of retaliation:

Surely I will revenge me on thy love,
And trie who shall victorious prove; (ll. 16-17).

The speaker dismisses the gifts of wealth, honour, marriage and friends as of no importance. He will give them back to Christ, and becomes wrapped up in this idea; nothing will be his but all will be for the glory of God. The persona ends this train of thought with the grandiose sentiment "The world and I will quarrell"; again the musical imagery is picked up

My musick shall find thee, and ev'ry string
Shall have his attribute to sing;
That all together may accord in thee,
And prove one God, one harmonie (ll. 39-42).

The "musick" of the persona is posited as an integral part of God's harmony, an idea continued in the musical titles "The Thanksgiving" and "The Reprisall". The speaker becomes more and more confident that he has found the correct retaliation for Christ's sacrifice;

Nay, I will read thy book and never move
Till I have found therein thy love;
Thy art of love, which I'll turn back on thee,
O my deare Saviour, Victorie. (ll. 45-48),

but this opposition between man and Christ cannot be allowed to continue any longer, and the poem again changes direction:

Then for thy passion - I will do for that -
Alas, my God, I know not what. (ll. 49-50).

Herbert's technique of setting up a persona who appears very much in control of the situation and is then broken down is symptomatic of the structural control of The Temple, where no one emotion or event is allowed to dominate for long, and the futility of imitating Christ by setting up the worldly man in opposition is constantly stressed. The Temple centres on these lines from "The Sacrifice":

I answer nothing, but with patience prove
If stonie hearts can melt with gentle love (ll. 89-90),

and the demands and complaints of the persona of the work are not answered but broken down by the idea of the love of Christ. Whenever the worldly self appears too dominant, the dialectic of the poems alters the perspective from the individual viewpoint to the central paradox of Christianity, the sacrifice of Christ.

"The Reprisall" picks up this theme, with the speaker recognising his defeat;

I have consider'd it, and finde
There is no dealing with thy mighty passion,

but this recognition leads to bitterness:

Ah. Was it not enough that thou
By thy eternal glorie didst outgo me?
Couldst thou not griefs sad conquest me allow,
But in all vict'ries overthrow me? (ll. 9-12).

The speaker becomes resentful at being allowed nothing of his own, a

dilemma which pervades all Christian poetry, since the only way a "Self" can be consumed is by being first set up and invested with certain properties. The only solution for Herbert's persona is the Pauline doctrine of the new man in Christ; this is the only possible victory:

...Though I can do nought
Against thee, in thee I will overcome
The man, who once against thee fought. (ll. 13-15).

This, however, proves no easy task; it is the concern of the rest of The Temple, and only comes to rest in the final poem, "Love(III)".

This stress on Christ as "preventing" or anticipating all action and concepts has led to critics terming Herbert's poetry "medieval". Tuve stresses his debt to typology and ritual, and Bottrall draws a definite distinction between Herbert and the metaphysical poets:

A sceptical and scientific attitude, or a mediievally complete acceptance of Christian doctrine, might equally well engender a readiness to perceive relationships between apparently unlike objects. The first would do so because the faculties would be specially alert, and the intellect eager to try out various fancies in the hope of producing something new. The second would do so because Christianity commits a man to interpret everything in the light of paradox. The true metaphysical poets belong to the first class, George Herbert to the second.⁶⁹

Undoubtedly, Herbert is medieval in the inclusiveness of his faith, but as Ross writes of the Tuve/Empson dispute "it is a mistake in critical method to read the Christian paradoxes of Herbert as though he had invented them, or as though he had merely inherited them"⁷⁰. For the modern reader it is an examination of Herbert's actual methods of employing typology, emblem and Christian paradox in his poetry that repays examination, rather than the drawing of parallels.

To quote Ross again, "Typological symbolism which assumes a fulfilment in the historical but not in the sacramental Christ loses

analogical validity and is reduced to the status of metaphorical adornment"⁷¹: in The Temple analogical validity is preserved by constant referral of all action back to the central sacrifice of Christ, and Herbert's use of typology never becomes the bloodless cliché of such lines as the following, by one Thomas Gressop:

Here is the spring where waters flow
To quenche oure heat of sin;
Here is the tree where truth doth grow
To lead our lives within.⁷²

Here the images no longer have a contemporary or personal relevance but remain over-familiar and over-generalised.

The poem "Aaron" illustrates Herbert's constructive use of typology. The first stanza outlines the Biblical description but also draws an explicit parallel between the Biblical figure and other Aarons, or priests, which the second stanza develops into the persona of one priest, the speaker:

Profaneness in my head,
Defects and darknesse in my breast,
A noise of passions ringing me for dead
Unto a place where is no rest.
Poore priest thus am I drest. (ll. 6-10).

As Vendler notes "It makes little difference to Herbert whether he finds his donée in the images of courtly poetry, in the Bible or in his personal experience. The artless borrowed beginning soon becomes the scrutinized personal statement."⁷³, and typological images never remain as representations for long. The virtues attributed to the Biblical Aaron are replaced by the defects of the persona, typology is here made to work towards individual representation.

However, the individual is not allowed dominance for long, and in the third stanza the persona is gradually replaced by another figure;

Onely another head I have,
I have, another heart and breast,
Another musick, making live not dead,
Without whom I could have no rest:
In him I am well drest. (11. 11-15).

The typological symbolism of the garments of Aaron becomes assumed into the idea of proper "dressing", which the final stanza shows to be Christ,

That to the old man I may rest,
And be in him new drest. (11.19-20).

Herbert's use of typology is, paradoxically, both personal and impersonal; he is able to use the convention of the Biblical representation towards the presentation of his persona, and to assume both into the figure of Christ.

A contrast with Byrd's translation of Psalm 83 is instructive; the verse reads

Behold how good a thing it is
For brethren to agree,
When men amongst them do not strife
But peace and concord see.
Full like unto the precious balm
From Aaron's head that fell
And did descend upon his beard
His garment skirts until.
And as the pleasant mountain dew
The waters will relieve
So God will bless where concord is
And life eternal give. ⁷⁴

Aaron here remains representative, and the poem appears as versified dogma, never reaching into the personal as Herbert's poems do. At the beginning of the work Herbert sets out his intention for The Temple:

O let this blessed SACRIFICE be mine
And sanctify this ALTAR to be thine. ("The Altar",
11. 15-16).

The altar, the volume of poems in which Herbert attempts to present his own sacrifice of praise, becomes, in "Love (III)" the feast shared with Christ; in Calvin's words "He has given us a table on which to feast, not an altar on which to offer a sacrifice. He has not conse-

crated priests to suffer, but ministers to distribute the sacred banquet."⁷⁵. The Temple works on the principle of breaking down the stones of the altar, whether they be hearts or poems, and infusing them with the love of Christ: and the opposition between "mine" and "thine" is constantly attacked. Theoretically, the Christian has no desire for individuality, and this aspect of Herbert's art has attracted much attention from critics who have noted the "self-consuming" nature of the language⁷⁶. Much of this critical interest has focused upon Herbert's debt to Augustine, and it is true that Augustine's idea of the new man has great influence on Herbert's thought: the import of the work is that the "self" must ultimately be assumed into Christ, and the ideal state of Herbert's persona would seem to be analogous to Augustine's statement "When I shall with my whole self cleave to Thee, I shall nowhere have sorrow or labour"⁷⁷.

However, although the "I" is seen theologically as a hazard which should ultimately be consumed, it is the basic contradiction of Christian art that it is this "I" that is almost exclusively dealt with. In terms of the theology, action has to be simultaneously assertive and self-effacing; yet for all the stress on removing the distinction between "mine" and "thine" the reader of The Temple is left with the impression of a very definite "self" or speaker. Critics who refer to the "self-consuming" nature of the poetry are often taken in by Herbert's own rhetorical strategies; the representative of the earthly world does not vanish, he is not yet dead. What Herbert's mastery of rhetorical techniques, in particular that of Prosopopeia, allows him is to portray exaggerated aspects of a central speaker which become participating personae themselves. The "I" in The Temple is a complex creation, and assumes many guises: in the final lyric, "Love (III)" Herbert comes closest to removing the distinction between "mine" and "thine".

The poem, with its perfectly measured lines and rhythm alternates between the two participants, Love and the guest. The guest is welcomed, but feels unfit to enter, "Guiltie of dust and sinne", and draws back; throughout the poem the movement is that of a musical composition, with phrases answering and evading one another. Love draws progressively nearer to the speaker until

Love took my hand, and smiling did reply
Who made the eyes but I?. (ll. 10-11).

The objections of the speaker are consumed one by one, in Love, and finally the guest sits down and eats, tasting and becoming a part of the sacrifice of Love. This exquisite poem shows Herbert's mastery of the techniques of the love-lyric, and the persona, now that of the beloved as well as lover, is brought to rest in Christ. The persona, however, is not consumed but reconciled, as is fitting for the final lyric in The Temple. The poem is, however, a vision of the future when the Christian will not see through a glass darkly, but will be face to face with full eyed Love. The multivocal persona, the restless, questioning central figure of The Temple has become here a passive figure, whose voice is stilled by a God who constantly "prevents" him. In "Love (III)", the many voices of the persona are incorporated into Christ, becoming truly "One God, one harmonie".

III Meditative techniques and the presentation of the persona

Herbert's poems, with their concentration upon emotional states are explorations in depth rather than improvisations upon a narrative, and owe much to the techniques of the religious art of meditation. Writing at a time when the writing of spiritual autobiography was widely

practised⁷⁸, Herbert uses meditative address for focusing upon various aspects of the persona, the following lines from "The Church Porch" illustrate his approach:

Salute thy self: see what thy soul doth wear,
Dare to look in thy chest: for tis thine own,
And tumble up and down what thou find'st there, (ll. 146-148)

The structure of the meditation provided Herbert with a model for many of his poems, indeed, as Cave observes "the application of the faculties can be seen as a kind of embryonic literary theory"⁷⁹. The memory, understanding and will are associated with the following stages in the structure of the lyric, composition of place, analysis and colloquy.

Throughout The Temple the persona obeys the command "Dresse and undresse thy soul", and what Martz terms the "argumentative evolution" of meditative poetry is used profitably towards this end. Emotions are heightened and dramatised, at times to such an extent that the persona is portrayed as a single emotion:

Am I all throat or eye
To weep, or crie
Have I no parts but those of grief ("Complaining",
11. 13-15),

a feature also prominent in the poetry of Hopkins, another poet familiar with the techniques of meditation⁸⁰.

In the religious meditation, the participant seeks to analyse his experience in the context of a pre-ordained outcome, the cards are already stacked and no solution but perfect obedience is possible. It is a tribute to Herbert's skill as a poet that his lyrics give the impression of emotional states worked through into a form of reconciliation; rarely do they present a strained adherence to a prescribed order that many poetic meditations do.

The poem "Christmas" illustrates Herbert's use of the techniques of meditation: as "The Thanksgiving" showed, Herbert is not enamoured of the practices of Ignatian meditation, when events such as Christ's Passion were imagined in great detail. Rather, as Lewalski notes, Herbert favours the Protestant method of meditation: "Instead of application of the self to the subject, it calls for the application of the subject to the self - indeed, the subject's location in the self."⁸¹; and in this poem Herbert does not imagine himself transported to Bethlehem, but examines the relevance of Christmas to his own life. The speaker, tired with worldly pleasures, arrives at an inn and finds there "my deare/My dearest Lord"; the beautiful second stanza describes the Christian paradox of the Incarnation:

O Thou, whose glorious, yet contracted light,
Wrapt in night's mantle, stole into a manger;
Since my dark soul and brutish is thy right,
To Man of all beasts be not thou a stranger. (ll. 9-12).

Man is placed with the beasts, his soul, though dark, is Christ's by right, and the speaker implores

Furnish and deck my soul, that thou mayst have
A better lodging, than a rack, or grave. (ll. 13-14).

Christmas has become the birth of Christ in the soul of man rather than the Biblical event: the glorious light has been contracted, by sin, into the sorrows of the world.

The persona then changes abruptly from traveller to poet:

The shepherds sing; and shall I silent be?
My God, no hymne for thee?
My soul's a shepherd too; a flock it feeds
Of thoughts, and words and deeds. (ll. 15-18).

Herbert's gift to the new-born Christ is his verse, he leads his words to the praise of God as God the shepherd leads him through life. The necessity of a reciprocal relationship between God and man becomes

apparent towards the end of the poem, where God and man are imagined as two interwoven and harmonious parts, each giving their qualities to the other:

His beams shall cheer my breast, and both so twine
Till ev'n his beams sing and my musick shine. (ll. 33-34).

The techniques of self-address, structuring of an argument and intensive analysis of emotions are all attributable to the religious meditation. In regard to Herbert's presentation of the persona, meditation provides a means of addressing the "self within the self", of extracting elements of the self and giving them a positive identity and of providing a structure which accommodates, analyses and justifies experience in the light of Christian doctrine. Also, the poetic meditation itself presupposes a double persona: that of the poet recording the experience, and that of the protagonist at the centre of the experience. Allowing as it does for this multiplicity of voices, of selves within the self, the religious meditation provides a structure which can distance the self while remaining intensely personal. Emotions play the part of *dramatis personae* within the drama of the Christian life depicted in The Temple; and meditative techniques play a large part in the portrayal of the "inner voices" of Herbert's persona.

IV The Poetry of Limitation: Control and Perspective in The Temple

Helen Vendler writes that "one of the particular virtues of Herbert's poetry is its extremely provisional quality. Herbert's poems are always ready to change direction, or to modify attitudes"⁸²: the main impression of The Temple as a whole is not one of states securely overcome, but of vacillation, a shifting and variety of mood. In the

Latin poem "To the Lord"⁸³ Herbert writes of Christ as "the war of my spirit/And its peace" and it is this contradiction that animates the persona of The Temple. No cliché is left unturned, and the stress is not on the importance of judgement, as it is in Vaughan, but on the individual minute. The order of the poems reflects this provisional quality: "Man" praising the glory of man is followed by "Antiphon" where men "crouch", "The Quip" with its assurance of God's favour is followed by "Vanitie (II)" with its opening line

Poore silly soule, whose hope and head lies low .

The "Affliction" poems provide an illustration of Herbert constantly changing a poem's direction and modifying attitudes. In the first stanza of "Affliction (I)" Christ is portrayed as the conventional mistress of the love-lyric, enticing the speaker's heart to his service. The speaker imagines joys, delights and benefits as payments for his service; in the second stanza the enticements of the "Glorious household stufte" snare the speaker, who lets his guard fall, always a signal for change in Herbert's poetry. Christ is seen as the king of pleasures and the speaker's thoughts rush ahead, reserving "no place for grief and fear", accepting this state as settled. However, as in "The Flower" and "The Thanksgiving" this happy state soon decays:

My flesh began unto my soul in pain,
Sicknesses cleave my bones;
Consuming agues dwell in ev'ry vein,
And tune my breath to groans.
Sorrow was all my soul; I scarce beleaved.
Till grief did tell me roundly, that I lived. (ll. 25-30).

Grief has its revenge for being overlooked, and the speaker becomes himself a state of grief; life changes from apparent good to a positive evil, and leaves the seclusion and sweet order of the garden of flowers for the wild of passion, where the speaker becomes a reed for fortune to play on:

Thus thinne and lean without a fence or friend,
I was blown through with ev'ry storm and winde (ll. 35-6).

The resentment of the speaker against his love grows; he is betrayed, entangled, given a "sweetened pill", and finally, "lest perchance I should too happie be/In my unhappiness" (ll. 49-50), he is further afflicted with sickness. Throughout the poem emotional states are continually altered, nothing is left in peace, and in the final stanza the speaker's resentment explodes:

Yea, though thou troublest me, I must be meek;
In weaknesse must be stout.
Well, I will change the service, and go seek
Some other master out. (ll. 61-4).

The speaker claims his independence from God, but only for a split second, and the poem again changes direction: Herbert's adherence to a self-consuming theology cannot allow the self to be seen as independent, and in the final perspective the speaker's afflictions are seen as nothing in comparison with the loss of God's love.

Herbert is an expert in effecting these changes of mood, which are often achieved without the usual semantic signposts of "but" and "yet", and the persona he creates is never simply a caricature of one particular mood, but a movement between moods. The vacillation of moods is echoed in the continual changes of perspective between the world of man and that of God, and the spatial imagery employed corresponds with these movements. The following lines from "The Temper (I)" provides an excellent illustration of this technique

Whether I flie with angels, fall with dust,
Thy hands made both, and I am there:
Thy power and love, my love and trust
Make one place ev'ry where. (ll. 24-7),

where the perspective swings majestically between Earth and Heaven.

This vacillation also informs Herbert's attitude to poetic style,

as Tuve notes "if we think we have found in him a manifesto against fine style and oversubtlety, we must recall that he is quite as likely to berate himself for not writing fine and witty"⁸⁴. In The Temple, poetic failure is portrayed as analogous to spiritual failure, and the problem of how to "copie thy faire and bloudie hand"⁸⁵ remains throughout the work. As Herbert states in "Jordan (I)", all the Christian needs to say is "My God and King", but this is not a poem, and Herbert the artist must leave us more. As Nuttall observes "This mid-river poetry is crucified by inconsistency. It is, necessarily, poetically parasitic upon the devices it so austerely renounces"⁸⁶, and like Jonson in "To Heaven" Herbert acknowledges the difficulty of knowing where devotion ends and presumption begins; in Jonson's words

Yet dare I not complain, or wish for death
With holy Paul, lest it be thought the breath
Of discontent; or that these prayers bee
For wearinesse of life, not love of thee⁸⁷

and Herbert is ever watchful for the breath of discontent.

Margaret Bottrall writes of Herbert's attachment to the Anglican Church:

Any post-reformation poet is bound to be hampered by a close attachment to one particular branch of the Christian church. Not only is this allegiance cramping to his imagination, it gives his language the smack of provincialism. Visionaries and mystics are unhampered by definite creeds and speak a universal language, churchmen proceed with greater caution.⁸⁸

Herbert's language, however, was universal enough to inspire poets of such varying allegiances as Crashaw and Baxter, and appeared rather less than cautious to Wesley, who appears to have been disturbed by Herbert's conceptual audacity, and revised many poems extensively.

To return to Johnson, we are reminded once again of the difficulty of positing a convincing persona in Christian art: "All censure of a

man's self is oblique self praise. It is in order to show how much he can spare. It has all the invidiousness of self praise and the reproach of falsehood."⁸⁹. Herbert comes perhaps the closest of any poet to resolving the tension between the filial and the egotistical which pervades Christian poetry. He achieves a persona which, while actually focusing upon the self, appears to relinquish it; neither man nor the praise of God is ever lost sight of. It is this aspect of his art which assures his influence in the hymn tradition, in his poetry the individual is shown as searching for a sense of self within an essentially self-consuming tradition.

Herbert's volume inspired many adaptations, although only Vaughan comes near to achieving anything like the fluidity of its structure. Writing before the Civil War, when partisanship had not yet become necessity, Herbert avoids the two pitfalls which have dogged religious poetry; his poetry is never so personal as to be obscure, neither does it degenerate into versified dogma. Herbert's God of Love, with his familiarity and accessibility could appeal to Christians of all denominations, especially in a century of religious conflict, and the reciprocal relationship between the persona and Christ provided a model for later hymn writers. By using an exaggerated persona Herbert focuses on the individual, by limiting the autonomy of the persona he keeps to the traditional Christian framework; these two elements are held in tension throughout the work, and this dedication not only to interpreting experience, but also to recording emotions provides much of the lasting appeal of Herbert's verse: as Baxter wrote of Herbert, "Heart work and Heaven work make up his Books"⁹⁰.

The concern of this chapter has been to demonstrate the complexity of Herbert's central persona, and the many levels on which this persona operates. While the encompassing roles of David, the Christian

singer and the archetypal Christian poet, inform a reading of the poems, the persona also contains the voice of the didactic explicator of the emblem poems and the lover of the love-lyric and sonnet sequence. This Psalmic voice, which is both interpreter of and participator in the experiences contains many voices within voices, and the tension between the many voices belonging to the one voice is central to The Temple. The use of single images made up of multiple paths echoes this concern, showing the many within one: hearts, altars, temples and songs, all share this concern. In the persona of The Temple Herbert provides a voice which, while presenting many different "inner voices", nevertheless unites all in a song of praise to God. The following stanza from "Longing" portrays Herbert's concern, and skill, in providing a voice for one "Lesse than the least of God's mercies", who nevertheless contains a world within himself:

Behold, thy dust doth shine,
It moves, it creeps, it aims at thee.
Wilt thou deferre
To succour me,
Thy pile of dust, wherein each crumme
Sayer, Come? (ll. 36-41).

CHAPTER THREE

THE POET AS TEACHER:

THE PERSONA OF HARVEY'S THE SYNAGOGUE

I The Synagogue: Shadow or Imitation?

Christopher Harvey's The Synagogue, Or the Shadow of the Temple was first published in 1640 by Philemon Stevens, with enlarged editions appearing in 1647 and 1657 when it was bound with Herbert's The Temple. The two works were published together until 1806, when a volume edited by R. Edwards appeared, containing The Temple alone. This was not the end of the partnership, however: editions of Pickering¹ (1835), and Nichol (1860) contain the two works. As The Synagogue was published anonymously there has been much confusion, as Grosart² recounts, of the identity of C.H., and the work, like Harvey's Schola Cordis has been attributed amongst others to Francis Quarles and to Crashaw. The popularity of the work is attested to by its appearance, along with The Temple, Silex Scintillans, and Steps to the Temple³, amongst the most vendible books of its day.

Pickering's edition includes many commendatory verses on The Synagogue, which provide more evidence for the popularity of the work. Harvey appears to have been viewed by his contemporaries as a champion of the Anglican church, as these lines by A.S. illustrate:

Sir,
While I read your lines, methinks I spy
Churches, and Church-men, and the old Hierarchy:
What potent charms are these! you have the knack
To make men young again, and fetch time back
I've lost what was bestowed on Judah's prince,
And am now where I was thrice five years since.
The mid-space shrunk to nothing, manners, men,
And times and all look just as they did then.
Rubbish and ruins vanish'd, every where
Order and comeliness afresh appear.
What cannot Poets do? They change with ease

The face of things, and lead us as they please.
Yet here's no fiction neither. We may see
The Poet, Prophet; his Verse, History.⁴

Harvey's work, published at the outset of the Civil War and throughout the religious turmoil of the next ten years, was seen by many of his contemporaries as portraying the "order and comeliness" of the Anglican religion. As a result of this, contemporary comments on his work praise the content of The Synagogue, rather than the virtues of his poetic technique.

Modern criticism has granted Harvey far less praise. Coleridge notes Harvey's predilection for finding the root of a word with a favourable comment: "The best and most forcible sense of a word is often that which is contained in its Etymology". This, however, is the most he will allow to Harvey; elsewhere he comments on "The Nativity" that it is "The only poem in the Synagogue which possesses artistic merit; with a few changes and additions this would be a striking poem" and proceeds to give the desirable alterations⁵. Grosart, in his edition of Harvey's works, is more favourable, if rather florid:

It is possible an unsympathetic reader may feel disposed to liken the placing of "The Synagogue" and "Schola Cordis" besides the Marble-worth of "The Temple" to those huts one meets with in classic lands squatting at the foot of once splendid and consecrate temples. I rather like to think of their association as symbolized by the swallows' nests hung in metope or freize, to their passing stain perchance, yet by "immemorial lease of love", and the glance of swift and burnished wing and breast, and the tropic note, vindicating their intrusion, if intrusion it be.⁶

Most modern critics are far less enthusiastic. In most cases critical comment is brief: Bottrall remarks on the painstaking structure of the poems, while Summers notes the popularity of the work and its place in the religious climate of the time. The most detailed critical comment on The Synagogue comes from Helen Vendler and A.C.

Howell. Vendler in her chapter "Imitators and Adaptors" is concerned with the resemblances between the poetry of Harvey and The Temple; she notes the "impersonality and external" appearance of much of Harvey's poetry, and finds little that is favourable to say about The Synagogue, pronouncing it finally an inept imitation. A.C. Howell's article, "The Synagogue" (Studies in Philology XLIX, 1952), the fullest piece of criticism available on Harvey, takes a different approach⁷. Rather than viewing the work as a reproduction of The Temple, he notes the "supplementary character" of The Synagogue. Beginning with a detailed history of the publication and editions of the work he writes:

It is no small compliment to Harvey's verse that publishers for 150 years so closely associated it with its great original that they never published one without the other, always giving it the honor of a separate title page ... Something more than mere convention must have led to the continued re-printing of The Synagogue. I think that this something can be found in the supplementary character of The Synagogue, as will appear from a detailed study of its contents.⁸

Howell stresses the importance of the concept of imitation, stating that "Harvey never made any pretence of being anything else but an imitator of Herbert", and comments on the Herbertian variety of stanza forms and patterns in the work. He notes that in publishing anonymously Harvey was following the example of Donne and Herbert, whose works were not published under their names until after their deaths. Howell's main concerns fall into three categories: the ways in which The Synagogue is an imitation of The Temple; the detail of the likenesses, and the qualities that the seventeenth-century reader admired in Harvey. Noting that although some of the poems in the two volumes have identical or similar titles, most are different, he concludes that Harvey's purpose is more than imitation. Harvey covers

ideas and subjects that are not taken up by Herbert, confirming Howell's theory that the work is supplementary rather than imitative. Poems with the same title, such as "The Dedication" or "The Search", may begin with similar language, but the ideas covered are invariably different, and little more than the title is borrowed.

In Howell's view the seventeenth-century reader found two main areas of appeal in Harvey's poetry: the "clear and well-phrased didacticism" and the "orthodoxy and high-church doctrinalism"⁹. Howell does not elaborate on these areas, however, although they contribute to both the strength and weakness of the poetry. This doctrinalism of Harvey, the Anglican priest, is noted by Summers:

At Herbert's death in 1633 Laud had not yet become the highest dignitary of the English church, and despite increasing tension every religious work was not necessarily political in its impact. To Harvey at the outbreak of the Civil War, however, Herbert seemed a latter day partisan, and his poetry a potential bulwark against the Puritan attack. Harvey's popularity, even among such readers as Walton, is a sign that many men of that time and later considered the piety and politics of religious verse more important than the poetry.¹⁰

Vendler notes that the poems most like Herbert's appear in the 1640 edition, before the spate of liturgical and ecclesiastical additions.

Harvey's purpose, therefore, is only partly that stated on the title page of The Synagogue:

I do esteem't a folly not the least
To imitate examples not the best.

Imitation, while playing an important role in the work, is subordinate to Harvey's role as Anglican propagandist. The balanced voice of The Temple, functioning as both personal and objective viewpoint, is seldom heard in The Synagogue where didacticism is the central note. The work, although containing many verbal parallels with Herbert, does

not contain the variety and depth of verbal echoes present in Silex Scintillans. Harvey's technique appears to be that of echoing Herbert as Herbert echoes the Bible; he begins poems with phrases or titles recalling Herbert, but deals with them in a very different way, and without the subtleties of Herbert's technique. Herbert, writing before the Civil War, held personal experience and religious doctrine in a balanced form; while in Harvey, personal experience is sacrificed to the exposition of doctrine.

This doctrinaire aspect of the poetry can be described as the furnishings of The Synagogue, and was seen as such by at least one of Herbert's contemporaries. J.L., writing on the enlarged version of The Synagogue, compares Harvey with Herbert, calling Herbert the father of Harvey's verses and concludes thus:

He was our Solomon,
And you are our Centurion;
Our Temple him we owe,
Our Synagogue to you:
Where if your piety so much allow
That structure with these ornaments to endow,
All good men will avow,
Your Synagogue, built before, is furnished now.¹¹

The poem is entitled "To his ingenious friend, the Author of the Synagogue; upon his additional Church-utensils", and stresses the value of Harvey's later and less Herbertian poems on aspects of Anglican doctrine.

Harvey himself reinforces this idea of the author furnishing the poems with the old Anglican ritual:

He that adores
The giddy multitude
So much as to despise my rhymes
Because they tune not to the times,
I wish may not intrude
His presence here. But they (and that's enough)
Who love God's house will like his household stuff.

("Church-utensils", 11. 10-16).

Like Vaughan in Silex Scintillans and Herrick in his "The Fairy Temple", a poem satirising the Puritan view of the Anglican church, Harvey's concern is to invest the rituals of the Anglican religion with significance, and to offset the protest of such criticism as this, from the Puritan Milton:

the table of communion now becomes a table of separation, stands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the quire, fortified with bulwark and barricade, to keep off the profane touch of the laics, while the obscene and surfeited priest scruples not to paw and mammoc the sacramental bread, as familiarly as his tavern biscuit.¹²

Harvey attempts to invest the physical with the spiritual, to give a general and individual application to the church service. He chooses a form similar to The Temple, which suggested simultaneously the physical church, the temple reared by prayer and the heart of man. However, Herbert is able to keep these metaphors fluid, church windows and church floors never become static physical structures in The Temple, Harvey works on the opposite principle, his church walls, gate, stile and so on are all too solid.

Margaret Bottrall, writing of Herbert, raises the question of the difficult relationship between poetry and dogma and notes the "provincialism" which hampers poetry attached too closely to a specific church¹³.

Provincialism is a charge that will not stand up against Herbert, whose poetry could be read by men of such different religious convictions as the Catholic Crashaw and the Nonconformist Richard Baxter. It is, however, an apt term for Harvey's poetry, which sets itself firmly within the confines of the Anglican church.

Vendler writes of the lack of "inwardness" in Harvey's poetry, and comments on the poem "Sabbath":

It is impossible to write a poem so bad as this except through the desire to imitate. Harvey perceived, as such verses show, the external "constraints" that Herbert delighted to impose on himself, and knew them to be constitutive to Herbert's practice. These constraints did not disturb Harvey, but on the contrary raised him to pleased emulation.¹⁴

While Herbert makes the constraints of his chosen literary technique into a positive element, allowing for expansion through condensed language, Harvey's constraint on his subject matter and strict forms of versification acts to his disadvantage. His plainness of language and commitment to honest description lead to a concentration upon one meaning, rather than several nuances, of a particular word or concept.

As mentioned above, The Synagogue is in many respects an imitation of The Temple in its use of varied verse forms, simple diction and religious subjects. But as the title illustrates, it is more than an imitation: it is a shadow, a term which demands examination. Following the example of The Temple, Harvey gives his work a connecting metaphor in the title that is meant to inform the various levels of poetry. Writing of Herbert's work, Endicott, in an article dealing with the structure of The Temple, states "The adoption of the Hebrew Temple by Christianity was of dubious value because the whole rationale of the building was antipathetic to Christian thought"¹⁵; Herbert, however, uses the metaphor to produce not only an edifice with words as stones, but also to convey the idea of the New Testament Temple as being found in the heart of the individual Christian. The Old Testament Temple is a type, or shadow, of the New. Harvey attempts a similar technique, and the metaphor does work to some extent: the work is a "shadow" of The Temple, acknowledging the fact that there was only one Temple, and many synagogues.

Worship in the synagogue formed the regular weekly worship, with

the temple being used for the great feasts. Also, and important to an understanding of Harvey's use of the metaphor, the synagogue stood for a symbol of authority, and also functioned as a school¹⁶. Therefore, the synagogue stands for a centre of regular institutionalised learning, as a central authority and as a school of doctrine. An examination of some passages where the word occurs in the Bible provides some illumination of the metaphor.

The word occurs only once in the Old Testament, in Psalm 74 v.6:

6. But now they break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers.
7. They have cast fire into they sanctuary, they have defiled by casting down the dwelling place of they name to the ground.
8. They said in their hearts, Let us destroy them together: they have burned up all the synagogues of God in the land.

Here Harvey has authority for using the word synagogue for the old established church, now under Puritan attack, much as the Puritans themselves made use of the metaphor of rebuilding the Temple in their sermons.

The context in which the word occurs most frequently in the Bible is that of the importance of teaching. Christ's presence in the synagogue is seen as the typological fulfillment of the law, as in this passage from Luke IV where Christ has been teaching in the synagogue:

20. And he closed the book and gave it again to the minister, and sat down. And the eyes of all that were in the synagogue were fastened on him.
21. And he began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears.

The importance of teaching Christian doctrine in the synagogues to non Christians is noted in Acts 18:4, of the teachings of St. Paul: "And he reasoned in the synagogue, every Sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the

Greeks." This theme is picked up by Ralph Buckland in his prose work An Embassy from Heaven, where Christ speaks on this subject: "Are you Christian that think yourselves excused from the precept, which I gave to the synagogue, that if any man would draw you to a strange faith, he should not be obeyed"¹⁷.

Harvey, therefore, had ample Biblical authority for his use of the synagogue as a building containing the right teaching of Christ. He follows Herbert in writing a work around a central metaphor of a physical edifice, and attempts to provide a persona appropriate to this image. As Herbert makes use of the persona of priest or individual Christian in The Temple, so Harvey takes up the role of teacher in The Synagogue. John Weemes, in The Christian Synagogue (1623) records that "The synagogues were ordered in most things after the manner of the Temple ... They had sentries who taught in their Synagogues as Priests taught in the Temple"¹⁸. Such a literary minded man as Harvey would be unlikely not to exploit this typological connection, and present a persona in the central figure of administrator and teacher.

The work becomes more than an imitation of The Temple when seen in this light, it is a guide to the right use of the church. There is no doubt of Harvey's conservatism, his works include "AϞHNIÆTHE: or the Right Rebel, a Treatise discovering the true use of the Name by the Nature of Rebellion, with the Properties and Practices of Rebels", published in 1661, and "Faction supplanted: Or a Caveat against the ecclesiastical and secular Rebels, in two parts", published in 1663. At least one of his contemporaries, the J.L. mentioned earlier, picks upon Harvey's elaborate persona as "builder" of The Synagogue. He writes of Herbert and Harvey,

He was our Solomon
And you are our Centurion,

referring to the passage in Luke 7, where the centurion who sends for Jesus to heal his servant is described as having built a synagogue: "For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue" (Luke 7:5). This allusion is remarkably apt for Harvey, the champion of the Anglican church, and illustrates the extent to which typological connections were pursued and made use of.

The metaphor of the synagogue, therefore, works to a certain extent, providing a connecting image of authority and teaching, and allowing Harvey to assume a persona appropriate to the metaphor. However, the vital element central to the success of the central metaphors of The Temple and Silex Scintillans, the personal and experiential element, is lacking. Herbert's temple can refer directly to the protagonist as the temple of the Holy Ghost, as the Silex Scintillans of Vaughan refers to the mental state of the individual Christian. In Harvey, however, the synagogue has little relevance to the individual. In the Bible it only occurs once in this connection, and is used in a negative way to describe a false temple: Rev. 2:9 - "I know thy works and tribulations, and poverty, (but thou art rich), and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogues of Satan". In no other connection is man referred to as a synagogue.

The metaphor remains literal, assuming little or no spiritual dimension, and this lack of personal involvement goes some way towards accounting for much of the drabness of Harvey's poetry. Harvey appears always as the teacher, commenting and expounding on the Anglican church, and seldom as the individual Christian experiencing the trials and tribulations of life. A hallmark of The Temple is the fluidity not only of its central metaphor, but also of the structure of the work itself, presenting a picture of contraries met in one. The work will

not subdivide into sections, as G.H. Palmer's attempt at editing illustrates. Various critics have attempted to account for the organisation of the structure. Fish sees the work as influenced by the form of the Catechism; Tuve finds analogies with the traditional liturgy, Walker posits the three-part structure of the Jewish Temple as a model, while Stambler points out affinities with the courtly love sequences¹⁹. Despite the validity of these influences, The Temple refuses to fit neatly into categories, and presents a picture of conflicting states of mind contained within an overall unity, closest in character to the Book of Psalms.

II The Structure of The Synagogue

Harvey's work, on the other hand, is all too ready to fit into categories, and if Herbert is the graceful architect of words, then Harvey can be seen as laying down the foundations rather laboriously. The 1646 edition can be subdivided into four sections:

1. Church furniture and utensils.
2. Officers of the church.
3. Church Festivals.
4. Personal 'Herbertian' lyrics.

In the first two sections, plainness of diction and content appears to be the keynote. While Herbert works by the process of "discovery", teasing out the meanings of words and phrases, Harvey works by uncovering and expounding. The volume begins with the catechism influenced

poem on Herbert's The Temple, "A Stepping Stone", where Harvey remarks,

In building of his Temple, Master Herbert
Is equally all grace, all wit, all art. (ll. 19-20).

Harvey's lack of polished interplay is already obvious in his use of dogmatic statement, and lack of musical quality to the poem. "The Dedication", while modelled upon Herbert's poem of the same name, displays the same lack of this "give and take" action, "mine" and "thine" remain very separate here.

Harvey then begins his walk around "The Church-yard", "The Church-Stile", "The Church Gate" and "The Church-walls": this section provides an interesting contrast with poems such as Vaughan's "Regeneration" or Traherne's "Walking". In the Vaughan and Traherne poems, the individual is the focus of attention, in Harvey the voice is that of the explicator, not the participant himself. Harvey leads his reader on a tour of the church confines, and is possessed of an obsessive desire to point out the bare bones of these physical features. The self-consciousness of the language, and the repeated pattern of moving from example to emblematic representation and general application render the poetry static, and laborious to read. Harvey uses the emblematic technique which Bunyan was to perfect in The Pilgrim's Progress, the difference being that in The Synagogue the objects are encountered more clumsily between the physical literal world and the emblematic worlds which in Bunyan are successfully merged.

Harvey then arrives at "The Church" and the influence of Herbert is clearly discernible in the following stanzas from that poem:

Religion must not side with any thing
That swerves from God, or else withdraws from him;
He that a welcome sacrifice would bring,
Must fetch it from the bottom, not the brim,
A sacred Temple of the Holy Ghost
Each part of man must be, but his heart most.

Hypocrisy in Church is Alchemy,
That casts a golden tincture upon brass:
There is no essence in it, 'tis a lie,
Though, fairly stamp'd, for truth it often pass:
 Only the spirits aqua regia doth
 Discover it to be but painted froth (ll. 7-18)

Clearly, Harvey is a champion of plainness at all costs, both in matters of religious doctrine and in the writing of poetry. The poetic "plainness" prescribed by Harvey differs greatly from Herbert's plain and deceptively simple style. Harvey's didacticism leaves no stone unturned, he proceeds blow by blow through his prescribed subject matter, elucidating, explicating and losing most of the poetry in the process. Herbert's language, while always kept "plain", is never didactic, nor tied to one frame of reference or conclusion.

"The Church Porch" contains a set of precepts similar to those in Herbert's poem of the same name. This is followed by "Church utensils", the poem praised by J. L., and then "The Font", with the opening lines providing an example of Harvey at his least poetic and most dogmatic: "The Font, I say. Why not? And why not near/To the Church door? Why not of stone?" Unlike Herbert, whose church floor and windows never remain as specific physical objects, Harvey's font is obtrusively literal, with poetry sacrificed to its dogmatic implications. The fifth stanza of "The Reading Pew" could be seen as Harvey's poetic manifesto:

Let them that would build castles in the air,
 Vault thither, without step or stair;
Instead of feet to climb, take wings to fly,
 And think their turrets top the sky.
But let me lay all my foundations deep,
 And learn, before I run, to creep,
Who digs through Rocks to lay his ground-works low,
May in good time build high, and sure, though slow.

(ll. 33-40).

As Harvey states, his poetry is spelled out, not soaring between earth

and heaven, but with its poetic feet most surely on the ground. By repeated sentiments such as these, Harvey establishes himself in the course of the work as plain speaker and teacher, rather than participant in the experiences described.

The other poems in this section remain equally prosaic. "The Pulpit" provides an instance of Harvey's utter lack of concern for decorum of imagery. The "homely" vocabulary favoured by both Herbert and Harvey becomes grotesque here, as Harvey describes the sermon as food for thought.

'Tis dinner time: and now I look
For a full meal. God send me a good Cook.

"The Communion Table", where Harvey denies concern with the shape or structure of the altar, still presses the need for conformity:

And yet me thinks at a Communion
In uniformity
There's greatest decency. (ll. 25-27).

The second section, on Church Officers, continues in this vein of plain speaking didacticism, with Harvey stating in "Church Officers":

I write, mine own thoughts to declare.
Not to please men: and if I displease any
I will not care, so they be of the Many (ll. 16-18).

It is notable that the poems in these sections are Harvey's later poems, written during the course of the Civil War, and more evidently reinforcing the standards of the Anglican religion than the earlier lyrics of the final section. The officers depicted include a sexton, clerk, overseer of the poor, church warden, Deacon, Priest and Bishop. All are generalisations, as the Christian addressed is a generalisation. In short, the whole of the first two sections are addressed to a reader, (in the technique of Herbert's "Church Porch"),

but without the possibility of being addressed to a central self or persona. The self here is the teacher, the insistent and didactic authorised voice.

The poem "Church Festivals", which opens the section on this theme, is a reminder that Harvey constantly seeks to emulate Herbertian verse techniques. The poem is in the form of Herbert's "Prayer", a string of apparently random epithets; characteristically, however, Harvey cannot manage, as Herbert does, to get through the whole poem without pointers or explications. The poem is worth quoting in full:

Marrow of time, Eternity in brief
Compendiums Epitomized, the chief
Contents, the Indices, the Title-pages
Of all past, present, and succeeding ages,
Sublimate graces, antidated glories,
 The cream of holiness,
 The inventories
 Of future blessedness,
The Florilegia of celestial stones,
Spirits of joys, the relishes and closes
Of Angels' music, pearls dissolved, roses
Perfumed, sugar'd honey-combs, delights
 Never too highly prized,
 The marriage rites,
 Which duty solemnized
Usher espoused souls to bridal nights,
Gilden sun-beam, refined Elixirs,
And quintessential extracts of stars:
Who loves not you, doth but in vain profess
That he loves God, or heaven, or happiness.

Harvey's metaphors sprawl untidily across the poem, and have none of the sense of progression that Herbert's poem possesses. He could not resist the temptation to expound on the "marriage rites", and to end with a generalized moral observation. The overall effect of the poem comes nowhere near Herbert's build up of images to the vague yet precise "Something understood".

This section also contains shaped poems, with Harvey obviously sharing Herbert's interest in the typography of the printed poem:

"Sabbath" contains seven shaped stanzas, "The Annunciation" has wing shaped stanza pairs. Echoes of Herbert abound, and a more personal note begins to appear in "The Ephiphany", "The Passion, or Good Friday", with its echoes of Herbert's "The Sacrifice", and "The Resurrection, or Easter Day", reminiscent of Herbert's poem "Easter". In this group of poems the "I" becomes more prominent and less generalised, although the generalisation and didacticism still continues, as Harvey appears undecided whether to attempt to record an individual experience, or prescribe a general behaviour. Stanza six of "The Resurrection, or Easter Day" illustrates this tension:

Open thine eyes
Sin-seized soul, and see
What cobweb ties
They are, that trammel thee.

(ll. 31-4).

The personal has not fully taken over, the central character is still the observant narrator. These three poems, however, signal a change of tone which will become more prominent in the final (and earliest) section of the volume.

III The Schola Cordis

The didacticism of Harvey's verse stems to a great extent from his use of the emblem tradition. Harvey's other popular work was the Schola Cordis, or School of the Heart, (London, 1647), a reworking of Arwaker's emblem book, with the original plates used alongside Harvey's odes. The emblem form obviously invites exposition: it is a process of equations rather than identification, and its many surreal qualities are due to the interplay between visual illustration and verbal description. Harvey's attachment to the emblem form goes some way towards accounting for both strengths and weaknesses inherent in

his poetry.

Firstly, the form encourages a type of verbal anatomical dissection, as illustrated by Quarles' poem on the body as a Temple, often dwelling on the grotesque and the ridiculous. The plainness fostered by this exposition of what often appears as obvious can result in much banality of expression. Unlike Herbert's poetry where "the beauty lies in the discovery" of multiple levels of meaning, Harvey, like Quarles, seeks to pin down images to one fixed conclusion. Church places appear as static and grotesque, officers are caricatured, all are dissected and measured out to a simple equation. Stein, in George Herbert's Lyrics (John Hopkins Press, 1968), writes of the metaphysical poet "we can say that the metaphysical poets attempt to express the living soul of thought underneath the body (or images) of their words"²⁰: in Harvey, however, the body of words remains predominant. Emblematic exposition combined with Harvey's aggressive question and answer technique, results in a moralising tone in which the general rather than the individual level is stressed. Walton for one saw Harvey in this guise of stern moraliser, using the techniques of emblematic representation for the guidance of the Christian soul:

This holy War, taught by your happy pen,
The Prince of Peace approves. When we poor men
Neglect our arms,
We are circumvented by a word of harms.
But I will watch, and ward,
And stand upon my guard
And still consult with you.²¹

However, Harvey also acquired some advantages from his use of the emblem form, especially in the last section of poems. Although similar in many ways to Quarles, he does not ~~exhibit~~ the gloom and doom aspect of the emblem so favoured by that poet, whose first book in 1620 was entitled A Feast for Worms: as Douglas Bush comments, "he seldom came nearer to optimism than the assertion 'Tis glorious misery

to be born a man" "22. The heart emblems of the Schola Cordis evoke a world reminiscent of much of Herbert's poetry, and the world of the courtly love lyric. Harvey is not so relentlessly dogmatic here, the theme of the work allowed him far greater theological latitude. The theme was not exclusive to Anglican poets: the Jesuit Henry Hawkins published The Devout Heart in 1634.

In his essay "A critique of some modern theories of Metaphysical poetry" Mazzeo comments that "the very grotesqueness of many of the emblems is testimony to the fact that the conceit preceeded, and was therefore independent of its graphic expression"²³. In the case of Harvey's poems the subject matter was predetermined by the use of Arwaker's plates. Many poems in the Schola Cordis recall The Temple, particularly in the surreal presentations of the heart as an actual participant and character, an effect also found in Quarles, as in this example from Emblemes Divine and Moral:

Be sad, my Heart, deep dangers wait thy mirth:
Thy soul's way laid, by Sea, by Hell, by Earth:
Hell has her hounds: Earth snares, the Sea, a shelf;
But most of all, my Heart, beware thy self.

(Bk III, IX).

The title page of the 1647 edition of Schola Cordis illustrates this conception of the heart as an active participant: the work's full title is Schola Cordis, or The Heart of it Selfe: gone away from God: brought back again to him; and instructed by him, in 47 emblems²⁴. Throughout, the voice of the poems is both that of the heart, and of an observer, and is much closer in tone to The Temple than the poems of the first three sections of The Synagogue. Emblem 8, "The Hardness of the Heart" is very similar to Herbert's "An Offering":

Ode VIII: What have we here, An heart! It looks like one;
The shape and colour speake it such:
But having brought it to the touch,
I find it is no better than a stone:

Adamants are
Softer by far.²⁵

In both poems, the heart and the speaker are two separate characters, and yet in both the heart becomes that of the speaker, creating a surreal effect. Herbert's "Love Unknown" is his most sustained piece on this theme of the heart as protagonist.

Schola Cordis also contains a variety of verse forms, far more than is usual in emblem books: "The Ladder of the Heart" is laid out in ladder form, while "The Flying of the Heart" has wing shaped stanzas. "The Humiliation of the Heart" provides an instance of Harvey at his most Herbertian:

st. 3. In health I grew
 Wanton; began to krek
 As though I knew
 I never should be sick:
 Diseases take me downe, and make me know
 Bodies of brasse must pay the death they are.

st. 4. If I but dreame
 Of wealth, mine heart doth rise
 With a full streame
 Of pride; and I despise
 All that is good untill I wake and spie
 The swelling bubble prickt with poverty.

Despite the bathos of the first four lines, the movement of the syntax is successful in creating the to and fro movement of the emotions outlined, and the emblem of the bubble works in this context without slowing the momentum and flow of the lines. Stanzas 9 and 10 are among the most successful of all Harvey's lyrics:

st. 9. Lord, had I hearts a million,
 And myriads in every one
 Of choicest loves and feares
 They were too little to bestow
 On thee, to whom all things I owe:
 I should be in arreares

st. 10. Yet since mine heart's the most I have,
 And that which Thou dost chiefly crave,
 Thou shalt not of it misse:
 Although I cannot give it so
 As I should doe. I'll offer't though:
 Lord take it, here it is.²⁶

It is in stanzas such as these that Harvey comes closest to the poems of The Temple: the simplicity of the language, and the attempt to portray the personal emotions of the speaker recall Herbert's technique, as do the allusions to business in "owe" and "arreares". Harvey is at his best in the lyrics of the Schola Cordis, where dogma does not intrude, and he deals exclusively with the relationship between the heart and God, which is the subject matter of The Temple.

Harvey finishes the Schola Cordis with a section on "The Learning of the Heart", with poems on the grace, rhetoric and logic of the heart. "The Rhetoricke of the Heart" provides an interesting perspective on Harvey's literary technique:

My rhetoricke is not so much an art
As an infused habit in mine heart,
Which a sweet secret elegance instills,
And all my speech with tropes and figures fills.
Love is the tongue's elixir, which doth change
The ordinary sense of words, and range
Them under other kinds; dispose them so,
That to the height of eloquence they grow
Ev'n in their native plainness, and must be
So understood as liketh Love and me.²⁷

This "sweet secret eloquence" is found far more often in Schola Cordis than in The Synagogue, and Harvey's language of religious love seems confined to his poems on the subject of the heart. His "native plainness" can be successful in the more personal lyrics, and some odes of Schola Cordis take the form of a Christian love lyric, with a central figure who is both detached observer and participant. With the illustrations as prompts, and Herbert's poetry as his example, Harvey writes successfully, although the volume is by no means free from banal exposition and grotesque imagery.

