

Francis Quarles: a study of his literary ancestry and contemporary setting as a religious poet.

Tyner, Raymond

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FRANCIS QUARLES: A STUDY OF HIS LITERARY
ANCESTRY AND CONTEMPORARY SETTING
AS A RELIGIOUS POET

Raymond E. Tyner

ABSTRACT

In his choice of biblical material, in his attitude towards biblical matter in poetry, in his efforts to supplant secular poetry with divine poetry, and in his style and metre, Francis Quarles is in an established tradition of religious poetry which dates from the mid-sixteenth century. He used this poetry to support the Established Church and a Monarchy based on Divine Right when these institutions were being attacked. He criticized particularly Roman Catholics, Arminians, Puritans, and Separatists. However, his poetry is not purely propagandist. He shared a contemporary interest in the vocabulary of the language and made many additions to it, and in his syncretizing of classical mythology with Christianity he followed contemporary practice. He favoured the Authorized Version of the Bible, and he satisfied demands for moralistic and didactic literature in his poetic renderings of biblical material, which is developed through the use of long speeches, long similes, descriptive action, and exegesis. In Em lemes, where the poems are but extended paraphrases of biblical text, the same techniques of development are used.

In his invocations Quarles follows prevailing practices in addressing the Holy Spirit, God, or Christ. There was contemporary confusion concerning the muse Urania, but she retains her primary classical associations and is never more than the Christian poet's tutelary spirit or a personification of his poetic genius.

The high esteem in which Quarles' works were held is shown in the comments of many of his contemporaries. In Cowley's criticism his lack of artistry in handling biblical material is pointed out.

Quarles shows more poetic powers in his occasional lyrics and his satirical ability is at times suggested. Had he concentrated on these powers, quite possibly he would today hold a higher place as a poet in English literature.

PREFACE

Francis Quarles (1592-1644) during his lifetime enjoyed an enviable popularity, but after the Restoration, along with many of his more prominent contemporaries, he suffered a sharp decline in reputation from which he has never risen. With the increasing interest of recent years in the seventeenth century he has had some attention, but he still lacks a modern edition, since his collected works are accessible only in the edition of A. B. Grosart (1880-81), the champion of Quarles in the nineteenth century. The untempered enthusiasm of Grosart did not attract attention to Quarles' work and the limitation of his edition to one hundred copies makes it accessible primarily in libraries, to which most of the copies have found their way.

It was almost a half century after Grosart's publication before Quarles again received any attention, and then it was in the United States. A. H. Nethercot in his "The Literary Legend of Francis Quarles" (MP, XX, 1922) traced the reputation of Quarles to the present century. A decade later G. S. Haight made a study of Quarles' Emblemes (Yale University dissertation, unpublished, 1933), publishing the major conclusions of his work in Library (XV, XVI: 1934-36). Since Haight's work there have appeared two studies on the

Emblemes: one on the imagery by E. James (University of Texas Studies in English, 1943), and the other in English Emblem Books (1948) by Rosemary Freeman.

More recent scholarship has shown interest in other aspects of Quarles. John Horden has compiled a bibliography of his works to 1800 (Oxford Bib. Soc., New Series Vol. II, 1953), and he has recently published "Edmund Marmion's Illustrations for Francis Quarles' Argalus and Parthenia" (Trans. of the Cambridge Bib. Soc., Vol. II, 1954).

It is generally granted that Quarles will have a place in English literature because of his Emblemes. Enthusiasts like Grosart and Thoreau have even seen Quarles as a great poet, but they are exceptional. The fairest of judgements can only conclude that most of Quarles' poetic effort is inferior. But to the literary historian and the specialist Quarles is an interesting figure of the seventeenth century. The number of editions of his individual works, as well as the collections of two or more works, indicate that there was a wide contemporary demand for them. This demand arose out of the almost universal concern of the age for religion, and Quarles, in his own way, is as much a product of that age as are Donne, the Fletchers, Herbert, Vaughan, and Milton. A study of his work, therefore, is important in that it will add to our knowledge and appreciation of the literary scene of the first half of the seventeenth century.

The first chapter of this study examines the background of seventeenth-century religious poetry, starting with the early sixteenth century,¹ with a view to determining Quarles' relation to it. Chapter II considers the use Quarles made of his poetry in expressing his views about the religious conflicts of his day, and in the light of these views determines his position in relation to the various factions both within and outside the Established Church. Quarles' interest in vocabulary, his use of classical mythology in religious poetry, and his techniques of developing biblical material are studied in Chapter III. Attention will be concentrated in Chapter IV on the practice of the religious poets in invocations, and the question of Urania as the muse of religious poetry will be considered. Finally Chapter V will be concerned with what Quarles' contemporaries thought of him and his work.

¹I have chosen the early sixteenth century as the date for the beginning of the study because religious poetry changed in intention and in content as the English Reformation progressed. In both the Old English and Middle English periods there was a religious poetry, and for discussions of it see the following: C. W. Kennedy, The Earliest English Poetry (1943); J. E. Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400 (New Haven, 1916), with periodic supplements.

Abbreviations used in this work.

- ELH --- English Literary History
HLB --- Huntington Library Bulletin
HLQ --- Huntington Library Quarterly
JEGP --- Journal of English and Germanic Philology
MP --- Modern Philology
NED --- New English Dictionary
N&Q --- Notes and Queries
PMLA --- Publication of the Modern Language Association
RES --- Review of English Studies
SPE --- Society for Pure English

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF RELIGIOUS POETRY

Apart from one play, The Virgin Widow (1649), and a heroic romance, Argalus and Parthenia (1629), the poetry of Quarles falls into the category of religious poetry. The works consist of occasional elegies on the death of friends and acquaintances; the Divine Fancies (1632)-- four books of epigrams, meditations, observations; the Emblemes (1635)--~~four~~^{five} books of religious lyrics based on biblical texts; Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man (1638), a work similar to the Emblemes; Hosanna (1647), meditations on the passion of Christ; and the paraphrases of Old Testament material. The preparation and publication of these paraphrases extended over the whole period of his poetic activity: A Feast for Wormes (1620), a paraphrase of Jonah; Hadassa: or the History of Queene Ester (1621); Job Militant (1624); Sions Elegies (1624), a paraphrase of Lamentations; Sions Sonets (1625), a paraphrase of the Song of Solomon; The Historie of Samson (1631); Solomons Recantation (1645), a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes.

When one considers that by 1620, the date of the publication of the first of Quarles' biblical paraphrases, the English reading public had at its disposal several translations of the Bible, including the 1611 version, the question arises as to why a poet would spend so much time and effort paraphrasing biblical matter. But not only

Quarles, but other contemporary poets, Sandys and Wither for example, were engaged on such activity, and judging from the number of paraphrases, as well as their numerous editions, there was a large demand for such literature during the first half of the seventeenth century. In fact the activity of paraphrasing had begun in the sixteenth century, along with the English Reformation, and by Quarles' time a tradition of such work had become securely established.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS A RELIGIOUS POETRY (1539-1559)

In his De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae (1378) Wyclif denounced the authority of the traditions of the Church and proclaimed the Gospels as the only law.¹ The acceptance of such a doctrine made it necessary for the Bible to become known to the laity, and Wyclif and his followers laboured to provide an English translation. This work was interrupted in 1408, when unauthorized translating was expressly forbidden with an uncompromising threat

¹De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae, ed. R. Buddensieg (1905), Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

of excommunication by the Constitution passed by Convocation at Oxford.¹ It was over a century later before Tyndale began his translation, finishing his New Testament in 1525. This work was followed by the Pentateuch in 1530, Jonah in 1531, two revisions of the New Testament in 1534-35, all translated by Tyndale, and by a translation of the complete Bible by Coverdale in 1535.² The English Reformers were at last supplied with their principal weapon, and the immediate prestige and authority acquired by the Bible is evident in Thomas Becon's The Glorious Triumphe of Gods Most Blessed Worde (1563). He personifies the Bible and lets it present its own defence:

Is there anythyng more precious and deere unto man than the breath, wherewith he liveth? So lykewyse can there be nothyng more deerely beloved with God, than I, which am hys breath, and the worde of his mouthe, which shewe forth the power of hys Godheade, whiche declare the excellencye of hys maiestye, which proclayme the knowledge of hys divine will, which utter the mysteryes and secrettes of hys breaste, etc. How can it now be iustly sayde, that I am newe learning, and straunge doctrine lately spronge up among a sorte of heretykes? This is a blasphemous voyce, and shall extremely be punyshed at the greate daye. For as God is from everlasting, so am I. And as God hath no beginning neyther shall have any ende, so

¹B. F. Westcott, A General View of the History of the English Bible (1905), p. 17.

² see "The Sixteenth-Century Versions" by J. Isaacs in The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions (1940), ed. H. W. Robinson.

lykewyse am I withoute both beginning and ende. And as God is almighty, so lykewyse am I. For by me all thynges are wroughte, made, governed and preserved.¹

Almost immediately there began to accumulate around the Bible a related literature in English of epitomes, commentaries, and paraphrases in prose and metre.² These metrical paraphrases formed a part of a larger movement towards a divine, as opposed to a secular poetry, a movement which had its beginning in the paraphrasing of the Psalms.³

Miles Coverdale, in the preface to his Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs (1539), gave impetus to the movement, condemning the secular poetry of his day with the zeal of the reformer:

As for the common sort of ballads which now are used in the world, I report me to every good man's conscience, what wicked fruits they bring.

¹Becon, Workes (1564), Part III. Fol. 472, Sig. NNNNnn_{iiii}^v. (In the quotations from works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries I have silently expanded contractions, turned inverted letters, and written u's and v's according to modern usage.)

²See R. F. Jones, The Triumph of the English Language (Stanford, 1953), for a discussion of the struggle for the recognition of English as the proper language for this literature.

³For special studies of the Psalms see the following: John Holland, Psalmists of Britain (2 vols., 1843); W. T. Brooke, Old English Psalmody...1557-1660 (1916); P. von Rohr-Sauer, English Metrical Psalms from 1600 to 1660 (1938); and Hallet Smith, "English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance," HLQ IX:247-71.

Corrupt they not the manners of young persons? Do they not tangle them in the snares of uncleanness? Yes, truly, and blind so the eyes of their understanding, that they can neither think well in their hearts, nor outwardly enter into the way of godly and virtuous living.¹

Complaints by religious poets against the evils of secular poetry continued to be made throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Coverdale not only denounced secular poetry, but, in his own poetry and in the preface to Ghoostly Psalms, he indicated a way to a divine poetry:

Seeing then that, as the prophet David saith, it is so good and pleasant a thing to praise the Lord, and so expedient for us to be thankful; therefore, to give our youth of England some occasion to change their foul and corrupt ballads into sweet songs and spiritual hymns of God's honour, and for their own consolation in him, I have here, good reader, set out certain comfortable songs grounded on God's word, and taken some out of the holy scripture, specially out of the Psalms of David....²

That divine poetry Coverdale desires would be a lyrical poetry, derived from the Bible and characterized by scriptural authority, which would compete effectively with the secular ballads and songs. The thoroughness with which he would

¹Remains of Bishop Coverdale, ed. G. Pearson (Parker Society, 1846), p. 538.

²Ibid.

supplant that poetry is made evidently clear:

Would God that our minstrels had none other thing
to play upon, neither our carters and ploughmen
other thing to whistle upon, save psalms, hymns,
and such godly songs as David is occupied withal!
And if women, sitting at their rocks, or spinning
at the wheels, had none other songs to pass their
time withal, than such as Moses' sister, Glenhana's
wife, Debora, and Mary the mother of Christ, have
sung before them, they should be better occupied
then with hey nony nony, hey trolly loly, and such
like phantasies.¹

Coverdale was not interested in attaining literary fame.

His motives arose from piety, and in poetry he realized a

¹Ghoostly Psalms, ed. cit., p. 537. In France Clement Marot, a member of the court of Francis I, in his metrical translation of the Psalms (1533) had expressed views similar to those of Coverdale:

O bien heureux qui veoir pourra
Fleurir le temps que l'on orra
Le laboureur à sa charrue,
Le charretier parmy la rue,
Et l'artisan en sa boutique,
Avecques un pseume ou cantique
En son labour se soulager!
Heureux qui orra le berger
Et la bergere au boys estans,
Faire que rochers & estangs
Après eulx chantent la haulteur
Du saint nom de leur Créateur!

(Oeuvres de Clement Marot, ed. G. Guiffrey. Paris, 1911-31. V:201.) Marot's psalms, sung almost universally by the court, were adopted by Calvin for use in worship at Geneva. (See Charles Garside's "Calvin's Preface to the Psalter: A Re-appraisal," The Musical Quarterly, XXXVII, pp. 566-77.) For a discussion of religious poetry in sixteenth-century France see Marcel Raymond's L'Influence de Ronsard sur la Poesie Française (Paris, 1927).

value which he vigorously expressed:

And this is the very right use wherefore psalms should be sung; namely, to comfort a man's heart in God, to make him thankful, and to exercise him in his word, to encourage him in the way of godliness, and to provoke other men unto the same. By this thou mayest perceive, what spiritual edifying cometh of godly psalms and songs of God's word; and what inconvenience followeth the corrupt ballads of this vain world.¹

Almost immediately Coverdale's desire to have England singing divine songs began to be realized. At the court of Edward VI between 1547 and 1553 biblical versifying received its great impetus. In the first year of Edward's reign Thomas Sternhold, "grome of the Kynges Maiesties Roobes," published a metrical version of nineteen Psalms.² After his death in 1549 John Hopkins and others completed the work begun by Sternhold and published in 1562 the whole psalter, which is now commonly referred to as the Sternhold-Hopkins Psalter.³ Sternhold dedicated his Certayne Psalms to the young King; and, according to the testimony of William Baldwin,

¹Ghoostly Psalms, ed. cit., p. 539.

²Certayne Psalmes Chosen out of the Psalter of David and drawen into Englishe metre, by T. Sternhold grome of the Kynges Maiesties Roobes. (1547).

³C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama (1954), p. 246.

Edward VI had given a "notable ensample, in causing the psalmes brought in to fine englysh meter."¹ The practice at the court, as Baldwin said in his dedication of Canticles to Edward, was to sing the psalms "openly before your grace in the hearyng of all your subiectes."²

The Sternhold-Hopkins psalter exercised an important influence on versification in religious poetry. Before Sternhold, Surrey, in his translations of the Psalms and Ecclesiastes, as well as in many songs which appeared in Tottel's Miscellany (1557, etc.), had used a couplet with lines of twelve and fourteen syllables alternately. This form received its name from Gascoigne's facetious reference in Certain Notes of Instruction (1579):

The commonest sort of verse which we use now adayes (viz. the long verse of twelve and fourtene sillables) I know not certainly howe to name it, unlesse I should say that it doth consist of Poulters measure, which giveth xii. for one dozen and xiiij. for another.³

¹The Canticles or Balades of Salomon (1549), Sig. Aiii^v.

²Ibid.

³Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. G. Gregory Smith (2 vols., 1904), I:56. (References to this collection of essays will hereafter be abbreviated as follows: Eliz. Crit. Essays.)

The derivative of poulter's measure is the couplet with fourteen syllables in each line,¹ the fourteener, which was preferred by Sternhold, although he did use the original form. Surrey's paraphrases obviously circulated in manuscript,² and Sternhold, being at court, was no doubt familiar with and influenced by Surrey's versification. Both poulter's measure and the fourteener were well suited for Sternhold's purpose, for each was simple, had a singsong quality, and, most important of all, both could be easily set to simple tunes. These characteristics undoubtedly account in part for the immense popularity of the Sternhold-Hopkins psalter, and that work established an association between those verse forms and religious poetry.

Two other works of note appeared during Edward's reign. The first is William Baldwin's The Canticles or Balades of Salomon (1549), referred to above, which was dedicated to the King. In his dedication Baldwin expressed his dislike of the secular lyrics of the day and his hope that his "songes myght once drive out of office the baudy balades of lecherous love...and song of idle courtiers in princes and

¹Tucker Brooke, "The Renaissance" in A Literary History of England, ed. A. C. Baugh (New York, 1948), pp. 344-5.

²Bishop Matthew Parker cited Surrey's paraphrases in the preface to his The Whole Psalter (1567), Sig. C₁i^v.

noble mens houses."¹ But it was not for this desire alone that Baldwin had turned to the Song of Solomon. In the preface to the reader he made this statement about his work:

No doubt but it is an hie and musically matter, and more darkely hyd than other partes of the scripture, by meanes of the wanton wordes: which also cause many to deny it to be Gods wurde. Whose errour to redresse is the chief cause why I have medled with the matter. And because the rediest way was to make a paraphrase, I have attempted it: & that in meter, because they bee balades. And although I bee not so playne in al thinges as I mought have ben by meanes of my metres, yet I trust that suche as will reade them diligently, shell have great lyght in understanding the texte. But this I tell the good reader, thou must reade them well, (for it is not once readyng nor twice that can make thee understand them) & in reading note the sentence more than the rime, with the argumentes which go before and after the songes.²

It is important to note that Baldwin used the argument that the original was in verse to justify his turning the Song of Solomon into metre, a reason that becomes important later on in the century. Another new note is that, although Baldwin had misgivings about it, verse may be used for exegesis of the Scripture. Outside the fact that Baldwin feels it necessary to give a poetic rendering of a section of the Bible originally written in poetry, he shows little

¹Sig. A₁₁₁^v.

²Sig. A₁^v.

literary interest in his work. There is instead an emphasis on its practical value, the bringing of understanding to a difficult text and, as in the case of Coverdale, the desire to supplant secular lyrics. However Baldwin's versification does deserve note, for he uses neither poulter's measure nor the fourteener. He writes in simple stanzas, often the iambic tetrameter rhyming abab, and his verses, with their felicity and grace, exhibit taste often lacking in Tye, Sternhold, and in many of the later versifiers.

The second of these other works is a very curious one indeed. It is Christopher Tye's The Actes of the Apostles, translated into English Metre (1553), which is also dedicated to the King. Tye is a slave to the fourteener and he uses it even for his long and illuminating dedication to Edward. The task probably became onerous for him, for he finished only the first fourteen chapters, which he published with his music. The purpose of the work is clearly stated:

That such good thinges, your grace might move
 Your lute when ye assaye:
 In stede of songes, of wanton love
 These stories then to playe.¹

His desire to supplant the secular lyrics is in keeping with

¹Sig. A_{iii}^v.

the general movement towards religious poetry, but there is a new note added in regard to style:

Unto the text, I do not ad
Nor nothyng take awaye
And though my style, be grosse and bad
The truth perceyve you maye.

Your Maiestye, is not to teache
Thapostles wordes are playne:
With ynkhorne termes, they dyd not preache
But sought an easye vayne.

Playnely to speake, their maisters wyll
The people to enstruct:
That they their callynge, myght fulfyll
In truth them to conduct.

Praynge your grace, not to thynke now
Th t I do condescende:
That pleasaunt style, to disalow
But do it much commende.

But he that shal, of scripture treat
If he wyll please God well:
Of force he must, such termes forgeat
The truth playnely to tell.¹

Here is the beginning of an idea which became associated with religious poetry. When the poet turns to sacred subjects, he must avoid the style characteristic of secular poetry. As Tye saw it, and so did Wither in the next century, the truth of the Bible does not need poetic decoration as an aid to its instruction.

¹Sig. A₁₁₁.

With the accession of Mary in 1553 and during her six years reign there was a temporary interruption of much protestant religious activity.¹ But, as we have seen, the groundwork for the development of a religious poetry had been established under Edward VI. English reformers, like Coverdale, realized the practical value of poetry in their work, and they desired to supplant the secular with a divine poetry. Tye went a step further and insisted that in style the religious poetry must be simple and that it should be free from the characteristics of secular poetry. Baldwin said his main purpose in The Canticles was in exegesis, but he justified his use of metre by pointing out that the Song of Solomon was written originally in verse. It was on the basis of these ideas that a movement towards a divine poetry was founded.

¹See Harry R. Plomer, "The Protestant Press in the Reign of Mary," Library (3rd Ser., 1910), I:54-72, and C. C. Stopes, William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal (1910), pp. 29 ff.

RELIGIOUS POETRY IN THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH I AND THE
EARLY STUARTS

The Bible as Poetry and as a Source for Poetry.

With the accession of Elizabeth there was a renewed flow of religious poetry which was to continue well into the seventeenth century. The Bible rapidly became common property and a store of source material for poets. There were zealous reformers like W. Samuel who in 1569 published An Abridgement of all the Canonical books of the olde Testament, written in Sternholds meter. Samuel's primary interest in this work was to present an elaborate mnemonic device, so that his readers would have at their command a knowledge of the contents of the Old Testament. There were others who were concerned with the development of religious poetry as serious literature. One of the earlier poets of this class is Barnaby Googe, who came out clearly in defence of a serious religious poetry in his preface to a translation of Marcellus Palingenius' Zodiacus Vitae in 1565:

What pleasure and profite the dilligent
reading of vertuous Poets doth minister to the
Godly and Christian minde, so evidently and
playnely hath alwayes appeared, that I neede
not to bestowe any time about the declaring
hereof. Neither was the stately style of
Heroicall verse, only had in price and
estimation with the learned Greekes and
eloquent Romains...but also...amon those

sacred Prophetes that directed the whole course and trade of their life, to the praying and pleasing of t e almighty Lorde. For as S. Hierome testifieth, the devine and notable Prophecies of Esay, the Lamentations of Jeremie, the Songs & Ballades of Salomon, the Psalter of David, and the book of Hiob, were written by the first auctours in perfect and pleasaunt Hexameter verses. So that the devine and canonical volumes were garnished and set forth with the sweete according tunes, & heavenly sounds of pleasaunt metre.¹

The statement that the verse was hexameter is not of primary concern here,² but it is of importance to note the books which are designated as poetical: Isaiah, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Song of Solomon, the Psalms, and Job. To this list may be added Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, which Sidney included, on the authority of Emanuel Tremelius and Franciscus Junius, in his list of the poetical books of the Scripture.³ Besides these poetical books the various songs, such as those of Deborah and Moses, in other books of the Old Testament, as Harington said, were by the "learnedest divines" affirmed "to be verse."⁴

¹The Zodiake of Life, Sig. (f)₂.

²For a discussion of Renaissance knowledge of Hebraic versification see Israel Baroway's "The Hebrew Hexameter: A Study in Renaissance Sources and Interpretations," ELH (1935), II:66-91.

³An Apology for Poetry (1595), Eliz. Crit. Essays I:158.

⁴A Brief Apology for Poetry (1591), Eliz. Crit. Essays II: 207.

This designation of what may be called the poetical canon of the Bible is based on a knowledge of the Church Fathers and "authorities" rather than on a knowledge of the Scripture in Hebrew.

Once the theory that part of the Bible was written in Hebraic verse was accepted, it was logical for the Renaissance critic to assert, as did Thomas Lodge in citing C siodorus as his authority, that "the beginning of Poetrie proceeded from the Scripture"¹; for it was a commonly held belief that Hebrew, the language of Adam, was the most ancient.² Sidney subscribed to this belief in the great antiquity of biblical and religious poetry:

Poesie therefore is an arte of imitation... a speaking picture: with this end, to teach and delight. Of this have beene three severall kindes. The chiefe both in antiquitie and excellencie were they that did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of GOD. Such were David in his Psalmes, Salomon in his song of Songs, in his Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs, Moses and Debora in theyr Hymnes, and the writer of Iob.³

¹Defence of Poetry (1579), Eliz. Crit. Essays I:71.

²See William Lisle's Babilon (1596), pp. 36-40.

³An Apology for Poetry (1595), Eliz. Crit. Essays I:158.

Here one of the foremost of the English poets has said not only that religious and biblical poetry is the most ancient but also that it is the most excellent. Such views, which gave nobility to the purpose of those who served the cause of divine poetry, were echoed by poets well into the seventeenth century. Particularly is this true of Milton, whose view of the antiquity of religious poetry is shown in Paradise Regained, where he has Christ say to Satan:

All our Law and Story strew'd
With Hymns, our Psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,
Our Hebrew Songs and Harps in Babylon,
That pleas'd so well our Victors ear, declare
That rather Greece from us these Arts deriv'd.¹

And in The Reason of Church Government Urged Against Prelaty (1641-42) he spoke of biblical poetry as being the most excellent:

Those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these [Odes and hymns of the Greeks], not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable.²

The practice of biblical paraphrasing, in the sixteenth century, limited itself for the most part to what has been

¹The Student's Milton, ed. F. A. Patterson (New York, rev. ed., 1933). Book IV:334-38.

²Ibid., p. 525.

described as the poetical canon, the Psalms and the Song of Solomon being the most popular. In 1578, however, William Hunnis published A Hyve full of Hunnye, a paraphrase of the first book of Genesis, and in 1584 there appeared Thomas Hudson's History of Judith, a translation from Du Bartas. These metrical renderings of biblical matter not considered as poetical in the original were a further step towards a realization of a divine poetry, but it was not a step without precedent, as Joseph Hall pointed out in the preface to his Some fewe of Davids Psalms Metaphrased (1607):

Everie student knowes with what good successe
and commendation NONNUS hath turned IOHNS gospell
into Greek Heroicks; And APOLLINARIUS, that
learned Syrian...wrote, as SUIDAS reports, all
the Hebrue scripture in Heroicks....¹

And in the same work Hall expressed this opinion, which was probably held by many who were interested in a religious poetry: "Who knows not, that some other Scriptures, which the spirit hath indited in prose, have yet been happily & with good allowance put into strict numbers?"² This view of Hall's was certainly shared by the poets who worked on a variety of biblical subjects, and in 1656 the

¹The Collected Poems of John Hall, ed. A. Davenport (1949), p. 127.

²Ibid.

same view was more dogmatically asserted by Cowley in the preface to his Poems (1656): "All the Books of the Bible are either already most admirable, and exalted pieces of Poesie, or are the best Materials in the world for it."¹

By the time Quarles published his first biblical paraphrase in 1620, the tradition of religious paraphrase had emerged. By the authority of the Fathers the poetical canon had been established; and by the practice of Nonnus and Apollinarius, Hall could declare that any part of the Scripture, even that originally written in prose, could with advantage be turned into metre. For a period of twenty-four years--from 1620 to his death in 1644--Quarles worked in this tradition. Over one half of his paraphrases are of books from the poetical canon of the Bible. These are Job (1624), Lamentations of Jeremiah (1624), Song of Solomon (1625), and Ecclesiastes (1645). The others are Jonah (1620), Esther (1621), and the story of Samson from Judges (1631).

Quarles himself was conscious of the tradition in which he worked. It is doubtful whether he knew much Hebrew, but he did, directly or indirectly, know the works of the Church Fathers and the commentaries. He does not comment at any length on his work, and why he chose specific books for paraphrase, but in two prefaces he does indicate that he

¹Cowley, Poems (1656), Sig. (b)₃.

was aware that Job and Lamentations had been written originally in verse. In the preface to Job Militant (1624)¹ he says:

Who the Pen-man was, is not directly concluded, and to small purpose to bee enquired: Gregorius Romanus saith, That it is in vaine to enquire the Writer, where it is certaine, the holy Spirit is the Author; yet by some it is (nor without some ground) imagined, that it was done by the penne of Moses, (when hee fled into Midian, after hee slew the Egyptian,) in Hexameter Verses, from the third Chapter, to the fifth verse of the last.

And in his preface to Sions Elegies, the paraphrase of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, he expressed also his attitude towards those who would deny the poetry of the Old Testament:

It appeares by the strictnesse of the order, that these Lamentations were Originally writ in verse; and as some thinke in Sapphicks, but many of our learned Neotericks deny, that any writings of the Iewes carie, now, any direct or certaine Lawes of Poesie, though (they confesse) some ruinous Accents, here and there discovered, makes them imagine, they writ some things in verse; but now, it seemes that God, in dispersing them, hath likewise dissolved, and strucke dumb their musicke.³

¹Quotations from A Feast for Wormes, Hadassa, Job Militant, Sions Elegies, and Sions Sonets are from Divine Poemes (1630). Quotations from other works of Quarles¹ are from the first editions. In all citations I shall give in parenthesis the reference to Alexander B. Grosart's The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Francis Quarles (3 vols., 1880-81). See Appendix A, infra.

²Job Militant, "A Preface," (The preface was not reprinted in Divine Poemes. The quotation is from the first edition, 1624.) (II:71).

³Sions Elegies, "To the Reader," (II:103).

Thus it is clear that Quarles was aware of the traditional attitudes towards the poetical canon of the Old Testament, and as we have seen, he chose four of those books to render into English verse. To judge by his practice, he held the same view as Joseph Hall about the advantage of having any part of the Bible in English poetry, even those parts originally written in prose. In the preface to his second work, Hadassa: or the History of Queene Ester(1621), a venture outside the poetical canon, he succinctly defended his practice: "Some say, Divinity in Verse, is incongruous and unpleasing: such I referre to the Psalmes of David, or the Song of his sonne Salomon, to bee corrected."¹ With this view he continued for the rest of his life to use the Bible as the primary source for his poetry.

The Purpose of the Biblical Paraphrasers and Religious Poets.

As we have seen in Coverdale and in Tye one of the early aims of the religious poets was the suppression of secular poetry. This aim remained a constant one throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for in spite of

¹"A Preface to the Reader," (II:42).

the zeal shown by religious poets and reformers, the devil still had his devotees. Those who were devoted to the cause of divine poetry were not satisfied merely to create their own poetry, but they had also to make a "special effort to snatch merry tunes from the devil."¹ Therefore in the 1560's an increasing effort was made to moralize secular ballads, and such titles as "I myghte have leved meryly morralysed" (1564-65) indicate the lengths to which this activity could extend.² Also religious writers like Thomas Becon, who was deeply concerned over the growing popularity of classical learning, were contrasting the deep wisdom of the Bible with the great inferiority and even vanity of classical knowledge.³ The Roman Catholics could be spared on no account, and in a good sixteenth-century protestant spirit Edward Dering accused them of fostering profane literature:

As the Egiptians you have your two divers characters, that Robin Hoode and Gui of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton & such like shoulde be had of the people in english letters, But the misteries of our redemption, & the glorious

¹Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (University of Minnesota, 1932), p. 60.

²Ibid.

³Becon, Workes, ed. cit., Part III, Fol. 488, Sig. QQQqq_{ii}^v.

tidings of the death of Christ were in
straunge figures, & for the hazarde of
devotion they might not be made common.¹

Thomas Drant in the preface to his The wailyngs of
the prophet Hieremiah (1566) makes a clear division between
the value of Hebrew and classical literature:

I geve thee here an holy kynde of sadnesse,
an exacte myrroure of a contrite soul, the heavy
procedynges of iust God, against his uniuert
creatures. The Hebrue prophets write an
unfallible trowth: the Greke and Latine
Poetes write forgeries & leafyngs.²

But even if he did believe that the "Greke and Latine Poetes
write forgeries & leafyngs," Drant took his place among
the translators of classical literature in the year
following his metrical rendering of Jeremiah with the
publication of Horace His Arte of Poetrie, pistles, and
Satyres, Englished.

In 1583 there was a definite and clear statement of
the division between divine and secular poetry in
Anthony Marten's translation of Peter Martyr's Common Places:

¹A Sparing Restraint, of many lavish Untruthes, which
M. Doctor Harding dothe challenge, in the first Article of
my Lorde of Sarisburies Replie (1568), p. 6.

²Sig. I_{viii}^v.

We must understand, that betweene Poems divine and humane, this is the difference; that humane Poems doo set foorth the renoume [sic] of kings, princes, feelds, cities, regions, castels, women, marriages, and sometime of brute beasts. But divine Poems doo onlie sing of God, and celebrate him onelie, and doo set foorth songs and praises of him alone. And that not without cause: for him alone it behooveth the godlie to worship with all their mind, with all their hart, and with all their strength. Wherefore godlie yoong men must in anie wise be exhorted cheeflie to celebrate GOD in their verses: for it is not to be feared, that in such an argument they shall want matter.¹

In 1591 Michael Drayton in the preface to his The Harmonie of the Church emphasized the religious nature of his work:

I speak not of Mars, the god of Wars, nor of Venus, the goddesse of love, but of the Lord of Hostes, that made heaven and earth: Not of Toyes in Mount Ida, but of triumphes in Mount Sion: Not of Vanitie, but of Veritie: nor of Tales, but of Truethes.²

A few years later the Roman Catholic poet Robert Southwell, in the preface to his St. Peters Complaynt (1595), pointed out that poetry had the sanction of God, that it

¹The Third Part, Cap. 13, Sec. 18, Sig. FFf_v.

²The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J. W. Hebel, K. Tillotson, B. H. Newdigate (1931-41), I:3.

was a means of worship of God which the devil had usurped for his own, and that the duty of the poet was to reclaim poetry for its original function:

Poets by abusing their talent, & making the follies and faynings of love, the customarie subject of their base endeavours, have so discredited this facultie, that a Poet, a lover, and a lyar, are by many reckoned but three words of one signification. But the vanitie of men, cannot counterpoise the authority of God, who delivering many parts of scripture in verse, and by his Apostle willing us to exercise our devotion in Himnes & spirituall Sonnets, warranteth the Arte to be good, and the use allowable.... In the old & New Testament it hath beene used by men of greatest Pietie, in matters of most devotion. Christ himselfe by making a Himne, the conclusion of his last Supper, and the Prologue to the first Pageant of his Passion, gave his Spouse a methode to immitate... and to all men a patterne to know the true use of this measured and footed stile. But the devill as he affecteth Deitie, and seeketh to have all the complements of Divine honour applied to his service, so hath hee among the rest possessed also most Poets with his idle fansies. For in lieu of solemne and devout matter, to which in dutie they owe their abilities, they now busie themselves in expressing such Passions, as onely serve for testimonies to how unworthy affections they have wedded their wils. And because the best course to let them see the errour of their workes, is to weave a new webbe in their owne loome; I have heere laid a few course threads together, to invite some skilfuller wits to goe forward in the same, or to begin some finer peece, wherein it may be seene how well verse and vertue sute together.¹

¹St. Peters Complaynt, Sig. A₁₁-A₁₁^v.

George Herbert expressed the same concern about the predominance of love poetry in a letter to his mother, written in 1609/10:

But I fear the heat of my late Ague hath dried up those springs, by which Scholars say, the Muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of those many Love-poems, that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and Heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear Mother) is in these Sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor Abilities in Poetry, shall be all, and ever consecrated to Gods glory.¹

And later Herbert in the Jordan Poems, as Rosemond Tuve has shown, protested again against the love poem's usurpation of the field of poetry.²

Earlier Joshua Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas, had added his own invocation, in which he stated specifically what he wished to accomplish in English literature by this means:

O furnish me with an un-vulgar stile,
That I by this may wean our wanton ILE
From Ovids heires and their un-hallowed spell,
Heere charming sences, chayning souls in Hell.
Let This provoke our modern wits to sacre
Their wondrous gifts to honour thee, their Maker:

¹The Works of George Herbert, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (1953), p. 364.

²A Reading of George Herbert (1952), p. 187.

That our mysterious ELFINE Oracle,
 Deep, morall, grave, invention's miracle:

 May change their subject, and advance their wings
 Up to these higher and more holy things.
 And if (sufficient rich in selfe invention)
 They scorn (as I) to live of Strangers Pension,
 Let them devise new WEEKES, new Works, new waies
 To celebrate the supreme Prince of prayse.¹

Sylvester's translation, entitled Devine Weekes & Workes, had done much to "wean our wanton IIE" by the time Quarles published his first work, A Feast for Wormes(1620). In that work Quarles announced emphatically what was to be his guiding practice:

Tis not the Record of great Hectors glory,
 Whose matchlesse Valour makes the World a Story;
 Nor yet the swelling of that Romans name,
 That onely Came, and Look'd, and Overcame;
 Nor One, nor All, of those brave Worthies nine,
 (Whose Might was great, and Acts almost divine,
 That liv'd like Gods, but dy'd like Men, and gone)
 Shall give my Pen a Taske to treat upon:
 I sing the praises of the KING of Kings.²

And in the invocation to the same work he pleads with God to assist him in this task devoted only to His praise:

¹Bartas His Devine Weekes & Workes (2vols. 1605), I:272.

²"The Proposition of the first Worke," (II:6).

My Art-lesse Hand, my humble Heart inspire,
 Inflamm my frozen Tongue with holy Fire:
 Ravish my stupid Senses with thy Glory;
 Sweeten my Lips with sacred Oratory;
 And (thou O FIRST and LAST) assist my Quill,
 That first and last, I may performe thy will:
 My sole intent's to blazon forth thy Praise;
 My ruder Pen expects no Crowne of Bayes.¹

Then in his preface to Sions Elegies (1624) Quarles emphasized the worthiness of his biblical subject in comparison with the subjects drawn from classical sources, although he does not dogmatically rule out classical themes:

If the ruines of Troy, Rome, Thebes, or Carthage have been thought a subject, worthy the employment of more serious Pennes, to entaile the remembrance thereof to Posteritie, how much more worthy the paines of a livelier pen then mine, is this ancient, most true, and never enough to bee lamented desolation, and Captivitie of Ierusalem; Ierusalem, the holy City of GOD; Ierusalem, the type of the Catholike Church?²

Quarles' primary purpose was to glorify God in his works; and when he turned away from strictly religious themes to write Argalus and Parthenia (1629), a heavily moralized romance, he felt that an explanation was necessary. In his

¹"To The Most High," (II:8).

²To the Reader," (II:103).

preface he wrote to his readers:

This Booke differs from my former, as a Courtier from a Churchman: But if any thinke it unfit, for one to play both parts, I have presidents for it: And let such know, that I have taken but one play-day in sixe: However, I should beshrew that hand that binds them all together to make one Volume.¹

Quarles could have claimed "presidents" in Drant, Drayton, Spenser, Sandys, and others; however, that he would "beshrew that hand that binds" all his works together in one volume indicates how strongly he felt the cleavage between secular and divine poetry.

Since the firm establishment of a religious poetry was the aim of the divine poets, they emphasized other advantages that divinity in verse would have. The first of these was the familiar idea that verse would help the memory. The publication of such a book as W. Samuel's An Abridgement of all the Canonical books of the olde Testament (1569), which had an elaborate mnemonic device for remembering the whole of the contents of the Old Testament, indicates how desirable it was thought to commit biblical matter to memory. Robert Allen in An Alphabet of the holy Proverbs of King Salomon (1596) said that verse had

¹Argalus and Parthenia, "To the Reader," (III:240).

been used by God "who hath succoured memorie by his owne disposing of divers portions of his holy & blessed worde in the same order."¹ Another publication in the same year as that of Allen's was Henoeh Clapham's A Briefe of the Bible drawne into English Poesy. Clapham explains to the reader that the work is "for helping thy weake Memorie, as also, for giving a taste of that large Truth, in short speach."²

Henry Lok in Sundry Christian Pa sions (1597) spoke summarily of the nature of religious poetry, adding another justification of divinity in verse:

As for the apt nature of Poetrie, to delight, to contrive significantly in a few words much matter, to pearce and penetrate affections of men, with the aptnesse thereof, for helpe of memorie, I will not saie much.³

In this statement there appears the second of these further reasons for the use of poetry: "to pearce and penetrate the affections of men." George Jithier in his A Preparati
one on the Psaltr (1619) gave a fuller statement to this commonly

¹Sig. A₃^v.