IV "Torn Meditations": The Personal Voice

A look at the Schola Cordis, therefore, casts light on Harvey's emblematic technique, and shows how the delicacy of imagery provided by the School of the Heart tradition lends an intimacy and sweetness to the tone of the poems, and introduces a more Herbertian voice. In The Synagogue, however, the "school" aspect takes over, and the relationship between God and the individual Christian becomes subordinate to Anglican dogma. Joan Webber in The Eloquent "I" - style and self in seventeenth century prose (Madison, 1968) notes that "The paradigm for the Anglican "I" is meditative, antihistorical, complex and ambiguous. . . Turning life into art, the Anglican constructs a symbolic cosmic personality that delights in stylistics, complications, and even in playful and recreative devices. This persona is introspective, melancholy, sophisticated and self-amused."²⁸ Although Harvey may be seen to offend all these precepts in the first three sections of The Synagogue, the final section brings him closer to this stereotype of the meditative Anglican.

The titles of the poems in this section are less definitive than those of the rest of the volume, they describe states of mind, as in "Confusion", and "Comfort in Extremity", or vague concepts such as "The Loss", "The Search", "Inmates" and "The Invitation". "The Invitation" is full of echoes of Herbert:

Turn in, my Lord, turn in to me;
Mine heart's a homely place:
But thou canst make
And fill it with thy grace.
So furnished it will be brave,
And a rich dwelling thou shalt have. (ll. 1-6).

"Heart", "furnished" and "dwelling" all pick up themes from The Temple: a dragging tone, however, seems set in the commonplace of lines 3 and 4, as the emblem begins to take over and immobilize the image, the

heart becomes literally a dwelling. Towards the end of the poem, Harvey attempts an interchange of response between God and man, yet somehow the lines remain too verbose and removed to be successful.

In "Comfort in Extremity" Harvey emulates Herbert's "Dialogue" by constructing a dialogue between man and God. Harvey's Christ, however, speaks in clichés:

St. 2 Cheer up thy drooping spirits,
 I am here.
Mine all sufficient merits
 Shall appear
Before the throne of glory
 In thy stead:
I'll put into thy story
 What I did.
Lift up thine eyes sad soul, and see
Thy Saviour here. Lo, I am he.

(ll. 11-20).

The speeches of the two speakers remain separate, and Harvey makes no attempt to imitate the dialectic resolution at the end of "Dialogue", where speech itself breaks down into silence. Harvey's poem ends with Christ's words "As I have made thee now, I take thee"; and the Christ figure remains remote and shrouded with words, unlike the intensely loving figure of "Dialogue". "Resolution and Assurance" again attempts to emulate Herbert in the startling opening and the word play on "ill", "will", "still", but again the poem fails to appear as a convincing statement.

Although Harvey is able to capture some of the intimate character of this type of lyric, the persona projected is not the protagonist of the experience, but a rather dry questioning figure. In "Confusion" Harvey successfully attempts a fusion of words and meaning, with the convoluted syntax suggesting the confused train of thought:

O how my mind
 Is gravell'd!
 Not a thought,
 That I can find,
 But's ravell'd
 All to naught.
 Short ends of threads,
 And narrow shreds,
 Of lists,
 Knots snarled ruffs,
 Loose broken tufts
 Of twists,
 Are my town meditation's ragged clothing,
 Which, wound and woven shape a suit for nothing:
 One while I think, and then I am in pain
 To think how to unthink that thought again.

(11. 1-16).

Harvey attempts to convey an experience directly, the feeling of confusion is intensified by the elements of this "torn meditation". The final image of unthinking the thought contributes to the overall sensation of distraction. For once Harvey has allowed the "I" to remain consistently individual throughout the stanza, without reference to a more generalized "I".

The second stanza is more explicitly emblematic in conception: Pleasure, Profit and Honour parade by, like the figures in Herbert's "The World". The personal tone is still sustained, although Harvey typically cannot resist some moralising:

And whilst my thoughts are greedy upon these,
 They pass by pearls, and stop to pick up pease.
 Such wash and draff is fit for none but swine:
 And such I am not, Lord, for I am thine.
 Clothe me anew, and feed me then afresh;
 Else my soul dies famish'd, and starv'd with flesh.

(11. 29-34).

The poem is one of the most successful of all Harvey's lyrics, the "I" figure is sustained to the end, the images reinforce the pleading tone and the theme of the poem. The final image of being lost or confined by flesh picks up the clothing imagery at the beginning of the poem of "threads" "tufts" and the "torn meditation's ragged clothing",

without Christ. Harvey's thoughts remain a "suit for nothing".

The other poems of the final section fail to recapture the coherence of structure and emotive appeal of "Confusion". "A Paradox" is prosaic, and full of religious cliché, "Inmates" is similar in structure to Herbert's "Love Unknown", but abounds, unfortunately, with grotesque detail in its search for startling metaphors of corruption. "The Curb", attempting to imitate the rebellious thought of Herbert's "The Collar", fails as Harvey's expositions and didactic authorial voice constantly intrude, and his tone, that of a schoolmaster to an errant pupil, fails to convince the reader.

"The Loss", "The Search" and "The Return" are in the form of love lyrics between the soul and God, but fail as poems as they remain statements rather than a record of felt or imaginary experiences of the persona. Many of the poems in this section appear as written on set themes, with little or no individual participation, and an overall tone of generalized observation. "Inundations", with its ark-shaped stanzas shows Harvey's preoccupation with typology as he describes Noah's flood and the Crucifixion. "Sin", a definition poem, is successful up to a point as Harvey points out precisely that it is a definition poem, ending with sin summed up as "the quintessence of evil" after proceeding through a number of possible definitions, and with no reference to the persona's attitude or experience of sin. "Travels at Home" and "The Journey" are typical of the emblematic journey poems favoured by Quarles, and contain many of the commonplaces beloved by the emblem writers, as in these lines from "A Journey":

Life is a journey: From our mother's wombs,
As houses we set out, and in our tombs,
As Inns, we rest, till it be time to rise. (ll. 1-3).

The final poem of the volume, "Engines", is uncompromisingly dogmatic in its tone, with the persona of poems such as "Confusion"

rejected for the unambiguous authorial voice. The virtues Faith, Hope, and Love are described in turn, but described as abstracts not as concepts relevant to the life of an individual. Harvey comes closest to Herbert in stanza 5:

Faith can raise earth to heaven, or draw down
Heaven to earth, make both extremes to meet,
Felicity and misery, can crown
Reproach with honour, season sour with sweet
Nothing's impossible to faith: a man
May do all things that he believes he can.

(11. 25-30).

Here Harvey attempts to emulate Herbert's spatial imagery, and his technique of juxtaposing contrasts: the tone, however, remains that of the moralising teacher, with the stress on general statement and little sense of individual conviction or involvement.

This last section of The Synagogue comes closest to Herbert's poetry: like The Temple it contains echoes of the Psalms, and many poems follow the structure of the religious meditation. What is lacking, however, is the sense of a sustained persona functioning as participant. Harvey's persona is always an outsider, rarely both commenting upon and acting out experience, while Herbert achieves a persona which is simultaneously involved and removed. Harvey's central figure remains the instructing authorial voice, and his poetry lacks the element of psychological coherence, the impression of the mind working through a thought. This element is a crucial feature of The Temple, but in The Synagogue it appears only rarely, in poems such as "Confusion" and "The Resurrection, or Easter Day".

Rosamond Tuve writes of the importance of "significance" in Herbert's poetry:

Herbert's unselfconscious exhibition is a way of looking at life and truth, which is at the very heart of the aesthetic experience: he reads the

spirit in the letter. Not into, but in; he writes in symbols because he thus sees the world, both outside and inside himself: he sees it as a web of significances, not as a collection of phenomena which we may either endow with significance or leave unendowed.²⁹

This observation aptly sums up the crucial difference between the poetic techniques of the two authors: Herbert's poetry conveys an impression of involvement and immediacy, while Harvey is content to "endow with significance" literal objects or experiences. The element of the participation of the persona is absent in the more literal The Synagogue, and to a large extent the persona constructed by Harvey accounts for this. Particularly in the later poems, Harvey's role is that of Anglican propagandist: within his chosen metaphor he is the teacher in the synagogue, instructing rather than recording experience. He portrays a prescribed rather than experiential view of life, keeping to the letter of religion with a literalism and self-consciousness that are absent from Herbert's verse.

The Synagogue, while coming nowhere near to the standard of poetry in The Temple, illustrates how a less original poet attempts to imitate Herbert's work, not only in poetic technique and religious content, but also in the use of a central connecting metaphor, and a persona appropriate to this. The Synagogue in general is inferior to Schola Cordis as lyric poetry, and its main interest lies in the way in which a more literal minded and politically committed writer attempts to adapt a work as eclectic as The Temple, which has appealed to writers of many different religious persuasions. The overall impression of the work, however, remains its external character, with Harvey as the instructor of the Anglican religion, laying down the law; a firm and insistent guide pointing out the true path of religion, as this suitably unpoetical comparison of Herbert and Harvey by one

R. Langford intimates:

He that doth imitate must comprehend
Verse, Matter, Order, Titles, Spirit, Wit;
For these all our Church-Poet doth intend,
And he who hath thus Imitation writ
O glory of the time! Best English singer
Happy both he the hand, and thou the Finger.³⁰

CHAPTER FOUR

RICHARD CRASHAW'S STEPS TO THE TEMPLE:

THE DEATH OF THE SELF

The "Author's Motto" prefaced to Steps to the Temple reads

Live Jesus, Live, and let it bee
My life to dye, for love of thee,¹

and contains in little the predominant themes of Crashaw's religious poetry: the love of God and the "death" of the self. Throughout the poet's work the self is portrayed as a hindrance to true union with Christ, as these lines from "The Flaming Heart" illustrate:

Still live in me this loving strife
Of living DEATH and dying LIFE.
For while thou sweetly slayest me
Dead to my selfe, I live in Thee.

This concern of Crashaw's is obviously similar to Herbert's pre-occupation with dissolving the distinction between "mine" and "thine" in The Temple, but an examination of the sentiments found in Herbert's "The Dedication" reveals some essential differences between the two poets.

In "The Dedication", Herbert's poems, his "first fruits" are offered up to God, while at the same time the poet denies any exclusive right to authorship, claiming God as the true author. The stress in these lines, however, is on the praise that the poet and his songs can make together, and on the profit of these lines to future readers:

... Accept of them and me,
And make us strive, who shall sing best thy name.
Turn their eyes hither, who shall make a gain:
Theirs, who shall hurt themselves or me, refrain.

While Crashaw asks for a release from the self, Herbert's plea is more positive: he does not simply ask for the self to be taken away, but

works through and with this self, setting up an active persona which is developed throughout the poems. In Crashaw's poems the persona is very much in the background, and the poetry has an air of remoteness about it. Rather than engaging the reader's participation, as Herbert does, Crashaw creates a private universe which is somewhat less than accessible.

The title Steps to the Temple, first published in 1646², whether it be that of Crashaw or his editor, suggests an obvious connection with Herbert's work, as do the frontispieces of the early editions of both works which contain similar representations of temples. Crashaw was often linked with Herbert by contemporaries: David Lloyd writes of Crashaw at Cambridge "where he was esteemed the other Herbert of our Church", and in the preface to Steps to the Temple he is termed "Herbert's second but equall". Clement Barksdale in Nympha Librethis, or the Cotswold Muse, published in 1651, also notes the link between the two poets:

When into Herbert's Temple I ascend
By Crashaw's steps, I do resolve to mend
My lighter verse, and my low notes to raise,
And in high accent sing my Maker's praise.
Mean while these sacred poems in my sight
I place, and read, that I may learn to write.³

Joseph Beaumont, a friend of Crashaw's at Cambridge, includes both Herbert and Crashaw as poets singled out for praise in Canto IV of his Psyche. After speaking of Pindar and the classical poets he writes of Herbert as the model for the religious lyric poet:

Yet neither of their Empires was so vast
But they left Herbert too, full room to reign;
Who Lyric's pure and precious Metal cast
In holier moulds, and nobly durst maintain
Devotion in Verse, whilst by the spheres
He tunes his Lute, and plays to Heavenly ears.⁴

Crashaw is then referred to as the skilled craftsman of religious

poetry: " Witness those polished Temple steps, which now/Stand as the ladder to thy mounting fame".

Like Herbert, Crashaw's "saintly" life became proverbial, as these lines from Cowley's Ode of 1656 indicate:

Poet and Saint! to thee alone are given
The two most sacred names of Earth and Heaven.
The hard and rarest union which can be
Next that of Godhead with humanity.

Thomas Car also conveys this reverential attitude:

... May we guess his heart
By what his lips bring forth, his only part
Is God and godly thoughts⁵

and this way of viewing Crashaw has influenced many twentieth century critics. Austin Warren writes that "Crashaw's poetic development must not be conceived of as disjunct from his spiritual", and Ruth Wallerstein shares the same conviction: "In no poet are the art and the inner development more deeply bound up in each other than in Richard Crashaw"⁶. Despite this similar hagiographical treatment of their lives, however, little has been written on the connection between the poetry of Herbert and Crashaw. Martin finds Herbert's influence minimal, and both Wallerstein and Warren give more space to the influence of Marino.

The exception is Swanston's article, "The Second Temple", where he questions the idea of Herbert as Crashaw's "guide":

It has been generally assumed that there is an element of self-deception in the title of Crashaw's volume: that while he may have felt himself under compliment to Herbert, he has not persuaded his readers of the existence of that debt. The evidence in support of Crashaw's conception of Herbert as his guide in poetry thus claims fresh examination.⁷

Swanston finds three main areas of resemblance between the two poets:

technical features, such as the technique of unremitting contrast which he attributes to Herbert rather than Marino, constructive conceits, finding "grotesque" imagery in both poets, influenced in part by the techniques of meditation, and the general attitude towards heavenly and earthly objects, with a stress on ~~the~~ central logos being characteristic of both.

However, while Swanston points out some interesting verbal echoes of Herbert within Crashaw's poetry, his theory of the similarity between the two poets does not ring quite true. Much of what he terms "Herbertian" imagery is not peculiar to Herbert, but observable in many other English religious poets such as Southwell, Beaumont, Wither, Hall and Quarles. The focus on a central logos is fundamental to the structure of the religious poem, which must represent the Word as All. The value of Swanston's article lies in the fact that it places Crashaw's poetry in a specifically English context, rather than the Continental and Marinistic perspective favoured by earlier critics.

Both Praz and Grierson stress Crashaw's continental allegiance⁸, while the influence of the Jesuit writers and Marino is stressed in Warren, White and Wallerstein. Wylie Sypher also draws a contrast between Donne and Crashaw: "Crashaw's notoriously literal images - the tears that move upwards, the walking baths in the Magdalen's eyes - are not, like Donne's understatements, ironic, they are the generous overstatement of a piety free to worship images without a bad conscience."⁹ Counter Reformation imagery, however, was not exclusively continental, and "generous overstatement" flourishes among English religious poetry of the day, finding its roots in the opulent language of commentaries and translations of the Song of Songs. Crashaw had English precedents for his concentration upon women saints as well as Marino's sequence "Maddalena ai piedi di Cristo": Southwell

had produced The Female Glory in 1635. An examination of the contents of a work such as Farr's anthology of religious poetry shows many poems written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the Virgin and Mary Magdalene. Joseph Beaumont's Psyche, or Love's Mystery, in XXIV Cantos: Displaying the Intercourse Betwixt Christ and the Soul contains many verbal parallels to Crashaw's verse, an example being the following lines, where the extravagant tear imagery brings to mind "The Weeper":

Short were her Words, but large her Tears and full,
(Love-ravished Pleader's strongest Eloquence,)
For in each Eye there dwelt a fertile well,
Which, by its ever-ready influence
Confirmed her Queen of Weepers: ne'er was seen
A more bedewed thing than Magdalen.¹⁰

The poetry of Francis Quarles, Robert Southwell and Giles Fletcher abounds in just those elements of the baroque which modern readers have found so eccentric and distasteful in Crashaw.

Not only Catholic writers wrote in this extravagant vein; William Crashaw translated many Jesuit poems, Christopher Harvey produced an Anglican version of the Schola Cordis emblem books, and Francis Rous, a leading Cromwellian peer, produced in 1635 The Mystical Marriage: or Experimental Discourses of the Heavenly Marriage between the soul and her Saviour. There would appear to be ample support in examples such as these for John Peter's conclusion that "to align Crashaw with his English compeers seems to me a more just and natural procedure than to treat him as an expatriated exotic who wrote in a private and Italianate idiom of his own."¹¹

Crashaw's supposed debt to Herbert can, therefore, be seen to have a much wider basis, in that many of the images and techniques used by both poets are widely exploited by other religious poets of the day. Although Crashaw's verse does have some elements in common with

Herbert's, it would seem more profitable to stress how this second Temple is unlike the first. The titles of the two works epitomise the main difference between them: Herbert's temple is a personal one, the heart of man, whereas Crashaw's steps are aids to devotion, where the poet's role is that of guide rather than participant. An examination of the types of poem contained in the two volumes reinforces this impression: The Temple is composed almost entirely of lyrics on personal emotion and response, whereas Crashaw's volume contains such diverse elements as epigrams, lyrics, hymns, translations of Latin hymns, a translation from Marino, and a debate between Crashaw and Cowley "On Hope". Crashaw's work appears as altogether more ceremonial and less immediate than Herbert's, no central voice is portrayed and the work's main impression is that of a collection of exercises. The differences between the two works are manifold, but three main areas of dissimilarity can be observed: ornamentation and style, the accessibility of the poetry, and the presentation or lack of presentation of that persona or "self" which is so much a hallmark of The Temple.

I Ornamentation and Style

John Donne, in the "Devotions", writes of God as author:

Thou art a direct God, may I not say a literall
God, a God that wouldest be understood literally,
and according to the plaine sense of all that thou
saiest? But thou art also ... a figurative, a
metaphoricall God too: A God in whose words there
is such a height of figures, such voyages, such
peregrinations to fetch remote and precious metaphors,
such extensions, such spreadings, such curtains of
Allegories, such third Heaven of Hyperboles, so
harmonious Eloquotions as all prophane Authors seeme
of the seed of the Serpent that creepes, thou art the

dove that flies. O what words but thine can
express the inexpressible texture and composition
of thy word.¹²

The devotional poets of the seventeenth-century could utilise both plainness and ornamentation as appropriate to the writing of religious poetry: Herbert's work exemplifies the plain style at its best, while Crashaw's highflown verse relies on a highly ornate and convoluted style. The styles are poles apart, and a more absolute contrast than that of Herbert's "The Collar" with the opulent "The Weeper" is difficult to imagine.

In the "Jordan" poems Herbert, outlining his attitude towards religious poetry, stresses the importance of an accessible style, criticising obscurity: "Must all be vail'd, while he that reades, divines,/ Catching the sense at two removes", and the first stanza of "Jordan II," describing the style Herbert has abandoned, could serve as a comment upon Crashaw's poetry:

When first my lines of heav'nly joyes made mention,
Such was their lustre, they did so excell,
That I sought out quaint words, and trim invention;
My thoughts began to burnish, sprout and swell,
Curling with metaphors a plain intention
Decking the sense, as if it were to sell.

"Quaint words" are hard to find in The Temple, while Crashaw's work abounds in them. The essential stylistic difference between the two poets is that Herbert employs a technique of plainness, understatement and anticipation, while Crashaw exults in "the wit of love"¹³, and in luscious ornament and exaggeration. Crashaw's verse at its best has an aerial quality where the expansive and fluid imagery creates an ethereal and beautiful vision, but at its worst, and all too often, the "sense" of the poem becomes lost under the weight of the imagery.

Crashaw saw the ornate style as highly desirable in the writing of religious poetry, as these lines from the preface to Epigrammatum

Sacrorum Liber of 1634 illustrate:

Not assuredly than this kind of writing,
provided it have sufficiently discharged its
proper functions, could anything be more suitable
to theological leisure, for in it without a doubt
the very substance of theology being overlaid
with poetic grace, sets off its grandeur by
loveliness.¹⁴

Many of Crashaw's contemporaries praised the craftsmanship of his art,
notably Cowley in his Ode and Joseph Beaumont in Psyche, where he
writes of Crashaw,

Fair had my Psyche been, had she at first
By thy judicious hand been drest and nurst.¹⁵

Undoubtedly, Crashaw's verse has a sensuous beauty which The
Temple never comes near to, and the repeated images of eyes, tears,
colour, stars, sun, light and their like heighten this impression of
luxuriance. Crashaw has a remarkable ability to create a change of
mood within a few lines, an instance of this occurs in these famous
lines from "The Weeper":

Not in the Evenings Eyes
When they red with weeping are,
For the Sun that dyes,
Sits sorrow with a face so faire
Nowhere but heere did ever meet
Sweetnesse so sad, sadnes so sweet.

The personification of evening, the blush of colour over the face of
the sky, the religious allegory in the dying "Sun", the contrast be-
tween sweetness and sadness, all these images are contracted to the
"heere" of the weeper, Mary Magdalene. At his best, Crashaw can
combine his skill for epigram and condensed image with sensuous
imagery to produce an imprecision of mood which results in the ethereal
quality of much of his poetry.

Crashaw has often been compared to Swinburne and Shelley in view
of his skill in imagery, creation of mood and the musical power of his

verse. Many of these effects are due to the repetition of certain images throughout Crashaw's verse, extensively analysed by G. Walton Williams¹⁶. One of the poems where what may be described as Crashaw's incantatory powers in verse is evident is "To The Name of Jesus" in Carmen Deo Nostro, where many of what Williams calls Crashaw's "Talismans" or favoured images are in evidence, and the thought is advanced by these iterative images. The same principle is observable in a poem from Steps to the Temple, "On the Assumption".

In the first section (lines 1-6), the stress is upon the senses of sound and sight: "Hark! she is called" focuses the event in the present, the call is coming now, and the reader is then presented with a series of beautiful images of light. The Virgin is "A peere of heavenly Light", purer even than the stars that act as lamps to light her. The light imagery is elaborated further in "christall orbs" and "milky way", and the lines convey a sense of upward movement: the call comes from above, and the Virgin is drawn up towards the regions of light.

Line 6 recalls the sense of sound with the repetition of "Hark":

Shee's call'd againe, harke how th' immortall Dove
Sighs to his silver mate.

The delicacy of imagery in the first section is continued here, "sigh" is a half sound, and "silver" a shifting indeterminate colour, reflecting light. This second section (ll. 7-18) is modelled on the Song of Songs, with Christ as the soul's true love, and Crashaw characteristically includes the "Come away" refrain so prevalent in the love lyrics of the day. Again light and sweetness are stressed, as is the rise of light along with Mary, upwards from Earth to Heaven.

In the third section (ll. 19-26) the mood collapses as the delicacy of the light imagery is replaced by the heavy sounds of "must"

(l. 21) and "cannot" (l. 22), and the insistent repetition of "Heaven" in these lines. The light becomes more definite, golden and bright:

Goe then, goe (glorious) on the golden wings
Of the bright youth of Heaven, that sings
Under so sweet a burden

and the theme of the poets' song on earth is introduced. The alliteration of l. 29 is awkward, "Haile holy Queene of humble hearts", especially so when compared to earlier lines such as "Then the chaste stars, whose choice Lamps came to light her" (l. 4), and the repetitious rhymes of light, bright, delight and sight (ll. 31-34) produce an effect that is rather cloying. The impression left is one of a darkened world which Crashaw, unlike Vaughan, seems unable to write about. His vision has disappeared with the light into Heaven, and the poem ends with a traditional stress on the importance of praising the name of the Virgin, and finally with a rather prosaic eulogy:

Live Crowne of Women, Queen of men:
Live Mistris of our Song, and when
Our weak desires have done their best,
Sweet Angels come, and sing the rest.

The poem displays many characteristic features of Crashaw's writing: it contains passages of rhapsodic beauty which the poet is unable to sustain, but it becomes repetitious and collapses into prosaic versified dogma. At his best, Crashaw makes two responses work, the conceptual and the aesthetic, as in poems such as "On the still surviving marks of our Saviour's wounds", where the sense of the images as well as their sensuousness is brought out. Sometimes, however, the imagery does appear to take over, and the sense disappears. Again the connection has been made by critics with Shelley and Swinburne; Francis Thompson writes "The metaphysical school, like Shelley, loved imagery for its own sake"¹⁷, and sees Crashaw as the highest peak of the meta-

physical school, and it is clear that Crashaw's fascination with various images can often lead to obscurity or a sense of cloying exaggeration.

Johnson, in his Life of Cowley, launches into a characteristic attack on the metaphysical poets:

The sublime was not within their reach. They never attempted that comprehension and expanse of mind, which at once filled the whole mind, and of which the first effect is sudden astonishment, and the second rational admiration. Sublimity is produced by aggregation, and littleness by dispersion. Great thoughts are always general, and consist in positions not limited by exceptions, and in descriptions not descending to minuteness. It is with great propriety that subtlety, which in its original import means oxility of particles, is taken, in its metaphorical meaning, for nicety of distinction. Those writers who lay on the watch for novelty could have little hope for greatness: for great things cannot have escaped former observation. Their attempts were always analytic; they broke every image into fragments, and could no more represent, by their slender conceits and laboured particularities, the prospects of nature or the scenes of life, than he who dissects a sunbeam with a prism can exhibit the wide effulgence of a summer's noon.¹⁸

Johnson's statement illustrates the gap between the sensibility of the eighteenth-century and that of the religious poets of the seventeenth, to whom ingenuity of religious representation was considered desirable. Crashaw is certainly one of those who lay on the watch for novelty and the charge of dispersion can also be laid at his door, but paradoxically these two areas comprise both the strength and weakness of his work, and both can be attributed to a large extent to the effect of emblematic techniques upon Crashaw's poetry.

Crashaw's use of the emblem contributes to both the merit and ~~weakness~~ of his poetry: on the positive side it facilitates compactness of imagery, novelty and sensuousness, but on the negative side it can often appear static and strained. Crashaw produced his own

emblems for the first edition of Carmen Deo Nostra, and also drew extensively upon the emblem literature of the time. Some of his poems are direct verbal representation of well known emblem plates: the epigram "On the baptized Ethiopian" is a representation of a plate in Whitney, the notorious verses of "Suppose he had been tabled at thy teats" suggest an emblem of Quarles, and the woman portrayed as a weeping fountain in "The Weeper" is reminiscent of a plate from Hugo's Pia Desideria¹⁹. Many of the epigrams and larger poems are emblematic in this basic sense of containing the subjects of emblem plates, but it is the wider implications of the emblematic technique which are of greatest importance to Crashaw's work.

Bertonasco points out the relevance of the emblem to religious art:

it is apparent that the emblem lends itself to several forms of thought: not surprisingly, for this age which saw in art a two fold function, to teach and to delight, developed the emblem as a didactic tool. It can for example be an instrument of explication or psychological analysis, as it was for Donne. Or it can be an instrument of contemplation, as it almost always was for Crashaw.²⁰

The type of contemplation encouraged by the emblem is summed up in these lines from Quarles:

Look not upon this World: for things appear
In false proportion: All's deceitful here.²¹

Emblematic art works on the Pauline assumption of seeing through a glass, darkly, and much of its non-naturalistic aspect is accounted for in this search for the divine perspective in earthly vision.

The relevance of this way of seeing to Crashaw's art is immediately apparent, and nowhere more so than in the problematic poem, "The Weeper", a poem which has occasioned much critical comment²². It is the first of the "steps for happy souls to climb heaven by", and begins with a characteristic Crashavian paradox:

Loe where a Wounded HEART with Bleeding Eyes conspire
Is she a FLAMING Fountain, or a Weeping Fire.

These lines show Crashaw at his most incisive, conveying both his concern with reconciling opposites and his skill at blending like with unlike. The lines also bring to mind a quotation from Tesauro's Il Cannochiale: "Water and flame, once bitter rivals, are now reconciled in the Magdalen's eyes"²³.

In the first stanza, the poet addresses the "silver springs", and then proceeds with another four epithets of what we realize at the end of the stanza are Magdalene's eyes. One of the most noticeable features here is an intensity and condensation of thought amongst images which, if taken literally, are truly grotesque. The eyes are "sister" springs, and also "parents" of streams, and the continuous action of the tears is stressed, they are "ever bubbling things". The "thawing of crystall" suggests the softening action of the tears on the hardness of the heart. In the "divine" perspective, these literal objects are changed, the tears of the Magdalene are symbols of purity and devotion, ever flowing, as a constant offering to God. The importance of seeing aright through tears, and of the eyes being cleansed is reminiscent of a favourite sentiment of the emblem writers, "The way to Heav'n is through a sea of tears". Natural images of purity, such as crystal and snow, are invested with a spiritual relevance, and Magdalene is portrayed as containing the world of nature in her face.

In stanza II, the flowing movement of water and tears changes to the movement of falling stars: the eyes are not only as clear as water, but blue as the heavens, bringing a harvest of stars, and the tears are as much jewels as any stars. So far, this strongly surreal poem has contained elements of the love lyric in praising a woman's eyes, religious connotations in Magdalene and Heaven, and images of nature.

In stanza III, the first of Crashaw's many changes of direction is signalled:

But we're deceived all.

As in the emblem books, nothing is as it appears at first, and the tears of the Magdalene are not for or of this world but

Upwards thou dost weep.
Heavn's bosome drinks the gentle stream
Where th'milky rivers creep,
Thine floates above; and is the cream.
Waters above th' Heavns, what they be
We're taught best by thy TEARES of thee. (stanza IV)

This is the first of what Bertolasco terms Crashaw's "rhetorical pyrotechnics", the use of highly unusual and surprising imagery which, while it may have been equatable with reverence to the seventeenth-century mind appears as grotesque to the twentieth century, where we are more used to equating simplicity with reverence. However, even considering this difference in sensibility, the aptness of the imagery still appears rather debatable: the tears have now transformed from clear drops to stars, and have become milk, or rather the cream or richest part. The tears do not water the earth, but are sucked upwards to become the food of heaven, and the relevance of the Magdalene on earth is that her tears teach the importance of weeping to others. Clearly, a literal representation of these images appears ridiculous, especially when elaborated into the notorious lines of stanza V. While the image of the tears as cream may hold some validity in the divine perspective encouraged by emblem, the image of the Cherub appears grotesque, and the final lines of stanza V,

And his song
Tasts of this Breakfast all day long,

seem particularly unfortunate. However much the images owe to emblematic art, in the context of the poem they appear redundant.

It becomes clear as the poem progresses that the point is not to write a poem about the Magdalene at all, but to say the most surprising things about the tears. Stanza VI, one of the loveliest passages in Crashaw's poetry, contains the focal point of the poem: Sweetness and Sorrow are co-mingled as so often in Crashaw. The tears of the Magdalene contain both,

No where but here did ever meet
Sweetnesse so sad, sadnesse so sweet,

and the poem, which has been a series of isolated pictures, opens out into the two themes of sweetness and sorrow. In stanza VII, Sorrow's only ornaments are tears, the tears become pearls, and the next four stanzas are occupied with providing alternative views of the tears. They are likened to dew (st. VIII), balsom (st. IX) and the grape in the grotesque image of stanza XI:

This watry Blossom of thy eye
Ripe, will make the richer wine.

In all cases they are seen as superior to the elements of the natural world.

In stanza XII the tears become the wine of Heaven's feast, a somewhat more fortunate image than the cream of the cherub's breakfast, and stanza XIII returns to earth where the Great Tagus is proclaimed inferior to this "sylv" stream. Crashaw has been moving continually between earth and heaven in his imagery, showing the tears as intermediary between the two worlds; now, in stanza XIV he returns to the supposed subject, the Magdalene.

Well does the May that lyes
Smiling in thy cheekes, confesse
The April in thine eyes.
Mutual sweetnesse they expresse.
No April ere lent kinder showres,
Nor May return'd more faithful flowers.

Again, the description is completely non-naturalistic but has a certain delicate consistency and harmony that is characteristic of much of Crashaw's poetry. The idea of sweetness is returned to, and the idea of the sweetness and fruitfulness of the tears is stressed.

Stanza XV goes on to elaborate on this emblematic face: images of the cheeks and eyes are now qualified by water imagery, the tears wash and cool the already chaste cheeks, and overflow the wells of the eyes. It becomes clear that it is this "wit of love" which fascinates the poet; in his vision the Weeper does not exist as an earthly being, but as a series of symbols each representing something pertaining to the heavenly world.

Stanza XVI returns to the contrast between sweetness and sadness, "The sweet Contest" first mentioned in stanza VI. A series of oppositions are listed; woes and loves, tears and smiles, rain and sunshine, and again Crashaw stresses that these opposites are found in the one spot, the face of the weeper. Stanza XVII elaborates these oppositions into the water and fire of the epigram at the beginning of the poem:

O flouds, o fires! o suns and showres!
Mixt and made friends by love's sweet powres,

the sweetness of love has made the oppositions coexist.

In stanza XVIII, the personification of Love is developed, and he is portrayed as Cupid with a dart "That digg'd these wells, and drest this Vine". The image then changes to that of Love as Christ, the Lamb of God, but the expression of this image appears grotesque:

Vain loves avaunt! bold hands forbear!
The lamb hath dipp't his white foot here.

Crashaw then reaches the heights of extravagance when in stanza XIX Magdalene's eyes are described as "two faithfull fountaines";

Two walking baths; two weeping motions;
Portable, and compendious oceans.

The idea of the Weeper following Christ both physically and spiritually may be apt, but the image of the walking baths produces a surreal effect, and an incredulous response.

Bender writes of the emblem, "An emblem remains an emblem whether it is underwritten by allegorical verse, an explanation embedded in a long poem, a motto, a name, or even nothing"²⁴, and it is precisely this feature of the emblem which accounts for the disjointed appearance of Crashaw's poem. The images cited so far remain isolated, the only common thread being that they all stem from the theme of tears, and the poem does not flow easily but works in stops and starts, creating a rather irritating series of interruptions in the flow of thought.

All aspects of individuality in the Magdalene are destroyed, and every element of description is meant for general application. The images of the tears progress through "a wand'ring mine" (st. XXI), and "a voluntary mint, that stores/warm sylver showers where'er he goes!", while the continuousness of their action is stressed in the stars and fountains of stanza XXIII. The pearls of the tears become pearls of song rising again up to heaven in stanza XXIV, and each tear is carried away as a prize and stored by time in stanza XXV. The insistent imagery of the tears has long ago become cloying, but Crashaw continues with this line of imagery, addressing the tears as

ye bright brother,
The fugitive sons of these fair Eyes, (st. XXVIII).

The poem ends with the tears themselves answering:

We goe to meet
A worthy object, our lord's FEET. (st. XXXI).

The poem has much in common with an emblematic picture, where

various elements make up a whole, and each has a meaning. Crashaw however concentrates too exclusively upon the tears, mining a rich seam of imagery until it is completely worked out, and the images become cloying and redundant in the context of the poem. The poem appears too artificial, too much of an exercise in ingenuity to hold the reader's attention throughout; John Peters' comment on the poem stresses this aspect:

In the end our tolerance is so imposed upon, and the impression we receive is so irresistibly one of figure skating rather than of any very serious concern with "the feeling felt" that we are bound, if we are not to reserve judgement altogether and regard the poetry as utterly inaccessible, to come to an adverse conclusion.²⁵

Crashaw was by no means the only poet to write on this theme, or to use extravagant and convoluted tear imagery. Southwell, in his prose work Mary Magdalene's Funerall Teares, writes at length on this subject:

For this water hath thine hearte beene long a limbecke, sometimes distilling it out of the weedes of thy owne offences, with the fire of true contrition, Sometimes, out of the flowers of spiritual comforts with the flowers of contemplation, and now out of the bitter heartes of thy Maister's miseries, with the heate of a tender compassion Till death damne up the springes, they shall never cease running: and then shall thy soul be ferried in them to the harbour of life, that as by them it was first passed from sinne to grace, so in them it may be wafted from grace to glorie.²⁶

This technique of expounding an image which Southwell uses here is that advised by the Jesuit Henry Hawkins in his volume of prose Emblems, Parthenia Sacra, published in 1633. The following treatment of the image of a drop of dew is typical of many in Hawkins':

A little drop of Deaw falling from the Heavens, for example, on the Flowerdeluce, would seeme perhaps to you but a little round point of water, and a meer graine of Cristall, but if the Sun do but shine upon

it, Ah! what a miracle of beautie it is! while
of the one side it will look like an Orient
pearl, and being turn'd some other way become a
glowing Carbuncle, then a Saphir, and after an
Emerald, and so on an Amethyst, and al enclosed
in a nothing, or a little glasse of all the
greatest beauties of the world, that seem to be
engraven therein.²⁷

However, while this technique may work admirably in prose, its usefulness in relation to poetry is more dubious, and Crashaw's poem, with its varying perspectives upon the tears, reads more like a series of unconnected dead ends than variations upon a central theme. Indeed, the theme tends to become lost in the prolific imagery. Two contemporary poets obviously greatly influenced by "The Weeper" were Joseph Beaumont and Edward Thimbleby. Beaumont in Psyche describes Eve in terms similar to Crashaw's technique in "The Weeper":

Two garrisons were these of conquering Love,
Two founts of Life, of Spirit, of Joy, of Grace;
Two Easts in one fair Heav'n, no more above
But in the hemisphere of her own face;
Two Thrones of Gallantry; two shops of miracles;
Two shrines of Deities; two silent Oracles.²⁸

Even Beaumont, however, cannot compete with Crashaw's persistence upon one theme, and is content to leave his list of resemblances at this point.

Edward Thimbleby's "The Expostulation of St. Mary Magdalene"²⁹ contains much hyperbole similar to Crashaw's. He writes of tears as floodgates, currents, pearls and crystal wares, but his short poem has a human element and a consistency of theme which Crashaw's altogether lacks. The final stanza reads

By this the tempest of her sighs
Had all her pregnant sorrows ceased:
She closed her lips: and oped her eyes.
She wrung her hands, and beat her breast,
She wailing tore her golden hairs,
And spake the rest, more eloquent, in tears,

an eloquent silence one is grateful for after the onslaught of

Crashaw's imagery.

F.R. Leavis, writing in Revaluation on Shelley's poetry, notes "a general tendency of the images to forget the status of the metaphor or simile that introduced them, and to assume an autonomy and a right to propagate, so that we lose in confused generalisations and perspectives the perception of thought that was the ostensible *raison d'être* of the imagery"³⁰: this criticism seems of particular relevance to Crashaw, where the imagery frequently takes over from the theme. Crashaw uses a technique of image following closely on image that is theoretically similar to that of Herbert's "Prayer", but he lacks the consistency of a marked central theme which accounts for the aptness of Herbert's images in that poem. An examination of Marvell's poem "Eyes and Tears"³¹ is profitable in showing the difference between Marvell as the poet who senses what images to include in support of his theme, and Crashaw whose image clusters have a tendency to knock the whole poem off focus.

In Marvell's poem the distinction between weeping and seeing is established at once, a distinction which can only be inferred from Crashaw's "The Weeper" or its companion piece "The Tear". In stanza III the tears are seen as a guide to true seeing:

And, since the self-deluding Sight,
In a false Angle takes each hight;
These Tears, which better measure all,
Like Wat'ry Lines and Plummets fall.

Marvell "sounds out" the resemblance between the tears and their heavenly connotations; the structure of his poem is altogether clearer, and the theme more explicit than in Crashaw. Stanza IV is reminiscent of Quarles' explanatory technique:

What in the world most fair appears,
Yea even laughter, turns to Tears:
And all the Jewels which we prize,
Melt in these Pendants of the Eyes.

Crashaw has none of these "guides", his images lead on from one another with only the slightest of connections between them, and the reader finds perspectives jarring, rather than slowly changing and clearing as in Marvell's poem. Marvell conveys successfully the human element in the poem, Magdalene is described as an actual person :

(st. VIII) So Magdalen, in Tears most wise
Dissolv'd these captivating Eyes.
Whose liquid chaines could flowing meet,
To fetter her Redeemer's feet.

and analogies are filled out and given a life of their own, unlike Crashaw's which retain the impression of strained exaggeration.

Marvell's poem ends with an admirable balancing of the elements of the poem, fusing the idea of Magdalene as weeper, the sinner as penitent and the importance of tears to a true vision of God:

(st. XIX) Thus let your Streams o'erflow your Springs,
Till Eyes and Tears be the same things:
And each the other's difference bears,
These weeping Eyes, those seeing Tears.

The eyes and tears have exchanged properties, and Marvell achieves a fluidity of imagery which matches the action described by the poem. Interestingly, this stanza echoes Crashaw's epigram prefacing "The Weeper", and Crashaw is notably more successful in his epigrams than the longer poems, as the epigrams provide the perfect vehicle for displays of the wit and "conchetti" in which Crashaw's poetry abounds, but which become overworked in the longer poems.

Crashaw's poetry has often been described as "baroque", a term which has as many interpretations as exponents. A preoccupation of the "Baroque" style is the interplay between appearance and reality that it attempts to portray, and this aspect is most appropriate to Crashaw's work. Crashaw's universe appears as a part of this earth for only some of the time, it seems constantly to overflow into a perspective which

attempts to create a wider vision of reality. Herbert keeps to the confines of this world, while Crashaw does not, and Crashaw's universe is peopled more with cherubs, stars and angels than with humans.

Crashaw's poems are a collection of varied responses within an overall setting. A result of this is that sometimes the form appears loose and confused, unlike Herbert's poetry where any breakdown in form signifies spiritual failure described in the poem. This looseness and confusion is to a large extent integral to the effect of a Crashavian poem, which is one of spontaneity and precipitous impression, showing a world that is multi-faceted, full of surprises and changing perspectives.

Mario Praz sees the Baroque as a blending of music, poetry and painting: "that inextricable complexity of presentation, that one universal Art in which all arts should blend and become an indistinguishable whole"³². Crashaw was also a painter and musician, and these interests are apparent in the poetry. The similarity of many poems to the plates in the emblem books has already been noted, and Crashaw himself makes the connection between the two arts in "With a Picture sent to a friend":

I painte so ill, my peece had need to bee
Painted againe by some good poesie.

Like Marino, whose poems in The Gallery were entitled "Pittura" and "Sculpture", Crashaw makes bold use of colour in his work, red and white being the most prevalent, and his sensuous rich imagery appeals greatly to the visual sense. Like Keats, Crashaw makes much of the techniques of synesthesia, attributing the properties of one sense to another. Gombrich writes of synesthesia as "a splashing over of impressions from one sense modality to another"³³, a statement which aptly describes the technique of such poems as "A Hymne of the Nativity, sung by the

Shepherds"³⁴.

In the first stanza the shepherds introduce the main theme of the poem, the opposition between day and night and the dullness of the sun in comparison to Christ's glory. Stanza IV, spoken by Tityrus, begins with the image of "Gloomy night" lit up by the eyes of the Infant Christ, which become the East from whence the day springs. Thyrsis, in the next stanza, brings in other sense impressions than those of sight; the tactile cold of Winter and "the angry north" is transformed into the sweet colour of perfume:

By those sweet Eyes persuasive Powers,
Where he meant frosts, he scattered Flowers.

Stanza VI, spoken by both Thyrsis and Tityrus, introduces the image of Christ as phoenix in a stanza which is dominated by the sense of sight:

Wee saw thee in thy Balmy Nest,
Bright Dawne of our Eternall Day:
Wee saw thine Eyes break from the East,
And chase the trembling shades away.
Wee saw thee (and wee blest the sight)
Wee saw thee by thine owne sweet Light.

The rich imagery of the "Balmy Nest" and "Bright Dawne" are brought into heightened focus by the surge of action in lines 3-4, where the active verbs "break", "chase" and the description of the "trembling shades" give a sense of power and suddenness.

In stanza VII, Tityrus refers to the intense cold, and stanza VIII dwells on the idea of softness: Crashaw is making use here of the techniques of the religious meditation, which encouraged the exercitant to concentrate all his powers of imagination on the actual conditions of the scene, such as the intense cold of the Nativity. In stanza IX the image of snow becomes both tactile and visual as Crashaw, using the image to describe the breasts of the Virgin brings in a characteristic

paradox:

Sweet choise (said I) no way but so,
Not to lye cold, yet sleepe in snow.

Stanza X is an effective example of Crashaw's use of the paradoxes of the Christian religion, Christ is seen as containing all opposites:

Eternity shut in a span!
Summer in Winter! Day in Night!
Heaven in Earth! and God in Man!

and as the bridge between earth and heaven. Stanza XI portrays the Virgin as more precious than gold or silk, and stanza XII contains a remarkable instance of synesthaesia:

She sings thy Teares asleepe, and dips
Her kisses in thy weeping Eye,
She spreads the red leaves of thy Lips,
That in their Buds yet blushing lye.
Shee 'gainst those Mother-Diamonds tryes
The parts of her young Eagles Eyes.

The aural sense of singing is mixed with the fluid tears, the tears are described as "asleep"; Crashaw is constantly interchanging the senses here in an attempt to portray the reciprocal love of the holy Mother and Child. Stanza XIII reemphasises one of Crashaw's main themes, the difference between appearances and reality, the phrase "Slippery souls in smiling eyes" conveying this most effectively, and the final stanza conveys the strange image of the shepherds and their offerings as burning in the fire of Christ's eyes, as "our owne best sacrifice".

As well as containing much that suggests the art of the painter, Crashaw's poetry has much in common with music, as Edward Thimbleby notes in his poem "Letter to Mr. Normington":

Such heaven-like music tempers noblest rhyme,
To move still smoothly round, and never climb,
Not barely keeping but creating time.
And thus our soft-penn'd Crashaw writes, above

These toiling wits as much, in what should move
As in the choice and object of his love.³⁵

Crashaw is one of the most musical of all poets, and the poem that exemplifies this above all is "To the Name above every name, the name of Jesus, a Hymn" from "Carmen Deo Nostre". This hymn can only be described as symphonic, with Crashaw bringing in various "parts" or voices. It is Crashaw's most successful "Baroque" poem, with the looseness of its structure playing a large part in its success. In Crashaw's hymn, all the faculties of the soul and all arts are summoned to "The Aiery Shop of soul appeasing Sound", and enjoined to

Wake, in the Name
Of Him who never sleeps, All Things that Are.
Or, what's the same,
Are Musically;
Answer my Call
And come along;
Help me to meditate mine Immortal Song.

The most dominant feature of much of Crashaw's poetry is its musicality, many of the delicate rhyme schemes are the result of contrapuntal tensions within the verse, and it is one of the poet's great strengths that he is able to provide so many variations and harmonies within his work.

However, despite Wallerstein's assertion that "Crashaw gives a dominant emotion and in the end realizes a single concept through a series of figurative themes and melodic phrases that are all harmonized and subdued to that one emotion and concept", one still feels a sense of confusion in Crashaw's poems, and also a sense that, as in Swinburne,

the alliteration and music of the poem sometimes become too dominant. Crashaw's preoccupation with sounds and favourite images can occasionally result in obscurity. Austin Warren writes "Poetry exists in a tension between music and philosophy, each critic has his own recipe for the proportions of the ingredients"³⁶: In Crashaw's case the philosophy is often subordinate to the music, and the thought of the poems becomes obscure. The sweetness can become oversweet and cloying, as can the repetition of imagery, and control over the theme sometimes appears lost to enthusiastic sound effects.

Wallerstein sees Crashaw as essentially trying to transcend the impressions of the senses: "No poet seeks more than Crashaw, in the end, to absorb all sense perceptions and every fragment of authentic experience into a single vision; and no poet strives more than he to make of them all simply the instruments wherewith the seer expresses an idea to us and evokes in us a vision."³⁷. It is questionable, however, how far Crashaw does succeed in this, his vision appears rather fragmentary when compared to the steadfast singleminded vision of the love of Christ in The Temple. In The Temple the main theme, the love of God and the presence of God in the heart of every man, is stressed at every turn; in Crashaw's Steps to the Temple, while the theme is ostensibly the love of God, the reader becomes too sidetracked by the sensuous imagery for the overall idea to be sustained and predominant.

The other main attribute of the "baroque" style is its materialization of the spiritual; Wylie Sypher, like many other critics, finds this unpalatable: "Sometimes instead of elevating the flesh the baroque merely vulgarized heaven This intimacy is clever and cheap, a vernacular approach to eternity".³⁸. This aspect of the baroque has proved a stumbling block to many twentieth century critics, although Robert Adams has attempted to rehabilitate it in his

article "Taste and bad taste in Metaphysical poetry: Dylan Thomas and Richard Crashaw", where he finds the imagery comprised of social utility combined with spiritual relevance, and rejoices in the fact that "decorums wonderfully collide"³⁹. Empson writing on a poem which has occasioned much critical comment, the epigram "Suppose he had been Tabled at Thy Teates", finds the imagery grotesque and horrible: "This is to show the unearthly relation to earth of the Christ, with a sort of horror, to excite adoration"⁴⁰.

Bertonasco refutes this argument by pointing out that Empson, while he has successfully ignored the seventeenth-century intellectual background, has not dispensed with Freud; however, Bertonasco is far from unbiased himself in his attempts to protect this rather dubious poem:

If this particular epigram horrifies the modern reader rather than pleasantly startles him into a new consideration of old truths, it is chiefly because he is not accustomed to reaching to an image exclusively for its value as a symbol. Typically, it is hard for him entirely to divorce an image from its literal meaning. But during the seventeenth century the tendency to image thought and feeling was at its height, and nowhere was this more true than in religious poetry.⁴¹

Bertonasco makes too many exceptions in favour of Crashaw's poetry; while there is obviously a connection with the emblem tradition here, and the non-naturalistic elements of this convention do demand a certain readjustment of the twentieth century reader's response, Crashaw's poetry nevertheless degenerates when the internal vision loses connection with the external.