²"To the reader," unaged.

³Sig. I^{viii}^v.

held view:

Saint Basill helpes yet with another reason [why part of the Bible is in verse]; and saith, that the Spirit of God seeing mankinde so enclinable to pleasure and delights, that they were hardly drawne to vertue or Religion, which were enemies to sensualitie: He mingled his heavenly Precepts, with the sweete and pleasing straines of Musicke and Numbers; that so the eare, having that which delighted, might without tediousnesse listen, whilst wholesome and profitable instructions were unaware infused into us. In which, God hath showne exceeding great mercy, and a wondrous fatherly care: even in this, that it hath pleased him so to informe us, that his word might not seeme over Austere, by reason of our childishnesse So the divine wisdome, hath for those who are children in spirituall things, in the sweetnesse of Verse, offered his divine mysteries; that being by that meanes the more listned unto, they might worke in their woules for their spirituall health.... And indeed by this meanes, many who had else never given heed to the word of God, have been in some measure delighted with it.¹

George Herbert also realized this practical aspect of poetry, and in the first stanza of the "Church-porch" he expressed to his readers the value of poetry even over the spoken sermon:

Thou, whose sweet youth and early hopes inhance
Thy rate and price, and mark thee for a treasure;
Hearken unto a Verser, who may chance

¹A Preparation to the Psalter (Spenser Society, 1884), p. 77.

Ryme thee to ood, and make a bait of pleasure.
 A verse may finde him, who a sermon flies,
 And turn delight into a sacrifice.¹

One who signed himself T. LL. Artium Magister to a prefatory poem to Sir Thomas Salisbury's The History of Joseph (1636) expressed the same view of poetry's power to "pearce and penetrate affections of men" where other forms failed. He sees the value of poetry in bringing religious instruction to the upper as well as the lower classes:

And Iosephs goodnesse, such, some few alone
 Professors, and Precisians had knowne;
 Had not thy bounteous Muse thus set him forth
 In fashionable garbe, to speake his worth
 In moderne tone; now by thy helpe he may
 Converse with Courtiers, in Coat as gay
 As er'st his Father made him; he may kisse
 Each coyer Ladies hand, nor can he misse
 Admission, or audience to tell
 His story to the best, or worst; so well
 He charmes attention....²

It was through this "fashionable garbe", the use of verse for religious material, that the matter of the Bible would come to all people. The reasons for a divine poetry were summarized by Nehemiah Rogers, a divine and a friend of

¹Herbert, op. cit., p.6.

²Sig. b₃^v.

Quarles, in The Wild Vine (1632):

There is Ryme & Reason: or Reason for Ryme.
 First it prepares & fits the soule for holy
 duties, & therefore we use Psalmes before
 our Sermons. 2. It comprehends much in a little,
 as we see in the Psalmes: For what are they
 but a Compendium of both Testaments? 3. It
 delighteth the eare, and causeth it to hearken
 more attentively.... 4. And lastly, it is a
 great helpe to memorie, and causeth things
 (once learned) long to be retained.¹

Quarles spoke only once of the values of religious
 poetry, but in this brief statement the current views are
 expressed:

And though the sacred History needs not (as
 humane [sic] doe) Poetry, to perpetuate the
 remembrance, (being by Gods owne mouth blest
 with Eternity) yet Verse (working so neare
 upon the soule, and spirit) will oft times draw
 those to have a history in familiarity, who
 (perchance) before, scarce knew there was such
 a Booke.²

Here in one sentence Quarles repeats ideas held before
 and during his time: verse works near the soul and spirit,
 verse is an excellent teacher, and verse will aid the memory
 in retaining religious matter.

¹p. 24.

²Hadassa: or the History of Queene Ester, "The Epistle
 to the Reader," (II:42).

Style and Metre Associated with Religious Poetry.

There was also an interest in religious poetry as an art form, and it followed that those who practised it were concerned with the style and metre appropriate to it. As a part of the movement against secular poetry, the religious poets evolved certain tenets which characterized their work well into the seventeenth century. Christopher Tye, mentioned earlier, said that religious poetry should be characterized by simplicity in style and diction:

Your Maiestye, is not to teache.
Thapostles wordes are playne:
With ynkhorne termes, they dyd not preache
But sought an easye vayne.

Playnely to speake, their maisters wyll
The people to enstruct:
That they their callynge, myght fulfyll
In truth them to conduct.¹

Inkhorn terms were associated primarily with prose, but it appears that there was a fear on Tye's part that they might become associated with religious poetry. As the style of poetry later developed towards "strong lines" there was an outcry against them on the part of the religious poets who desired simplicity. William Hunnis in a preface to his paraphrase of the first chapter of Genesis

¹The Actes of the Apostles (1553), Sig. A₁₁₁.

had written to his reader:

Looke not for fyled Wordes and Termes,
nor Phraze that Poetes chuse:
It is forbidden in this Woorke,
as thing not meete to use.¹

Michael Drayton, in the wooden and monotonous verse of his The Harmonie of the Church (1591), certainly gave no indication of his future poetic abilities in his handling of biblical matter. Commenting in his preface on his style in that work, he said:

Gentle Reader, my meaning is not with the varietie of verse to feede any vaine humour, neither to trouble thee with devises of mine owne invention, as carieng an overweening of mine owne wit.²

It appears then that when the poet turns to religious matters, whatever else he may do, he is not expected to call forth his poetic powers, and he is not to tax his invention.

Robert Allen was another writer who commented on the contemporary influence of Classical authors. He would not cast away the "sentences of Tullie and Seneca" even though they were "unholy, earthly, and prophane,"

¹A Hyve full of Hunnye (1578), "To the Friendlye Reader," unpagged.

²Drayton, Works, ed. cit., I:3.

but he asked, making clear his preference:

What (I say) are all those their sentences, in comparison of the most holy and perfectly wise proverbes of King Salomon? Yea in comparison of such of them, wherein, for som appearance of wordes, they might seeme to aime at the same thing with him? For all the sentences of this our heavenly teacher...are holie and heavenly, proceeding from the holy sprite of God....¹

Thus the pitting of the biblical against the classical was extended to style as well as to subject matter.

Joseph Hall in the preface to Some fewe of Davids Psalms Metaphrased (1607) left no doubt about his attitude towards a style befitting biblical material in poetry:

This worke is holy and strict, & abides not anie youthful or heathenish libertie; but requires hands free from profanenesse, loosenesse, affectation. It is a service to God and the Church by so much more carefully to bee regarded, as it is more common. For, who is there that will not challenge a parte in this labour? and that shall not find himself much more affected with holy measure rightly composed.²

If there is any question about what Hall means when he refers to "youthful and heathenish libertie" in this passage, he does not leave the reader in doubt in one of his satires

¹An Alphabet of holy Proverbs of King Salomon (1596), Sig. A5.

²Hall, Collected Poems, ed. cit., p. 127.

which is directed against Southwell's St. Peters Complaynt:

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.¹

Hall's objection is not to the subject but the style in which a religious subject that should be treated with reverence is instead treated as a secular subject, becoming a display of the poet's wit and fancy.

Simplicity in style is the desideratum of the religious poet, and even in the seventeenth century there was one writer who would carry the style to an extreme. William Loe, a divine, published in 1620 The Songs of Sion, and in the dedication he says his purpose was "to metaphrase some passages of David psalmes as an Essay to knowe whether we might expresse our harts to god in our holy soliloquies by monasillables in our owne mother tongue, or no."² The use of monosyllables had been commended before Loe,³ but this actual attempt to reduce the vocabulary to its lowest

¹Hall, Collected Poems, ed. cit., Bk. I, Satire VII. p.19.

²Sig. A₃.

³In Gascoigne's Certain Notes of Instruction (1575) the use of monosyllables is recommended and is linked with patriotism: "The more monasyllables that you use the truer Englishman you shall seeme." Eliz. Crit. Essays, I:51.

denominator was singular. Wither is more typical of the practice of a larger body of the poets, and in his A Preparation to the Psalter (1619) he explained the style used in his metrical version of the Psalms:

And since I first entered into this subject, I still kept with mee so much consideration, as to remember, that such holy things were neither to be handled rashly, nor used as exercises of vaine wit. Yea, I know that the beauty of these Poems consisteth not in those ornaments of speech, which make plausible other writings. But as St. Paule saith of his Gospell; It is in Demonstration of the spirit, and of power. And I hope therefore, that those who are iudicious, though they have had their eares seasoned with the Musicke of other Poesy, will consider that it is necessary and decent, these Odes should be expressed in a phrase rather answerable to their gravitie, then in that which is every way sutable to the language of other Poems. And I thinke also, that somewhat the more plainnesse is to be used, because it is a subiect wherin applause is not so much to be sought for; as this, that the meanest capacities be fitted as-well as the best pleased.¹

In the Songs of the Old Testament (1621) Wither vehemently lashed out at the style of the "wanton poets" who he thought would certainly oppose the plainness and the gravity of the style that he had advocated and had practiced:

¹A Preparation to the Psalter, ed. cit., p. 35.

I value not how the wits of our age shall
 censure the Stile I have used; for though
 many of them are well acquainted with the
 raptures in Hero and Leander, the expressions
 in Venus and Adonis, and with the elegancies
 becomming a wanton Sonnet; yet in these Lyricks,
 in the naturall straine of these Poems, in the
 power of these voyces, and in the proprieties
 befitting these spirituall things, their
 sensuall capacities, are as ignorant as meere
 Ideots: and had it the Poeticall phrases they
 fancy, I should hate it: or were it such as
 they might praise, I would burne it.¹

In a more dignified and sensible manner Herbert in "Jordan (II)"
 gave his theory of style:

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.

Thousands of notions in my brain did runne,
 Off'ring their service, if I were not sped:
 I often blotted what I had begunne;
 This was not quick enough, and that was dead.
 Nothing could seem too rich to clothe the sunne,
 Much lesse those joyes which trample on his head.

As flames do work and winde, when they ascend,
 So did I weave my self into the sense.
 But while I bustled, I might heare a friend
 Whisper, How wide is all this long pretence!
There is in love a sweetnesse readie penn'd:
Copie out onely that, and save expense.²

¹Songs of the Old Testament, Sig. A5.

²Works, ed. cit., pp. 102-3.

The poem has been variously interpreted, but whatever may be its deeper meanings, it clearly shows Herbert's concern for simplicity in the style of religious poetry.

Quarles did not express himself as subtly as Herbert. Neither did he use the invective of Wither, but he, as might be expected, was in favour of simplicity in style. In the preface to Hadassa (1621) he made this comment on the style of his work:

A Sober veine best suits Theologie: If therefore thou expect'st such Elegancy as takes the times, affect some subject as will beare it. Had I laboured with over-abundance of fictions, or flourishes, perhaps they had exposed mee, censurable, and disprized this sacred subject: Therefore I rest more sparing in that kinde.¹

Quarles has been associated with the metaphysical school by some critics.² The above statement of Quarles' and others which he made, such as in Argalus and Parthenia (1629), "I have not affected to set thy understanding on the Rack, by the tyranny of strong lines,"³ and again in Divine Fancies (1632), "I will not (like One that knowes the strength of his own Muse) commit Rape upon your Understandings,"⁴ indicate

¹"A Preface to the Reader," (II:42).

²A. H. Nethercot, "The Reputation of the Metaphysical Poets," MP(1925-26) XXIII, p. 173. Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery (2 vols., 1939-47), I:150.

³"To the Reader," (III:240).

⁴"To the Readers," (II:196).

that he was not only aware of the style characteristic of the metaphysicals but that he was working in opposition to it. Quarles did not carry to the extremes which Wither did a campaign for a lowly and humble style, although he obviously wrote for a large audience rather than a select one. Few, if any, of his readers could have had difficulty with such a typical passage as this one:

Want is the badge of poeverty: The he
 That wanteth most, is the most poore, say we.
 The wretch, that hunger drives from doore to door,
 Aiming at present Almes, desires no more.
 The tolling Swaine, that hath with pleasing trouble
 Cockt a small fortune, would that fortune double,
 Which dearely bought with slav'ry, then (alas)
 He would be deem'd a Man, that 's well to passe:
 Which got, his mind's now tickled with an itch,
 But to deserve that glorious stile of Rich.
 That done, h'enjoyes the crowne of all his labour,
 Could he but once out-nose his right-hand-neighbor.
 Lives he at quiet now? Now, he begins
 To wish, that Us'rie were the least of sinnes:
 But great, or small, he tries, and sweet's the trouble,
 And for its sake, he wishes all things double.
 Thus wishing still, his wishes never cease,
 But as his Wealth, his Wishes still encrease.¹

Neither would Quarles' imagery tax the intellectual power of many readers, as a typical example easily shows:

As coales of fier rak'd in Embers lye
 Obscure, and undiscerned by the eye;

¹Job Militant, Med. 1, (II:73-4).

But being stirr'd, regaine a glimm'ring light,
 Revive, and glow, burning a-fresh and bright;
 So Jonah 'gan to cheere through this reliefe,
 And joyfull was, devoided all his grieffe;
 He joy'd to see that God had not forgot
 His drooping servant, and forsooke him not.¹

The metre used by the paraphrasers and those devoted to religious poetry is yet another characteristic of the tradition. The metrical form used by Sternhold, as has been pointed out, was primarily the fourteenner. Both this metre and poulter's measure were popular as suitable forms for religious or reverential works. Poulter's measure, in fact, was especially commended by Gascoigne for religious poetry: "The long verse of twelve and fouretene sillables, although it be now adayes used in all Theames, yet in my iudgement it would serve best for Psalmes and Himpnes."² Actually the fourteenner became the more popular metre with the religious poets, and it still has not lost its association with hymnology, as a look at the English Hymnal or the hymnals of nonconformists will quickly reveal.

¹A Feast for Wormes, Sect. 12, (II:23).

²Certain Notes of Instruction (1575), Eliz. Crit. Essays, I:57.

Soon after Gascoigne's time the movement away from these metres began. The pentameter couplet, which was to become the favourite metre of religious poets in the seventeenth century, was employed by Thomas Hudson in The History of Judith (1584), a translation from Du Bartas. Then Joshua Sylvester, in 1594, undertook the translation of Du Bartas' La Semaine, which occupied him until 1608. Whatever may have inspired Sylvester, and it may have been either Hudson's translation of Judith or a translation of Du Bartas' L'Uranie by James VI (1584), later James I of England, he used the pentameter couplet; and the immediate popularity of his work, particularly after 1605, when he published Bartas His Devine Weekes & Workes,² did much to associate the pentameter couplet with religious poetry.

Another example of this shift from the old metres to the pentameter couplet is seen in the works of Drayton. In 1591 in his The Harmonie of the Church, which included paraphrases of songs collected out of the Old Testament and the Song of Solomon, Drayton used primarily the fourteener. This was a deliberate choice of metre which he associated with his material, for, as we have seen, Drayton pointed out in his preface that he was not concerned with devices of his own invention.¹ But in Moyses in a Map of his Miracles

¹Supra, p. 36.

²The work was completed and published with the same title in 1608.

(1604) Drayton chose a run-on stanza with lines rhyming alternately. It was in the dedication of this work that Drayton spoke of Du Bartas and of Sylvester:

And thou Translator of the Faithful Muse
This ALLS creation that divinely song,
From Courtly French (no travaile do'st refuse)
To make him Master of thy Genuin tong,
Salust to thee and Silvester thy friend,
Comes my high Poem peaceably and chaste.
Your hallow'd labours humbly to attend,
That wrackful Time shall not have power to waste.¹

By 1630, when Drayton published The Muses Elizium, Sylvester's Devine Weekes had become the most important religious work of the age, and in Noahs Floud and David and Golia, the two biblical paraphrases that were new,² Drayton used the pentameter couplet employed by Sylvester.

Quarles used this metre from the beginning of his literary career, and with but a few exceptions in the Emblemes and in a few elegies, he used it throughout his poetic works. It is clear that it was the metre which had come to be associated with religious poetry. Milton employed it in his youthful translation of Psalm 114, a work which, as J. H. Hanford and others have pointed out, shows the influence of

¹Works, ed. cit., III:358, ll. 29-36.

²Drayton included in The Muses Elizium the earlier paraphrase Moses in a Map of his Miracles (1604), making only a few verbal changes.

Sylvester.¹ Sandys and Wither, along with others, employed the couplet in their paraphrases, and Cowley chose that metre for his religious epic Davideis . After the

Restoration, the pentameter couplet came to be the prevailing metre for all poetry, and part of the background of its development was certainly the work of Sylvester.²

However, one must not forget George Sandys, who in his Divine Poems (1638), as well as in his translation of Ovid, contributed also to its development. The use in religious poetry of that metrical form was in no small measure one of the factors which determined its ultimate predominance.

Strong opposition to its use is found in Milton's

Paradise Lost (1664). In the second edition in 1674

there is an explanation why the poem does not rhyme, an explanation which the printer induced Milton to write.

Since the poem deals with biblical material, the readers would expect it to follow a metre which they had come to associate with religious works; and since it is an epic, they would associate it with the religious epics which they

¹J. H. Hanford, A Milton Handbook (New York, 4th ed., 1946), p. 174.

²E. M. W. Tillyard, The English Epic (1954), pp. 359-60.

already knew, particularly with the Devine Weekes and Dauids. Milton recognized the fact that "vulgar Readers" would expect the poem to rhyme, and he realized that he had broken away from the rhyming tradition, particularly that of those poets who were "carried away by Custom."¹ But "Custom" prevailed and even Milton could not arrest the development of the couplet.

Conclusion.

In the light of this survey of his background it becomes clear that the work of Quarles fits into a tradition of religious poetry. In his choice of biblical subjects he stayed fairly close to those parts of the Bible which had been accepted as poetical, and in turning other parts of the Bible into poetry he had the precedent of early Christian poets and the approval of his contemporaries. He devoted practically all his literary efforts to divine poetry as opposed to secular poetry, and he shared current views regarding both its nature and purpose,

¹Milton, ed. cit., "The Verse" in the prefatory material of the second edition of Paradise Lost (1674), p. 159.

and the style and metre in which it could most suitably
be written.

CHAPTER II

**QUARLES AND THE RELIGIOUS
CONFLICTS OF HIS TIME**

In Suckling's "A Sessions of the Poets" Falkland is referred to in these lines:

He was of late so gone with divinity
That he had almost forgot his poetry.

Divinity in the first half of the seventeenth century became a concern for a great number of poets. The gay Suckling himself turned from his other activities and from poetry for a time to write An Account of Religion by Reason.¹ The questions of religion, both of theology and of ecclesiastical polity, turned many from their normal pursuits. A few poets wrote on religious subjects with a vision of the Christian life, rising above mundane issues, the Fletchers for instance, or with the aim of seeking and expressing Christian truths, as did Sir John Davies, who is concerned with the immortality of the soul in Nosce Teipsum (1599). Other poets, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, were concerned with the dissemination of religious knowledge through verse, and there were others who had primarily an interest in works leading to introspection and devotion. Such was the serene Herbert,

¹The work was first published in Fragmenta Aurea (1646).

who, moving unperturbed in a time when factions warred with factions and when the weapons of scurrility and vituperation were freely used, found in his poetry an outlet for his beautifully ordered mind and for his sincere religious convictions. Devoted to the Church of England, he celebrated its praise without the slightest thought that in a short time it would be overthrown by enthusiasts and extremists. Quarles, however, was acutely aware of the conflicts of his age, and he shows that awareness in his poetry. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the poetry of Quarles and to determine his relation to the religious controversies of his day.

These controversies of the seventeenth century had their roots in the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559.¹ The English Church under Elizabeth, for political, personal,

¹The following brief survey is based on readings in the following works: H. N. Birt, The Elizabethan Settlement (1907); F. W. Maitland, "The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation," Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II. (1903); J. B. Black, Reign of Elizabeth (1936); Felix Makower, The Constitutional History of the Church of England (1895); R. H. Bainton, Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (1953); S. R. Gardiner, History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War (1883-4, 10 vols.); A. Plummer, English Church History from the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of King Charles I (1914).

and religious reasons, became an amalgam of Protestant doctrine and Catholic ceremonial. From the very beginning there were the discontented who thought that the (reformation, particularly in regard to ceremony, had not gone far enough. Calvinistic theology, however, though not popular with Elizabeth herself, was generally accepted; but in that group which was discontented with the retention of pre-reformation ceremonies there lay the seeds of puritanism and separatism. The Elizabethan Church, refusing to recognize dissent, went on its way, and by the end of the century it had produced in Hooker and Andrewes staunch defenders of its philosophy of the via media. These theologians no longer looked to Calvin as the ultimate authority. Instead they considered the authority of the Church to be in the Scripture and in patristic writings.

The dissatisfied parties had renewed hopes with the accession of James I in 1603, and a body met him on his journey from Scotland, presenting him with the Millenary Petition, supposedly with one thousand signatures from the clergy. This petition expressed the clergy's grievances, which touched primarily on ceremonies in the Church. Among other things they asked that the sign of the cross

in baptism, the use of the ring in marriage, and other pre-reformation practices be abolished. At Hampton Court the answer was given by James I, who saw that the primary target of the Petitioners was the episcopacy. James' "No bishops, no king" was in effect reiterated by the Canons of 1604/where conformity to the XXXIX Articles and the Prayer Book was required by law. Needless to say, this was no solution and James' further insistence on the theory of Divine Right, a theory which became associated also with the bishops, served only as a wedge that, sinking deeper into the daily life of the populace, caused cleavages which finally resulted in the Civil War.

In Quarles' lifetime the controversies became centred around definite groups, and I shall present his thought in relation to them--the Separatists, Roman Catholics, Arminians, and Puritans.

Separatists.

The Separatists, as the term implies, were those who, like Henry Barrow, dissociated themselves completely from the Church of England. In the seventeenth century the term applied primarily to the Independents and to

those like them who rejected all ecclesiastical authority outside the individual congregation.¹ There were numerous sects in the Separatist group, all varying in minor details of doctrine or in practices of worship. The thing they shared in common was the desire for separation from the Established Church, and my concern here is with this aspect of them rather than with doctrinal matters.

Quarles' explicit criticism of the Separatists comes in the latter years of his life, when their influence had greatly increased. However, in his earlier works he held and expressed views which would have been most unacceptable to those of the Separatists' persuasion. In Sions Sonets (1624), a paraphrase of the Song of Solomon, Quarles followed in the established tradition of interpreting this love poem as the "deep mystery" of the marriage of Christ and his Church. The glosses to this paraphrase indicate that Quarles had in mind the Established Church, for the Bride is only a part of the Universal Church, as is evident in

¹The Separatists and other nonconformists are frequently discussed as Puritans. I have chosen to use the term Puritan in a restricted sense, applying it to that group which desired to remain within the Church of England while carrying out further reforms within that Church, primarily along Presbyterian lines. See Robert Barclay's The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth (1876), and A. S. P. Woodhouse's Puritanism and Liberty (1938). Mr. Woodhouse is primarily concerned with the parties as they took shape in the Long Parliament, and he uses the term Puritan in a more generalized sense than the one I have chosen.

this passage where the Bridegroom is speaking of his
Bride:

Then should this hand conduct my fairest Spouse,
To taste a banquet at my mother's *house.

*The universall Church.¹

Without doubt, for Quarles, this part of the universal Church is the Church of England, which, as he says in a gloss on aspects of the Bride's appearance, has its ceremonies and ornaments necessary for them.² In a passage where other virgins are inquiring about the Bridegroom they say to the Bride:

Wee'll finde him out, if thou wilt be our guide:
The next way to the Bridegroom, is the *Bride.

*The Church is the way to Christ.³

The Bride, as the Church of England, is the means to salvation. Such a view would not find favour with a group which, in regard to that Church, had said: "By Gods Commandement all that will be saved, must with speed come

¹Sions Sonets, Sonnet XXI, no. 6, (II:131).

²Ibid., Sonnet XII, no. 1, (II:127).

³Ibid., Sonnet XVIII, no. 1, (II:129).

forth of this Antichristian estate."¹ Then too the insistence of Quarles on the Divine Right of Kings and on monarchical authority in State and Church affairs would run counter to the Separatists' faith. This insistence on these beliefs is apparent in his second publication, Hadassa (1621), which was written in part to instruct "in the behaviour of a Prince, to his Subject," and "in the behaviour of the Subject to his Prince."² Such beliefs would have influenced Separatists against the reading of Quarles, and certainly so after 1640, when he began to refer directly to this group and to attack it.

It is not at all surprising that Quarles' attacks came at that time rather than earlier. The Separatists had caused minor trouble from time to time in the sixteenth century, and they had had their martyrs in Henry Barrow and others.³ They had emigrated in groups to Holland and

¹A True Confession of the Faith, and Humble Acknowledgment of the Alegeance, which wee her Maiesties Subjects, falsely called Brownists, doo hould towards God (1596), Sig. Aiiii.

²"A Preface to the Reader," (II:42.)

³J. H. Blunt, Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties and Schools of Religious Thought (1903), p.224.

New England in the early part of the century,¹ but by 1640 they were stronger and more of a menace to the established order.²

The first direct attack on the Separatists by Quarles came in Observations Concerning Princes and States, upon Peace and Warre (1642), a work in prose, where he classifies Separatism as one of the extremes of religious belief, an extreme at the opposite pole from "Popery"; "The true Protestant Religion stands like a vertue betweene two vices, Popery and Separatisme." He sees Roman Catholicism as an "extremity, in the Excesse," and Separatism as an extremity "in the Defect," which aimed at creating "confusion in the Church."⁴

In 1644 Quarles published The Shepherds Oracle,⁵ an eclogue which vehemently denounced Separatism. The eclogue

¹S. R. Gardiner, History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War (10 vols. 1883-4), IV:145 ff.

²Ibid., IX:394.

³Observation 5, (I:53).

⁴Ibid.

⁵This eclogue was added as "Eglogue XI" to the second edition of The Shepherds Oracles (1646).

opens with a dialogue between Philarchus, who represents the monarchy, and in particular the government of Charles I, and Philorthus, who represents the Established Church. The relation of the two as companion shepherds represents the union of Church and State. Philarchus in the opening speech laments the present state of the monarchy and of the Established Church, pointing out how the glory of the King has diminished and how both he and Philorthus are threatened by the Separatists:

How is the Shepherds honour, that while ere
Shone like the morning Star; and did appeare
To all the world, like Heraulds to make knowne
Th' approaching Glory of the rising Sun!
How is that honour dim! how is her light
Clouded in shades of Ignorance and night!
How is our Calling slighted, and that power
Our Master lent us, threatned every howre!
How are our worried Names become the scorne
Of every base Mechanick! rent and torne
In every vulgar mouth? reproacht and made
Delinquents, judgd by every triviall Trade!¹

Quarles' testimony to the social position of the Separatists is the common, and apparently accurate, one of his day.²

"The base Mechanick" stands for the social group that is working to overthrow the status quo, as represented by the King and the Church. Quarles realized the force of

¹The Shepherds Oracle(1644), p. 1, (III:233).

²Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts (1937), p. 125.

this group, and he clearly outlines what he understood to be its objectives:

But that which wounds my soule beyond redresse,
 And aggravates my grieffe above excesse,
 Those Past'rall staves wherewith those reverend Sages
 Of former times have rul'd so many ages,
 And by a settl'd Government, exilde
 Confus'd disorder, the prodigious Childe
 Of factious Anarchie, Those Rods of power
 That rul'd our swaines by day, and did secure
 Their Folds by night, are threatned from our hands,
 And all our Flocks to bow to new Commands.¹

Even though he had this insight into the situation, Quarles' proposal to cope with the Separatists was the following:

The surest way
 To take the Fish, is give her leave to play,
 And yeild her Line; He best can cure the Cause
 That markes th' effect; Evill manners breed good Lawes.²

Anarchus, a shepherd representing the Separatist faction, enters, and he is greeted with scorn by Philarchus and Philorthus. The description of him clearly indicates Quarles' attitude. He is "like a Meteor made of Zeale and flame," a "Page fill'd with Errata's of the present Age," "The Churches Scourge," "The devils Enchiridion," and the "Ignis fatuus of Religion."³ Philorthus then plays on the name of Robert Browne, the founder of a Separatist

¹The Shepherds Oracle(1644), p. 5, (III:234).

²Ibid., p. 9, (III:235).

³Ibid., pp. 9-10, (III:235).

movement, by a comment on the silence of Anarchus. He asks if he is in a "Browne studie."¹

Anarchus in his opening speech conveys in his manner and in his address the characteristics of the Separatist that the conformist found so disagreeable:

Man, if thou be'st a Babe of Grace,
 And of an holy Seed,
 I will reply incontinent,
 And in my words proceed;
 But if thou art a Childe of wrath,
 And lewd in conversation,
 I will not then converse with thee,
 Nor hold communication.²

Anarchus is saying that if Philarchus and Philorthus are of the same belief as he, he will then converse, but if they are not, then his purity so far removes him that he cannot. Philorthus replies:

I trust Anarchus, we all three inherit Spirit.³
 The selfe same Gifts, and share the selfe same

Anarchus does not realize at all the implications of Philorthus. He believes that they are of the same mind and on that basis he begins to sing a ballad, asking Philorthus

¹The Shepherds Oracle (1644), p. 10, (III:235).

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

and Philarchus to join him in his enthusiasm in looking forward to the logical fulfilment of his beliefs.¹ In this manner the ballad takes on an added irony, and all the aspects of the Separatists that were distasteful to the Englishman who stood for the Established Church and the Monarchy are emphasized. In the first stanza there is emphasis on the righteousness of the group, and then the tone for the ballad is set in its opposition to any sort of clerical garments:

Know then my brethren, heav'n is cleare,
 And all the Clouds are gon;
 The Righteous now shall flourish, and
 Good dayes are comming on;
 Come then, my Brethren, and be glad,
 And eke rejoyce with me;
 Lawn sleeves & Rochets shal go down,
 And, hey! then up go we.²

In the following stanza the common accusation of the Established Church having affinity with the Church of Rome

¹A word more to the Reader," appended to The Shepheards Oracle (1644), Sig. B₁^v, gives this information about the ballad: "The Author,⁴ (as I am informed) being not over curious of this Peece, was made bold with, concerning the speech of Anarchus; which hath been nos'd by the Balad-singers about the streets of London with some additions of their owne, to make up a full penny worth: What you had then by stealth, now yee have by purchase, which with all the rest you may lawfully (if you please) now call your owne." For further notes on the ballad see John Horden, op. cit., p. 81.

²The Shepheards Oracle (1644), p. 11, (III:235).

is made, and the assurance is given that after the overthrow of the Established Church a former leader and a martyr for Separatism will be sainted:

Wee'l breake the windowes which the Whore
Of Babilon hath painted,
And when the Popish Saints are downe,
Then Barow shall be Sainted.¹

The rest of the ballad goes on to give the projected action of the Separatists. They will break all windows and organs and they will pull down all churches, using only the fields, carts, or whatever is near, as pulpits. Such destruction would extend, and alarmingly so, to the Universities:

Wee'l downe with all the Varsities,
Where Larning is profest,
Because they practise and maintaine
The language of the Beast:
Wee'l drive the Doctors out of doores,
And Arts what ere they be,
Wee'l cry both Arts, & Larning down,
And, hey! then up go we.²

¹The Shepheards Oracle (1644), p. 11, (III:235). (Henry Barrow, mentioned above, p. 56, became the leader of the Separatists after Robert Browne had gone to Middleburgh in 1581. Early in his career he was imprisoned, and even from prison he exerted considerable influence through his pamphlets and written sermons which continued to appear. He was brought before the High Commission in 1586 where he denied the validity of the Church of England, the Book of Common Prayer, and the use of the Lord's Prayer. He was executed because of such beliefs on 6 April 1593.)

²Ibid., p. 11, (III:236).

Quarles expresses his own attitudes towards such activities and beliefs in the words of Philorthus:

Away false varlet; come not neere my flocks;
 Thou taint'st my pastures; Neither Wolfe nor Fox
 Is halfe so furious; They, by stealth, can prey,
 Perchance, upon a Lambe, and so away;
 But thy blood-thirsty malice is so bold,
 Before my face to poyson all my fold:
 I warn thee hence; come not within my list;
 Be still, what thou art thought, a Seperatist.¹

Even though Quarles considered that the Separatists were "gnawing at the roote" of religion's tree," he still had sufficient faith in the power of Parliament in 1644 to write:

The Assemblies hand
 Feeles but, as yet, the Pulses of the Land,
 Seeks out the ev'ill; and, with a skilfull eye,
 Enquiers where the peccant humours lye:
 But when th' apparent Symptomes shall disclose
 The certaine griefes that vexes and discompose
 Our universall Body; then, no doubt,
 Their active Wisdomes soone will cast about,
 To make a glorious Cure, which shall enhaunce
 Heav'ns greater glory, settle and advance
 The rest of groaning Sion, to th' encrease
 Of their own honour, and great Britains peace.³

¹The Shepherds Oracle (1644), p. 12, (III:236).

²Ibid., p. 13, (III:236).

³Ibid.

The parliament referred to is that of the King at Oxford, and the history of that assembly reveals nothing to show a basis for such optimism as Quarles expressed. It had been prorogued from 16th April to 8th October, 1644, and was thus not in session when the eclogue was published. During its session from December 1643 to April 1644, the Oxford Parliament had made several overtures for peace to Essex and to the Westminster Parliament. Before its dissolution it had presented an address to the King, expressing its loyalty, and it had sought a national synod to establish the peace of the Church.¹ It is likely that it was on the basis of this last action, although it had no results, that Quarles' optimism was founded.²

The two further attacks of Quarles on the Separatists are in posthumous publications. The first is The Shepherds Oracles (1646)³ where in Eclogue VIII the Separatists

¹Gardiner, op. cit.,

²Quarles was not alone in his optimistic views, for John Taylor in his Ad Populum (1644) had shown just as much confidence in the Oxford Parliament.

³The dating of the composition of these eclogues has not been determined. As we have seen Eclogue XI was published in 1644. The preface to the 1646 edition of the entire work, The Shepherds Oracles, was signed by Jo. Marriot, who states that the "Authour had some years before his lamented death, compos'd, review'd, and corrected these Eglogues." (III:202). Eclogue X, which refers to the death of King Gustavus Adolphus, probably dates somewhere around 1632-3.

are represented again by Anarchus, who holds a dialogue with Canonicus, a representative of the Church of England. Here some of the arguments of the 1644 Eclogue reappear. The scene begins with a spirited discussion of prayer and the forms of prayer. Anarchus denies the validity of the Book of Common Prayer and Canonicus in its defence appeals to its history:

Consult with Reason, Shepheard, and advise;
 Call home thy Senses; and cast back thine eyes
 On former dayes; No doubt, but there were they
 That liv'd as sanctimonious, that could pray,
 Lift up as holy hands, and did inherit
 As great a share, and freedome of the Spirit,
 As you; and these could count it no disgrace
 To use set Forms....

.....
 Has not th' unanimous consent
 Of all reformed Churches (to prevent
 Confused babling, and to disenorm
 Prepost'rous Service) bred us to a Form
 Of Common Prayer....¹

After this Anarchus looses himself in a rage, and the strongest opposition that he can put forth is that the Book of Common Prayer is simply a new edition of "that old worn Masse-book."² Canonicus suggests that they cease

¹The Shepherds Oracles (1646), Egl. VIII, pp. 90-91, (III:224).

²Ibid., p. 91, (III:224).

discussing such "trifles" and contend

By more substantiall argument, whose weight
 May vindicate the truth from light conceit;
 Let's try a Syllogisme; (Art infuses
 Spirit into the children of the Muses)
 Whereby, stout error shall be forc'd to yield,
 And Truth shall sit sole Mistresse of the Field.¹

Through his suggestion Canonicus has opened the way for
 Anarchus to make a perfect display of his ignorance,
 prejudice and intolerance:

Art me no Arts; That which the sp'rit infuses
 Shall edge my tongue: What tell'st thou me of Muses,
 Those Pagan Gods; the Authours of your Schismes?
 P'sh! tell not me of Arts, and Silisimes;
 I care not for your Quirks, and new devices
 Of studied wit: We use to play our prizes,
 With common weapons; and, with downright knocks,
 We beat down sin, and error, like an Oxe;
 And cut the throat of heath'nish Pop'ry too,
 Like Calves, prepar'd for slaughter; so we doe:
 We rash in sunder Heresie, like an Ell
 Of Sarc'net, then convey it down to Hell:
 We take just measure of Christians heart,
 By th' yard of Judgement; then, by dextrous Art,
 We cut out doctrines, and from notch, to notch
 We fit our holy Stuffe, (we doe not botch
 Like you; but make it jump, that it be neither
 Too wide nor straight) then stitch it up together,
 And make a Robe of Sanctity, to fit
 The childe of Grace....

These were the activities of the Separatists as Quarles

¹The Shepherds Oracles, Egl. VIII, p. 96, (III:225).

²Ibid., pp. 96-7, (III:225-6).

understood them. In the rest of the dialogue Canonicus tricks Anarchus into giving biographical details of himself, and it is revealed that he had gone to Amsterdam:

I fled
 To Amsterdam; where being trencher-fed
 By holy Brethren, liv'd in great respect,
 Sr Rev'rence, footing stockings for th' Elect;

 There, twise six monthes I had not led my life,
 But I became an Husband to an Wife,
 The widow of an Elder; in whose stead,
 I was, (though I could neither write, nor read)
 Accounted worthy (though I say't) and able
 To preach the Gospel at our holy Table.¹

The satire becomes even more vituperative when Anarchus reveals that he fled to Amsterdam because the young girl, a sectarian, who helped him in his trade, had become pregnant, apparently by Anarchus. At this revelation Canonicus bids Anarchus from his sight with these words:

Avoid, presumptuous Varlet; urge no more
 My tyred patience; Goe, seeke out thy Whore,
 Thy fit Compere, and exercise thy trade
 Upon her ruin'd stockings, much decaid
 With long pursuit, and trudging all about
 To find the Father of her Bastard out;
 Whil'st I remove my Zenith, and go hence,
 To waille this fruitlesse howers misexpençe,
 And pray to heaven, that heaven would please to keep
 Such Goats still separated from my sheep.²

¹The Shepherds Oracles, Egl. VIII, pp. 97-8, (III:226)

²Ibid.