In this context, Crashaw is most successful in the Divine Epigrams, where he can use novel and startling conceits without developing them to the point of exaggeration. The epigram on Luke 7 illustrates this point:

Mere eyes flood lickes his feets faire straine,
Her haire flame lickes up that againe.
This flame thus quench't hath brighter beames,
This flood thus stained fairer streams.

Here the properties of flame and fire are skilfully interchanged, and the conceits are contained by the strict form of the epigram, preventing that over-elaboration so characteristic of "The Weeper" where non-naturalistic images become grotesque and laboured. Crashaw shares to some extent the geometrical approach to imagery advocated by Tesauro in Il Cannochiale Aristotelica, (Torino, 1670), where the properties of two traditionally linked images can be interchanged, and this interchange accounts for much of the sensuousness and balance of his best poems.

Austin Warren sees the artificiality of Crashaw's poetic world as equatable with a transcendent universe: "Crashaw's concetti, by their infidelity to nature, claim allegiance to the supernatural; his baroque imagery, engaging the senses, intimates a world which transcends them."⁴². These intimations, however, are by no means consistently of heaven. Crashaw's technique may be expressed in Milton's lines from Paradise Lost, he proceeds

By lik'ning spiritual things to corporeal forms
As may express them best,⁴³

and the question posed by Crashaw's verse is whether the type of imagery used does express the spiritual relevance supposedly suggested by it to satisfaction. The secular and sensuous elements within Crashaw's poetry often appear intrusive and the corporeal forms dominant, as one of Crashaw's contemporaries, Edward Thimbleby, notes:

I'm yet a libertine in verse, and write
Both what the spirit and the flesh indite,
Nor can be yet our Crashaw's ~~convertite~~
Methinks your mystical poetic strain
Does not so sanctify a poet's vein

As make divinity itself prophane.
 Had one no poet, but a painter been
 Of naked truth, were't not a lesser sin
 To call it Venus, than a Catherine?
 And if to feign be all in poetry,
 For my part I shall rather choose to me
 Poetic sin, than feigned sanctity.⁴⁴

Like many modern critics, Thimbleby perceives the difficulty of reconciling the flagrant eroticism in Crashaw's poetry with its religious subject. Most seventeenth-century critics of Crashaw, however, praise him for just this aspect of his work, that of bringing the conventions of the love poem to the service of religion, and he is frequently portrayed as the champion of Heaven as opposed to Parnassus. "Jo Leigh, esq.," writing in 1651, writes "Thus leaned CRASHAW's Muse proves to the eye/Parnassus lower than Mount Calvary". Similarly, Winstanley in The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets, or the Honour of Parnassus, speaks of "this devout Poet, the darling of the Muses, whose delight was the fruitful Mount Sion, more than the barren Mount Parnassus", and David Lloyd sees Crashaw as "having no other Helican than the Jordan of his eyes; no Parnassus, than the Sion where dwelled his thoughts, that made the Muses Graces, and taught Poems to do what they did of old, propagate Religion, and not so much charm as inspire the soul."⁴⁵ In this respect Crashaw is working in a long established tradition of bringing love poetry to the service of religion, a movement that was already well under way in the sixteenth-century when Thomas Brice produced this broadside of 1561-2, "Against Filthy Writing":

Tell me is Christ or Cupide Lord? doth God or Venus reigne?
 And whose are we? Whom ought we serve? I aske it,
 answer plaine,
 If wanton Venus then go forth, if Cupide, keep your trade
 If God or Christ, come back the best, or sure you
 will be made.⁴⁶

By the seventeenth-century, the question of this opposition between sacred and profane poetry had become more complex, and the two are increasingly fused. As Praz comments, "inclined as it was to the pleasures of the senses, the seventeenth century could not help using, when it came to religion, the very language of profane love, transported and sublimated: its nearest approach to God could only be a spiritualisation of sense."⁴⁷ The many lyrics based on the Song of Songs⁴⁸, the use of the Magdalene as the pattern of the perfect lover and the many poems on tears, a traditional motif of the secular love lyric, all these elements, together with the pervasive influence of the emblem books which combined images of Venus and Cupid with those of Anima, contributed to a fluidity between the motifs of the love poem and the religious poem, which Crashaw exploits to the fullest extent.

Indeed, in Crashaw's poetry there seems little distinction between the language of secular love and the language of religion, and the same images are used in both secular and religious poems. The links between the two provinces of imagery are fused in this witty epigram on Ford's tragedies:

Thou cheat'st us Ford, mak'st one seeme two by Art,
What is Love's Sacrifice, but the broken Heart.

Christ as "Love's Sacrifice" features strongly in Steps to the Temple, and while the imagery of love seeking to "break" the heart is essential to The Temple, in Crashaw it takes the form of the heart being pierced by the dart of love. The poem most illustrative of this aspect of Crashaw's work is the poem "In memory of the Vertuous and Learned Lady Madre de Teresa that sought an early Martyrdome".

The poem begins with the key word, love:

Love, thou art absolute, sole Lord
Of life and death,

with Crashaw introducing the central idea of life and death as con-

tained in love. The reader is then presented with a series of changing perspectives, from saints and soldiers of Christ and the glory of victory and heaven down to earth, and the "milky soule of a soft child", (l. 14) where Love makes his mansion. The "otherworldliness" of Teresa's way of seeing the world is brought out, death seems preferable to life to the child, although she cannot reason why:

Yet though she cannot tell you why
Shee can love and shee can dye. (ll. 23-24).

Here Crashaw introduces the second connection between love and death, a connection which runs throughout the poem, and indeed throughout the whole volume.

Teresa's desire for an early death is brought out with gentle humour in lines 56-64:

Farewell then all the world, adieu,
Teresa is no more for you:
Farewell all pleasures, sports and joyes,
Never till now esteemed toys.
Farewell what ever deare may bee,
Mother's armes, or father's knee
Farewell House, and farewell home
Shee's for the Moores and Martyrdome.

The deliberate bathos of these lines is employed constructively to create a picture of the child's naive resolve in the face of the power of Christ's love.

Line 65 halts the action of the poem with the warning "Sweet not so fast", and Teresa is turned from a precipatory and certain death "T'embrace a milder Martyrdome" (l. 68). The death destined for Teresa is not that of traditional martyrdom but:

Thou art Love's victim, and must dye
A death more misticall and high.
Into Loves hand thou shalt let fall,
A still surviving funerall. (ll. 95-98).

This "death more misticall and high" is for Crashaw a consumption devoutly to be wished, and it is characteristic of his verse that the lines convey the impression of a state somewhere between life and death, "a still surviving funerall". This creation of indeterminate states and imprecision of mood goes a long way towards accounting for the ethereal and "mystical" quality of much of Crashaw's verse.

Crashaw then launches into a long passage (ll. 79-137) extolling the virtues of this mystical death. The lines bring to mind Bernini's statue, where the angel is poised to deliver the fiery dart into the heart of the saint, and the poem contains as many changes of perspective as does the statue within its entire setting. The slow incantatory rhythm of these lines, and the repetition of certain images create an atmosphere of mysteriousness: images of light, such as "flame", "radiant", "shines", "ray", "bright", "pure" and "fire" are crossed by a line of imagery belonging to a darker region, "death", "dipt", "executioners" and "soldiers". This double implication of death as both a joy and a darkness is continued up to line 96, then Crashaw's concept of death as an ecstasy is introduced:

O how oft shall thou complaine
Of a sweet and subtile paine?
Of intollerable joyes?
Of a death in which who dyes
Loves his death, and dyes againe,
And would for ever be so slaine!
And lives and dyes, and knowes not why
To live but that he still may dy. (ll. 97-105).

The process of dying has become a continual one, and the sexual connotations of "dying" are further reinforced by the following lines where the heart and "sweetly-killing dart" kiss and embrace. It is in lines such as these that the secular and the profane become inseparable in Crashaw, this "death" is described in blatantly physical terms, and the "delicious wounds" (l. 108) show Crashaw's preoccupation with

sanguine imagery.

All these "deaths so numerous" culminate in the final death, when Teresa's soul ascends to heaven. Crashaw employs a sensuous imagery to describe this, that of the soul as incense exhaled to heaven "in a dissolving sigh" (l. 118) an image highly congenial to a poet whose ultimate aim is the negation of the self. In Crashaw's vision Teresa takes her place among "the snowy family" (l. 128) of heaven, as a contrast to the earthly family of the beginning of the poem, whom she was prepared to leave for martyrdom. The smiles of the Virgin are presented as a second but milder dart piercing the heart of the celestial Teresa. Here all woes turn to smiles:

Even thy deaths shall live, and new
Dresse the soule, which late they slew,

death has turned to life in this ethereal perspective presented by Crashaw, who is always at pains to show the contradiction between the joys of the world and the joys of heaven.

The poem closes with an account of the influence of Teresa's life on other mortals, and finishes, characteristically, stressing the importance of the death of the worldly self:

Who in death would live to see,
Must learn in life to dye like thee. (l. 182):

The whole poem is a strange mixture of a love lyric, describing the love of Christ and Teresa, and a Christian guide to mysticism, through which the poet, as an almost unseen narrator, leads us. It is a curious combination of almost fanatical involvement in the section on mystical "death", and a removed and distanced commentary.

Crashaw's preoccupation with female saints, together with this stress on a mystical dying has led some critics to take a psycho-analytic approach to his poetry⁴⁹, which, whatever it may say about

Crashaw himself, says very little about the actual poetry. Like Herbert, Crashaw sees Love as central and all-pervasive:

Christ's faith makes but one body of all soules
And love's that body's soul⁵⁰

but although he stresses, like Herbert, the sweetness of this love, the overall effect is vastly different. Crashaw uses none of the aggressive sexual imagery of Donne's Holy Sonnets, or the more passionate aspect of the Song of Songs; the ideal love portrayed in his poetry is seen as mystical and the aspect which fascinates the poet is the ultimate consummation of that love in the negation of the self.

In the "Apologie for the precedent Hymne" which follows the Teresa poem, Crashaw states "I learn't to Know that love is eloquence", and the poet's skill with language is brought out in a poem on heavenly love, "On a Prayer Booke sent to Mrs. M.R.. In this poem, which contains many verbal echoes of Herbert, the language of the prayer book is described in colourful and sensuous language; he writes of

Amorous Languishments. Luminous trances,
Sights which are not seen with eyes,

and, as in the Teresa poem,

Delicious deaths, soft exhalations
Of soule, dear and divine annihilations,

ending finally with the image of Christ as lover. This mixture of sacred and profane love is continued in his poem "On Mr. G. Herbert's book entitled "The Temple" of Sacred Poems, sent to a Gentlewoman". One wonders what the sober Herbert would have made of the "shrine/of your white hand", as the poem appears to be as much a praise of the Gentlewoman as of the book. Crashaw's description of the book is characteristically ethereal; the book is an "angell" and the verse abounds with images of imprecision, such as "sigh", "flutter" and "perfumed". It

seems that to Crashaw love, even divinest love, is inextricably bound up with the senses and with the realms of mysticism.

II A Personal Universe: the Accessibility of Crashaw's Poetry

Crashaw's translation of "In amorem divinum", an emblem poem of Hermannus Hugo, serves as an illustration of how love is essentially bound up in Crashaw's poetic universe with the mystical and the unknown:

Aeterna all love! what 'tis to love thee well,
None, but himselfe, who feels it, none can tell
But oh, what to be lov'd of thee as well,
None, not himselfe, who feeles it, none can tell.

The idea of a love that is essentially the possession of one person only reflects the exclusiveness of Crashaw's vision. Throughout his poetry one gets the sense of a highly personal universe, peopled with magical symbols and repeated images, a world as remote as possible from the concerns of everyday life. Like the world of the emblem books, every detail in Crashaw's poems has spiritual relevance, but the main impression created is that this relevance is often discernible only within the private world of the poet.

These personal images, or "talismans" as Williams⁵¹ terms them, intrude everywhere in both the secular and the religious poetry. They are often highly effective, notably in the translation of Marino's "Sospetto d'Herode", where Crashaw's images have much more force than those of the original. However, they also often detract from the dominant tone and theme of a poem, as in his versions of the "Dies Irae" and "Stabat Mater", where the insistence of Crashaw on favourite themes such as the love of God and the worship of Mary intrude upon

the essential tone of the original Latin works.

This overstressing of certain images and ideas leads to the case of Crashaw imposing a highly definitive context on the poetry, as it cannot be read without a knowledge of his symbols, and some degree of participation in his poetic vision. We are guided through the poetry by an almost invisible but insistent guide, the poet's concept of his religion; whereas with Herbert's poems the impression formed is one of spontaneously working through a poem with the persona. Keats's comment that we dislike poetry which has a palpable design upon us appears of particular relevance here: in Crashaw the reader resists many of the imposed ideas and images, whereas in Herbert the dominant idea of Christ as "preventing" all seems to follow naturally on the thought of the poem.

Warnke writes of Crashaw "For all its surface vividness, Crashaw's poetic world is like Donne's, almost completely internalised"⁵², but this internal landscape is not, as Vaughan's is in "Regeneration", designed for everyman to follow. The poems in Steps to the Temple turn on Crashaw's fascination with certain paradoxes of the Christian faith, such as that of life in death, and these are iterated over and over again. While paradox is at the core of the Christian faith, Crashaw fails to exploit this to full advantage, and is content to reiterate them rather than stress their relevance to humanity at large. In this respect, as with his constant repetition of images, Crashaw has much in common with the obsession for hieroglyphics of the emblem writers. Rosemary Freeman notes that "the emblem writers, however familiar their material might be, never wearied of explaining its significance, over and over again the point of likeness between the picture and what it stands for is stressed"⁵³, and this statement admirably describes the impression created by a reading of

"The Weeper".

Helen Gardner, writing on religious poetry, states "Propitious ages are those in which the poet can rely on his reader doing much of his work for him, seeing implications and accepting standards that the poem does not itself make and create. Less propitious ages are those in which a poem is expected to make its own field of reference."⁵⁴. In this sense, Crashaw is very much a poet of his time, much knowledge of seventeenth-century religious literature has to be secured before Crashaw's ingenuity in avoiding stock responses can be appreciated, and many subtleties of thought are missed by the general reader.

Bertonasco finds Empson guilty of this type of neglect: "Mr. Empson, even if he has ignored the seventeenth-century intellectual milieu, has surely not succeeded in ignoring his own. He has dispensed with meditative manuals and Counter Reformation theology, but unfortunately not with Freud. It is foolish to suppose that any reader can divorce a literary work from its cultural surroundings". He sees this as the reader's task, commenting that "to study Crashaw's imagery in a historical vacuum yields unsatisfactory results. No poet has suffered more than Crashaw from a failure on the part of critics to make the necessary historical orientation."⁵⁵.

However, this is overstating the case, as Herbert's poetry retains an accessibility which Crashaw's lacks; on reading a poem by Herbert the response is more immediate and the need for laborious explication minimal. Herbert's "simple" language defies the gap of centuries, and is capable of making its own field of reference even in an unpropitious age, while much of Crashaw's ornate style remains a closed book. Many images, while interesting for their historical meaning, simply do not work poetically, and the momentum of the poems is lost.

The main difference between the poems of The Temple and those of Crashaw's work is the difference between a dynamic and a static poetry. Crashaw's poetry displays an acceptance of ideas, viewed from a secure viewpoint, a world in which all is fixed, ritualistic and certain. Swanston writes that "Crashaw is far more concerned with thesis and antithesis being set down than with producing a comfortable orthodox synthesis."⁵⁶. This, however, does not seem to be the case. Crashaw employs oppositions within his poetry to illustrate the all encompassing power of God as Logos, but the impression created is not one of constant dialectical action, but of a highly contrived universe, visibly manipulated by the poet.

The lack of analysis in Crashaw's poems, and the passive tone of much of the work can also detract from the reader's response: to quote Francis Thompson, "he hymns, but does not preach: hails but does not expand."⁵⁷. Crashaw's poetry has a complacency, and an elitist perspective, as of one who has entered into a mystical, rhapsodic universe which is definitely not of this world. The main contrast between Crashaw and Herbert is the difference between an accepted and unquestioning ideology, worshipping form and ritual, and a restless, dynamic and essentially human perspective, albeit from the most conservative of Anglicans.

One of the most prevalent features of Crashaw's poetry is the almost complete lack of human interest. Donne writes of the distance of God and Man:

And can these persons meet? in such a distance,
and in such a disparagement, can these persons
meet? the Son of God and the son of man
When I consider Christ to have been from before
all beginnings, to be still the Image of the
Father, the same stamp upon the same metall, and
my self a peece of nasty copper, in which these
lines of the Image of God, which were imprinted

in me in my creation are defaced and worn,
washed and burnt, groun'd away, by my many,
and many and many sins. ⁵⁸

Yet Donne for all his consciousness of sin, manages to bridge in his verse the divide between earth and heaven, whereas Crashaw's Son of God seems to have very little in common with the son of man. The God portrayed is the God of Richard Crashaw, and of those who think like him, he makes no attempt to present a God outside the ritual of Catholicism but circumscribes him to a mysterious mystical realm. In "Description of a religious house" he writes:

The self-remembering soul sweetly recovers
Her kindred with the starrs; not basely hovers
Below, but meditates her immortal way
Home to the original source of Light and Intellectual Day.

and throughout his poetry he speaks of a home not of this world, and of a region where mystical union with God is achieved. This obsession leads the poet into imaginative flights which, while they can be exceptionally beautiful, can also be cloying and obscure, part of the poet's own private world. The world presented in Steps to the Temple is an ethereal, remote world, which none may truly enter except Richard Crashaw.

III The Depiction of the Persona in Steps To The Temple

Herbert's poem, "Marie Magdalene", presents a complete contrast from "The Weeper". The poem is not one of Herbert's most successful, yet it secures a far more immediate response than Crashaw's does. Herbert exploits paradox and antithesis at least as effectively as Crashaw,

She being stain'd her self, why did she strive
To make him clean, who could not be defil'd,

and the most marked difference from Crashaw's poem appears in the next few lines:

Why kept she not her tears for her own faults
And not his feet? Though we could dive
In tears like seas, our sinnes are pil'd
Deeper than they in words and works, and thoughts.

Herbert brings in "we" and "our", and therefore widens the perspective and applies a relevance to the poem which is not emblematic but general. In the final stanza, the Magdalene is referred to as "Deare soul", and the whole poem treats her as a person, rather than a collection of emblems. This human interest, which is also noticeable in the Thimbleby poem already referred to, is noticeably lacking in Crashaw, and his poems about St. Teresa and Mary Magdalene turn out not to be about them at all.

Herbert's vehicle for the presentation of his persona is the tension between the filial and the egotistical which is set up in the poems. In Crashaw, this tension is wholly absent, and the poetry is dominated by a sense of security and of a private Crashawian universe, which the reader does not work through or arrive at, but must accept. Crashaw's world view is a presented rather than a revealed one, the self is not portrayed as autobiographical or fluctuating in mood, but kept as much in the background as possible, as are the actual figures of the Magdalene and St. Teresa.

In such poems as "Dialogue", and "The Collar", the self is broken down rhetorically, but in order to achieve this "letting go" of the self, a complex persona must first be set up. Richard Lanham writes "if truly free of rhetoric we would be pure essence, we would retain no social dimension"⁵⁹, and this is exactly what happens to the

persona or self in Crashaw's poems. Although the "I" makes fleeting appearances in and out of the texture of the poems, no attempt is made to portray a definite persona, acting and reacting to circumstances. The poems are written on various religious subjects, not on emotions as many of Herbert's are. Vendler sees intimacy rather than ecstasy as characteristic of Herbert's verse: "A poem, for him, is only "helped to wings" when it is entirely personal, even if the personal is couched rhetorically in the abstract or the plural"⁶⁰. Crashaw is more in the role of the ecstatic, portraying an indeterminate and evasive persona, given sometimes to flights of ecstasy, sometimes to reiteration of dogma, but never felt as a dynamic presence.

A technique Crashaw makes wide use of is the rhetorical technique of "prosopopoeia", what Puttenham terms "the counterfeit in personation". He is constantly attributing human emotions to inanimate objects such as tears, stars and water. In "The Weeper" the tears are made to speak, and in "To Pontius washing his blood stained hands" the water itself weeps: "See how she weepes, and weeps, that she appeares Nothing but Teares". This practice has a surreal effect, compatible with the techniques of emblematic representation, and results in a certain impersonality in Crashaw's verse. It is as if the poet is so immersed in ritual and the symbolism of faith that reification becomes natural to him, unlike Herbert, he makes little use of typology, preferring images of objects to those of Biblical personages.

Crashaw, therefore, is not concerned with the mimesis of human passion, but with seeing the infinite in everything, occasionally at the expense of both the finite and the infinite. To quote Bertolasco, writing on "The Weeper", "Crashaw eschews the personal specific element. He does not, typically, attempt to objectify a particular moment of religious experience. Rather, the verse meditation is objective, as if

the poet were composing a meditation for Everyman⁶¹, and it is as verse meditation that critics such as Martz and Raspa see Crashaw's poetry⁶².

Raspa and Adams make much of Crashaw's application of the senses as in the techniques of the religious meditation. Adams sees Crashaw as depicting "a definition of reality which includes more than the humanly demonstrable, and how to suggest such a reality if not through the feelings imagined as appropriate to it?"⁶³. Raspa and Martz both find Crashaw using the Salesian method of meditation, with emotional responses derived from the concepts embedded in images, and the drawing out of "sweetness" from these images. Indeed, Crashaw's technique appears to have much in common with the prose techniques of St. Francis de Sales, who advocates proceeding "as a sacred Bee flies amongst the flowers of holy mysteries, to extract from them the honie of Divine Love."⁶⁴. Raspa stresses the influence upon Crashaw's poetry of the Jesuit Donati's Ars Poetica of 1631, which concentrates on complex sensory stimuli and the technique of contrast, and finds Crashaw's poetic technique one of "apprehending states rather than concretely portraying them".

Another similarity between the techniques of Salesian meditation and Crashaw's poetry is found in the fact that St. Francis suggests that colloquies might be held with insensible things, advice that Crashaw can be seen to follow up in poems such as "The Teare". Also the Salesian technique, unlike the Ignatian, urged the exercitant to abandon the things of this world, and fostered a spirit of detachment, as Bertonasco notes: "Salesian optimism, based on God's overwhelming love for man, turned the mind upward to contemplate God and his heaven, not inward to scrutinize the self, much less downward to contemplate the worms."⁶⁵.

Meditative techniques, therefore, go some way towards accounting for the lack of self-presentation in Crashaw's poetry, but as Raspa notes the connection between meditation and poetry is necessarily limited: "the contradiction between the poem and the exercise is immediately apparent. The poem was aesthetic and the exercise ascetic in character."⁶⁸. This qualification throws some doubt upon the validity of the more extensive "meditative" analyses of Crashaw's poems, such as Martz's analysis of "To the Name" in The Poetry of Meditation. What is more profitable from an examination of the effect of Salesian methods of meditation on Crashaw's poetry is the contrast between this method and the more dynamic inward scrutiny of spiritual states, which writers such as Donne and Herbert found more congenial. Barbara Lewalski writes of Calvinism that "the emphasis upon the constant scrutiny of personal emotions and feelings is a primary cause of that introspective intensity and keen psychological awareness so characteristic of the seventeenth-century religious lyrics."⁶⁷: and it is this awareness that is lacking in Crashaw, attributable in part to the influence of his apparently unquestioning acceptance of Catholicism and the techniques of Salesian meditation.

An analysis of Crashaw's version of a psalm much favoured by Protestant writers, Psalm 23, one of the poems where the "I" is to the fore, shows some essential differences between the persona presented by Crashaw and that of Herbert's speaker in The Temple. The most striking feature of this psalm is its vast difference from most other versions, such as those of Sidney and Herbert: to quote Marie Praz, "The psalm is a recitative, Herbert's hymn a plain song, but Crashaw's lyric an allegretto, a fugue, and gives the same impression of mirth as Milton's L'Allegro."⁶⁸. It is worth noting the difference between Crashaw's "allegretto" and what can be called the slow march of the version of

Psalm 23 in the Puritan Bay Psalm Book of 1640⁶⁹. Francis Quarles offered to help with the translation, but was turned down; as the author Mather declares in the preface, the Puritans believed "God's Altar needs not our polishings". The translation is the bare bones of the biblical psalm, adapted to a rigid aa bb rhyme scheme, with no amplification of imagery, and a marked stress upon plainness.

A more absolute contrast to Crashaw's version would be difficult to imagine. Crashaw's poem abounds in ornamentation, he leaves no image unelaborated, and misses no chance for personification: in the first line the poet becomes a "happy sheepe", lines 8-9 present the personifications of "Pleasure" and "Plenty", and in line 39 death is also presented in this way. The stress in the poem is on the watchfulness of this God over the persona of the poem, and the subservience of the universe to the central figure. The poem contains some of Crashaw's finest evocations of mood, which range from the joy and cheerfulness of the first lines,

Happy me! o happy sheepe!
Whom my God vouchsafes to keepe,

through the tenderness of God as lover in lines 18-19,

He calls home my soule from dying,
Strokes and tames my rabid Griefe,
And does me into life,

to the skilful evocation of the valley of the shadow of Death in lines 37-42

Where triumphant darknesse hovers
With a sable wing, that covers
Brooding Horror. Come thou Death,
Let the damp of thy dull Breath
Overshadow even the shade,
And make darknesse selfe afraid.

Throughout the poem there is a certainty that this God will never desert Crashaw, which the insistence on "my" throughout reinforces,

and the reciprocal character of the love between man and God is tenderly evoked:

Still may thy sweet mercy spread
A shady Arme above my head,
About my Paths.

The poem ends with an exquisite, indeterminate image, showing Crashaw's aerial imagery at its finest and portraying the mystical ethereal realm which the poet most desires:

There I'llle dwell for ever, there
Will I find a purer aire
To feed my Life with, there I'llle sup
Balme and Nectar in my Cup,
And thence my ripe soule will I breath
Warm into the Armes of Death.

Psalm 23 is one of Crashaw's most exquisite and successful poems: the ornamentation is appropriate to the tone of cheerfulness and joy which the poem conveys, and the central figure is accessible enough to provide a continuing focus for the reader, and carry through the momentum of the poem. Unfortunately, it is something of an exception in Crashaw's poetry, as very few poems in *Steps to the Temple* come anywhere near to this immediacy of appeal; it is as if Crashaw's increasing tendency toward form, ritual and symbol leads him away from the poet's actual feelings in response to his religion.

Richard Strier, in his article on "Crashaw's other voice", makes the interesting point that the main dialectical action can be found in poems to other people, such as "To The Countess of Denbigh", which Strier analyses. He writes of Crashaw: "For himself he could be sure, for others he could not"⁷⁰, and it is true that Crashaw comes much

closer to Donne and Herbert in these poems, contained in Delights of the Muses and Carmen Deo Nostro, than in any others. In the context of Steps to the Temple, however, Crashaw's "other voice" is noticeably silent, and the predominant voice is that of the poet as guide to those "steps for happy souls to climb Heav'n by".

As the motto to Steps to the Temple implies there is a passiveness about Crashaw's poetry, and a willingness to accept rather than examine, question or become involved. Beaumont, writing of the soul in Psyche states that "The way to live, was thus her self to kill"⁷¹, and this death of the self is the dominant impression of Crashaw's religious lyrics. Perhaps the essential difference between Crashaw and Herbert, that between the poet of ritual and ceremony, and the poet of the human heart, can best be summed up in Crashaw's own words from "Two went up into the Temple to pray":

Two went to pray? O rather say
One went to brag, th'other to pray:
One stands up close and treads on high,
Where th'other dares not send his eye,
One neerer to God's Altar trod,
The author to the Altar's God.⁷²

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SPARK WITHIN THE FLINT:

THE PERSONA OF VAUGHAN'S SILEX SCINTILLANS

I Henry Vaughan: Mystic or Propagandist?

Critical discussion of the religious poetry of Henry Vaughan has tended to focus upon Vaughan's mysticism, Hermeticism and anything else that will fall into the category "otherworldly". James Simmonds outlines this view of Vaughan in Masques of God: Form and Theme in the poems of Henry Vaughan (Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1972):

The essential Vaughan is a dreamer of ethereal dreams, a seer of cosmic and apocalyptic vision. He yearns for the perfect order of the stars, the angelic innocence of childhood, the simple faith of Abraham, the native obedience of stones and trees and birds and flowers. He is ecstatic, joyful. He saw Eternity the other night The poems and passages which do not fit into these restrictive categories will be slipped into the "V" file under "Inspiration: failure of."¹

Helen C. White states "That Vaughan had the mystic's desire for immediate contact with reality behind all the show of things, there can be, I think, no question"², and other writers captivated by Vaughan's mystic longings include E.C. Pettet, S.L. Bethell, Ross Garner and Elizabeth Holmes³. A result of this prevalent view of Vaughan is that critics have linked the unevenness of his poetry with his limited visionary powers, making for a rather fragmentary approach to his work; a prime example being the large amount of critical comment on the first seven lines of "The World", while the rest of that carefully structured poem comes in for little attention.

Frank Kermode provides a corrective to this view by stating that

the striking openings of many of Vaughan's poems are the result of literary convention rather than mystical experience. He sees Vaughan as making a poet's use of the mystic's vocabulary, stressing that his language employs archetypal rather than Hermetic or mystic imagery, and terms the practice of reading Vaughan's poetry as though it were a reflection of his inner life an "Exegetical fallacy". The next objectionable area to fall to Kermode's axe is "the critical error of refusing to treat poetry as poetry as long as it may be treated as prayer"⁴: poetry indeed is not prayer, but a record of an experience, and critics such as Martz in The Paradise Within: Studies in Vaughan, Traherne and Milton (New Haven, 1964), who takes this approach of poetry as prayer, reinforce the misconception of Vaughan as an ethereal dreamer of religious mysteries.

Vaughan, however, is no Crashaw, his suspicion of the religious ecstatic is illustrated in the following lines from his preface to the volume of prose meditations, The Mount of Olives: Or, Solitary Devotions: "I envie not their frequent ecstasies, and raptures to the third heaven; I onely wish them real, and that their actions did not tell the world they are rapt in some other place."⁵. In the preface to Silex Scintillans Vaughan hopes that his volume of poems will be "as useful now in the publicke, as it hath been to me in private"⁶, and calls his poems "hymns" written for an outward as well as an inward purpose. He wishes to "flourish not with leaf onely, but with some fruit also", and this missionary impetus adds another dimension to the picture of Vaughan as self absorbed mystic.

Vaughan's attraction to the Anglican ceremonies, his use of emblem and typology and his pronounced intention to imitate Herbert's The Temple have led to his being termed eccentric and anachronistic; Ross Garner, for example, sees Vaughan as "old fashioned even when he

wrote"⁷. This view, however, fails to take into account Vaughan's professed public purpose and self-imposed role in writing his religious poems. Vaughan is certainly eccentric in as much as he is a highly individual poet, but he is also very much a man of his time, and concerned principally with the problems of the Anglican church after 1649.

Louis Martz writes of Vaughan's religious poetry "it is as though the earthly church had vanished, and men were left to walk alone with God"⁸, and in a sense Vaughan's church had vanished. The 1649 "Act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales" meant the suppression of the Anglican religion of Herbert's day. Vaughan's brother Thomas, and his friend Thomas Powell of Cantref were amongst those to lose their livings as a result of this Act. Vaughan saw himself as filling the gap left by the Anglican preachers; his publication of Silex Scintillans in 1650 and The Mount of Olives in 1652 are volumes of propaganda in support of the Anglican religion.

Vaughan stresses the importance of ceremony and devotion being kept alive, and writes scathingly of the Puritans in the preface to The Mount of Olives: "Nor should they, who assume to themselves the glorious stile of Saints, be uncharitably moved, if we that are yet in the body, and carry our treasure in earthen vessels, have need of these helps."⁹. His attitude towards ceremony and devotion has much in common with the opinion of Archbishop Laud:

and scarce anything hath hurt religion more in these broken times than an opinion in too many men that since Rome has thrust some unnecessary and many superstitious ceremonies on the church, therefore the Reformation must have none at all. Ceremonies are the hedges that fence the substance of religion from all the indignities which profaneness and sacrilege too commonly put upon it.¹⁰

Vaughan sees his religious poems and prose works as perpetuating the Anglican forms of religion until such a time when what he sees as the

true church shall be restored.

Vaughan's beloved church had become split up and individualised, hence the alternative title of Solitary Devotions to The Mount of Olives. The church Vaughan writes for is not like the church for which Richard Baxter, (another admirer of Herbert), or George Wither could write their hymns of communal praise: Vaughan's "hymns" are for the solitary reader. In Vaughan's view the "seamless coat"¹¹ of the church is divided up, he does not write in the assured collective perspective of Herbert's time, but advises what he feels to be necessary in his own time: to watch, pray and praise. As well as being the "hymns" of the preface to Silex Scintillans¹², Vaughan's poems are also verse meditations; in the preface to The Mount of Olives Vaughan stresses the importance of prayer: "It is for thy good and for his glory, who in the days of his flesh prayed here himselfe, and both taught and commanded us to pray, that I have published this"¹³. He reminds the reader that the instructions for a religious life are to be found in Silex Scintillans: "thou hast them already as briefly delivered as possibly I could in my sacred poems", and uses his talent for satire, shown in his translation of Juvenal, to mock Puritan devotion, as in "Religion" and "The Proffer".

The difference between Vaughan and Herbert's attitude to the British church can be illustrated by a comparison of their poems carrying this title. Herbert is writing from an assured Anglican perspective, he emphasises the brightness, sweetness and order of the church:

I joye, dear Mother, when I view
Thy perfect lineaments, and hue
Both sweet and bright.

Herbert's poem verges on the smug by stressing the superiority of the British church to "she on the hills" and "she in the valley", referr-

ing to Roman Catholicism and the Calvinist church in Geneva. God, pronounces Herbert, sanctions "none but thee". Vaughan's lyric of the same name could hardly be more different, there is none of Herbert's assurance here; after the execution of Charles, the church on earth has vanished, and the world is full of "mists" and "shadows", reminiscent of the region of the "darksome statesman" of "The World". Christ, the "glorious head" referred to in the preface to Silex Scintillans, watches from the "hills of myrrh and incense"; Vaughan characteristically stresses the sense of Christ watching and waiting on the Mount of Olives, and of man in the land of darkness, looking forward, as the allusion to Canticles of the last few lines suggests, to the union of the church with Christ.

It is tempting to speculate what Vaughan's contribution to the development of the hymn might have been if he had been writing for a more secure and established church. George Herbert has considerable influence in this respect, many of his poems were anthologised in the collections of hymns published in the seventeenth century, and were later included (although in somewhat mutilated form) in the hymnals of Watts and Wesley. Some of Herbert's hymns survive in Hymns Ancient and Modern, but only one poem of Vaughan's, "Peace", has found its way into an anthology¹⁴. He is not included in Henry Playford's The Divine Companion: or David's harp new tun'd of 1701, which contained hymns by Herbert, Crashaw and Baxter amongst others. Vaughan obviously approved of the use of hymns in corporate worship, in The Mount of Olives he singles out Herbert's "Church Musicke"¹⁵ for particular praise, and although he provided no musical settings for his poems, his verse is far from lacking in musicality. Indeed some of his poems appear to have all that is required of a hymn, as do these lines from "The Storm":

So shall that storm purge this recluse
Which sinful ease made foul,
And wind, and water to thy use
Both wash, and wing my soul.

But Vaughan is never one to sustain verse form for long, the lines preceeding the above have a rhythm that would tax any singer:

Lord, then round me with weeping clouds,
And let my mind
In quick blasts sigh beneath those shrouds
A spirit-wind.

Another element in the adaptation of Herbert's poems for hymns is that his language has apparent surface simplicity, while Vaughan's language presents far more surface difficulty. Vaughan is aware of his "difficult" language, and refers to this in the preface to Silex Scintillans: "In the perusal of it you will (peradventure) observe some passages, whose history and reason may seem something remote; but were they brought nearer and plainly exposed to your view ... yet would it not conduce much to your greater advantage"¹⁶. Vaughan's missionary purpose is as a writer for a fragmented and not an established church, and for the individual reader rather than the congregation: his perspective is literary rather than popular, and as "literary" hymns his poems are superb, as they resist the temptation so many hymn writers succumb to of defining dogma, and concentrate on expression of experience. Silex Scintillans contains little versified dogma, and the stress is always on the personal rather than the institutionalised church, and it is this sense of a private and personal universe that would have proved suspect to the doctrinaire adaptor of hymns of the eighteenth-century. Wesley, who found the sentiments of Herbert's "The Elixer" too ambiguous, must have despaired at the "mystic" elements of poems such as "The Bird" and "The Night".

George Herbert could not have written his poems at a later date;

the Civil War destroyed the integrated voice achieved in The Temple, and none of his imitators ~~was~~ ever to achieve the delicate balance so characteristic of Herbert's poetry. Vaughan is by far the most successful in this respect, he does not feel constantly committed to justifying the ways of the Anglican church to men, and his poetry never deadens into dogma, as Harvey's The Synagogue does. Neither does he take the mystic path of Crashaw, due to his sense of the necessity for praise and hymn rather than for escapism. Silex Scintillans is, however, not free from partisanship, and this goes a long way towards destroying the integrated imagery central to a work modelled on The Temple: Vaughan's poetry has too much of the personal defeat of Vaughan the Royalist. Christ himself is portrayed as partisan in Silex Scintillans, as he is (although in the opposite camp), in Paradise Lost, and Vaughan's poetry as a whole presents too much of an individualised picture for the hymn book collators.

Herbert writes in "Obedience"

How happy were my part,
If some kind man would thrust his heart
Into these lines

and Vaughan answers this pleas in these lines from "The Match":

Here I join hands, and thrust my stubborn heart
Into thy deed.

Vaughan's debt to Herbert is immense, echoes of The Temple permeate most of the poems in Silex Scintillans¹⁷, although only fifteen have the same titles. However, as Joan Bennet remarks, "Herbert may have made Vaughan a poet, but he did not make him in his own image"¹⁸, and Vaughan never becomes a slavish imitator of the earlier poet. Vaughan saw a fundamental difference between his role as poet and Herbert's role: this difference is illustrated by a text which pervades Silex Scintillans, and appears on the title page of The Mount of Olives. The

text is Luke 21:36-37

Watch ye therefore and pray always, that ye may
be accounted worthy to escape all these things
that shall come to passe, and to stand before
the Sonne of Man.
And in the day time he was teaching in the temple,
and at night he went out and abode in that mount
which is called the Mount of Olives.

The ideas embodied in this text are central to an understanding of Vaughan's conception of the role of the religious poet: Herbert is seen as writing in the day, The Temple as written in the full light of the church "SO clear and bright"¹⁹: but Vaughan sees himself as writing in the "night" and constantly draws parallels between his own position and that of Christ on the Mount of Olives. To return to Martz's observation, "it is as though the earthly church had vanished, and man was left to walk alone with God", in Vaughan's poetry man does not walk with Christ in any mystical garden: he is no "Hortulan Saint"²⁰, but walks, like Christ, alone on the dark and shadowy Mount of Olives. Watching and praying become the concerns of man in this time, and these are the central concerns of Silex Scintillans. Vaughan continues Herbert's strategy of using a central connecting metaphor: his device is Silex Scintillans, a single stone of Herbert's "Temple", and the poems are poems of praise, carrying out Herbert's wish that "These stones to praise thee may not cease" ("The Altar"). Martz, however, is wrong to stress the emblematic nature of the central image: the emphasis is not so much on the purification of man's heart as on the expectancy of revelation, the concern for light in the darkness and fire in the flint.

It is this expectancy, this concern with watching and waiting which characterises Vaughan's poetry. In Silex Scintillans the stress is not on the Crucifixion, reconciliation is not sought in the Eucharistic Feast as it is in Herbert's poetry. Poems such as "The

Passion", "Dressing" and "The Holy Communion" where this imagery is employed are not Vaughan's most successful. Silex Scintillans is not marked by a stress on reconciliation of opposites, neither does it have the detailed psychological examination of emotions seen in The Temple. This can be illustrated by a comparison of the titles contained in the two works: the majority of Herbert's titles are on church ceremonies or states of mind while the majority of Vaughan's titles concern Biblical places and events, and the natural world. Herbert's concerns are those of the priest, while Vaughan's role is that of a voice speaking in the darkness, seeking reassurance from events of the past and from the "immanence" in nature.

M.M. Ross sees Herbert as departing from Hooker's synthesis, expressed in The Ecclesiastical Polity, between church and state, and moving the direction of religious poetry towards mysticism. He stresses the lack of an "analogical" awareness in Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne and Milton, and sees the central cause of this abandonment of history in the movement of the Catholic concept of the Real Presence in the Eucharist from its central position in Christian dogma. He comments that "no doubt Vaughan and Traherne in their retreat have in mind the victory of the Cromwellian revolution. And Milton has in mind the subsequent defeat of the Revolution. But to Royalist and Republican alike, the final cause of the retreat lies deeper than the immediate political event."²¹. Ross somewhat overstates his case by grouping Vaughan, Traherne, Herbert and Milton together in their "retreat": rather than taking the mystic's path, Vaughan sees himself as protecting a beleaguered religion. The Anglican church is, in Vaughan's eyes, the only true church: his explanation for its suppression is that men have thrown the world out of joint, and the times are evil. Vaughan's poetry does not dwell upon what Lewalski, writing of

Donne and Herbert, calls the "nonpersonal, incarnational focus"²², the stress is not so much on man being remade daily as on man living through a time of darkness, and awaiting revelation. Vaughan's conception of his time accounts for a pervasive sense of passive contemplation in his poetry, which is not a strong feature of The Temple.

Edmund Blunden sees Herbert's work as "narrow in comparison with Vaughan's solar, personal, flower-whispering, rainbow-browed, ubiquitous magnetic Love"²³. Blunden, however, falls into the trap of seeing Vaughan as the precursor of Wordsworth's Romantic pantheism; Vaughan may take Nature as his church now that the established church is suppressed, but he does not see God in every tree and flower, although he looks back to the Old Testament times when men did see God in bushes and clouds. He sees nature rather as fulfilling God's purpose and stresses the praise of God by creation: "There's not a tree or branch/But hath his morning hymn". Throughout the volume, the poet watches for the day when shadows will become substance. This stress on judgement and revelation rather than mercy renders Vaughan's God less accessible than Herbert's "full-ey'd love"; and although such poems as "The Night" contain beautiful descriptions of Christ as the lover, he is still remote and the union of God and his creature is anticipated in Vaughan's poetry, not achieved as in The Temple.

Margaret Bottrall also sees Herbert's poetry as limited, drawing a comparison between Vaughan and Herbert: "Visionaries and mystics are unhampered by definite creeds and speak an universal language, churchmen proceed with greater caution."²⁴. Herbert's adherence to church ceremony may seem on the surface to restrict his poetry, but in a Herbert poem, words are made to work overtime: every possible meaning of a word is extracted and used. An examination of the poem "The Temper"(I) illustrates this use of language: the title itself has a

variety of possible meanings, it can be a physical or emotional outburst of temper, or the degree of hardness or elasticity in steel. It can also mean to harden or refine steel or clay, and to mitigate circumstances, suggesting mercy. The sound of the word itself suggests "Tempest", "Temple", "Tempo" and other words are made to work equally hard for their inclusion in the poem: examples are "score", "rack" and "tent". Herbert's carefully prescribed limits work to his advantage in condensing language, and releasing multiple levels of meaning, the prime example being the metaphor of the temple itself, with its many levels of significance. The Temple, although apparently limited in its subject matter achieves a freer range of significance than the more cosmic Silex Scintillans. Vaughan's language is certainly more universal in its subject matter than Herbert's, and its concentration on the natural world achieves an aesthetic beauty which The Temple never does. This universal language, which Kermode terms "archetypal"²⁵, paradoxically limits Vaughan's range of meaning; Silex Scintillans is not controlled as The Temple is by its title metaphor, the overwhelming emphasis is on the image of the pilgrim in a shadowy landscape, and this landscape pervades all levels of meaning. Vaughan is a master of form, especially of the sinewy line Johnson thought so important; what makes his poems "difficult", uneven and occasionally obscure is not a lack of control over their structure, but the fact that the thought is often diffuse, rather than precise as Herbert's always is. The main impression left is one of a shadowy and confined world of the mind; argument in Vaughan's verse is secondary to the overall effect of the poem.

In "Providence" Herbert writes of man as "the world's high priest", and Vaughan shares this view in his poem "Christ's Nativity":
"Man is their high priest, and should rise/To offer up their

sacrifice". However, although both poets agree on this, their views on man are as a whole sharply different. This can be illustrated by a comparison of the poems entitled "Man": man, to Herbert, is "every thing/And more", "He is in little all the sphere", he is seen as the highest point of Creation. He is in harmony with Nature, "Man is one world and hath/Another to attend him". Herbert sees man as being his own home, a brave palace that God has chosen for his dwelling:

Since then, my God, thou hast
So brave a palace built; O dwell in it,
That it may dwell with thee at last.
Till then, afford us so much wit;
That, as the world serves us, we may serve thee,
And both thy servants be

where Herbert stresses the essential order and harmony that he finds in man's situation.

In Vaughan's poem, the stress is laid on the "steadfastness and state" of the creatures cleaving to their divine appointments, whereas man is depicted as restless and unsettled.

Man hath still either toys, or care,
He hath no root, nor to one place is tied,
But ever restless and irregular
About this earth doth run and ride,
He knows he hath a home, but scarce knows where,
He says it is so far
That he hath quite forgot how to go there.

The irregular verse form and rhythm points to the lack of a stable centre for man, and the poem ends with the sense of vacillation and lack of rest that was found in Herbert's "The Pulley". However, although Herbert's poetry does have this sense of vacillation, home is essentially man himself, with Christ as the indwelling spirit. Vaughan does not have the sense of assurance in man, his central theme is that of the quest, with man seen as a pilgrim in a hostile environment, looking for the true way home but catching only glimpses of it. In the world, which Vaughan sees as dark and shadowy, man must constantly

search for home: "Though we travel westward, though we embrace thornes and swet for thistles, yet the businesse of a pilgrim is to seek his countrey"²⁶.

Another aspect of Vaughan's departure from, rather than similarity to George Herbert can be seen in his attitude towards the Psalms. Herbert's debt to the Psalms as a model for The Temple is immense; both Sternhold and Hopkins' version and the metrical Psalms of Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke provided him with verse models, and the importance of the psalm form in providing a model for the idea of conflict within a hymn of praise cannot be overstressed. Vaughan, however, makes less use of the Psalms as a model, his main Biblical influences being Canticles and Revelation. His concern is with the aspects of revelation in the Psalms, as Eluned Brown observes:

"Vaughan's images of mists and shadows, masques and shades gather some force from Platonic and Neo-Platonic associations, but are more fundamentally related to the way in which God revealed or hid himself as described in the narrative of the Old Testament, and in meditation in the Psalms."²⁷. Vaughan shares the Psalmist's concern with the relationship between God and the individual, and between the individual and Nature, and the aspect of the Psalms that interests him most is that of Nature as attendant upon God. In the Psalms Vaughan chose to translate the main theme as that of Creation praising God, and they function as the hymns of praise described in the preface to Silex Scintillans. An example of this can be seen in these lines from Vaughan's translation of Psalm 65:

Thy arm did first the mountains lay
And girds thy rocky heads this day.
The most remote, who knew not thee,
At thy great works astonished be.

Vaughan's concern is not for innovative verse form, as in the

metrical translations of Sidney, he keeps to the "jog-trot" rhythms of the Old Version: his concern is to bring out the idea of Creation praising God. Vaughan's translation of Psalm 104 is again conventional in its verse form, and again Vaughan chooses a Psalm concerned with the praise and order of the natural world, (this Psalm is also the basis of Herbert's "Providence"):

O Lord my God, how many and how rare
Are thy great works. In wisdom hast thou made
Them all, and this the earth, and every blade
Of grass, we tread declare.

In lines such as these we recognize the theme of such poems as "And do they so?". Most of Vaughan's translations of the Psalms keep very closely to the Biblical versions, but the last verse of Psalm 104 is unmistakably Vaughan's:

I'll spice my thoughts with thee, and from thy word
Gather true comforts; but the wicked liver
Shall be consumed. O my soul, bless the Lord.
Yea, bless thou him for ever.

"Spice" is suggestive of the garden of Canticles, and the union of the Bridegroom with the soul which is intimated so often in Silex Scintillans, and the stress on judgement rather than mercy marks the poem as Vaughan's and not Herbert's.

Psalm 121, "Up to those bright and gladsome hills" (A.V. "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills") echoes the central concern of Silex Scintillans, the search for God in the light of the natural world. Vaughan's own additions of "bright" and "gladsome" and "He is my Pillar and my Cloud", with their references to God as the pillar of light and the cloud in which he appeared to the Israelites, have Vaughan's characteristic stress upon revelation and hidden light. Vaughan also creates his own "psalm" at the beginning of Silex Scintillans²⁸, a free fusion of Biblical texts with an emphasis upon prayer and song:

Vaughan's sacrifice is to be made with the "voice of thanksgiving", like Herbert he offers up his poems to God.