Such vituperation was not uncommon in the religious arguments of the time. All too frequently, as here, the arguments reduced themselves to absurdity and ineffectiveness. In The Virgin Widow, the second posthumous publication in which the Separatists are attacked, Quarles says that the Church can never prosper as long as she entertains this "rude Rabble of unsanctified Mechanicks."¹ He has ceased to think about religious ideas and practices and has begun castigating the new social forces which were threatening the pattern of society which he accepted and in which he felt secure. His scorn of the Separatists is based on his fear of their interrupting the established order of the Church, an action which he considered "a dangerous signe of approaching Ruine,"² and of their disrupting the existing society.³ He had no logical arguments against the Separatists, and he makes no attempts to win them through reason to his way of thinking. Such actions would be incompatible with a basic belief that Quarles reiterated in his poetry, a belief in the power

¹The Virgin Widow (1649), Act. V, sc. 1, p. 62, (III:309)

²Observations..., Observ. 62, (I:58).

³This religious group did find in the 1640's its ally in political theory in the Levellers and their leaders, Walwyn, Lilburne, and Overton. The primary aim of the Levellers was to extend the overthrow of the ancient ecclesiastical hierarchy to the realm of civil government, (Cf. T. C. Pease, The Leveller Movement, Washington, 1916.)

of the Prince. The ready solution for religious strife was to be found in the King, "God's Lieu-tenant,"¹ who alone could bring the "joy of Ierusalem" and the "peace of Sion."²

Roman Catholicism.

This reliance on the Prince for keeping the true religion also applied to that other extreme vice, as Quarles called it, Roman Catholicism, which he condemned as "extremity in the Excesse," aiming at "the confusion of the State."³ In his earlier work it was towards what he regarded as the excess of Catholicism that Quarles directed his criticism. In Divine Fancies (1632) he repeatedly turned to some point of Roman Catholic doctrine or practice as an object of satire. In regard to the sacraments Quarles held only baptism and communion to be valid, and in an epigram he at least proved his point to his own satisfaction:

The Loaves of Bread were five; the Fishes, two,
Whereof the Multitude was made partaker.
Who made the Fishes? God: But tell me, who
Gave being to the Loaves of Bread? the Baker:
Ev'n so these Sacraments, which some call seaven,
Five were ordain'd by Man, and two, by Heaven.⁴

¹Hadassa, Med. 19, (II:66).

²Enchyridion, Cent. I, cap. LVII, (I:14).

³Observations....., Observ. 5, (I:53).

⁴Divine Fancies, Bk. I, no. 3, (II:201).

Of the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church Quarles believes only two were instituted by God, the other five being the creation of man. There is no question as to the sincerity of Quarles' belief; however, one feels that here is an attempted exercise of wit rather than theological argument. In the same vein of witty epigram Quarles denies the validity of praying to saints, and here his denunciation of the Roman practice is based on the Scripture. He has searched all Scripture and has found only one instance of a prayer directed to a saint, the prayer of Dives to Abraham. The comment conveys Quarles' view: "But tell me; What was He, that did it?"¹ He further denies the validity of the doctrine of good works as sufficient for salvation and, naturally, the supremacy of the Pope as Bishop of Rome.²

Such criticisms were for Protestants the order of the day. Quarles did not carry to extremes his opposition to Roman Catholicism. He accepted the Fathers of the Church and quoted them freely for examples and for support of his arguments. He believed in the validity of the Primitive Church, and thought that the Roman Church of his time had

¹Divine Fancies, Lib. III, no. 50, (II:236.)

²Ibid., Lib. IIII, no. 20, (II:245)

denied its inheritance by adding beliefs and practices without scriptural foundation. In like manner he believed that the Established Church had remained true to the Scripture and to the Primitive Church,¹ a belief which had much support in England amongst theologians and laymen alike.²

In The Shepherds Oracles (1646) Quarles' attacks on Roman Catholicism became much more severe. In Eclogue IV he attacked the aspiration of the Romans to political power. Nullfidius has been persuaded to follow Pseudo-catholicus, and his farewell speech to his flock points his reasons

¹The New Distemper (1645), p. 7, (I:150).

² Among theologians the greatest supporter of the continuity of the English Church from the Primitive Church was Lancelot Andrewes. (Andrewes' works were edited in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (11 vols., 1841-54). His arguments for the continuity of the English Church appear particularly in Responsio Ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini.) William Lisle, a layman, in his support of the theory turned to the writings of Aelfric Grammaticus, Abbot of Eynsham, and published Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue (1638), giving the Old English and a translation. See H. F. Woodhouse's The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology 1547-1603 (1954), pp. 13-28.

for doing so:

Farewell my Flocks; Goe seek another Swain:
 Farewell my Office, and my glorious gain
 Of twenty Marks per annum; I'le goe wash
 More thriving cattel; leave to haberdash
 In such small pedling wares; come jolly Swain,
 I'le trade with thee, and try another strain:
 We'll fish for Kingdomes, and Imperiall powers;
 Come gentle Swaine, the Gold of Ophir's ours.¹

In Eclogue IX Judex acts as judge in a disputation between Flambello, an ardent Roman Catholic, and Romastix, the attacker of Roman Catholicism. Through Romastix Quarles gives a summary of his objections to the Roman Church and its doctrines:

And lend my tongue your patience, to unfold
 Your Catholike Church; & when my words shal end,
 Speake you your pleasure, while mine eares attend:
 Your Church is like a Market; where, for Gold,
 Both Sinnes and Pardons, may be bought and sold:
 It is a Jugglers shop, whose Master shoves
 Fine tricks at Fast and Loose, with Oathes and vowes:
 It is a Mill; wherein, the Laity grind
 For the fat Clergy, being still kept blind:
 It is a Schoole, whose Schollers, ill-directed,
 Are once a yeare, by their own hands corrected:
 It is a Magazine, wherein are lai'd
 More choice of Scriptures, then their Maker made:
 It is a Church, depraves the Text; and then,
 Pins the Authority on the sleeves of men:
 It is a slaughter-house, where Butchers bring
 All sorts of men; and now and then, a King:
 It is a sort of people, doe unthrone
 The living God, and deifie a stone:
 It is a Woman, that in youth, has bin
 A Whore; and now in age, a Baud to sin:
 It damnes poore Infants, to eternall fire,

¹The Shepherds Oracles, Egl. IX, pp. 46-47, (III:214).

For want of what they liv'd not to desire:
 It dare assure us sound before the cure,
 And bids despaire, where we should most assure:
 It leads poore Women captive, does contrary
 The lawfull use of Meats; forbids to marry.¹

Judex cuts short this listing by Romastix; otherwise one feels that he would go on for ever. Judex grants the day to Romastix for the brilliancy of his argument, and in that decision Quarles grants to himself the supremacy of his own views.

Quarles' opposition to the Roman Catholics did not prevent his defending their aid to Charles I in the Rebellion. He had written in 1642 that the Prince who desires the welfare of his Kingdom should crush the power of Roman Catholicism,² but in the following year in The Loyall Convert, a political pamphlet defending the King, he answered the objection that "there were numerous Papists, the utter enemies of the true Religion" in Charles I's service with the following:

To whom the King hath sworne his protection, from those he may require assistance; But, unto all his people, as well Papists as Protestants, he hath sworne his Protection, therefore from all his subjects as well, Papists as Protestants he may require assistance.
 Neither does he call in Papists, as Papists, to maintaine Religion (as himself hath often manifested) but as subjects to subdue, or at least qualify Seditious.

¹The Shepherds Oracles, Egl. IX, p. 115, (III:230).

²Observations....., Observ. 5, (I:53).

The ayde of the subject, is either in his person or in his purse; both are requireable to the service of a Sovereigne.¹

Such rationalizing--Quarles has cleverly turned the main question to one of sedition--was expedient, and in 1643 Charles I was certainly in need of assistance, both in "person" and "purse."

In the pamphlet The New Distemper, published posthumously in 1645, Quarles examined biblical material, which greatly modified his earlier view that the Prince who desired the welfare of his kingdom must crush the power of Roman Catholicism.² He says that there are three courses which may be taken by the extremists who object to the Roman Catholics in Charles I's army: they may banish, disinherit, or kill them. Quarles' view is:

Which course soever ye take, you have not Christ for your example, who quietly suffered the two Caesars, being Idolaters, not onely to possesse that Kingdome, but to usurp it, because God permitted them, and permissively placed them there; When the Disciples askt our blessed Saviour, Didst not thou sow good wheat? Whence commeth it that there be tares? His answer was, The evill one hath done it. His pleasure being demanded, whether

¹The Loyall Convert, p. 16, (I:144-45).

²Observations....., Observ. 5, (I:53).

they should weed them up? his Reply was, No, Let them alone untill the harvest, and then he he would separate them.¹

This inconsistency with his earlier view about the Papists is, in fact, a result of the political situation and its changes. The tolerance here is more one of expediency rather than of conviction. In 1642 Quarles saw the Papists as a great menace to the country, but by the time he came to write the political pamphlets, particularly The New Distemper, the Separatists and the Puritans were openly presenting themselves as a greater menace to the Kingdom and the "true Protestant Religion." The Roman Catholics had come to the aid of Charles I, from whom they at least could expect leniency and better treatment than from his opponents. This fact did not blind Quarles nor force him into a complete tolerance towards them. For him the conflict was a religious one, and even if the King and Church had triumphed, the Roman Catholics, for Quarles, would still have been a menace to both.

¹The New Distemper, p. 16, (I:154).

Arminians.

The Separatists and the Papists were the extremes, as Quarles saw them, on either side of that via media, the Church of England. Within the Church there were also two extremes, Arminianism and Puritanism. I propose now to consider Quarles' thought in relation to these groups as the final step in determining where he, as a religious poet and critic, may take a place in this age of a "joyless Jerusalem" and a "warring Sion."

Closely connected with his dislike of Roman Catholicism was Quarles' dislike of the Arminian party of the Church of England, a party which had gained much currency in the 1630's. The Arminian party started essentially as an intellectual revolt against the narrow dogmatism of Calvinism, and as such may be said to have begun with Hooker. Its chief intellectual supporters, Peter Baro, Andrewes, Grotius, sought to revive the suppressed rational side of Protestantism.¹ William Laud became the foremost Arminian in England, and when he was appointed to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1633 he had the necessary position to enforce his views on the English Church. Of the two obstacles which stood in his way one was the more Calvinistic churchmen who

¹John Tulloch, Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century (2 vols., 1872), I:19.

filled key positions in the Church, men who had been appointed by Archbishop Abbot, who was Calvinistic in his views. The other was Parliament. After 1629, when Parliament was dissolved for eleven years, that obstacle was removed, and Laud used the period, first as Bishop of London and then as Archbishop of Canterbury, to secure firm control of the administration of the Church.¹ The crucial question of the time was the relation of the Anglicans to the Church of Rome,² and it was Laud's insistence on the expansion of rites and ceremonies that led many to believe that his true aim was the reconciliation of the Church of England with the Church of Rome.³

It is on this fear of Rome that Quarles bases his criticism of Arminianism in Eclogue VI of The Shepherds Oracles (1646). The dialogue is between Philamnus, the lover of sheep, and Arminius, a half-hearted Arminian. The dialogue is marked by its lack of the invective which characterized the attitude of Quarles towards the Separatists,

¹W. K. Jordan, Development of Religious Toleration in England From the Accession of James I to the Convention of the Long Parliament (4 vols., 1932-40), II:129.

²C. V. Wedgwood, The King's Peace 1637-1641 (1955), p.96.

³Ibid. (For full studies of Arminianism see A. W. Harrison, Arminianism (1937), and E. C. E. Bourne, The Anglicanism of William Laud (1947)).

and its moderate and calm tone reveal Quarles' sympathy with some Arminian views, as well as his belief that Arminian errors could be easily corrected. However, in this eclogue he indicates that that sympathy was cut short at the point at which he thought that there might be an affiliation of Arminianism with Roman Catholicism.

Arminius comes in search of some of his sheep that have wandered astray, and Philamnus' response to his inquiry about the sheep indicates the fear with which Quarles viewed the proximity of Arminianism to Roman Catholicism:

But me thinks the Roman Swains
Should tell you news: It had bin lesser pains
And to more purpose, (if my thoughts be cleare)
For you t' have made your first enquiry there:
There's but a slender ruinous hedge that bounds
And slightly limits your contiguous Grounds.¹

Arminius in his reply recognizes that Philamnus is right, and later in the dialogue he states the possibility that the hedge may be removed by "that swift wing'd Time."²

Philamnus responds by praying that Heaven may either close or clip the wings of time before that happens.³

¹The Shepherds Oracles, Egl. VI, p. 61, (III:217).

²Ibid., p. 68, (III:219).

³Ibid.

The dialogue continues in its amiable fashion, and Philamnus inquires into the character of the principal shepherd of Arminius' flock. In Arminius' reply is Quarles' censure of Laud. Arminius speaks first of Laud's early life and then of his promotion to the archbishopric:

He was a painfull Shepheard, strict, severe,
 And by report, a little too austere
 Against those harmlesse sports and past'rall songs
 And ceremonious Quintils, that belongs
 To Shepheards rurall mirth; nay, more then so,
 If fame be true, he was a Zelot too.
 But since promotion rais'd him from the plaines
 To Mountain service, where his flock remains
 Committed to my charge, his zeale abates,
 And richly cloth'd with Lordly silks he waites
 In Courts of Princes, reveling out his dayes
 In lavish feasts and frolique Roundelayes.¹

Archbishop Laud, as a minister of the King, was closely connected with the court of Charles I.² He was, as here, criticized for his activities there, but in the 1640's there was no "reveling out his dayes," for he was energetically fighting for his religious views, the King's cause, and later for his own life.

Quarles criticized the action of Laud in limiting preaching to one sermon on Sunday,³ and in the criticism

¹The Shepheards Oracles, Egl. VI, p. 69 (The page is misnumbered. It is sig. K3), (III:219).

²Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 151.

³Ibid., p. 109.

is also an attack on the fashionableness of Arminianism. Arminius answers Philamnis as to what day his sheep are fed:

The day is alterable; Pow'r is given
To him, to choose, so he choose one in heaven;
But yet his wisdom for the fashion sake
And his own quiet, hath bin pleas'd to make
Choice of the first.¹

Quarles' criticism here does not imply sympathy with the Puritans, at whom the action of Laud and the King in decreeing only one sermon on Sunday was aimed.² He is more interested in the instruction of the people in religious matters, as is evidenced in his own religious poetry, and it is for this reason that he criticized some parts of the English clergy in an observation in Divine Fancies (1632). The criticism here is directed towards the new members of the clergy, just down from the Universities with much learning and little wisdom, members of the clergy who would lean towards Arminianism:

Some raw Divines, no sooner are Espous'd
To their first Wives, and in the Temple hous'd,
But straight the Peace is broke: They now begin
T' appoint the Field, to fight their Battailes in:
School-men must war with School-men; text with text:

¹The Shepherds Oracles, Egl. VI, p. 63, (III:218).

²Wedgwood, op. cit., p.109.

The first's the Chaldee's Paraphrase; the next
 The Septuagints: Opinion thwarts Opinion;
 The Papist holds the first; the last, th' Arminian:
 And then the Councels must be call'd t' advice,
 What this, of Lateran sayes; what that, of Nice:
 And here the poynt must be anew disputed;
Arrius is false; and Bellarmino's confuted:
 Thus with the sharpe Artill'ry of their Witt,
 They shoot at Random, carelesse where thy hit:

 Now Martine Luther must be purg'd by them,
 From all his Errors, like a School-boys Theame;
Free-wil's disputed, Consubstantiation;
 And the deepe Ocean of Predestination,
 Where, daring venter, oft, too far into 't,
 They, Pharo-like, are drowned both Horse and Foot:
 Forgetting that the Sacred Law enioynes
New-married men to sit beneath their Vines,
 And cheare their Wives: Thy must not venter out
 To Warre, untill the Yeare be run about.¹

This criticism is directed not so much at any theological position, but rather at the behaviour of the clergy and at its failure to perform its ministerial function. In the pamphlet The New Distemper, Quarles stated his ideas about the duties of the clergy:

It is no lesse prudence and providence in those that are appointed by the Supreme power (as under him) chiefe Governours and Overseers of the Church, to be very circumspect; and, not onely faithfully to exercise their Ministeriall Function, by due

¹Divine Fancies, Bk. I, no 97, (II:212-3).

and careful preaching of the Gospel; but likewise, diligently to discharge their office in governing, that is, in making wholesome Ordinances, and duly executing them.¹

This was written after 1641, when the episcopacy had already been abolished by Parliament, and at the same time Quarles was arguing for that form of Church government. When he wrote Eclogue VI of The Shepherds Oracles, probably before 1640, he believed that Arminianism presented no real danger to the Church except that of leaning too near Rome. At the end of the dialogue Arminius gives himself up to the guidance of Philamnus, who will lead him into the safe "fold" where he will not be too near the Roman "hedge." After 1641 the problem of Arminianism was overshadowed by the much graver problem of the preservation of the Established Church from destruction by its enemies.

Puritans.

In many discussions of Puritanism, Separatism is included; however, I wish to make the term Puritan restrictive in its application. I shall use the term, as I have already

¹The New Distemper, pp. 1-2, (I:148).

indicated,¹ to refer to that party within the Established Church which thought the reformation of the Church had not been complete under the Elizabethan Settlement. Under James I this group is characterized by the Millenary petitioners and by Archbishop Abbot. It accepted Calvinistic doctrine and leaned towards Presbyterianism as the form for Church government. With the advent of Laud under Charles I this group was driven further to the left; it subsequently became a part of the anti-episcopal party, and ultimately of the "Roundheads" of the Commonwealth.

From the very beginning of his literary career Quarles shows no affinity with this party. Mr. Horden has argued strongly for Quarles' connection with Puritanism:

Strong circumstantial evidence reveals a vigorous Puritan strain in the poet's environment. Sir Francis Barrington...was Francis Quarles's godfather, and through this relationship the poet had been closely connected from birth with one of the most influential Puritan families in Essex....

Another connexion which associated extreme Puritanism with the name of Quarles was the marriage of Francis's younger sister, Mary, with John Browne, of Tolethorpe, whose uncle, Robert Browne, was the fanatical preacher and head of the Separatists.

These relationships are, perhaps, a little distant; nevertheless, the bias which they imply was emphasized in the poet's education: William Tichborne, the Minister at Romford, who was a close friend of the inmates of Stewards...and probably

¹Supra, p. 54.

had so e influence u on Quarles's boyhood, was a Puritan of the extreme persuasion; also, for many years before Quarles became a member of Christ's College it had been probably the most Puritan college in Cambridge, and was still a stronghold of Puritanism during the years of his residence. It seems unlikely that a college so noted for this inclination would have been selected for Quarles in ignorance of its reputation, or, indeed, that the choice could have been fortuitous.

Such evidence, only briefly outlined here, becomes, on full examination, too convincing to be dismissed, and we must conclude, despite Quarles's later championship of the King, that Anthony Wood remarked with some accuracy when he applied the epithet 'puritanical' to Francis Quarles.¹

This argument is based only on circumstantial evidence which will not stand. That such a labelling of the poet on the basis of his distant family connections and background is quite liable to error is evident when one remembers that Hooker's tutor was John Reynolds, a great leader of the Puritan party in Elizabeth's reign and that the Robert Browne, mentioned in Horden's argument, conformed to the Church of England in 1590, before Quarles was born, and for forty years afterwards served as rector of Thorpe-Achurch, Northamptonshire. Horden's use of Wood disregards the fact that by the end of the seventeenth century the adjective 'puritanical' had become a general

¹Horden, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

term used to describe any strictness or plainness (Cf. NED). The only conclusion that one can draw from the argument is that the intimate knowledge of extreme Puritanism which Quarles gained from his background made him averse to its party. Certainly one cannot ignore what Quarles himself had to say in his works; on the contrary, it is only through his expressed opinions and beliefs that his religious position may be determined.

Quarles' second published work, Hadassa (1621), dedicated to James I, has for one of its aims the instruction of the Prince and his subjects in their relation to each other. It is in this work that Quarles gives complete expression to his views about the monarch and his position in relation to the State and to God, and he held these views, unmodified, throughout his life.¹

¹Cf. Horden, op. cit., p. 13. "The coming of ~~the~~ civil war found Quarles faced with the unpleasant possibility of having to declare for one side or the other while having deep sympathy for much that was implicit in each point of view; his upbringing might have inclined him to the Parliamentarians, yet at the same time he had a profound sense of loyalty to the Crown, and a reverence for the divinely appointed person of the King. His dilemma was not uncommon, and it is conceivable that he might have managed to avoid his allegiance being put to the test by remaining silent." In 1642 there was no question of which side Quarles would take. He had made it evident that he was a royalist in 1621 in Hadassa, and he had constantly repeated his views in subsequent works.

For Quarles the King is divinely appointed, "God sets the Princely Crowne on heads of Kings"¹; therefore, rebellion against a lawful king is a rebellion against God. The King is not only appointed by God but he rules his people in conjunction with God, meting out justice, and in this capacity "Kings aptly may deserve the name/ Of Gods, enshrin'd in an earthly frame."² In regard to moral law Quarles believed:

It lyes in Kings,
 To act, and to inhibit all such things
 As in his Princely wisdom shall seeme best,
 And most vantagious to the publike rest,
 And what (before) was an indifferent thing,
 His Law makes good, or bad: A lawfull King
 Is Gods Lieu-tenant; in his sacred eare
 God whispers oft, and keepes his Presence there.
 To breake a lawfull Prince's just Command,
 Is brokage of a sinne, at second hand.³

These views echo James I's own statements as to the absolute prerogative of the Crown, and they run counter to the statements of those Puritans who presented James with the Millenary Petition in 1603 and those who, from the House of Commons, addressed the King in "Form of Apology and Satisfaction" in 1604:

¹Hadassa, Med. 16, (II:63).

²Ibid., Med. 13, (II:60).

³Ibid., Med. 19, (II:66).

For matter of religion, it will appear by examination of truth and right that your Majesty should be misinformed if any man should deliver that the Kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter Religion...or to make any laws concerning the same otherwise than as in temporal causes, by consent of Parliament.¹

James I at Hampton Court made manifestly clear, as he already had done in The True Law of Free Monarchies (1598) and in Basilikon Doron (1599), what he thought of his position as monarch. Whether the Puritans liked it or not, he was the father and the shepherd of his people, ruling by divine decree, responsible only to God, and serving as head of both the Church and the State. The Presbyterians in Scotland had had different ideas, and James I had not filled the role of monarch there as he wished. In England he would come nearer, and, although he was Calvinistic in theology, if bishops would be of help to him, bishops there would be. This theory of absolutism ran counter to the theory of parliamentary rights held by the Puritans, and it found its culminating expression, after its defeat which is symbolized in the execution of Charles I, in the Leviathan (1651) of Hobbes where the basis of absolute sovereignty is, however, utility and security rather than

¹J. R. Tanner, Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I (1930), p. 226.

divinity.

Quarles, as did Hooker, Andrewes, and other Anglicans, agreed with James I, and in so doing he was in the stream of thought characteristic of Anglicanism rather than Puritanism.¹ Quarles to the end of his life defended the monarchy, and several years before the Civil War he saw the role of the monarch in relation to civil and religious distress as follows:

A lawfull Prince is Gods Lieutenant, here:
 As great a Majesty as flesh can beare,
 He is endued withall; In his bright eye
 (Cloath'd in the flames of Majesty) doth lie
 Both life and death; Into his Royall heart
 Heaven doth inspire, and secretly impart
 The treasure of his Lawes; Into his hand
 He trusts his Sword of Iustice, and Command:
 He is Gods Champion; where his voice bids, kill,
 He must not feare t' imbrue his hands, and spill
 Abundant blood; Who gives him power to doe,
 Will find him guiltlesse, and assist him, too:
 O, but let flesh and blood take heed, that none
 Pretend Gods quarrells, to revenge his owne;
Malice, and base Revenge must step aside,
 When heavens uprighter Battels must be tride.
 Where, carnall Glory, or ambitious thirst
 Of simple conquest, or revenge, does burst
 Upon a neighbring Kingdome; there to thrust
 Into anothers Crowne, The warre's not just;

 But where the ground's Religion; to defend
 Abused faith; let Princes, there, contend,

¹Jordan, op. cit., II:34.

With dauntles courage: May their acts be glorious;
 Let them goe, prospros; and returne, victorious:
 What if the grounds be mixt? Feare not to goe;
 Were not the Grounds of Samsons Combate so:
 Goe then, with double courage, and renowne,
 When God shall mixe thy Quarrels with his owne:
 'Tis a brave Conflict; and a glorious Fray,
 Where God and Princes shall divide the Pray.¹

Such views would certainly make Quarles persona non grata in the Puritan camp, and not only there but also with that rationalist group in the Church represented by Hyde and Falkland,² who were supporters of the Church of England with a reformed episcopacy and a constitutional monarchy.

It is not only on the question of the monarchy that Quarles shows no sympathy with the Puritans. He is equally at variance with them on the question of episcopacy. There are no defences of episcopacy in his poetry outside his implied acceptance. Episcopacy, approved by the King, would be a divine institution by secondary degree. In the pamphlet The New Distemper Quarles defends episcopacy, and it is logical to assume that his ideas there are neither new nor different from those which he, as an extreme royalist, held throughout his life. He wrote in its

¹The Historie of Samson, Med. 14, (II:155)

²Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (1945), p. 235.

defence:

As for her government by Episcopacie, (the extirpation whereof being a great addition to her Distemper) It hath as much or more Ius Divinum to plead, then that, which endeavours to demolish & succeed it, Presbyterie; Both are but mentioned in the Scripture, at large; but no particular Rules for the executing the office of either; which, being left wholly as arbitrary, it rests in the power of the Supreme Magistrate (whom God hath constituted his Vicegerent) to choose, and establish, which may best be found consistent with the Constitutions of the Kingdome, and stand to most advantage with the civil Government.¹

Quarles does not argue here that episcopacy is divinely instituted, but when it is approved by the King it is a divine institution, in that the King is the spokesman and agent of God in the matter. He proceeds further in the argument:

But admit the Civil Government will stand with either? When the Balances stand eavenly poised, the least Grain turns it. In things indifferent, the smallest circumstance casts it.²

Quarles sees the balance in favour of episcopacy, and he cogently argues for it. He presents a summary of his

¹The New Distemper, p. 7, (I:150).

²Ibid.

reasons why the balance so turns:

These Circumstances, (First, of the time, when Episcopall Government began; Secondly, of the unintermissive continuance, for so many Ages; Thirdly, the credit of the persons confirming and approving it), me thinks, should cast such a kind of necessity upon it, that the other (being an untry'd Government, and having no consent or approbation from the Supreme Magistrate; and, being onely cryed in by the Ignorant multitude, affected to novelties and change) should have no wise friend to plead for it.¹

The two most operative words in understanding Quarles here are "novelties" and "change." Quarles was, in fact, an arch conservative, fearing the disastrous effects that would result from changes, in particular those initiated by the "Ignorant multitude" and those cried in by the "rude Rabble of Mechanicks." The very nature of the Puritan faction in the Church, agitating for changes in that Church's government and attacking the monarchy, would have driven a man of Quarles' temperament even further towards conservatism, just as it converted Falkland into a minister of the Crown.²

¹The New Distemper, p. 8, (I:150).

²J. A. R. Marriott, The Life and Times of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland (1907), p. 26.

If Quarles had had nothing else to say about his position, his attitude towards episcopacy and the monarchy would be sufficient to indicate a lack of any sympathy with the Puritans. He does, however, have much more to say. He accepted the Book of Common Prayer without qualification and praised it in an epigram in Divine Fancies, an epigram which I hesitate to quote because of its banality but which, nevertheless, is sufficient to indicate his attitude:

"The Booke of Common Pray'r excels the rest;/ For Pray'rs that are most Common are the best."¹ A further defence of the Book of Common Prayer is made in Eclogue VIII of The Shepherds Oracles:

Has not th' unanimous consent
Of all reformed Churches (to prevent
Confused babling, and to disenorm
Prepost'rous Service) bred us to a Form
Of Common Prayer; Prayers so divinely penn'd,
That humane Eloquence does even contend
With heavenly Majesty, whilst both conspire
To kindle zeal, and to inflame desire?²

It is through the Book of Common Prayer that Quarles saw one possibility of achieving that desired uniformity in

¹Divine Fancies, Bk. II, no. 81, (II:227).

²pp. 90-91, (III:224).

the Church of England.

In other matters Quarles also disagreed with the Puritan practice. As far as ceremonies were concerned, one of the most controversial points of his time was the administering of Holy Communion. The Puritans had brought the communion table from the east end of the chancel down into the centre of the nave. The practice of standing, ambling by the table, and even sitting while receiving communion had been indulged in and indeed insisted upon by the Puritans. One of Laud's chief concerns was to return the table to the east end and have it protected by rails a yard in height and of sufficient width to prevent dogs from getting through.¹ Quarles, in two epigrammatic poems in Divine Fancies, commented on the Puritan practice at Holy Communion:

Thou sayst, it is a Supper, and is fit
 To use the Posture of a Meale, to sit:
 Can thy Discretion, Phares, or thy Zeale
 Give carnall Gestures to a sp'rituall Meale?
 A heav'nly Supper and a fleshly Heart?
 Thy Posture has discover'd what thou art.²

¹Wedgwood, op. cit., p.105.

²Lib. IV, no. 115, II:253.

The second poem reveals the same contempt for the sitting posture at the communion table, and it indicates that Quarles considered kneeling, the Anglican practice, as the proper one for this sacrament:

You'll take it sitting: Pray; and no man know it;
 You'll doe, and yet you will not seeme to doe it;
 You'll bow your Heart, although you bend no Knee;
 Tis like your Selfe; You seeme, not what you bee.¹

In like manner Quarles disagreed with other Puritan practices. In Eclogue VIII of The Shepherds Oracles,² through the words of Canonicus, Quarles defends the rites and practices of the Church of England, practices which had been increasingly attacked by the Puritans from the time of the accession of James I. Anarchus makes the charges in the dialogue, and although the arguments leave much to be desired, Canonicus reveals the position of Quarles:

Anar. So heaven (by blest Examples) did enjoin,
 Your bended knees to worship Bread, and Wine?

Can. When your crosse-garted knees fall down before
 Your Parlour-Table, what doe you adore?

¹Divine Fancies, Bk. IV, no. 116, (II:253).

²Although the eclogue is directed against the Separatists, the practices here defended were obnoxious to the Puritans as well. Because of such practices and other beliefs, the Separatists, as we have seen, left the Established Church; however, the Puritans, remaining within the Church, wished to abolish the practices.

- Anar. So heaven commands, by conjuring words to bring
Vow'd hands together, with a hallow'd Ring?
- Can. 'Tis true; your fiery zeals cannot abide
Long circumstance; your doctrine's, Up and Ride.
- Anar. So heaven commanded, that religious praise
Be given to Saints, and worship to their dayes?
- Can. Whom you contemn, because they did not preach
Those Doctrines, that your Western Parlours teach.
- Anar. So heaven commanded Bishops, and the rest
Of that lewd Rank, ranck members of the Beast?
- Can. I, heaven commanded such, and gave them power
To scourge, and check such ill-pac'd Beasts as you are:
- Anar. So heaven commanded, that the high Commission
Should plague poor Christians, like the Inquisition?
- Can. Your plagues are what your own behaviours urge;
None, but the guilty, raile against the Scourge.
- Anar. So heaven commands your prayers, that buried dust
Of Whores and Thieves should triumph with the Just?
- Can. Man may not censure by externall view;
Forbear; we, sometimes, pray for some of you.
- Anar. So heaven commands your Paintings, Pipes, & Copes,
Us'd in your Churches, and ordain'd by Popes?
- Can. Where Popish hands have rais'd in every Town
A Parish Church, shall we pull Churches down?¹

Quarles in this passage defends some of the principal features
of the Church of England, features which were not accepted

¹The Shepherds Oracles, pp. 93-96, (III:225).

by the Puritans, who agitated for their exclusion in the further reformation of the Church. He defends kneeling at communion, the use of the ring in marriage, the practice of keeping saints' days, the episcopacy, the High Commission, the Book of Common Prayer, and the use of church decorations, organs, and vestments.¹

It was not only in direct attacks and in ideas expressed in his poetry that Quarles indicated his attitude towards the Puritans. He also offended Puritan sensibility in his literary practices. Some of the fanatics and more extreme Puritans objected even to poetry itself. For example, Edward Dering had written: "I say, let the sinner come foorth, that hath beene converted by hearing stories or fables of Poets, I am sure there is none; for faith is onelie by the word of God."² Such a man would have considered it monstrous that one should devote all his

¹Daniel Featley, a staunch supporter of the Church of England, maintained the same points against the Puritans in The Gentle Lash (1643).

²XXVII Lectures or Readings upon Part of the Epistle written to the Hebrewes (1590), Sig. T₄^v-T₅.

energies to poetry.¹ But with the more moderate Puritans there would still have been objections to Quarles. In the Emblemes, in Judgement and Mercy for Afflicted Soules, a prose work, and in the glosses of his paraphrases, Quarles never quotes from the champions of protestantism, Calvin, Luther, and Beza. It is the Church Fathers, Augustine, Chrysostom, Anselm, Gregory, Ambrose, and others, that he uses to support and illustrate his work.² He uses the Scripture as well, but it is not his only source of authority, as it was with many Puritans.

To the majority of Puritans the most distasteful aspect of Quarles' literary practice would have been his use of mythology.³ Phoebus, Astrea, Venus, Circe, Pluto, and

¹Cf. Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (1935), p. 233. (The Puritan opposition to poetry had indeed a long tradition, dating back into the sixteenth century. The early opposition was not without salutary effect: "Elizabethan criticism arose in controversy. The early Essays are 'Apologies' for Poets and Poetry against the attacks of a vigorous Puritanism. Some are direct answers to onslaughts on special forms or on individuals; all have the common purpose of upholding the usefulness and pleasure-giving power of Poetry. It is noteworthy that the greater forces which stimulated this literary defence were themselves unliterary." G. Gregory Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, "Introduction," I:xiv.)

²Cf. W. F. Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson, p. 140 ff., for a discussion of the Anglican use of the Church Fathers. The use of the Fathers tied up with the theory of the continuity of the Church of England from the Primitive Church. (Cf. supra, p. 71).

³Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, p.70, fn. 10.

a host of other gods and goddesses make their appearance, naturally and without apology, in his works.¹ They do not always appear, as in the Fletchers, as "obscure fables of the Gentiles" which have elements of biblical truth;² but Christ is Pan in The Shepherds Oracles, Cupid becomes divine in the Emblemes, and God is Great Jove, ruler of the heavens. The Puritan antipathy to the tradition of the Renaissance had by no means affected its fading lustre in Quarles.

Quarles' theological position, again, is not that of the Puritans. The most controversial points of theology were those relating to God and predestination. Calvin's theology implied a division of the race by an absolute and unchangeable God into those marked out for salvation and those for damnation. It is only logical, then, that the God of Calvinism was one of absolute will, "an inscrutable Jehovah of whom not even human reasonableness and justice could be predicated."³ These Calvinistic ideas had predominated in the Church of England in the sixteenth

¹Quarles' use of mythology will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

²Giles Fletcher, Christs Victorie, and Triumph (1610) in Poetical Works, ed. F. S. Boas (2 vols., 1908-9), I:59, st. 7, the gloss.

³Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, p. 320.

century;¹ however, with the development of Arminianism, modifications began to appear, though not to the total exclusion of Calvinistic belief. The Puritans held tenaciously to the Calvinistic doctrine while the God of the Arminians and the moderate Anglicans became more benevolent and rational, even extending His gift of salvation to all that would believe.

Quarles has much to say about God and His nature, and the picture of God that emerges is certainly not that of the Calvinists. In his first work, A Feast for Wormes, emerges the idea of God as Quarles understood Him:

How great's the love of God unto his creature?
Or is his Wisedome, or his Mercy greater?
I know not whether: O th' exceeding love
Of highest God! that from his Throne above,
Will send the brightnesse of his Grace to those
That grope in darknesse, and his Grace oppose.²

And further in the same work: "I know my God is gentle,
and enclinde,/ To tender mercy, apt to change his minde/
Upon the least repentance."³ It would follow that such

¹Philip Schaff, A History of the Creeds of Christendom (1879), I:603.

²A Feast for Wormes, Med. 1, (II:10).

³Ibid., Sect. 2, (II:10).

a God, one that is "apt to change his minde," could not arbitrarily inflict damnation on any of his creation, especially when He is willing to limit His own glory for the good of man:

Know, likewise, O ungratefull flesh and blood,
 God limits his owne glory, for out good;
 He is the God of mercy, and he prizes
 Thine Asses life, above his Sacrifices;
 His Sabbath is his glory, and thy rest;
 Hee'l lose some honour, ere thou lose a Beast.¹

Quarles' most explicit statement of his belief that salvation is for all men, rather than for the few of the Elect, is in a prayer in Judgement and Mercy for Afflicted Soules:

O God, that like thy pretious Word art hid to none but who are lost, and yet are found by all that seek thee with an upright heart, cast down thy gracious eye upon a lost sheep of Israel, strayed through the vanity of his unbridled youth, and wandred in the wilderness of his owne invention.²

And finally in regard to faith and reason and their functions in the Christian life,³ Quarles has more affinity

¹The Historie of Samson, Meditat. 13, (II:153).

²Judgement and Mercy, "The Procrastinators Prayer,"(I:77)

³For a good brief survey of the background of the struggle between faith and reason see D. C. Allen's "Reason and Faith" in The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science, and Letters. (University of Illinois, 1949).

with the rationalists and the Arminians than with the Puritans.¹ He did not agree completely with the rationalists, who had as their chief spokesman Chillingworth in The Religion of Protestants A Safe Way To Salvation (1637), in placing primary emphasis on reason. He attacked Raymond Sebond, a fifteenth-century Spanish theologian, who in his Theologia Naturalis (written before 1432, the year of Sebond's death) expounded the theory that nature and reason were sufficient for man to know God and to attain salvation:

I wonder, Raymond, thy illustrious Witt,
 Strengthened with so much learning, could commit
 So great a Folly, as to goe about,
 By Natures feeble light, to blazon out
 Such Hea'vn-bred Mist'ryes, which the hearts of Men
 Cannot conceive, much lesse the darkned Pen
 Expresse; such secrets, at whose depth, the Quire
 Of blessed Angels tremble, and admire:
 Could thy vaine-glory lend no easier taske
 To thy sublime Attempt, then to unmaske
 The glorious Trinity, whose Triune face
 Was ne're discovered by the eye of Grace,
 Much lesse by th' eye of Nature, being a story
 Objected only to the Eye of Glory?
 Put out thy light, bold Raymond, and be wise;
 Silence thy tongue, and close thy' ambitious eyes:
 Such heights as these, are Subjects far more fit
 For holy Admiration, then for Witt.²

¹Cf. Ernst Cassirer, The Platonic Renaissance in England, translator, J. P. Pettegrove (1953), p. 38 ff.

²Divine Fancies, Bk. II, no. 65, (II:225-6). Sebond apparently did not have an English translation of his work, but the Theologia Naturalis, in either the Latin or the French translation of Montaigne, seems to have been widely known in England in the early seventeenth century.

In the following poem Quarles placed both faith and reason in what to him was their proper sphere:

True Faith and Reason, are the Soules two Eyes:
Faith evermore lookes upward, and discryes
 Objects remote; but Reason can discover
 Things onely neere; sees nothing that's above her;
 They are not Matches; Often disagree;
 And sometimes both are clos'd, and neither see:
Faith views the Sun; and Reason, but the shade;
 T' one courts the Mistresse; t' other wooes the Maide:
 That sees the Fire; This, only but the Flint;
The true-bred Christian alwayes lookes asquint.¹

Reason was for Quarles only a step towards understanding God. Man had been created higher than the beast because God had given him reasoning power, and the proper function of that power is to know God through a knowledge of oneself.² But man has attained even a step higher in that God has granted him the "light of Grace" by which he understands those things in religion that human reason cannot comprehend. It is "from this firme foundation/ Our soules mount up the new Ierusalem,/ To take possession of her Diademe."³

¹Divine Fancies, Bk. III, no. 54, (II:237).

²Enchyridion(1641), Cent. IV, Cap. IV, (I:40).

³Hadassa, Medit. 18, (II:65).

Again Quarles has taken a middle position between two extremes, a position with Hooker and the Anglicans.¹ He will not, (as the rationalists, place human reason above all, and, on the other hand, he will not have faith as the only means of attaining salvation, as was the wont of the Puritans.²

In past works Quarles has been claimed by several sides. He has been championed as a great moderate,³ as one of the mystics of the Church of England,⁴ and as a Puritan.⁵ None of these descriptions gives a true picture of him. He was first and foremost, as he saw himself, a poet, a poet of deep religious convictions who had dedicated his works to the glory of God. He was by nature a conservative who was frightened of any change in either religion or

¹Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, Bk.I. Ch.XVI. 5.

²Cf. Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, The Puritans (New York, 1938), p. 42 ff. (At the funeral of Chillingworth the Puritan Francis Cheynell, a member of the Westminster Assembly and President of St. John's College, Oxford, threw a copy of The Religion of Protestants into the grave, condemning such "heretical" beliefs as it contained. See Cheynell's own righteous account of this grotesque act in his Chillingworthi Novissima (1643).

³Jordan, op. cit., II:352.

⁴P. H. Osmond, The Mystical Poets of the English Church (1919), p.101 ff.

⁵Horden, op. cit., p.5.

government, and that for him was any change in the Church of England or in the Stuart Monarchy. As I have shown he disliked intensely those two elements in England which stood outside the Church, the Roman Catholics and the Separatists. In his great passion for peace and unity in the Church he would have the Prince resort to force as a means of clearing the kingdom of these two enemies.

Within the Church of England he objected to any movement which overemphasized any particular belief or Practice. He objected to the Arminians, who placed too much emphasis on rites and ceremonies, taking the Church too near Rome; and he equally objected to the Puritan faction which would be rid of rites, ceremonies, and bishops, taking the Church too near the position of the Separatists. If it may be so called, he stands on middle ground, accepting the Church as it had been established under Elizabeth, accepting the Articles of Religion as they had been propounded, and believing implicitly in the function of the Monarch, as described in the preface to the Articles of Religion in the Book of Common Prayer, "to conserve and maintain the Church...in the unity of true Religion, and in the Bond of Peace; and not to suffer unnecessary Disputations, Altercations, or Questions to be raised, which may nourish Faction both in the Church and Commonwealth."

Quarles was an Anglican, a "true sonne of the Church of England; an even Protestant, not in the least degree biassed to this hand of superstition, or that of schisme, though both those factions were ready to cry him down for his inclinat on to the contrary."¹ These words of his widow, in a memorial of her husband, accurately describe Quarles as he appears in his works, and they give a description that is more valid by all accounts than that of Anthony a Wood's adjective 'puritanical'.

In later centuries it is true that part of Quarles' poetry was popular among nonconformists.² This is particularly true of the Emblemes, which had not only the attraction of the pictures but the further attraction of devotional lyric poetry. The whole of Quarles' poetry could not have been acceptable to nonconformists, just as it was not acceptable to the poet's editor, Alexander B. Grosart, who, although he praised the poet exceedingly at times, condemned him for his "wicked misrepresentation of the Nonconformists."³ But this is a problem not relevant

¹Ursula Quarles, "A short relation of the Life and Death of Mr. Francis Quarles," in Solomons Recantation (1645), Sig. A2^v-A3. (Reprinted in Grosart, I:xii-xxiii.)

²A. H. Nethercot, "The Literary Legend of Francis Quarles," MP, XX(1923).

³"Memorial Introduction," I:lvi.

here. During his own time Quarles was an extremely popular poet, and, in view of his beliefs, one can only assume that his influence, through his poetry, for the cause of the royalists and the Church of England was extensive. In his own way, not for his poetry but for his faith, Quarles deserves a place along with Herbert as one of the champions of the English Church.

CHAPTER III

ASPECTS OF LITERARY PRACTICE

Vocabulary.

Interest in Quarles' vocabulary and use of words was first shown by Alexander B. Grosart, who, in his edition of the poet's works, compiled a glossarial index of approximately eighteen hundred words,¹ indicating that "the words of Quarles...are often of rare interest, and also peculiarly useful as examples of their early use."² Grosart's list is too extensive and is also incomplete; but working without the NED, he deserves credit for recognizing Quarles as a contributor to the English vocabulary and for providing the work of the poet in an accessible form for the readers who helped to prepare that dictionary. Even the more modest list of words which Quarles used first, or words which he used with new or different meanings, is an impressive one,³ although the scant number of figurative and transferred uses is disappointing. These additions to the vocabulary fall into patterns, representing some of the prevailing

¹"Glossarial Index," III: 319-348.

²III:318.

³The list is given below, pp. 256-270.

practices of the time. Here I shall be concerned primarily with the more important words. Compound epithets are included, although information about first uses of such words is exceedingly scarce in the NED.

This century has witnessed the completion of the NED and an increasing interest in various aspects of the history of the English language. Its phonology and grammar have been thoroughly studied; but there is a disappointing dearth of studies dealing specifically with the historical growth of its vocabulary. The few available works lack historical perspective and are all too frequently concerned with the unusual or particularly interesting word. It is to be hoped that the completion of the period dictionaries now in progress will provide at once a basis and an incentive for a detailed study of the historical development of the vocabulary and for important secondary studies based on that knowledge. Until that goal is reached, one has to be content with the limitations of the available material.

By the time Quarles began to write in 1620 the battle over inkhorn terms had been waged but not completely forgotten; the language had been vastly enriched by the

Elizabethans, and the vernacular had triumphed in its struggle for recognition.¹ Increasing interest in lexicography, orthography, and grammar is indicative of the developing pride of the early seventeenth-century man in his language, a pride well founded on the use that had been made of the language by Spenser, Shakespeare, and the translators of the authorized version of the Bible (1611). Concern over the lack of permanency of literary work in English was disappearing, and it was being replaced by a daring equation of English with Greek and Latin as the language for literature.² An author of the period could hardly be unaware of this development, and one would expect Quarles, in some degree, to reflect the temper of his time just as Spenser, in his interest in the archaic elements of the vocabulary, reflects the contemporary interest in the native elements of English.

Borrowings from other languages, particularly Latin, by no means ceased during the seventeenth century,

¹R. F. Jones, The Triumph of the English Language (Stanford University, 1953).

²Cf. Chapters VI and X of Jones, op. cit.

witness Sir Thomas Browne as only one example; but beginning with the latter part of the sixteenth century, and running concurrently with the new interest in the native vocabulary, there was an increasing use of prefixes and suffixes in the formation of new words from the existing vocabulary. Earlier in the sixteenth century the use of Latin prefixes such as dis- and re- had been limited to words borrowed from Latin or French, but during the latter part of the century, and increasingly so in the seventeenth century, these prefixes became thoroughly Anglicized and were applied without restriction to verbs and verbal nouns, regardless of their etymology.¹ Their extensive use in the seventeenth century is shown by the NED entries, and the uses of Quarles are typical, for amid the general enthusiasm for them, he applied these prefixes to many words which had only brief or momentary life. Many of Quarles' uses do sound strange: for example, disaltern (to alter or change for the worse) and disenorm (to free from irregularity). To his

¹Henry Bradley, "Shakespeare's English," in Shakespeare's England (2 vols. 1916), II:565.

contemporary readers these would not seem quaint or esoteric; they would be new uses, and their life would depend in many cases on mere chance as well as on the utility of the word in question. Only one of Quarles' formations with the prefix dis- remains a part of the vocabulary without being marked as obsolete or rare-- disreward (to deprive of reward)-- and we may be less fortunate in the rejection of distreasure and disquarter (to halve a quarter).

The prefix re- in its various senses is still a current one. Quarles used it freely with both borrowed and native words, and he has fared better with this prefix since only one word, reinsnare, out of nine which are attributed to him for first use, is labelled obsolete. For the poet the prefix is a useful one in compressing ideas into metre and in attaining ease in the flow of the line. The use of recalcine instead of "to calcine again" is an example:

So; now the soule's sublim'd: Her sowre desires
Are re-calcin'd in heav'ns well tempred Fires.¹

¹Emblemes, Bk. II, no. xv, (II:66).

All Quarles' formations with this prefix occur in his poetry and are used there for metrical purposes. With the exception of recompel (to force back) in these lines,

You'l say perchance, wee'l recompell our word,
E're simple truth should unawares afford
Your discontent,¹

the words are not particularly interesting either in themselves or in the way in which they are used.

The limitation of the use of re- to poetic diction is exceptional with Quarles, for occasional uses of other prefixes in both his prose and his poetry are sufficient to indicate that he did not use them solely for metrical reasons. Some of these words, such as annorme (to reduce to rule or normalize), never had any currency, but bedeafen and indiscoverable have remained in the active vocabulary.

The most popular prefix of the early seventeenth century was un-, and an examination of the NED or the dictionaries of the seventeenth century, particularly those of Florio or Cotgrave, will show with what freedom it was

¹Job Militant, Sect. 11, (II:85).

used. The editors of the NED, under the entry for this prefix, comment on the richness of the seventeenth century vocabulary in words beginning with it. Quarles' number of first uses of words formed with it exceeds that of all other prefix formations combined. It is to Quarles' credit that few of these are marked as obsolete or rare words. Unsame (to alter or change) had no currency, and there is little use for undevil (to free from demonical possession); however, unliable and unbeft are still current. Like other prefixes un- may be used effectively in poetic diction, as for example in these lines:

How each spark
 Contends for greater brightnes, to undark
 The shades of night.¹

Occasionally there are startling uses of the prefix, as with unsad: "We'l change our Scene, & we'l unsad our Stile."² But, as a final example, this felicitous use may be quoted:

Thy Torch will burne more cleare
 In nights un-Titand Hemispheare.²

¹The Shepherds Oracles, Egl. V, p. 48, (III:214).

²Sighes at the Contemporary deaths of Those incomparable Sisters.... (1640), no. 17, (III:40).

³Emblemes, Bk. II, no. 1, (III:57).

The use of suffixes followed the same pattern as that of the prefixes. The native suffixes -ful, -ness, -less had regained much of their vitality in the seventeenth century,¹ and the Latin and French suffixes were freely used without regard to the etymology of the words to which they were attached. Quarles' surviving words which include native suffixes are fleetness and consumeless. With survivals of words using Latin or French suffixes he does not fare much better, but such words as apogean and aspine are more interesting. A most effective use in poetry is that of the adjective microcosmal in a passage from Ecclesiastes which Quarles paraphrased. Youth is admonished to remember the Creator before

Thy dying pleasures find a dull decay;
 Before the Sun, and Moon, and Stars appear
 Dark in thy Microcosmall Hemisphear.²

¹Bradley, op. cit., II:565.

²Solomons Recantation, Cap. XII, (II:188).

In the formation of adjectives from proper nouns the number of first usages in Quarles is quite remarkable, especially since the majority of these words are formed from well-known mythological and classical names. Mr. R. W. Chapman has said that adjectives from classical names were not freely used until the nineteenth century;¹ however, Quarles, with his introduction of fifteen such words and his use of others already in the vocabulary, suggests no lack of freedom in the matter in the seventeenth century.

Throughout his poetry Quarles' use of mythological characters is marked, and even in the most devout lyrics they are not absent, as I shall show later. He, as every educated person of his time, knew classical mythology and used it; it is, therefore, not surprising to find that his enrichment of the vocabulary with adjectives from classical sources is extensive. There are the "Quiristers of night" who sing their Philomelian songs, and in a religious outburst he surprises some readers, no doubt, with an image from Hades in the use of the adjective in these lines:

¹R. W. Chapman, Adjectives from Proper Names (Society for Pure English, 1939), Tract LII.

I barter sighs for teares; and teares for Groanes,
Still vainly rolling Sysiphaean stones.¹

In view of its poetical possibilities it is surprising that it was not until 1644 that Parnassian was first used, for even those who chose the Mount of Olives or Mount Sion had interest still, as Spenser, in Parnassus.

Other adjectives used by Quarles would send many modern readers scurrying to their dictionaries. What, for example, is Zeuxian art? But others have wide currency. Sophoclean would give few trouble, and Oedipean would doubtless have associations for many with Freud and the world of complexes rather than with that solver of riddles. If one were imbued with Hecatean spite, and that word is Quarles', he would have great delight in taking from Milton the two adjectives Circean and Hymenaeian, attributed to him for the first use by the NED, and restoring them to Quarles who used them earlier.

The spirit of compromise in neologizing had been attained by the time Quarles started writing.²

¹Emblemes, Bk. III, no. 15, (III:78).

²Albert C. Baugh, A History of the English Language (New York, 1935), p. 271 ff.

It came to be the general practice, as it still is, to borrow from a foreign language out of necessity. The words which Quarles borrowed from Latin and Greek have followed the usual fate of borrowed words: some have survived, some fortunately are forgotten except in the pages of the NED. Scorn could be heaped on Quarles for such a borrowing as in these lines:

Envie did ope her Snake-devouring Iawes,
Foam'd frothy blood, and bent her unked Pawes.¹

The word unked is not only unsightly but is also unpleasant as a sound. Its poetic value is better passed over in silence. But this is the worst of the borrowings. Other words like theastropos and diarchy are not in constant demand, but they do effectively express the ideas they carry. By far the most important borrowed word, at least for Americans, is janitor (he does not receive credit for it in the NED), which is used in these lines:

The gray-ey'd Ianitor does now begin
To ope his Easterne portals, and let in
The new borne Day.²

¹Hadassa, Sect. 7, (II:53.)

²Argalus and Parthenia, Bk. III, p. 103, (III:269).

Words like threnodian, polyphonian, bivious, and austrian [L. aus er] were borrowed, as were the others, for what Quarles obviously deemed a necessary and useful purpose rather than for a show of facility or for ostentatious display. This assumption is evidenced in his only comment on language: "My mouth's no Dictionary: it onely serves as the needful interpreter of my Heart."¹

The most disappointing side of Quarles' first uses lies in the figurative and transferred use of established words. It is in such a use of the language that one would expect a poet to excel, and it is partly here that it emerges that Quarles, although he had an interest in the language, had actually no controlling mastery of it. It would take a person quaintly insensitive, it would seem, to write such lines as these in an eulogy of a dead friend:

My Passion has no April in her Eyes:
I cannot spend in mists: I cannot mizzle:
My fluent braines are too sever to drizzle
Sleight drops.²

¹A Feast for Wormes, "To the Reader." (II:5.)

²An Elegie upon Doctor Wilson, st. 1. (III:19.)

The use of April dates back long before Quarles, but the use of either mizzle or drizzle to describe degrees of lachrymosity seems peculiarly inappropriate either in poetry or in respect for the friend. By comparison other transferred or figurative uses may appear in a much better light. Unhinge and unscale (to free the eyes for sight) may pass without comment, but the use of embalm in this line is noticeable: "Oh, let the swelling waters me embalme."¹ The NED's first entry for the word in this transferred sense is over two centuries later.

It is also appropriate to mention here Quarles' use of words as parts of speech not usually associated with them. The NED has no citation of the use of landscape used attributively until 1874; however in 1635 Quarles published this line: "Hymen did present his Lanskip joyes."² And in the same way there is no recorded use of the word damask as a verb meaning to make red or blush coloured until 1863. Quarles used it in such a sense

¹A Feast for Wormes, Sect. 5, (II:14.)

²Emblemes, Bk. IV, no. xii, (III:87.)

in 1638:

That rich Ennamell, which of old,
Damaskt the downy Cheeke, and told
A harmeless guilt.¹

The most effective poetic use of this kind is that of the verb to cobweb, which has no citation in the NED except as a past participial adjective:

And now the cold Autumnall dewes are seene
To cobwebbe every Greene.²

So far I have been concerned only with Quarles' first uses of words. In this final section on compound epithets the NED ceases to be of much value, and until a work on the subject similar to the NED is compiled, the scope of effective work upon them is necessarily limited. There is a study on them by Bernard Groom, who demonstrates that they were actively used from the time of Spenser through Milton, and then went out of favour during the restoration.³

¹Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man, No. XIII, (III:195).

²Ibid., No. XIV, st. 3, (III:196).

³The Formation of Compound Epithets in English Poetry from 1579 (Society for Pure English, 1937), Tract XLIX.

The formation of compounds and compound epithets, being devices native to English, undoubtedly received renewed vigour from the developing interest in the language. Spenser's influence, along with that of Joshua Sylvester, who employed compound epithets extensively, gave great impetus to their use. An examination of the concordances of seventeenth-century poets reveals how widely they were used. Compounds serve for descriptive purposes in poetry, and as the stock-in-trade of poets, many rapidly became clichés. One readily recognizes this in compounds such as these: milk-white, light-foot, long-expected, swan-like, etc.

Quarles makes frequent use of compound epithets, and those who would see in this habit primary indebtedness to Sylvester should consult the concordances and works of contemporary poets. Quarles uses them for description, and many of those current at the time appear in his poetry. "Lowly-bended eyes," "sleepe-bedeafened eares," "time-betraying musicke," "bosome-folded hands" probably struck early seventeenth century readers as new and interesting, but by the time of the Restoration and afterwards they were usually considered as quaint.

During his own day, however, such formations were widely appreciated, and Quarles in his works certainly pleased many.

An idea of the extent and the nature of Quarles' contributions to the English vocabulary has been given. He lived and worked in the literary scene between the time of two of the great wielders of words, Shakespeare and Milton. There can be no claim for his being comparable to either, but he can receive the credit due to him as a poet who shared an interest with his contemporaries in his native language and who did enrich its vocabulary to some extent.

Use of mythology.

The preceding chapters have been concerned with Quarles' background and his relation to the religious struggles of his day. We have seen him, as he was, primarily as a religious poet; however, I have just shown that his interest extended also to language and vocabulary, and in this section I shall be concerned with another aspect of his literary work--his use of mythology in his poetry.

As Basil Willey has aptly said, it must be remembered that in the early seventeenth century

Many different worlds or countries of the mind then lay close together--the world of scholastic learning, the world of scientific experiment, the worlds of classical mythology and of Biblical history, of fable and of fact, of theology and demonology, of sacred and profane love, of pagan and christian morals, of activity and contemplation; and a cultivated man had the freedom of them all.¹

This is a fact which can easily be overlooked today when specialization rather than versatility is the desideratum. The early seventeenth century was still imbued with the Renaissance spirit. A great preacher like Thomas Adams could find parallels between Ovid's lines on a woman's feigned resistance and the struggle between the spirit and flesh, for he believed that "secular learning" has its use "if it be washed in the sope of the Prophets."² On the other hand Ben Jonson,

The 'great lover and praiser of himself' and 'contemner and Scornor of others' can pray, like Herbert, 'Use still thy rod'. The lover of sack and canary, who had nocturnal visions

¹Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background (5th impression, 1950), p. 42.

²The Works of Thomas Adams (1629), p. 69.

of Tartars and Turks, Romans and Carthaginians, fighting about his great toe, could also entreat 'My Maker, Saviour, and my Sanctifier' that he might be truly glorified 'Among thy Saints'.¹

Such examples of what might be thought incongruities could be multiplied almost indefinitely in the seventeenth century. One must avoid too easy labels for the men of that time. Quarles must not be labelled as a Humanist because he knew classical literature and used it in his pious works, and he must not be classed as a Puritan when he speaks against paganism. He can be properly labelled, for those who must have labels, as a religious poet of the late Renaissance.

As an educated man of his time there is no question as to Quarles' familiarity with classical literature. Indeed, even were he not a university graduate, the accessibility of classical learning was such that a rustic like John Taylor the Water Poet (1587?-1653), who read only English, knew the ancients from Homer to Ovid and the

¹Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, p.110.

moderns, including Du Bartas and Montaigne.¹ But even if Quarles knew the classics in the original language, it must be remembered that he would have interpreted them as did his age. Ovid was the great store of mythological learning, and the Ovid of the Renaissance had passed through the Middle Ages and had there been "moralized."² The English translations, from the anonymous The fable of Ovid treting of Narcissus, translated out of Latin into Englysh Mytre, with a moral ther unto (1560) through Golding and down to Sandys, had not failed to point out that Ovid was edifying, philosophical, and in many places in agreement with Scripture. But the age was not satisfied simply with accepting a theory of the pagans having foreshadowed certain biblical truths. The polytheism of the pagans had also to be brought into line with the monotheism of Christianity. As in Italy, the theory of "poetic veiling" was used to explain away the polytheism. In this theory the many gods are but aspects of the one

¹Cf. Taylor's Works (1630). This edition was reprinted by the Spenser Society in 1869. Works by Taylor which were published after the collected edition of 1630 were collected by the Spenser Society and published in five volumes in 1870-78.

²Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, p. 11 ff.

God.¹ Sir Walter Raleigh in his History of the World (1614) expressed it as follows:

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato: so we find the same excellent understanding in Orpheus, who everywhere expressed the infinite and sole power of one God, though he use the name of Iupiter, thereby to avoide the envie and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those thinges to the Sonnes of men and mortall creatures, which he doth to this Iupiter, there is no man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.... The names of those Gods whom ORPHEUS doth sing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evill comes, and not goodness; but they are the names of natural and divine vertues.²

In England the culminating reduction of ancient polytheism came in Alexander Ross' Mel Helicon (1642) and Mystagogus Poeticus (1647), where the classical gods are all explained as types of the Christian Trinity or parts of it, Jesus Christ being the one usually designated.

A knowledge of mythology came in not only through

¹Cf. D. P. Walker, "The Prisca Theologia in France." The article is to appear in a forthcoming issue of the Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. (I am indebted to Mr. Walker for permission to use the manuscript.)

²"The First Booke of the first part," Chapter V: Section VII.

a knowledge of classical literature but also through those systematized compendiums of mythological learning like Boccaccio's De Genealogia Deorum, Giraldus' De Deis Gentium, and Comes' Mythologiae. Such handbooks were in the libraries of the Humanists. John Marston gives evidence of this, as well as of the extent of the use of mythology in the literature of his day:

O darknes palpable! Egipts black night!
 My wit is stricken blind, hath lost his sight;
 My shins are broke with groping for some sence,
 To know to what his words have reference.

 Reach me some poets index that will show.
Imagines deorum. Booke of Epithites,
Natales Comes, thou I know recites,

 Ayde me to unrip
 These intricate deepe oracles of wit--
 These dark enigmaes, and strange ridling sence,
 Which passe my dullard braines intelligence.¹

From the early days of the Renaissance in England there had been opposition to both classical learning and to the divinities of classical antiquity. Erasmus in The Praise of Folly, written in England in 1510, led the way by deriding the whole host of the poets' Olympian gods

¹Works, ed. J. O. Halliwell (3 vols., 1856), III:218.

and goddesses.¹ This opposition continued throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth. William Prynne's assertion "that it is no wayes lawfull, for Christians to retaine the names of Iupiter, Bacchus, Apollo, or other Idle gods"² indicates the Puritan opposition.

But there was also opposition by poets to conventional uses in poetry of classical learning and mythology. Donne, "whose work contains much more mythological allusion than one remembers at first,"³ is pictured by Thomas Carew in his elegy on the poet as having expelled the gods and goddesses from poetry; and now that Donne is dead, Carew fears that other poets

will repeale the goodly exil'd traine
Of gods and goddesses, which in thy just raigne
Were banish'd nobler Poems, now, with these
The silenc'd tales o'th' Metamorphoses
Shall stuffe their lines, and swell the windy Page,
Till Verse refin'd by thee, in this last Age,
Turne ballad rime, Or those old Idolls bee
Ador'd againe, with new apostasie.⁴

¹Translated by H. H. Hudson (Princeton, 1941), pp. 11-12, 65-67.

²Histrion-mastix (1633), p. 36.

³Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, p. 224.

⁴"An Elegie upon the death of the Deane of Pauls, Dr. Iohn Donne," in The Poems of John Donne, ed. H.J.C. Grierson (1912), vol. I, p. 378.

But that "traine" was not exiled. Carew himself was one of the first to call it back.¹ It was Herbert² and Vaughan who were much more successful in keeping the "traine" in exile. Donne in his revolt had not completely banished the gods and goddesses, but his influence had the salutary effect of checking floods of indiscriminate allusions.³

The use of Plutarch, Hesiod, Seneca, Aristotle, Horace, and other classical writers by Quarles reveals a knowledge and a love of classical literature. Along with this devotion went a great tolerance of paganism, as is seen in his paraphrase of Jonah, A Feast for Wormes. Since the sailors who manned the ship in which Jonah was fleeing were pagans, that work gave Quarles an opportunity at the very beginning of his literary career to express

¹Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, p. 226.

²George Williamson, The Donne Tradition (1930), p.109.

³Besides Bush's Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, which considers both major and many minor authors, see the following specialized studies: Robert K. Root, Classical Mythology in Shakespeare (New York, 1903); Alice E. Sawtelle, The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology (Boston, 1896); Beatrice Johnson, "Classical Allusions in the Poetry of Donne" PMLA (1928) XLIII, p.1098 ff.; Charles F. Wheeler, Classical Mythology in the Plays, Masques, and Poems of Ben Jonson (Princeton, 1938); Charles G. Osgood, The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems (New York, 1900).

his views. Quarles comments on the fear of Jonah and the fear of the pagan sailors in the storm that besets them. Jonah, being monotheistic, had only one God to fear whereas the sailors, being polytheistic, quailed before numerous deities. In the following passage Quarles lists various deities:

He Jonah feared Iehovah, other fear'd he none,
 Him he acknowledg'd; him he fear'd alone:
 Unlike to those who (being blinde with errour)
 Frame many gods, and multiply their terrour.
 Th' Egyptians, God Apis did implore,
 God Assas the Chaldeans did adore:
Babel to the Devouring Dragon seekes,
 Th' Arabians, Astaroth; Iuno, the Greekes....¹

And after completing the list he makes the following comment:

O blinded Ignorance of antique times,
 How blent with errour, and how stuff with crimes
 Your Temples were! And how adulterate!
 How clog'd with needlesse gods! How obstinate!
 How void of reason, order, how confuse!
 How full of dangerous and foule abuse!
 How sandy were thy grounds, and how unstable!
 How many Deities! yet how unable! ²

In Quarles' mind it is ignorance and not perversity that was at the root of paganism. He concedes that some

¹A Feast for Wormes, Medita. 4, (II:14).

²Ibid.

pagan works embodied truths which were "almost divine," and in a passage debating whether Jonah would be violating the commandment of God, "Thou shalt not kill" (Exodus 20:13), if he gave himself up to be thrown overboard by the sailors, the poet says:

The purblinde age (whose workes (almost divine)
Did meerely with the oyle of Nature shine,
That knew no written Law, nor Grace, nor God,
To whip their conscience with a steely rod,)
How much did they abhorre so foule a fact?
When (led by Natures glimpse) they made an act,
Selfe-murtherers should be deny'd to have
The charitable honour of a grave.¹

And in a gloss to the passage Quarles cites Seneca: Homicida in se, insepultus abiciatur.² His attitude towards paganism is fully expressed in his comment on the actions of the sailors who, in the experience with Jonah, had turned to God:

Their faith b'ing veil'd within the mist of errour,
At length their zeale chac'd ignorance away,
They left their Puppets, and began to pray.³

These are the fullest statements in the work of Quarles on the subject of pagans and paganism, and from

¹A Feast for Wormes, Medita. 5, (II:15).

²Ibid., The gloss is from the 1620 edition.

³Ibid., Medita. 5, (II:15).

them one can see several points which establish him at once in the traditional thinking of the period. There is first the expected opposition to the pagan gods whom he considers the creation of a people ignorant of the "true God." Even in such an age, secondly, God had revealed himself, but vaguely, through nature. This revelation is not sufficient in itself for salvation, and here Quarles, in a typical Renaissance fashion, took only a part of the doctrine of the natural theologians. The third point is that some of the works of the ancients are "almost divine." Here Quarles obviously believed with the Fletchers, Ross, Spenser, and others that there were foreshadowings of biblical truth in the works of Orpheus, Plato, Aristotle, Ovid, and other ancient writers. There is absolutely no evidence in Quarles' work that can give any credence to the contention of W. L. Doughty that Quarles considered the pagans as evil and "antagonistic to the true celestial hierarchy."¹ In the fourth place it is to be noted that the sailors had "faith," a faith that was veiled as long as they remained in the error of paganism but which immediately

¹Studies in Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century (1946), p. 18.

revealed itself when the mist of that error was swept aside and God was recognized. None of these ideas were new with Quarles. They are all typical of Renaissance thought.¹

In poetry during the Renaissance it was common to use the names of classical divinities for the natural phenomena they represented. This practice was overworked to the extent that the sun and moon, the ocean, and the winds are rarely if ever mentioned except as Titan or Phoebus, Cynthia or Phoebe, Neptune, Boreas, etc. Quarles consistently employs these names for the natural phenomena in his poetry, and there is rarely any novelty in their use. "Fresh Aurora's eye sends forth her early beams," "blustering Boreas blowes the boyling Tide," "Life-breathing Zephyr" takes pride in seeing his "buds sprout forth," there is the "noyse of surgie Neptune's roaring," and the "foamy Steeds of Phaeton" dash across the sky. It is easy to dismiss such periphrasis as artificial. It must be remembered that it was a part of a poet's equipment, and as such it was used, often excessively and without imagination by the lesser poets. It is true

¹Cf. J. Seznec, La Survivance des Dieux Antiques (1940), and D. P. Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (1953), XVI, pp. 100 ff.

that in Herbert and Vaughan little or no use is made of such devices, but one cannot connect their absence in these poets' works with a religious fervor more intense than that of those poets who used them. Spenser, the Fletchers, Sir John Davies, and Milton later, are all given to the practice. It appears that Quarles in his use of the names of classical divinities for natural phenomena was serious and that he considered the practice as an apt and effective means of expression. Surprisingly at times there is even a flash of inspiration in his practice, as in this passage where Titan, as the setting sun, is likened to approaching death in man:

The day growes old; The low pitcht Lamp hath made
 No lesse than treble shade:
 And the descending damp does now prepare
 T' uncurle bright Titans haire;
 Whose Westerne Wardrobe, now begins t' unfold
 Her purples, fring'd with gold,
 To cloathe his evening glory; when th' alarmes
 Of Rest shall call to rest in restless Thetis armes.¹

Quarles prefaced the poem with John 12:35, "Yet a little while is the light with you," and his seriousness is borne out in the rest of the poem.

The same device is used just as seriously when the

¹Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man, No. XIV, (III:196).

poet is speaking of God and the Holy Spirit:

Most radiant, and refulgent Lampe of light,
 Whose midday beauty, yet ne're found a night,
 'Tis thou, 'tis onely thou art faire; from Thee
 Reflect those rayes, that have enlightened mee,
 And as bright Cynthia's borrow'd beames doe shine
 From Titan's glorie, so doe I, from thine.¹

"Rayes" in line four is glossed "Thy holy Spirit," and, therefore, the "Lampe of light" is God. Here it is clear that the names of the classical divinities for natural phenomena have become purely abstract and that they do not have in the poet's mind any associations besides that of the object which they represent.

This use of mythological characters is highly artificial and its use by a poet would mean only that he was following a current practice, and would not necessarily indicate a sympathy for mythology, the pagans, or classical literature. This fact is aptly borne out in the poetry of George Wither. His only use of mythology, and it is very scant, is in naming natural phenomena by classical divinities. He associated the names of the

¹Sions Sonets, Sonet V, no. 1, II:124.

divinities with adventitiousness and artificiality in poetry:

Let those doters on Apollo,
That adore the Muses, so,
(And, like Geese, each other follow)
See, what Love alone, can doe.
For, in Love-layes; Grove, and Field;
Nor to Schools, nor Courts wil yeeld.¹

Wither's slight education, rather than sincere conviction may be at the basis of this,² and he is not, as Donne and Vaughan, simply weary of the time-worn machinery. Vaughan is willing to give the kingdom of poetry to a money lender in order to cancel a debt. This kingdom itemized includes Parnassus, Pegasus, Tempe, and the Nymphs.³ It is clear that one has to examine other aspects of a poet's use of the classics and mythology in order to determine how far he consciously uses them as an intrinsic part of his poetry.

Quarles did not translate any part of Ovid, but he

¹Works, (Spenser Society, 1871-82), Juvenilia, Part III, p. 714.

²Leah Jonas, The Divine Science (New York, 1940), p. 104.

³Works, ed. L. C. Martin (2 vols., 1914), I:43.

did take from Sidney's Arcadia the story of Argalus and Parthenia and turned it into a heroic romance. Since this is his only venture outside religious poetry, it cannot be considered as typical, and his use of mythology there would not necessarily indicate his practice in his religious works. However it is interesting that Argalus and Parthenia is Quarles' sixth published work, and it is at the same time the first of a non-religious nature. In his preface he made it known that the work differs from the others as a courtier from a churchman, and he does not consider it incongruous to play both parts. Indeed he has "presidents" for this "but one play-day in sixe." But he would "beshrew that hand that binds" all his works together.¹ I shall not bind his practice here with his practice in religious poetry, but it is not without significance that in this romance Quarles shows no restraint in his employment of mythology. The use is effectively woven into the plot. The marriage of Argalus and Parthenia is at "great Juno's sacred Altar," and it is accompanied with appropriate sacrifices which were received

¹Argalus and Parthenia, "To the Reader," (III:240).

in flames. Epithalamiums are sung by Bacchus, Ceres, and a chorus of gods, and the entertainment after the marriage culminates in a masque of the gods. The work is thoroughly delightful as a pagan piece, and one wishes that Quarles had taken more play days. He did not, so we must return to the churchman, a churchman, it must be admitted, that did not forget the courtier.

In An Apology for Poetry (1595) Sidney divides poetry into "three severall kindes," and the first in that division, "the chiefe both in antiquitie and excellencie," is that poetry "that did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of God." Here he mentions David, Solomon, Moses, Job, and others, and then adds:

In this kinde, though in a full wrong divinitie were Orpheus, Amphion, Homer in his hymnes, and many other, both Greekes and Romaines: and this Poesie must be used, by whosoever will follow S. Iames his counsell, in singing Psalmes when they are merry: and I knowe is used with the fruite of comfort by some, when, in sorrowfull pangs of their death-bringing sinnes, they find the consolation of the never-leaving goodnesse.¹

¹Eliz. Crit. Essays, I:158.

And in the closing passages of the Apology Sidney in his pleas for poetry explains why the ancients, though in a "full wrong divinitie", are yet to be commended and revered. He asks his readers to believe "with Aristotle, that they the poets were the ancient Treasurers of the Graecian Divinity" and to believe

With Clauserus, the Translator of Cornutus, that it pleased the heavenly Deitie, by Hesiod and Homer, under the vayle of fables, to give us all knowledge, Logick, Rethorick, Philosophy, naturall and morall; and Quid non?

Quarles honoured Sidney in his preface to Argalus and Parthenia: "I present thee here with a history of Argalus and Parthenia, the fruits of broken houres: It was a Sience taken out of the Orchard of Sir Philip Sidney, of pretious memory."² And Quarles believed, as Sidney, that in the fables of the poets true heavenly knowledge was veiled. Following this belief he uses the birth of

¹Eliz. Crit. Essays, I:206.

²Argalus and Parthenia, "To the Reader," (III:240).

Minerva in the following way:

The Morall Poets, (nor unaptly) faine,
 That by lame Vulcans help, the pregnant brain
 Of soveraign *Iove, brought forth, and at that birth
 Was borne**Minerva, Lady of the earth.
 O strange Divinity! but sung by rote;
 Sweet is the tune, but in a wilder note.

*The father of the gods.
 **The godesse of wisdom.¹

There follows the Christian interpretation of this knowledge of the ancients which was "sung by rote":

The Morall sayes, All Wisdom that is given
 To hood-wink't mortals, first, proceeds from heaven:
 Truth's errour, Wisdom's but wise insolence,
 And light's darknesse, not deriv'd from thence;
 Wisdom's a straine transcends Morality,
 No Vertu's absent, Wisdom being by.²

This syncretism of the pagan and the Christian is a key to understanding Quarles' attitude towards and use of pagan authors and the mythology of the ancients. With this view the wisdom of the ancients, although it would not be on an equal footing with Christian writings, can be used as an intrinsic and valid part of religious literature. This could be done in the most serious

¹Job Militant, Meditat. 11, (II:86), Glosses in 1st. ed.

²Ibid.

religious works without any thought of sacrilege. That this is true is evidenced in Quarles' glosses. When he turns to the classical writers, he indicates his sources with the same scrupulous care which he applies to the Bible and the Church Fathers. Therefore along with Augustine, Aquinas, Josephus, and others, appear the names of Plato, Hesiod, Aristotle, Euripides, and others as supporters of thoroughly Christian ideas in the religious poems.

In the same way the fables of the ancients are used quite seriously in conjunction with Christian ideas. In the following passage Quarles uses the Greek Elysium as a symbol of heaven and he speaks of the difficulties of the Christian on his journey there in classical terms:

| | |
|--|--|
| *Interp. without py *Burning. *Styx:San- ness. | Who hopes t'attain the sweet Elysian Laves To reap the harvest of his well spent daies Must passe the joylesse streames of *Acaron, The scorching waves of burning *Phlegeton, And sable billowes of the *Stygian Lake: Thus sweet with sowre, each mortall must partake. What joyfull Harvester did ere obtaine The sweet fruition of his hopefull gaine, Untill his hardy labours first had past The Summers heat, and stormy Winters blast?l |
|--|--|

^lHadassa, Meditat. 9, (II:56), Glosses from 1st. ed.

Elysium stands without modification, but the Hades of the Greeks was not sufficient in torture for the picture of the Christian hell:

Let Poets please to torture Tantalus,
 Let griping Vultures gnaw Prometheus,
 And let poore Ixion turne his endlesse wheele,
 Let Nemesis torment with whips of steele;
 They far come short, t' expresse the paines of those
 That rage in Hell, enwrapt in endlesse woes;
 Where time no end, and plagues finde no exemption;
 Where cryes admit no helpe, nor place redemption;
 Where fier lacks no flame, the flame no heat,
 To make their torments sharpe, and plagues compleat.