The Psalms, therefore, do have a decisive influence on Vaughan's poetry, but their importance comes from Vaughan's use of their content rather than their form. Something of Vaughan's attitude towards the Psalms can be extracted from his poem "To Mr. M.L. Upon his reduction of the Psalms into Method", where he criticises the psalmist for writing in direct response to experience, without the degree of detachment necessary for the improvement of nature by art:

You have obliged the Patriarch. And 'tis known
He is your debtor now, though for his own.
What he wrote is a medley. We can see
Confusion trespass on his piety.
Misfortunes did not only strike at him;
They charged further and oppressed his pen.
For he wrote as his crosses came, and went
By no safe rule, but by his punishment.
His quill moved by the rod; his wits and he
Did know no method, but their misery.

This concern with form and order is central to Vaughan's poetry, unlike Herbert's dictum of "Thy word is all, if we could spell", he believes in the improvement of Scripture by Art. The following lines from "The Holy Scripture" illustrate this:

O that I had deep cut in my hard heart
Each line of thee. Then would I plead in groans
Of my Lord's penning, and by sweetest art
Return upon himself the Law and Stones

Vaughan continues in the tradition of those who since the vogue for Du Bartas' L'Uranie at the beginning of the century, had been concerned with redeeming poetry from what they saw as its base and profane use. In the preface to Silex Scintillans Vaughan denounces "idle words"²⁹, stressing the importance of writing verse on religious subjects in his highly individual prose style:

good wit on a bad subject is (as Solomon said of

the fair and foolish woman) like a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, (Prov. II. 22). Nay, the more acute the author is, there is so much more the danger and death in the work. Where the sun is busie upon a dung-hill, the issue is always some unclean vermin.³⁰

Vaughan advocates leaving the dung-hills of profane subjects behind, admitting that "I myself have for many years together languished of this very sickness", and obeying God's "sacred exhortations" by writing on pious subjects.

Vaughan's poetical manifesto is contained in The Mount of Olives poems, and it is interesting to examine the connection between these and Herbert's "Jordan" poems. Both poets take a Christian symbol which is the antithesis of a more traditional poetic and pagan one: Helicon and Parnassus become Jordan and the Mount of Olives. Herbert chooses Jordan, the river in whose baptismal waters man is renewed, and which the Israelites crossed to the Promised Land. Vaughan characteristically chooses the Mount of Olives, where language becomes that of Christ, surrounded by nature. The Mount of Olives pervades Silex Scintillans to a far greater extent than Jordan does The Temple, and is central to Vaughan's poetic landscape.

Herbert's "Jordan(I)" stresses the proper and apparently simple use of language: "Nor let them punish me with losse of rime/Who plainly say, My God and King". Vaughan addresses his poem on poetic language to the Mount of Olives; placing its religious subject in direct opposition to the mistress of the love lyric he refers to the hill's "Fair brow", and asks "Shall I allow language to love/And idolise some shade or grove/Neglecting thee?". These lines are interesting in relation to the view of Vaughan as a "Nature" poet. While he recognises the beauty of nature, his purpose for poetic language is to reveal the truth, and not the shade. "Idolise" puns on idle verse: for Vaughan verse must

always be employed to its true purpose, the revelation of God. This personification of language occurs again in the following lines from "Regeneration", "And on the dumb shades Language spent/The music of her tears", where again it is not enough simply to describe the natural loveliness of the scene. In the preface to Silex Scintillans, Vaughan speaks of the "desease" of writing on profane subjects, and this is echoed in the lines "the brains fit/And mere disease".

In the second stanza, Vaughan regrets that other hills which are merely shadows have been praised in verse:

Cotswold, and Cooper's both have met
With learned swains and echo yet
Their pipes of wit,

while the Mount of Olives is far more fit for praise, having heard the voice of Christ praying to God. In stanza three, the Mount of Olives becomes the hill and fountain of the poets, both their strength and their inspiration and hope, as Christ is their spiritual rock and fountain. As in the preface, Vaughan equates good poetic language with the true religious life. Vaughan repeatedly refers to the Mount of Olives as a stage on which man must stand before coming to the knowledge of Christ's glory:

And from thence (his sufferings ended)
Unto glory
Was attended.

Stanza four, like the Psalms Vaughan chose to translate, conveys a sense of the glory of God, and his compass of all creation: the final lines refer back to Herbert's "Not to a true, but painted chair" (Jordan I) as well as referring to the local mountain of Cader Idris (Idris' chair), and also have a parallel in these lines from Herbert's "The Pilgrimage":

After so foul a journey, death is fair,
And but a chair.

"Mount of Olives (II)" is similar in structure to Herbert's "Jordan (II)", the opening lines have the same pattern, but the subjects of the poems are different. In Herbert's poem the poet describes the time "When first my lines of heav'nly joyes made mention", and how the poet became deceived by "quaint words" and "trim invention"; he goes on to describe the danger of placing art before its sacred subject: "So did I weave my self into the sense". Vaughan, however, does just this, with the confidence that the self he weaves is in the true service of God: his poem begins not with the writing of poetry but with his first apprehension of the true light of God:

When first I saw true beauty, and thy joys
Active as light, and calm without all noise
Shined on my soul,

and goes on to compare the dullness of the world with the glory of God. The poem is saturated with the imagery of Canticles, with such phrases as "rich air of sweets", "gentle gale". While Herbert's "friend" stresses the need to "copie out onely" the sweetness of love, Vaughan's emphasis is on glorifying God as artfully as possible in order to praise:

Thus fed by thee, who dost all beings nourish
My withered leaves again look green and flourish,
I shine and shelter underneath thy wing,
Where sick with love, I strive thy name to sing,
Thy glorious name, which grant I may so do
That these may be the Praise, and my joy too.

In the frontispiece to the 1655 edition of Silex Scintillans Vaughan quotes from Job, ch. 35: "Where is God my Maker, who giveth songs in the night? Who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and makes us wiser than the fowls of heaven?"³¹, and throughout Vaughan's poetry there is a sense of his poems as songs in the night,

they are flashes of light in the dark world, the spark at the centre of the flint. Vaughan is attempting to make sense of his existence in terms of his religious beliefs, and his conception of religious poetry is essentially exegetical, imposing order upon experience. Rosalie Colie writes of paradox as "the only way in which the intellect is able to grasp all the fact of the cohabitation of the finite and the infinite"³²: Vaughan's poetry is directed at discovering the infinite in the finite, and he uses the paradoxical images of light within darkness, the Mount of Olives, and "Silex Scintillans", the sparkling flint, to achieve this end³³.

II Man in Darkness: Vaughan's Contemporary Persona

Throughout Silex Scintillans Vaughan assumes the persona of "man in darkness"³⁴, seeing himself as writing not for the established church in the full light of day, but in dark times and for a persecuted church. He styles himself "Henry Vaughan, Silurist", an allusion to the tribe of the Silures who resisted the Romans and remained in hiding. Vaughan sees his time as essentially out of joint, and the persona he assumes, "man in darkness" gives him both the sense of being out of his time and yet very much in it. Vaughan was not a priest, like Herbert, stressing the relationship between God and man, but a self appointed propagandist, seeing himself as the central figure of Juvenal's tenth satire, as a man condemned to live in dark times. Vaughan terms his poems "hymns", and the emphasis throughout Silex Scintillans is on praise and prayer, watching and waiting for songs in the night.

The image of the Christian pilgrim as a man in darkness pervades Silex Scintillans, and Vaughan becomes absorbed in his metaphor to an

extent that Herbert never does in The Temple. This goes some way towards explaining the "imbalance" of Vaughan's volume when compared with The Temple. In The Temple Herbert carefully effects a perfect balance in the triangle of author, reader and subject; the relationship between man and God is his subject and he never loses sight of this fact. Vaughan and Harvey, writing from a less assured perspective, lose some of this balance: Harvey in The Synagogue destroys the delicate balance by overstressing his subject matter, the ceremony of the church, and the poetry becomes dogma. Silex Scintillans is far superior to The Synagogue, but Vaughan does become absorbed in his persona of man in darkness, and his poetry contains too much of the personalised world of "Henry Vaughan, Silurist", too much of the sense of man alone to have the assurance of The Temple.

This self-imposed role provides a helpful perspective on the predominant imagery of light and darkness within the volume. Images of light in Vaughan's poetry have often been analysed in the context of Hermetic or Neoplatonic tradition, but as always in Vaughan, the imagery is drawn fundamentally from the Bible, and has most in common with these traditions where they themselves are closest to the Bible. However, although saturated with Biblical connotations, Vaughan's imagery is above all archetypal, and the main effect of this is to provide an elemental perspective, a dark, wild country, lit up occasionally by flashes of light, providing a metaphor for the interplay between appearance and reality, as in "Death: A dialogue".

In the preface to Flores Solitudinis Vaughan writes, "Light is never so beautiful as in the presence of darkness", and much of the force of his poetry comes from this skilful use of the images of light, examples can be seen in the poems "Joy of my life" and "The Dawning". This illumination of darkness with light is of importance in Vaughan's

use of alchemical imagery: he clearly links alchemical and religious symbols in these lines, "Thou, Sun of Righteousness, with healing under thy wings, arise in my heart; refine, quicken and cherish it, make thy light to shine in the darkness and a perfect day in the dead of night"³⁵. Vaughan does not use alchemical imagery for any hidden or esoteric purpose, but adopts and assimilates key alchemical symbols into a Christian context. Thomas Vaughan wrote in Lumen de Lumine, "Salvation itself is nothing else but transmutation", and it is this aspect of the natural world as potentially transmutable that is central to Vaughan's work, the poem most illustrative of this being The Tempest.

Another technique of Vaughan's is to fuse the love imagery of Canticles and the text of Isaiah XXVI. 9 "My soul hath desired thee in the night". The influence of Canticles pervades Silex Scintillans and whether Vaughan had in mind the Catholic interpretation of the text as the mystic union of the individual soul and Christ, or the Protestant exegesis of the book as the union between Christ and his true bride, the church, there can be no doubt that Vaughan sees this union as the reconciliation at the end of the dark period of watching and waiting, as in these lines from "The British Church", where the promised union of Canticles is so eagerly anticipated:

And haste thee so
As a young roe
Upon the mount of spices.

The poem where Vaughan fuses the imagery of Canticles with night imagery most effectively is "The Night". The landscape of "The Night" is a characteristic fusion of many landscapes, being at the same time Biblical, dreamlike and contemporary. The title refers to the historic night when Nicodemus came to Christ, the dark night when

Christ walked on the Mount of Olives, the dark night of Vaughan's own time, terrestrial night and the dreamlike night when God calls to the soul. The language of this exceptionally beautiful poem creates a mood of intense stillness, and is saturated with Biblical allusion which repays examination by enriching the texture of the poem with carefully worked out complexities and inter connections in Vaughan's thoughts.

The allusion at the beginning of the poem is to the Biblical story of Nicodemus, who came to Christ at night, and the first stanza deals with this historic night when light was first perceived in the darkness. "Virgin shrine" and "sacred veil" refer to the veil of flesh hiding the true light, and also, in Vaughan's own time, the veil man has drawn over the world, keeping Christ away. Stanza two draws a parallel between the blindness of the Jews and the "land of darkness and blind eyes" referred to in "The World", of Vaughan's own contemporary night. Vaughan uses the imagery of the sun of righteousness (Malachi 4: 20); and "healing wings" and "long expected" reinforce the sense of watching and waiting which pervades the poetry.

In the third stanza Vaughan uses a natural image to describe Christ who is seen as "so rare a flower", enclosing the true light within its leaves: Vaughan's depiction of Nature often uses this idea of looking for light in the natural world. This stanza develops the sense of night as an actual place:

O who will tell me where
He found thee at that dead and silent hour,

and the search for this night becomes the quest of the pilgrim, so rarely absent from Vaughan's poetry. In the fourth stanza, the allusion of the first two lines to Exodus 24:17-18, stresses that Christ is not to be found in the temple, as he could be in Herbert's time, but in

Nature: Christ in this poem is very much alone with nature,

Where trees and herbs did watch and peep
And wonder, while the Jews did sleep,

nature alone is attendant upon Christ. As in the meditations of The Mount of Olives, Vaughan emphasises the importance of making use of the night, both the actual terrestrial night and the "night" of the dark times, and the folly of sleeping rather than watching and praying.

In the fifth stanza the night undergoes another transmutation, becoming a more generalised terrestrial night, a "stop" and "check", a respite from the clamour of the world where the soul can be alone with God. Vaughan employs a technique similar to that of Herbert's poem "Prayer", using a series of descriptions of the night: it is the "World's defeat", a victory, "Care's check and curb", a respite. "The day of spirits" contains Vaughan's characteristic paradoxical use of the light and darkness imagery: this night becomes the day of the soul. "Christ's progress" refers to Christ on the Mount of Olives, on the threshold of his heavenly kingdom, and "the hours to which high Heaven doth chime" suggests a heavenly order and purpose to the night.

The exquisite sixth stanza shows Vaughan's technique at the height of its power:

God's silent, searching flight:
When my Lord's head is filled with dew, and all
His locks are wet with the clear drops of night:
His still, soft call;
His knocking time; the soul's dumb watch,
When spirits their fair kindred catch.

One of the most striking effects of this stanza is its evocation of the still yet "searching" flight: Vaughan fuses the image of the risen Christ with healing under his wings with the folklore imagery of spirits and fairies of the night world, and the night is seen as both mysterious and healing. The imagery of the quest prevails in the

"searching flight", the "call", "knocking time" and "watch": the impression left is one of a pervasive tenderness, of Christ searching for his beloved, although the union of the two is anticipated not achieved. The sense of movement without noise predominates, noise is often seen as a distraction in Vaughan's poetry, here the only noise is the "still soft call" of Christ. The imagery of Canticles is applied in a most beautiful way in lines 2-3, effecting a sense, rare in Vaughan, of Christ as the lover, human and yet supernatural. The world of the night is full of balm, the dew and "clear drops of night" suggest the darkness reflecting the light of Christ, and shining with this dew.

In the seventh stanza Vaughan returns from this visionary night to the contemporary night, and continues his juxtapositioning of light and darkness imagery. If all the days could be as this night, man would be at home, in heaven, his quest would be over. The "loud evil days" form an effective contrast to the stillness of the previous stanza, and the "dark tent" suggests a deep stillness, a darkness containing light. The Christian pilgrim, however, is not home yet, and must still seek this rest as the word "wander" reminds us.

The eighth stanza continues the imagery of the mad rush of the world, where the sun awakes crawling things, and where the pilgrim must "wake" and "run" in accord with its senseless action. The world is guided by a false light, man is actually in darkness and errs, by the light of this day, more than he can by night, either terrestrial night or the night of rest in Christ. Again, we see how essential paradox is to Vaughan's technique.

The images of light and darkness culminate in the "deep, but dazzling darkness" of the final stanza, where the eyes grow darkened from looking at the sun. Men cannot see the true meaning of night, they

see through a glass darkly, and do not see that night is a sign of hope, a promise of revelation and glory, as was Christ's night on the Mount of Olives. The night becomes again a concrete goal, a place to be achieved, "where I in him/Might live invisible and dim": where the Christian pilgrim will not be blinded by the false lights of the world, but will find his rest in the true light of God. The sparkling flint, the light contained in the darkness is Vaughan's conception of man's spiritual home.

In The Mount of Olives Vaughan writes "Night is the mother of thoughts. And I shall add that these thoughts are stars, the scintillations and lightnings of the soul struggling with darkness. This antipathy in her is radical, for, being descended from the house of light, she hates a contrary principle"³⁶. This idea of light as a concrete force finds an interesting comparison in the writings of Vaughan's radical contemporary, Gerard Winstanley. Winstanley writes "You shall find that I shall call the whole power of darkness by the name Serpent, which dwells in and hath taken every man and woman captive, and that God through his son, Christ, will redeem his own workmanship, mankinde, from it, and destroy the serpent only"³⁷. In both writers the darkness is seen as a visible object, Winstanley has a memorable image of the serpent of darkness coiling around Adam, and blinding the spark of light within him, while in Vaughan's poetry the darkness is seen as a cloak or veil, both the veil of the flesh and the shadow of darkness cast by men in his own time, blinding men to Christ. An instance of this image occurs in "Cock-Crowing": "This veil thy full-ey'd love denies/And only gleams and fractions spies". As the borrowing of "full-ey'd love" from Herbert's "The Glance" indicates, Vaughan believed that this veil was not imposed in Herbert's day, when the church was whole and clear and bright; he sees this veil as cast over the world by the execution of the

king, and the suppression of the Anglican religion, and sees Christ as separated from men by these clouds:

O get thee wings
Or if as yet, until the clouds depart
And the day springs,
Thou think'st it good to tarry where thou art.

Interestingly, Milton, a writer from the opposite camp, was to use the same image of darkness as a veil around the world for his description of Satan in Paradise Lost.

One of the Biblical texts that Vaughan makes extensive use of in his poetry is John 3.19: "Light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their days are evil", and this text is central to what is probably Vaughan's most quoted poem, "The World". Carew's conception of Eternity in the masque 'Coelum Britannicum' of 1633 forms an interesting contrast to Vaughan's depiction. The stage directions describe the following:

Then a great cloud began to break open, out of which struck beams of light; in the midst, suspended in the air, sat Eternity on a globe, his garment was long, of a light blue, wrought all over with stars of gold, and bearing in his hand a serpent bent into a circle, with his tail in his mouth. In the firmament about him was a troop of fifteen stars, expressing the stellifying of our British heroes; but one more great and eminent than the rest, which was over his head, figured his Majesty.^{→38}

Eternity, in this chauvenistic extravaganza of flattery becomes a personification, the world is at the centre and the king, of course, directly above Eternity. Vaughan's Eternity, by contrast, is no personification, man is insignificant in comparison with this "great Ring of pure and endless light", and the insignificance of "the world and all her train" hurled around in shadows forms a marked contrast and sobering corrective to Carew's ordered universe.

The "doting lover" of the second stanza forms the first in a

series of personifications, a technique similar to Herbert's "The Quip" which also refers to the "rain-bonds" of this "merry world". The lover's "Quaintest strain" and "sour delights" of wit are those criticised by Vaughan in the preface to Silex Scintillans, where he condemns man's attraction to the "dung-hill" of profane verse. The lover "pours" his eyes upon a flower, he wastefully indulges in the "lust of eyes" (John 11:16-17), and dwells on the appearance of things rather than on the light within them.

The poem progresses from this example of "Wit's sour delight" to the "darksome statesman", moving like Milton's Satan in a "thick midnight fog". The stanza is littered with images of darkness: "clouds", "exclipses", "scowl", "mole" and "underground" being some examples. This "mole" prefers to be blind and live underground, instead of appearing in the bright light of day. The church of Cromwell's Protectorate is, in Vaughan's eyes, an "underground" church: turned away from the light of heaven, bloated and unhealthy from feeding on the "blood and tears" of Charles' execution, as opposed to the true church fed on the blood and tears of Christ with true ceremony.³⁹

The third stanza is slightly weaker than the previous two: it concentrates on more than one figure, and these are more like the shadowy figures of the masque than the lover and the statesman: the miser is pictured on his heap of rust, cherishing the tarnished rather than the true refined treasure of Christ, laying up treasure in this world which will soon turn to dust. The reference to "Thousands" reinforces the picture of the world as teeming with crawling disordered forms which Vaughan draws both in "The World" and "The Night". The epicure, placing heaven in sense is again living in darkness, for senses alone are the lusts of this world and will pass away. Meanwhile

Truth sits alone, no man comes near her, watching the darkness of this "Victory".

In stanza four the importance of weeping and singing is stressed; throughout Silex Scintillans Vaughan refers to the need for songs in the night. Most inhabitants of this dark world prefer the cloak of the flesh and the things of the senses to the spirit, and will use "no wing". The darkness of the world is again stressed in phrases such as "grots" and "caves", and "this dead and dark abode", and the shadows of this world are what men take for substance. Darkness is seen here as an active force of evil in the world, preventing men from seeing the true light, but Vaughan is at pains here, as in "Regeneration" to point out that seeing Eternity in a vision is not enough: "Thie ring the bride groom did for none provide/But for his bride". Eternity is only for the beloved of Christ, the members of the true church: the others, those of the world of darkness, will not soar into the ring.

The role of man in darkness which Vaughan assumes ties up with the pervasive idea of the Christian pilgrim. In The Mount of Olives Vaughan draws a parallel between contemporary man in a hostile world, and Christ as a pilgrim on the Mount of Olives: "the son of God himselfe (when he was here) had no place to put his head; and his servants must not think the measure too hard, seeing their master himself took up his night's lodging on the cold Mount of Olives"⁴⁰. Throughout his poetry Vaughan portrays man as a pilgrim, seeking his own country in a hostile world, and the country does not appear to be of this world, but "Far beyond the stars"⁴¹. Still, Vaughan never ceases to search, as he states in The Mount of Olives, "it is the business of a Pilgrim to seek his country".

The landscape Vaughan's pilgrim travels through is of an uncertain and changing nature, sometimes Biblical, sometimes dreamlike,

and at others the landscape of the countryside Vaughan knew around Alltyr-Esgair. In "Regeneration" all these elements of landscape are fused together, making the pilgrim's actual progress highly confusing. The pilgrim is a "ward and still in bonds": he has the promise of eternal life in Christ, but is still trapped in "These bonds, this sad captivity/This leaden state, which men call/Being and life, but is dead thrall". The pilgrim steals away down the "primrosed path", which although the most easy and pleasant way is yet "hung with shade", casting a veil of darkness between the pilgrim and the light. Then the landscape changes to the interior landscape of the pilgrim's mind, where discord and storm rule, and Vaughan characteristically likens the pilgrim to a tree nipped by frost; "Surly winds/Blasted my infant buds". Vaughan does not find it enough merely to take pleasure in the outward show of things, as the profane writers of idle verse do, and the pilgrim's "spring" is only an external show.

In the second stanza, the pilgrim, "stormed thus" perceives his spring a mere show of the real thing, and the world around him rough and hostile. Vaughan is a master of the technique Keats termed "Negative Capability"; in the first stanza the pilgrim becomes a tree or flower, in the second his eye becomes a sky, raining with grief, Vaughan constantly uses this technique, making the pilgrim figure an actual part of the landscape through which he wanders, and effects a constant dialectic between man and nature.

The pilgrim continues the perilous ascent, "twixt steps and falls", to the top of a peak where he finds a pair of scales. This image is often cited to illustrate Vaughan's supposed indebtedness to the emblem tradition; Vaughan, however, reverses the traditional emblem found in Quarles and others, the smoke and pleasures of the world weigh heavier than the pilgrim's "late pains", while in the

traditional emblem the world is as light as a bubble. Vaughan's pilgrim is weighed down by the pleasures of the world and blinded by its smoke, he still does not see clearly. The pilgrim now continues East, towards the place of rebirth, and the landscape changes from the natural to the Biblical. Jacob's bed, at the foot of the ladder to Heaven, proved a way home for the prophets of the Old Testament, but is only a respite for the pilgrim, who then "a grove descried of stately height, whose branches met/And mixed on every side". He enters this temple of nature where once again "All was changed, and a new spring/Did all my senses greet". This second spring, effected by the beauty of the natural world, is a spring of the senses, the imagery of Canticles showing nature as garlanded and spicy, provides a sense of expectation. The eyes feed greedily on this sight, and then the ear becomes aware of the noise of a fountain: but the fountain of Language is merely spending the "music of her tears" on these "dumb shades", the sense of sight overflows, unchecked, and the appearances produce only the "tears" of language, the outward show.

The pilgrim draws near this fountain, which seems to be at one and the same time a natural fountain, language and the fountain of life, Christ; and finds it full of stones. These stones can be both souls and poems, to Vaughan good verse and good living go together. Some "bright" in the light dance through the water, while others weighed down by the world cannot move: the idea is the same as those who soar into the ring of Eternity. Throughout Vaughan's poems the idea of movement is of the greatest importance, and the pilgrim must always move on.

The next sight to meet the pilgrim is a bank of flowers, where, although the full light shines some are still asleep, and miss the beauty of the scene. Then the sound of a rushing wind is heard, but

the pilgrim cannot trace it: nature, which has formed lectures for his eyes and ear seems untouched by this. The pilgrim wishes for regeneration by one breath of the spirit, and to die that he may be born again. Nature furnishes part of the process of regeneration, but the spirit blows "Where I please", and this sense of elusiveness haunts all of Vaughan's poetry.

Vaughan uses a technique similar to that of the masque, removing layers of apparent reality: and the landscape through which the pilgrim moves constantly changes from the natural world to the little world of man, and back again as the surface appearances are examined and unmasked. Vaughan, in his self-imposed role of "man in darkness" depicts the Christian pilgrim in a shadowy, unsubstantial world, which still retains a certain natural beauty. Vaughan's persona contains too much of the individual pilgrim, Vaughan, and not enough of the general Christian Everyman to be acceptable to later hymn writers: but the sense of an individual in an alien landscape which predominates in the poetry, combined with the freedom from dogma, gives the volume an immediacy of appeal which Herbert's more assured poetry does not convey.

III Orphic Hymns: Representations of Nature in Silex Scintillans

One of the most obvious differences between The Temple and Silex Scintillans is the predominance of natural imagery in Vaughan's work. Critical opinion on Vaughan cites him as the Romantic precursor of Wordsworth's pantheism, the creator of an orthodox emblematic universe, and a highly individual (and localised) "nature" poet. The nature depicted in Vaughan's poetry is not, however, the emblematic universe of Bunyan, neither is it the mystical garden of Traherne. Vaughan's

nature is unmistakably his own, but that is not to say that it is the scenery around Llansantffraed: even early poems such as "Upon the Priory Grove" and "To the River Isca" are not descriptions of local topography but classical loci. The "Welshness" of Vaughan's poetry is an interesting question; Wales may have been thought of as a land of mists and mountains, and Vaughan's knowledge of the Welsh verse techniques of cynghanedd (internal rhyme) and englynion (nature epigrams) greatly influences his use of language: but Vaughan is no fervent Celt, preferring to use the English form in his address, and sees Wales as a land of exile. The question posed by Vaughan's depiction of nature in Silex Scintillans is not how much it has to do with impulses from vernal woods, or the beauties of the Welsh landscape, but to what extent can things be determined by the preconceived complex of ideas which they are meant to represent, and how far by Vaughan's personal experience of a place.

T.S. Eliot sees Vaughan as "occupying himself in plastering nature with his own fancies"⁴², but this is slightly wide of the mark. Vaughan, like Blake, believed there is no natural religion, and feels compelled to express his experience of nature in a systematised form. This makes him no less of a nature poet: since he no longer has the forms of the church to turn to, he turns to Nature, and sees the hand of God in it. In Vaughan's poetry the general level of meaning and the locally descriptive and personally unique go hand in hand.

Thomas Browne wrote "There are two books from whence I collect my divinity, besides that written one of God, another of his servant nature: that universal and publicke Manuscript, that lies expans'd unto the eyes of all: those that never saw him in the one have discovered him in the other"⁴³, and Vaughan echoes this idea in "The Tempest":

O that man could do so, that he would hear
The world read to him, all the vast expense
In the Creation shed and slaved to sense
 Makes up but lectures for his eye and ear.

Sure, mighty love foreseeing the descent
Of this poor creature, by a gracious art
Hid in these low things snares to gain his heart
 And laid surprises in each element.

Stanley Fish makes the point that "To enjoy the things of this world is to have a rhetorical encounter with them, to use them is to have a dialectical encounter"⁴⁴; Vaughan has both, the result being a glorious lively universe, which, while constantly intimating the presence of God, never deadens into mere metaphor. The idea prevalent in Vaughan's depiction of nature is not "The idea so dear to Vaughan that man is a cosmic misfit"⁴⁵, but rather that the world is out of joint, plunged into darkness, and man must try to find the "surprises" in each element, as in the metaphor of Silex Scintillans, the sparkling flint.

Simmonds sees Vaughan's universe as essentially emblematic, stating that the stream of the "Water-fall" has as much in common with the real stream Vaughan knew as the emblematic heart of the frontispiece of Silex Scintillans has with the actual physical organ⁴⁶. However, he greatly overstates his case: Vaughan does indeed use the emblem in the sense of making the world an allegory for the eternal world, but this constitutes only a very small part of his technique. The emblematic frontispiece, despite Maetz's fondness for it, was replaced in the 1655 edition by the quotation from Job, "Where is God my Maker, who giveth songs in the night?", and it is this sense of watching and waiting for God which pervades Vaughan's depiction of Nature.

A comparison with the emblem poems of Francis Quarles shows that although Vaughan embraced Bacon's dictum "Emblem reduceth conceits intellectual to images sensible, which strike the memory more",

Vaughan's "images sensible" are not the lifeless abstractions of so much of Quarles' verse. Quarles' use of emblem is static, a blow by blow comparison of the external world with the world of the soul, as in this example:

The world's a sea; my flesh a ship that's mann'd
With laboring thoughts, and steer'd by reason's hand.
My heart's the seaman's cord, whereby she sails,
My loose affections are the greater sails.⁴⁷

There is no sense of fluidity and movement in this type of verse, a sense which pervades Vaughan's poetry. The world is seen usually in Quarles as a hostile place, best left alone:

I relish only what the world counts vain;
Her mirth's my grief; her sullen grief, my mirth,
Her light my darkness; and her truth my error,
Her freedom is my gaol; and her delight my terror.⁴⁸

Vaughan's vibrant lines deny this static concept of the world:

... the quick world
Awakes and sings:
The rising winds,
And falling springs,
Birds, beasts, all things
Adore him in their kind.

Vaughan's universe may be emblematic to a certain extent, but it is "quick" and alive, with a sense of exhilaration and joy which could never be effected by the static use of emblem, as in the poetry of Quarles and Wither: Vaughan makes wide use of the Orphic voice in Silex Scintillans, awakening the natural world to the praise of God.

Vaughan's concern with nature is not that of the pantheist finding God in every tree and flower, but in the aspect of nature watching, waiting and praising: the psalms he chose to translate deal with these aspects of nature, he sees nature as God's temple where "There's not a spring or Leaf/But hath his morning hymn". But it is the aspect of nature being attendant upon God, and the expectation of Revelation

which runs throughout Vaughan's depiction of nature, and is summed up in these lines from "The Book":

O knowing glorious spirit, when
Thou shalt restore trees, beasts and men,
When thou shalt make all new again,
Destroying only death and pain,
Give him amongst thy works a place
Who in them loved and sought thy face.

Vaughan looks forward to this time of restoration, the day of judgement when all will be truly revealed, and the sense of immanence in nature, while gathering some force from Neoplatonic tradition, stems from this sense of watching and waiting for light in the darkness.

Vaughan often refers to the shades or shadows of the natural world, as in the following lines from "I walked the other Day"

That in these masques and shadows I may see
Thy sacred way,
And by those hid ascents climb to that day
Which breaks from thee
Who art in all things, though invisibly.

The lines reinforce Vaughan's emphasis upon revelation on the day of Judgement, when shadows will receive substance, and like the masque, weave through the layers of shade and shadow.

This sense of waiting for Revelation also illuminates Vaughan's use of typology. Although Vaughan does make much of the Old Testament landscape where God appeared to man, and identifies the persona with Old Testament types such as Ishmael, thirsting for water in the desert, his typological patterns are as yet unfulfilled and incomplete.

Vaughan sees the contemporary world as evil, and separate from God; Christ is absent from the world, which will only be redeemed, as the typological patterns will be completed, in the future, at Christ's return to earth. Vaughan's passive acceptance of evil times forms an interesting comparison, once again, with Winstanley, whose active interpretation of typology saw the fulfilment of the typological

pattern as man becoming active in his own time. He follows the instruction of John Everard:

People would not so much trouble themselves about a personal reign here upon earth, if they saw that the chief and real fulfilling of the Scripture were within them; and that whatever is externally done in the world, and expressed in Scripture is but Typical and Representative.⁴⁹

Vaughan, however, is content to watch and wait.

M.M. Ross makes the following observation: "Vaughan's revival of the Neoplatonic and Cabbalistic doctrine of correspondences is no more than a shadowy substitute for analogical awareness grounded in dogma"⁵⁰. Ross sees this loss of analogical awareness as being due to the movement of the concept of Christ's presence in the Eucharist from the centre to the periphery of Christian dogma. This argument, though limited in its concentration upon the Eucharist, throws an interesting light upon the representation of Christ in the poetry of Vaughan and Harvey. Since the Anglican religion is suppressed, Christ, in Vaughan's view, must be aloof from man and time, not actively redeeming the time, but waiting. Vaughan finds his typological parallel in Christ on the Mount of Olives, waiting in the darkness but on the threshold of glory. Nature waits for Christ, and man must follow its example.

The poem illustrating Vaughan's most successful fusion of the techniques described is "The Water-fall". In the powerful opening of the poem the stream of the waterfall is described: the form of the poem, with its long and short lines, imitates the flow of the water, and the concept of time's circular rise and fall does not intrude upon, but co-exists with the delicate description of the waterfall. Only the "deep and rocky grave" suggests the poem's connection with the emblem tradition, where the waterfall is seen as a symbol of resurrection.

The parallel then becomes more explicit:

Should poor souls fear a shade of night,
Who came (sure), from a sea of light?

and, as the argument develops, Vaughan shows, as in "Regeneration", his conviction that the Spirit as well as the senses must be applied to nature:

What sublime truths and wholesome themes
Lodge in thy mystical, deep streams.
Such as dull man may never find
Unless that Spirit lead his mind,
Which first upon thy face did move,
And hatched all with his quickening love.

The poem ends with a reminder of Vaughan's "invisible" estate, but the description of the waterfall loses none of its power under the religious burden of the poem, and the impression left is one of its "cataracts and creeks".

"The Water-fall" owes much of its structure to the structure of the religious meditation, with the first twelve lines forming the composition of place, ll. 12-30 the analysis or argument, and the last four lines the resolution or colloquy. Many of Vaughan's poems, as Martz has demonstrated, derive their structure from the meditative form; "The Book" is based on a meditation on death, "And do they so?" on a meditation upon the creatures, and to a certain extent the poems can be called verse meditations. However, the main function of Vaughan's poetry is that of the hymn, praising God and the glory of God in Creation, rather than the intense intellectual argument which marks the meditative form and the poems of Donne and Herbert. Martz, in The Paradise Within sees Vaughan as a mystic concerned with Augustine's "Fields and spacious plains of my memory", but Vaughan's fields are far more real than this. A comparison with Traherne's poem "Walking" illustrates the difference between the poetry of Vaughan and

that of a more conventionally "meditative poet":

I. To walk abroad is, not with eyes
But thoughts, the fields to see and prize;
Else may the silent feet,
Like logs of wood,
Move up and down, and see no good,
Nor joy nor glory meet

IV. To walk is by a thought to go,
To move in spirit to and fro,
To mind the good we see,
To taste the sweet,
Observing all the things we meet
How choice and rich they ~~be~~.⁵¹

Although Vaughan may be said to "move in spirit", his poetry is not concerned with the morals to be extracted from trees and flowers, that is the technique of emblematic poets such as Wither. Traherne concludes:

IX While in those pleasant paths we talk
Tis that towards which we at last walk
For we may by degrees
Wisely proceed
Pleasures of love, and praise to heed,
From viewing herbs and trees.

In Vaughan's universe "trees and herbs did watch and peep/And wonder", and he does not turn to nature for moral lessons, but for the sense of wonder and awaiting revelation that he ascribes to it. The view of Vaughan as a withdrawn contemplative is inadequate, as if his love of nature had nothing to do with his hatred of the Puritans. Vaughan does not find peace by withdrawal into the self: as he records in "Regeneration" he finds discord there, and his poetry is never "self-consuming" in the way Herbert's is.

Vaughan's persona incorporates many voices: the voice of man in the darkness, the Orphic voice "quickenning the natural world", the voice of prayer, of the Psalmist, of Ishmael and of Christ, forming ultimately the highly individual voice of Henry Vaughan, which refuses to be incorporated into any one category. Vaughan's persona is

constantly searching for a home, a country that will not be found; like Christ he sees his kingdom as not of this world. The poem "The Search" has the characteristic form of a journey; like the meditation it begins with a formal composition of place:

Tis now clear day, I see a Rose
Bud in the bright east, and disclose
The Pilgrim Sun: all night have I
Spent in a roving ecstasy
To find my Saviour.

The "roving ecstasy" of which Crashaw wrote so much, has proved fruitless to Vaughan's pilgrim; he continues on his journey. He walks in the steps of the Old Testament patriarchs, to "Sychor" and "Jacob's Well", but still he finds no way to Christ, there can be no nostalgic living in the past. Then he tries the way of the Cross, the method of remembering the sacrifice of Christ so favoured by Ignatian methods of meditation, but to no avail:

Sure (then said I) my quest is vain,
He'll not be found where he was slain.

Even the wilderness provides only shades of nature, and Christ cannot be found there. The Stoic theme is strong in Vaughan's poetry, and man in darkness is compelled to live through evil times. The pilgrim is constantly searching for a home, but it is never found, and it is this sense of uncertainty and bleakness in Vaughan's poetry which rendered it unsuitable to the doctrinaire hymn collectors of the eighteenth-century:

Search well another world: who studies this
Travels in clouds, seeks manna, where none is.

CHAPTER SIX

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TEMPLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Herbert's influence on later poets has been the subject of various studies; among the most exhaustive are Helen Vendler's chapter on "Imitators and Adaptors", R.H. Ray's unpublished thesis on Herbert in the seventeenth century, and C.A. Patrides' extensive study¹. These studies have tended to concentrate upon direct verbal echoes or allusions to The Temple, although Patrides' far-reaching volume touches upon many less obviously discernible influences. A result of this interest in Herbertian "echoes" is the dangerous practice of weaving Herbert himself into the sense, as in L.L. Martz's comment on the poetry of Edward Taylor, "Like Henry Vaughan, Edward Taylor appears to have a mind saturated with Herbert's poetry, and the result is that a thousand tantalizing echoes of Herbert remain for the most part untraceable because the meditative voice of Herbert has been merged with Taylor's own peculiar voice."².

This concern with looking for the poet within the poet of the poem can lead to critics finding Herbert in every seventeenth-century religious poem written after 1633, and raises an important question on the subject of poetic "influence" in religious poetry. Drawing as it does on centuries of metaphor, symbol and image, whether from the Bible, the Church Fathers or from other poets, religious poetry operates within a certain range of expression which can all too easily be "traced" to a poet who has excelled in this mode of expression. Bloom recognizes this problem with regard to Milton's poetry, and Helen Vendler extends the metaphor to cover The Temple: the "covering cherub" presiding over Herbert's verse, the force that he must both incarnate and resist, is received religious dogma, religious literary tradition,

practice, ritual and language³.

What Herbert achieves in The Temple is a means of expressing the relationship between God and the individual soul in a direct and highly personal way. He uses well known religious images, but far from appearing jaded or hackneyed, they are always totally consistent and appropriate within the framework of The Temple. It was this portrayal of a "direct" personal relationship between man and God that made him accessible to persons of such different religious persuasions as Peter Sterry, Cromwell's chaplain, Crashaw and Richard Baxter. Baxter's often quoted statement, "heart-work and heaven-work make up his books" illustrates the idea of Herbert as directly involved in his depiction of the spiritual life. This personal tone, the portrayal of an "I" that is both narrating and examining experience, was widely imitated in the seventeenth century, but rarely sustained without falling victim to the pitfalls of either dogma or sententiousness. In this chapter I hope to indicate both the breadth of Herbert's literary appeal, and the uniqueness of his own poetic voice.

I. "Doctrine and life": the Pious Poet

The Temple, published before the outbreak of civil war, had the distinction of being claimed by all camps; Ray notes references to Herbert by Anglicans, Puritans and Nonconformists within the period 1640-1670. In a period of intense controversy over religious dogma, the poet depicting the various religious tensions between the soul and God exerted a powerful appeal. The popularity of the volume, with eleven editions published before 1678⁴, and, according to Walton, over 20,000 copies sold before 1675, bears witness to its importance as an

influence on religious poetry of the century. Patrides and Jocelyn⁵ trace the development of an idealized portrayal of Herbert up to and after Walton's hagiography of 1670, where the picture of the saintly Herbert is most glowingly painted. Walton quotes Herbert in a supposed interchange with "Mr. Woodnot": "above all, I will be sure to live well, because the vertuous life of a clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least, to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts"⁶. Precepts, however, proved an exceedingly popular legacy of Herbert's poetry: as Ray notes, "The Church Porch" was the poem most frequently alluded to in the seventeenth century, and didacticism is the keynote of works such as Harvey's The Synagogue.

Many poets wrote verse tributes to Herbert, many in execrable poetry, as Patrides notes in his collection. Herbert is hailed in a variety of epithets from John Polwhele's "Sacred Architect" to George Daniel's "Glorious Lark", both of which are cited by Patrides⁷. Perhaps the most extravagant verse tribute, however, is the following epitaph published in 1674 by the thankfully anonymous P.D., where Herbert is praised as the "Phoenix of Wales":

An Epitaph upon the Venerable George Herbert

You weeping Marbles: Monuments we trust,
As well with the Injurious, as the just
When your great trust at last shall be resign'd
And when his noble dust, shall be refind:
You shall more Gold, Mirrh, Frankinsence return,
Then shall be found in great Augustus Urn.

He was the wonder, of a better age,
(The Eclipse of this) of emptie heads, the rage
(Phoenix of Wales) of his great name, the glory,
A theam, above all verse, Beyond all story.
A plant of Paradise; which in a word,
Worms ne're shall wither, as they did the Gourd.

Go you unborn, Bedew dear HERBERTs tomb,
No more such Babes, are in Dame Nature's womb
No more such Blazing Commets shall appear,
Nor leave so happy influences here.
Go thaw your hearts at his celestial Fire,
And what you cannot comprehend, admire.

Go you dark Poems, dark even as the skies,
Make the Seales fall from our dark dazzling Eyes.
Mirrors were made to mend, not marr our sight,
Glow-worms to glitter, in the most gloomy Night.
About these glorious Regions, he is fled,
Where once, Saint Paul, was wrapt and ravished.⁸

Much of this poetic veneration of Herbert was, however, mere lip service, as Patrides points out:

The earnestness behind the continuing encomia of Herbert should not be doubted; but in practice ... the ongoing chorus of praise obscures the ever widening distance between the earlier proximity to Herbert's poetry and the evolving tendency to praise that poetry at several removes.⁹

Although frequently acknowledged as poetic mentor, Herbert's influence is often minimal in the works of his professed followers, and overshadowed by that of Crashaw, Quarles, Herrick or even Sternhold and Hopkins.

In his poem "The Dedication" Herbert voices the hope that others will profit from his work:

Turn their eyes hither who shall make a gain
Theirs who shall hurt themselves or me, refrain.

This hope is echoed in the following lines from "Obedience":

How happie were my part,
If some kinde man would thrust his heart
Into these lines; till in heav'ns court it rolls
They were by winged souls
Entred for both, farre above their desēt! (ll. 41-45).

Seeing himself as the Christian poet, with the purpose to teach and instruct, it is unlikely that Herbert would have felt as antagonistic towards his later "imitators" as Yeats, whose sentiments were "was there ever dog that praised his fleas"¹⁰. Herbert may well have had

the metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, well intentioned if somewhat unpolished, in mind when he wrote the following lines on Christian verse:

Whereas if th' heart be moved,
Although the verse be somewhat scant,
God doth supply the want.

A True Hyme, ll. 16-18.

The lines are highly relevant to much of the rather pedestrian poetry of some of Herbert's "imitators", and indicate a far more lenient attitude than that of the modern literary critic.

While Ray, Vendler and Patrides have concentrated upon more direct verbal borrowings from or allusions to The Temple, there are many other areas in which the volume influenced much seventeenth-century religious verse. Simpler diction, a direct personal approach, varied verse forms and patterns, the use of emotions as poem titles, the attempt at an autobiographical approach to the poems: all these can be seen as the legacy of Herbert. What later poets rarely achieve is the creation of the many sided persona so central to the poems of The Temple: the persona portrayed is often flat, moralising, encumbered by dogma or narrative. The sustained working through of the emotions, so characteristic of Herbert's work, is rarely attempted successfully. Herbert's contemporaries, Fish's "informed readers", inherited an awareness of the poet as subject of his own writings, a concept that Herbert skilfully develops in The Temple. In Herbert's poems the life of the individual and the religious life are successfully fused; later poets often lack this balance and fall into explication of dogma. Herbert, writing before the civil war, provided the poets of the seventeenth-century with the figure of an ideal Christian Everyman, living and portraying a true Christian life:

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

The Windows, ll. 11-15.

In the seventeenth-century, Herbert's voice appears to have rung in the conscience of writers of different religious persuasions as the supreme exponent of this mingling of doctrine and life.

II The 1630s and 1640s

It is impossible to deal in detail with the many poets in this period who have a debt to Herbert, although Patrides and Ray have catalogued many. In this section my intention is to portray the breadth of Herbert's poetic appeal and stylistic influence, and to illustrate how the persona developed in these poems, while owing much to the poems of The Temple, differs from the persona in Herbert's own poems¹¹.

On the subject of style, Herbert added impetus to the vogue for pattern poems that had been influenced by those in the Greek Anthology. Samuel Speed, Herrick, Benlowes and Mildmay Fane are amongst those who produced poems shaped like crosses, altars, diamonds and, in the case of Fane, shaped acrostics. In addition to this interest in the pattern poem, Herbert's poems resulted in a vogue for poems with varied line lengths and stanza forms, often attempting to reflect the rhythms of speech. Fane's Otia Sacra, while most indebted to Herrick's poetry, contains many poems of this sort, as does the work of Joseph Beaumont¹². This muscular syntax and variety in verse form is a Herbertian legacy which can be observed in much of the religious poetry written after

1633, and lends itself to the autobiographical tone of much of that poetry.

One of the earliest writers who appears to have read and been influenced by The Temple is Thomas Beedome, whose Poems Divine and Humane were published in 1641¹³. Two poems, "Epigram 14, Being a Meditation to my Self" and "The Petition" illustrate many points of contact and contrast with The Temple. "Epigram 14" follows the traditional meditative form, beginning with an address to the soul:

Why woul^dst thou live, (fond soule), dost thou not know
From whence thou cam'st, and whither thou must goe?

The tone of the moralist predominates in this poem, and the influence of Quarles is clearly discernible. Joan Webber in her book The Eloquent "I" states that "poetry is practically incapable of being self-conscious in the way of prose because it is so well protected by its obvious stylistic conventions and thresholds"¹⁴. Poems such as "Epigram 14" appear to support this judgement, the poem is highly, and artificially self-conscious. The achievement of The Temple, however, casts doubts on Webber's statement, as Herbert is able to convey a convincing portrayal of self-consciousness not limited or distorted by literary convention. Beedome's poem appears as an account of rather dry religious cliché, a narration of what happens to some distant "soul" rather than a convincing imaginative experience. The "soul" or "selfe" is objectified here to such an extent that there is none of the tension or the difficulty of breaking away from such a "false" self that Herbert's poems convey. The poem ends with Beedome in the role of observer:

Thy Tragedy shall end, thy sinne shall cease,
And thou rest ever in an endless peace.
Bee't when thou please, good God, at morne or noone,
So I die well, no matter, Lord, how soone.

11. 17-20.

"The Petition" provides a marked contrast in tone. The poem is full of verbal echoes of The Temple, the title itself being reminiscent of that volume. The poem opens with a far more direct appeal than that provided in "Epigram 14":

Heare mee, my God, and heare mee soone,
Because my morning toucheth noone,
Nor can I looke for their delight,
Because my noone layes hold on night:
I am all circle, my morne, night and noone
Are individable; then heare mee soone.

(11. 1-6).

The tone is intensely personal, the persona that of the anguished Soul, conscious of his distance from God. Although the repetition of "soone" and "noone" weakens the verse, the intention appears to be an attempt to make the verse form echo its meaning; in this case the verse turns in on itself, and becomes circular as the poet's morne, noone and night do.

In the second stanza Beedome contrasts God, who contains all time, with himself as "part of that Eternity", a contrast elaborated in Stanza III, where echoes of The Temple are prominent:

But I am dust; at most, but man,
Thou dust extended to a span:
A span indeed, for in thy hand,
Stretcht or contracted, Lord, I stand;
Contract and stretch mee too, that I may be
Straighn'd on earth, to be enlarg'd to thee!

(11. 13-18).

Although Beedome attempts to sustain the immediate direct tone of the first two stanzas, it begins to slip in this stanza, and to sound rather like a borrowed formula. The fourth stanza also appears somewhat laboured:

But I am nothing: then how can
I call my selfe, or dust, or man?
Yet thou from nothing all didst frame,
That all things might exalt thy name,
Make me but something, then, my God to thee,
Then shall thy praise be all in all to mee.

(11. 19-24).

The element of surprise is completely lacking here, and although the poem is successful in its evocation of a central speaker distressed by his distance from God, the tone is not sustained throughout. Nevertheless, Beedome remains one of the most successful poets to adopt Herbert's technique of portraying a central persona.