In matters of Hebraic history Quarles uses illustrative parallels from Greek mythology. There were such obvious comparisons as those of Deucalion and Noah, and these had been noted from time to time in the Renaissance. Quarles in his treatment of the supralapsarian state of man takes the practice to its limit in a poem which equates that state with the reign of Saturn. Other than the biblical verse at the beginning and the quotations from the Fathers at the end there are no references at all that would indicate that it is a Christian poem. These references and quotations are not an intrinsic part of the poem, and were it stripped of them it could be classed as a

¹A Feast for Wormes, "Pentelogia," no. 5, (II:35).

thoroughly pagan work. However in its setting it is Christian:

Gone are those golden dayes, wherein
 Pale Conscience started not at ugly sin;
 When good old Saturnes peacefull Throne
 Was unsurped by his beardlesse Sonne:
 When jealous Ops ne'r fear'd th' abuse
 Of her chast bed, or breach of nuptiall Truce:
 When just Astraea poys'd her Scales
 In mortall hearts, whose absence earth bewailes:
 When froth-borne Venus, and her Brat,
 With all that spurious brood young Jove begat,
 In horrid shapes, were yet unknowne;
 Those Halcyon dayes, that golden Age is gone:

 Untill the wanton dayes of Iove,
 The simple world was all compos'd of Love;
 But Iove grew fleshly, false, unjust;
 Inferiour Beauty fill'd his veynes with Lust;
 And Cucqueane Iunos Fury hurld
 Fierce Balls of Rage into th' incestuous World:
Astraea fled; and Love return'd
 From earth: Earth boyl'd with Lust; with Rage, it burn'd:
 And ever since the world has beene
 Kept going with the scourge of Lust, and Spleene.¹

A similar treatment of the subject to that of Quarles,
 which illuminates his interpretation and indicates the
 currency of the idea, is found in Sir Walter Raleigh's

¹Emblemes, Bk. I, no. v, (III:49).

History of the World (1614):

Yet was Cain the sonne of Adam (as some very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the first and ancient Iupiter; and Adam for the first Saturne.

This first Iupiter of the Ethnickes was the same Cain, the son of Adam, who marrying his own sister (as also Iupiter is said to have done) inhabited the East....¹

In Quarles' only pastoral poem The Shepherds Oracles, he follows the pastoral tradition and, as in Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar, Christ appears as Pan. Even though the primary aim of Quarles' work, as we have seen in Chapter II, was to express his religious views and his criticisms of the religious movements of his day, his use of pastoral devices is sufficient to place his work thoroughly in that tradition.

London becomes Troynovant, the seat of Pan's vice-gerent, the King. Christ, represented as Pan, appears in the third dialogue with Gentilla, the English Church, and the dialogue concerning the relationship between the

¹The First Booke of the First part, Chapter VI. Sec. IIII. (For other contemporary works dealing with the Golden Age see the following: The Foure Ages of England (1646), attributed to A. Cowley; Thomas Heywood, The Golden Age: or the Lives of Jupiter and Saturne, with the defining of the heathen Gods (1611); George Sandys, Ovid's Metamorphoses (1632), p. 25 ff.) For a recent study and a bibliography on the subject see Victor Harris' All Coherence Gone (Univ. of Chicago, 1949).

Church and Christ is, as in the allegorical interpretations of the Canticles, carried on as between two lovers in the language of profane love. Gentilla, repenting for her past errors, is welcomed by Pan:

My deare Gentilla, dearer then my soule,
 Thy wounds are cur'd, thy Faith has made thee whole:
 Thy teares have scour'd thy trespasse; witenesse Heaven,
 Thous hast not done what Pan has not forgiven:
 Come, come into mine armes, my greedy brest
 Longs, longs to entertaine so faire a Guest:
 The poorest teare that wets thy lovely cheek
 Has washt a world of faults....¹

And in true keeping with the convention, the teachings of Christ are "oracles" and the Bible becomes the "Georgicks" of the shepherd. The Christian implications in the eclogue are evident, to be sure, but even so here are all the pagan and classical characteristics of the pastoral used seriously to convey these Christian messages.

In the Emblemes, Book I, no. 8, a Divine Cupid upbraids Venus and her child, Cupid, who is presented as a corruption of the divine counterpart. Cupid is the "base-bred Boy" and Venus the "False Queene of Beauty, Queene of false delights."² The joys and pleasures

¹The Shepherds Oracles, Egl. III, pp. 32-3, (III:211).

²Emblemes, Bk. II, no. 8, (III:62).

afforded by Venus and her child are condemned by the
Divine Cupid:

These be the coyne that passe; the sweets that please;
There's nothing good, there's nothing great but these:
These be the pipes that base-borne minds daunce after,
And turne immod'rate teares to lavish laughter;
Whilst heav'nly Raptures passe without regard;
Their Strings are harsh, and their high straines unheard:
The ploughmans Whistle, or the triviall Flute
Find more respect then great Apollo's Lute:
Wee'l look to heav'n, and trust to higher Ioyes;
Let Swine love Husks, and children whine for Toyes.¹

Divine Cupid is that heavenly love as opposed to the
earthly and base love of Cupid. The joys of that divine
love are found in the music of Apollo, the teachings of
Christ.

Besides these uses of mythology there are the
occasional references scattered throughout the works of
Quarles. They occur primarily in figures of speech and
are used to heighten the point that he is expressing to
his readers. For example, Jonah, when he has been bidden
by God to go to Nineveh, stands perplexed, fearing to
obey God's command and also fearing to disobey. Jonah then

¹Emblemes, Bk. II, no. 8, (III:62).

speaks:

O heavy burthen of a doubtfull mind!
Where shall I goe, or which way shall I wind?
My heart like Ianus, looketh to and fro;
My Credit bids me, Stay; my God bids, Goe.¹

And at times the associations in the mind of the reader become more expansive in such a reference as this where, checking himself from a digression, Quarles calls to mind the whole of the Odyssey:

Me list not ramble into antique dayes,
To manne his Theame, lest while Ulysses straves,
His heart forget his home Penelope.²

A pitiful scene from Hades illustrates the ceaseless struggle of the Christian to overcome the influence of fleshly desires of the body:

My labour finds no point, my paines, no rest:
I barter sighs for teares; and teares for Grones,
Still vainly rolling Sysiphaean stones.³

Quarles has used his dual heritage of the Christian

¹A Feast for Wormes, Sec. 2, (II:10).

²Hadassa, Medita. 17, (II:64).

³Emblemes, Bk. III, no. 15, (III:78).

and pagan traditions in his poetry, and he sees no incongruity in the syncretism of the two. He could see in Spenser the fusion of pagan sensuousness and sincere Christian piety, and in Giles Fletcher in particular he would have found the Christian themes almost obscured by the opulence of what may be called the Italianate style. Even faced with the long philosophical poem on the immortality of the soul, Nosce Teipsum, of Sir John Davies he would have seen that it was not devoid of classical learning nor of the knowledge and use of classical divinities. Quarles' own practice, during his time, would have been opposed by the Puritan faction, as I have already indicated. But, as we have seen, he was not in sympathy with that group, for his whole temperament and thinking was oriented much more to the earlier part of the century and the late sixteenth century. He would have felt much more at his ease in the world of Spenser and Shakespeare, where he would have not had the growing voice of the "rude mechanicks" crying out against that beauty and order which he found in the Elizabethan Church and which he also found in classical learning.

Quarles has all too frequently been considered only as a sad singer of the woeful lot of man. This is only one side of the poet's personality, for there are those times when he deals with purely Christian themes in a manner reminiscent of the sensuousness of Ovid. Although these times may be too few, who cannot but be pleased that it was love and a vision of happiness that have added these lines to our literary inheritance:

Ev'n like two little bank-dividing brookes,
 That wash the pebles with their wanton streames,
 And having rang'd and search'd a thousand nookes,
 Meet both at length, in silver-brested Thames;
 Where, in a greater Current they conjoynē:
 So I my Best-Beloveds am; so He is mine.

Ev'n so we met; and after long pursuit,
 Ev'n so we joyn'd; we both became entire;
 No need for either to renew a Suit,
 For I was Flax and he was Flames of fire:
 Our firm-united soules did more then twine;
 So I my Best-Beloveds am; so He is mine.¹

¹Emblemes, Bk. V, no. 3, (III:91). (Benjamin Britten has set Quarles' poem to music: Canticle I, Op. 40, 1949).

The Bible and its use.

In Elizabethan days the populace could take its pick from a large range of Bibles. The outstanding translations were the Coverdale (1535), the Matthew (1537), the Great Bible (1539-40), the Geneva (1560), and the Bishops' Bible (1568, revised in 1572).¹ Before 1611 the Bishops' Bible was the one appointed to be read in Churches, and it was favoured above others by the Anglicans. But it was the Geneva Bible, with its ecclesiastical terms and marginal notes, which was favoured by the Puritans in England. Even after 1611, when the Authorized Version appeared, the Geneva Bible continued to be popular for a generation or more with the Puritans,² for the translators of the Authorized Version, as they expressed it in "The Translators to the Readers," had avoided "the scrupulositie of the Puritanes, who leave the old

¹Cf. J. Isaacs, "The Sixteenth-Century English Versions," in Ancient and English Versions of the Bible, ed. H. W. Robinson (1940).

²Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, p. 67.

Ecclesiasticall words, and betake them to other, as when they put washing for Baptisme, and Congregation instead of Church."

Since Quarles began writing only nine years after the publication of the Authorized Version, a time when some Anglicans still preferred the Bishops' Bible whereas the Puritans continued to favour the Geneva, it is of interest to determine which Bible he used.

During the first nineteen years of his life, 1592-1611, there is no way of knowing definitely with which Bible Quarles was familiar. If Mr. Horden is correct in his assumption that the Quarles household was "uncompromisingly Puritan,"¹ we may safely assume that he was quite familiar with the Geneva Bible. But it would seem possible that Quarles, in his schools, at the university, and at the Inns of Court, would have familiarized himself with other versions of the Bible, out of sheer curiosity if not otherwise. Be that as it may, the important question in relation to Quarles as a religious poet is which Bible did he choose in his mature life? The early paraphrases do not yield sufficient evidence to say anything specifically, since the text is presented in

¹John Horden, op. cit., p.5.

such an elaborate and extended form, but when Sion Sonets (1624), a paraphrase of the Song of Solomon, is examined some circumstantial evidence becomes apparent. The Geneva Bible has glossed the work heavily, giving the usual allegorical interpretation, as contrasted with both the Bishops' Bible and the Authorized Version, which follow the same interpretation but have much less glossing. Quarles' glosses to his paraphrase indicate that he moves in a direction that would be contrary to the spirit of the glosses of the Geneva Bible. Here is a part of his paraphrase of the "Bridegroom's" description of the "Bride":

Thy curious Tresses dangle, all unbound
 With unaffected order, to the ground:
 How orient is thy beautie! How divine!
 How darke's the glory of the earth, to thine!¹

Quarles glossed "Tresses" as "Ornaments of necessarie ceremonies," an interpretation that would not be at all in keeping with those who desired to do away with church ceremonies; but even if "necessarie ceremonies" were accepted, "ornaments" would hardly be a felicitous choice.

¹Sions Sonets, Sonnet XII, no. 1, (II:127).

In Chapter VI the women who inquire of the "Bride" concerning the "Bridegroom" simply ask:

Whither is thy beloved gone? O thou fairest
among women, whither is thy beloved turned
aside? that we may seek him with thee. (VI:1)¹

The Geneva gloss on this passage reads: "Hearing the excellencie of Christ, the faithful desire to know how to finde him."² Quarles paraphrases the verse in this way:

Thrice fairer then the fairest, whose sad teares,
And smiling words, have charm'd our eyes, our eares;
Say, whither is this prize of beauty gone,
More faire then kinde, to let thee weepe alone?
Thy tempting lips have whet our dull desire,
And till we see Him, we are all on fire:
Wee'll finde him out, if thou wilt be our guide:
The next way to the Bridegroome, is the Bride.³

Quarles' gloss on the last line is "The Church is the way to Christ." Thus the Church is for him the intermediary between the individual and Christ, whereas the Geneva emphasizes a direct relationship between the individual and Christ.

¹The Holy Bible, Authorized Version (1611).

²All references to the Geneva Bible are from The Bible, Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, (1598).

³Sions Sonets, Sonnet XVIII, (II:129).

And finally there is wide variance in Quarles' interpretation of the "Bridegroom's" description of the "Bride". Chapter IV, verse five reads: "Thy two breasts are like two young Roes, that are twinnes, which feed among the lillies." The Geneva glosses "breasts" as "knowledge and zeale, two precious jewels," whereas Quarles' gloss reads "The old and new Testaments."¹

In the Emblemes (1635) Quarles has a biblical quotation at the beginning of each poem, and from these it becomes apparent which Bible he used. A check of the seventy-six quotations in that work reveals that forty-three agree verbatim with the Authorized Version. In many places the reading of a passage in both the Geneva and Authorized Version may be identical, but in many places the reading, in phraseology or in style, is distinctly different. For example the Geneva Bible has this reading for Matthew VII:14:

The gate is straight, and the way narrow
that leadeth unto life, and few there be
that find it.

The Authorized Version, which Quarles follows,² reads:

Straight is the gate and narrow is the
way which leadeth unto life, and fewe there
be that find it.

¹Sions Sonets, Sonet XII, no. 5, (II:127.)

²Emblemes, Bk. II, no. 11, (III:64.)

Likewise the Authorized Version and the Bishops' Bible often agree, for example in the above quotation from Matthew. But their disagreements in phrase and style are numerous. In I Peter V:8, the Bishops's Bible reads:

Be sober, and watch: for your adversary
the devill, as a roaring lion walketh
about.¹

Quarles follows the Authorized Version,² which has this reading:

Be sober, Be vigilant: because your
adversary the Devill, as a roaring
lion walketh about.

And finally there is this example in which the Authorized Version is at variance with both the Geneva and Bishops' Bible. The Geneva reads Romans VII:23 as follows:

But I see another Lawe in my members,
rebellling against the Law of my minde,
and leading mee captive unto the lawe
of sinne.

¹All references to the Bishops' Bible are to The Holy Bible, Robert Barker, printer, London, 1602.

²Emblemes, Bk. I, no.7. (III:61).

The Bishops' reading is:

But I see another lawe in my members,
rebellling against the law of my minde,
and subduing me unto the lawe of sin.

And the Authorized Version, which Quarles follows,¹ has
this reading:

But I see another lawe in my members, warring
against the lawe of my minde, and bringing me
into captivity to the lawe of sinne.

The few disagreements which Quarles has with the
Authorized Version indicate his practice in quoting.
He quoted frequently from memory and obviously did not
bother to check his quotations. This is shown in the
following examples which indicate that the Authorized,
rather than the Geneva or Bishops' Bible, was his
source:

Ephesians II:2
Geneva.
Ye walked according to the course of
this world, and after the prince that
ruleth in the aire.

Bishops'.
Ye walked, according to the course of
this world, after the governour that
ruleth in the ayre.

¹Emblemes, Bk. IV, no. 1, (III:79.)

Authorized Version.

Yee walked according to the course of
this world, according to the prince of
the power of the aire.

Quarles, Emblemes, Bk.I:11.

Yee walked according to the course of this
world, according to the Prince of the Aire.

Psalms LXII:9.

Geneva.

Yet the children of men are vanitie, the
chiefe men are lyes: to lay them upon a
balance they are altogether lighter than
vanitie.

Bishops'.

As for the children of men, they are but
vaine: the children of men are deceitful
upon the weights, they are altogether
lighter then vanitie itselfe.

Authorized Version.

Surely men of low degree are vanity, and men
of high degree are a lie: to be laid in the
balance, they are altogether lighter than
vanity.

Quarles, Emblemes, Bk. I:4.

To be laid in the ballance, it is altogether
lighter then vanitie.

Other disagreements in this category are of the same nature. These discrepancies, obviously based on the Authorized Version, effect no basic change in the text.

Other types of disagreements are more interesting, for they show Quarles handling his sources to fit his own particular purposes. (Certainly this would be a practice frowned on by the Puritans, who held God's word inviolable.) Occasionally he will change, shorten, or telescope two or more verses together in order to attain precisely the idea which he wants to express in the poem that is based on the text. In Emblemes, Bk. I:12¹, Quarles makes his quotation negative in order that it may fit the sense of his poem, and for this change he had no precedent in any reading:

Isaiah LXVI:11.

Geneva.

That yee may sucke and bee satisfied
with the brests of her consolation.

Bishops'.

For ye that sucke comfort out of her
brests, and be satisfied.

¹(III:54)

Authorized Version.

That ye may suck, and be satisfied with
the breasts of her consolation.

Quarles. (Emblemes, Bk. I:12).

Yee may suck, but not be satisfied with
the brest of her Consolation.

And again in Emblemes, Bk. I:13¹, he changes the tense of the verb in his quotation so that he may have a present and universal implication. Neither does he have precedent for this change:

John III:19.

Geneva.

Men loved darknesse rather then light,
because their deedes were evill.

Bishops'.

Men loved darknesse rather then light,
because their deedes were evill.

Authorized Version.

Men loved darknesse rather then light:
because their deeds were evil.

Quarles.

Men love darknesse rather then light,
because their deeds are evill.

¹(III:54).

And finally Quarles takes Song of Solomon, I:3-4, and rearranges and shortens the verses. The result is a more dramatic reading than the original; however, from Quarles' form it is impossible to say on which Bible the reading is based. Judging from his practice, as we have seen, it is most likely based on the Authorized Version:

Geneva.

Because of the savour of thy good oyntments, thy name is an oyntment poured out: therefore the virgins love thee.

Draw me: we will runne after thee....

Bishops'.

Thy name is a sweet smelling oyntment when it is shed foorth, therefore do the maydens love thee.

Draw thou me unto thee, we will runne after thee.

Authorized Version.

Because of the savour of thy good ointments, thy name is an ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love thee.

Draw me, wee will run after thee.

Quarles. (Emblemes, Bk. IV, no. 8, III:84).

Draw me; we will follow after thee by the savour of thy Oyntments.

These changes from the Authorized Version for literary purposes are few in number. It is clear that by 1635 Quarles had made his own choice of Bibles, and had decided for the Authorized Version. He must have been acquainted with this version long before 1635 in order to have memorized such large portions of it, and on this ground, taken in conjunction with the information presented in Chapter I on his religious views, it can be assumed that he was using it as early as from 1620 to 1625. It was, after all, the Bible that had the sanction of the Monarchy and the Established Church, and Quarles, feeling as he did about these two institutions, would have not hesitated to turn to the Authorized Version when it appeared.

The Bible, and moreover, as we have seen, the Authorized Version, supplied the inspiration, or at least the source, for practically all of Quarles' poetry; and, as I have already shown, in working with the Bible and turning it into poetry he was conforming to an established practice. For his first paraphrase he chose the book of Jonah, a history, which was followed by four other historical books of the Old Testament: Esther (1621), Job (1624), the story of Samson from

Judges (1631), and Ecclesiastes (1645). These works comprise a unit not only by the nature of their subject but also in the way in which Quarles handles them; therefore, from the viewpoint of his literary practice, it is best to treat them as such.

One of the primary differences between Quarles and other poets who chose to paraphrase parts of the Bible is his extreme didacticism. Nowhere does he forget that he is a teacher, and that it is through the paraphrases that he will preach his sermons. A brief survey of each of these biblical histories will show what lessons Quarles would have had his readers receive. The very title he gives to Jonah, A Feast for Wormes, has his central theme: the feast is that feast of mercy which lowly man, as compared to God, receives from his just and merciful God. The title is not in good taste today, but it is one which, judging by those of other contemporary works, would not have been offensive to Quarles' readers. Hadassa: or the History of Queene Ester has as its primary aim, although there are others outlined in the preface, the expression of the theory of Divine Right of Kings, and this is underlined by the dedication of the

work to James I. Job Militant teaches the proper behaviour of the Christian man in prosperity, adversity, temptation, slander and re-advancement. The Historie of Samson is a lesson in friendship and in the mortality of man, and Solomons Recantation (Ecclesiastes), with its emphasis on the vanity of the world, was, according to the title page, thought "very seasonable and usefull for these times." Quarles is not content to let the paraphrase speak for itself, and in all these works he has interspersed "meditations" which are as long as the narrative itself. Indeed, not only did he do this, but in two works, A Feast for Wormes and Job Militant, he adds what is called "the generall use of the history" and "the digestion of the whole history." In the other historical paraphrases these last two devices are absent, but even so the reader of the meditations still has all the proper lessons taught to him.

Unlike Sandys in his Divine Poems, Drayton in his biblical paraphrases, and other paraphrasers, Quarles did not remain close to his text. It takes him 1784 lines to get through the four short chapters of Jonah, and the expansion of the story of Samson is even greater.

It is true that about half of each work is given over to the meditations, but even taking that into consideration the expansion of the original is still considerable. To effect such an expansion of his material, Quarles uses primarily long speeches, interpretations, long similes, and passages of descriptive action. The speeches are the favourite device, and they gave Quarles a chance to make the work dramatic. But he tended to overwork the device, an example being the first speech of God to Jonah in A Feast for Wormes. Here Quarles expands the nineteen word speech of God, as recorded in Jonah, to forty-one pentameter couplets. God bids Jonah to go to Nineveh, specifies the order of his dress, tells him why his journey is necessary and why he is not sending him to other places, and goes on almost interminably with other details. Even Quarles seems to feel that he has overstepped himself, for he injects a brief apology after the speech: "It was my morning Muse; A Muse whose spirit/ Transcends (I feare) the fortunes of her merit."¹ Probably many of his readers took this statement casually, but many since his day would agree all too readily and forbear to hear his

¹"The Authors Apologie," following immediately Sec. 1, (II:10).

request: "Beare with her; Time and Fortune may requite/
Your patient sufferance, with a fairer flight."¹

This partiality for speeches may well reflect Quarles' training in rhetoric, as indeed, his whole interest in poetry may spring from his schoolboy exercises in the making of verse. The use of speeches could also reflect an interest in the theatre, but I do not think one has to hunt for esoteric reasons. It is apparent that if one is going to turn Jonah or the story of Samson into verse the material has to be expanded, especially if it is to make a book that will sell (and that too must have been an interest of Quarles), and one way to expand it is by putting words into the characters' mouths. This may be done with the skill of an artist as in Milton's *Samson Agonistes* or it may be done by Quarles.²

¹"The Authors Apologie," (II:10).

²It is of interest to note that George W. Whiting in his *Milton's Literary Milieu* (Univ. of North Carolina, 1939) has argued on the basis of some parallels for Milton's indebtedness in *Samson Agonistes* (1671) to Quarles' *The Historie of Samson* (1631). (Cf. Ch. VIII, pp. 251-64.) It would indeed be a tribute to Quarles if Milton had been influenced by his work, but it appears that Mr. Whiting is too anxious to find parallels. Even after presenting his case, he admits: "It is true that all the points here compared are implied in the brief Scriptural account." (p.264). One can safely conclude with James H. Hanford that "there is no convincing evidence that he [Milton] made any extensive use of other literary treatments of the theme." (*A Milton Handbook*, 4th ed., New York, 1946, p. 270.)

The speeches may be primarily for dramatic and narrative force, but in the expansions which involve interpretation, Quarles is primarily the biblical scholar. In his invocation to Hadassa he prays to God for aid:

Thou great Director of the hearts of men,
From whence I propagate whate'r is mine,
Still my disquiet thoughts, Direct my Pen
No more mine owne, if thou adopt it thine:
Oh, be thy Spirit All in All to me,
That will implore no ayde, no Muse, but thee.¹

But even if Quarles did believe that God directed his pen, he did not hesitate to seek much of the material contained in his paraphrases elsewhere. In his preface to Hadassa he explains: "I was not the least carefell [sic], to use the light of the best Expositors not daring to go un-led, for feare of stumbling."² And in the same preface he reveals his familiarity with the scholastic method of interpreting Scripture, where everything in the text

¹"To the Highest," (II:46).

²"A Preface to the Reader," (II:42).

admitted of further interpretation.¹

Quarles explained these further interpretations of his work to his readers:

In it, Theologie sits as Queene, attended by her handmaid Philosophy; both concurring, to make the understanding Reader a good Divine, and a wise Moralist.

As for the Divinity; it discovers the Almighty in his two great Attributes; in his Mercy, delivering his Church; in his Iustice, confounding her enemies.

As for the Morality; it offers to us the whole practicke part of Philosophy, dealt out into Ethicks, Politicks, and Oeconomicks.

And after explaining the lessons in "Ethicks, Politicks, and Oeconomicks," Quarles concludes:

Furthermore, in this history, the two principall faculties of the soule are (nor in vaine) imployed.

First, the Intellect, whose proper object is Truth. Secondly, the Will, whose proper object is good....²

¹Cf. Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background, Chapter IV, "On Scriptural Interpretation," p. 57 ff; and F. W. Farrar, History of Scriptural Interpretation (1886).

²Hadassa, "A Preface to the Reader," (II:42).

Quarles certainly knew those "best Expositors" of the Scripture. His first authority is the Bible itself, and his paraphrases have liberal sprinklings of biblical text cited in the glosses. But the commentators and "ancient Writers" are cited frequently as support for his statements. A case in which he presents an array of these is in the preface to Job Militant. There he discusses the identity of Job:

Who this Iob was, and from what stock descended, it shall appeare by the consent of the most famous and ancient Writers, who absolutely derive him from the Loynes of Esau: Of which opinion is Origen in Epist. ad Iulium Affricanum. Saint Augustine 18. de Civit. Dei, 47. Saint Chrysostome, Concione, 2. de Lazaro. Saint Gregorie in praefat. and many more, besides the Septuagints, who in these words (Post Balac autem Iobab qui vocatur Iob) conclude, that Iob is but the contraction of Iobab, which Iobab is of the Lineage of Esau, as appeares in his Genealogie.¹

A good instance of Quarles' interpretative expansion of a text is the treatment of Jonah I:1, which reads:

Now the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the son of Amittai, saying,...

¹"A Preface to the Reader," II:71. (The preface was not included in Divine Poemes (1630). The quotation is from the first edition of Job Militant.)

Quarles' expansion is as follows:

Th' Eternall Word of God, whose high Decree
 Admits no change, and cannot frustrate be,
 Came downe to Ionah, from the heavens above,
 Came downe to Jonah, heavens anointed Dove;
Ionah, the flowre of old Amittai's youth,
Jonah, the Prophet, Sonne, and Heire to Truth,
 The blessed Type of him, that ransom'd us,
 That Word came to him, and bespake him thus:¹

The interpretation of Jonah as a type of Christ is the usual one that started with St. Matthew, who reports that Christ likened himself to that prophet (Matthew XII:39-41). In the Sions Sonets, as we have seen, the usual allegory of the Song of Solomon is followed, and in Sions Elegies the lamentation of Jeremiah over Jerusalem is the obvious parallel with Christ's weeping over the same city, "the holy City of GOD" and the "Type of the Catholike Church."²

For an example of more specific interpretation, there is the question of the behaviour of God when he threatened to destroy Nineveh. The people of Nineveh, on hearing Jonah's prophecy of their destruction, repent

¹A Feast for Wormes, Sec. 1, (II:9).

²Sions Elegies, "To the Reader," (II:103).

of their evil way. God's reaction to this repentance is given as follows:

And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not. (Jonah III:10).

The question of how God could repent became a great theological point, and Quarles does not shy away from it:

But stay; Is God like one of us? Can he,
When he hath said it, alter his Decree?
.....
How comes this alteration then, that He
Thus limiting th' effect of his Decree
Upon the expiring date of fortie dayes,
He then performes it not?
.....
A change in man's infirme; in God 'tis strange;
In God, to change his Will, and will a Change,
Are divers things: When He repents from ill,
He wills a change; he changes not his Will;
The subject's chang'd, which secret was to us
But not the mind, that did dispose it thus;
Denounced Iudgement God doth oft prevent,
But neither changes counsell, nor intent.¹

And just to prove that this is not specious reasoning Quarles even produces his gloss from Aquinas:

¹A Feast for Wormes, Meditat. 8, (II:19).

Aliud mutare voluntatem; aliud velle mutationem. Aquin. 1. Quaest 19, art. 7.¹

Not going unled, Quarles felt himself on sure ground in the interpretative passages of his paraphrases, and around the "original spool of truth is carefully wound...dull verse."²

Another device which Quarles uses for the expansion of his material is the simile. His similes are usually quite long and they serve either to bring some aspect of the narrative into sharper focus, or else to give purely decorative or sensuous effects. There are examples of both uses in Hadassa. When the Jews realize that through Esther they have been spared a massacre plotted by Haman, Quarles injects in the narrative this simile:

Like as a prisner muffled at the tree,
Whose life's remov'd from death scarce one degree
His last pray'r said, and hearts confession made,
(His eyes possessing deaths eternall shade)
At last (unlook'd for) comes a slow Reprieve,
And makes him (even as dead) once more alive:
Amaz'd, he rends deaths muffler from his eyes,
And (over-joy'd) knowes not he lives, or dyes;
So joy'd the Iewes, whose lives, this new Decree
Had quit from death and danger, and set free
Their gasping soules.....²

¹A Feast for Wormes, Meditat. 8, (II;19). The gloss is from the first edition.

²D. C. Allen, Legend of Noah....., p. 176.

³Hadassa, Sect. 16, (II:63). In line five of the quotation the parenthesis is not closed after "for" in the text.

As a purely decorative simile, the following one on Asuerus' choice of Esther from the large group of candidates presented to him is interesting not only in itself but also for the fact that it is used by a poet usually associated with a concern only for the grim mortality for man:

As when a Lady (walking Flora's Bowre)
 Picks here a Pinke, and there a Gilly-flowre,
 Now plucks a Vi'let from her purple bed,
 And then a Primerose, (the yeers maiden-head)
 There, nips the Bryer; here, the Lovers Pauncy,
 Shifting her dainty pleasures, with her Fancy,
 This, on her arme; and that, she lifts to weare
 Upon the borders of her curious haire,
 At length, a Rose-bud (passing all the rest)
 She plucks, and bosomes in her Lilly brest:
 So when Assuerus (tickled with delight)
 Perceiv'd the beauties of those virgins bright,
 He lik't them all, but when with strict revye,
 He viewed Esters face, his wounded eye
 Sparkl'd, whilst Cupid with his youthfull Dart,
 Transfixt the Center of his feeble heart.¹

The biblical text on which this passage is based reads:
 "And the king loved Ester above all the women, and she
 obtained grace and favour in his sight more then all the
 virgins." (Esther II:17).

The similes used by Quarles in the paraphrases do
 not cover a wide range of subjects. They deal with

¹Hadassa, Sect. 6, (II:52).

hawking, archery, the truant schoolboy, the nursing of children, the hatching of eggs, and with bees. They are drawn primarily from aspects of common life, and even to the simplest reader they would have presented none of the difficulties which would have arisen over the more complex conceits of the metaphysical school. It is only once that Quarles goes to the field of science for a subject, and then he uses the telescope:

The man, that with a sharpe contracted eye,
 Lookes in a cleare Perspective-Glasse, doth spie
 Objects remote, which to the sense appeare
 (Through helpe of the Perspective) seeming neer.
 So they that liv'd within the Lawes Dominion,
 Did heare farre off, a bruit and buzz'd Opinion,
 A Saviour (one day) should be borne; but he
 That had a Perspective of Faith, might see
 That long-expected day of joy as cleere,
 As if the Triumph had been then kept there.¹

By 1631 when Quarles published this in Job Militant the telescope had ceased being a novelty.²

Such similes as Quarles used were designed to give added interest to his paraphrase, and the fact that the subjects were drawn from scenes of common life probably

¹Job Militant, Meditat. 12, (II:87).

²Cf. Marjorie Nicolson, "The Telescope and Imagination," MP XXXII (1935), pp. 233-60.

pleased the larger part of his readers.

Finally, Quarles seizes on any action which occurs in his history and emphasizes it. The tempest in Jonah, for example, is described as follows:

The aire grew damp and cold,
And strong mouth'd Boreas could no longer hold:
Eolus lets loose his uncontroled breath,
Whose language threatens nothing under death:
The Rudder failes, The ship's at random driven;
The eye no object ownes, but Sea and Heaven:
The Welkin stormes, and rages more and more,
The raine powres down; the heavens begin to rore
As they would split the massie Globe in sunder,
From those that live above, to those live under;
The Pilot's frighted; knowes not what to doe,
His Art's amaz'd, in such a maze of woe;
Faces grow sad: Prayers and complaints are rife,
Each one's become an Orator for life:
The windes above, the waters underneath,
Ioyne in rebellion, and conspire death.¹

Another good example is in The Historie of Samson.

Samson prepares the foxes which will burn the corn of the Philistines:

He joynes and couples taile, and taile together,
And every thonge bounde in a Brand of Fire,
So made by Art, that motion would inspire
Continuall flames, and, as the motion ceast,
The thrifty blaze would then retire and rest
In the close Brand, untill a second strife
Gave it new motion; and that motion, life:
Soone as these coupled Messengers receiv'd

¹A Feast for Wormes, Sect. 2, (II:11).

Their fiery Errand, though they were bereiv'd
 Of power to make great hast, they made good speed;
 Their thoughts were differing, though their tailes agreed:
 T' one drags and drawes to th' East; the other, West;
 One fit, they run; another while they rest;
 T' one skulks and snarles, the t'other tugges and hales;
 At length, both flee, with fier in their tailes,
 And in the top and height of all their speed,
 T' one stops, before the tother be agreed;
 The other pulls, and drags his fellow backe,
 Whilst both their tailes were tortur'd on the racke;
 At last, both weary of their warme Embassage,
 Their better ease discrie a fairer passage,
 And time hath taught their wiser thoughts to joyne
 More close, and travell in a straighter line:
 Into the open Champion they divide
 Their stragglng paces (where the ploughman's pride
 Found a faire Object, in his rip'ned Corne;
 Whereof, some part was reapt; some, stood unshorne)
 Sometimes, the fiery travellers would seeke
 Protection beneath a swelling Reeke;
 But soone that harbour grew too hot for stae,
 Affording onely light, to run away;
 Sometimes, the full-ear'd standing-wheat must cover
 And hide their shames; &, there the flames would hover
 About their eares, and send them to enquire
 A cooler place; but, there, the flaming fire
 Would scorch their hides, and send them sing'd away;
 Thus, doubtfull where to goe, or where to stay,
 They range about; Flee forward; then retire,
 Now here, now there; Where ere they come, they fire.¹

History expanded in these ways was the first concern of
 Quarles in his paraphrases, and he seems to have had no
 interest in the various histories he chose as subjects for
 epic treatment. He had not followed Du Bartas, whose
 expressed ambition in his La Judith was to create a

¹The Historie of Samson, Sect. 15, (II:155).

Christian epic:

I have not so much aimed to follow the phrase or text of the byble, as I have preased (without wandering from the veritie of the Historie) to imitate Homer in his Iliades, and Virgill in his AENEIDOS, and others who hath left to us workes of such like matter.¹

Also before Quarles Drayton, in his Moysees in a Map of his Miracles (1604), had given the impression that he was interested in writing an epic, and he even cites La Judith as one of those works "that have accompanied us in this kinde."² However in Drayton's work one looks in vain for those epic qualities used by Du Bartas: the beginning in medias res, the recapitulated history, the extensive catalogues, the seiges and battles. In the same way the work of other English biblical paraphrasers is devoid of epic pretensions or aspirations. In his Dauides (1656) Cowley considered that in writing a divine epic in English he was in "untrodden paths to Sacred Fame,"³ and in

¹History of Judith, trans. Thomas Hudson (1584), (ed. James Craigie, 1941), p. 8.

²Works, ed. cit., V:227.

³Poems (1656), Sig. Aaaa₂^v.

his note to the line he said:

I hope this kind of boast...will not seem immodest; for though some in other Languages have attempted the writing a Divine Poem; yet none, that I know of, hath in English.¹

Cowley knew the work of Quarles--he did not think much of it--and it is clear that he did not think of it as having any claims to be epic. Indeed Quarles himself nowhere indicates that he is even interested in the epic form.

One of the most important features of Quarles' historical paraphrases, as I have already mentioned, is the interspersed meditations. The form the histories take shows that Quarles is not primarily interested in the narrative as such. The organization of Job Militant will serve as an illustration:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| The Argument: | A brief summary of the action of the first section. (4 lines.) |
| Section 1: | A paraphrase of Job I:1-6, dealing with the wealth of Job. (62 lines.) |
| Meditation 1: | A discourse on poverty and wealth, ending with a brief prayer. (48 lines.) |
| The Argument: | A summary of the following section. (4 lines.) |
| Section 2: | A paraphrase of Job I:6-12, on the dialogue between God and Satan concerning Job. |

¹Poems, ed. cit., Sig. Cccc₄^v.

Meditation 2: A discourse on prayer, the relation of God and Satan, and God's relation to man. The meditation ends with a brief prayer. (46 lines.)¹

And in this manner the history goes on to its final meditation. The meditations, as Quarles said, are "obvious to the history," and he would have his readers take both as a unit.² He realized that such an organization, the interruption of the history for the meditation, might injure the unity of the narrative,³ but this did not hinder him from persisting in it throughout all the histories. The form is a deliberate choice, and the continued use and the length of the meditations indicate the importance they had in Quarles' mind. There is no suggestion of the epic in this organization. In fact the intention of Quarles is similar to that of the writers of prose meditations.⁴

Two other books which Quarles chose for paraphrase

¹(I:73-4.)

²A Feast for Wormes, "To the Reader," II:5.

³Hadassa, "A Preface to the Reader," II:42.

⁴For a study of devotional literature in prose see Helen C. White's English Devotional Literature (Prose), 1600-1640 (University of Wisconsin, 1931). The Oxford Press has announced that it will publish soon L.L. Martz's The Poetry of Meditation.

are Lamentations and Song of Solomon, and, departing from his method in the histories, he places each, at least by name, in a literary tradition: Lamentations, Sions Elegies, in the elegiac, and Song of Solomon, Sions Sonets, in the sonnet. In his "To the Reader" of Sions Elegies he discusses the elegiac tradition, stating its art and method. Citing Cicero as his authority, he says that elegies should be "short and concise, as being most naturall to so lamentable a subject." Further the elegy is not bound "to any ordinarie set forme."¹ If we take these two cardinal points and judge Quarles' work by them the result is quite interesting.

Quarles devotes a twelve line stanza to each of the twenty-two verses of chapters one, two, and four of Lamentations. In chapter three, the only chapter that has over twenty-two verses, he reduces the sixty-six verses into twenty-two elegies.

The first verse of chapter one of Lamentations reads:

How doth the city sit solitary, that was full
of people! how is she become as a widow! she
that was great among the nations, and princes
among the provinces, how is she become tributary.

Quarles' paraphrase is as follows:

¹(I:103)

Ah griefe of Times! Ah, sable times of Griefe,
 Whose torments find a voice, but no reliefe;
 Are these the buildings? these the towers & state,
 That all th' amazed Earth stood wondring at?
 Is this that Citie, whose eternall Glorie,
 Could find no period, for her endlesse storie?
 And is she come to this? Her Buildings raz'd?
 Her Towers burnt? Her Glory thus defac'd?
 O sudden Change! O world of Alterations!
 Shee, she that was the Prince, the Queen of Nations
 See, how she lyes, of all strength, of all, bereiv'd,
 Now paying Tribute, which she once receiv'd.¹

By comparison with some of the expansions in the histories
 this elegy may be classed as concise; but in comparison
 with the original it certainly cannot be commended for brevity.

As for the second point, that the elegy is not bound
 to a set form, Quarles is not consistent with his own
 principle. All of the elegies are in six pentameter couplets,
 and further, as he went on to say in his preface, the
 elegies are arranged in alphabetical sequence by reference
 to the letter with which the first line of each begins.
 In his elegies written on the death of friends Quarles
 is more consistent with these two principles, but in this
 paraphrase he observes neither.

But if he cannot be commended here for consistency
 with his own principles, he can at least be praised for

¹Sions Elegies, Threnodia I, El. 1, (II:105).

being less didactic. He lets the work stand on its own merit without explanatory glosses or meditations on themes suggested by the material.

The paraphrase of Song of Solomon, as the title Sions Sonets suggests, may be classed as being in the genre of the Renaissance sonnet sequence, and among numerous contemporary paraphrases of that work Quarles' is apparently the only one which has that form. Actually, Quarles uses the term loosely, for each of his sonnets is composed of a varying number of stanzas of four pentameter couplets.

As in Sions Elegies Quarles leaves out his own meditations and adheres more closely to his text. However, in Sions Sonets he is careful both to explain its mystical meaning in a preface, and to point out the allegory in his glosses. It would not be rash to expect Quarles to interfere with his material and try to purge the vocabulary of its secular love terms. There is none of that. On the contrary there is a heightening of the sensuousness in his paraphrase. Certainly in spite of the glosses Bishop Hall, who so condemned the style of Southwell,¹ would extend that condemnation to

¹Supra, p. 37.

Quarles' poem.

In Chapter IV:12 of the Song of Solomon the "Bridegroom" describes his "Bride":

A Garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse;
a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.

Quarles' expansion illustrates well the nature of his paraphrase:

My Love is like a Garden, full of flowres,
Whose sunny banks, & choice of shady bowres
Give change of pleasures, pleasures wall'd about
With armed Angels, to keep Ruine out;
And from her brests (enclosed from the ill
Of looser eyes) pure Crystall drops distill,
The fruitfull sweetnesse of whose gentle showres
Inrich her flowres with beautie' [sic], & banks with
[flowres].

One may rightly smile on finding from the gloss that the "brests" are the two Testaments and that the "Crystall drops" are celestial comforts. This passage, as well as several others, insofar as eroticism is concerned, could well be coupled, without glosses, with Lovelace's "To Amarantha, that she should dishevel her hair" or any of a number of the Cavalier love lyrics. But one cannot point an accusing finger at Quarles, for seventeenth

¹Sions Sonets, Sonnet XII, no. 12, (II:127).

century religious poetry is by no means devoid of eroticism. The religious poems of Crashaw illustrate the extremes which such imagery could reach.

The last work of Quarles that may be classed as biblical paraphrase is the Emblemes. It has received more attention than anything else which Quarles wrote, and judging from the number of its editions,¹ it has been his most popular work. Probably because of its popularity on publication, Quarles composed Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man (1638), which is in the same style and may be considered as a sixth book of the Emblemes.

Quarles' appropriation of the emblems of Hugo's Pia Desideria (1624) has been recognized since Edmund Arwaker published his own translation, Pia Desiderie: or, Divine Addresses, in 1686. Mr. Praz and Mr. Haight discovered independently and at about the same time that emblems from the anonymous Typus Mundi (1627) were also used by Quarles.² It has been recognized that Quarles' poems

¹G. S. Haight, "The Publication of Quarles' Emblemes," The Library, 4th Series, XV (1934), pp. 97-109.

²Haight, "The Sources of Quarles' Emblemes," The Library, 4th Series, XVI (1935), pp. 189-209.

M. Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, (2 vols., 1939, 1947), I:146.

are not translations but are his own creation. Edmund Arwaker stated in his preface to his translation that "Quarles only borrowed his [Hugo's] Emblems to prefix them to much inferiour sense."¹ Miss Freeman has observed that "such likenesses as exist between his [Quarles'] verse and the Latin of the originals are chiefly limited to the inevitable parallels which must arise from the use of identical engravings and mottoes."² One thing, however, has been overlooked and that is the relation of the Emblemes to the rest of Quarles' work, particularly to the biblical paraphrases. It appears that those who have written on Quarles have been so concerned with the Emblemes that the biblical paraphrases which preceded that work and which prepared Quarles in the school of poetry have not been properly considered.

In the works preceding the Emblemes there are indications of an interest in emblem literature as may be seen as early as 1629 in Argalus and Parthenia.³ After the introduction

¹Arwaker, Pia Desideria: or, Divine Addresses,

²Freeman, English Emblem Books, p. 118.

³Ibid., p. 130.

and description of Demagoras, for example, he refers to his as "the Hieroglyphick of all ill."¹ In Divine Fancies Quarles actually writes a poem in the emblem style, although there is no accompanying picture:

Observe this Organ: Marke but how it goes;
 'Tis not the hand of him alone, that blowes
 The unseene Bellowes; nor the Hand that playes
 Upon th'apparent note-dividing Kayes,
 That makes these wel-composed Ayres appeare
 Before the high Tribunall of thine eare:
 They both concurre: Ech acts his severall part:
 Th' one gives it Breath; the other lends it Art.
Man is this Organ: To whose every action
 Heav'n gives a Breath (a Breath without coaction)
 Without which Blast we cannot act at all;
 Without which Breath, the Universe must fall
 To the first Nothing it was made of: seeing
 In Him we live, we move, we have out Being:
 Thus fill'd with his Diviner Breath, and back't
 With his first powre we touch the Kayes and act:
 He blowes the Bellowes: As we thrive in skill,
 Our Actions prove like Musicke, Good or Ill.²

This interest in emblems and their use in literature are characteristics which Quarles shared with his contemporaries, and all the credit for the idea of the Emblemes should not go to Benlowes. It is undeniable that Benlowes was connected with the Emblemes,³ but it is much more

¹Argalus and Parthenia, p. 5.

²Divine Fancies, Bk. I, no. 1.

³For the relation of Benlowes with Quarles see Harold Jenkins' Edward Benlowes (1952), pp. 67 ff.

likely that the two poets shared a common interest and that Benlowes was the more enthusiastic of the two. The most marked relation of Quarles' work with the emblem convention lies in his influence on it. Miss Freeman has said of Quarles and his followers:

They were using a new set of conventions and they were using them in a new way. Links with the decorative arts are no longer to be found; instead there is much greater concentration upon the poems accompanying the pictures, and for the first time the emblem book begins to lay claim to some serious consideration of its merits as literature.¹

This greater concentration on the poem is but a culmination of the art and method found in Quarles' biblical paraphrases. In these, as we have seen, he divides his narrative into sections and between each section he has a long meditation. It is these meditations which are the direct antecedents of the emblem poems. The paraphrased sections stand in a relation to the meditation similar to the relation of the emblem picture to its accompanying poem. As an example we may take section seven from The Historie of Samson (1631), which immediately preceded the Emblemes (1635). The part of the history dealt with is best summarized in Quarles' own "argument" which precedes the

¹Freeman, op. cit., p. 114.

section:

Samson at Timnah falls in love
 And fancies a Philistian maide:
 He moves his parents: They reprove
 His sinfull choice: dislike, diswade.

The paraphrased section suggests to the poet a theme for his meditation, and that theme is given in the first line: "Love is a noble passion of the heart." The emblem picture by the very nature of its medium as contrasted with the poetic paraphrase, is more concentrated on its general subject, and the theme which it suggests to the poet is more related to the emblem as a whole than is the relation of the meditation to the theme chosen from it. But even so the emblem and the paraphrased section serve basically the same function. The theme suggested by the emblem is expressed in a biblical verse, and the poems based on it may be considered essentially as biblical paraphrases. For example Emblem 10, Book V, represents Soul in a cage outside which Love is kneeling preparatory to unlocking the door. In the background a birdcage, hanging on the limb of a tree, has its door open, and the liberated bird is in flight. The theme is expressed in Psalms CXLII:vii: "Bring my soule out of prison, that I may praise thy name."

In the development of these themes, in the meditations as in the emblems, Quarles' intention is essentially the same, the definition of ideas. In the meditation he is concerned with love, its nature and its characteristics, and in the emblem it is the Soul. Both poems are given in their entirety. The meditation from The Historie of Samson is first:

Love is a noble passion of the heart;
 That, with it very essence doth impart
 All needfull Circumstances, and effects
 Unto the chosen party it affects;
 In absence, it enioies; and with an eye
 Fill'd with celestiall fier, doth espy
 Objects remote: It joyes, and smiles in grieffe;
 It sweetens poverty; It brings reliefe;
 It gives the Feeble, strength; the Coward, spirit;
 The sicke man, health; the undeserving, merit;
 It makes the proudman, humble; and the stout
 It overcomes; and treads him under foote;
 It makes the mighty man of war to droope;
 And him, to serve, that never, yet, could stoope;
 It is a Fire whose Bellowes are the breath
 Of heaven above, and kindled here beneath:
 Tis not the power of a mans election
 To love; He loves not by his own direction;
 It is nor beauty, nor benigne aspect
 That alwayes moves the Lover, to affect;
 These are but meanes; Heavens pleasure is the cause;
 Love is not bound to reason, and her Lawes
 Are not subjected to the imperious will
 Of man: It lies not in the power to nill:
 How is this Love abus'd! That's onely made
 A snare for wealth, or to set up a trade;
 T'enrich a great mans Table, or to pay
 A desperate debt; or meerely to allay
 A base and wanton lust; which done, no doubt,
 The love is ended, and her fier out:
 No; he that loves for pleasure, or for pelfe,
 Loves trully, none; and, falsely, but himselfe:

The pleasure past, the wealth consum'd and gone,
 Love hath no subject now to worke upon:
 The props being falne, that did support the rooffe,
 Nothing but Rubbish, and neglected Stuffe,
 Like a wilde Chaos of Confusion, lies
 Presenting uselesse ruines to our eyes:
 The Dyle that does maintaine loves sacred fire,
 Is vertu mixt with a mutuall desire
 Of sweet society, begunne and bred
 I' the soule; nor ended in the mariage bed:
 This is that dew of Hermon, that does fill
 The soule with sweetnesse, watring Sions hill;
 This is that holy fire, that burnes and lasts,
 Till quencht by death; The other are but blasts,
 That faintly blaze like Oyle forsaken snuffes,
 Which every breath of discontent puffs
 And quite extinguishes; and leaves us nothing
 But an offensive subject of our loathing.

The second is the emblem poem:

My Soule is like a Bird; my Flesh, the Cage;
 Wherein, she weares her weary Pilgrimage
 Of houres as few as evill, daily fed
 With sacred Wine, and Sacramental Bread;
 The keyes that locks her in, and lets her out,
 Are Birth, and Death; 'twixt both, she hopps about
 From perch to perch; from Sense to Reason; then,
 From higher Reason, downe to Sense agen:
 From Sense she climbs to Faith; where, for a season,
 She sits and sings; then, downe againe to Reason;
 From Reason, back to Faith; and straight, from thence
 She rudely flutters to the perch of Sense;
 From Sense, to Hope; then hopps from Hope to Doubt;
 From Doubt, to dull Despaire; there, seeks about
 For desp'rate Freedome; and at ev'ry Gate,
 She wildly thrusts, and begs th' untimely date
 Of unexpired thraldome, to release
 Th' afflicted Captive, that can find no peace:
 Thus am I coop'd within this fleshly Cage,
 I weare my youth, and wast my weary Age,
 Spending that breath which was ordain'd to chaunt
 Heav'ns praises forth, in sighs and sad complaint:
 Whilst happier birds can spread their nimble wing
 From Shrubs to Cedars, and there chirp and sing,
 In choice of raptures, the harmonious story

Of mans Redemption and his Makers Glory:
 You glorious Martyrs; you illustrious Troopes,
 That once were cloyster'd in your fleshly Coopes,
 As fast as I, what Reth'rick had your tongues?
 What dextrous Art had your Elegiak Songs?
 What Paul-like pow'r had your admir'd devotion?
 What shackle-breaking Faith infus'd such motion
 To your strong Pray'rs, that could obtaine the boone
 To be inlarg'd, to be uncag'd so soone?
 When I (poore I) can sing my daily teares,
 Frowne old in Bondage, and can find no eares:
 You great partakers of eternall Glory,
 That with your heav'n-prevailing Oratory,
 Releas'd your soules from your terrestriall Cage,
 Permit the passion of my holy Rage
 To recommend my sorrowes (dearely knowne
 To you, in dayes of old; and, once, your owne)
 To your best thoughts, (but oh 't does not befit ye
 To moove our pray'rs; you love and joy; not pitie;
 Great LORD of Soules, to whom should prisners flie,
 But Thee? Thou hadst thy Cage, as well as I:
 And, for my sake, thy pleasure was to know
 The sorrowes that it brought, and felst them too
 O set me free, and I will spend those dayes,
 Which now I wast in begging, in thy praise.

Here in the Emblemes we see the same method of development used as in the meditation. In his definition of Love, in the ~~one~~, and the Soul in the other, the theme is expanded by antithesis, accumulation of ideas, multiple associations, and contrast.

Further in regard to the form of the Emblemes, Mr. Praz has said that Quarles has taken from Typus Mundi "the suggestion of making an epigram follow the longer poem which accompanies each emblem."¹ The immediate suggestion for

¹Praz, op. cit., I:146.

the use of epigrams in the Emblemes is undoubtedly the epigrams of that work, but again Quarles' poetic works show a bias for the epigram and particularly is this ~~true~~ true in Divine Fancies, which has as a subtitle "Digested into Epigrammes, Meditations, and Observations." But the epigrams of the Emblemes have more affinity with the epigrammatic couplets which frequently close the meditations in the divine poems. The purpose of the epigram in the Emblemes is to give a concise, pointed, and ingenious turn to the theme of the emblem poem which it accompanies. For example the epigram which accompanies Emblem, 10, Bk, V, quoted above, is as follows:

Pauls Midnight voice prevail'd; his musicks thunder
 Unhing'd the prison doores; split bolts in sunder:
 And sitst thou here? and hang'st the feeble wing?
 And whin'st to be enlarg'd? Soule, learne to sing!

It is true that all the meditations do not end with an epigrammatic couplet, Meditation 7 of the Historie quoted above for example; however the frequency with which they do indicates Quarles conscious interest in this feature of his work. In Hadassa, Med. 19, for example, which is on the "Laws of God" and the execution of them through the Prince, Quarles ends the meditation with this

epigrammatic couplet,

To breake a lawfull Princes just Command,
Is brokage of a sinne, at second hand.

And again in Med. 7, Job Militant, Quarles discusses the character of friendship. The epigrammatic couplet which closes the meditation is,

Heaven be my comfort; In my highest grieffe,
I will not trust to mans, but thy reliefe.

And finally there are occasional epigrams of two or more couplets. In Med. 11, The Historie of Samson, Quarles closes the discourse on the frailty of man with these lines:

Lord: clarifie mine eyes, that I may know
Things that are good, from what are good in show:
And give me wisdome, that my heart may learne
The difference of thy favours, and discerne
What's truly good from what is good, in part;
With Martha's trouble, give me Maries heart.

Quarles, as was said earlier, may have derived the idea of the epigram accompanying the emblem poems from Typus Mundi, but it is clear that his interest in the epigram as a part of his poetry extends throughout his earlier work.

Thus we see that Quarles actually brought to the emblem tradition practices which he had already developed in poetry. His Emblemes may be classified along with his biblical paraphrases, differing only in that the emblem poems are much more elaborate extensions of one or two biblical verses. It was in bringing his own practices to the emblem tradition in England that Quarles gave new life to that tradition and created the one English Emblem book which is most widely remembered today.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRACTICE IN INVOCATIONS

The muses present a special problem in their relation to religious poetry. From the earliest times there had been associations of sacredness with poets and their poetry, and also with the muses, who sat under the throne of Júpiter. With the increasing concern for religious poetry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was bound to be some interest shown in a muse appropriate to it. The Christian system provided a ready solution to this problem in the form of the Holy Spirit, which might have been expected to take over all the attributes of the muse of the poets; but, as in the case of the rest of the mythological lore, the Renaissance poet was not so willing to give up a part of his heritage.

In the sixteenth century all the muses became in some degree Christianized. They are the "sacred sisters," and as early as 1565 each of the nine was renamed, the new names, as I shall show later, being those of Christian virtues.¹ Although their genealogy was not forgotten, being still remembered as Jupiter's daughters, God had "given wings to the Muses, that they might soare

¹John Hall, The Courte of Vertu , Sig. B₁^v.

on high in heavenly raptures."¹ Of the nine, only Urania, the classical muse of Astronomy, came close to a complete transformation as the special muse of Christian religious poetry.

Miss Lily B. Campbell has written on the position of Urania in Renaissance religious poetry, but she was too ready to present Urania as the enunciator of the creed of religious poetry and as the organizer of religious poets into a school.² This is not an accurate picture, as an examination of the practice of the religious poets in England will reveal.

The invocation was not freely used in the early religious/poetry; however, as early as 1565 John Hall prefaced his The Courte of Vertu with an extremely long poem which in many ways anticipates the later La Muse Chretienne of Du Bartas. In the prologue Hall tells how, laden with sorrow, he went "abrode the tyme to passe," calling on the muses to release his soul:

¹Alexander Ross, Mystagogus Poeticus (1647), p.171.

²"The Christian Muse," The Huntington Library Bulletin, Number 8 (1935), pp. 29-70.

The Muses nyne I meane whiche teache,
 And Christen poets illuminate
 Whether with pen or mouth they preache,
 In vertuous and moste godly rate:
 Of grace and knowledge they the gate
 Doe open in most gentle wyse,
 To all that goodnes exercise.¹

He then names the muses by Christian virtues:

The fyrste of these is vertue fayre,
 Whiche some men doe Arete call.
 The seconde faith whiche doth repayre,
 To saving health as principall.
 The third place lady hope have shall.
 The fourth is love: and wysdome fyve,
 Whiche doe with grace ryght well revyve.

Dame temperance the sixth muse is.
 The seventh is dame pacience.
 The eight a lady full of blis,
 Is constancie in good pretence.
 The nynthe of good experience,
 Is mekenes, or humilitie,
 The purchasers of Gods mercie.²

The poet then falls asleep. Lady Virtue comes to him and in a long exhortation laments the state to which poetry has fallen. She bids the poet to compile a Christian work to counteract the Court of Venus. In this work Virtue and her sisters, having been sent by

¹Sig. B₁^v.

²Ibid.

God, will be the inspiration of the writer.

This substitution of Christian virtues did not become the practice, and in the next decade there are examples of invocations which one would expect. In Richard Robinson's Certain Selected Histories (1576) which deals with the events in the life of Christ, there are several invocations and each is directed either to a combination of the classical gods and goddesses and the muses, or to the muses alone. The first one is to Minerva and the muses:

Minerva and you Muses nyne,
 Assist me with your sacred aide:
 Some solempne song to frame with tyme,
 From ioyfull harte to be convaide,
 With thankfull voyce to celebrate,
 Christes birth now to commemorate.¹

Other invocations are directed to Pallas, Apollo, and the nine muses.

In 1584 James I published his translation of Du Bartas' L'Uranie, and Thomas Hudson, under the patronage and direction of James, published a translation of La Judith. These two poems comprised a part of

¹Sig. A11^v.

of Du Bartas' La Muse Chretienne (1574).¹ The translations are important in the history of English religious poetry for their introduction of Du Bartas' work and for centering attention on Urania.

Miss Campbell sees in L'Uranie an elevation of Urania from the classical muse of astronomy to the muse of Christian religious poetry. This oversimplification strips the muse of all the rich associations of her past which were by no means lost when she became associated with Christianity. Du Bartas, when viewed against his background, is not at all novel in his conception of Urania.² From the time of Plato Urania had a more complicated role than that of the muse of astronomy alone. In the Phaedrus Plato placed her along with Calliope as the muse of those who live a philosophic life

¹There were substantial alterations by Du Bartas in the editions of 1579 and 1581. The English translators worked from these corrected editions. The 1574 text with the alterations has been published in a modern edition: The Works of Guillaume De Salluste Sieur Du Bartas, eds. U. T. Holmes et al. (3 vols., University of North Carolina, 1938). All references to Du Bartas' work in French are to this edition.

²"The Sources of Du Bartas," The Works of Du Bartas, ed. cit., Vol. I, Chapter IV,

and are concerned with things both human and divine.¹ In an early work of the Christian era Macrobius presented the muses as the Intelligences of the spheres, and he placed Urania in the eighth sphere because she was the spirit of heaven.² And he was followed by mythographers who were well known in the sixteenth century.³ In Italy in the fifteenth century Giovanni G. Pontanus (1426-1503) had entitled his important poem, dealing with celestial matters, Urania.⁴ In France the syncretizing spirit of the Renaissance had

¹Phaedrus, trans. by H. N. Fowler (Loeb Classical Library, 1914), 259. D.; p. 513.

²In Somnium Scipionis, II:3. (A modern translation is available in a critical edition by W. H. Stahl, Columbia University Press, New York, 1952.)

³L. G. Gyraldus, De Musis Syntagnia (1512), Sig. C₁. N. Comes, Mythologiae, (1551), VII:15.

⁴Urania, sive de Stellis in Pontani Opera (1513).

not left the muses unaffected,¹ and as early as 1565

Ronsard was able to say:

Sur toutes choses tu auras les Muses en reverence,
voire en singuliere veneration, et ne les feras
jamais servir à choses deshonestes, à risees, à
libelles injurieux, mais les tiendras cheres et
sacrées, comme les filles de Jupiter, c'est
à dire de Dieu, qui de sa sainte grace a
premierement par elles fait connoistre aux
peuples ignorans les excellences de sa majesté.

And:

Les Muses, Apollon, Mercure, Pallas, Venus,
et autres telles deitez ne vous representent
autre chose que les puissances de Dieu, auquel
les premiers hommes avoient donné plusieurs
noms pour les divers effectz de son incompre-
hensible majesté. Et c'est aussi pour te
monstrer que rien ne peut estre ny bon ny
parfait, si le commencement ne vient de Dieu.²

Thus the muses in their Christian function are but
representations of aspects of God. In this line of thought
it logically follows that Urania became connected

¹A general work on the subject is J. Seznec's La Survivance des Dieux Antiques (1940). For more specialized studies see F. A. Yates' The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (1947); and D. P. Walker's "Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonist," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. XVI (1953), p. 107 ff.

²Abbrege des l'Art Poetique Francoys (1565), in Oeuvres Completes, ed. Vaganay (Paris, 1923-4), Vol IV:471-2.

with knowledge and learning. It is in this function that she had appeared in Pontanus, In Peletier du Mans' Amours des Amours (1555) Love guides the poet to the heavens where Urania teaches him the harmony of the universe, and in L'Encyclie des Secrets de l'Eternite of Guy Lefevre de la Boderie she performs the same function.

With these associations Urania is a logical choice as one who will plead for a heavenly poetry. Du Bartas has not presented new or startling changes in L'Uranie, for in identifying herself when she appears to the poet, Urania states her long established function:

Je suis (dit-elle alors) cete docte Uranie
 Qui sur les gons astrés transporte les humains,
 Faisant voir à leurs yeux et toucher à leurs mains
 Ce que la cour celeste et contemple et manie.¹

Throughout the poem she emphasizes the need of the poet to consecrate his powers to God and sing of His glory. In brief outline the theory of poetry which

¹Works, ed. cit., II:174.

Urania presents is as follows:

1. Poetry has been misused by secular poets.
2. Poetry is of heavenly origin and the poet's art is a heavenly gift.
3. Poetry has power to influence for good or evil.
4. Elevated subjects have power to create great poetry.
5. There is a great store of heavenly subjects for the poet.
6. Fame is promised to the poet who consecrates himself to heavenly subjects.

These ideas were classical ones which had been current for over a century in Italy, which had already found expression in France in the Pléiade, and which had already been expressed in England in John Hall's The Courte of Vertu .

Miss Campbell has placed the following interpretation on the function of Urania in the poem:

The age-old belief in the Scriptures as the Word of God and in the writers of the Scriptures as pen-men of the Holy Ghost inevitably led those who sought for aid in composing divine ~~divine~~ poetry to turn prayerfully to the spirit that had inspired Moses and David. However,

at the very moment when the host of Christendom were capturing the classical epic and turning it to new divine uses, there appeared on the scene a Christian muse--one to whom the formal invocation of the Christian epic might appropriately be addressed. The muse was Urania....¹

This reasoning could explain the Christian invocation, but the Holy Spirit's role, as well as that of God's and Christ's, as the inspirer of the Christian poet was not usurped by Urania. Such an interpretation overlooks two things of importance in Du Bartas. Near the close of Urania's speech she says:

Que Christ comme Homme-Dieu soit la croupe jumele
 Sur qui vous sommeillés! Que pour cheval ailé
 L'Esprit du trois-fois Grand, d'un blanc pigeon voilé,
 Vous face ruisseler une source immortelle!²

Urania herself pleads that Parnassus be given up for Christ and that Pegasus, the fabled winged horse which is a symbol of poetic inspiration, be given up for the Holy Spirit. Then the practice of Du Bartas in the epic La Judith, a companion poem to L'Uranie, refutes

¹Campbell, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

²Works, ed. cit., II:181.

Miss Campbell's claim:

Toy qui, pour garentir ton Isac de la rage
 Du peuple incirconcis, aceras le courage
 De la foible Judit d'une masle vigueur,
 D'un transport tout sacré fay moy grossir le coeur,
 Des rais de ton esprit mon esprit illumine,
 Donne-moy de traiter matiere si divine
 D'un style non humain: à fin que le lecteur
 En reçoive profit, toy los, joye l'autheur.¹

Likewise in the larger epic, La Creation Du Monde ou
 Premiere Sepmaine, the invocation is not to Urania, but
 to God:

Toy qui guides le cours du ciel porte-flambeaux,
 Qui, vray Neptune, tiens le moite frein des eaux,
 Qui fais trembler la terre, et de qui la parole
 Serre et lasche la bride aux postillons d'AEole,
 Esleve à toy mon ame, espure mes esprits,
 Et d'un docte artifice enrichy mes escrits.
 O Pere, donne-moy que d'une voix faconde
 Je chante à nos neveux la naissance du monde.
 O grand Dieu, donne-moy que j'estale en mes vers
 Les plus rares beautez de ce grand univers;
 Donne-moy qu'en son front ta puissance je lise,
 Et qu'enseignant autruy, moy-mesme je m'instruise.²

For this practice in the invocation Du Bartas was
 commended in 1621 by Thomas Lodge in his commentary on

¹La Judith, Works, II:5.

²La Creation Du Monde, Works, II:195.

the poet's work:

Our Poet, well instructed in Christian Religion,
 calleth upon the true God, opposed against
 the Pagan Idols, wherewith the French Poets
 have for the most part soyled their bookes.¹

Thus it is clear that in Lodge's reading of Du Bartas there is no hint at the suggestion that Urania is the muse of Christian poetry, for it is "the true God" that the "Poet, well instructed in Christian Religion," implores as the inspirer of his work. If Du Bartas had meant his Urania to be the inspirer of the poet, then he would have implored her aid for his work rather than that of God.

What then is the function of Urania? It is clear that she has some connection with religious poetry. There is some clarification of the problem in the work of Spenser. In "L'Envoy" of The Ruins of Rome Spenser, after praising Du Bellay, says of Du Bartas:

¹A Learned Summary upon the famous Poeme of William of Saluste Lord of Bartas (1621), p.1.

And after thee, gins Bartas hie to rayse
His heavenly Muse, th' Almightie to adore.¹

Spenser here in the use of "heavenly Muse" refers to the particular genius of the poet, his poetic power. It is this faculty that Du Bartas had elevated in his religious work. The passage would have little meaning if "heavenly Muse" were read as "Urania," for surely she would be the one who would raise the poet to her high level.

Urania makes an appearance in Spenser's The Tears of the Muses and her function there is essentially that which she is given by Du Bartas.² Gabriel Harvey testified to Spenser's particular interest in the fourth day of the first week of La Creation Du Monde, the day on which God created the lights of the firmament; and Spenser thought that "the proper profession of Urania" was in matters related to the Universe.³ This interest

¹Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition, ed. E. Greenlaw et al. (Baltimore, 1947), Minor Poems (2 vols.), Vol. I:154, ll. 459-60.

²H. G. Lotspeich, MLN (1935), L:146.

³G. C. Moore Smith, Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia (1913), p. 161.

is reflected in The Tears of the Muses, where Urania, after extolling knowledge, through which man beholds the world's creation, himself, and God, says:

From hence wee mount aloft unto the skie,
 And looke into the Christall firmament:
 There we behold the heavens great Hierarchie,
 The Starres pure light, the Spheres swift movement,
 The Spirites and Intelligences fayre,
 And Angels waighting on th'Almighties chayre.¹

The happiness afforded by such knowledge is limited, says Urania, to those

that doo embrace
 The precepts of my heavenlie discipline;
 But shame and sorrow and accursed case
 Have they, that scorne the schoole of arts divine,
 And banish me, which do professe the skill
 To make men heavenly wise, through humbled will.²

Urania symbolizes heavenly knowledge and learning, and in a secular reference Spenser makes this association with her quite clear. He uses Urania as a name for the Countess of Pembroke, "in whose brave mynd as in a golden cofer,/ All heavenly gifts and riches locked are."³

¹Works, ed. cit., Minor Poems, II:77, ll. 505-510.

²Ibid., ll. 517-522.

³Ibid., Colin Clout's Come Home Again, I:161, ll.488-9

To those poets who follow the "heavenlie discipline" of Urania, she becomes a tutelary spirit, giving care and protection, and instructing in heavenly matters.

It is in this role as tutelary patroness that we find her weeping for the death of Quarles in Samuel Sheppard's The Times Displayed (1646). Here she is addressed by Apollo:

But why, Urania, hangst thou so thy head,
What grievous loss hath rest thy joys away;
Quoth she, knows not Apollo QUARLES is dead
That next to BARTAS, sang the heavenliest lay,
And who is he on earth, his steps can tread,
So shal my glory come unto decay;
At this she wept, and wailing wrung her hands,
The Muses mourning round about her stands.¹

A few years later this view of Urania as a tutelary spirit of the poet is asserted in Thomas Harvey's dedication of his The Bucolicks of Baptist Mantuan. Harvey says to Urania that, since there are "few favourers of Learning (especially divine Poesie) except your noble self,"² he will dedicate his work to her. And in the dedication he addresses her as follows:

¹p. 24.

²The Bucolicks of Baptist Mantuan in ten Eclogues (1655), Sig. A2.

Your Excellent self (inhabiting another Region, soaring on the top of Parnassus, and rarified with the Sovereigne Influence of that perfumed Aire) is so free from Passion, clear in Judgement, and candid in Censure, that I nothing doubt of your Acceptance, Protection and Pardon. To you therefore (my tutelary Patroness) I dedicate these my Labours.¹

Urania's name appears in several titles of books in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

There are two secular works, having no connection with religious poetry: The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania (1621), an Arcadian romance by Lady Mary Wroth, Sidney's ndéce; and Urania, The Woman in the Moone (1653),² a satire on women by William Basse.

There are several other titles of works which in one way or another may be classed as religious and which refer to Urania. The first is Nathaniel Baxter's Sir Philip Sidneys Ourania (1606), which, according to the subtitle, is "Endimions Song and Tragedie, containing all Philosophie." Drummond's Urania, or Spirituall Poems, which was published in Poems (1614), does not ~~help in~~

¹Harvey, The Bucolicks, Sig. A₂^v.

²The first dedication of the work is to Prince Henry, who died in 1612. The work must have been completed before that date. See R. W. Bond's The Poetical Works of William Basse (1893).

help in establishing the function of Urania. The third work is John Taylor's Taylor's Urania, or His Heavenly Muse (1615), which is a mishmash of homespun philosophy and theology, hardly an offering that would enhance the position of a muse. Samuel Austin's Austins Urania (1629) is a much more interesting work, and I shall return to it. The last work, Robert Aylet's Urania, or the Heavenly Muse, published in Divine and Moral Speculations (1653), concludes this listing and with it one is back at the beginning with Du Bartas' L'Uranie. To say that Aylet's poem is modelled on Du Bartas is a polite way of pronouncing the poet a plagiarist, for the poem is almost close enough in arrangement and in content to pass for a translation of Du Bartas' poem.

Samuel Austin opens his poem with an address to Urania:

Come then, URANIA, come, thou sacred Mayd,
And Muse of Heav'n, goe onwards in the ayd
Of my great God, whose sole commanding spright
Shall alwayes guide thee in thy wayes aright;
Goe on, I say, in his sole strength, and sing
This dreary Canto to the weeping Spring.¹

¹Austins Urania (1629), p.2.

From this passage it is evident that Urania works in the aid of God, that she is guided by the spirit of God, and that it is she who will sing "This dreary Canto."

This last function of Urania is interesting. The actual invocation is addressed to Jesus, and it throws more light on Austin's meaning:

And, Blessed Iesus, let this soule of mine
 Though now in flesh imprison'd, yet in fine
 I'm with these blessed Quiristers, and sing
 All honour, glory, to my God and King:
 Meane while I crave, although my feeble Eie
 May not stand gazing at thy Deitie,
 Yet teach it see thy passions, teach it see
 The wondrous things which thou hast done for me:
 Say but the word, and this my worthlesse pen
 Shall tell such wonders to the eares of men,
 When it reports thy favours, that thy Glory
 Shall bee far greatned by my Infant Story:
 For who am I, alas? my childish braine
 Hath nothing in it selfe but what is vaine:
 How dare I speake, or write? my mouth and quill
 Are both alike beeinked ore with ill:
 My very thoughts are evill, all my man
 Corrupted is; I neither will, nor can
 The thing thats good, and yet by Thee I will
 This very good I doe, and cannot ill:
 Here show thy power, lest, now I have begun,
 I faile before the halfe my worke bee don:
 Call me, as earst thy Samuel from his sleepe,
 And as thy David from his flocke of sheepe,
 To sing thy prayes: Let Poesy
 Be as the words of weeping Jeremy,
 To pierce the stoniest heart, and to invite
 The dullest Eares attention when I write:
 Thy Spirit bee my Urania, to distill
 Such sacred Measures into this my quill,
 That every line it writes may reach a straine
 Beyond the high conceits of Natures braine;

To shew from whence it came; and then my Lays
 Shall still bee Ecchoes of my Makers Praise:
 And when our bravest Poets chance to see
 The vertue of Diviner Poesie,
 They'le change their Tenors all, and glory most,
 To bee the Pen-man of the Holy Ghost.¹

On the basis of the preceding passage on Urania, the phrase "Thy Spirit bee my Urania" is not, as Miss Campbell has said, an identification of Urania with the Holy Spirit. What Austin meant by the title of his poem, Austins Urania is surely explained in the address to Urania. Urania is a heavenly muse through her associations with the spheres and with the stars; and she becomes a symbol for the poet's own poetic powers. Thus it is that he says to her:

Goe on, I say, in his sole strength, and sing
 This dreary canto to the weeping Spring.

Therefore in praying to Jesus "Thy Spirit bee my Urania" the poet is in effect asking that he become the channel through which the Holy Spirit works. In this function he will be a "Pen-man of the Holy Ghost" in the same way as the prophets and the writers of the Scriptures, who were commonly believed to have been only "Pen-men" through whom the Holy Spirit indited the word of God.

¹Austins Urania, p. 7.

Thus the poet's genius, symbolized by Urania, is not identified with the Holy Spirit; instead, the desire of the poet is that it be supplanted by the Holy Spirit, who will distil His sacred measures into the pen of the poet.

For the religious poets Urania is considered as both a tutelary spirit and as a personification of the poet's poetic genius, his muse. But before leaving her ensconced in these niches, we may look at what her relation was to astronomy in the seventeenth century.

In 1638 Robert Farley published his Kalendarium Humanae Vitae, a work with astronomical associations, and an E. Coleman wrote a commendatory poem, addressed "To the Author", in which he said:

Did not Urania loose thy fetter'd minde,
 Out of the clayie prison, and resign'd
 Her place to it? did not thy purer lay
 Flow from the fountaine of the Milkie way?
 Did not she dictate to thee, how to skan
 These monthes of woe, this Almanacke of man?
 An Almanacke that ne're shall b' out of date,
 But last as long as time, as firme as fate.
 She did, (heare, envie, heare and burst) and by
 Her staffe thou took'st the height of Poetry:
 Th' Arcadian Shepheards shall make thee their starre,
 And place this next to Tityrus Calendar.¹

¹Sig. A₃^v.

Here we have Urania in her purely classical role as muse of astronomy, and in Jeremy Shakerley's The Anatomy of Urania Practica, or, A Short Mathematicall Discourse (1649) she is this muse:

Astronomy deriving her current from more abstruse & hidden fountains, hath left a harder task to her Observers, to finde her out, and trace her through her curious Laborinth; and unlesse learned in the other two arithmetic and geometry, here most subject to fall into many absurdities and untruths. So nice is Urania in the choice of her servants, and so unwilling to prostitute her virgin excellencies to the mercenary embraces of every vulgar Professor.... The most necessary care of worthy Artists, hath scarcely in any age been wanting, and the divine Urania still found those who admired and celebrated her excellencies, whose successive labours have taught us how great a thing experience is, and what danger there is in conformity to ancient rules.¹

Thus we see that for astronomers and poets writing on subjects related to astronomy there is no confusion about the part Urania plays.

We may now turn to invocations of other religious poets and examine their practice. Spenser when he comes to write of heavenly love first makes this address to

¹Sig. A₃-A₃^v.

Love:

Love, lift me up upon thy golden wings,
 From this base world unto thy heavens hight,
 Where I may see those admirable things,
 Which there thou workest by thy souveraine might,
 Farre above feeble reach of earthly sight,
 That I thereof an heavenly Hymne may sing
 Unto the god of Love, high heavens king.¹

Spenser here has not called on Urania, who in her classical function led poets such as Pontanus and Boderie into the heavens to instruct them in heavenly matters. Here it is Love that will lead and teach the poet. Then for the invocation Spenser implores the aid of the Holy Spirit:

Yet O most blessed Spirit, pure lampe of light,
 Eternall spring of grace and wisdomes trew,
 Vouchsafe to shed into my barren spright,
 Some little drop of thy celestiall dew,
 That may my rymes with sweet infuse embrew,
 And give me words equall unto my thought,
 To tell the marveilles by thy mercie wrought.²

In a less significant poet, Gervase Markham, there is this invocation in his The Teares of the Beloved:

¹Works, ed. cit., Minor Poems, I:213, ll. 1-7.