Bloom writes of poetic influence "Weaker talents idealize: figures of capable imagination appropriate for themselves"¹⁵. While Beedome successfully appropriates Herbertian techniques, the anonymous author of a set of poems printed in the Rev. Cattermole's Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth Century appears to have idealized Herbert to the extent of reproducing whole lines and phrases from The Temple in otherwise prosaic poems. The first three stanzas of "The Invitation" provide a strange mixture of laborious versification in the first two stanzas, and the change in tone of stanza III where the prosaic narrative voice changes to a more personal one:

The Invitation

Lord, what unvalued Measures crown'd
The days of old;
When thou wert so familiar found,
Those days were gold: -

When Abram wish'd thou couldst afford
With him to feast;
When Lot was sav'd, "Turn in, my Lord",
Thou wert his guest.

But ah! this heart of mine doth pant,
And beat for thee;
Yet thou art strange, and wilt not grant
Thyself to me.

(11. 1-12).

The following two stanzas continue in this personal vein, but are brought to an abrupt halt by the final stanza:

O thou great Alpha! King of kings!
O bow to me,
Or lend my soul seraphic wings
To get to thee.

(11. 21-24).

The poem as a whole contains a curious fusion of Herbertian themes and verbal echoes with a rather prosaic narrative voice and the voice of a persona which, momentarily, achieves a direct appeal. These changes in tone are also characteristic of another poem in this manuscript, "The Farewell", while "Employment" and "Advice" adopt the moralising tone of "The Church Porch".

i. Cardell Goodman: "Beauty in Raggs"

Goodman's volume, "Beauty in Raggs, or Divine Phancies putt into Broken Verse" remained in manuscript until 1958, when R.J. Roberts' edition was published¹⁷. Goodman, probably born in 1607, was, from the evidence of his Latin poems of 1633, a strong Royalist: the two volumes of congratulatory verse Rex redux and Ducis eboracensio fasciae published by the University of Cambridge in 1633 both contain poems by Goodman¹⁸. The poems of Beauty in Raggs, however, are undated: Roberts notes that as the shorter of the two surviving manuscripts is dedicated to Mrs. Anne Toppe, who died in 1648, the bulk of the poems were written before that date.

In his preface, Goodman makes clear that he is writing with a poetic model in mind:

I need not tell you whence I took my pattern,
for these Meditations; the Authour is so well
knowne to you, that you will soone discover the
mark I aime att; though every shaft I deliver
fall many bares short of it.

The Example indeed is farr above my imitation,
and I know my weakness will appeare so much the
more, because I scribe under so faire a Coppy:
butt my ambition (I confess) was allways to look
upon the best patterednes, though with weak and
tender eyes; and herein my aime is, not to be a
fellow, butt a follower, att distance, of my
leader. It shall be honour enough for mee, to be
accompted his Echo, endeavouring to say something
after him, though I reach no farther than to the
repetition of half-words and sentences.¹⁹

The poems themselves contain many of these repetitions of "half-words and sentences" from The Temple, and on reading the poems there can be little doubt that Goodman regards Herbert as his poetic master. Goodman continues the preface in this self-deprecating vein, neatly referring to his title metaphor:

I do not, therefore, dedicate my Poetry, but my Thoughts to You (dear Aunt) desiring You rather to look upon them, then the language wherein they are clothed.²⁰

This reference to the poems as "Raggs" to clothe the thoughts, which are the real offerings to God, is picked up in the untitled dedicatory verse:

My God I cannot thy fair Praise record
Unless Thou guide my trembling quill
And with thine owne hand shape each word:
O lett thy Breath my empty fancies fill
And make them tast of more than humane skill.
My guideless thoughts like troubled seas do rave
O lett thy Spirit on those waters move.²¹

Like Herbert's "The Dedication", Goodman is at pains to point out that the only glory of the poems is that they come from God: unlike Herbert, however, it is his thoughts and not the poems that he sees as the essential offering. He leaves the offering of poems to his polished poetic master.

The 37 poems contained in Beauty in Raggs have many titles recalling poems of The Temple, including "The Temple", "Inconstancy", "Application", "The Dialogue" and "Confession". Goodman's volume, like Herbert's, attempts to encompass many poetic forms, including shaped poems ("Nature and Grace") an anagram poem ("The Anagram"), and Emblem poems ("Sleep and Death")²². Most poems are rather longer than is usual in The Temple, sometimes resulting in an overworking of a single image and a weakening of dramatic tension. Goodman utilises many verbal

patterns and themes from Herbert's poems, as in the following poem,

"The Dialogue":

Question Lord, of thy purchase am I not a part?
 O wherefore then among the rest
 Dost thou not dwell within my brest,
 And take possession of my empty heart?

Answer The fault is thine: something there is amiss;
 Thy heart not Empty (Child) but Hollow is.

Reply Putt mee in tune O lord, my heart strings raise,
 And then my hollow heart shall sound thy praise.²³

(11. 1-8)

Goodman includes three parts in his "dialogue", with the soul having the question and reply, while God gives the accepted answer. The similarity of "The Dialogue" with many of Herbert's poems, in particular "Love Unknown", is immediately observable. The poem continues in this pattern for a further four stanzas: the heart is portrayed as divided and, finally, rotten, to which the soul replies "O lett thy fyre my drossie heart refine/First clense, and then vouchsafe to call it thine." (11. 23-24). What is interesting about the poem is that it shows Goodman attempting to portray a persona which, while still predominantly that of the emblem poem, has some points of contact with Herbert's central speaker. The "question" sections, as opposed to the more conventional "reply" sections, portray a more immediate persona, who appears less sure of his salvation, and has some of the restless enquiring tone of Herbert's central figure.

The poem, although many of the images recall The Temple, smacks strongly of the conventional versified dogma of the emblem poems. Throughout the volume Goodman returns to this technique of alternating verses in poems such as "Sorrow and Sin", "Sleep and Death", "The Supposed Gardiner and Mary", and "The Prisoner and his keeper"²⁴, but these poems, where impersonation is to the fore, are his least successful.

Many poems with titles reminiscent of The Temple are full of verbal echoes of Herbert, such as "Confession"²⁵, but appear rather too concerned with similarity in theme at the expense of the poet's originality, and the strong central persona is only fitfully developed. The poems where Goodman's originality and talent can be best observed are those in which he takes familiar religious imagery and develops it into a metaphor of his own, as in "The Statue"²⁶. The poem begins with a direct appeal to God:

O Lord I call, I seek, I knock;
Thou art within, I heard thy voice;
Butt thou refusest to unlock,
As if thou hadst renounc'd thy choice;
Yett I'le not from thy gate,
Where many sutours ly,
Delaid as well as I,
Much better sure, and as importunate. (ll. 1-8).

The strong central figure is immediately set up, and developed in the second stanza into a figure where determination will not be broken:

Yett, I will make my mone,
And kneele, and weep, and love
Till I a statue prove,
And grow into the footstoole of the Throne. (ll. 13-16).

Out of the traditional image of man entreating God at a closed door, Goodman develops the highly original image of man turned into a statue. As opposed to the traditional image of the obdurate stony heart, Goodman's speaker, by being turned to stone, is brought closer to God:

For stones have been more soft, and kind,
Then have the fleshy hearts of men. (ll. 33-34).

In stanza six, the poet draws on the images of the rocks that split at the crucifixion, and the water that Moses struck from the rock to emphasise the spiritual relevance of this image of stone:

Lett mee thy Rock remain,
That when I feele the rod,
Of my chastising God,
The waters may gush out (in teares) again. (ll. 45-48).

The poem ends with an affirmation of God's mercy to the steadfast
Christian:

Only sometimes upon mee shine,
So shall thy marble prove,
Unspotted, polish't, hard and fine,
And fitted for a place above,
Though I thy Statue am,
Thy power, Lord, alone,
Out of the sapless stone
Can raise a faithful Son, to Abraham. (ll. 49-56).

What Goodman achieves is the reversal of a traditional religious image, that of the stony heart, into the image of man as a statue, changed from marble to crystal by the light of God's mercy, weeping tears of praise and supplication. The image skilfully portrays the idea that the self owes its essential identity to God, and is otherwise "sapless": however, as in many of Herbert's "self-consuming" lyrics, the impression left is one of a dominant central speaker. This statue has, after all, an extremely articulate voice.

The volume ends with a short poem, picking up the many musical metaphors in the volume, entitled "The Close"²⁷:

My God, as Thou att first didst touch my heart
And tune it to these broken straines
So in the Close vouchsafe to beare a part
And lett thy Blessing sweeten all my paines
No wreath do I demand
Butt thy incirckling hand
Lett That begirt my temples round
And lett thy praise
Bee all my bayes
And I am richly Crownd.

The "incirckling" hand of God, rather than the laurel wreath of the poet, covers the "raggs" of poetry, encircling the volume with poems denouncing, as Herbert does, any claim to poetic autonomy, but leaving a strong sense of the speaker of the poems.

ii. Ralph Knevett: A Gallery to The Temple

Like Goodman's volume, Ralph Knevett's A Gallery to the Temple: Lyricall Poemes upon Sacred Occasions was not published during his lifetime. Amy Charles, Knevett's twentieth-century editor²⁸, thinks it probable, from the many references to the Civil War, that it was written largely during the 1640s. The gallery, or collonaded approach surrounding a temple, is described thus in Antoine Banier's "The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients Explain'd from History":

The Temples had often Porticoes, and always steps of ascent. There were some of them too with Galleries carry'd quite round: the Galleries were composed of a Range of Pillars, set at a certain distance from the wall, cover'd with large stones.²⁹

The poems forming the pillars of Knevett's gallery share a concern with contemporary events with another of Knevett's works, A supplement of the Faerie Queene, in 3 bookes, wherein are allegorically depicted affaires both military and civill of these times. Knevett provides an instance of a poet deliberately applying poetic forms of the past to delineate present day events.

In his preface "To the Reader", Knevett praises the achievements of Christian poets as far superior to those of their classical counterparts. He pays tribute to Herbert for bringing life back to Christian poetry, characteristically using this opportunity to attack both Italian poets and the Catholic religion:

Wee devine the antiquity of this poesy, which concernes divine Hymnes, from Moses, if not the first, yet the chiefest of the Prophet(s) who, though Hee pleaded a deficiency in rhetorique, yet proved himself to bee not only the antientest, but the best of all Poets, in that Epinician song, upon the overthrow of Pharoah, and also that excellent Panegiricke mentioned in Deuteronomy 32. But I wonder not so much at the perfection of this entheated Heroe, as at the inadvertancye of our moderne wittes, who in this maturity of sciences, have appeared so barren concerning the production of this most divine sort of Poesye,

that the species thereof might have been number'd among lost Antiquities if our Pious Herbert (a name which I dare confidently affirme most aptly agrees with the past and present condition of the person whom it denoted) had not by a religious cultivation, added new life to the wither'd branches of this celestial Balme Tree - whereby Hee hath not onely surpassed those of his owne Nation, but even the haughty Italians, who challenge a priority in art, as well as devotions.

He continues to laud Herbert as the successor of the poet David, with Knevett himself as a humble follower ...

For it was Hee (Herbert) who rightly knew to touch David's Harpe: and though Heaven affordes me not so much favour that I may come neare him in the excellancye of his high Enthusiasmes, yet I am comforted in that I am permitted to follow Him in His Devotions.³⁰

Of the 82 poems in A Gallery to the Temple many have the same titles as poems of Herbert, but very few can be called direct imitations. Knevett is a highly individual poet, typical features of his verse include a fondness for classical allusions, allegory and rather "difficult" poetic vocabulary. Like Herbert, Knevett created a complex persona for his central speaker. He makes full use of the implications contained in the title A Gallery to the Temple, drawing not only upon the reference to Herbert's Temple but also on the idea of a succession of poems as pillars, and a succession of pictures within a gallery. The volume has a much sterner moral tone than The Temple, with much investive against temporal vanity, and the overall impression left is a picture of Knevett's own dissatisfaction with the events of his age.

Many of the poems can be shown to contain verbal echoes of The Temple, and Knevett includes a wide variety of stanza forms and line patterns. For the purposes of this chapter I have chosen two poems, "The Deprecation" and "The Terrours"³¹ to illustrate Knevett's pre-occupation with political events of his time, and his wide knowledge

of Herbert's poetry. "The Deprecation", while employing a vigorous and effective verse form reminiscent of Herbert, illustrates an important difference between the two poets. As W. Moelwyn Merchant notes in his essay "Ralph Knevett of Norfolk, Poet of Civill Warre"³², "the element of intrusive comment on contemporary affairs (certainly extending over many years) disturbs the devotional pattern". Unlike Herbert's delicate "unworldly" portrayal of religion as the relationship between man and God, Knevett's concept of religion is inextricably tied up with the political struggles of the time. The poem begins with an allusion to the civil war:

(Lord), cease this direfull tintamarre
Of civil warre;
The bellowing drumme, and trumpet shrill,
Are musicke meete,
Rather for flameing Sinai Hill
Then Sion sweet.
The Gospell came in a still voyce,
Although the Law was given with horride noyse.
The Axes, and the hammers sound,
Did not rebound,
In thy first Temple- and much lesse,
Should tumults rage,
Wtihin thy second House of peace
Late made a stage,
Where clamr'ous Furyes acte their parts,
A dreadfull spectacle to pious hearts.

(11. 1-12).

Like Henry Vaughan, Knevett sees Herbert's Temple as belonging to a peaceful integrated time before the civil war. The image of the broken temple is widely used in the seventeenth-century, both in Puritan and Anglican propaganda, figuring widely in sermons preached to Parliament and in poems and religious tracts: here, in Knevett's poem, it refers both to the Biblical temple and Herbert's volume. In the next eight stanzas Knevett rages against the Pope, the Catholic religion and the Puritans in highly charged language. The poem ends with an appeal to God for the return of his Son to earth, and a return to peace

for the land:

(Lord) wee have sinn'd: and doe not seeke
A Moses meeke,
To worke our peace, but thine owne Sonne:
Whom wee implore;
His blood did us with Thee attone,
In time of yore:
And by his blood, wee crave now (Lord)
That our blood may be staunch'd, and peace restor'd.

(ll. 81-8).

Throughout the poems Knevett deplores the state of sin into which he sees man as fallen, and this concern with the spiritual state of the land as opposed to the individual Christian prevents him from portraying a consistent persona. A large number of poems are directed at the troublesome times, and the volume contains fewer of the more personal religious lyrics so characteristic of The Temple. Knevett does, however, have some success with this form of lyric, as in "The Terrours", where both verse form and language recall Herbert's "The Collar". The opening lines of the poem illustrate Knevett's conviction of the necessity of being ever watchfull in the religious life:

Twass time to rise,
My Saviour knock't,
But I was rock't
Asleepe, by lusts, and vanityes:
And when I wak'd,
My self I found,
Environ'd round
By perills, which my vitalls shock'd. (ll. 1-9).

The homely language is reminiscent of Herbert, and departs from Knevett's usual flamboyant vocabulary. However, the next few lines introduce the idea of a vengeful and retributive God, very different from the portrayal of God in The Temple:

An angry God
I saw above,
Whose hand did move
A flameing sword, and burning rodde.

The vision changes from a vengeful God to a picture of sins thronged "like a thicke wood" and finally a vision of Hell "yawning full wide". The poem ends with a swift and effective closing stanza:

My Jesu saw
Mee sore agast,
Then Hee in haste
Did from these terrours mee withdraw. (ll. 29-32).

At the beginning of the poem the persona presented is convincing and immediate, as the lines progress, however, the narrative takes over and the central persona is superseded by the narrator-observer figure.

Kneveit is one of the most successful "minor" poets of the seventeenth century, with his own highly individual poetic voice. Like Vaughan, Kneveit is intensely concerned with the religious state of the country, and often the poetry suffers from the appearance of being a catalogue of grievances at the state of England rather than the record of the poet's own pilgrim's progress. Kneveit remains burdened by an overwhelming sense of sin throughout the poems, and is constantly on guard against appearing presumptuous. Following Herbert he dedicated his work to God, skilfully encompassing the metaphor of his own title in "Contrition"³³:

(Lord) in mee repayre (by thy grace)
The image Thou didst first create,
Though Adam's sinne did it deface,
Yet Mine, did it more vitiate:
Vouchsafe t'ammend it with thy hand,
Then in thy Gall'ry it may stand.

III The 1650s: the Variety of Influence

The extent of Herbert's influence in the seventeenth century amongst writers of various religious persuasions can be illustrated by

reference to 3 texts published in the 1650s. The anonymous manuscript Eliza's Babes: Or the Virgin's Offering, Being Divine Poems and Meditation by a writer of Puritan persuasion, contains many verbal parallels with The Temple. John Collop's Poesis Rediviva of 1656 is the work of a conservative Anglican, while Eldred Revett, whose Poems were printed in 1657 is described as "non-partisan" by his editor, Donald M. Friedman³⁴.

i. Eliza's Babes, Or The Virgin's Offering, 1652.

This curious manuscript is signed as "written by a Lady who onely desires to advance the glory of God and not her own", the dedicatory poem is addressed "To My Sisters":

Looke on these Babes as none of mine,
Tho they were brought forth by me;
But look on them, as they are Divine
Proceeding from Divinity.

The preface "To the Reader" continues the imagery of the poems as "babes", and the volume contains both poetic and prose meditations. The poetry is usually flat and unremarkable; what a reading of the manuscript does, however, bring out is a recognition of the fact that many seventeenth-century admirers of Herbert regarded The Temple as an autobiographical volume, a spiritual pilgrim's progress, and adapted this pattern to events in their own lives. The titles in this manuscript are often based on an event in the author's life, both of everyday significance and of more lasting import: examples are "To a friend at Court", "On hearing the birds sing", "When my brother was sick" and "Upon the loss of my brother". Other poems have titles based on states of mind and religious festivals, as in The Temple.

The poems are a curious mixture of the everyday and the excep-

tional; the tone is highly personal with "Eliza" appearing in most poems. Much of the poetry is reminiscent of Herbert's verse forms and rhyme schemes: examples are "The Request"³⁵ and the following poem "The Dart":

Shoot from above
Thou God of Love,
And with heavns dart
Wound my blest heart.

Descend sweet life
And end this strife
Earth would me stay,
But I'le away.

I'll dye for love
Of thee above,
Then should I bee
Made one with thee.

And let be sed,
Eliza's dead,
That of love dy'd
That love desir'd.

By a bright beam, shot from above
She did ascend to her great Love,
And was content of love to dye,
Shot with a dart of Heaven's bright eye.

The volume, although it has minimum poetic value, is interesting for this autobiographical "licence", where the author places the relationship between herself and God as remote from this world, an idea outlined in an earlier "poem":

All you that goodness doe disdain,
Goe, read not here:
And if you doe; I tell you plaine,
For why? above your reach my soule is plac't,
And your odd words shall not my mind dictate.

The totally undeserved arrogance of the poet in this doggerel verse foreshadows an attitude developed throughout the volume, where the relationship between the author and God is seen as far removed from the earth and the reader. While of negligible poetic value, Eliza's Babes provides an interesting perspective on how Herbert's representation of the God of Love is represented, and frequently greatly mis-represented

by various minor seventeenth-century poets.

ii. John Collop: Poesis Rediviva (1656)

John Collop's poetry has far more poetic value and interest than the doggerel rhymes of Eliza's Babes. Conrad Hillbery in his edition of Collop's works notes that he was a highly independent and critical thinker. Although by inclination a committed Royalist and "conservative Anglican", Collop's poetry portrays his hope for reconciliation within the British Church, as Hillbery points out in the following passage:

He hoped for unity in the English church and saw no logic in the doctrines that separated the Romans or the Presbyterians from Anglicanism. And 20 years earlier he might well have supported Laud in his compulsive campaign for uniformity. But by 1656 that position was hardly open to an intelligent layman. It was plain, now, that religious disputes would be bitter and inconclusive, and the attempt to enforce regularity either in doctrine or in ritual could be disastrous. Collop, like most Englishmen, saw the only hope for religious unity and national peace in mutual charity among Christians of diverse persuasions.³⁶

To a man of Collop's religious temperament, Herbert would have appeared as representing a unified and ideal British Church before the divisions of Civil War, and his poetry contains many echoes of The Temple. Collop evidently held great faith in the reconciling power of poetry, as his Preface illustrates:

Nor wants Poetry her Virtues; Stones, Trees, and wilde Beasts accompany an Orpheus while he mollifies the most obdurate and stone assimilating tempers; teaches the most irregular pieces by his measures, to be squared by the rule of proportion, and to serve to the edifice of Virtue; produces Harmony out of Nature's discords, while the most savage natures by his harmony are reduced to consort. Civility dead, Poesie revives.³⁷

The idea of poetry as constituting a harmonising force in the untuned

times is combined in Collop's volume with the idea of the importance of the Christian poet: the twin roles of the poet as Orphic singer and Christian voice being familiar from the poems of Du Bartas and Herbert among others. In "The Poet"³⁸, writing of Abraham, Paul, David and Solomon, Collop portrays them as poet: "Tis God descends to us by Poesie (l. 78). In the following lines from that poem the didactic power of the Christian poet and the importance of divine inspiration are firmly pointed out:

Paul with such knots as these Christ's Spare hath drest,
Which to damnation the unstable wrest.
While Poet-like he acts the Carnal man,
They make him so, by their own lusts him scan.
Poets are Prophets, and the Priests of Heav'n:
Though to Hell's mimicks I'd Priests th' names given,
Into Jerusalem Lord turn Babylon's flame,
The objects vary, yet the passions th'same.
Teach that love holinesse which no holinesse knew,
Let zeal inflame the hearts which lust did stew,
Thus holinesse to the Lord we all may sing,
To write take pinions from a Cherub's wing.

The poem is interesting for the allusion to Paul acting "Poet-like" the "carnal" man, as the dramatic development of the speaker is central to Collop's work, and it is in poems with a dramatic central speaker that his poetic kinship to Herbert is most pronounced.

The poem "On the Resurrection"³⁹ recalls Herbert's "Easter" in the first stanza:

Arise, my God, my Sun arise:
Arise, thy side
My win doth hide,
Thy blood makes pure,
Thy wounds me cure,
He ever lives, who with thee dies:
Arise my God, my Sun arise.

The seven stanzas of the poem contain many themes and verbal echoes reminiscent of The Temple: far from being an imitation, however, the poem illustrates the shared concerns of the two poets for certain aspects of the Christian tradition. Many images in the poem have their

counterpart in The Temple but rarely is there a direct verbal echo. Collop, while evidently very familiar with Herbert's poetry is able to assimilate many themes from The Temple into his own highly individual poetry.

The seven stanzas of "On the Resurrection" are loosely styled as typographical "pillars", with the perfect pillar being formed in the final stanza. The poetry takes the form of a direct personal appeal to God, and the intertwining of the mine/thine imagery is highly subtle and successful. On the surface, Collop is a more "difficult" poet than Herbert, attempting to encompass more matter in a poem: often this can be his weakest point, as at such changes in subject the poetry loses some of the more direct appeal. In "On the Resurrection" the "who" referred to in the second stanza leads to a slight falling off in dramatic tension:

Abysses on Abysses call;
Who God denies
First to him flies:
Where frends could dwell,
And make an hell
She first sees heavn of all:
Abysses on Abysses call. (ll. 8-14).

While the curious repetition of "abysses" is highly effective in the spatial movement of the poem, the central lines of the stanza succumb to that familiar pitfall of the religious poet, didacticism. The third stanza, by contrast, is intensely personal, with Collop addressing an extremely successful fusion of "mine" (the speaker) and "Thine" (Christ):

See! ah see me purpled o're!
The scarlet's thine,
Though th' sin were mine:
Thine was the grave,
My sins would have,
The rising thine, I would implore,
See! ah see me purpled o're!

Picking up the reference to Christ's blood making the sinner pure in the first stanza, the poet identifies the self completely with Christ: the blood of Christ becomes the sinner's mantle, Christ's grave the grave of his sins. Collop's skill at portraying such familiar religious images in such a startling way is well illustrated in this poem.

Stanza four continues the "rising" imagery of the first and third stanzas: Christ is now portrayed as the Sun of righteousness, and the beams of light are the beams of mercy to the sinner:

Thou to the blind Lord first gavst eyes:
In mercy, Lord, in mercy rise. (ll. 26-27).

The fifth stanza draws on the image of sin as a stone, the poet implores God to remove this stone as the stone from Christ's sepulchre was removed. Collop introduces the image of the earthbound soul to provide a marked contrast with the "rising" of Christ:

Remove the stone,
My sins are one:
All buried in
The grave of sin
Shall I no rising have at all?

Throughout the poem a remarkable sense of spatial imagery is portrayed: Christ is enjoined to rise, hell and heaven are juxtaposed, the light of the rising sun contrasted to the darkness of the world, and the stones of sin weighed down to earth. The final stanza picks up the reference to the abyss of the second stanza:

Come thou Abyss of sweetness, come:
Come my dear Lord,
Say but the word
Unto my Soul,
I shall be whole
Thou for thy self mak'st onely room:
Come thou Abyss of sweetness, come.

The light of the risen Christ fills the successive images of darkness and emphasis throughout the poem. The identification of Christ and the

self of the poem is most delicately and successfully portrayed in the line "Thou for thy self makst onely room", and the resurrection is transformed from a historical event to Christ's resurrection within the soul of the individual sinner. The keynote of the poem, as of The Temple, is the relationship between God and the individual soul.

It is in poems such as "On the Resurrection" that Collop's poetry recalls The Temple. Many poems in Poesis Rediviva, although ostensibly written on the subject of the self, fail to achieve this degree of subtlety. Collop is fond of typological exposition, and the central figure of poems such as "Vox Penitentia"⁴⁰ recall the representative self of Quarles' emblems rather than Herbert's central speaker. The poem, "On the Nativity"⁴¹ is saturated with echoes of The Temple and is also one of Collop's most successful and original poems. It opens with a characteristic address to Christ:

Ah my dear Lord, what shall I give
To thee, who gav'st thy self for me?
Since thou could'st die, how shall I live?
Shall I not daily die with thee? (ll. 41-7).

The poet implores Christ to "tune my voice", and goes on to offer his heart as "sacrifice" to his Lord:

I can no spices offrings bring
Bur odours of a heart that's broke. (ll. 15-16).

Collop ends the poem with a startling metaphor of the self:

Whilst God refin'd I tribute bring
Myself thine Image to my King.

The widespread self becomes the image of Christ, Collop fuses the idea of the autonomous self with the concept of the essential self as a part of Christ into the image stamped on a gold coin.

In "The Church"⁴² Collop writes in favour of abolishing the distinctions between churches:

Men in each church have Truth enough to save
And to damn Angels enough malice have.

Collop found in The Temple the picture of the relationship between the individual soul and Christ, not a portrayal and apologia of the rites of the Anglican church, and it is in the depiction of this relationship that he most resembles Herbert. His highly successful poems create a fusion between the idea of a dominant central persona and the roles of Orphic singer and Christian Poet, and, above all, provide a poignant portrayal of the self as "myself thine image".

iii. Eldred Revett: Poems (1657)

Revett's Poems Humane and Divine is remarkable for its lack of political or religious emphasis, as his editor D.M. Friedman notes: "His poetry is like the commonplace books in that it offers no hint of strong allegiances. His political and religious affiliations must be matters of inference."⁴³ Inferences of this kind are extremely difficult to draw from Revett's rather indifferent poetry, and his preface to Robert Henry Esq. contains little more than the standard lament at the state of contemporary poetry and a rather fawning tribute to Robert Henry. Revett does, however, refer to his small group of religious poems:

Where I have dealt in a Divine matter, I have not
loved to loose Myself in Mysteries, or betray my
Youth to an Oracle: I have therefore only glanced
on Subjects, the fittest for Phancie; and (that
alone) that, of two mites, I might return to, a
Tribute to Heaven.⁴⁴

Revett assuredly does not lose himself in mysteries, his divine poems appear perfunctory and superficial, and very definitely written to standard subjects. The influence of Crashaw and Herbert on the

poems can be illustrated by the various titles: "The Aetheopian Baptized", "Marie her ointment", "Zacheus called", "Christ and the Disciples in the Storm", "Jesus wept", "Lazarus roused by our Saviour after four dayes lying in the Grave", "The Teare", "Mortification", "Ascension Day", "Affliction". "Conscience". "Prayer". "Pride", "Patience", "Meditation". "Jacobs Vision at Bethel". Of these the last ten, as their titles suggest, recall The Temple⁴⁵.

The weakness of Revett's poems is that while he uses the Herbertian technique of writing poems on emotion and states of mind, he fails completely to provide a vigorous and convincing central protagonist to these dramas. "Mortification"⁴⁶ is presented as a dialogue between Man and Death, and leaves the overall impression of a list of stock religious cliché. "Ascension Day"⁴⁷, with its highly elaborated language, fails to bring home any sense of a dialectical relationship between man and God which both Herbert and Collop achieve in their poems on this subject. What Revett borrows from Herbert are themes and stylistic techniques: "Affliction"⁴⁸, with its anvil shaped stanzas, has none of the emotive power of Herbert's poems of that name, but many of the superficial stylistic features of The Temple. "Prayer" follows the technique of Herbert's poem "Prayer"⁴⁹ in listing epithets for prayers - Revett's poem however results in a rather dull and clumsy catalogue:

A talking with the Holy One,
A Familiar conference.
A wrestling for a sparkling throne
Got by holy violence
A Plate
And Clapper to Saint Peters Gate. (ll. 19-24).

Indeed, Revett appears to have got many of Herbert's metaphors and images by violence, and produces a set of religious poems which rely almost solely on verbal and stylistic repetition, and convey little

sense of any tension or conflict. A poem more "removed" and with less depth of feeling than Revett's "Meditation"⁵⁰ would be difficult to imagine. The poem relies on stock concepts, and is addressed, curiously, to the concept of Meditation, "Thou fair Asylum of the mind", it remains in the realm of the general throughout, completely evading any individual response:

Thou leav'st the body clean alone,
While all doth rise
Within by contemplation
Above the skies. (ll. 17-20).

Revett may not have lost himself in mysteries, but what his poetry lacks is a sense of a central involved sense or persona. While Collop successfully draws on this concept which The Temple exemplifies, Revett, like the author of Eliza's Babes, is attracted to the more superficial aspects of Herbert's verse, in particular the apparently simple language, the stanza shapes and the titles. A reading of the poetry of these three authors shows that images from The Temple permeate much of the religious poetry of the day, and when the poet is himself a talented one, such as Collop, the portrayal of a central dramatic persona owes much to George Herbert's poetry.

IV Edward Taylor: Poet of Meditation

L.L. Martz in his preface to the Poems of Edward Taylor notes that he "appears to have had a mind saturated with Herbert's poetry"⁵¹, and it is true that his verse meditations, written between 1682 and 1725, provide ample evidence for his familiarity with The Temple. However, as we have seen from other poets of the seventeenth-century, this does not mean that the poems are mere echoes or extensions of The

Temple poems, however similar the language may be. Taylor's "Prologue" to his Preparatory Meditations opens with his favourite verbal borrowing from Herbert:

Lord, Can a Crumb of Dust the Earth outweigh,
Outmatch all mountains, nay the Chrystall Sky.⁵²
(11. 1-2).

The image of man as a "crumb of dust" is repeated four times in the poem, and extensively throughout the volume. The emphasis that Taylor gives to this image is fundamental to his portrayal of man as sinner, and as essentially humble and humbled: there is little of the sense of conflict that marks The Temple in Preparatory Meditations.

The word "meditation" is the keynote to Taylor's poetry. While many of Herbert's poems follow the structure of the religious meditation, they convey the sense of a strong central figure who is very much of this world. In the case of Taylor, the poems often appear as prayers to God rather than an attempt to work through the various emotions aroused by the meditation. "Meditation 21"⁵³ shows many points of contact with and significant departures from Herbert's poems. The poem begins with the direct address characteristic of the verse meditation:

What Glory's this, my Lord? Should one small Point
Of one small Ray of't touch my Heart twould spring
Such joy as would an Adamant enjoynt
If in't, and tare it, to get out and sing.
T'run on Heroick golden Feet, and rouse
Heart Ravishing Tunes, Curl'd with Celestiall praise. (11. 1-6).

Taylor combines the concept of verse and song as praise to God: his diction, more colloquial than Herbert's, seems here to provide a vigorous syntax, depicting the "Heart Ravishing Tunes" as sparks occasioned by the Glory of God. The similarity with many of Herbert's themes in The Temple is marked: musical imagery, the strong heart, the

importance of returning praise to its creator, are all reminiscent of The Temple, but Taylor makes them inimically his own.

The second stanza contains some of the more obscure colloquial language favoured by Taylor, with phrases such as "my Tattling here" and "Blunted Tongue Dont Suit: Sighs Soil the Glass". The poem continues on the theme of finding the right language to praise God, citing the pitfalls of "gliding Eloquence" and "slippery verse". The poet concludes that however his verse may sparkle, it is dim in comparison with the light of God:

I have no better story,
I'le at thy Glory my dark Candle light:
Not to descry the Sun, but use by night. (11. 22-4).

The last two stanzas contain images of the glory of God which pervades Taylor's poetry: the question of the failure of the Christian poet to write "Heart Ravishing Tunes" is put aside, and the poem ends in a contemplative statement fitting to the third stage or colloquy of a meditation:

God's Heart ~~is~~ selfe being his Happy Throne
The Glory that doth from this Person fall,
Fills Heaven with Glory, else there's none at all.
(11. 34-6).

This sense of assurance, and willingness to leave all to God prevails throughout Taylor's poetry. Even in poems such as "Meditation 40", where the poet dwells on his own sin in lines recalling Herbert's "The Sacrifice"⁵⁴,

Still I complain: I am complaining still.
Oh! woe is me! Was ever Heart like mine?

and goes on to list his shortcomings, the persona portrayed conveys little of the anguish of the sinner: rather it appears as going through the motions of listing man's sins, while sure of God's forgiveness.

The poetry of Edward Taylor, whilst drawing upon many of Herbert's images and showing a great familiarity with The Temple is remarkable for its highly individual character; the homely language, with Taylor's penchant for coining new words, is enough to mark the poems as unmistakably his own. The prevalent theme of the meditations is the praise of God, and the assurance and delight that this contemplation of God's mysteries brings to the poet. The central "I" figure remains Edward Taylor, and not the Christian Everyman: the poetry dwells on the sweetness of God, and the poet's perception and portrayal of this, as the following lines admirably illustrate:

Lord make me, though suckt through a straw or quill,
Taste of the Rivers of thy joyes, some drop.
Twill sweeten me: and all my Love distill
Into thy glass, and me for joy make hop.
Twill turn my water into wine, and fill
My Harp with Songs my Master's joyes distill.⁵⁵

(11. 25-30).

The Poetic Legacy of Herbert

Not mine the sweetness or the skill,
But mine the love that will not tire
And, born of love, the vague desire
That spurs on imitative will.⁵⁶

Tennyson's lines from "In Memoriam" can be applied with some conviction to many of Herbert's "imitators", who assuredly failed in the realms of sweetness and skill if not in sincerity. Herbert's reputation, both as poet and saint, gained him many followers: his acceptance as a poetic "standard" is indicated by the inclusion of many lines and phrases from The Temple in Joshua Poole's The English Parnassus⁵⁷, published in 1657, and many of Herbert's metaphors occur with great frequency in the poetry of the period. The tracing of verbal

echoes, however, is not sufficient to deduce the influence of Herbert on religious poetry in the seventeenth-century; what I have attempted to do in this chapter is to look at poets demonstrating a close knowledge of The Temple and outline their different treatments of the central persona which is so striking a feature of The Temple. The poets included are, necessarily, only a small representative section, and, with the exception of Edward Taylor whose close appropriation of Herbert's language makes his inclusion mandatory, I have concentrated on poets regarded as "minor" religious poets. "Major" poets such as Traherne and Herrick⁵⁸, while showing a knowledge of The Temple, have "appropriated" Herbert, along with many other influences, to such an extent as to make their inclusion under the category of poetic "imitators" highly reductive and largely irrelevant.

The religious lyric, beset by the twin pitfalls of dogma and subjectivity, works best when a balanced central voice is achieved, a persona that is at once the poet, the Christian everyman and the individual earthbound man. The widespread popularity of The Temple in the seventeenth-century gained for Herbert many faithful if unsuccessful imitators, as well as many highly skilled poetic adaptors; the appropriation of Herbertian images proved much easier than the portrayal of a convincing persona, a stylized "self" to rival the sweet singer of The Temple.

SUPPLEMENT OF POEMS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER VI

Mildmay Fane: Otia Sacra (1648)

My Penthouse against the Storm of Grief,
occasioned upon the Death of a dear Friend.

O How the Blasts
Temptation Casts
Against my Naked Ston,
Threatened Subversion;
Sithence the Decree of late was Thine
To take away My Sheltring Vine!

Well, let them blow,
Break clouds and rain,
Their Gusts and Show'rs in vain;
For Confident I am,
My Gracious God upholds the Frame,
Whilst I the Olive Sprouts see grow.

Thus to my Hart
I may impart
Th'assurance of a Peace,
Wherein such Trials cease
If Patience-born; that Fear is good
When it withstands ill, not of ill withstood.

Samuel Speed: Prison Pietie, or Meditations Divine and Moral (1677)

A broken ALTAR, Lord, to thee I raise,
Made of a Heart, to celebrate thy praise:
Thou that the onely Workman art,
That canst cement a broken heart.

For such is mine,
O make it thine:
Take out the Sin
That's hid therein.
Though it be Stone,
Make it to groan;
That so the same
May praise thy Name.
Melt it, O Lord, I thee desire,
With Flames from thy Coelestial fire;
That it may ever speak thy Praise alone,
Since thou hast changed into Flesh a Stone.

Love

When Love
Had strove
Us to subdue,
Whose Crime
With Time
Still bolder grew;
Though Ye
Said He
Will still
Rebell
Yet I
Reveng'd will bee,
Sufficientlie
Upon my Selfe for You, and die.

When Love
Doth move
His sparkling Eye
This way
We may
In it descry
A light
More bright
Than Day's
Best rayes
Whereby
Our Hearts, although
Chill until now,
Conceive an Holy Fervencie.

When Love
Was wove
And ty'd about
His Crosse
So close
That it forc'd out
A Flood
Of blood;
I would
I could
Sayes He
Forever bleed,
So They who need
This Blood, would fill their Cup
from Me.

When Love
To prove
His noble Art
His Bow
Doth draw
Against an Heart;
Always
He slayes
With Wound
Profound
But still
That Deaths they give
Doe make Us live
A sweeter Life, than that they spill.

When Love
Above
Went up to sit
Upon
His Throne
He rain's from it
Whole Streames
Of Flames
On Those
He Chose
To goe
To every Place
Upon Heavens Face
And there Love's fierie business do.

When Love
A Grove
Had sought, wherein
He might
Delight
With Soules of Men,
No Trees
Could please
His Will
Untill
He spy'd
Faire Paradise,
And Heere, He cries,
My lovely Spouses shall abide.

Brothavatos

O Vile ingratefull Me,
That I should Live, and not in Thee!
Not to thy
Praise, from whom
All this my
Life doth come!
What Riddle's this, that I should strive
Onely against my Life to Live!

Against Thee, gentle Love,
Life of my Life, long have I strove,
Still misusing
Thy sweet Grace,
Still refusing
To give place
To mine own bliss, which Thou with thy
Milde Yoke about my neck wouldst ty.

And thus, alas I have
All this wide World but for my grave;
Where the Stone
Which doth ly
Heavy on
Me and my
Earth-hampered Thoughts, is onely this
Unhappy Hearts Obdurateness.

Nathaniel Wanley: poems printed as anonymous in Cattermole's
Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth-Century

The Invitation

Lord, what unvalued pleasures crown'd
The days of old;
When thou wert so familiar found,
Those days were gold;-

When Abram wishpd thou couldst afford
With him to feast;
When Lot but said, "Turn in, my Lord",
Thou were his guest.

But, ah! this heart of mine doth pant,
And beat for thee;
Yet thou art strange, and wilt not grant
Thyself to me.

What, shall thy people be so dear
To thee no more?
Or is not heaven to earth as near
As heretofore?

The famish'd raven's hoarser cry
Finds out thine ear;
My soul is famish'd and I die
Unless thou hear.

O thou great ALPHA, King of kings!
Or bow to me,
Or lend my soul seraphic wings,
To get to thee.

Employment

Man is a busy thing, and he
Will deal in all sorts of affairs,
Weighty and trivial; each may be
The subject of his greatest cares:
But this shall my employment be
Still to be busied, Lord, with thee.

Some are all spirit, and will fly
At nothing lower than a throne;
The proudest spires of dignity
They, in their hopes have made their own:
But this shall my employment be,
To seek my honour all from thee.

Some that are sprung from coarser clay
Adore a paint-disguised face,
And daily their devotion pay
To spotted beasts, or else as base:
But this shall my employment be,
Duly to serve and wait on thee.

Some so enhance the price of gold,
They judge their souls to be but dross;
And are so saving, that they hold
The air, the breath, a mighty loss:
But this shall my employment be,
I will love nothing like to thee.

Some are so loyal to the book
Till they can criticise, and tell
How many steps old Time has took
Since our great father Adam fell:
But this shall my employment be,
Better to know myself and thee.

Advice

Put off the sinner, then put on the saint,
A rotten post doth not become the paint;
Who needs will tread a holy ground, 'tis meet
He leave his shoes behind, and wash his feet.

Seek not thy pleasure in another's shame,
Nor spoil the ointment of thy neighbour's name;
From nakedness the modest turn the head,
Who paddles in the dirt is but ill-bred.

Banish all baser fears, let them not rest
In the more noble mansion of thy breast;
Who is a bondsman unto slavish fears,
His conscience at another's pleasure wears.

Fly such as frolic it in cups of wine,
Why should another's health endanger thine?
The drunkard is a vessel weakly mann'd,
That's wreck'd and cast away upon dry land.

If in the family thou art the best,
Pray oft, and be the mouth unto the rest;
Whom God hath made the heads of families,
He hath made priests to offer sacrifice.

Daily let part of Holy Writ be read,
Let as the body so the soul have bread;
For look, how many souls in thy house be,
With just as many souls God trusteth thee.

The day that God calls his make not thine own
By sports or play, though 'tis a custom grown;
God's day of mercy whoso doth profane,
God's day of judgement doth for him remain.

The Farewell

Methinks I draw but sickly breath:
Who knows but I
Before next night may sleeping lie,
Rock'd in the arms of death?

The swift-foot minutes pass away;
For Time hath wings,
That flag not for the breath of kings,
Nor brook the least delay.

And what a parcel of my sand
Is yet to pass
Or what may break the crazy glass,
How shall I understand?

Then, base delights and dunghill joys!
Farewell, adieu!

While yet I live I'm dead to you,
And such-like toys.

I would not longer own a thought
That crawls so low,
Or lavish out my wishes so
In quest of less than nought.

My soul is winged with quick
desires
To pass the sky;
Nothing below what is most high
Allays those noble fires.

Lord, as the kindling is from thee,
So thine the breath
That must continue it, till death
Be dead and cease to be.

Epigram 14
Being a Meditation to My Selfe

WHY wouldst thou live, (fond soule), dost thou not know
From whence thou cam'st, and whither thou must goe?
Can walls of clay so much they sense delight,
As to debarre thee from that glorious flight
Which thou shouldst covet? canst thou idly prize
The mire that loads thy wings unfit to rise?
Shouldst thou still live, it were but still to see
Some new scene Acted in thy Tragidie:
Thou couldst but do tomorrow as this day,
Commit fresh sinne, sleepe, eate, or drinke, and play.
No matter then how soone thou dye: then come,
Prepare thyselfe to waite thy Judge's combe;
Thou cam'st from heav'n; then labour to draw neere
Thy quiet center. If thou once rest there,
Thy walls of clay, the mire that loads thy wings,
Shall be a mansion for the King of Kings.
Thy Tragedy shall end, thy sinne shall cease,
And thou rest ever in an endlesse peace.
Bee't when thou please, good God, at morne or noone,
So I die well, no matter, Lord how soone.

The Petition

Heare mee, my God, and heare mee soone,
Because my morning toucheth noone,
Nor can I looke for their delight,
Because my noone layes hold on night:
I am all circle, my morne, night, and noone
Are individable; then heare mee soone.

Thou are all my time my God, and I
Am part of that eternity:
Uet being made, I want that might
To be as thou art, Infinite:
As in thy flesh, so be thou Lord to mee,
That is, both infinite, and eternity.

But I am dust; at most, but man,
That dust extended to a span:
A span indeed, for in thy hand,
Stretcht or contracted, Lord, I stand;
Contract and stretch mee too, that I may be
Straightn'd on earth, to be enlarg'd to thee.

But I am nothing; then how can
I call my sslfe, or dust, or man?
Yet thou from nothing all didst frame,
That all things might exalt thy name,
Make mee but something, then, my God to thee;
Then shall thy praise be all in all to mee.

XXXIII

The Dialogue

- Question Lord, of thy purchase am not I a part?
O wherfore then among the rest
Dost thou not dwell within my brest,
And take possession of my empty heart?
- Answer The fault is thine; something there is amiss;
Thy heart not Empty (Child) but Hollow is.
- Reply Putt mee in tune O Lord, my heart strings raise,
And then my hollow heart shall sound thy praise.
- Question My God, is not a heart thy Sacrifice?
Psal: 51. O wherfore then with angry eyes
17. Dost thou my broken heart despise,
Which panting on thy flaming Altar lies?
- Answer The fault is thine; something there is amiss,
Thy heart not Broken, butt Devided is.
- Reply O take each part, and knitt them both to Thee
Division so combined proves Harmony.
- Question My God, a tender heart is thy Delight,
Wherfore against my softned heart,
Job: 6. Dost thou thy piercing terrours dart,
4. Whereof the poison drinks up all my might?
- Answer Still thou art faulty; somthing there's amiss;
Thy heart doth soft appeare, butt rotten is.
- Reply O lett thy fyre my drossie heart refine;
First clense, and then vouchsafe to call it Thine.

XXXVI

Confession

My God have pittty on a sin-sick soule
Which mourning att thy Foot-stoole lies
With hands, and mouth, and heart so false so foule
I fain would hide them from thine eyes.

O thou, the searcher of my reines and heart
My in-most sins are knowne to Thee
Which I conceald from men by curious art
Have still injoyd in secrecy:

Butt how unsafe and false are all those wiles
Which wee do weare to cover sins
How cunningly fond man himself beguiles
Loosing even when hee thinks he wins.

Wee wash our hands and face and think all clean
Wee wipe our wanton lipps and smile
And fain wee would seem pure, but still wee mean
To hug the sin which doth defile.

O take my heart into thy powerfull hand
Not all the Grace thou dost afford
Can yett confine it to thy strict Command
Lend mee more help; more help my Lord.

O hold mee up I sink into the mire
O dare not back nor forward go
No bog so deep as my unclean Desire
Whose bottom reaches unto Woe.

Lend mee some footing Lord that I may rise
Before I wholly fall from Thee
Those ropes of dew which issue from mine eyes
Some help to my ascent may bee.

So lett mee creep and climb untill I close
With Thee, who dost in safty keepe
Hee that through paths of sin seekes for repose
Putts out his eyes, that hee may sleep.

XXII

The Statue

O Lord I call, I seek, I knock;
Thou art within, I heard thy voice;
Butt thou refusest to unlock,
As if thou hadst renounc't thy choice;
Yett Ile not from thy gate,
Where many sutours ly
Delaid as well as I,
Much better sure, and as importunate.

My knees zre stiff, my spirits faile,
Mine eyes of all their moisture draind,
I wrestle long, butt nought availe,
As if my motions were butt faind;
Yett, I will make my mone,
And kneele, and weep, and love,
Till I a Statue prove,
And grow unto the footstoole of thy Throne.

Even thus transformed, I will bee
A fixt and silent suppliant,
And full as usefull unto Thee,
As when thou didst mee motion grant;
For Lord (thou knowst) before
My hands, and feet combind,
To mischeef both designd,
Each motion cross't thy will, increas'd my score.

Now kneeling still, before thy Throne
Thy marble sutor shall appeare,
And, though such hard things cannot grone,
Yett they sometimes will drop a teare:
 Poore Niobe, thy fate
 Was sad, thy teares lament
 Thy change, thy punishment;
Butt mine, att once, both hard, and fortunate.

I. King.
13.3.4.
5.
For stones have been more soft, and kind,
Then have the fleshy hearts of men:
A broken altar wee do find,
That when God threatned sayd, Amen;
 Butt Jeroboams heart,
 (Harder then was the rock,)
 Could then endure the shock,
And even thunderstooke, outface the smart.

Math. 27.
51.
And, when the God of Love expir'd,
The earth did quake, the rocks were rent,
While men with rage were so inspir'd
Their hate surviv'd their punishment:
 Lett mee thy Rock remain,
 That when I feele the rod,
 Of my chastising God,
Num. 20. 11. The waters may gush out (in teares) again.

Only sometimes upon mee shine,
So shall thy marble cristall prove,
Unspotted, pollish't, hard and fine,
And fitted for a place above.
 Though I thy Statue am,
 Thy power, Lord, alone,
 Out of the sapless stone
Can raise a faythfull Son, to Abraham.

Ralph Knevett: A Gallery to the Temple

The Deprecation

(Lord cease this direfull tintamarre
 Of civill warre:
The bellowing drumme, and trumpet shrill,
 Are musicke meete,
Rather for flameing Sinai Hill,
 Then Sion sweet.
The Gospell came in a still voyce,
Although the Law was given with horride noyse.