²Ibid., p. 214, ll. 43-49.

Thou first and last, author and cause of all,
 That wast with God, before these worlds were made,
 Thou perfect Good, whom I Gods word will call,
 Most soveraigne grace, do with thy grace me trade,
 That from thy favors, as from fountaine rare
 In flowing sort, I may thy selfe declare.

.....

Now that I leane upon thy sacred brest,
 In thee I loy, sweete Saviour of mankind.¹

The invocation here is to Christ.

In 1605 Sylvester added his own invocation to his translation of Du Bartas' La Creation Du Monde. Like Du Bartas he addresses God:

And also graunt (great Architect of Wonders,
 Whose mighty Voice speakes in the midst of Thunders,
 Causing the Rockes to rocke, and Hills to teare;
 Calling the things that are not, as they Were;
 Confounding mighty things by meanes of weake;
 Teaching dumbe Infants thy dread Praise to speake;
 Inspiring Wisedome into those that want,
 And giving knowledge to the ignorant)
 Graunt me good Lord (as thou hast giv'n me hart
 To undertake so excellent a Part)
 Graunt me such Iudgement, Grace, and Eloquence,
 So correspondent to that Excellence,
 That in some measure, I may seeme t'inherit
 (Elisha-like) my deare Elias Spirit.²

¹The Teares of the Beloved (1600), Sig. B.

²Bartas His Devine Weekes & Workes (1605), Vol. I:2.

Sylvester knew Du Bartas' L'Uranie, but even so he did not consider it proper to address Urania in his invocation. To his own invocation, Sylvester added this gloss:

The Translator knowing and acknowledging his owne insufficiencie for so excellent a labour, craveth also the ayde of the All-sufficient God.¹

Giles Fletcher in his Christs Victorie, and Triumph properly invokes Christ for aid:

O Thou that didst this holy fire infuse,
And taught'st this brest, but late the grave of hell,
Wherein a blind, and dead heart liv'd, to swell lend
With better thoughts, send downe those lights that
Knowledge, how to begin, and how to end
The love, that never was, nor ever can be pend.²

George Herbert's dedication of his The Temple (1633) makes clear his source of inspiration:

Lord, my first fruits present themselves to thee;
Yet not mine neither: for from thee they came,
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.³

¹Devine Weekes, I:2.

²Poetical Works, ed. F. S. Boas (2 vols., 1908-9), I:18.

³Works, ed. Hutchinson, p. 5.

In the writing of his Theophila (1652) Benlowes prays for the aid of Jesus:

JESUS! grant I may follow THEE, my feet
Wing THOU, and make them in pursuance fleet!
Close up my cracks by faith, so shall I be
A vessel made of honour unto THEE.
I'm but a faint resultance from Thy light,
Which, at Sol's rise and set, encheers my sight.
No space Thy view, no glory bounds Thy praise,
No terms do reach Thy worth, no age Thy days!
May I but swear obedience to Thy laws,
And crave THEE PATRON to my present cause!¹

And this series of invocations may be concluded with Cowley's in Dauids:

Thou, who didst Dauids royal stem adorn,
And gav'st him birth from whom thy self was't born.
Who didst in Triumph at Deaths Court appear,
And slew'st him with thy Nails, thy Cross and Spear,
Whilst Hells black Tyrant trembled to behold,
The glorious light he forfeited of old,
Who Heav'ens glad burden now, and justest pride,
Sitst high enthron'ed next thy great Fathers side,
(Where hallowed Flames help to adorn that Head
Which once the blushing Thorns invironed,
Till crimson drops of pretious blood hung down
Like Rubies to enrich thine humble Crown.)
Ev'en Thou my breast with such blest rage inspire,
As mov'ed the tuneful strings of Dauids Lyre,
Guid my bold steps with thine old trav'elling Flame,
In these untrodden paths to Sacred Fame;
Lo, with pure hands thy heav'only Fires to take,
My well-chang'ed Muse I a chaste Vestal make!
From earths vain joys, and loves soft witchcraft free,
I consecrate my Magdalene to Thee!²

¹Theophila, or Loves Sacrifice, "The Author's Design," in Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. G. Saintsbury (3 vols., 1905-7), I:315.

²Poems (1656), Sig. Aaaa²v.

From these examples it is clear that the prevailing practice of religious poets in composing their invocations was to implore the aid of God, Christ, or the Holy Spirit. It is of particular interest to note that Cowley, being so averse to any paganism, personifies his personal muse as Magdalene, whereas Austin and others used Urania.

Quarles followed this prevailing practice, and his invocations are always addressed to one or other of the three aspects of the Godhead.. We may take his invocation to A Feast for Wormes as typical:

O All-sufficient God, great Lord of Light,
 Without whose gracious ayd, and constant Sprite,
 No labours prosper, (howsoe're begun)
 But fly like Mists before the morning Sun:
 O raise my thoughts, and cleare my Apprehension,
 Reflect thy Beames upon my feeble Eyes,
 Shew me the Mirroure of thy Mysteries;
 My Art-lesse Hand, my humble Heart inspire,
 Ravish my stupid Senses with thy Glory;
 Sweeten my Lips with sacred Oratory:
 And (thou O FIRST and LAST) assist my Quill,
 That first and last, I may performe thy will:
 My sole intent's to blazon forth thy Praise;
 My ruder Pen expects no Crowne of Bayes.
 Suffice it then, Thine Altar I have kist:
 Crowne me with Glory; Take the Bayes that list.¹

¹A Feast for Wormes, "To the Most High," (II:8).

Quarles has one reference to Urania and that is in A Feast for Wormes. He says:

I sing the Praises of Great Iudahs Lyon,
 The fragrant Flowre of Iesse, the Lambe of Sion,
 Whose Head is whiter then the driven Snow,
 Whose Visage doth like flames of Fire glow;

When my Urania sings,
She sings the praises of the King of Kings.¹

Quarles' use of Urania here is the same as Austin's, and as Cowley's use of Magdalene. She is a personification of Quarles' own particular genius.

The subject of Urania cannot be closed without a reference to Milton. The question of the relation of Milton's muse to Urania is a complex one which has been studied at length. It would indeed be a mistake to try to fit Milton's practice into any pattern. His invocations in Paradise Lost, Book I, are to God and to the Spirit of God which was present at the creation. In Book VII, when Milton descends from his heavenly flight we learn that it is Urania who has been his guide and companion, and in this role she is certainly performing

¹A Feast for Wormes, "The Proposition of this first Worke," (II:6)

the same function as she did for Pontanus, Peletier du Mans, and Boderie. However, Milton makes it clear in his invocation that the Urania of whom he speaks is not the classical muse:

For thou
 Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
 Of old Olympus dwell'st, but Heav'nlie borne,
 Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flow'd,
 Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,
 Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play
 In presence of th' Almightie Father, pleas'd
 With thy Celestial Song.¹

For Milton she has become a part of that mystical household of God, and to be sure that she is completely removed from any of her past associations he says in the opening address to Urania:

Descend from Heav'n Urania, by that name
 If rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine
 Following, above th' Olympian Hill I soare,
 Above the flight of Pegasean wing.
 The meaning, not the Name I call....²

¹Book VII, 11. 5-12.

²Ibid., 11.1-5.

Thus we see that Milton defines his own Urania.
That "meaning" which he gives her at once establishes
her as his guide and inspirer, and at the same time
dissociates his conception of her from that of other
poets.

CHAPTER V

THE CONTEMPORARY RECEPTION OF QUARLES

The position which Quarles, during his lifetime and in the few years immediately following his death, enjoyed in both the social and the literary world is one which any poet might envy. He was a member of a prominent Essex family which, as Quarles himself pointed out in his elegy on his brother Sir Robert Quarles, was of great antiquity and of Norman descent:

His family,
If Antiquity may challenge honour,
 receivd it
before the martiall Drum
of the victorious Norman
 left
to beat his conquering marches
in this glorious Island.¹

The accuracy of this claim has not been established by modern genealogists, who have only succeeded in tracing the Quarles family to the time of Henry V.² It is clear, however, that Francis Quarles "was born into a gentle family of sufficient antiquity and possessions to be of good standing in the higher ranks of the country gentry,

¹Memorials upon the Death of Sir Robert Quarles Knight (1639), (III:29.)

²See Grosart's "Memorial Introduction", I:x-xi.

and to have become allied with noble and influential houses."¹

From the evidence which has survived it is apparent that Quarles numbered among his friends a great many notable people of the seventeenth century. In 1613 he was for a short time in the service of Princess Elizabeth, the ill-fated daughter of James I. He served in the train of the Earl of Arundel, and in this capacity he accompanied Elizabeth and her husband, the Elector Palatine, to Heidelberg.² While he was in Germany, he was favoured in some way by Robert, Lord Sidney, who had also been a friend of Quarles' father. Quarles dedicated his first work to him with an acknowledgment of those favours:

Sir: two things more especiall have made mee industrious to doe your Lordship service: The one is, the love you did beare to my (long since) deceased Father; whom (dead) your Lordship did please to honour with your Noble remembrance. The other is, your undeserved Favours, and Honourable Countenance towards me in your passage thorow Germany, where you have left in the hearts of men, a Pyramis of your Worth.³

¹John Horden, A Bibliography of Francis Quarles, p. 2.

²Ibid.

³A Feast for Wormes, "To...Robert, Lord Sidney..." (II:5) The dedication is from the first edition. It was not reprinted in Divine Poemes (1630).

In his next associations we find Quarles in an entirely different situation. In 1626, along with Sir Gamaliel Capell and Sir William Luckyn, two prominent men in Essex, and with William Hyde, who has not been identified, he unsuccessfully sought a monopoly for the manufacture of saltpetre.¹ His relation with Luckyn continued, for in 1634 he lamented the death of Lady Luckyn, who was the daughter of Capell. He presented his elegy Mildreidos to her husband, addressing him as his "honourable and deare friend,"² and he remembered Lady Luckyn as being

In her life
 Severely pious; sweet in Conversation;
 A happy Parent; and a loyall Wife;
 In words, discreet; Divine in Contemplation:
 Slow to admit, apt to compose a strife;
 Secret in Almes; and full of milde Compassion.³

Shortly after Quarles' failure to attain a monopoly for the manufacture of saltpetre, he became secretary to Archbishop Ussher. It may have been through Sir

¹Horden, op. cit., p.7.

²Mildreidos (1634), III:23.

³Ibid., st. 9, III:25.

Robert Cotton that he attained this position, for in 1625 the Archbishop had written to Cotton, expressing his desire to have the service of someone who "hath already been tried in transcribing of manuscripts, and will sit close to work."¹ Quarles' services to Ussher extended for a period of time between 1626 and 1630. In March 1630, he was back in London, having brought messages from Ussher to Cotton. In that year he wrote to the Archbishop:

I gave him [Sir Robert Cotton] thanks in your lordship's name for the coin he sent you to peruse, and he hath promised me ere long to send you other sorts which lately came to his hand.²

Ussher mentioned Quarles in 1632 in a letter to Gerard Vossius, referring to him as "vir ob sacratiorem poesin apud Anglos suos non incelebris."³

We know of Quarles' associations with several people through the elegies which he composed on their

¹The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, ed. C. R. Elrington (1874), Vol. XV:276.

²Ibid., XVI:512. (The letter is in the Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson Letters 89. It has been reproduced by Horden, op. cit., facing p. 8.)

³Ussher, ed. cit., XV:557.

death. He published an elegy on Dr. Ailmer, Archdeacon of London, in 1630, referring to him as "that reverend Prelate, my much honoured friend."¹ In 1636 he lamented the death of Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls, and in the elegy published in 1634 on the death of Dr. Wilson, whom he describes as "Dr. Wilson, of the Rolles," there is an interesting biographical detail added in the dedication, which is addressed to the son of Sir Julius Caesar, Robert:

Had the hand of Death but shooke, when it levelled at this reverend Doctor, the Dart had strucke either you or me; for, at his last meale, made at your Honourable Father's Table (which he out-lived not two houres) he sate between us, healthfull and chearfull.²

There are other rather formal elegies lamenting the deaths of Sir John Wolsthenholme (1640), the Countess of Cleveland and Miss Cecilia Killigrew (1640), and Lady Masham and William Cheyne (1641).

Nehemiah Rogers, a minister of the Church, whom I shall mention later, was a personal friend who lamented

¹An Alphabet of Elegies (1630), (III:3.)

²An Elegie upon the Reverend...Doctor Wilson (1634), III:18.

his death.

His literary friends definitely included Edward Benlowes and Phineas Fletcher, and the association of the three was celebrated by Quarles in his Emblemes (1635). In the engraving for emblem six of Book V, the globe on which the Soul is sitting is marked by London and Roxwell, the two dwelling places of Quarles, Finchamfield, the home of Benlowes, and Hilgay, where Fletcher lived most of his life.¹ Benlowes was closely connected with the composition of the Emblemes, and Quarles recognized his inspiration in his dedication of that work to him:

You have put the Theorboe into my hand;
and I have playd: You gave the Musitian the
first encouragement; the Musicke returnes
to you for Patronage.²

¹Book V, no. 1. (Grosart does not reproduce the original engravings. Instead he chose those of Charles H. Bennett and W. Harry Rogers.)

²"To my much honoured...Friend, EDW. BENLOWES," (III:45) Quarles' use of musical terms in his dedication indicates yet another interest he had in common with Benlowes. Concerning Quarles' love for music, the anecdote told by Sir Nicholas Lestrangle is interesting: "Francis Quarles had bespoken a lute case, and upon leaving the Inns of Court, and going into the country, call'd for it, and ask't what he must pay? 20s. sayes the workman. "Faith," sayes he, "I have not so much mony about me, and I am now going away; but if thou wilt take my case (meaning his Inn-of-Court gowne that he had then on), 'tis a match." And so they agreed upon the bargaine." Anecdotes and Traditions, illustrative of early English History and Literature, ed. William J. Thoms (Camden Soc. Pub. 1839), p. 48.

Quarles paid further tribute to Benlowes in the engraving for the invocation for Book I of the Emblemes. There the Soul is sitting on a globe, on which are marked Roxwell and Finchingfield, the home villages in Essex of Benlowes and Quarles.¹ But even before the publication of Emblemes Benlowes published a long commendatory poem in Latin, Lusus Poeticus Poetis (1634), praising Quarles and seeking patronage for him from the City of London and Charles I.²

The contemporary popularity which Quarles enjoyed as an author has been acknowledged by all who have considered his work. The sales for his books were quite large. The Emblemes had two editions in its first year of publication, and in 1639-40, when it was combined with Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man (1638), five thousand copies were printed.³ The Emblemes have always

¹Emblemes(1635), Bk. I, facing the Invocation. (For a fuller discussion of the relation of Benlowes with Quarles see Harold Jenkins' Edward Benlowes, p. 67 ff.)

²The poem was intended as an appendix for the Emblemes and under the title Quarleis was printed as such when the Emblemes appeared.

³The information about the number of copies is in the proceedings of a lawsuit in which Quarles contested the right of Francis Eglesfield and John Williams to publish Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes. See Horden, op. cit., p. 47, and G. S. Haight, "The Publication of Quarles's Emblems," The Library, 4th Series, Vol. XV(1934-35), pp. 97-109.

been the most popular work of Quarles, but during his lifetime his other works also had repeated editions, as Mr. Horden's bibliography has recently established. The seventeenth-century publisher, one may safely assume, was just as much interested in profits as the modern publisher, and obviously the market value of Quarles' work was high. In 1640 there had appeared A Buckler against the Fear of Death, signed only E. B.,¹ and two years after Quarles' death a second edition was published with the title Midnights Meditations of Death (1646). On the title page were these words: "Perused by Francis Quarles a little before his Death." This bid for greater sales was certainly a practical application of the advice which Benlowes had given to booksellers in his Quarles:

O Bookseller, if Quarles's name appear,
As author of this book in letters clear;
Of all the poets who are known to fame
The glory will be centred in that Name.
Let such an author's name deck the first page,
Each reader's eye 'twill instantly engage.²

¹This work is attributed to both Benlowes and Edward Buckler in the British Museum Catalogue. Mr. Jenkins does not think the work is Benlowes', and he judges that a good case has been made for Edward Buckler as the author. (Jenkins, op. cit., p. 129 and fn.)

²Quotations are from the translation by Richard Wilton, which is in Grosart's "Memorial Introduction" to his edition of Quarles. I:xciii.

The publisher Humphrey Moseley, who published some of Quarles' work, was himself praised in 1651 by a Jo. Leigh for supplying the public with the poets of the times: "And among all these shining costly Pearls [other poets] / Thou left'st not our Sherley, nor Benlowes' Quarles."¹ Also here is contemporary evidence of Benlowes' patronage of Quarles.

Fortunately further evidence of the popularity of Quarles' work has survived, substantiating conjectures made on the basis of other evidence. Very shortly after his death the minister Nehemiah Rogers wrote to a Mr. Hawkins, who had notified him of the death of the poet:

I received your Letter joyfully, but the news (therein contained) sadly and heavily; It met me upon my return home from Sturbridge; and did work on my self and wife, I pray God it may work kindly on us all. We have lost a true friend; and were the losse only mine or yours, it were the lesse, but thousands have a losse in him.²

The "thousands" who will "have a losse" are doubtless Quarles' readers. This statement might be taken as an exaggeration prompted by grief, but such an assumption

¹William Cartwright, Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with other Poems (1651), commendatory poem by Jo. Leigh, Sig. #1^v.

²Printed in the prefatory pages to the posthumous Solomons Recantation (1645). (Reprinted in Grosart: I:xxiii-xxiv.)

is forestalled when one considers the publication in 1658 of a very practical book, William London's A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England. London was a garrulous and boring bookseller from Newcastle, who was interested in advertising his stock; and judging from his ostentatious prefatory material, he was a man who never lost a farthing. In a long address to the reader, he extols the value of knowledge, and as a "great defender of learning" he is careful to allay any suspicion that he might be out to serve his own ends:

I plead not my own cause, I profess, Such
as know me best, least of all believe it;
and were it fit, many reasons might be brought
in to Convince all that read me, I do not
alwaies expect to sell what I so greatly value,
I am more ambitious to read then to sell them;
but the chief end is to Invite men to value
the means of knowledge above trifles, which
cannot be better improved, nor more prudently
expended then in such a purchase.¹

In this list of "Most Vendible Books" he includes Quarles' Emblemes, Divine Fancies, Boanerges and Barnabas, Enchyridion, Shepheards Oracles, Solomons Recantation, and Argalus and Parthenia.²

¹Sig. B₄.

²Under section entitled "Romances, Poems, and Plays," Sig. Ff. (Sig. Ff is erroneously given as F.)

Even before his death the statements made about Quarles indicate that his popularity was extensive. As we have already seen Archbishop Ussher in 1632 spoke of his popularity among the English.¹ In 1636 Charles Butler, taking a little time from his bees and music, was delighted to observe that Quarles and his like had at last supplanted the Marlowes:

But (thanks be to God) these impure Buffons (whether it be that they are not now permitted, as formerly, to defile the Press; or that themselves are, at last, ashamed of their stale ribaldry; or that the people, waxing more modest, will not longer endure it;) begin, methinks, to wear away; and there ariseth in their stead a better generation: our Marlows are turned into Quarleses.²

The most ecstatic tribute which Quarles received during his life was that from Benlowes in Quarleis. Benlowes pays highest tribute to him by connecting his name with the great authors of antiquity:

All Helicon towers up to sight in thee;
And in thy person Phoebus' self we see;
The Muses' hope and fear thou seemst to be.
Martial in epigram is not more strong,
Nor Virgil with more grandeur rolls along.
To Anacreon's lyrics we are treated here;
Horace in strains Pindaric charms our ear,

¹Supra, p.222.

²The Principles of Musik (1636), p. 131.

And Ovid pours his notes with music clear.
 To these alone their various gifts belong,
 Who dost surpass them all alone in song.¹

This is indeed high praise, and few or none would agree with such a judgement today. Benlowes cannot be accused of obsequious flattery in his enthusiasm for the work of Quarles, for actually he stood more as a patron in relation to him.² Neither can the conviction of Benlowes be questioned by saying that the poem is a panegyric, and that he, therefore, was not called upon to be serious. The panegyrics, as well as the invective, of the time could reflect genuine opinions and feelings, and even if we do not agree with Benlowes' judgement, that is not to say that it was perfunctory.

To a modern reader a tribute which has more meaning than that of Benlowes', and which probably had more significance to Quarles' contemporaries, is that of Samuel Sheppard, who in 1646 spoke of Quarles as he who "next to BARTAS, sang the heavenliest lay."³ When

¹I:lxviii.

²Supra, p. 227.

³The Times Displayed, p. 24. (Cf. Supra, p. 203.)

the esteem in which Du Bartas was held by his English admirers is remembered, Sheppard's placing Quarles next to the French poet is indeed no small tribute. The two poets, both in their subject matter and in their intent, have much in common, and in England the popularity of each runs concurrently. Du Bartas was praised from the time of Spenser until the time of the early Dryden. As long as there was a public taste for Du Bartas, Quarles remained in demand; however the changing taste of the Restoration public spelt the fall of both from favour.¹

Until the time of Cowley's Poems (1656), in fact, there was only a unison of praise for Quarles and his works. In 1641 Martine Parker in The Poets Blind Mans Bough spoke rapturously of Quarles as "that sweet Seraph of our nation,"² and in the following year Edward Brown went a step further, bestowing unofficially the highest of honours when he referred to the poet as "The aspiring Larke, Our Laureat Poet Mr. Francis Quarles,

¹For a study of Du Bartas' reputation and influence in England see H. Ashton's Du Bartas en Angleterre (Paris, 1908).

²Sig. A₄^v.

whose sententious and unparalleled verses seeme to penetrate the heavens."¹ In typical Renaissance fashion Francis Wortley, after the poet's death, sees his true immortality in his works:

Thy Muse hath raised a Monument for thee,
Thy prose a Pyramid of loyalty.
Thy memory shall be precious here below,
Whilst men the use of sacred learning know.²

There must have been many more tributes to Quarles than have come to notice, for Thomas Philipott in his elegy on Quarles commented on the number that he had joined in lamenting the poet's death:

Amongst that solemne traine of Friends which sing
Thy Dirge (great Soule) and to thy Name do bring,
As to some shrine, the sacrifice of praise,
Daigne to accept these coarse and home-spun Lays.³

Those which have survived give sufficient indication of the high esteem in which the poet was held.

Any dismissal of these praises as perfunctory eulogies is immediately forestalled by a consideration of the use

¹A Potent Vindication of Book Making (1642), p. 2.

²Characters and Elegies (1646), pp. 54-55.

³Poems (1646), pp. 35-36.

made of Quarles' poetry by others. In 1651 Thomas Fuller in Abel Redivivus: or, The Dead yet Speaking included poems by both Quarles and his son John at the close of each of his brief biographies of men of the Church. Henry Lawes in Ayres and Dialogues (1653) has one song by Quarles, "O fickle state of lovers." Perhaps the greatest tribute to the poet's work came in the use made of it by Joshua Poole in compiling The English Parnassus: or, A Helpe to English Poesie (1657) In Poole's list of "books principally made use of" the following works of Quarles' appear: Divine Poems, Divine Fancies, Solomons Recantation, Emblemes, Argalus and Parthenia, and Eclogues.¹ In this poets' handbook Quarles takes a prominent place, but there is no expressed value judgement made by Poole in including his works along with those of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert, Milton, and others.

Finally the schoolmaster Charles Hoole in A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, published in 1660 but written (according to the title page) about

¹Poole, p. 41.

thirty-three years before, recommends Quarles, along with Herbert and Sandys, as one of the "authours useful for the Fourth Form."¹

Quarles' own contemporaries, therefore, not only praised his work, but also paid him the higher compliment of making use of it. One wishes, in vain, that his contemporaries had left behind long and detailed criticisms, but the time for that had not come. There are, however, enough scattered comments in the encomiums to give some indication of what the poet's contemporaries admired in him. Practically all of Quarles' work was of a religious nature, and in this he fits comfortably into the early seventeenth century literary scene. Douglas Bush has succinctly described this aspect of the period:

More than two-fifths of the books printed in England from 1480 to 1640 were religious, and for the years 1600-40 the percentage is still higher. In Jaggard's Catalogue of 1619 nearly three fourths of the books are religious and moral; in William London's Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England (1657-8) the space given to works of divinity equals that occupied by all other kinds. Grotius and Casaubon declared, in the middle of James's reign, that there was little or no literary scholarship in England, that theology was the only interest of educated men. Religion, it does not need to be said, was a main and often

¹Charles Hoole, A New Discovery of the Old Art of teaching Schoole, ed. E. T. Campagnac (1913), p. xvii.

intense concern of a greater multitudes of people during our period than in any other before or since, and in many ways it profoundly affected the lives of those who were not especially devout.¹

This overwhelming interest of the age in religious matters persisted until after the Restoration, and Quarles, whose sole intent was "to blazon forth" the praise of God,² was incessantly commended by his contemporaries for having done so. In 1635 Edmund Johnson, in a dedicatory poem appended to John Gower's Pyrgomachia, gave significant applause to Quarles' work by linking his name with that of Orpheus: "Thus Orpheus soule doth Quarl's attend."³ In the same year Richard Love in a commendatory poem to Quarles' Emblemes gave his sanction to this religious poetry: "The Muses' Font is consecrate by Thee,/ And Poesie, baptiz'd Divinitie."⁴ These are typical responses to the work of the "Divine composing Quarles."⁵ The inordinate appetite of the age for

¹Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, p. 294.

²A Feast for Wormes, II:8.

³Sig. B₃.

⁴Emblemes, prefatory material, III:45.

⁵Choice Drollery: Songs & Sonnets (1656), Sig. B₃.

religious works, in poetry or prose, seems at times to have overshadowed all other interest.

But religious literature was not considered as an end in itself. There was the greater demand that it should be profitable, that it should be of applicable value for the reader in his everyday life. The title pages and prefaces of books published in the early seventeenth century frequently indicated to what extent the work in question was of utilitarian value. Mr. Louis B. Wright, in his study of middle class culture of the time, has concisely summarized the aims of a great part of Renaissance society:

Usefulness is always the criterion of value in bourgeois civilizations. Pious literature achieved utility in Tudor and Stuart England by teaching prudential morality, by spreading the beliefs peculiarly favoured by a mercantile society, and by holding up the hope and method of attaining a greater reward in the world to come.¹

In his prefaces, Quarles frequently pointed out to his readers the practical value of his work, a value which his readers would recognize and to which Benlowes

¹Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England(1935), p. 295.

gave expression in these words:

Lessons with pictured forms thou dost unite,
And sermons mixed with measured verse delight.
A graceful tongue, a gracious soul is thine,
While Faith sincere through all is seen to shine.

And:

O Reader, dost thou love things that are sweet?
Nought here but sweet things, reader, wilt thou meet.
Or putting sweet things second, dost demand
Things which are useful? Here they are at hand.
If both thou wish; this book the two combines,
Here sweet things smile, and here the useful shines.¹

Such a demand for profit may reflect the prevailing puritanical spirit of the period, but it must be remembered that the Renaissance ideal in poetry was the classical concept of its giving both profit and pleasure, an ideal expressed by Sidney and echoed by other poets of the period. As is evidenced in the above quotation of Benlowes, such a combination of profit and pleasure was to be found in Quarles.

The printer, Richard Royston, in his preface to the posthumous Judgement & Mercy (1646) and The Virgin Widow (1649), observed the same dual value in Quarles which

¹Quarles, I:lxxix- and xc.

Benlowes pointed out:

The Author, whose Divine Works have sufficiently proclaim'd his Abilities, may give thee assurance of finding in it, wit, worth, and well-season'd mirth. Invention to quicken Concept; Disposition to beautifie Art.¹

And in his chapter on the instruction of children "for whom the Latine tongue is thought to be unnecessary" Charles Hoole gives the schoolmaster's ideal of what may be gained by reading good books, and among the works he recommends for these children is the poetry of Herbert and Quarles:

By this means they will gain such a habit and delight in reading, as to make it their chief recreation, when liberty is afforded them. And their acquaintance with good books will (by Gods blessing) be a means so to sweeten their (otherwise sour) natures, that they may live comfortably towards themselves, and amiably converse with other persons.²

There was an audience during Quarles' time which received at least a part of its pleasure in poetry from ribaldry, drollery, and scurrility. But it was not

¹The Virgin Widow, "The Stationer to the Reader," III:290.

²Hoole, ed. cit., pp. 27-28.

in these that the religious and moral poets indulged. Quarles himself in 1621 had observed that "in these lewd times, the salt, and soule" of much poetry "is obscene scurrility," and that in his poetry he would shun this characteristic.¹ Richard Royston commented on Quarles' "well-season'd mirth" and later Thomas Fuller praised Quarles highly for his freedom from profaneness:

Some poets, if debarr'd profaneness, wantonness, and satyricalness, (that they may neither abuse God, themselves, nor their neighbours,) have their tongue cut out in effect. Others onely trade in wit at the second hand, being all for translations, nothing for invention. Our Quarles was free from the faults of the first, as if he had drunk of Jordan instead of Helicon, and slept on Mount Olivet for his Parnassus, and was happy in his own invention.²

And again Hoole, in giving models for lyric poetry, places Herbert first and then Quarles. Hoole says that after the children can make heroic verse "they may converse with others, that take liberty to sport it in Lyrick verses. Amongst all which, Mr. Herberts Poems are most worthy to be mentioned in the first place, and

¹Hadassa, "A Preface to the Reader," (II:42.)

²The History of the Worthies of England (1662), p. 334.

next to them (I conceive Mr. Quarles divine Poems, and his Divine Fancies;) besides which, you may allow many others...."¹
But in those others Hoole is quick to warn the master that he should "admit of none which are stufft with drollary and ribauldry."²

Such demands of a pious age are not surprising, and Quarles achieved his popularity, as both the comments which have come to light and the sale of his works indicate, in fulfilling them.

¹Hoole, ed. cit., p. 158.

²Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

AN ASSESSMENT OF QUARLES' POETRY

Now that a study of Quarles as a poet in a tradition and as a poet in his contemporary setting has been made, we may look more closely at the poetry itself. For this study, I shall divide his religious poetry into three groups: the historical paraphrases, the lyrical paraphrases, and the shorter poems.

In 1656 Cowley wrote:

All the Books of the Bible are either already most admirable, and exalted pieces of Poesie, or are the best Materials in the world for it. Yet, though they be in themselves so proper to be made use of for this purpose; None but a good Artist will know how to do it.¹

Quarles' historical paraphrases, as we have seen,² may be classified by their form and character as a unit, and the question of how good is he as an artist, a poet, in working with these may be asked. In these works--A Feast for Wormes, Hadassa, Job Militant, The Historie of Samson, and Solomons Recantations-- Quarles takes his narrative as it stands in the Bible, not altering it for any purpose. In doing this he may be responding to the demands of the audience for which he wrote, but if he had been a poet of more original powers,

¹Poems (1656), Sig. (b)₃.

²Supra, p. 162 ff.

he would have recognized and utilized other forms for some of his works, the dramatic form for Samson, for example, or the epic for Job. The use of the straight narrative form does not preclude the possibility of the poet's transmuting his material into new experiences for his readers; however, as we have seen, he chose to break his narrative into small sections. Between each of these he introduces a meditation concerned usually with moral questions or theological points suggested by the narrative.¹ In regard to his choice of form he said:

As for the Manner of this history (consisting in the Periphrase, the adiournment of the Story; and the interposition of Meditations) I hope it hath not iniured the Matter: For in this I was not the least carefell[sic], to use the light of the best Expositors, not daring to go un-led, for feare of stumbling.²

Quarles' concern here is not with the artistic form of his poem. Instead his interest is in the meditations and their content. The narrative as a literary form is destroyed. There cannot be in this structure a necessary continuous

¹Supra, p. 178 ff.

²Hadassa, "A Preface to the Reader."

movement of the plot, developing towards a climax. The constant interruption of the narrative by the narrator for the express purpose of moralizing or of delivering a small sermon on a theological question indicates that the poet is using this form as a tool. The narrative is important only for its individual parts and not for its own total effect.

But even if the form which Quarles chose forestalled the creation of a unified poem, he could still use his material to some advantage. He chose some of the more dramatic characters of the Old Testament to work with, and the lives and actions of these men could present possibilities to a poet for expansive and interpretative treatment. Quarles first choice was the book of Jonah, which in the original is only four brief chapters in length. Here Quarles has much room in which to present the character of Jonah afresh, as the self-willed man who, in his conflict with God, had to be subdued by tempests, large fish, and the lesson of the gourd vine. One of the most potential scenes in the history is Jonah's decision to disobey the commandment of God. In the life of Jonah this was a momentous event and in Jonah's deliberations there is room for a deep and incisive study of aspects of human nature. Quarles presents the conflict

in the following way:

O heavy burthen of a doubtfull mind!
 Where shall I goe, or which way shall I wind?
 My heart like Ianus, looketh to and fro;
 My Credit bids me, Stay; my God bids, Goe:
 If Goe; my labour's lost, my shame's at hand:
 If stay, Lord! I transgresse my Lords command:
 If goe; from bad estate, to worse, I fall:
 If stay, I slide from bad, to worst of all.
 My God bids goe, my credit bids me stay:
 My guilty feare bids fly another way.¹

There is no precedent for this speech in the biblical version; therefore this argument is Quarles' own creation. He has had an opportunity to present the inner conflict of a man who chooses to disobey the expressed command of God. In this argument we are not actually convinced of any real distress on the part of Jonah. He simply places his "Credit" against God's wish, and chooses for his own interest--the impression, in fact, is that Jonah always did so. The treatment is merely on the surface, and there is no delving into the character for a deep insight. It is on such a superficial level that Quarles handles Jonah throughout the poem.

¹A Feast for Wormes, Sec. 2.

In the same way Quarles in his second historical paraphrase ignores those best features of the story of Esther which would give a fullness and depth to the characters. The history of Esther presents the possibility for a study of love, lust, intrigue, and loyalty, but Quarles does not concentrate on these elements for the recreation of meaningful human experiences which can be communicated to his readers. The reader feels that in the narrative Quarles is unable to present any real insight into his characters, and consequently they, remaining on a static level, never come alive. When one reads The Historie of Samson in the light of Milton's treatment of the same plot one readily sees that it is Milton's deep insight into human nature which brings the character of Samson alive and which presents him in an heroic and noble light. A single illustration well illustrates this point. After Samson has pulled down the temple, killing the Philistines and himself, each poet reflects on him. Quarles briefly sets forth his character in retrospect:

Thus died our Samson; whose brave death has won
 More honour, then his honourd life had done:
 Thus died our Conqueror; whose latest breath
 Was crown'd with Conquest; triumph'd over death:
 Thus died our Samson; whose last drop of blood
 Redeem'd heavens glory, and his Kingdom's good:

Thus died heavens Champion, & the earths bright Glory;
The heavenly subject of this sacred story.¹

For Quarles it is "our Samson," "our Conqueror," and "heavens Champion" that are remembered. For Milton the retrospective view is given by Manoa, Samson's father:

Come, come, no time for lamentation now,
Nor much more cause, Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson, and heroically hath finished
A life Heroic, on his Enemies
Fully reveng'd, hath left them years of mourning,
And lamentation to the Sons of Caphtor
Through all Philistian bounds. To Israel
Honour hath left, and freedom, let but them
Find courage to lay hold on this occasion,
To himself and Fathers house eternal fame;
And which is best and happiest yet, all this
With God not parted from him, as was feard,
But favouring and assisting to the end.
Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or Knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt
Dispraise, or blame, nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.
Let us go find the body where it lies.²

For Quarles, Samson is "The heavenly subject of this sacred story," and in his detachment from his work, a detachment emphasized throughout by the meditations, Quarles never begins to understand the character of Samson, much less capture, as Milton, the noble and heroic qualities in him. It is indicative of Quarles' lack of imagination

¹The Historie of Samson, Sec. 23.

²Samson Agonistes, ed. cit., ll. 1708-1725.

and insight that he can refer to Samson as the "subject" of his work. Indeed, he could never have said as Milton has the father say, "Let us go find the body," for throughout Quarles' Historie Samson never really comes to life, whereas in Milton, the poet as creator has been at work, and we are confronted with a living hero.

Even though Quarles divided his narrative into sections and thus precluded himself from creating any elements of tenseness, of continual flow and development, or of suspense in his historical paraphrases, within these limited sections he could still have exercised more discrimination in handling his material. He never builds up important elements in his narrative, and the less important parts are never sacrificed. Such indiscrimination produces a level of dullness from which the work never rises. In the history of Job, for example, the whole of the work builds up in intensity to the great dialogue between God, in a whirlwind, and Job. The climax in Job's conflict has been reached and his repentance before God is the turning point in his life. When Quarles reaches this point he has Job say:

I know (great God) there's nothing hard to Thee,
Thy thoughts are pure, and too too deepe for me:
I am a Foole, and my distempered wits,
Longer out-strayed my Tongue, then well befits;

My knowledge slumbred, while my lips did chat,
 And like a Foole, I spake I knew not what.
 Lord, teach me Wisdome, lest my proud Desire,
 Cinge her bold Feathers in thy sacred fire;
 Mine eare hath oft been rounded with thy story,
 But now these very Eyes have seene thy glory.
 My sinfull words I not (alone) lament,
 But in the horror of my soule repent;
 Repent with Teares in sackcloth, mourne in Dust;
 I am a sinfull man, and Thou art just.¹

This speech is completely out of character. Job is the man who has been tried in spirit, and in body. In his dejection, he has cursed the day that he was born, and he has longed for death. He has travelled the path of humility and has recognized the frailty of man. Quarles has reduced him to the level of the simple schoolboy who, having broken some of the rules, apologizes to the domineering master. One is driven back to the original for the real experience of Job, the man who, like Moses, has the strength of character to hold direct communication with God:

I know that thou canst do everything, and that no thought can be withholden from thee. Who is he that hideth counsel without knowledge? therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me, which I know not. Hear, I beseech thee, and I will speak: I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me. I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear: but now mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.
 (Job, Authorized Version, XLII:2-6.)

¹Job Militant, Sec. 19.