The Axes, and the hammers sound,
Did not rebound,
In thy first Temple; and much lesse,
Should tumults rage,
Within thy second House of peace,
Late made a stage,
Where clamr'ous Furies acte their parts,
A dreadful spectacle to pious hearts

Thou camst downe (oh Messias true)
Like the calme dew,
On Gedeon's fleece: And being here,
Didst not exclayme,
None in the streetes thy voyce did heare,
But as a Lambe,
Before the shearer, Thou wer't dumbe:
In silent manner. Thou didst goe and come.

But Hee, who doth pretend to bee,
Thy Feoffee:
Hee, who thy Vicar himself calls,
Makes such a noyse,
With Prelates proud, and Cardinalis,
That Hee annoyes
The World, and breakes the sleepes of Kings:
His pride pontificall through all lands tings.

His anger, like an Earthquake, shockes
Both Hills, and rockes:
And t'is more hard him to appease,
Then to still windes,
Or pacifye the rageing seas:
The hands he bindes
Of Monarkes, and keepes them in awe,
(As Hindes doe birds) by men of ragges and straw.

The sound of his Apostles runnes
In drummes, and gunnes,
Through the whole Earth, for where His word
Cannot prevaile,
They (for their ends) employ the sword:
And if this faile,
They treachprouis plottes contrive, and can
Father all mischiefes, on the Puritan.

Our Caballs, and our cajoleings,
Are subtile things.
Of their invention, words of art,
Made to beguile
An honest, and well meaneing heart.
By this new style
Wee write, and acte: By th'old alone,
Wee measure time from th'Incarnation.

Lots wife on Sodome did reflect,
But one aspect,
And shee for this insipide tricke,
Was turn'd into
A rocke of salt, which Beasts did licke:
The Hebrewes too,
When they for Egypts flesh did lust,
Were sharply punish'd, by God's vengeance just.

And while wee vainly did looke backe,
 On Egypt blacke,
 And Sodome foule, the Lord above
 Did us chastise,
 Because wee did backsliders prove,
 And with fond eyes,
 The pleasures of that bondage sought,
 From whence, by miracle wee had bene brought.

Each Hat was of a Roman blocke;
 Cassocke, and cloke,
 Were of the Babylonian size;
 But what is worse,
 Our hearts were Romish in disguise,
 And by recourse
 To their vaine rites, gave reasons strong,
 That for Italian Melons wee did long.

(Lord) wee have sinn'd: and doe not seeke
 A Moses meeke,
 To worke our peace, but thine own Sonne:
 Whom wee implore:
 His blood did us with Thee atone,
 In time of yore:
 And by his blood, wee crave now (Lord)
 That our blood may bee staunch's, and peace restor'd.

The Terrours

 Twas time to rise,
 My Saviour knock't,
 But I was rock't
 Asleepe, by lusts, and vanities:
 And when I wak'd, (5)
 My self I found,
 Environed round
 By Perills, with my vitalls shak'd:
 An angry God
 I saw above, (10)
 Whose hand did move
 A flameing sword and burning rodde:
 On my right side,
 Death I beheld,
 Whose hand did wield (15)
 A dart, neire flyeing short, or wide:
 But on my left,
 Sinnes thronging stood,
 Like a thicke wood,
 Which more then death my heart did cleft.(20)
 But underneath,
 Hell I espyd,
 Yawneing full wide,
 More terrible then Sinne, or Death./
 Like Balthasar (25)
 (When Hee beheld
 His ruine spelld

Upon the wall) so did I fsre,
My Jesu saw
Mee sore agast,
Then Hee in haste,
Did from these terrours mee withdraw./

John Collop: Poesis Rediviva

On the Nativity

Ah my dear Lord, what shall I give
To thee, who gav'st thy self for me?
Since thou could'st die, how shall I live?
Shall I not daily die with thee?
This is the day which thou didst make:
Teach me Lord, teach me to rejoyce.
Shall I the shepherds Musick take?
Or to thine Angels tune my voice?
My Bread, Life, Vine, Truth, Door, Light, Way,
All fulness meets my Lord in thee. 10
What can I worse then nought repay,
Thee heav'ns all made so low for me?
To thee both Prophet, Priest and King,
I have no treasury to ope.
I can no spices off'rings bring,
But Odours of an heart that's broke,
Lord let this incense offer'd up.
As a sweet smelling savour be:
So of salvation I the Cup
Shall take, and call my God on thee. 20
Whil'st Gold refin'd, I tribute bring
Myself thine Image to my King.

Vox poenitentia

I, I, ah I thee Lord betraid!
While sin strange insurrections made;
I, I, like hin with lips durst kisse,
Who sought out's hell, at gates of blisse.
My sins ah scourges buffets are;
My sins ah thorns, thy temples tare.
My sins presents the spear, nails, gall,
Renews thy sweat, death, burriall.
Yet while I Lord with Mary come,
Early with spices to thy tomb;
With balm of pennance waiting there,
To offer odours up in prayer.
After repentant showrs of dew,
Angels my Sun's arise shall shew.
Heark, heark, who's both the light and way,

Calls thee my soul, make hast, obey.
Ah loads of sin and flesh! can I
A Camel passe a needles eye?
Say, oh say not! that heav'n gate
Too narrow is, or way too strait.
Faith and good works can dispossess,
Thee both thy Loades, of sin, and flesh;
And so convei'd on wings of pray'r,
Thou maist like incense enter there,
So shalt thou find a way not strait,
He kneels who enters at Heav'n gate.

On the Resurrection

Arise, my God, my Sun arise:
Arise, thy side
My sin doth hide;
Thy blood makes pure,
Thy wounds me cure,
He ever lives, who with thee dies:
Arise, my God, my Sun arise.

Abysses on Abysses call:
Who God denies
First to him flies;
Where fiends could dwell,
And make an hell.
She first sees heav'n of all:
Abysses on Abysses call.

Come thou Abyss of sweetness, come:
Come my dear Lord,
Say but the word
Upon my Soul,
I shall be whole.
Thou for thy self mak'st onely room:
Come thou Abyss of sweetness, come.

See! ah see me purpled o're!
The scarlets thine,
Thou th' sin were mine:
Thine was the grave
My sins would have.
The rising thine, I would implore.
See! ah see me purpled o're!

In mercy, Lord, in mercy rise:
Emit a ray,
And make a day,
Where sins black night
Have ravish'd light.
Thou to the blind Lord first gav'st eyes;
In mercy, Lord, in mercy rise.

This day we Resurrection call:
Remove the stone,
My sins are one:
Ah buried in
The grave of sin:
Shall I no rising have at all?
This day we Resurrection call.

Prayer

(1)

A Fleece of Angell-downe that flyes
In a golden cloud of Breath;
Still upward to the kindred skyes
And above them hovereth
A Soule,
In Parcell ushering the whole.

(3)

A Spirit hath got leave to play
From its Chains of flesh and blood
A soul escap'd to learn the way
To its longed for abroad;
A thought,
Then up in the third Heavens caught.

(2)

A most illustrious break of Day,
From the Night of Death and sin,
A Bright and Emissary Ray
Of a cheerfull light within;
A Spice!
Smoaks from the Heart in sacrifice:

(4)

A talking with the Holy One,
A Familiar conference:
A wrestling for a sparkling throne
Got by holy violence
A Plate.
And Clapper to Saint Peters Gate.

Affliction

(1)

Time her blithe children with their Mirth grown Red
A peevish Grand-dame calls to Bed.
Now the dark Lanthorn Night,
Doth ope and shed her Light;
The Morn doth flush, (5)
Gone at a Blush:
Darkness again is Fed,
Soon with her daily Bread,
The brisk Howr's lead the way.
To those that dance asleep the tyred Day: (10)

(2)

But with a poor cross arm'd and fortun'd wretch,
The lazie Hour's do yawning stretch.
Night thinks him Dead and His,
As tedious Mourner is:
The Rosie Morn (15)
Gros's Pale out-worne:
On Woe, the bold-fac'd Day,
Doth stare and Gaping staye
The Son doth fixe his Eye,
'Till He doth water those of Misery. (20)

And with such flaring Thread Apollo Rayes,
 And Loomes the Shuttle of my Dayes
 I lye with no Delight
 In the black arms of Night
 The Morning blowes, (25)
 I smell no Rose
 Sheds into broader Day,
 Still Night with me doth stay
 Doubled with the approach,
 When darkness lashes up her Mistie Coach. (30)

(4)

But Lord! on Tenters if I must be thrown
 I'll Rowle and think them yielding down,
 If thou prescrib'st it to me,
 Healthful Phlebotomie
 My veines were once (35)
 Swolne for the nonce.
 When I am broke and torne,
 Harrow'd enough and worne,
 That thou wilt not Despise;
 Then let my Heart (Lord) be thy Sacrifice. (40)

Edward Taylor: 40. Meditation. 1 Joh. 2.2. He is a
 Propitiation for our Sin
 12m (feb.) 1690/1. pub.ETG.

Still I complain; I am complaining still.
 Oh! woe is me! Was ever Heart like mine?
 A Sty of Filth, a Trough of Washing-Swill
 A Dunghill Pit, a Puddle of mere Slime.
 A Nest of Vipers, Hive of Hornets; Stings. 5
 A Bag of Poyson, Civit-Box of Sins.

Was ever Heart like mine! So bad? black? Vile?
 Is any Divell blacker? Or can Hell
 Produce its match? It is the very Soile
 Where Satan reads his Charms, and sets his Spell. 10
 His Bowling Ally, where he sheeres his fleece
 At Nine Pins, Nine Holes, Morrice, Fox and Geese.

His Palace Garden where his courtiers walke.
 His Jewells Cabbinet. Here his Caball
 Do sham it, and truss up their Privei talk 15
 In Fardells of Consults and bundles all.
 His shambles, and his Butchers stale's herein.
 It is the Fuddling Schoole of every sin.

Was ever Heart like mine? Pride, Passion, fell.
 Ath'ism, Blasphemy, pot, pipe it, dance 20
 Play Barlybreaks, and at last Couple in Hell.
 At Cudgells, Kit-Cat, Cards and Dice here prance.
 At Noddy, Ruff-and-trumpt, Jing, Post-andPare,
 Put, One-and-thirty, and such other ware.

Grace shuffled is away: Patience oft sticks 25
 Too soon, or draws itselfe out, and's out Put.
 Faith's over trump't, and oft doth lose her tricks.
 Repentance's Chalkt up Noddy, and out shut.
 They Post, and Pare off Grace thus, and its shine.
 Alas! alas! was ever Heart like mine? 30

Sometimes methinks the serpents head I mall:
 Now all is still: my spirits do recreute.
 But ere my Harpe can tune sweet praise, they fall
 On me afresh, and tare me at my Root.
 They bite like Badgers now nay worse, although 35
 I tooke them toothless skulls, rot long agoe.

My Reason now's more than my sense, I feele
 I have more Sight than Sense. Which seems to bee
 A Rod of Sunbeams t'whip mee for my steele.
 My Spirits spiritless, and dull in mee 40
 For my dead prayerless Prayers: the Spirits winde
 Scarce blows my mill about. I little grinde.

Was ever Heart like mine? My Lord, declare.
 I know not what to do: What shall I doe?
 I wonder, split I don't upon Despare. 45
 Its grace's wonder that I wrack not so.
 I faintly shun't: although I see this Case
 Would say, my sin is greater than thy grace.

Hope's Day-peep dawns hence through this chinck. Christs name
 Propitiation is for sins. Lord, take 50
 It so for mine. Thus quench thy burning flame
 In that clear stream that from his side forth brake.
 I can no Comfort take while thus I see
 Hells cursed Imps thus jetting strut in mee.

Lord take thy sword: these Anakims destroy: 55
 Then soake my soule in Zions Bucking tub
 With Holy Soap, and Nitre, and rich Lye.
 From all Defilement me cleanse, wash and rub.
 Then wrince, and wring mee out till th'water fall
 As pure as in the Well: not foule at all. 60

And let thy Sun, shine on my Head out cleare.
 And bathe my heart within its radiant beams:
 Thy Christ make my Propitiation Deare.
 Thy Praise shall from my Heart breake forth in streams.
 This reeching Vertue of Christs blood will quench 65
 Thy Wrath, slay Sin and in thy Love mee bench.

21. Meditation. Phil. 2.9. God hath
Highly Exalted Him.

13. lm(Mar.) 1686/7. Pub.MGG.

What Glory's this, my Lord? Should one small Point
Of one small Ray of't touch my Heart 'twould spring
Such a joy as would an Adamant unjoynt
If in't, and tare it, to get out and sing. 5
T'run on Heroick golden Feet, and raise
Heart Ravishing Tunes, Curld with Celestiall praise.

Oh! Bright! Bright thing! I fain would something say:
Lest Silence should indict me. Yet I feare
To say a Syllable lest at thy day
I be presented for my Tattling here. 10
Course Phancy, Ragged Faculties, alas!
And Blunted Tongue don't Suit: Sighs Soile the Glass.

Yet shall my mouth stand ope, and Lips let run
Out gliding Eloquence on each light thing?
Ahd shall I gag my mouth, and ty my Tongue, 15
When such bright Glory glorifies within?
That makes my Heart leape, dancing to thy Lute?
And shall my tell tale tongue become a Mute?

Lord spare I pray, though my attempts let fall
A slippery Verse upon thy Royall Glory. 20
I'le bring unto thine Altar th'best of all
My Flock affords. I have no better Story.
I'le at thy Glory my dark Candle light:
Not to descry the Sun, but use by night.

A Golden Throne whose Banisters are Pearles, 25
And Pomills Choicest Gems: Carbuncle-Stayes
Studded with "retious Stones, Carv'd with rich Curles
Of Polisht Art, sending out flashing Rayes,
Would him surround with Glory, thron'de therin.
Yet this is to thy Throne a dirty thing. 30

Oh! Glorious Sight! Loe, How Bright Angells stand
Waiting with Hat in hand on Him alone
That is Enthron'de, indeed at Gods right hand:
Gods Heart iselfe being his Happy Throne. 35
The Glory that doth from this Person fall,
Fills Heaven with Glory, else there's none at all.

Prologue

Lord, Can a Crumb of Dust the Earth outweigh,
Outmatch all mountains, nay the Chrystall Sky?
Imbosom in't designs that shall Display
And trace into the Boundless Deity?
Yea hand a Pen whose moisture doth guild ore 5
Eternall Glory with a glorious glore.

If il its Pen had of an Angels Quill,
And Sharpend on a Pretious Stone ground tite,
And dipt in Liquid Gold, and mov'de by Skill 10
In Chrystall leaves should golden Letters write
It would but blot and blur yea jag, and jar
Unless thou mak'st the Pen, and Scribener.

I am this Crumb of Dust which is design'd
To make my Pen unto thy Praise alone,
And my dull Phancy I would gladly grinde 15
Unto an Edge on Zions Pretious Stone.
And Write in Liquid Gold upon thy Name
My Letters till thy glory forth doth flame.

Let not th'attempts breake down my Dust I pray
Nor laugh thou them to scorn but pardon give, 20
Inspire this Crumb of Dust till it display
Thy Glory through't: and then thy dust shall live.
Its failings then thou'lt overlook I trust,
They being Slips slipt from thy Crumb of Dust.

Thy Crumb of Dust breaths two words from its breast, 25
That thou wilt guide its pen to write aright
To Prove thou art, and that thou art the best
And shew thy Properties to shine most bright.
And then thy Works will shine as flowers on Stems
Or as in Jewellery Shops, do jems. 30

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TEMPLE AND THE HYMN WRITERS

C.A. Patrides notes the appearance of Herbert towards the end of the seventeenth-century in

still another guise, that of the author of hymns intended sometimes for congregational use, but habitually for private devotions too. One suspects that Herbert would have been delighted by this development, for he was much in love with music, and it would seem that he shaped several of his stanzas with various contemporary tunes in mind, both sacred and secular.¹

In the seventeenth-century, musicians who set Herbert's poems to music include John Jenkins, John Wilson, John Blow, Henry Purcell and John Playford. Some of these settings appeared in John Playford's collection Psalms and Hymns in Solemn Musick (1671) and Henry Playford's Harmonia Sacra (1688); while adaptations of Herbert's poems as hymns are found in Joseph Boyse's Sacramental Hymns (1693), the anonymous Selected Hymns taken out of Mr. Herbert's The Temple (1697), and Henry Playford's The Divine Companion: Or David's Harp New Tun'd (1701) which also includes poems by Crashaw and Vaughan².

St. Augustine attaches great importance to the musical side of the hymn: "It is a song with praise of God. If thou praisest God and singest not, thou utterest no hymn. If thou singest and praisest not God, thou utterest no hymn."³ In the case of Herbert's poems, the metaphor of "singing" is used to denote the praise of God; whether vocally sung or written, thought or carried out in the events of everyday life, the poems of The Temple are presented as songs of praise. Herbert's literary singing is governed by a concern for the soul to "accord" with the lines; conventional impersonal praise is anathema to Herbert and his concern in writing The Temple is that expressed in

I Corinthians 14.15: "I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also".

"A true Hymne" demonstrates this concern with the personal application of religious praise:

My joy, my life, my crown!
My heart was meaning all the day,
Somewhat it fain would say:
And still it runneth mutt'ring up and down
With onely this, My joy, my life, my crown.

Yet slight not these few words:
If truly said, they may take part
Among the best in art.
The fineness which a hymne or psalme affords,
Is, when the soul unto the lines accords.

He who craves all the minde,
And all the soul, and strength, and time,
If the words onely rhyme,
Justly complains, that somewhat is behinde
To make his verse, or write a hymne in kinde.

Whereas if th'heart be moved,
Although the verse be somewhat scant,
God doth supplie the want.
As when th'heart sayes (sighing to be approved)
O, could I love! and stops: God writeth, Loved.

No one could accuse Herbert's verse of being "somewhat scant": the emotive appeal of verse which is stressed in "A True Hymne" is a characteristic of The Temple, and constitutes an element of Herbert's poetry much imitated by the hymn writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries. The concern that "The finenesse which a hymne or psalme affords,/Is, when the soul unto the lines accords" illustrates an interest in the production of religious verse which had a personal individual reference, but was also suitable for corporate worship. Developing out of the twin influences of the metrical psalms and the devotional lyric, the hymn attempts to portray a voice which is both individual and representative: a voice similar in many respects to that of the central persona of The Temple.

I The Development of the Hymn in the Seventeenth-century

The publication of The Temple in 1633 occurs at a point in the development of the hymn where both the practice of producing metrical psalm translations and the writing of the devotional lyric were flourishing. No official authorized hymnal existed in 1633, although an injunction of 1559 had provided for the singing of hymns in the church service:

In the beginning, or in the end of the common prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung a hymn, or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.

The problem of the acceptability of the hymn in established worship lay in the disagreement between Luther and Calvin on the respective merits of hymns and psalms. Calvin decreed that only metrical psalms should be sung, as hymns had no relation to the word of God, while Luther proclaimed the importance of the vernacular hymn. In the established worship of the British Church, Calvin's argument prevailed: while collections of hymns were in existence from the early sixteenth-century when Coverdale's Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songs (1635) was written, the metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins remained the sole authorized collection of religious song⁴.

The beginnings of the Protestant metrical psalter can be traced to the French court of Valois, where Marot's psalms were set to the tunes of popular love songs. Prothero includes an account of this practice in

The Psalms in Human Life:

No-one delighted in the "sanctes chansonettes" more passionately than the Dauphin (afterwards Henry II) ... He sang them himself with musicians who accompanied his voice on the lute or viol. To win his favour, gentlemen of the Court begged him to choose for each a psalm. Courtiers adopted their special psalm, just as they adopted their particular arms, mottoes or liveries ... Diane de Poitiers (the King's mistress) sang the De Profundis (ps. 30) to the air "Baissez-moi dono, beau Sire."⁵

Some tunes by Louis Bourgeois from the Marot-Beza psalter, commissioned by Calvin, found their way into the "Old Version" of Sternhold and Hopkins. Other tunes used included popular folk-songs and well-known music from religious ceremony. As the editors of The Oxford Book of Carols note, the heyday of the religious folk song was "during the two centuries and a half between the death of Chaucer in 1400 and the ejection of the Reverend Robert Herrick from his parish by Oliver Cromwell's men in 1647". A.L. Lloyd in Folk Song in England sees the spread of nonconformist hymns as leading to the virtual death of the religious folk song, and points out that the practice of local musicians playing in the church gallery reduced the sphere of religious popular music to the confines of the church service itself. William Slayter's Psalmes or Songs of Sion, turned into the language and set to the tunes of a strange land (1643) is one of the last examples of a poet attempting to use traditional carol and folk tunes for religious song⁶.

One reason for the decline in the religious carol and folk song was the stranglehold of the Old Version on the religious worship of the country. While, as Philip Rohr-Sauer has recorded, many collections of metrical psalms were published, the majority were purely literary collections, leaving the Old Version with its widely known popular tunes and words to continue its reign. The greatest, if least successful, challenge to the Old Version came in 1623 when George Wither produced his Hymns and Songs of the Church, with tunes by Orlando Gibbons. Wither, a poet Harry Escott terms "the great submerged peak of English hymnody"⁷, was granted a patent from James I, authorising publication of this volume along with each copy of the Old Version. However, the Stationers' Company, with a monopoly on the Old Version, refused to accept the patent, accusing Wither's hymns of being unworthy

for inclusion with Sternhold and Hopkins' translations, and Wither himself as a profiteer. To Wither's inconsolable fury, the patent was withdrawn; however, he was not debarred from publishing another volume of hymns: Hallelujah, or Britain's Second Remembrance (1641) contains 233 hymns subdivided into three parts: Hymns Occasionall, Hymns Temporary and Hymns Personall. The subjects range from hymns on sheep shearing to hymns "when Oppressors and wicked Men flourish"; the use of tunes from the Old Version indicates that Wither had not abandoned all hope of achieving widespread popularity for his hymnals. In the "Dedication" to his work, Wither continues in the well worn tradition of turning secular song to spiritual purposes:

For so innumerable are the foolish and profane songs now delighted in, to the dishonour of our language and religion, that hallelujahs and private meditations are almost out of use and fashion; yea, not in private only, but at our public feasts and civil meetings also, scurilous and obscene songs are inprudently sung without respecting the reverend presence of matrons, virgins, magistrates or divines. Nay, sometimes in their despite they are called for, sung and acted with such abominable gesticulations as are very offensive to all modest hearers and beholders; and fitting only to be exhibited at the diabolical solemnities of Bacchus, Venus or Priapus.⁸

In his preface "To the Reader" he cites Herbert as a poet dedicated to the service of religion, and includes himself as a poet in this tradition:

... Mr Sandys, Mr Herbert, Mr Quarles, and some others have lately to their great commendations, seriously endeavoured by tuning their muses to divine strains, and by employing them in their proper work. For the like prevention I have also laboured according to my talent; and am desirous both to help restore the muses to their ancient honour, and to become a means by the pleasingness of song to season childhood and young persons with more virtue and piety.⁹

Wither's muse, however, remains solidly earthbound, and the overall effect of his vast output of verse is aptly summed up in his own

"emblem" : "I grow and wither both together". Wither's interest in the emblem results in an overall flatness in the hymns, with comparison after comparison leaving the poems totally devoid of any personal application. The following stanzas from "Hymn LIII, for an Inn Keeper or Tavern"¹⁰ illustrate Wither's emblematic method:

1. Most men repute a common inn
 For ev'ry person free,
 To set up there a stage where sin
 May boldly acted be:
 And when profane and rude excess
 Their prizes there may play,
 The civil guest is welcomeless,
 And wished then away.
2. Inns were to better ends ordain'd,
 And better were employ'd;
 For virtue there was entertain'd,
 And needful rest enjoy'd:
 Yea, though our calling many scorn,
 And brand it with disgrace,
 Our Saviour in a hostrly born,
 Hath sanctified the place.

The poem plods on through another six stanzas, ending with the emblematic implications of the inn:

For not a stable but my breast,
 Shall be His lodging room,
And mine own heart to give Him rest,
 A pallet shall become.

Unlike Herbert, who frequently utilises these images to indicate a highly personal relationship between the individual soul and God, Wither's lines merely present a generalised concept, a feature predominant throughout his hymns.

While Wither's hymns are of little poetic value, they are nevertheless important for what they represent, the change of emphasis from the metrical psalm translations to the production of hymns intended for general use. Other seventeenth-century hymn writers include John Mason and Richard Baxter, both of whom show a familiarity with The Temple in their hymns. Mason's Spiritual Songs: Or Songs of Praise with

Penitential Cries to Almighty God (1683) contains many verbal parallels with Herbert's poetry; an example of this can be seen in the poem "Sabbath"¹¹:

Blest day of God, most calm, most bright,
The first and best of days:
The lab'ers rest, the saints delight,
A day of mirth and praise:
My Saviours face did make thee shine,
His rising did thee rouse:
This made thee heavenly and divine,
Beyond the common days.

The first stanza recalls both "Vertue" and "Sundays" from The Temple, and the other hymns in the collection are full of phrases from Herbert's poems. The volume was immensely influential in the growth of the hymn movement: the 1693 edition (enlarged by Thomas Shepherd) went through twenty editions.

Richard Baxter's Paraphrases on the Psalms of David (1692) and Monthly Preparations for Holy Communion, by R.B. . . . with Divine Hymns in Common Tunes. Fitted for publick Congregations and Private Families (1696) also show the influence of The Temple in their many verbal borrowings. Baxter's admiration for Herbert is well known; he dedicated some of his own verse in Poetical Fragments (1683) to Herbert and found Herbert far more congenial company than many theologians:

I have looked over Hutton, Vives, Erasmus,
Scaliger, Salmasius, Casaubon, and many other
critical grammarians . . . I much value the
sobriety and method of Aquinas . . . But how loth
should I be to take up such sauce for my food,
and such recreations for my businesse! The
jingling of too much and false philosophy among
them often drowns the noise of Aaron's bells.
I felt myself much better in Herbert's Temple.¹²

The hymns of Baxter and Mason were widely read by the hymn writers of the eighteenth-century, and as H. Escott notes in his study Isaac Watts: Hymnographer; "the abiding influence of Herbert upon Non-conformist hymnody in this period did not come directly from his Temple

... but by a more circuitous way through the hymns of John Mason and Richard Baxter."¹³. While this observation fails to take into account the wide impact of The Temple on religious poetry in the seventeenth-century, it points to an important aspect of Herbert's influence on the Nonconformist hymn writers: the best hymns of both Mason and Baxter share Herbert's preoccupation with a central speaker who is both individual and representative, a concern which is at the heart of devotional writing. The word "devotional" is of importance here: The Temple was published at a time when religious poetry was moving from the more emblematic representation of the sixteenth-century to the presentation of a devotional poetry with a highly individual and meditative central voice. F. Warnke discusses the definition of devotional poetry in his study Versions of Baroque: European Literature in the Seventeenth Century:

The religious lyric of the Baroque may be more narrowly defined as devotional: the poem, that is, does not, characteristically, engage in either simple praise of the deity or simple exhortation of the faithful; it attempts, rather, to achieve and express a personal and intense relationship between the protagonist of the poem and God. The devotional lyric is hence private rather than public in its manner, intimate rather than formal in its tone, dramatic rather than discursive in its structure.¹⁴

The private devotional lyric proved congenial to the hymn writers, and poems from seventeenth-century collections have appeared in various hymnals. In relation to Herbert, a notable example is Samuel Crossman whose volume The Young Man's Meditation, or some few Sacred Poems (1664) included lines from "The Church Porch" on its title page: his poem "My Song is Love Unknown", with its title taken from Herbert's "Love Unknown" and the last two lines from "The Agonie", appeared in nineteenth-century hymnals, as did his "Jerusalem on High".

The delicate imagery of much seventeenth-century devotional

poetry promised much for the future of the hymn, but as Dearmer notes, much of this poetry was lost sight of:

The promise of the seventeenth-century was never fulfilled. Famous and beautiful things survive from the 600 hymns of Watts and the 6,500 of Charles Wesley; but the object of this |the Eighteenth| century was to enforce a particular body of doctrine, rather than to express the essence of religion, as poetry alone can do.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the influence of the devotional lyric remains of great importance in the development of the hymn, as the individual voice of the lyric recurs even in the most dogmatic of hymns.

The Temple with its eclecticism and freedom from dogma provided a model for literary songs of praise, and influenced writers of such diverse religious persuasions as Crashaw and Baxter. The "accord" of the soul to the lines is the professed intention of many hymn writers; however, few achieve the portrayal of a central figure who is as intensely individual and widely representative as the persona of The Temple.

i. The voice of the hymn

Martin Elsky, writing on devotional poetry, notes the importance of the application of subject to self:

Very often in Protestant devotional poetry the focus of attention shifts from the object to the perceiving subject. The center of reformed meditative verse is not just Christ, but Christ as experienced by the meditator. This shift in point of view is suggested by Donne's remarks about how to know Christ: "for I know nothing, if I know not Christ crucified, And I know not that if I know not how to apply him to my selfe."¹⁶

The danger inherent in devotional poetry of overstressing the experience of the self and falling into pure subjectivity is a danger which is all

too often realised in the writing of hymns. Hymns such as Toplady's "Rock of Ages", where the cross is apprehended entirely in terms of personal salvation, become totally egocentric, and lack the sense of a wider application of the subject. The control of the speaker over the experience portrayed varies wildly in the field of the hymn: rarely is a central speaker achieved who, like Herbert's persona, can provide a perspective both individually relevant and validly representative.

The hymn exists in an uneasy tension between the twin dangers of overtly subjective presentation and definition of dogma. In its capacity as a communal mode of praise, the hymn cannot afford too much poetic license and originality. Tennyson perceived this conflict between the writing of hymn and the writing of poetry:

A good hymn is the most difficult thing in the world to write. To write a good hymn you have to be both commonplace and poetical. The moment you cease to be commonplace and put in any expression at all out of the common, it ceases to be a hymn.¹⁷

This opposition between poems and hymns points to some interesting characteristics of the latter: it must not be too overtly personal, nor too impersonal; not too original, nor lifeless cliché. Given so many conditions to fulfil, it is hardly surprising that many hymns fail in one or more of these respects.

The definition of the hymn suggested by Frank Baker, in his edition of the verse of Charles Wesley, furthers this distinction between the hymn and the poem:

The normal English hymn can be distinguished from related species of verse ... by reference to four criteria, two having regard to its content, and two to its form:

1. It is religious, an act of worship.
2. It is communal in its approach to religion, containing sentiments which may be shared by a group of people, even though they may all

- be expected to sing "I" instead of "we".
3. It is lyrical, written to be sung, not chanted or intoned.
 4. It is comparatively regular in metre and structure.¹⁸

Conditions 3 and 4 are self-explanatory: a hymn is dependent to a large extent on metrical convention and rhythmic regularity. The first condition, that a hymn should have a religious subject, is clear enough. The second statement on content, however, throws an interesting light on the voice of the hymn. The structure and sentiment of the hymn is communal, but the central voice is the private "I". This "I" must, therefore, contain the individual author of the hymn, the individual "singer" of the hymn, and the communal company of the faithful. The central figure needs to be both representative and individual, both an encompassing psalmic voice and the voice of individual experience. The desired voice of the hymn has much in common with the multivocal persona of The Temple, the achieved voice often falls too heavily on the side of dogma or subjectivity.

ii. Select Hymns: taken out of Mr Herbert's Temple (1697)

The anonymous author of Select Hymns, taken out of Mr Herbert's Temple, and Turn'd into Common Metre adapted thirty two poems from The Temple into common metre¹⁹. The poems are adapted to be sung to the popular psalm tunes used in Sternhold and Hopkins' Old Version, hence the addition "To the tune of Psalm —" after many titles. From the evidence of the poems selected, W.E. Stephenson, in his introduction to the collection, judges the author to have been a Dissenter, an opinion shared by Vendler and Patrides²⁰. Stephenson finds six main thematic areas in the adaptations: man's changeable nature, the worthlessness of

man, unity of the human with the Deity, the fragile nature of man, communication between earth and heaven, and the magnificence of Christ's love for man. All these were dominant concerns among the Dissenters, and Stephenson concludes that dogma is the overriding concern of the adapter: "the thirty-two hymns give a good view of the changed dissenting faith, far more than they give any idea of the original intent of Herbert. The adapter has, in effect, removed the temple from The Temple."²¹.

This statement, however, demands some qualification, as Selected Hymns remains one of the most faithful adaptations of Herbert's text. The author expresses his concern with reproducing the thought of The Temple in the Preface: "My attempt has been easie, only to alter the measure of some Hymns, keeping strictly to the Sence of the Author"²², and to a large extent the hymns reproduce the language and ideas of The Temple, although the metrical demands ensure that the poems are greatly reduced and that sense is often sacrificed to rhythm. Nevertheless the adapter retains much of Herbert's original imagery which the eighteenth-century was to find so distasteful. At the end of the nineteenth-century the Rev. D. Campbell wrote that Herbert's verses were "full of quaint conceits that unfit them for use in congregational praise"²³; in Select Hymns many of these quaint conceits are retained.

One result of this faithfulness to Herbert's original text is that the adapter produced hymns which pull simultaneously in two directions: both towards the desired adaptation and back to the original. The hymns are frequently inconsistent, as they include only partially developed conceits from Herbert's original poems, and often leave areas of suggested thought unexplained.

That the hymns are written to be sung communally is made clear in the Preface:

Mr Herbert's Poems have met with so general and deserved Acceptance, that they have undergone Eleven Impressions near Twenty Years ago. He hath obtained by way of Eminency, the Name of Our Divine Poet, and his verses have been frequently quoted in Sermons and other Discourses; yet, I fear, few of them have been Sung since his Death, the Tunes not being at the Command of Ordinary Readers.

This attempt therefore, (such as it is) is to bring so many of them as I well could, which I judg'd suited to the Capacity and Devotion of Private Christians, into the Common Metre to be sung in their Closets or Families

The familiar standard plea to turn secular art to the service of God is not long in following:

How much more fit is Herbert's Temple to be set to the lute, than Cowley's Mistress! It is hard that no-one can be taught Musick, but in such wanton Songs as fill the Hearts of many Learners with Lust and Vanity all their Days.²⁴

Stephenson remarks that the adapter avoids poems with identifiable single speakers, and that he "made the I of Select Hymns always a spokesman for an entire group, expressing attitudes all men might find true of themselves"²⁵. However, while the adapter does portray a predominately representative "I" who can contain the "we" of the congregation, he does not eschew any representation of a fiercely individual speaker. The first poem in the collection, "The Thanksgiving", is a poem with an intense and highly individual protagonist; the adapter includes the poem, but changes the central figure out of all recognition.

The Thanksgiving. To the tune of Psalm 100

O king of Griefs! (a Title true
Though strange, and to Thee only due)
How can I grieve enough for Thee,
Who in all grief preventest me?

Shall I weep Blood? Thou'st wept such store,
That all thy Body was one Gore.
Shall I be scourged, flouted, sold?
'Tis but to tell the Tale is told.

Shall I then skip the doleful Story,
And side with thy Triumphant Glory?
Shall wounds be health? Thy Thorns my Flower?
Thy Rod my Posie? Cross my Bower?

How shall I imitate Thee, and
Copy thy Fair, though Bloody Hand?
Can I pretend to reach thy Love,
Or try who should Victorious prove?

If thou giv'st Wealth, I will restore,
All back unto Thee by the Poor.
If Thou giv'st Honour, Men shall see
The Honour doth belong to Thee.

If Bosom Friends should rend thy Name,
I will rend thence their Love and Fame.
The World and I'll fall out, the Year
Shall not perceive that I am here.

My Musick shall find Thee, each string
Shall have its Attribute to sing,
That all may well accord in Thee,
And prove one God, one Harmony.

The adapter remains, in the most part, faithful to the words of The Temple if not to their original import. Some textual alterations are made, however: Herbert's poem begins "Oh king of Grief", rather than the less powerful "griefs", and the insertion of "enough" (1. 3) is the adapter's own addition, introducing a somewhat emblematic equation between man and God that reduces the sense of conflict present in the original. The substitution of "gore" (1. 6) for the "doore" of Herbert's original is again reductive: in Herbert's image Christ's body as "doore" has a personal relevance as the way to God is seen as through the wounds of Christ; while the adapter's use of "gore" is a mainly visual image lacking the application of the image to the central speaker. "Pretend" (1. 15) is substituted for Herbert's "revenge", and points to an interesting difference between the portrayal of the central speaker in the two versions: the speaker in the adapter's version is far humbler than the irate protagonist of Herbert's poem. Throughout the adaptation, the more controversial language of the speaker of Herbert's original is excluded, and the images of revenge and battle transferred

to the portrayal of an exchange between a humble speaker and God. The emotional effect of the original is sacrificed to the moral element desired by the hymn writer: the hymns define rather than record and relive experience. Nevertheless, by remaining so close to the original language, some of Herbert's intention and ideas are conveyed, enough at least occasionally to disturb the rather smug morality of the hymn.

The lack of conflict in the adaptation of "The Thanksgiving" is further confirmed when the poem ends on a generalised and harmonious note. Although the final lines (ll. 25-28) are taken almost verbatim from Herbert's original, they do not occur at the end of his poem; as the endings of Herbert's poems are crucial to the overall impact of the poem, the sense of the original is vastly changed. Herbert's poem ends as follows:

If thou shalt give me wit, it shall appeare,
If thou hast giv'n it me, 'tis here.
Nay, I will reade thy book, and never move
Till I have found therein thy love;
Thy art of love, which I'le turn back on thee,
O my deare Saviour, Victorie!
Then for thy passion - I will do for that -
Alas my God, I know not what.

("The Thanksgiving" . ll. 43-50).

The adapter chose to ignore these lines, where the sense of a conflict between the protagonist and God predominates; and by ignoring the final lines where God "prevents" the speaker to such an extent that he is forced to end his challenge, the adaptation has none of this sense of the speaker becoming silenced by Christ. The references to the passions (l. 35 and l. 49) are absent in the later version, as though the adapter considered any "imitating" of Christ's passion presumptuous and blasphemous. The speaker of the adapter's "The Thanksgiving" conveys no real challenge, no sense of a quarrelsome protagonist; what is conveyed is a speaker who is anxious to portray the harmony of God, and not the conflict which is occasioned by the persona of the poems in

The Temple.

The same technique of making the central figure more harmonious is apparent in the version of "The Temper I" found in Select Hymns:

The Temper

How should I Praise thee, and my Rhymes,
Engrave thy Love in Steel,
If what my Soul doth feel sometimes,
My Soul might ever feel.

Though there were forty Heav'ns or more
I peer above them all;
Sometimes I hardly reach a score,
Sometimes to Hell I fall.

O rack me not to such extent
Such distance is for Thee
The World's too little for thy Tent,
A Grave too big for me.

Wilt thou mete Arms with Man, or stretch
Thy Dust from Heav'n to Hell?
Will great God measure with a Wretch?
Shall He thy Statue Spell?

O when thy Roof my Soul doth hid,
Let me but Nestle there:
Then of a Sinner thou art rid,
And I of Hope and Fear.

Yet take thy way, for that is best,
Stretch or Contract thy Debter:
This is but tuning of my Breast
To make the Musick better.

Again, the insistent demands of the verse form ensure that much of the vigorous syntax so important in Herbert's poem disappears, and with it much of the sense of conflict occasioned by that syntax. The first three stanzas are close to the original, the only alterations being to fit the line lengths to the stanza form. In the fourth stanza a notable omission is Herbert's phrase "A crumme of dust" ("The Temper I", 1.14): the adapter is content with "Wilt thou mete Arms with Man, or Stretch/ Thy Dust from Heav'n to Hell?". As in "The Thanksgiving" the adapter chose to end the poem in a different way from Herbert's original, and ignores the final stanza completely:

Whether I flie with angels, fall with dust,
Thy hands made both and I am there:
Thy power and love, my love and trust
Make one place everywhere.

("The Temper I". ll. 25-28).

In Select Hymns the version ends on a quiet and harmonious note, where the speaker remains passive and humble. In the final stanza of Herbert's original, the persona and God are seen as integrated, with the "my" as much as "thy" making up the final "one place everywhere". The adapter, presumably seeing these lines as presumptuous, and attaching too much importance to the individual self, preferred to end his poem with an image of God as tuning man to the correct key, stressing the necessity of God to correct religious action.

It is this habit of including certain lines from The Temple almost verbatim and deliberately omitting others which leads to the effect in many of the Select Hymns of images left unexplained and changes of mood that are suggested but not developed. The emotional coherence of Herbert's poems is absent from Select Hymns, where emotion is sacrificed to conventional morality. It is interesting that the adapter chooses to include some poems of Herbert's with a highly individual and challenging central persona, although, inevitably, his concern with the "we" of corporate worship leads to a narrowing of the dimensions of this "I".

The adaptation of "Longing" is interesting in this respect:

"Longing". To the Tune of Psalm 67.

With sick and famisht Eyes,
Doubling knees, weary Bones,
To thee my Sighs and Tears ascend,
To Thee my Cries and Groans.

My Throat, my Soul is hoarse,
Heart wither'd like a Gourd
Which Thou didst Curse: My Thoughts make me
Giddy by turning round.

Bowels of Pity, Hear,
Thou true Love of my Mind,
Let not my Words and thy Name there,
Be scatter'd by the Wind.

Look on my Sorrows! Mark
My Furnace! O what Flame!
What heat doth in my heart abide;
What Grief there is! What Shame!

Lord Jesus, thou didst bow
The Head upon the Tree,
Shall He that made the Ear, not hear?
O be not Deaf to me.

Behold thy Dust doth stir,
It creeps, it aims at Thee:
And every Crumb therein saith, Come,
Wilt thou not succour me?

Thou tarriest, while I fall
To nothing: Thou dost Reign
And rule on high, while I thy Child
In bitter Grief remain.

Lord Jesus, Hear my Heart
That hath been brake so long:
Thy Beggars grow, and every Part
Of it hath got a Tongue.

My love, my sweetness Hear,
At thy Feet lies my Heart,
Oh heal my troubled Breast, which cries
And dies: Pluck out thy Dart.

Although the poem appears on the surface to be fairly faithful to Herbert's original, many of the changes made for the sake of metre have resulted here in syntactical changes which greatly alter the meaning of the lines. In the second stanza the adapter paraphrases Herbert's lines

My thoughts turn round,
And make me giddy, Lord I fall
Yet call. ("Longing". 11. 10-13),

into the highly reductive "My thoughts make me/Giddy by turning round" (11. 7-8). A similar reduction is effected in the third stanza where "Let not my Words and thy Name there/Be scatter'd by the Wind" (11. 11-12) has little of the emotional appeal of Herbert's original lines. Other

notable changes are the substitution of "Deaf" (l. 20) for "dead", and the omission of "die" in l. 25. The psalmic voice of Herbert's persona is retained to some extent, and despite the adapter's omission of some of the more rebellious aspects of the persona, the hymn is not free from the seeds of discontent. The inclusion of stanza 6 introduces a slight change of mood, with the hint of challenge to God that occurs in the original lines:

Behold, thy Dust doth stirr,
It creeps, it aims at Thee:
And every Crumb therein saith, Come,
Wilt thou not succour me? (ll. 21-25).

In this hymn, perhaps more than in any other of the adaptations, the voice of Herbert's persona is present; the inclusion of "dies" in the final stanza detracts from the sense of moral certainty that the other poems convey, and contains the sense of anguish of Herbert's original lines:

My love, my sweetness, heare!
By these thy feet, at which my heart
Lies all the yeare,
Pluck out thy dart,
And heal my troubled breast which cries,
Which dyes.
(ll. 79-84).

Select Hymns provides an interesting starting point for a discussion of the influence of Herbert's poetry on the hymn. The hymns display the reduction inevitable in the overriding concern for a suitable metre for communal singing, and a concern with portraying a general and representative "I" rather than an individual and personal central speaker. The persona of Herbert's poems, containing both the representative and individual Christian within itself, functions on many complex levels. In Select Hymns, the voice is that of the moralist, concerned with the general application of experience. However, enough of Herbert's complex persona survives through the faithfulness of the

adaptations of the text to introduce a sense of conflict and unease into many of the hymns, which later adapters such as Isaac Watts and John Wesley were at great pains to avoid.

II The hymn in the eighteenth-century

Percy Dearmer in his introduction to Songs of Praise discussed notes that "the Eighteenth century was a great age of hymnody, though the more exquisite poetic qualities of the seventeenth century had been left behind"²⁶. An age which saw the publication of hymns by Watts, the Wesleys and Cowper, saw a great acceleration in the number and importance of the hymn collections, and a corresponding lack of interest in the production of collections of devotional lyrics. Tate and Brady's "Supplement" to the revised metrical psalter of 1696, variously called the New Version and Day's Psalter, is a landmark in the history of the hymn; it contained a slim but important collection of religious hymns rather than metrical psalms, and its publication with the psalms gave authority to the use of the hymn in religious worship²⁷.

The New Version, however, failed to gain anything like the popularity of Sternhold and Hopkins' translations. Samuel Wesley considered the New Version superior, but is reported to have told his curate that he "must be content with their grandsire Sternhold", for the sake of the people, "who have a strange genius at understanding nonsense"²⁸. Pope in his "Epistle to Augustus", voiced the by now conventional poetic censure of the Old Version:

Hopkins and Sternhold glad the heart with Psalmes,
The Boys and Girls whom charity maintains,
Implore your help in these pathetic strains:
How could Devotion touch the country Pews,
Unless the Gods bestowed a proper Muse?

Verse cheers their learning, Verse assists their work,
Verse prays for Peace, or sings down Pope or Turk.
The silenced preacher yields to potent strain,
And feels that grace his prayer besought in vain.
The blessing thrills through all the labouring throng,
And Heaven is won by Violence of Song.²⁹

The reputation of Herbert's poetry in the eighteenth-century is reflected in the fact that there were no new editions of The Temple between 1709 and 1799, after the volume had run through eleven editions in the seventeenth-century. Devotional poetry fared little better than the Old Version in "educated" poetic taste of the period. Addison's comments on false wit and his condemnation of shaped poems³⁰, along with Johnson's antipathy towards devotional poetry indicate the distaste that the neo-classical poets felt towards the religious lyric. Henry Headley, writing of Herbert in Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry (1787) indicates the culmination of the century's preoccupation with the ideal of the sublime. He cites Herbert as

a writer of the same class, though infinitely inferior to both Quarles and Crashaw. His poetry is a compound of enthusiasm without sublimity, and conceit without either ingenuity or imagination ... He who takes up the poems of Herbert would little suspect that he had been public orator of an University, and a favourite of his Sovereign; that he had received flattery and praise from Donne and from Bacon; and that the biographers of the day had enrolled his name amongst the first names of his country.³¹

The hostility of many eighteenth-century poets was not directed at Herbert alone, but at the writers of the more personal and "eccentric" form of religious lyric. A dislike of "enthusiasm" and a sense of general rather than individual experience appears as the poetic ideal of the sublime; and this concern with the general is reflected in the many emendations, adaptations, works rewritten for children and corrections that the age produced. The distance between the poetic taste of the two centuries can be observed by a comparison between

Herbert's "Prayer", a poem widely adapted and imitated in the seventeenth-century, and the eighteenth-century favourite, "Vertue". "Prayer" was eschewed by the eighteenth-century adapters, presumably because of the highly personal application of its string of metaphors; while it provided the seventeenth-century imitators with a chance to employ their poetic ingenuity. "Vertue" on the other hand, with its deceptively simple and clear language, provided the eighteenth-century adapters with an apparently unambiguous moral and balanced voice which did not appear too overtly personal.

While the concern of the religious lyric can be said to be the portrayal of individual religious experience, the concern of the eighteenth-century hymn was the general application of religious experience. Ryley, in his commentary Mr Herbert's Temple . . . Explained and Improved (1714-15) proceeds at great length to point out the general application of Herbert's poems, as in this extract from his comments on "The Altar":

As we have Sacrifices to offer to God, of
Prayer, and praise, so we have Each of us an
Altar, of Gods appointment, upon which we are to
offer. This altar is the heart: of which that,
whose pattern was given to Moses in the Mount
. . . was a Shaddow, or type: which was Not to be
of Hewn Stones nor raised high: which Intimates
that the heart must be a Broken heart, and a
humble heart: and Such an Altar most holy . . .
Now such a one is here Dedicated to God, it is
1. A Broken Altar. Broken by Sin . . . 2. It is
a Cemented heart, put together that Each part
may Join to praise God. 3. the Cement is tears,
the tears of Repentance. a Contrite heart . . .
4. it is Unhewen heart. we must disclaim any power
of our own to frame a penitent heart . . .
Ministers may be Instruments to cleanse, but can
never Modifie the heart of Man.³²

Explanation and "improval" are motives which the eighteenth-century hymn writers who adapted Herbert's lyrics saw as of paramount importance. However, the voice of the eighteenth-century hymn is by no means a

unified one: the hymns of Watts, Wesley and Cowper differ greatly in their presentation of a central voice. A comment of Dr. Johnson's is of interest in this context of the central voice of the hymn: he states that "all censure of a man's self is oblique praise. It is in order to show how much he can spare. It has all the invidiousness of self-praise, and the reproach of falsehood"³³. This observation highlights Johnson's distrust of "confessional" poetry: in his view there is no room in religious writing for the recording of emotional conflict and spiritual crisis, as this record is merely a distorted form of self-praise³⁴. The hymn writers of the eighteenth century all wrestle with this problem, and attempt to make their hymns general rather than subjective, concerned with collective rather than individual experience. Watts made use, as did Herbert, of the Psalmic voice to provide a focus for both types of experience; John and Charles Wesley used definition of doctrine to "enlarge" the perspective of their hymns from the personal to the general, and to avoid "enthusiasm"; while Cowper, perhaps the most "confessional" of all hymn writers, turned to the natural world to extend his spiritual landscape. While the influence of The Temple may not be immediately discernible in these writers, the importance of Herbert's work to the development of the hymn, and above all the importance and attraction of Herbert's presentation of a persona which can contain both "I" and "we" should not be underestimated.

i. Isaac Watts: Hymns and Spiritual Songs

Watts' Hymns and Spiritual Songs, in 3 books first published in 1707 and then in the enlarged second edition of 1709, contains a total of 365 hymns subdivided into three sections: hymns "collected from the

Scriptures", hymns "compos'd on Divine Subjects", and hymns "prepar'd for the Lord's Supper". Selma Bishop in her edition of Hymns and Spiritual Songs notes Watts' rhetorical skills and his interest in philology, detailing the many alterations and corrections in the second edition of 1709³⁵. H. Escott in his study of Watts also examines the differences between the two editions, and notes that most of Watts' "metaphysical" echoes from poets such as Herbert and Crashaw occur in the first edition, and are largely rewritten in the second: "Watts' poems, hymns and psalms bear traces of a fondness for Herbert and the metaphysical poets - an infatuation which was deleterious to his hymnody and was subsequently largely outgrown."³⁶. John Hoyles in The Waning of the Renaissance 1640-1740 writes of the influence on Watts of Herbert's successor at Bemerton, John Norris, several of whose hymns appeared in A Collection of Divine Hymns and Poems on Several Occasions (1709); and concludes that the acceptance and approval of Norris' by the eighteenth-century hymn writers illustrates how "the private passion of the seventeenth-century lyric could be modified and sunk to meet the needs of eighteenth-century congregational enthusiasm"³⁷.

Later in his study, Hoyles writes on the anonymous Select Hymns of 1697:

The relics of an earlier metaphysical tradition is the poetry of Watts, while by no means evidence of Herbert's direct influence, begin to make sense in the light of this tradition's continuity in the spiritual songs of Dissent. Watts is preserving these relics not with the aim of refining them into sublimity, but of polishing them into classicism.³⁸

As Hoyles notes, the relationship between The Temple and Watts' hymns is not one of "direct" influence, but of an influence which, while at many removes, still remains potent. Watts, with his wide knowledge of

rhetoric, would have known many of Herbert's phrases through Poole's The English Parnassus: or a helpe to English Poesie (1657)³⁹; and evidence that Select Hymns was included as one of the more important hymn collections before Watts' can be seen by the work's inclusion in Samuel Bury's list of hymnals in A Collection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs⁴⁰.

Escott remarks on the influence of John Mason, "the most powerful single Anglican influence upon Watts and the Dissenting school of hymn writers", and of Richard Baxter⁴¹; both of these writers are in turn deeply influenced by The Temple. Baxter's Paraphrases on the Psalms of David (1692) is singled out for attention as Watts shares with Baxter an absorbing interest in the metrical psalm translations. Watts' interest in hymn was developed through the metrical psalm; and along with other poets of the period, and members of the Royal Society, such as John Wilkins, he was dedicated to reforming the language of the metrical psalms. In his Preface to Horae Lyricae (1706), Watts stresses that the hymns in the volume are written "only to assist the Meditation and Worship of Vulgar Christians, to whom the Measures of Hopkins by custom are grown Familiar and Natural, and esteemed almost sacred by being bound up in the same volume with Scripture". The preface to Hymns and Spiritual Songs echoes this concern at the popularity of the Old Version:

While we sing the Praises of our God in his Church, we are employ'd in that part of Worship which of all others is the nearest a-kin to Heaven; and 'tis pity that this of all others should be perform'd the worst upon Earth. The Gospel brings us nearer to the heavenly State than all the former Dispensations of God amongst Men: And in these last days of the Gospel we are brought almost within sight of the kingdom of our Lord; yet we are very much unacquainted with the Songs of the New Jerusalem, and unpractis'd in the Work of Praise. To see the dull Indifference, the negligent and the thoughtless Air that sits upon the Faces of a whole Assembly, while the Psalm is on their Lips, might tempt even a charitable Observer to suspect the Fervancy of inward

Religion; and it is much to be fear'd that the Minds of most of the Worshippers are absent or unconcerned. . . . But of all our Religious Solemnities Psalmodie is the most unhappily manag'd. That very Action which should elevate us to the most delightful and divine Sensations, doth not only flat our Devotion, but too often awakens our Regret, and touches all the Springs of Uneasiness within us.⁴²

Watts continues his tirade, comparing much of the Old Version to the retributive passages of the Old Testament:

I have been long convinc'd, that one great Occasion of this Evil arises from the Matter and Words to which we confine all our Songs. Some of 'em are almost opposite to the Spirit of the Gospel. Many of them foreign to the State of the New Testament, and widely different from the present Circumstances of Christians When we are just entring into an Evangelical Frame by some of the Glories of the Gospel presented in the brightest Figures of Judaism, yet the very next Line perhaps . . . hath something in it so extremely Jewish and cloudy, that darkens our Sight of God the Saviour: Thus by keeping too close to David in the House of God, the Vail of Moses is thrown over our Hearts.

He shares Herbert's concern that the soul "accords" to the lines:

For while our Lips and our Hearts run on ~~sweetly~~ together, applying the Words to our own Case, there is something of Divine Delight in it: But at once we are forced to turn off the Application abruptly, and our Lips speak nothing but the Heart of David: Thus our own Hearts are as it were forbid the Pursuit of the Song, and then the Harmony and the Worship grow dull of meer necessity.⁴³

Later in the Preface, Watts stresses the general application of his hymns:

If any Expressions occur to the Reader that savour of an Opinion different from his own, yet he may observe these are generally such as are capable of an extensive Sense, and may be used with a Charitable Latitude.

He proceeds to elaborate on how he has sacrificed poetry to the demands of rhyme and unambiguous meaning:

The metaphors are generally sunk to the Level of vulgar Capacities. I have aimed at ease of Numbers and smoothness of Sound, and endeavour'd to make the Sense plain and obvious. If the Verse appears so gentle and flowing as to incur the Censure of Feebleness, I may honestly affirm that sometimes it cost me Labour to make it so: Some of the Beauties of Poesy are neglected and some wilfully defac'd: I have thrown out the Lines that were too sonorous, and have given an Allay to the Verse, lest a more exalted Turn of Thought or Language should darken or disturb the Devotion of the weakest Souls.⁴⁴

Two dominant concerns emerge from Watts' preface to Hymns and Spiritual Songs: the concern for an appropriate language of religious praise which will have relevance to the individual Christian and convey the spirit of the New Testament, and the concern that the language should be accessible and communal. Again, the problem inherent in the hymn, that of producing a central voice relevant to both "I" and "we", becomes apparent. Watts' interest in the techniques of the Psalms and his appreciation of the beauty of the original alerted him to the advantages of a central voice modelled on the Psalmic voice, with both a representative and individual function. However, difficulties arise from Watts' concern for a text that is not overtly personal; the result is that often Watts' hymns are impersonal to such an extent that they become versified dogma, although the versification is of the highest order.

An analysis of four of Watts' hymns illustrates his application of the two dominant concerns of the preface. The well known Hymn LXII⁴⁵ centres on the unified voice of the congregational hymn:

Come let us join our chearful Songs
With Angels round the Throne;
Ten thousand thousand are their Tongues,
But all their Joys are one.

Worthy the Lamb that dy'd, they cry,
To be exalted thus;
Worthy the Lamb, our Lips reply,
For He was slain for us.

Jesus is worthy to receive
Honour and Power divine;
And Blessings more than we can give,
Be, Lord, for ever thine.

Let all that dwell above the Sky,
And Air, and Earth, and Seas,
Conspire to lift thy Glorys high,
And speak thine endless Praise.

The whole Creation join in one,
To bless the Sacred Name
Of him that sits upon the Throne,
And to adore the Lamb.

The full title of the hymn is Hymn LXII. "Christ Jesus the Lamb of God, worshipped by all the Creation, Rev. 5.11.12.13."; and in keeping with Watts' concern in replacing Sternhold and Hopkins' Old Testament Psalm, it clings closely to the language and spirit of the New Testament. In this hymn, as in the majority of Watts' hymns, the individual voice is rejected in favour of an inclusive and representative one: Watts' concern is with the "we" contained in the "I" of much religious poetry, and throughout the hymn the plural "we" and "us" are used. The unambiguous language of the hymn, with its conspicuous lack of elaborate metaphor, confirms Watts' statement in the preface that his hymns do not "disturb the Devotion of the Weakest Souls", and his concern with the language and praise of the Psalms is reflected in the emphasis on corporate praise in the hymn.

The distrust of "enthusiasm" which became so marked in the mid and later years of the century is already present here. The personal voice is excluded in favour of a corporate voice, and the hymn is far removed from the devotional lyric. Both Herbert and Watts share a concern for the relevance of the psalms, and both produced their own versions of metrical "psalms". Herbert's poems are permeated by the psalms; drawing mainly on their highly personal tone and character, they depict the fluctuations of religious experience. Watts' hymns also

portray the experiences depicted in the psalms in the light of the New Testament; however, Watts distrusts an overtly personal voice, and relies mainly on a representative one. The persona of The Temple is complex and intricate enough to contain both.

Watts' "Hymn LXVII. Seeking the Pastures of Christ the Shepherd, Solom Song 1.7."⁴⁶ illustrates clearly Watts' technique of appropriating the language of the Old Testament and setting it in a New Testament perspective:

Thou whom my Soul admires above
All earthly Joy and earthly Love,
Tell me, dear Shepherd, let me know,
Where doth thy sweetest Pasture grow?

Where is the shadow of the Rock,
That from the Sun defends thy Flock?
Fain would I feed among thy sheep,
Among them rest, among them sleep.

Why should thy Bride appear like one
That turns aside to Paths unknown?
My constant Feet would never rove,
Would never seek another Love.

The Footsteps of Thy Flock I see;
Thy sweetest Pastures here they be;
A wondrous Feast thy Love prepares,
Bought with thy Wounds, and Groans, and Tears.

His dearest Flesh he makes my Food,
And bids me drink his richest Blood;
Here to these Hills my Soul will come,
Till my Beloved lead me home.

The tone of assurance which permeates this hymn is skilfully combined with the regular rhythms, and the imagery from the Song of Songs is transposed to a New Testament context in the fourth and fifth stanzas, confirming Watts' plan to ensure the contemporary relevance of the Psalms. The hymn is full of echoes of the twenty third Psalm, and recalls both Herbert and Sidney's translation of this Psalm; the intimate tone of ll. 3-4 is especially relevant here. However, while the central voice here is more individual than the previous hymn, the "I" is still largely representative. By remaining close to the Biblical text, Watts

Prevents any highly individual presentation of the central figure, and the "I" remains safely entrenched in the teachings of Christian doctrine, remains passive, and contains nothing that could give offence to the most traditional reader.

Hymn CXVII⁴⁷ illustrates the somewhat otherworldly voice which occurs in many of Watts' hymns:

I cannot bear thine Absence, Lord,
My life expires if thou depart:
Be thou, my Heart, still near my God,
And thou, my God, be near my Heart.

I was not born for Earth and Sin,
Nor can I live on things so vile;
Yet would I stay my Father's Time,
And hope and wait for Heav'n awhile.

Then, dearest Lord, in thine Embrace
Let me resign my fleeting Breath,
And with a smile upon my Face
Pass the Important Hour of Death.

This hymn occurs in Book II of Hymns and Spiritual Songs, hymns "Composed on Divine Subjects", and it is noticeable that the most "personal" hymns occur in this book. Watts does not rely as heavily on the Biblical text as in Book I, and many of the hymns approach the tone of the devotional lyric. The theme of separation from God, so dominant in the psalms, is expressed here as a longing for a release from life. The "I" appears not of this world, "I was not born for Earth and Sin" (l. 5) and is portrayed as totally passive, offering no resistance to the will of God or the forces of time. Although the tone appears "Herbertian" to some extent, particularly in stanza 1 with its interplay between "my Heart" and "my God", the sense of remoteness from the world is a feature not usually found in Herbert's poems. The poems in The Temple describe a tension between this world and God, and an active involvement in both everyday life and the religious life. Watts' hymn looks towards the almost total subjectivity of Cowper's introspective

hymns in its abandonment of the things of this world; but the central voice never becomes wholly involved with an individual figure. It is a representative "I" which has no individual eccentricities or features, and remains well within the conventions of religious doctrine. The distance between God and man is not portrayed as experienced and lamented: the passivity of the speaker means that it is never more than rhetorical.

Hymn CXXII⁴⁸ provides an example of Watts at his most "metaphysical":

My God, permit me not to be
A Stranger to my Self and Thee;
Amidst a thousand Thoughts I rove
Forgetful of my highest Love.

Why should my Passions mix with Earth,
And thus debase my heavenly Birth?
Why should I cleave to things below,
And let my God, my Saviour go?

Call me away from Flesh and Sense,
One Sovereign Word can draw me thence;
I would obey the Voice Divine,
And all inferior Joys resign.

Be Earth with all her Scenes withdrawn,
Let Noise and Vanity be gone;
In secret Silence of the Mind
My Heav'n, and there my God I find.

This hymn, entitled "Retirement and Meditation", illustrates some of Watts' affinities with the devotional poets of the seventeenth century, and the attraction that the meditative voice possessed for him. It contains a far more vigorous central voice than that usually conveyed in Watts' hymns. The command forms "permit" (l. 1) and "call" (l. 9) denote an active central speaker, as does the inclusion of the speaker in both the things of this world and in God, in the phrase "A Stranger to my Self and Thee" (l. 2). The Psalmic voice is employed to great advantage here: the speaker sees the ideal world as within "the secret silence of the Mind" (l. 15), within himself, and the "I" portrayed in

both the individual and representative Christian. There is a sense of active involvement and recollection: the tension indicated in the second and third stanzas is unusual in Watts' hymns, introducing as it does an ambiguity in the central speaker, who clings to the "things below" while yearning for God. The inclusion of the conditionals "should" and "would" in this stanza emphasises this tension in the central voice. It is interesting that one of the few of Watts' hymns to have this "active" quality should be on the subject of "Retirement and Meditation", a subject highly congenial to the seventeenth-century devotional poets, and the hymn is an indication of the attraction Watts felt towards the highly personal voice of these lyrics. However, he never allows the central figure to become too individual, and like all of his hymns, Hymn CXXII steers clear of "enthusiasm".

The hymns of Watts, while certainly at many removes from The Temple have certain points of contact with Herbert's poems; and the voice portrayed is modelled to some extent on the Psalmic voice, although in Watts' case it is the representative and not the individual elements which predominate. However, while in Herbert's poems it is the influence of the Book of Psalms itself which is of paramount importance, in Watts' hymns it is the aspect of psalm translation, and achieving an unambiguous portrayal of religious doctrine which colours the poetry. The persona of The Temple achieves a far more complex range of voices than Watts' ever attempts, but hymns such as CXXII show that the influence on Watts' poetry of the voice of the introspective religious lyric is far from negligible. Watts is in many respects the "father of English hymnody", and his impact upon congregational singing was of immense importance. His work represents the fusion of the traditions of metrical psalm translation and hymn writing, as Catherine Herzel notes, "We might almost say that before Watts, English churches sang Psalms. After Watts they sang Hymns"⁴⁹.

ii. John Wesley: Rewriting Herbert

Canon Hutchinson was the first to draw attention to John Wesley's extreme rewriting of Herbert in his article "John Wesley and George Herbert"⁵⁰ where he discusses the adaptation of 47 of Herbert's poems in Wesley's Hymns and Sacred Poems (1739). He also comments on the relationship between Wesley's hymns and Herbert's poems in his edition of Herbert:

It is regrettable that he cut down Herbert's intricate metrical patterns to the Procrustean bed of Common, Long and Short Metre, all of them iambic, to fit them for singing to familiar tunes. He also ruthlessly pruned the conceits and gave the poems an almost eighteenth-century dress, but in his rewriting of them he generally interpreted the meaning correctly, and, at times, even skilfully.⁵¹

He sees Wesley as important in widening the circle of Herbert's readers by his inclusion of many poems in his hymnals, and the printing of Select Parts of Mr Herbert's Sacred Poems (1773) consisting of 22 abridged poems and a large part of "The Church Porch"⁵².

Elsie Leach, in her article "John Wesley's use of George Herbert" sets the number of adaptations in Hymns and Sacred Poems at 49, and concludes that it was not consideration of metre which influenced Wesley's choice of poems from The Temple, but the subject matter of those poems. She comments on the appeal of the individual voice of Herbert's lyrics for Wesley:

In the spiritual vacuum of the Eighteenth century, Wesley's bond of enthusiasm represents an attempt to satisfy strong religious needs; Wesley returns to that celebration of the inner life which is so important for Herbert and other metaphysical poets. For Wesley and the congregation of like-minded souls for whom he intended his collection, Herbert provides the personal cry, the appeal of the anguished heart to God.⁵³

Leach finds that Wesley's adaptation, on the whole, remain close to the spirit of The Temple; and that Wesley, while his commitment to a neo-

classical form of expression led to the alteration of many "metaphysical" conceits, turned to the inner voice of Herbert's poems to supply the emotional element in his hymns.

Helen Vendler finds Wesley's rewriting of Herbert rather more distant from the spirit of The Temple. Providing detailed analyses of Wesley's adaptations of "Dialogue", "The Rose" and "Life" (printed as "Anacreonticks" by Wesley) and "The Collar", her interest lies in examining those passages in the poetry which offended Wesley's religious or aesthetic sensibility. She notes that "Wesley is disturbed by Herbert's conceptual audacity in respect of religious matters"⁵⁴ Vendler's competent discussion of Wesley's adaptations illustrates the way in which many poems are transformed to such an extent that the sense of the original is obscured, an opinion also voiced by Patrides in his comments on "The Elixer"⁵⁵.

While Hutchinson and Leach centre their discussion on Wesley's Hymns and Sacred Songs, and Vendler comments on the Anacreonticks in Wesley's A collection of Moral and Sacred Poems from the most celebrated British authors (1744), John Sparrow examines Wesley's adaptations of Herbert's poems which were themselves adapted for the Moravian hymnal, and Martha Winburn England studies the contribution of Herbert to Wesley's A Collection of Psalms and Hymns (1737)⁵⁶. While critical comment on Wesley's adaptations of Herbert has been fairly extensive, no mention is made of a 1745 edition Hymns on The Lord's Supper, by John and Charles Wesley; in this volume, amongst many poems saturated with Herbertian echoes, direct adaptations of Herbert's "The Invitation" and "The Sacrifice" are found. The volume, with its emphasis on the Eucharist, provides many verbal parallels with The Temple, and is remarkable for the closeness of its tone and imagery to the devotional lyrics of the seventeenth-century. While many of the hymns are those

of Charles Wesley, the adaptations can safely be assumed to be those of John Wesley, as both occur amongst the adaptations in Hymns and Sacred Songs. In the context of Hymns on The Lord's Supper the adaptations appear perfectly in tune with the overall tone of the work: that of an individual voice appealing to God, in keeping with the highly personal nature of the Eucharistic ritual. Hymn IX, the adaptation of "The Invitation" consists of six stanzas, the same number as Herbert's original⁵⁷

Come hither all, whose grov'ling Taste
Inslaves your Souls, and lays them waste,
Save your Expence, and mend your Chear:
Here God Himselfe's prepar'd and drest,
Himself vouchsafes to be your Feast,
In whom alone all Dainties are.

Come hither all, whose tempting Wine
Bows to your Father Belial's Shrine,
Sin all your Boast, and Sence your God.
Weep now for what ye've drank amiss,
And lose your Taste of Sensual Bliss
By drinking here your Saviour's Blood.

Come hither all, when searching Pain,
And Conscience's loud Cries arraign,
Producing all your Sins to View:
Taste; and dismiss your guilty Fear,
O taste, and see that God is here,
To heal your Souls, and Sin subdue.

Come hither all, whom careless Joy
Doth with alluring Force destroy
While loose ye range beyond your Bounds:
True Love is here, that passes quite,
And all your transient mean Delight
Drowns, as a Flood the lower Grounds.

Come hither all, whose Idol love,
While fond the pleasing Pain ye prove,
Raises your foolish Raptures high,
True Love is here, whose dying Breath
Gave Life to Us; who tasted Death,
And dying once no more can die.

Lord, I have now invited All:
And instant still the Guests shall call,
Still shall I all invite to Thee:
For O my God, it seems but right
In mine, thy meanest Servant's Sight,
That where All is there All should be.

The first stanza, with its additions of "grov'ling" and "Inslaves" adopts a rather more censorious tone to the "all" here addressed than is apparent in Herbert's opening lines: "Come ye hither all, whose taste/Is your waste". This somewhat moralistic dwelling on the low nature of man is continued in the second stanza with the phrases "Sence your God" and "Sensual Blisse"; and Herbert's delicate image of the blood of Christ becoming holy wine ("Which before ye drink is bloud" (l. 11)) is lost in Wesley's version. The tone of the moralist continues in the third stanza, introducing "Conscience's loud Cries" and "your guilty fear"; again, there is a marked difference between the tone of Wesley's adaptation and Herbert's gentler original, where the invitation is extended with the certainty that the sinner will be forgiven.

In the fourth stanza, Wesley substitutes "True Love" for Herbert's "a joy that drowneth quite/Your delight" (ll. 23-4): "True Love", recurs in Wesley's fifth stanza, a repetition which lessens the self-contained aspect of each stanza, so dominant in Herbert's version. In his final stanza, Wesley remains closest to Herbert's original; the verbal parallels are as close as the metre will allow, as a look at Herbert's final stanza illustrates:

Lord I have invited all,
 And I shall
 Still invite, still call to thee:
 For it seems but just and right
 In my sight,
 Where is all, there all should be.

The "I" appears for the first time in this stanza, both in Herbert's original and Wesley's adaptation: in Wesley's case the introduction of the personal voice creates a tone more in keeping with the theme of the volume, that of the relationship between the individual soul and Christ. The adaptation itself appears rather stilted and im-

personal, a feature accentuated by the fact that the majority of the "personal" lyrics in the volume come from the more gifted pen of Charles Wesley, while a reading of the volume as a whole indicates the great extent to which the hymns of the Wesleys are permeated by the imagery and tone of The Temple.

Hymn CLX is John Wesley's adaptation of "The Banquet", another poem with obvious significance to "The Lord's Supper"⁵⁸:

Welcome delicious sacred Cheer,
Welcome my God, my Saviour dear!
O with me, in me, live and dwell:
Thine, earthly Joy surpasses quite,
The Depths of Thy Supreme Delight
Not Angel-Tongues can fully tell.

What Streams of Sweetness from the Bowl
Suprize and deluge all my Soul,
Sweetness which is, and makes Divine,
Surely from God's Right-Hand they flow,
From thence deriv'd to Earth below,
To cheer us with Immortal Wine.

Soon as I taste the heavenly Bread,
What Manna o'er my Soul is Shed,
Manna that Angels never knew!
Victorious Sweetness fills my Heart,
Such as my God delights t'impart,
Mighty to save, and Sin subdue.

I had forgot my heavenly Birth,
My Soul degen'rate clave to Earth,
In Sense and Sins base Pleasures drown'd,
When God assum'd Humanity,
And spilt his sacred Blood for me,
To wash and lift me from the Ground.

Soon as his Love has rais'd me up,
He mingles Blessings in a Cup,
And sweetly meets my ravish'd Taste;
Joyous I now throw off my Load,
I cast my Sins and Care on God,
And wine becomes a Wing at last.

Upborn on This, I mount, I fly;
Regaining swift my native Sky,
I weep my streaming Eyes, and see
Him, whom I seek, for whom I sue,
My God, my Saviour there I view,
And live with him who dy'ed for me.

This adaptation differs far more from Herbert's original than Wesley's version of "The Invitation". The addition of "delicious" in the opening line has a rather more sensual application than Herbert's "sweet", and is an unusual addition for Wesley. The syntax of lines 3-5 in Wesley's version is rather unclear: the "thine" has no corresponding image attached to it, presumably it refers to the joy of Christ as opposed to earthly joy, and Wesley leaves out Herbert's phrase "thy neatnesse" as rather too homely for neo-classical taste. In the second stanza the reference to "streams of Sweetness" is again Wesley's addition, as are the corresponding "deluge" and "flow". Wesley omits Herbert's third, fourth and fifth stanzas almost completely, and his third stanza is his own invention; the remaining three stanzas, while keeping reasonably close to Herbert's original, end with lines commemorating Christ's passion: "My God, my Saviour there I view/And live with him who dy'd for me". Herbert's version runs "Him I view/Who hath done so much for me" (ll. 46-7); Wesley's substitution of "dy'd" for "done" corresponds with his predominant interest in centring his hymns around the sacrifice of Christ rather than around Christ living in man. This difference of emphasis informs many of Wesley's adaptations. Herbert's poem continues for another stanza:

Let the wonder of this pitie
 Be my dittie,
And take up my lines and life:
Hearken under pain of death,
 Hands and breath;
Strive in this, and love the strife. (ll. 49-54).

In Wesley's view, these lines referring to the poem itself and to the poet's striving to "sing" well both in song and poem, operate outside the main import of his hymn: the sacrifice of Christ. In Wesley's version the central figure remains a representative Christian, unlike the individual and self-referential speaker of Herbert's poem.

In his history of the hymn, C.S. Phillips writes of the impact of John Wesley's hymnals: "an enormous part of the attraction of the movement that he created and led consisted in the warmer and more enthusiastic conception of worship for which it stood, and especially in the free heartfelt participation of the whole congregation in that worship by means of a new intensely personal type of hymnody". He sees Wesley's hymns as aspiring to the ideal of the popular preaching of the eighteenth-century: "a bold impromptu appeal to each man's heart or conscience, couched in popular language"⁵⁹. The Temple, with its distinctive central persona, provided the personal appeal that Wesley sought to convey in his hymns. His preface to A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists (1780) setting out his ideal for the language of hymn, could be read as a comment on The Temple:

Here is no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives. Here is nothing turgid or bombast on the one hand, nor low and creeping on the other. Here are no cant expressions, no words without meaning . . . Here are (allow me to say) both the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language, and at the same time the utmost simplicity and plainness, suited to every capacity.⁶⁰

The hymns of John and Charles Wesley⁶¹ represent perhaps the most important development in the hymn tradition: they provide a medium where both the representative "we" and the highly personal "I" are portrayed. Paradoxically, it is not John Wesley's direct imitations of Herbert's poems which illustrate this influence at its best, but the far subtler appropriation of Herbert's language and central speaker throughout the hymns of both brothers. The stress on personal salvation in their hymns demanded the inclusion of a voice speaking directly to God; and while few of the hymns come near to the sense of overheard communication so central to the seventeenth-century religious lyric, the many echoes of Herbert's poetry indicate that they found the epitome of this voice in The Temple.

iii. William Cowper: Olney Hymns

Olney Hymns, published in 1779 with 68 hymns by Cowper and 280 by John Newton, represents the extreme aspects of the introspective hymn. In relation to The Temple the hymns are interesting in that the central voice has moved from the representative voice of Watts' hymns to a totally subjective "I", and the degree of balance which informs the persona of The Temple is lost. Cowper was familiar with Herbert's poems, turning to them at one of the frequent periods of despair in his troubled life. Like many of his contemporaries, however, he found them "gothic and uncouth":

Day and night I was upon the rack, lying down in horrors and rising in despair. I presently lost all relish to those studies I had been closely attached to; the classics had no longer any charm for me; I had need of something more salutary than mere amusement, but had none to direct me where to find it. At length with Herbert's poems, gothic and uncouth as they were, I yet found in them a strain of piety which I could not but admire. This was the only author I had any delight in reading. I pored upon him all day long and though I found not there what I might have found, a cure for my Malady, yet it never seemed so much alleviated as when I was reading him. At length I was advised by a very near and dear relation to lay him aside, for he thought such an author was more likely to nourish my melancholy than to remove it.⁶²

To a far greater extent than earlier hymn writers, Cowper's hymns can be seen as autobiographical, and as his life was an exceptionally troubled and unhappy one, many of his hymns are so excessively personal and subjective that they lack the element of communal praise required by the congregational hymn. In many respects, they resemble the introspective religious lyrics of the seventeenth-century.

However, as C.S. Phillips has remarked, many of Cowper's hymns became popular amongst various religious denominations⁶³, and their influence accounts to a large extent for the increase in subjectivity of many nineteenth-century hymns, often a rather unhealthy character-

istic. The first hymn of Olney Hymns, "Walking with God"⁶⁴, is probably Cowper's most famous:

Oh! for a closer walk with God,
A calm and heavenly frame;
A light to shine upon the road
That leads me to the Lamb!

Where is the blessedness I knew
When first I saw the Lord?
Where is the soul-refreshing view
Of Jesus and his word?

What peaceful hours I once enjoyed,
How sweet their memory still?
But they have left an aching void,
The world can never fill.

Return, o holy Dove, return,
Sweet messenger of rest!
I hate the sins that made thee mourn,
And drove thee from my breast.

The dearest idol I have known,
Whate'er that idol be,
Help me to tear it from thy throne,
And worship only thee.

So shall my walk be close to God,
Calm and serene my frame;
So purer light shall mark the road
That leads me to the Lamb.

The hymn contains many characteristic features of Cowper's lyrics: it is intensely personal, concerned always with "I" and "me", and contains a sense of loss and alienation in this world. Cowper is out of step with his world, and the "I" of this hymn remains resolutely Cowper himself throughout. Lines such as "I hate the sins that made thee mourn/And drove thee from my breast" point to a tendency to be self-referential which leads many of Cowper's hymns into a somewhat obscure subjectivity. Actual verbal echoes from The Temple are few in Cowper's poetry, although he does follow Herbert in entitling some of his hymns as states of mind; in relation to Herbert's poetry the interest of Olney Hymns lies in the different emphasis of Cowper's central voice.

Herbert's poetry, while remaining highly individual and personal,

never degenerates into dogma or subjectivity, pitfalls which constantly dog the hymn writers. By portraying a complex persona who is both individual and representative, he achieves a balanced presentation of both personal experience and Christian doctrine. Cowper's hymns, while conveying a highly individual voice, often lapse into references to events in Cowper's spiritual life, moving into the sphere of the introspective lyric rather than that of the more representative hymn. A difficulty inherent in reading Cowper's hymns is that of judging when perception stops and interpretation begins; everything in Cowper's poetry is relentlessly applied to the self, and sometimes appears to be of little relevance to the reader apart from casting a light on Cowper's own life. His hymns are Egocentric rather than centred on Christ; a notable development from the hymns of the Wesleys, where the sacrifice of Christ is central. In The Temple, Herbert combines praise of God with portrayal of experience; in Olney Hymns, personal experience often overshadows praise.

III Hymns as Praise

In this chapter I have attempted to outline the connections between the portrayal of the persona of The Temple and the voice of the religious hymn. While the direct influence of Herbert upon an individual hymn writer may not always be apparent, the publication of The Temple at a time when interest in the writing of hymns rather than metrical psalms becomes apparent, indicates the importance of the volume to the later writers.

Herbert's poems are not "hymns" in the traditional sense of the word as songs of congregational praise. Martha Winburn England makes an

interesting comment on the "individual quality" of Herbert's poems:

No attempt to make Herbert "choral" has been successful, not even Ralph Vaughan Williams' freer anthem form. Perhaps the most unmistakable individual voice in English poetry, Herbert is not choric, but the superlative of solo. That his voice is able to speak for all kind and conditions of men is his miracle, but it is not a miracle that lies within the genre of the hymn. Alteration was necessary to bring the poems within the hymn genre.⁶⁵

While not themselves within the hymn genre, Herbert's poems provided the voice which writers of the hymn, through their commitment to the dictates of metre and communal praise, could only partially express.

However, in another sense of "hymn", that of the song of praise, Herbert's lyrics with their complex and intricate fusion of representative and individual voices reign supreme. The interest of the hymn writers in Herbert's poetry indicates the appeal of the "I" portrayed in The Temple; and an examination of various hymns shows the difficulty of integrating this complex "I" into a verse form governed by the dictates of metre and dogma.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE TEMPLE AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I Herbert's poetic reputation in the Nineteenth Century

After the dearth of publications of Herbert's poetry in the eighteenth-century, the abundance of editions of The Temple after 1799 attests to his growing popularity in the nineteenth century. Patrides notes the "interest of influential poets in Herbert's work during this period, citing passages from Emerson, Ruskin and Coleridge, who termed Herbert "one of the best English lyric poets", and comments that the proliferation of editions of The Temple in the nineteenth century made Herbert's poetry available to a far wider range of readers than in any other period¹. This observation is strengthened by the fact that while John Wesley sought to make Herbert's poems more accessible to the public by turning them into hymns, only one of his adaptations was retained in the revised Methodist hymnal of 1780².

In the field of the hymn, there was an unprecedented increase in the number of hymnals published in this period. Dearmer, referring to the "spate of hymnals" in the nineteenth century, notes that between 1800-20, 42 new Church of England hymnals were published (this is without the addition of hymnals by other religious groups, such as the Quakers), and comments on the conspicuous lack of poetry in many of these hymns: "The principle of poetry was lost sight of, it was forgotten that the object of the hymn is to express and not define"³. Heber's influential hymnal of 1811 puts the emphasis predominantly on definition; in his preface to the volume Heber states that religious expression must have its limitations: "No fulsome or indecorous knowledge has been knowingly adopted; no erotic addresses to him whom no indecorous lips can approach; no allegories ill understood and worse applied."⁴.

This "Spate of hymnals", culminating in the outstanding success of Hymns Ancient and Modern in 1861, was accompanied by an increase in the publication of collections of sacred poetry, many centred upon church ceremony. A reference to The Temple from The Penny Encyclopaedia (1838) is of interest in this context: "there is the same zeal and energy in pastoral duties, the same love of paradox in language, the same reverence for antiquity and for the ceremonies of the Church"⁵. The writer of this extract was not alone in equating The Temple with reverence for church ceremony; and while many hymns of the period display a highly subjective voice, attributable in a large part to the legacy of Cowper's Olney Hymns, the collections of sacred poetry attempt to portray a voice which can be simultaneously individual and representative.

Throughout the nineteenth century a prevailing interest is evident in the image of the temple. Wylie Sypher's comment on the relevance of the image to the structure of the Christian church has some bearing on this interest: "Since the circle is the perfect figure, the sign of divine order, the change from the long-naved medieval churches to the renaissance circular churches (sometimes called "temples") is a token of a confidence in a harmony between microcosm and macrocosm, between man and his universe."⁶. An emphasis on the symmetry and harmony of the Anglican church predominates in the poetic collections of members of the Oxford Movement; it is also found in the poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Christina Rossetti. The word "temple" occurs often as synonymous with the ideal church, a departure from Wesley's understanding of the temple image as representative of the earth.

Herbert's own emphasis on the human heart as the true Temple of God is part of a long established tradition of appropriation of this

Biblical association by religious poets, as these lines by John Croke, Master of Chancery to Henry VIII indicate:

Offer we must for Sacrifice
A troubled mind with Sorrow's Smart:
Canst thou refuse? Nay, nor despise
The humble and the contrite heart.

To us of Sion that be born,
If thou thy favour wilt renew,
The broken soule, the temple torn,
The walls and all shall be made new.⁷

During the seventeenth century, the image is made use of in the political propaganda of the time, with references to the destruction or rebuilding of the temple permeating the Sermons and pamphlets of the day. In the eighteenth century, however, much of its poetical influence is lost: the main uses of the image are to denote the world (as in Darwin's Temple of Nature) or the individual temple in the heart of man. In the nineteenth-century, with its concern for the proper use of religious ceremony, the image regains a political significance: it is used to denote an ideal church, a reformed Anglican church containing the desired mixture of ceremony and devotion. However, the image also retains its individual connotations, and the two uses of this image point to the presence of two distinct voices in the religious poetry of the nineteenth century: the didactic ceremonial voice and the lyric voice. The former predominates in the poetry of the Oxford Movement, while the latter is found in the poems of Christina Rossetti and Gerard Manley Hopkins. From the frequency of verbal echoes from The Temple in the work of these poets, a knowledge of Herbert's poetry can be assumed; the concern of this chapter, however, is not the pointing out of these parallels but an account of the influence of Herbert's presentation of the persona on the central voice portrayed in these collections.

i. John Newman

In Apologia pro Vita Sua Newman recalls his commitment to a return to the early devotional life of the Anglican church in a passage setting out the aims of the Tractarians:

I had a supreme confidence in our cause: we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for our time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well nigh faded out of the land, through the political changes of the last 150 years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation - a better Reformation, for it would be a return not to the sixteenth century but to the seventeenth.⁸

Herbert's portrayal of the Anglican church in his poetry provided a fusion of simplicity, ceremony and devotion highly congenial to the members of the Oxford Movement; and the influence and attraction of the harmonious voice of The Temple can be discerned in many of Newman's own poems. In "To an Album" Newman attempts the portrayal of a psalmic voice:

I am a harp of many chords, and each
Strung by a separate hand; - most musical
My notes, discoursing with the mental sense,
Not the outward ear. Try them, for they bespeak
Mild wisdom, graceful wit, and high-wrought taste,
Fancy, and hope, and decent gaiety.
Come, add a string to my assort of sounds;
Widen the compass of my harmony;
And join thyself in fellowship of name
With those, whose courteous labour and fair gifts
Has given me voice, and made me what I am.⁹

While the poetry here remains on the whole flat and unremarkable, the poem indicates an interest in the symmetry of the "metaphysical" conceit and in the portrayal of a voice that is encompassing, harmonious and individual. For poets holding this ideal for a central voice, the appeal of Herbert's poetry is obvious.

In the poetry of the Oxford Movement, as in the hymns of the

eighteenth century, a distrust of "enthusiasm" and a marked preference for refined and measured verse, often with a corresponding negation of emotion, is clearly discernible. J. Henry Shorthouse, the author of John Inglesant (London, 1881), a novel based on the community at Little Gidding, produced an edition of The Temple commenting in the preface on the "refinement" of Herbert's poems:

What seems to have been the peculiar mission of Herbert and his fellows is that they showed the English people what a fine gentleman, who was also a Christian and a Churchman, might be. They set the tone of the Church of England, and they revealed, with no inefficient or temporary effect, to the uncultured and unlearned the true refinement of worship. They united delicacy of taste in their choice of ornament and of music with culture of expression and reserve, and they showed that this was not incompatible with devoted life and work.¹⁰

The placing of "Christian" and "Churchman" in two separate categories is of interest in relation to the "ceremonial" poets of the period. It points to a tendency amongst religious writers of the nineteenth-century to look at The Temple as a picture of an ideal for the established church, rather than for an individual "temple". Newman writes of this ideal church: "I wanted to bring out in a substantive form a living Church of England, in a position proper to herself, and founded on distinct principles: . . . a living Church, made of flesh and blood, with voice, complexion, and nature and action, and a will of its own."¹¹ The appropriateness of Herbert's The Temple to this ideal "living" church made the work highly attractive to the Oxford Movement. Keble's The Christian Year and Isaac Williams' The Cathedral both attempt to portray a "living Church of England" with a distinct and proper life of its own: both works are influenced to a large extent by The Temple. Newman himself wrote no thematic collection of verse, but contributed to several collections: and published a collection of his own verse,

Verses on Several Occasions, in 1868. More than the other poets of the movement, Newman's poetry often has a marked "mystical" element, a nostalgia for an ideal church, reminiscent in many respects of Crashaw. In his poem "Home" this nostalgia is particularly apparent:

Where'er I roam in this fair English land,
The vision of a Temple meets my eyes:
Modest without; within all glorious rise
Its love-encluster'd columns, and expand
Their slender arms. Like olive-plants they stand,
Each answering each, in home's soft sympathies,;
Sisters and brothers. At the altar sighs
Parental fondness, and with anxious hand
Tenders its offering of young vows and prayers.
The same, and not the same, go where I will,
The vision beams! ten thousand shrines, all one.
Dear fertile soil! what foreign culture bears
Such fruit? And I through distant climes may run
My weary round, yet miss thy likeness still.¹²

The temple portrayed is a mixture of decorum and lavishness, "modest without" but with "love-encluster'd columns" within, representing Newman's ideal church. This retrospection in the poetry of the Oxford Movement, this looking back to a time when the Church of England was, in their eyes, less fragmented, fostered a reverential attitude towards Herbert and the devotional poets of the seventeenth-century: poets of a more decorous and unified church. Newman's dissatisfaction at the religious poetry of his own day, and his fondness for earlier devotional poetry is reflected in a remark made on Keble's Christian Year; a volume that Newman terms "one of the classics of the language": "When the general tone of religious literature was so nerveless and impotent . . . Keble struck an original note, and woke up in the hearts of thousands a new music, the music of a school, long unknown in England."¹³ Herbert can safely be included in this school; many of Keble's contemporaries compared The Christian Year with The Temple.

An anonymous article on Herbert, written for the Christian Remembrancer in 1862, notes the verbal parallels between passages from the two works; the writer continues the comparison, attaching more

importance to Keble's work than to Herbert's:

These parallel passages are interesting as marking the similarity of character which subsists in great and good men, even of very distinct individualities. The admirers of "The Christian Year" will find much in "The Temple" to remind them of their favourite passages. If "The Temple" is never likely to exercise the extraordinary influence of "The Christian Year" - an influence on the religious mind of England greater than has ever been exercised by any book of the kind, an influence extending itself imperceptibly even to quarters seemingly most alien - still it is a book to make a deep impression, where it impresses at all; and its influence is of a kind to percolate through the few to the many.¹⁴

While this somewhat parochial judgement can be seen, with hindsight, to be extremely limited, it points to an important development in the history of The Temple: the association of the work with Keble's poetry led to a revival of interest in Herbert's poems, and the inclusion of extracts from Herbert's poems in the popular collections of religious verse which flourished in the later part of the nineteenth-century¹⁵.

ii. John Keble

Keble himself, however, makes only one reference to Herbert in his Lectures on Poetry: Herbert, he writes,

hides the deep love of God which consumed him behind a cloud of precious conceits: the result appears to most readers inappropriate, not to say chilling and repellent. Fair-minded critics are wont to excuse him on the score of the taste and the tone of the age he lived in still, granting as much weight as you choose to this course, it will still be open to us to contend that it was Herbert's modest reserve which made him veil under these refinements his deep piety.¹⁶

This hostility towards Herbert appears somewhat surprising considering the association many of Keble's contemporaries made between The Christian Year and The Temple; the difference in temperament between the two poets, however, is profound, and the surface similarities of the verse collection are almost lost sight of in the contrasting attitudes represented

by the poems.

In the same lecture, Keble shares the eighteenth-century hymn writers' distrust of "enthusiasm", and considers how the lyric poem should avoid this: "let us see whether there are not two chief methods which enable lyrical poets to maintain the true inmost thoughts and enthusiasm and emotions from being exposed to the full blaze of daylight". This aspect of Keble's poetic concern is highly relevant to his presentation of the central voice in The Christian Year: he eschews an overtly personal and subjective voice in favour of a somewhat didactic and moralistic tone. The intensely personal poems of Herbert must have seemed, to Keble, rather lacking in decorum.

Brian Martin, in his study of Keble, has suggested that Herbert's greatest influence on Keble was his prose work, A Priest to The Temple, or The Country Parson¹⁸. A reading of The Christian Year confirms this judgement: Keble's own persona of poet-priest remains a pastoral one, seldom moving into more individual dimensions. In Keble's view, the ideal hymn or sacred poem should be the voice not of the individual believer, but of the worshipping Church; what he found in Herbert's work was this encompassing voice, what he disliked in the work was its highly personal nature. Elbert Thompson, in his article on the two collections notes this retreat from the personal voice in Keble's work, seeing Herbert's poems as representative of Renaissance "individualism": "In one was all the individualism of the Renaissance . . . In the other was the chastened self-effacing temper of the Oxford scholar and the country divine."¹⁹.

In The Christian Year, however, the voice of the Oxford scholar frequently obtrudes to such an extent that the poems become high and dry statements on Church doctrine, whereas Herbert alludes rarely to the religious dissensions of his day. The most obvious difference between

the two works is that The Temple, recording the varying moods of religious experience, refuses to be tied down to any particular ceremonial "model", whereas The Christian Year follows closely the church ceremonies of the religious year. Keble's model was the Anglican Prayer Book, as he states in his preface: "The object of the present publication will be attained if any person finds assistance from it in bringing his own thoughts and feelings into more entire unison with those recommended and exemplified in the Prayer Book". His commitment to the power of institutionalised religion is obvious in these lines, and he sees the ceremony of the church as an objective correlative for the individual Christian. His description of the Prayer Book: "the most perfect instance of that soothing tendency in the prayer book which it is the chief purpose of these pages to exhibit", indicates his concern with the "soothing" and chastened atmosphere of Church worship²⁰. He prefaces the volume with a quotation from Isaiah XXX. 15., "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength"; this emphasis on the ordering of religious emotion continues throughout the work, and is reflected in Keble's use of a central voice which is representative rather than individual.

In "Evening", the poem ends on a note reminiscent of the nostalgic mysticism of Newman's poetry:

Come near and bless us when we wake,
Ere through the world our way we take.
Till in the ocean of Thy love
We lose ourselves in heaven above. (ll. 53-6).

This giving up of the self to an encompassing order, while a dominant concern in Herbert's poetry, is expressed with a total lack of poetic tension: it is a consummation devoutly to be wished, a negation of an individual response to God. It represents the culmination of Cowper's wish for "a closer walk with God" while rejecting the egocentric

emphasis of his hymns. In relation to The Temple, this giving up of the self leads to a somewhat two-dimensional poetry in The Christian Year; with the central speaker as poet, priest and representative Christian, but without the element of the individual voice which makes Herbert's persona so attractive and effective.

Keble's Fourth Sunday in Advent ends with two stanzas recalling the language of The Temple:

And thou, too curious ear, that fain
Wouldst thread the maze of Harmony,
Content thee with one simple strain,
The lowlier, sure, the worthier thee.

Till thou art duly trained, and taught
The concord sweet of Love divine:
Then, with that inward Music fraught,
For ever rise, and sing and shine.

The sense of assurance and harmony in Herbert's poetry proved highly congenial to the poets of the Oxford Movement, with their reverence for church ceremony; it is in passages on this theme where Keble's language is most Herbertian. In general, however, there are vast differences between the poetic language used in the two volumes. A feature of The Christian Year is that each poem is prefaced by a Biblical quotation, and much of the content of the poems consists of an interpretation of these texts. One result of this is that a dry doctrinaire voice predominates; another is that the endings of the poems fail to surprise as they have, in effect, ended before they began, in the quotation from the Bible.

An example of this can be seen in "Second Sunday after Christmas". The Biblical text is Isaiah xli.17.; "When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth from thirst, I the Lord will hear them, I the God of Israel will not forsake them". The first stanza is a variation on this theme:

And wilt thou hear the fever'd heart
To thee in silence cry?
And as th'inconstant wildfires dart
Out of the restless eye,
Wilt thou forgive the wayward thought,
By kindly woes yet half untaught,
A Saviour's right, so dearly bought,
That Hope should never die?

The next two stanzas open with "Then wilt", which, along with its rather jarring sound, seems to return the poem to the context of the Biblical quotation; any more personal application of the text remains unexplored.

The poems of The Christian Year are seldom less than three pages in length, and their structure reflects little of the "meditation" structure which informs many of Herbert's lyrics. While Keble makes great use of the image of the temple as the ideal Church and the true and right place for ceremonial worship²¹, he makes no attempt to include the human heart in the image. Keble's vast knowledge of the Bible with his many footnotes citing chapter and verse, leads to much of his poetry dealing with the accepted doctrinal explication of Biblical passages, the more personal application of the texts is untouched. In The Temple, while the poems utilise Biblical language to a large extent, the personal application is never lost sight of, Keble's wariness of religious enthusiasm leads to his choice of a form with far more "authority" than the poems of The Temple: the titles of his poems are the names of events in the calendar of the established church, while Herbert's titles include individual emotional states and responses alongside poems on "The Holy Scripture" and "The Holy Communion".

However, the most important difference between the two works is the almost total absence of the "I" in Keble's poetry; the only occasion when it occurs is in the context of a Biblical quotation. The absence of the personal pronoun is particularly noticeable in the final poem

of The Christian Year, "Ordination", a subject which might be expected to be close to Keble's heart. Instead of a biblical quotation, the poem is prefaced by a rubric in the Office for Ordering of Priests: "After this, the Congregation shall be desired secretly in their prayers, to make their humble supplications to God for all these things for the which prayers there shall be silence kept for a space.

After which shall be sung or said by the Bishop (the persons to be ordained Priests all kneeling), "Veni Creator Spiritus".

Keble opens his poem with an allusion to this silence:

'Twas silence in thy temple, Lord,
When slowly through the hallow'd air
The spreading cloud of incense soar'd
Charged with the breath of Israel's prayer.

'Twas silence round thy throne on high,
When the last wondrous seal unclosed,
And in the portals of the sky
Thine armies awfully reposed.

And this deep pause, that o'er us now
Is hovering - comes it not of Thee?
Is it not like a Mother's vow,
When with her darling on her knee.

She weighs a number o'er and o'er,
Love's treasure hid in her fond breast,
To cull from that exhaustless store,
The dearest blessing and the best? (ll. 1-16).

Keble remains always the priest, never forgetting his pastoral duties he attempts an account of ordination which is generally accessible; the result is a flat, plodding narrative accompanied by such well-worn religious clichés as "The dearest blessing and the best" and "weary way". The poem continues for five more stanzas, ending with a reference to the chaos of inner emotions:

And O! when worn and tired they sigh
With that more fearful war within,
When Passion's storms are loud and high,
And brooding o'er remember'd sin

The heart dies down - O mightiest then,
Come ever true, come ever near,
And wake their slumbering love again,
Spirit of God's most holy Fear! (11. 45-52).

"Passion's storms" are never recounted in The Christian Year: they are recollected in a tranquility which often degenerates into a doctrinaire smugness. Keble's poetry fails to convey the fusion of doctrine and life which Herbert thought essential to both church ceremony and to poetry; the doctrine remains, but its personal application is absent. In Keble's view, poets, with "God's own work to do on earth"²², were committed to a form of expression which could convey the security and peace of the ideal church, while refraining from falling into the wilds of Passion; the persona of Keble's volume remains that of priest, poet and the representative Christian.

While The Christian Year looks back to the thematic model of The Temple in its structure, its interest in relation to the persona of Herbert's poems lies in its total dissimilarity. Elbert Thompson, seeing the two collections of verse as "the finest poetical expression of the Anglican church" comments on the age in which they were written: "each book was written when clouds had gathered thick about the Church, and possibly the rationalising temper of the nineteenth century was a more insidious foe than the stiff necked Puritanism of the seventeenth"²³. Keble, while sharing with the other members of the Oxford Movement an interest in the early Anglican church and the devotional temper of seventeenth-century religious literature, remains very much a man of his time; influenced by the distrust of "enthusiasm" which was the legacy of the eighteenth-century, to a far greater extent than by the lyrics of the seventeenth. He undoubtedly knew The Temple well, as the many verbal parallels indicate: the influence of the volume on his poetry, however, remains largely on the surface. What The Christian Year demonstrates is a retreat from the increasingly

subjective voice of the hymn to a more representative and general form of poetry, and while The Temple contains this representative element, it is not limited by it as is Keble's collection.

iii. Isaac Williams

If the influence of Herbert on Keble's poetry remains implicit and unacknowledged by Keble, Isaac Williams' The Cathedral explicitly states the author's debt to the earlier poet. Williams, a leading figure in the Tractarian movement, served as Newman's curate at St. Mary's, and knew both Keble and Newman at Oxford; all three were involved in the compilation of the verse collection Lyra Apostolica. Williams records in his Autobiography that he was favoured by many as Keble's successor as Poetry Professor at Oxford, and gives an involved account of the machinations leading to his own failure to secure the post²⁴.

In his preface to The Cathedral, or the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England (1838), Williams acknowledges The Temple as a model for his work:

The idea upon which this publication has been composed is, it is hoped, perfectly in accordance with the spirit and principles of the Ancient Church; nor is it entirely new to our own. Hints of the kind may be gained from Herbert's "Temple", where he attaches moral and sacred lessons to the "Church windows" and "Church Floor". And it has been suggested by the Author of "The Excursion", in his Preface to that work, that his Poems might be considered as capable of being arranged as the parts of a Gothic Church, of which the minor pieces might be "likened to the little cells, oratories and sepulchral recesses". The present design has been to execute such a plan by a selection of subjects, more or less appropriate to the parts which they are made to represent, from the Liturgy, and the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church; care being taken to adhere as much as possible to the relative proportions of such a structure.²⁵

Williams' fondness for architectural metaphor is evident in his other two works: The Baptistry (1844), modelled on a Catholic work "Via Vitae Aeternae" and The Altar (1849), modelled on the Parisian Breviary. However it is in his first work, The Cathedral, that he exploits the metaphor to its fullest extent. The frontispiece of the volume consists of a diagram of a church, with various areas of the building dedicated to certain forms of religious devotion: amongst other, The Lord's Prayer, Holy Scripture and the Creed form the Nave; the Psalms and Epistles form the Choir, and the Sacramental Hymns the Altar. The text Williams includes on the title page draws on this architectural metaphor: "The house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth" (I Tim. iii.15). The complex plan of the volume follows the plan of the Cathedral Church in immense detail: Part I is entitled "The Exterior of the Church", Part II "The Nave", Part III "The Choir", and Part IV "The Pillars and Windows". Each part is divided into smaller architectural divisions complete with a religious counterpart: the Cloisters for instance, are labelled "Ecclesiastical Sonnets", while the North Aisle corresponds to The Lord's Prayer.

This attention to the actual structure of the church corresponds with the concern of the Tractarians with the importance of symbol, ritual and order in the church. Echoes of The Temple pervade the volume, with specific references to Herbert made in four poems. Williams includes the following poem on Herbert amidst the "Sepulchral Recesses", in a somewhat eclectic list of "The Churchman's Friends" which includes Herbert, Butler, Ken, George III, Andrewes and Bishop Wilson:

HERBERT

Meek Herbert, ere of thee I sing,
'Tis thou must lend the string,
On Jesus' breast thou art asleep,
Or thou shouldst wake and weep,
That any one should sing of thee
Laid in thy poverty.

But all our Church doth bear along
The echoes of thy song,
Thy Country Pastor sweet and stern
Her children fain would learn;
Then let the light that fills her shrine
On thy meek urn recline.

For now thou art a holy thing,
And singing the great King
For ever with a nobler strain;
Nor praise of ours can pain,
If we be tuned by thy lays
To sing thy "Master's" praise.

Meek Herbert, would that such as I
Could learn thy lesson high,
Those ways that made thy spirit's tone
A midnight orison,
Thy more than manly wisdom free,
And child's simplicity.

For Angels ever with thee are,
And, in their presence fair,
Thy spirit feels it poor and mean,
But golden thoughts doth glean
Which fall like light from off their wings,
When bow'd to earth it sings.

The poem itself demonstrates Williams' familiarity with The Temple: it is full of phrases from Herbert's poems, and Williams' opinion of Herbert as a major religious poet is apparent in the lines "Meek Herbert, would that such as I/ Could learn thy lesson high". However Williams' poetry never achieves Herbertian heights; like Keble he prefers a ceremonial orderly voice to a direct and personal one, although, unlike Keble, he is not averse to including the "I" in his poetry.

Like Herbert, Williams opens his volume with "The Dedication":

Thou Who Thy tabernacle mad'st of old
To be a type of things invisible,
And didst within Thy temple come to dwell
Making it holy; I Thine altar hold,
And pray Thee, if such prayer be not too bold,
To sanctify each shrine, and mystic cell
Round this Thine altar, and baptismal well.
Thou vilest things to Thy great ends dost mould:-
Accept his offering, and Thy servant spare,
Who this hath built with sin-defiled hands!

And when Thine earthly Temple, now so fair
 Among the things that have gone by shall be,
 And nothing but Thy heavenly Temple stands,
 Pity me in that day, in that day pity me!
 And ye that enter at this Temple-gate,
 When your full hearts ye in His presence pour
 Think of an unclean leper at the door,
 Admitted erst to your high-gifted state,
 But by unhallow'd taints left desolate!
 And Thou who intercedest for the poor,
 Within Thine unseen Temple evermore,
 Plead for his pardon ere it be too late.
 Thou didst the leper touch, and take his sin,
 Heal his sick soul, that he may entrance win
 To Thy blest City, and so gain within
 Thy Priestly Absolution while he may,
 Lest he be laid without too late to pray,

When once the Judge hath risen, and clos'd the door for aye.

The many verbal parallels with Herbert are again obvious; the poem itself is a peculiar mixture of the personal and the representative.

There is a sense of an individual voice here ("I Thine altar hold,/And pray Thee" (ll. 4-5), "Accept this offering and thy servant spare" (1.9), "Pity me in that day, in that day pity me!" (1. 14)) which is not wholly overshadowed by the prevailing persona of the poet and priest.

It is as if Williams, by his close attention to The Temple as a model has absorbed some of Herbert's complex techniques in the presentation of the central persona, and while the poetry in The Cathedral remains generally flat and uninspiring, the central voice often moves into a more personal dimension, one that is not present in Keble's poems but portrayed with immense skill in The Temple.

In his "Prayer" Williams follows Herbert's technique in his poem of the same name, that of using a string of epithets:

PRAYER

Hidden, exhaustless treasury, heaven-taught Prayer,
 Armoury of unseen aids - watchword and spell
 At which blest Angels pitch their tent and dwell
 About us - glass to bring the bright Heavens near -
 Sea of eternal beauty - wondrous stair
 By patriach seen - key leading to a cell
 Where better worlds are hidden - secret well

Where Love with golden chalice may repair,
And slake his thirst, nursing with fragrant dews
Heaven's lilies fair, and rose on wild-wood spray,
Calm thought and high resolve! strange instrument,
Wherewith from spheres serene Music is sent
Into the mind, throwing o'er all fresh hues,
And mystic colourings - yet we cannot pray!

Williams' images of prayer, derived mainly from Scripture, attempt the progression of thought that Herbert's original contains: however they remain somewhat more doctrinal than Herbert's impressionistic images. The abrupt ending: "yet we cannot pray" has, rather surprisingly, little of the sense of tranquility of Herbert's "something understood". Williams viewed the Anglican church of Herbert's day as more integrated than that of his own time; his dissatisfaction with the church of his own time is presumably why he provides such a negative ending to the poem.

In relation to The Christian Year, Williams' volume attempts to portray a voice which can be individual and representative, while his distrust of too individual an interpretation of experience leads him to be cautious in his presentation of the personal voice. Another poem where Herbert's influence is clearly discernible, and in fact acknowledged, is "Distant Church Music", where the central voice is more personal than is usual in Williams' work. The first three stanzas show Williams attempting to emulate Herbert's skill at fitting the syntax to the subject:

My spirit hath gone up in yonder cloud
Of solemn and sweet sound - the many voic'd
 Peal upon peal, and now
 The choral voice alone

At door of Heaven. My soul is all unsphered,
Soaring and soaring on the crystal clear
 Of airy sweetness borne,
 And drinks ethereal air.

Amid celestial shapes I hear a voice
Alone before the Trinal Majesty,
 Singing the Eternal Lamb,
 While Silence sits aloof. (11. 1-12).

As so often happens in his poetry, Williams appears undecided between lyric expression and doctrinal exposition: in the next few stanzas doctrine emerges as the victor, and the attempt to portray the personal voice with which the poem began is lost sight of. The poem continues through twelve stanzas of indifferent and often tedious verse: the references to "My spirit" and "My soul" in the first two stanzas are not picked up, and the poem ends on an external note with a tribute to the distant church music in the rather muddled final stanza:

The stars on high shall be your diadem,
The skies shall lend their rays to weave your robes,
And Iris stain the woof,
Sons of th'eternal morn.

Williams, unlike Keble, locates his Temple in the heart of man as well as in the material church, as these lines from "St. Simon" indicate:

Do Thou my heart with holy zeal control,
And purify the temple of my soul,
Drive each fowl thought with Thine uplifted rod,
Which stains the floor thy holy feet have trod;
A den of evil fancies, whence arise
Far other fumes than love of Thee supplies:-
Oh cleanse my heart betimes, ere Thou shalt come
And sweep Thy temple with eternal doom! (ll. 15-22).

The main difference between The Christian Year and The Cathedral is that while Keble's main concern is the representative voice of the corporate church and the order implicit in organized religion, Williams' poems show far more interest in the inner voice. The Cathedral is far closer to the spirit of The Temple, and the concern with individual experience which predominates in Herbert's work emerges from time to time in the verse of Williams. While Keble eschews the more personal voice of The Temple, Williams often attempts to emulate it: however, in both works the importance of doctrine and ceremony is most apparent. Disliking the highly personal tone of many nineteenth-century hymns, the

poets of the Oxford Movement attempted to provide a more representative voice in their poems, moving away from the more flamboyant individualistic hymns of Cowper. The interest of these poets in Herbert's poetry points to yet another instance of later poets viewing Herbert as a master of religious expression; the extent to which they attempt to emulate the voice of The Temple is indicative of their distrust of the inner voice, a legacy from the eighteenth-century hymn writers.

III The Lyric Voice: Christina Rossetti and Gerard Manley Hopkins

i. The devotional lyrics of Christina Rossetti.

While the poets of the Oxford Movement appropriate many of the external qualities of Herbert's verse, the poetry of Christina Rossetti and Gerard Manley Hopkins can be said to absorb more of the spirit of The Temple. Both Christina Rossetti and her brother Dante Gabriel Rossetti knew the work well; as Georgina Battiscombe notes in her biography of Christina, Herbert's verses were favourite childhood reading for the Rossetti family.

T.S. Eliot noted that while many similarities exist between Christina Rossetti's poems and The Temple, "profound differences" are also present:

Of all devotional poets, and certainly of all Anglican poets, George Herbert seems nearest in feeling to Christina Rossetti - who indeed, in a humble way, found herself obliged to make a great, and perhaps a greater sacrifice of this world, than did Herbert. But a certain resemblance of temperament immediately suggests also profound differences. Christina's religious verse suffers, when we read much of it together, from a monotony due to a narrower range of emotion and an inferior intellectual gift. Herbert is an anatomist of feeling and a trained theologian too; his mind is working continually both on the mysteries of faith and the motives of the heart.²⁶

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Despite these differences, however, the two poets share a preoccupation with the portrayal of individual religious experience, and a comparison of their work points to some illuminating differences between seventeenth and nineteenth century conceptions of the individual or "self".

M.M. Mahood in her chapter on Christina Rossetti and Herbert in Poetry and Humanism (Jonathan Cape, London, 1950) includes Christina Rossetti's secular poems in her comparison between the two poets, and comments on their many stylistic similarities and apparently common themes. Her analysis, however, while incisive and comprehensive on the poems she examines, tends to avoid many of the later poet's more obviously devotional lyrics. Two of these lyrics, "Long Barren" and "If Only" contain an intensely personal and introspective voice which is in marked contrast to the voice portrayed by the poets of the Oxford Movement²⁷. The lyric "Long Barren" contains many phrases reminiscent of The Temple:

Thou who didst hang upon a barren tree,
My God, for me;
 Tho' I till now be barren, now at length,
 Lord, give me strength
To bring forth fruit to Thee.

Thou who didst bear for me the crown of thorns,
Spitting and scorn;
 Tho' I till now have put forth thorns, yet now
 Strengthen me Thou
That better fruit be borne.

Thou Rose of Sharon, Cedar of broad roots,
Vine of sweet fruits,
 Thou Lily of the vale with fadeless leaf,
 Of thousands Chief,
Feed Thou my feeble shoots.

The first stanza contains an intermingling of "mine" and "thine" which is a characteristic of much of Herbert's verse; what is missing from the stanza is that sense of conflict and tension between "mine" and "thine" which poems such as Herbert's "The Thanksgiving" convey. In Christina Rossetti's poem, the central speaker is humbled and relies

completely on God: "Lord give me strength/To bring forth fruit to thee" (ll. 4-5). As the poem progresses, the tone of the central voice becomes more and more beseeching and self-condemning: until now the speaker has only "put forth thorns" (l. 8) and wishes to bear better fruit, and the poem ends with the plea "Feed Thou my feeble shoots". A detailed reading of this poem shows that the apparent similarity between the central voice and the voice of Herbert's poems is only a superficial one. In Herbert's work the persona encompasses priest, poet, individual Christian and representative Christian; in Christina Rossetti's poem, the voice is that of the supplicant, and the corresponding lack of tension is apparent in all her devotional poetry.

"If Only" is another lyric with this intensely personal voice:

If I might only love my God and die!
But now He bids me love Him and love on,
Now when the bloom of all my life is gone,
The pleasant half of life has quite gone by.
My tree of hope is lopped that spread so high;
And I forget how Summer glowed and shone,
While Autumn grips me with its fingers wan,
And frets me with its fitful windy sigh.
When Autumn passes then must Winter numb,
And Winter may not pass a weary while,
But when it passes Spring shall flower again:
And in that Spring who weepeth now shall smile,
Yea, they shall wax who now are on the wane,
Yea, they shall sing for love when Christ shall come.

Mahood remarks on the element of wish-fulfillment of Christina Rossetti's poetry: "If for Christina Rossetti God belongs only to the there and then, to Herbert he is also part of the here and now, immanent and inescapable". "If Only" demonstrates this escapist element of look-to the "there and then": to the speaker of the poem, this life is a weary pilgrimage where "the bloom of all my life is gone" (l. 3). The poem contains a characteristic yearning for the after life, when Christ shall come, and the tone of the poem differs widely from The Temple where Herbert's speaker wishes for union with God in the present moment,

not in the distant future. Both the previous lyrics follow loosely the structure of the religious meditation, another area in which Christina Rossetti's poetry diverges from that of the poets of the Oxford Movement, and both dwell on a highly personal interpretation of religious experience: what is not attempted is any strategy to make that experience comprehensive, the "I" portrayed never has a representative relevance.

Other poems which appear at first glance Herbertian in language and tone include "A Rose Plant in Jericho" and "After Communion", with their emphasis on love imagery and the relationship between God and the individual soul; "Dost thou not come" with its portrayal of the broken heart following the technique of Herbert's "Love Unknown"; "Despised and Rejected" with its meditative structure and reference to the "Friend" and "The love of Christ which Passeth Knowledge", with its many similarities to Herbert's "The Collar". Mahood comments on the later poet's use of dialogue in her poems, and the connection between her poems of this genre and Herbert's "Dialogue"; she also points to the many verbal parallels between the two poets. However, although many similarities exist, the "profound differences" remain all the more noticeable in the context of this apparent likeness, and nowhere more so than in the presentation of the central voice and the differing attitudes towards the "self".

The poem "Who shall deliver me?" illustrates Christina Rossetti's preoccupation with the "burden" of the self:

God strengthen me to bear myself;
That heaviest weight of all to bear,
Inalienable weight of care.

All others are outside myself;
I lock the door and bar them out,
The turmoil, tedium, gad-about.

I lock the door upon myself;
And bar them out; but who shall wall
Self from myself, most loathed of all?

If I could once lay down myself,
And start self-purged upon the race
That all must run! Death runs apace.

If I could set aside myself,
And start with lightened heart upon
The road by all men undergone!

God harden me against myself,
This coward with pathetic voice
Who craves for ease, and rest, and joys:

Myself, arch-traitor to myself;
My hollowest friend, my deadliest foe,
My clog whatever road I go.

Yet One there is can curb myself,
Can roll the strangling load from me,
Break off the yoke and set me free.

The concept of self portrayed here is a highly claustrophobic one, and the poem reflects Christina Rossetti's morbid insistence on the weariness of this life and an intense introspection. Unlike Herbert, who looks for a union of the soul with God as the essential self, Christina Rossetti looks for a complete abandonment of self. The sense of isolation where "All others are outside myself" (l. 4) is intense, and the surreal separation of self from self is reminiscent of the John Hall poem quoted in Chapter One of this thesis: the self here watches another self, "but who shall wall/Self from myself, most loathed of all?" (l. 9).

The passivity and yearning so characteristic of Christina Rossetti's verse are present here in the opening lines of the fourth and fifth stanzas ("If I could once lay down myself" (l. 10), "If I could set aside myself" (l. 13)). The speaker possesses no autonomy, everything is relinquished to God, and the resulting lack of tension creates a sense of otherworldliness in the poems which is alien to the spirit of The Temple: the poem's revulsion from the self has more in common with the poetry of Quarles and the emblem writers than with the poems of Herbert.

The central voice of the poem represents the culmination of the preoccupation with the self voices in Cowper's hymns; and the lyrics of Christina Rossetti, with their intense introspection constitute a private and personal collection. Herbert's appeal to the later Anglican poet lay in his skilful portrayal of the relationship between the individual soul and Christ, and while Christina Rossetti's poetry has many stylistic features in common with The Temple, this concern lies at the heart of the connection between the two poets. The persona of The Temple provides a voice which, while intensely personal, has also the representative function necessary to Herbert's conception of the Christian poet: in Christina Rossetti's poetry, the concern is with an interior not exterior Christian world, and the central voice is one of anguished individualism.

ii. "Cries countless": the sonnets of Gerard Manley Hopkins

To return to Bloom's vocabulary of "poetic influence"²⁹, Hopkins' poetry represents perhaps the finest example of a poet appropriating Herbert's poetry while retaining his own highly distinctive poetic voice. Hopkins has many obvious affinities with Herbert: both were country priests, both familiar with the Welsh language and well versed in Jesuit meditative techniques. Many of Hopkins' poems contain verbal echoes of The Temple: these include "The Windhover", "Heaven-Haven", "Peace" and "The Wreck of the Deutschland"; and his employment of vigorous syntax reflecting the thought of his poems is similar to Herbert's technique in poems such as "The Collar" and "The Discharge"³⁰.

Hopkins himself alludes to Herbert only once in his writings, in a letter to R.W. Dixon where he cites Herbert's poetry as superior to

Vaughan's³¹. However, his poetry is permeated with the language of The Temple and nowhere more so than in the so-called "Terrible Sonnets". An analysis of some of Hopkins' sonnets points to some interesting aspects of his portrayal of a central voice; the sonnet "My own heart let me more have pity on" illustrates the tension inherent in his presentation of self:

My own heart let me more have pity on, let
Me live to my sad self hereafter kind,
Charitable; not live this tormented mind
With this tormented mind tormenting yet.
I cast for comfort I can no more get
By groping round my comfortless, than blind
Eyes in their dark can day or thirst can find
Thirst's all-in-all in all a world of wet.

Soul, self; come, poor Jackself, I do advise
You, jaded, let be; call off thoughts awhile
Elsewhere; leave comfort root-room; let joy size
At God knows when to God knows what; whose smile
'S not wrung, see you; unforeseen times rather - as skies
Between pie mountains - lights a lovely mile.

The contrast of Hopkins' sonnet with the religious poetry of the early nineteenth-century is remarkable; the poem begins with the self-address of the religious meditation: "My own heart let me more have pity on; let/Me live to my sad self hereafter kind,/Charitable;". The poem is dramatically and unashamedly self-referential, a more absolute contrast with the impersonal voice favoured by the Oxford Movement is difficult to imagine. It is addressed by the self to the self, as are many of Christina Rossetti's poems, but has none of the vagueness and passivity which mar much of her verse. The picture of the "sad self" (l. 2) that Hopkins draws is one of confusion and Chaos; with the repetition of "tormented" and "comfort" adding to this sense of confusion, as do the images of blindness in darkness and thirst with no ultimate relief.

In the sestet, the address to the self continues: "Soul, self; come, poor Jackself. I do advise/You jaded, let be," (ll. 9-10).

Hopkins worries away at the concept of self while imploring the self to "let be": the resulting tension is reminiscent of Herbert's "Confusion" and "Giddiness". Hopkins' dramatic account of the events of his own heart has much in common with Herbert's conflicting voices in The Temple. The poem ends with an enjoiner to "let joy size/At God knows when to God knows what" (ll. 11-2), moving from the highly specific to a sense of timelessness, an idea reinforced by the closing lines: "Unforeseen times rather - as skies/Between pie mountains - lights a lovely mile" (ll. 13-14). However, the closing up of the poem in this vista of light and eternity is overshadowed by the earlier portrayal of the confusion within the heart, and the torment of the self, and the sonnet has none of the sense of assurance which marks Herbert's poetry.

The sonnet "I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day" provides another instance of this lack of assurance in Hopkins' poetry:

I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day.
 What hours, O what black hours we have spent
 This night! What sights you, heart, saw; ways you went!
 And more must, in yet longer lights delay.
 With witness I speak this. But where I say
 Hours I mean years, mean life. And my lament
 Is cries countless, cries like dead letters sent
 To dearest him that lives alas! away.

I am gall, I am heartburn. God's more deep decree
 Bitter would have me taste: my taste was me;
 Bones built in me, flesh filled, blood brimmed the curse.
 Selfyeast of spirit a dull dough sours. I see
 The last are like this, and their scourge to be
 As I am mine, their sweating selves; but worse.

This sonnet is perhaps Hopkins' closest appropriation of the techniques of the religious meditations: it opens with an intensely vivid composition of place, and a direct self-address directed this time at the heart. In this sonnet Hopkins makes extensive use of the Welsh verse technique of *cynghanedd*: the utilisation of an internal rhyme scheme and phonetic echoes within individual lines, as in "feel" and "fell" (l. 1), "hours", and "O" (l. 2), "nights" and "sights" (l. 3). He also

employs an apparently idiosyncratic arrangement of syntax which has, in fact, much in common with the sentence structure of the Welsh language. Like Herbert in The Temple poems, Hopkins gains much by the curious inversion of syntax which occur when transposing Welsh into English; both poets would have been familiar with Welsh speakers speaking English, and with the Welsh language itself, although this syntactical structure is more marked in the poetry of Vaughan than that of Herbert.

Hopkins' sonnet conveys the sense of an intensely personal drama, and the image of the many voices within the heart which Herbert uses so often is used with great effect here: "my lament/Is cries countless" (ll. 6-7). The predominant sense of horror and darkness evoked in this sonnet has little in common with the serene framework of The Temple: it is as if the central voice has become so intensely personal here as to lose all grasp of doctrine, dogma or saving cliché, and exists only in a spiritual vacuum.

Robinson, in his study of Hopkins, comments on this lack of an "interiorisation of doctrine"³² in his poetry; and doctrine is given little space in Hopkins' verse. This lack of doctrinal interpretation means that Hopkins' poems exist in a purely personal frame of reference, rather than the larger Biblical perspective which informs Herbert's poems. As the sonnet continues, the self is pared down to the bare bones of emotion: "I am gall, I am heartburn" (l. 9), a technique Herbert uses in "Longing", and a resentful bitter tone appears that "God's most deep decree/Bitter would have me taste" (ll. 9-10). The closing lines of the poem heighten the sense of horror and loss:

Selfyeast of spirit a dull dough sours. I see
The lost are like this, and their scourge to be
As I am mine, their sweating selves; but worse.

The "selfyeast of spirit" is that which Herbert speaks of in such poems as "Deniall", "Sighs and Grones", "Miserie" and "Grief", however, there

is nothing in The Temple comparable to Hopkins' agonized sense of despair and abandonment at the end of this sonnet. While Herbert can portray the wide range of religious emotions, he always tempers his more despairing poems with a security of rhyme or diction, and the very structure of The Temple ensures that no two poems with the same mood or theme are juxtaposed: all are contained within an encompassing harmony. In Hopkins' sonnet, the sense of utter loss and the despair at the self heighten the portrayal of a central figure who remains unique and alone.

Hopkins' sonnet "As kingfishers catch fire, dragonflies draw flame" ends on a note more congenial to the spirit of The Temple than the mood of his more overtly personal sonnets:

I say more: the just man justices,
Keeps grace; that keeps all his goings graces;
Acts in God's eye what in God's eye he is -
Christ, for Christ plays in ten thousand places,
Lovely in limbs, and lovely in eyes not his
To the Father through the features of men's faces.

Hopkins shares Herbert's concern with the place of Christ in his true temple, the heart of man, and with the individual application of religious experience. His poetry represents a return to the voice of the devotional lyric, an introspective voice that had become lost in the poetry of the Oxford Movement, and only partially realised in Christina Rossetti's devotional verse. The "I" in Hopkins' poetry challenges the conventionally quiescent voice of much nineteenth-century religious poetry, and appears as autonomous to an almost unprecedented extent; while Hopkins' poetry owes much to Herbert, his central voice differs in being relentlessly individual. The encompassing psalmic voice has no part in Hopkins' poetry, his concern is with the "I" not the "we", and his turbulent sonnets inhabit a far darker and less assured region than that of the "sweet singer of the Temple".

Epilogue: "Songs in the house of my pilgrimage"

Helen Gardner comments in Religion and Literature that the interest in studying religious poetry lies in "the variations from age to age in the concept of religion and the concept of poetry, and the interaction between them"³³. The interest in studying the poetic responses to Herbert's poetry, whether they be in the form of poems or hymns, lies in the wide range of voices that the later poets found within Herbert's poetic persona, and the particular aspects of that persona which they chose or chose not to portray. Their varying interpretations of the voices in The Temple form a focus for the changing fortunes of the individual voice in religious poetry.

Susan Sontag writes of the necessity for changing and developing views of a particular writer: "interpretation is not . . . an absolute value, a gesture of mind situated in some timeless realm of capabilities. Interpretation must itself be evaluated, within a historical view of human consciousness"³⁴. The evaluation of Herbert's poetry by his successors has relevance to the changing attitudes to religion and poetry, and above all, to the endurance of Herbert's poetic appeal.

A quotation from Psalm CXIX appears particularly apt in the context of Herbert's poetry: "Thy statutes have been songs in the house of my pilgrimage" (Psalm CXIX. v 54). Seeking always to combine doctrine and life, Herbert's poetry conveys a fusion of religious teaching and lived experience which could appeal to religious writers of all denominations. Edward Hyde, writing at the end of the nineteenth century, stresses the eclecticism of Herbert's religious and poetic appeal, an appeal which was apparent in the wide range of religious persuasions amongst his seventeenth-century adapters: "All ranks and grades of the religious from the most ardent Catholic within the Anglican fold to the most ultra-Protestant without, have, as it has been said, found him one

of themselves, by reason of various points of spiritual likeness or affinity. The modern High Churchman sees in his reverence for holy places and for holy offices and seasons, in his definite pronouncements on the subject of the Priesthood, and in his ordered life and devotions, the true signs of a forerunner of the Oxford Movement. The extreme Protestant, on the other hand, discovers in the solitary soul, reasoning and even wrestling with its Maker . . . the faithful reflection of himself and his own moral conflicts . . . Perhaps, therefore, we may say that Herbert's true message was one of reconciliation, illustrating the essential unity of all spiritual experience."³⁵.

While Herbert's "true message" has been subject to various interpretations, the emphasis on unity within his work is unmistakable; and the persona portrayed in his poems is constructed with a view to this overall unity. The many voices of The Temple are united in a central figure who can be seen as George Herbert, the Christian Everyman, David, the Christian Poet, and the country priest; all voices are united in the praise of God, combining to produce a voice which proclaims the essential unity of spiritual experience: truly "One God, one Harmonie".

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. The history of the term is discussed in the opening chapters of Robert C. Elliott's The Literary Persona (Chicago, 1982).
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8. Sharon Cadman Seelig, The Shadow of Eternity: Belief and structure in Herbert, Vaughan and Traherne. (Lexington, Kentucky, 1981)13,15.
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10. George Herbert Palmer, The English Works of George Herbert (Boston, Mass., 1905). Palmer's idiosyncratic arrangement of the poems in sections referring to stages in Herbert's life is examined by Barbara Leah Harman in Costly Monuments . Representations of the Self in George Herbert's Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1982)
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12. Jonathan Culler, The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction (London, 1981), 4,38.
13. Joan Webber, The Eloquent "I": Style and self in Seventeenth Century Prose (Madison, 1968), 11.
14. Theodore Spenser, The Poetry of Sir Philip Sidney, E.L.H., XII, (Dec. 1945), 267.
15. F.J. Warnke, Versions of Baroque: European Literature in the Seventeenth Century (New Haven & London, 1972), 138.
16. Richard II, V. v.31.

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18. Lily B. Campbell deals with the subject of the Christian Sonnet in Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth Century England (Cambridge, 1959), 1308. For a discussion of Herbert's contribution to this tradition see below, Ch. II.
19. M.E. Rickey, Utmost Art: Complexity in the Verse of George Herbert (Lexington, Kentucky, 1966).
20. George Puttenham, Arte of English Poesie (1589), Ch. III, "How Poets were the first priests, the first prophets, the first Legislators and politicians in the world", 3. (Scolar Press, Menston, 1968).
21. The Sermons of John Donne, ed. G. Potter and E.M. Simpson (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1955), Vol. II, Sermon on Psalm 38.3, 75.
22. T. Sloan, "The Crossing of Rhetoric and Poetry in the English Renaissance", The Rhetoric of Renaissance Poetry. From Wyatt to Milton, eds. T. Sloan and R. Waddington, (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1974), 234.
23. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton, 1979), 20.
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CHAPTER TWO

1. See Stanley Fish, The Living Temple: George Herbert and Catechizing (Berkeley, 1978).
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3. D.P. Walker, The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century (London, 1972).
4. Quoted in Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth Century England (Cambridge, 1959), 54.
5. Izaak Walton, "The Life of Mr George Herbert", in Lives by Izaak Walton, intro. G. Saintsbury, (London, 1927), 295.
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10. *Ibid.*, 120.
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12. Paradise Lost, Bk. VIII.
13. The collected poems of Joseph Hall, ed. A. Davenport (Liverpool, 1949), 19.
14. See M.E. Rickey, Utmost Art: Complexity in the Verse of George Herbert (Lexington, Ky., 1966).
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19. Donne, Sermon on Psalm 63. 7, reprinted in John Donne's Sermons on the Psalms and Gospels ed. Evelyn M. Simpson (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1967), 94.
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 2. Hee in the foulds of tender grass doth make me down to ly:
 Hee leads me to the waters still. (3) Restore my soul doth hee;
 In paths of righteousness, he will for his names sake lead me.
 4. In valley of deaths shade although I walk I'le fear none ill:
 For thou with me thy road, also thy staff me comfort will.
 5. Thou hast 'fore me a table spread, in presence of my foes:
 Thou dost anoint with oyle my head, my cup it over-flows.
 6. Goodness and mercy my dayes all shall surely follow mee:
 And in the Lords house dwell I shall as long as days shall bee.
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George Daniel, "An Ode Upon ... 'The Temple' " (1648), Patrides, 70-1.
8. Commendatory poem to The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations, Together with His Life. With Several Additions (10th edition, 1674), pages 7-8 of the unsigned preliminary leaves.
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You say, as I have often given tongue
 In praise of what another's said or sung,
 'Twere politic to do the like by these;
 But was there ever dog that praised his fleas?

 in Collected Poems of W.B. Yeats (London, 1950), 105.
11. As much of the poetry referred to in this chapter is somewhat difficult to obtain in modern editions I have included a supplement to this chapter, containing the poems dealt with in some detail, and those showing obvious similarities with poems from The Temple.
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30. Charles, The Shorter Poems of Ralph Knevet, 280-1.
31. Ibid., "The Deprecation", 281-3; "The Terrours", 378-9. Both poems are included in the supplement to this chapter.
32. W. Moelwyn Merchant, "Ralph Knevet of Norfolk, Poet of Civil Warre", Essays and Studies, 1960 ed. M. st. Clayre Byme.
33. Charles, The Shorter Poems of Ralph Knevet, 326-7.
34. Anon, Eliza's Babes, or The Virgin Offering, Being Divine Poems, and Meditations By a Lady (London, 1652).
The Poems of John Collop, ed. Conrad Hillberry (Madison, 1962).
Eldrett Revett. Selected Poems, Humane and Divine, ed. D.M. Freidman (Liverpool, 1966).
35. "The Request" from Eliza's Babes is reprinted in Hobbled Pegasus: A Descriptive Bibliography of Minor English Poetry, 1641-60, ed. Joseph Frank (Albuquerque Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1968), 295.
36. Hilberry, The Poems of John Collop, 12.
37. Ibid., 33.
38. Ibid., 39-40.
39. Ibid., 151. Also see supplement.
40. Ibid., 156.
41. Ibid., 160. Also see supplement.

42. Ibid., 48.
43. Freidman, Eldred Revett, xii.
44. Ibid., 4.
45. Ibid., 50-66.
46. Ibid., 57.
47. Ibid., 58.
48. Ibid., 59. I have included "Affliction" and "Prayer" in the supplement.
49. Ibid., 62-3.
50. Ibid., 64.
51. The Poems of Edward Taylor, ed. D.B. Stanford (New Haven, 1960),xiv.
52. Ibid., 1. I have included this poem in the supplement, together with Meditations 21 and 40.
53. Ibid., 35-6. The full title of the poem is "Meditation. Phil. 2.9: God hath Highly Exalted Him".
54. Ibid., 64-6. "Meditation I. John 2.2. He is a Propitiation for our Sin".
55. Ibid., 79-80. "Meditation, Matt. 25.21. The joy of thy Lord". 11.25-30.
56. Tennyson, Poems and Plays, ed. T.H. Warren (Oxford, 1971), 259.
57. Joshua Poole, The English Parnassus: or, A helpe to English Poesie (1657). Reprinted by Scolar Press (Menston, 1972).
58. Herrick's Noble Numbers (1647) provides an interesting perspective on Anglican poetry in the 1630s and 1640s. Writing after the Civil War, Herrick is a spokesman for a beleaguered religion, and the poems contain many overtly political references. Charles is now seen as the Royal Martyr, identified with Christ in poems such as "Good Friday: Rex Tragicus, Or Christ going to the Cross". The relationship between the individual Christian and God which The Temple portrays is tempered in Noble Numbers with concern for the fate of Anglicanism and an interest in the visual and metaphorical implications of the Eucharist. In Herbert's poetry, the symbolism of the Eucharist is predominant. Herrick produces his own 'temple', the "Faerie Temple", (Martin, Poems of Robert Herrick, 90), parodying the Puritan view of Anglican worship.

A highly influential poet in his own right, Herrick appropriates Herbertian techniques in some of the more autobiographical lyrics in Noble Numbers, although he makes them unquestionably his own: an example is "An Ode, or Psalme, to God" (Martin, 363). Apart from these more personal lyrics, which are in the minority in the volume, Herrick's religious poetry provides an interesting and marked contrast with The Temple, illustrating how the increasing

concern for Church ceremony in much of the poetry after the Civil War detracts from the importance of the portrayal of an individual and central persona.

Traherne's poetry, while showing a wide knowledge of The Temple, portrays a persona, an extended voice which is inextricably bound up with Traherne's philosophy and religious beliefs. I have not included Traherne as an "adaptor" of Herbert since the structure and arrangement of his poems is highly idiosyncratic, and not arranged in the metaphoric model of Vaughan, Crashaw or Harvey's work. For an excellent account of Traherne's borrowing from Herbert see Stanley Stewart, The Expanded Voice, the Art of Thomas Traherne (San Marino, Calif., 1970).

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Patrides, 13.
2. Studies of the adaptation of Herbert's poetry as hymn include S.A. & D.R. Tannenbaum George Herbert: A Concise Bibliography (New York, 1946), which cites 24 poems and Amy M. Charles' article "George Herbert: Priest, Poet, Musician" in Essential Articles for the study of George Herbert's Poetry, ed. John R. Roberts (Hamden, Conn., 1979), 254-5. On the setting of Herbert's poems to music see Louise Schleiner, "Jacobean Song and Herbert's Metrics", SEL, XIX (1979), 109-26, and Patrides 3, 13 and Appendix I, Seventeen-Century Musical Settings of Lyrics by Herbert 357-77.
3. Quoted in Rev. Duncan Campbell, Hymns and Hymn makers (London, 1899), 2.
4. Studies on the growth of the English hymn include C.S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present (London, 1937); Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn (London, 1915); H.A.L. Jefferson, Hymns in Christian Worship (London, 1950); John Julian, ed., A Dictionary of Hymnology (London, 1892, 2nd ed. 1907), and P. Haworth, English Hymns and Ballads, and other studies in Popular Literature (Oxford, 1927).
5. R.E. Prothero, The Psalms in Human Life (London, 1903), 178.
6. Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw (eds.), The Oxford Book of Carols (London, 1928), pp. xiv-v. A.L. Lloyd, Folk Song in England (St. Albans, 1975), 123-6.

William Slayter, Psalms or Songs of Sion turned into the language of a strange land (London, 1643).
7. Harry Escott, Isaac Watts, Hymnographer (London, 1962), 72.
8. George Wither, Hallelujah, or Britain's Second Remembrancer; Bringing to Remembrance, (In Praiseful and Penitential Hymns, Spiritual Songs and Moral Odes), Meditations, advancing the Glory of God, in the Practice of Piety and Virtue. In 3 volumes (London, 1641), reprinted for the "Library of Old Authors", ed. Edward Farr (London, 1857) p. xxv. Wither's Hymns and Songs of the Church (London, 1623) was also reprinted for this series (London, 1895).

9. Ibid., p. xxx.
10. Ibid., 371-2.
11. Reprinted in S.W. Christophers, Hymn Writers and their Hymns (London, 1866), 204-5.
12. Quoted in R.H. Coats, Types of English Piety (Edinburgh, 1912), 267.
13. Escott, Isaac Watts, Hymnographer, 75.
14. F.J. Warnke, Versions of Baroque: European Literature in the Seventeenth Century (New Haven & London, 1972), 130.
15. Percy Dearmer, Songs of Praise Discussed (Oxford, 1933), p xviii.
16. Martin Elsky, "History, Liturgy and Point of View in Protestant Meditative Poetry", Studies in Philology, LXXVII, (1980), 72.
17. Quoted in Hallam Lord Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson. A Memoir (London, 1897), Vol. II, 401.
18. Frank Baker (ed.), Representative Verse of Charles Wesley (London, 1962), p. liv.
19. Select Hymns, Taken out of Mr Herbert's Temple, and Turn'd into the Common Metre. To be Sung in the Tunes Ordinarily us'd in Churches (1697). Facsimile reprint by Augustan Reprint Society, with an introduction by William E. Stephenson (Los Angeles, 1962). The poems adopted as "select hymns" are "The Thanksgiving", "The Agony", "Good Friday", "Easter", "Prayer", "Holy Communion", "Antiphon", "The Temper", "Whitsunday", "Trinitie Sunday", "Advance", "Submission", "Mortification", "Misery", "Obedience", "Home", "Dulness", "Man's Medley", "Gratefulness", "Praise (1)", "Longing", "The Call", "The Search", "Grief", "Self-condemnation", "Bitter-Sweet", "The Glance", "Aaron", "Discipline", "The Invitation", "A Parodie", "Death".
20. Vendler, 111-21. Patrides, 16.
21. Selected Hymns, p. iv.
22. Ibid., Sig. A3.
23. Rev. Duncan Campbell, Hymns and Hymn Makers (London, 1899), 24.
24. Select Hymns, Sig. A₂, A₃.
25. Ibid., p. iv.
26. Percy Dearmer, Songs of Praise Discussed, p. xiii.
27. J.H. Overton, Life in the English Church 1660-1714 (London, 1885), 186.
28. Philip von Rohr-Sauer, English Metrical Psalms from 1600-1660 (Freiburg, 1938), contains a comprehensive list of metrical psalms published in this period. Other studies concerned with this topic include Harry Escott, Isaac Watts, Hymnographer, (London, 1962).

- Coburn Freer, Music for a king (Baltimore, 1972) and C.S. Phillips Hymnody Past and present (London, 1927).
29. Alexander Pope, "The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace. To Augustus, The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope ed. Rev. George Gilfillan (Edinburgh, 1856), Vol. I, 258-9.
 30. Addison's comments on "false wit" and his dislike of the shaped poems occur in the "Spectator", no. LVIII (7th may, 1711): "The First species of false Wit which I have met with is very venerable for its Antiquity, and has produced several Pieces which have lived very near as long as the "Iliad" itself: I mean those short Poems printed among The minor Greek Poets, which resemble the figure of an Egg, a Pair of Wings, An Ax, A Shephard's Pipe, and an Altar . . . This fashion of false Wit was revived by several Poets of the last Age, and in particular may be met with among Mr. Herbert's Poems . . ." (Reprinted in Patrides, 149-50.)
 31. Henry Headley (ed.), Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry (1787), I, lvi. Reprinted in Patrides, 164-5.
 32. George Ryley, Mr. Herbert's Temple and Church Militant Explained and Improved by a Discourse upon each form, Critical and Practical (1714-15). Reproduced with explanatory notes, ed. J.M. Heissler, Diss Univ. of Illinois, 1960). (Reprinted in Patrides, 151).
 33. James Boswell, Life of Johnson (Oxford, 1934)ed. G.B. Hill, Vol. 111, 323.
 34. See above, Ch. II, pp.
 35. Selma L. Bishop, Isaac Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs 1707-1748: A Study in early Eighteenth-Century language changes (London, 1962) p. xxv-xxxiv. This edition of Watts' poems is used throughout this chapter.
 36. Escott, Isaac Watts, 75, 268.
 37. John Hoyles, The Waning of the Renaissance, 1640-1740 (The Hague, 1971), 131.
(Norris' poems appeared in A collection of Divine Hymns and Poems on Several Occasions (London, ed. J. Baker, 1709).
 38. Ibid., p.215.
 39. The British Museum possesses a copy of this work known to have belonged to Watts, (see Escott, p.16).
 40. John Julian cites 1707 as the date for the first edition of Bury's work in A Dictionary of Hymnology (London, 1892).
 41. Escott, Isaac Watts, 68, 70-87.
 42. Bishop, Isaac Watts, lii.
 43. Ibid., lii.
 44. Ibid., liii-liv.

45. Ibid., p.56.
46. Ibid., p.62.
47. Ibid., p.290.
48. Ibid., p.295
49. Catherine Herzel, To Thee we Sing (Philadelphia, 1946), 142.
50. F.E. Hutchinson, "John Wesley and George Herbert", London Quarterly & Holborn Review, CLXI, (1936), 439-55.
51. F.E. Hutchinson, The Works of George Herbert (Oxford, 1941), p. xlvi-vlvii.
52. Adaptations of poems by Herberrr occur in the following works by Wesley:
 - A collection of Psalms and Hymns (Charlestown, 1737).
 - A collection of Psalms & Hymns (London, 1738).
 - Hymns and Sacred Poems (London, 1739).
 - A collection of moral and sacred poems from the most celebrated British authors (Bristol, 1744).

A comprehensive account of which adaptations occur in Wesley's works can be found in Elsie Leach's article "John Wesley's use of George Herbert". Huntingdon Library Quarterly, XVI, (1952-3), 183-202.
53. Ibid., p.187.
54. Vendler, 122.
55. Patrides, 17.
56. Both articles occur in Martha Winburn England and John Sparrow's Hymns Unbidden: Donne, Herbert, Blake, Emily Dickinson and the Hymnographers (New York, 1966).
57. John and Charles Wesley, Hymns on the Lords Supper (Bristol, 1745) 7-8.
58. Ibid., 133-4.
59. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present, 172.
60. Reprinted in A Collection of Hymns, For the Use of the People called Methodists (London, 1821), iv.
61. Charles Wesley, while a considerably more gifted poet than his brother, made few adaptations of Herbert; for an account of his contribution to the Wesleyan hymnals see Representative Verse of Charles Wesley, ed. Frank Baker (London, 1962).
62. Patrides, 164.
63. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present, 190.

64. The Poems of William Cowper, ed. John D. Baird and Charles Ryskamp, (Oxford, 1980), Vol. I, 138-9.
65. Martha Winburn England, Hymns Unbidden, 69.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. See Patrides, 23-4. Also Kathleen Tillotson's essay "Donne's Poetry in the Nineteenth Century (1800-72)" in Elizabeth and Jacobean Studies, presented to F.P. Wilson (Oxford, 1959). This essay is particularly interesting on the popularity of the "metaphysical" poets in the 19th century.
2. A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists (London 1730) remains the standard Methodist hymnal. Only Wesley's adaptation of "The Dialogue" is retained.
3. Percy Dearmer, Songs of Praise Discussed (Oxford, 1933), xxiii.
4. Ibid.
5. Patrides, 23.
6. Wylie Sypher, Four Stages in Renaissance Style: Transformations in Art and Literature (New York, 1955), 62. See also G.W.O. Addleshaw, The Architectural setting of Anglican Worship, London, 1948.
7. Quoted in George Macdonald England's Antiphon The Temple image is from Psalm 51.
8. J.H. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, ed. M.J. Svauglic (Oxford, 1967), 50.
9. J.H. Newman, Verses on Various Occasions (London, 1868), 16.
10. A.G. Hyde, George Herbert and his times, (London, 1906), 309.
11. Newman, Apologia, 73.
12. Newman, Verses on Various Occasions, 68.
13. Newman, Apologia, 29.
14. Patrides, 253.
15. Examples of these collections are The Sacrament in Song (London, 1882); Lyra Anglicana (London, 1870); Lyra Apostolica (London, 1836).
16. Patrides, 218.
17. Ibid., 218.
18. Brian Martin, John Keble; Priest, Professor and Poet (London, 1976) 28-9.

19. Elbert N.S. Thompson, "The Temple and the Christian Year", PMLA, LIV, (1939), 1018-25.
20. John Keble, The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for Sundays and Holydays Throughout the Year (London, 1877), v-vi. All references are to this edition.
21. Ibid., 192. "Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity".
22. Ibid., 85.
23. Thompson, The Temple and the Christian Year, 1018.
24. Isaac Williams, The Autobiography of Isaac Williams, B.D., ed. Sir George Prevost (London, 1892), 139-148.
25. Isaac Williams, The Cathedral, or the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England (London, 1889). All references are to this edition. Some of Williams' poems are included as hymns in Hymns Ancient and Modern.
26. Patrides, 235.
27. The Complete Poems of Christina Rossetti: Variorum Edition, ed. R.W. Crump (Baton Rouge & London, 1979). References are to Volume I of this edition.
28. M.M. Mahood, Poetry and Humanism (London, 1950), 30.
29. See above, Ch. VI.
30. Poems and Prose of Gerard Manley Hopkins, ed. W.H. Gardner (Harmondsworth, 1953). References are to this edition.
31. Patrides, 274.
32. John Robinson, In Extremity, A Study of Gerard Manley Hopkins (Cambridge, 1978), 90-1.
33. Helen Gardner, Religion and Literature (London, 1971), 121.
34. Susan Sontag, Against Interpretation, and other essays (New York, 1966), 61.
35. Hyde, George Herbert and his times, 311-2.

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