It is primarily in his diction that Quarles reveals his failure to capture the spirit of the original, and this is particularly evident in the banality of the first six lines of the quotation. His general impoverishment in diction, in these historical paraphrases, indicates a lack of both intellectual and poetic powers. This deficiency is further revealed in a contrast of his treatment of Samson with that of Milton. Immediately after Samson has been captured and blinded, each poet reflects on Samson's past. Quarles' passage reads:

How is our story chang'd? O, more then strange
 Effects of so small time! O, sudden change;
 Is this that holy Nazarite, for whom
 Heaven shew'd a Miracle, on the barren wombe?
 Is this that holy Thing, againe whose birth,
 Angells must quit their thrones, and visit Earth?
 Is this that blessed Infant, that began
 To grow in favour so, with God and man?
 What, is this hee, who (strengthened by heavens hand)
 Was borne a Champion, to redeeme the Land?
 Is this the man, whose courage did contest
 With a fierce Lyon, grappling brest to brest;
 And in a twinkling, tore him quite in sunder?
 Is this that daring Conquerour, whose hand
 Thrasht the proud Philistines, in their wasted land?
 And was this He, that with the help of none,
 Destroy'd a thousand with a silly Bone?¹

¹The Historie of Samson, Med. 22.

The similar passage in Milton reads:

This, this is he; softly a while,
 Let us not break in upon him;
 O change beyond report, thought, or belief!
 See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,
 With languish't head unpropt,
 As one past hope, abandon'd,
 And by himself given over;
 In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds
 O're worn and soild;
 Or do my eyes misrepresent? Can this be hee,
 That Heroic, that Renown'd,
 Irresistible Samson? whom unarm'd
 No strength of man, or fiercest wild beast could withstand;
 Who tore the Lion, as the Lion tears the Kid,
 Ran on embatteld Armies clad in Iron,
 And weaponless himself,
 Made Arms ridiculous, useless the forgery
 Of brazen shield and spear, the hammer'd Cuirass,
 Chalybean temper'd steel, and frock of mail
 Adamantean Proof;
 But safest he who stood aloof,
 When insupportably his foot advanc't,
 In scorn of their proud arms and warlike tools,
 Spurn'd them to death by Troops. The bold Ascalonite
 Fled from his Lion ramp, old Warriors turn'd
 Their plated backs under his heel;
 Or grovling soild their crested helmets in the dust.
 Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,
 The Jaw of a dead Ass, his sword of bone,
 A thousand fore-skins fell, the flower of Palestin
 In Ramath-lechi famous to this day.¹

Quarles, in fact, is profuse and ineffective. For example, his first two lines have no force, whereas Milton in his economy of words has brought to the reader at once Samson

¹ Samson Agonistes, ed. cit., ll. 115-145.

in the full horror of his fall and at the same time the Samson of former glory. His "O change beyond report, thought, or belief," is the product of the genius, who in the transmutation of his material is caught up in the reality of the experience so intrinsically that one cannot say here is Milton, and here is his creation, the poem. Quarles, on the other hand, is sufficiently detached from his work to utter, "How is our story changed." It is not Samson's change that is alive to him, for he is the raconteur and he comments to his audience on the thing which he is relating, his story. Quarles uses the passage for a running resume of the story; but Milton, interested in the figure of Samson, concerns himself first with the figure of the broken hero. There is nothing in Milton of Quarles' "barren wombe," or of angels quitting their thrones. Milton, choosing his words to present his character, ignores biographical details, and focusing his attention on the character of Samson builds up from "Heroic" to "Renown'd" and then with "Irresistible Samson" he brings the character into full life, revealing his past glory and the terror of his present state. Milton, with his command of vocabulary and of his own learning, gives vitality to his review of Samson's feats. We see the armies, clad in full armour, the armies which a weaponless Samson destroyed, and

the iron of these armies is "Chalybean temper'd steel," "Adamantean proof." In his choice of weapons, Quarles thinks only of the "silly bone," but to Milton it is a "trivial weapon" and with "his sword of bone" the reader realizes that in Samson's hand that ineffective "Jaw of a dead Ass" has become a weapon of heroic dimensions.

I have considered the historical paraphrases as a unit, and as such the only conclusion I can draw is that they are very bad poetry. In his treatment of his material Quarles shows no interest in it as poetry, and in his diction he reveals no powers of intelligence that can raise him above the mundane level on which he moves. These works have been properly relegated to oblivion, and the literary historian who visits them there cannot bring back reports of neglected merit, even though his use of the pentameter couplet throughout has, as we have seen,¹ some significance in the history of versification. Quarles' didactic proclivities, I feel, dominated his whole attitude, his approach, and his handling of this biblical material. He has simply used verse as a tool for his didacticism, and it is not surprising that the result is not poetry.

¹Supra, 43 ff.

The best of Quarles biblical paraphrases are of the lyrical books, Sions Elegies (Lamentations) and Sions Sonets (Song of Solomon). (We have seen the Emblemes as paraphrases of single verses.¹) The separate meditation, interspersed in the narrative of the historical paraphrases, is absent in these paraphrases. The fact that these two works were published in 1624 and 1625 respectively emphasizes how deliberately Quarles persisted in working in the form of the historical paraphrases, which in composition and publication extended over the whole of his poetic career. To the Song of Solomon, he did add his own gloss, giving the usual interpretation about the marriage of Christ and his Church, but the poem may be read without it. Quarles has caught the spirit of this love poem, and as I have already pointed out there is not an attempt to suppress the language of secular love. Instead there is in many instances a heightening of its sensuousness.²

I believe that in these two works Quarles' interest is more that of the poet than in the historical paraphrases. He has chosen two works which are poetry, though not in rhyme nor in measured lines, in the Authorized Version.

¹S pra, 187b.

²Supra, pp. 182-3.

Since he has not heavily moralized his work, his poetic instinct seems to have freer play. In evaluating this poem the most important consideration is Quarles' handling of the original. To see this we may place two sections of the poem together. The first passage is from the Song of Solomon:

The voice of my beloved!
Behold, he cometh leaping upon the mountains,
Skipping upon the hills.
My beloved is like a roe or a young hart:
Behold, he standeth behind our wall,
He looketh forth at the windows,
Shewing himself through the lattice.

My beloved spake, and said unto me,
Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.
For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone;
The flowers appear on the earth;
The time of the singing of birds is come,
And the voice of the turtle is heard in our land;
The fig tree putteth forth her green figs,
And the vines with the tender grape give a good smell.
Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.¹

Quarles' paraphrase of this section reads as follows:

Harke, hark, I heare that thrice-celestial voyce
Wherein my spirits, rapt with joyes, rejoyce;
A voice, that tells me, my beloved's nie;
I know the Musicke, by the Majestie:
Behold he comes; 'Tis not my blemisht face,
Can flake the swiftnesse of his winged pace;
Behold he comes; His Trumpet doth proclame,
He comes with speed, a truer love ne're came.

¹Song of Solomon, Authorized Version, II: 8-13 . (I have chosen not to write the passage in verse form as in the original.)

Behold the fleetnesse of his nimble feet;
 The Roe-Bucke, & the Hart were ne're so fleet:
 The word I spake, flue not so speedie from me,
 As He, the treasure of my soule comes to me:
 He stands behind my wall, as if in doubt
 Of welcome; Ah, this wall debarres him out:
 O, how injurious is this wall of sin,
 That barres my Lover out, and bolts me in!

Harke, harke, me thinks I heare my true love say,
 Break down that envious barre, & come away;
 Arise (my dearest Spouse) and dispossesse
 Thy soule of doubtfull feares, nor over-presse
 Thy tender spirits with the dull despaire
 Of thy demerits: (Love) thou art as faire,
 As earth will suffer; Time will make thee clearer;
 Come forth (my love) then whom, my life's not dearer.

Come forth (my joy;) what bold affront of feare
 Can fright thy soule, as I, thy champion, here?
 'Tis I that calls, 'tis I, thy Bridegroom, calls thee,
 Betide it me, what ever evill befalls thee:
 The winter of thy sharpe Affliction's gone;
 Why fear'st thou cold, and art so nere the Sunne?
 I am thy Sunne; if thou be cold, draw nearer;
 Come forth (my Love) then whom my life's not dearer.

Come forth (my dear) the spring of joies invite thee,
 The flowers contend for beauty to delight thee
 Their sweet ambition's only, which might be
 Most sweet, most faire, because most like to thee:
 The Birds (sweet Heralds of so sweet a Spring)
 Warble high notes, and Hymenaeans sing;
 All sing, with joy, t'injoy so sweet a Hearer;
 Come forth (my love) then whom my life's not dearer.

The prosp'rous Vine, which this deare hand did plant
 Tenders due service to so sweet a Saint:
 Her hidden Clusters swell with sacred pride,
 To kisse the lips of so, so faire a Bride;
 Masqu'd in their leafes, they lurke, fearing to be
 Discryde by any, till first seene by Thee;
 The clouds are past; the heavens cannot be clearer,
 Come forth (dear love) then whom my life's no dearer.¹

¹Sions Sonets, Sonnets VII, no. 6-7, and VIII, no. 1-4.

From this section of the paraphrase it is immediately apparent that Quarles has not put to the forefront the moral and religious teachings characteristic of the historical paraphrases; however, even if he does heighten some of the sensuous effects, he also interprets within the paraphrase. The "wall" of the original becomes "the wall of sin," and "winter," the "winter of thy sharpe Afflictions." Such interpretations may suggest rather than demand the usual allegorical interpretation. Quarles' preoccupation with religious teaching finds expression in the glosses, but these are not an intrinsic part of the poem. They may express his attitude, and perhaps his intention, but if they do, he has actually transcended both and has caught the secular spirit of the original and, particularly in the section quoted, he reveals some power in handling the lyric form.

The above quotation from Quarles can stand out of its context as a lyric poem. It shows evidences of conscious artistry. The poem has unity of content and its form of dialogue, with the second character's speech reported by the first, suggested by the text, is well handled. There is a freedom of movement in thought and feeling, as well as in syntax, across the stanzas of the poem. This

interlocking permits the mounting of feeling, aids in making the poem a unit of experience, and with the refrain "Come forth (my love)" anticipates the conclusion. The stanzaic pattern could have achieved more elegance if it had not full stops at the final line of each but had linked the stanzas by sentence structure. The refrain, in its anticipation, may be questioned. It contributes to the tone and feeling of the poem, and its demand to be read as a part of the poem is made, not only by content, but by the force of the metre as well.

On a whole the language of the poem is good. It is simple and apt for the relation of a profound emotion, the love of reunited lovers. The alliterative balance is handled effectively in such lines as "I know the Musicke, by the Majestie," and "That barres my Lover out, and bolts me in." The couplets have a regularity that is sufficiently broken by occasional enjambment, and in stanza three an effect of impatience is gained in the first speech of the Bridegroom to the Bride by having a continuous flow without pauses through three and a half lines. The pattern of the decasyllabic line, ending in a masculine rhyme, is broken at least once in every stanza except the first.

I can discern no effect that the poet has achieved except possibly in the refrain "Come forth (my love)" where the extra syllable and the feminine rhyme achieve a lingering effect on the word "dearer" which may be considered as a key emotive word in the lyric. It seems in other cases that it is the necessity of rhyme that has determined the extra syllable. The effect of these couplets is one of incongruity and they are consequently the weakest element in the structure of the poem.

Quarles, however, has not created a poem which transcends its original. The suggestiveness of the original, achieved by its forthright and concise statements, is not to be found. The diction and the movement of thought and feeling in the original are not surpassed. But even so in Quarles' poem there is a suggestion of poetic power which is not found in the historical paraphrases.

The last consideration of the poetry of Quarles concerns his shorter works. The Shepherds Oracles are a collection of eclogues which, as we have seen, deal with the various religious factions of the poet's time.¹ As a whole they are more journalistic than poetic, and with the exception

¹Supra, Ch. II.

of a ballad in the first published eclogue we may pass over them. The ballad is sung by Anarchus, a representative of the Separatist faction, in the hearing of Philarchus and Philorthus, who support the Monarchy and the Established Church.¹ Anarchus is presented as an ignorant, prejudiced, and wholly misguided person. It is because of his ignorance that he thinks Philarchus and Philorthus are in sympathy with him and for this reason he breaks into song:

Know then my brethren, heav'n is cleare
 And all the Clouds are gon;
 The Righteous now shall flourish, and
 Good dayes are comming on;
 Come then, my Brethren, and be glad
 And eke rejoyce with me;
 Lawn sleeves & Rochets shal go down,
 And, hey! then up go we.

Wee'l breake the windowes which the whore
 Of Babilon hath painted,
 And when the Popish Saints are downe
 Then Barow shalbe Sainted;
 Ther's neither Crosse nor Crucifixe
 Shall stand for men to see
 Romes trash and trumperies shall goe down,
 And, hey! then up go we.

What ere the Popish hands have built
 Our Hammers shall undoe;
 Wee'l breake their Pipes and burne their Copes,
 And pull downe Churches too:
 Wee'l exercise within the Grove,
 And teach beneath a Tree,
 Wee'l make a Pulpit of a Cart,
 And, hey! then up go we.

¹Supra, p. 57 ff.

Wee'l downe with all the Varsities
 Where Larning is profest,
 Because they practice and maintaine
 The language of the Beast:
 Wee'l drive the Doctors out of doores,
 And Arts what ere they be,
 Wee'l cry both Arts & Larning downe,
 And, hey! then up go we.

Wee'l down with Deanes and Prebends too,
 But I rejoyce to tell ye,
 How then we will eate Pig our fill,
 And Capon by the belly:
 Wee'l burne the Fathers witty Tomes,
 And make the Schoole-men flee,
 Wee'l down with all that smels of wit,
 And, hey! then up go we.

If once that Antichristian crew
 Be crusht and overthrowne,
 Wee'l teach the Nobles how to croutch,
 And keep the Gentry downe;
 Good manners have an evill report,
 And turnes to pride we see,
 Wee'l therfore cry good manners down,
 And, hey! then up go we.

The name of Lord shall be abhor'd,
 For every man's a brother,
 No reason why in Church or State,
 One man should rule another:
 But when the change of Government
 Shall set our fingers free,
 Wee'l make the wanton Sisters stoope
 And, hey! then up go we.

Our Coblers shall translate their Soules
 From Caves obscure and shady,
 Wee'l make Tom T-- as good as my Lord
 And Ioane as good as my Lady.
 Wee'l crush and fling the marriage Ring
 Into the Roman See;
 Wee'l ask no bands, but even clap hands
 And hey! then up go we.¹

¹The Shepherds Oracle (1644), p. 13.

This is the best example of Quarles' satirical power, which is here combined with his ability to write lyric verse. The satire is handled so that in its context the ballad achieves an added irony by being sung in all good faith to characters who stand in opposition to all that the ballad and its singer represent. The ignorance, prejudice, and unscrupulous action of Anarchus and his like are conveyed not only by the context of the song but also by its content. The diction and metre combine in adding to that effect. Quarles' choice of the fourteenner, the metre in which much dull religious verse was written,¹ is a felicitous one. In handling that verse form he makes good use of its possibilities, for here in its quick and forceful movement it supplements the feeling of impatience in action suggested by the content. Quarles' purpose was to present ironically the view of the Separatists, and in his intense dislike of this faction, he has created a satirical and ironical poem which has much vitality.

In Divine Fancies, composed of meditations, observations, and epigrams, we find much of the moralizing and didactic Quarles. All too frequently the poems begin "The World's

¹Supra, pp. 9, 10, 43 ff.

a theatre," "Our Life's the Modell of a Winters Day," "Man is a Tennis court," etc. However, there are a few satirical pieces, both observations and epigrams, which, as the ballad above, suggest satirical powers in Quarles. There are those epigrams which reveal a mundane and satirical wit, such as the following:

Ere since our Blessed Saviour was betrayd
 With a Lip-Kisse, his Vicar is affraid:
 From whence, perchance, this common use did grow,
 To kisse his tother End: I meane his Toe.¹

In other epigrams he can tie up social abuse with religious ideas:

Our God and Souldiers we alike adore,
 Ev'n at the Brink of danger; not before:
 After deliverance, both alike requited;
 Our God's forgotten, and our Souldiers slighted.²

In some of the observations Quarles also reveals his satirical ability. The best of these has been quoted in part above, but here I shall give the poem in full:

Some raw Divines, no sooner are Espous'd
 To their first Wives, and in the Temple hous'd,
 But straight the Peace is broke: They now begin
 T'appoint the Field, to fight their Battailes in:
School-men must war with School-men; text with text:
 The first's the Chaldee's Paraphrase; the next

¹Divine Fancies, Bk. III, no. 22.

²Ibid., Bk. I, no. 39.

The Septuagints: Opinion thwarts Opinion;
 And then the Councils must be called t' advice,
 What this, of Lateran sayes; what that, of Nice:
 And here the poynt must be anew disputed;
Arrius is false; and Bellarmino's confuted;
 Thus with the sharpe Artill'ry of their Witt,
 They shoot at Random, carelesse where they hit:
 The slightly studied Fathers must be prayd,
 Although on small acquaintance, in to ayd,
 Whose glorious Varnish must impose a glosse
 Upon their Paint, whose gold must gild their drosse:
 Now Martine Luther must be purg'd by them,
 From all his Errors, like a School-boys Theame;
Free-will's disputed, Consubstantiation;
 And the deepe Ocean of Predestination,
 Where, daring venter, oft, too far into't,
 They, Pharo-like, are drownd both Horse and Foot:
 Forgetting that the Sacred Law enjoynes
New-married men to sit beneath their Vines,
 And cheare their Wives: Thy must not venter out
 To Warre, untill the Yeare be run about.1

If Quarles could view his own times as objectively as he indicated here, he could have developed as a satirist of his age. Here he is speaking of the Established Church, which he loved and defended, but his critical detachment is that of the satirist who can stand back and see clearly even that with which he is emotionally attached. The poem begins with constant enjambment of the couplets, but about half way through Quarles falls into the closed couplet. It is this ability for detachment and the suggestion of control over the closed couplet which, as

1Divine Fancies, Bk. I, no. 97.

Miss Freeman suggests,¹ indicate that the best of Quarles looks towards the Augustan age.

The popularity of Quarles has rested primarily on the Emblemes, and if it were not for the attraction of the emblem convention, little or no attention would have been paid to Quarles' poetry. The Emblemes, and the Hieroglyphicks, has attracted scholars who have studied both the emblem tradition in general and Quarles' emblem poetry in particular. Eleanor James in her study, "The Imagery of Quarles' 'Emblemes'," concludes:

He Quarles is a religious emblematic before he is a poet. He is not consciously a pupil of Donne's, nor is he concerned with the emblem as an instrument for the expression of his individuality. He is in no sense an intellectual poet; indeed he seems to have been a moralist and a religious teacher first, esteeming poetry only as a medium.¹

Rosemary Freeman in her study of English emblem books presents the following evaluation of Quarles:

Quarles's powers as an author seem to have been just those which the process of writing for the marketplace would develop; there was a happy coincidence of the man and the moment. He had an epigrammatic style, an eye for parallels, a trick for taking the reader into his confidence;

¹English Emblem Books, p. 129.

²University of Texas Studies in English, 1943, p. 48-9.

he has a fondness for compound epithets which looked impressive and yet could be easily reduced to their component parts, and thus afforded the reader a pleasant sense of intellectual achievement without overmuch intellectual effort.¹

And in regard to the poet's style she further says:

The poetic style itself through which this is done has the same obviousness and facility. Quarles relies upon every kind of rhetorical device--antithesis, accumulation, repetition, contrast--to stretch out his material to its utmost limits.²

Quarles' powers, recognized by Miss Freeman, undoubtedly account in part for his immense popularity during his life time. Such a style combined with his didacticism, ensured his success in his age.³

Quarles' poetic technique in the Emblemes derives from his practices in the meditations of the paraphrases.⁴ The practice there of accumulation of ideas around a theme without concern for the interrelationship of those ideas or for an intrinsic unity of the poem was one congenial to Quarles in writing the emblem poems. With the emblem

¹⁻²English Emblem Books, pp. 126-7.

³Supra, Ch. V.

⁴Supra, 186 ff.

and theme before him, he constructed a poem by drawing from each all related or suggested ideas. The length to which this process could be taken is well illustrated in the emblem poem developed around the theme "The sorrowes of hell compassed me about, and the snares of death prevented me."

What good in this bad world has pow'r t'invite thee
 A willing Guest? wherein can earth delight thee?
 Her pleasures are but Itch; Her wealth, but Cares;
 A world of dangers, and a world of snares:
 The close Pursuers busie hands do plant
 Snares in thy substance; Snares attend thy want:
 Snares in thy credit; Snares in thy disgrace;
 Snares in thy high estate; Snares in thy base;
 Snares tuck thy bed; and Snares around thy boord;
 Snares watch thy thoughts; and Snares attache thy word.¹

And so Quarles goes on.

Throughout the emblem poems, as in the works already discussed, Quarles seldom forgets that his actual role, and one in which he undoubtedly saw himself, was that of the moralist and the religious teacher. As a moralist he goes to great lengths to moralize every possible aspect of his poem. For example in the poem centred around the theme, "Let not the water-flood over-flow me, neither let the deepes

¹Emblemes, Bk. III, no. 9.

swallow me up," Quarles begins:

The world's a Sea; my flesh, a ship that's mann'd
 With lab'ring Thoughts; and steer'd by Reasons hand:
 My heart's the Sea-mans Card, whereby she sailes;
 My loose Affections are the greater Sailes:
 The Top-saile is my Fancy; and the Gusts
 That fill these wanton Sheets, are worldly Lusts.¹

This stringing together of ideas on the thread of the theme without any consideration of their interrelation precludes the possibility of a logical structure. There is no necessary conclusion to the poem, and Quarles most frequently concludes by addressing a prayer to God, the prayer being virtually a deus ex machina, after which there can be no more.

It is not in these strictly emblematic poems, but in the occasional lyrics in the Emblemes and Hieroglyphicks that Quarles' power as a poet is evident. These lyrics are characterized by their lack of didacticism and moralization and it seems that for a moment Quarles is interested in the poetry for itself rather than as a medium. Frequently these lyrics do not maintain an even quality, but parts of them do indicate that had Quarles given more attention to this form he might have written better poetry. For

¹Emblemes, Bk. III, no. 11.

example here are stanzas from two lyrical poems:

Youths now disclosing Bud peeps out, and shows
 Her Aprill head;
 And from her grass greene bed,
 Her virgin Primerose early blowes;
 Whil'st waking Philomel prepares to sing
 Her warbling Sonets to the wanton Spring.¹

And the following is the beginning of a lyric in the

Emblemes:

Will't nere be morning? Will that promis'd light
 Here breake, and cleare these Clouds of night?
 Sweet Phospher bring the day,
 Whose congu'ring Ray
 May chase these fogges: Sweet Phospher bring the day.²

Quarles lyric ability was recognized by Rochester, or by an early eighteenth century publisher of Rochester's work. In the 1707 edition of Rochester's works, printed for Edmund Curll, there appeared the poem "Why dost thou shade thy lovely face?" which had been taken directly, with but few changes, from Quarles' Emblemes.³

¹Hieroglyphicks, no. 10. ² Emblemes, Bk. I, no. 12.

³The poem did not appear in the 1680 (Antwerp) edition nor in Tonson's edition of 1691. The 1707 edition, printed for E. Curll, is considered of little or no textual value (cf. James Thorpe, ed., Rochester's 'Poems on Several Occasions', Princeton, 1950.) The revision of the poem of Quarles is not accepted by any scholars today as being that of Rochester (cf. J. Prinz, John Wilmot, 1927, p. 114. and Vivian de Sola Pinto, Poems, 1953, p. xliii.)

The poem was accepted for the work of Rochester until this century, and it was accepted in the first edition of the Oxford Book of English Verse (1900). As a part of Rochester's work it has received high acclaim for its lyrical qualities. I shall give the two versions of the poem below:

Quarles. Emblemes, Bk. III, no. 7.

1. Why dost thou ~~shade~~ thy lovely face? O why
Does that eclipsing hand, so long, deny
The Sun-shine of thy soule-enliv'ning eye?
2. Without that Light, what light remains in me?
Thou art my Life, my Way, my Light; in Thee
I live, I move, and by thy beames I see:
3. Thou art my Life: If thou but turne away,
My life's a thousand deaths: thou art my Way;
Without thee, Lord, I travell not, but stray.
4. My Light thou art; without thy glorious sight,
Mine eyes are darkned with perpetuall night.
My God, thou art my Way, my Life, my Light.
5. Thou art my Way; I wander, if thou flie:
Thou art my Light; If hid, how blind am I?
Thou art my Life; If thou withdraw, I die:
6. Mine eyes are blind and darke; I cannot see;
To whom, or whether should my darknesse flee,
But to the Light? who's that Light but thee?
7. My Path is lost; my wandring steps do stray;
I cannot safely go, nor safely stay;
Whom should I seek but Thee, my Path, my Way?

8. O, I am dead: To whom shall I, poore I
 Repaire? To whom shall my sad Ashes fly
 But Life? And where is Life but in thine eye?
9. And yet thou turn'st away thy face, and fly'st me;
 And yet I sue for Grace, and thou deny'st me;
 Speak, art thou angry, Lord, or onely try'st me?
10. Unskreene those heav'nly lamps, or tell me why
 Thou shad'st thy face; Perhaps, thou think'st, no eye
 Can view those flames, and not drop downe and die:
11. If that be all; shine forth, and draw thee nigher;
 Let me behold and die; for my desire
 Is Phoenix-like to perish in that Fire.
12. Death-conquer'd Laz'rus was redeem'd by Thee;
 If I am dead, Lord set deaths prisner free;
 Am I more spent, or stink I worse than he?
13. If my pufft light be out, give leave to tine
 My flamelesse snuffe at that bright Lamp of thine;
 O what's thy Light the lesse for lighting mine?
14. If I have lost my Path, great Shepheard say,
 Shall I still wander in a doubtfull way?
 Lord, shall a Lamb of Isr'els sheepfold stray?
15. Thou art the Pilgrims Path; the blind mans Eye;
 The dead mans Life; on thee my hopes rely;
 If thou remove, I erre; I grope; I die:
16. Disclose thy Sun-beames; close thy wings, and stay;
 See, see, how I am blind, and dead, and stray,
 O thou, that art my Light, my Life, my Way.

Rochester. Works, 1707 ed., p. 32.

To his Mistress

1. Why do'st thou ~~shade~~ thy lovely face? O why
Does that Eclipsing hand of thine deny
The Sun-shine of the Suns enlivening Eye?
2. Without thy light what light remains in me
Thou art my Life, my way my Light's in Thee;
I Live I move and by thy beams I see.
3. Thou art my Life, if thou but turn away
My Life's a thousand Deaths, Thou art my way
Without thee (Love) I travel not but Stray.
4. My Light thou art, without thy Glorious sight
My Eyes are Darken'd with Eternal night.
My Love Thou art my way, my Life my light.
5. Thou art my way I wander if thou fly
Thou art my Light If hid how blind am I.
Thou art my Life If thou withdraw'st I Die.
6. My Eyes are dark and blind I cannot see
To whom or whether should my darkness flee
But to that Light, and who's that Light but Thee?
7. If that be all Shine forth and draw thou nigher¹
Let me be bold and dye for my desire
A Phenix likes to Perish in the Fire.
8. If my Puft Life be out give leave to -- ²
My shameless Snuff at the bright Lamp of thine
Ah! what's thy Light the less for Lighting mine.
9. If I have lost my Path dear Lover say
Shall I still wander in a Doubtful way
Love shall a Lamb of Israel's Sheepfold Stray?

¹The 1721 edition of Rochester reads, "Since that is all..."

²The 1721 edition fills in the missing word, reading
"give leave to join."

10. My path is lost my wandering Steps does [sic] Stray
 I cannot go nor safely stay
 Whom should I seek but Thee my Path my Way?
11. And yet thou turn'st thy Face a way and flyest me
 And yet I sue for Grace and thou deniest me
 Speak art thou angry, Love or only tryest me?
12. Display those Heavenly Lamps, or tell me why
 Thou Shad'st my Face perhaps no Eye
 Can view their Flames and not drop down and Die.
13. Thou art the Pilgrims Path the Blind mans Eye,
 The Dead mans Life on Thee my hopes rely:
 If I but them remove I e'er I Die.
14. Dissolve hy Sun-Beams close thy Wings and Stay
 See se how I am blind and Dead and Stray!
 O thou that art my Life my Light my way'.
15. Then work thy will if Passion bid me flee
 My Reason shall obey my Wings shall be ¹
 Stretched out no further than from me to thee.

The lyric has not been changed much in the Rochester version. The primary changes are those which are aimed at making it a secular work. It is certainly a tribute to Quarles that, at a time when he was unpopular, his work, in this context unconnected with his didactic proclivities, was obviously read with appreciation.

¹This last stanza is the last stanza of another of Quarles' emblem poems, Bk. III, no. 14.

But the greatest tribute to Quarles' lyric ability comes in our own century. In the Cambridge History of English Literature Charles Whibley, speaking in ignorance of Quarles' authorship, says the following about the poem:

It is Rochester's added distinction that, almost alone in his age, he wrote lyrics touched with feeling, even with passion. Though, at times, he makes sport of his own inconstancy, though, like the rest he rimes 'kisses' with 'blisses' and 'heart' with 'smart,' he could write

An Age in her embraces past,
Would seem a Winter's Day;

or, still, better, those lines to his mistress, which begin, 'Why dost thou ~~shade~~ thy lovely face,' and which none of his fellows approached. Here, the metre is as far beyond their reach as the emotion.¹

This, of course, cannot be regarded as a final evaluation of Quarles as a lyric poet; for presumably the judgement of Rochester's poetry is made on the basis of the body of lyrics which he wrote. Quarles' lyric poetry is scant, but in this poem and others there is certainly discernible a

¹Vol. 8, p. 215.

lyric ability. And in conclusion, we may look at Quarles' most successful poem in the Emblemes. The poem is based upon Song of Solomon, II: 16, "My beloved is mine, and I am his; he feedeth among the lilies."

Ev'n like two little bank-dividing brookes,
 That wash the pebles with their wanton streames,
 And having rang'd and search'd a thousand nookes,
 Meet both at length, in silver-brested Thames;
 Where, in a greater Current they conjoyne:
 So I my Best-Beloveds am; so He is mine.

Ev'n so we met; and after long pursuit,
 Ev'n so we joyn'd; we both became entire;
 No need for either to renew a Suit,
 For I was Flax and he was Flames of fire:
 Our firm-united soules did more then twine;
 So I my Best-Beloveds am; so He is mine.

If all those glittering Monarchs that command
 The servile Quarters of this earthly Ball,
 Should tender, in Exchange, their shares of land,
 I would not change my Fortunes for them all:
 Their wealth is but a Counter to my Coyne;
 The world's but theirs; but my Beloved's mine.

Nay, more; If the faire Thespian Ladies, all
 Should heap together their diviner treasure:
 That Treasure should be deem'd a price too small
 To buy a minuts Leafe of halfe my Pleasure;
 'Tis not the sacred wealth of all the Nine
 Can buy my heart from Him; or His, from being mine.

Nor Time, nor Place, nor Chance, nor Death can bow
 My least desires unto the least remove;
 Hee's firmly mine by Oath; I, His, by Vow;
 Hee's mine by Faith; and I am His by Love;
 Hee's mine by Water; I am His, by Wine;
 Thus I my Best-Beloveds am; Thus He is mine.

He is my Altar; I, his Holy Place;
 I am his Guest; and he, my living Food;
 I'm his, by Poenitence; He, mine by Grace;
 I'm his, by Purchase; He is mine, by Blood;
 Hee's my supporting Elme; and I, his Vine.
 Thus I my Best-Beloveds am. Thus He is mine.

He gives me wealth: I give him all my Vowes:
 I give Him songs; He gives me length of dayes;
 With wreathes of Grace he crownes my conq'ring browes:
 And I, his Temples, with a Crowne of Praise,
 Which he accepts as an everlasting signe,
 That I my Best-Beloveds am; that He is mine.¹

This celebration of the joy of two lovers is obviously a carefully worked out poem. It opens in stanza one with an idyllic picture of the two lovers. These could be any two mortal lovers. The feeling becomes more intense in stanza two, particularly with the introduction of the image of flax and fire. After this assertion of love there is the usual statement of any lovers that their love is beyond material wealth. In stanza five, with the statement of the constancy of the love, its nature as the love of the Saviour and the saved becomes evident. Then in eleven lines of short parallel clauses, the poet uses the core of the Christian tradition of salvation to express the divine love which exist between the Soul and its

¹Emblemes, Bk. V, no. 3. (III:91). (Benjamin Britten has set Quarles' poem to music: Canticle I, op. 40, 1949).

Saviour. The intensity of feeling subsides in the concluding lines of the last stanza, where the reward of the love and its everlasting quality are asserted. Thus the unity and symmetry of the poem are established by its tone, a tone which is maintained throughout by the sincerity of feeling conveyed by apposite diction.

Quarles has not used a basic image integral to the structure of the poem, and fortunately he has not, as he frequently did, strung innumerable images on his theme. The theme is used, structurally, as a refrain, and it is carefully handled with modifications which, particularly in stanzas 3, 4, 5, bring it in as an essential part of the thought structure of each stanza.

From this consideration of Quarles' poetry emerges the impression that his poetic powers were stifled by his preoccupation with didacticism and moralization. It was this preoccupation that dominated the historical paraphrases which constitute the major portion of his work. When, for a time, he transcends this utilitarian approach to poetry, he shows potential powers as a satirist and as a lyricist. If he had concentrated on these powers, he probably would have produced a poetry of more lasting value. But he did not, and the verse which he did write had, as we have seen, a wide appeal to his contemporaries. For the applause

and for the material success of the moment, he chose to be the poet of the market place. His reward was in exhorting and teaching and in the realization that thereby he gave comfort and hope to his unimaginative fellow pilgrims to Paradise, where he doubtless has a place among those who were useful.

APPENDIX I

TEXTUAL CHANGES IN DIVINE POEMES (1630)

In 1630 Quarles collected his biblical poems--
A Feast for Wormes (1620, 2nd ed. 1626); Hadassa (1621);
Job Militant (1624); Sions Elegies (1624); and Sions
Sonets (1625)--and published them as Divine Poemes.
On the title page there appeared these words: "Revised,
and Corrected with Additions. By the Author Fra: Quarles."
In order to show the nature of these revisions I have
given the following illustrative passages from two of
the poems.

DIVINE POEMES, 1630, A Feast for WormesA Feast for Wormes, Section 1.

1. Th' Eternall Word of God, whose high Decree
2. Admits no change, and cannot frustrate be,
3. Came downe to Ionah, from the heavens above,
4. Came downe to Jonah, heavens anointed Dove;
5. Ionah, the flowre of old Amittai's youth,
6. Ionah, the Prophet, Sonne, and Heire to Truth,
7. The blessed Type of him, that ransom'd us,
8. That Word came to him, and bespake him thus:

15. Whose tender paps, with plenty overflow;¹

20. And goe to Miniveh, where no Allies,¹

58. Plead not (like Paul) but roare (like Boanarges:)
59. Nor let the beauty of the buildings bleare thee,²

¹Hereafter, such variants that have no textual significance will not be recorded.

²A Feast for Wormes was revised first in 1626. There were few changes in the 163rd edition. The following variants, as will be seen, are insignificant:

1626, line 2, bee for be.

line 4, Dove, for Dove;

line 58, like Paul, for (like Paul)

line 59, reads the same as the 1620 version.

60. Let not the terrors of the Rampiers feare thee;¹

64. Be deafe to them, as they are deafe to mee:¹

65. Goe, cry against it. If they aske thee, why?

66. Say, heavens great Lord commanded thee to cry:

67. My Altars cease to smoake; their holy fires

68. Are quencht, and where prayers should, their sin aspires;

69. The fatnesse of their fornication fryes

70. On coales of raging lust, and upward flyes,

71. And makes me sick: I heare the mournfull grones

72. And heavy sighes of such, whose ~~ask~~^aking bones

73. Th' oppressor grindes: Alas, their griefes implore me,

74. Their pray'rs, prefer'd with teares, plead lowd before me:

75. Behold, my sonnes, they have opprest, and kill'd,

76. And bath'd their hands within the blood they spill'd:

83. They eate, they drinke, they sleepe, they tire the night

84. In wanton dalliance, and uncleane delight.

89. Hold out thy Trumpet, and with louder breath,

90. Proclame my sudden comming, and their death.

¹
In the 1626 version these two lines read the same
as the 1620 version.

DIVINE POEMES, 1630, HadassaHadassa, Section 5.

1.

2. In ev'ry eare, and Shire proclam'd, and spred,

10. He sent for costly Oyles, and fragrant Myrrh,

21. Wherein inclos'd the Courtly Ester was,

28. Sixe months perfum'd in change of odours sweet,

40. Remaine, untill the satiate King shall please

41. To lend their pamperd bodyes a release.

45. To lend a needlesse spurre t' unchast Desire,

These two passages illustrate well the type of editing which Quarles practised in the collected edition of his religious poems. He gave the most attention to A Feast for Wormes, of which the second edition appeared in 1626. The other works included in Divine Poemes received revisions similar to those made in Hadassa.

In the revision of A Feast for Wormes, Quarles is working as a craftsman trying to improve the versification and the diction of his poems. Certainly he improves line 74, "Their pray'rs, and their oppressions come before me," when he changes it to "Their pray'rs, prefer'd with teares, plead lowd before me." But as compared with this change his revision of line 68 was perhaps less fortunate: "Their holy fires/ Are quencht, and where prayers should, their sin aspires." This version certainly rises above the doggerel of the original: "Behold, their wickednesse is mounted to me." But the improvement only brings the line to the level of adequate prose. The change in the final couplet, on the other hand, is certainly for the better:

1620: "I come my Selfe with plagues, Goe thou afore me,
For all their wickednesse is come before me."

1630: "Hold out thy Trumpet, and with louder breath,
Proclame my sudden comming, and their death."

In the diction the change in the second line from "That eye remains" to "Admits no change" makes for better reading. The change of "delightful play" to "uncleane delight" in line 84 shows the moral side of Quarles at work. Signs of good taste in his revisions are less apparent; it is significant that he is content to leave the words "And makes me sick" in line 71 unchanged.

In short, while these changes reveal at times a degree of competence, they are not sufficiently significant to justify a study of Quarles as a developing craftsman or as an artist. He early became satisfied with his own level of poetic ability, as is seen in his revisions of Hadassa and the other poems included in Divine Poemes. But even in the passage from Hadassa his revision of lines 40 and 41--

Even so are they, untill the King shall please,
With lustfull bayle their bondage to release.

--shows that he is quite happy to throw away the best element of the line: "with lustfull bayle" disappears.

In regard to each work considered as a whole, Quarles was pleased with its content and his initial conception. In no work are there any major alterations.

His revisions are concentrated primarily on individual lines, and in these he fluctuates around mediocrity, sometimes falling below and sometimes attaining that level.

APPENDIX II

VOCABULARY

A List of Words which Quarles either Introduced or
Used with New Meanings

Following the entry of the word, its date of ~~its~~ use, its part of speech and classification, and its definition are given. Then follows the work in which it occurs and an example of its use. The final reference is to where the example may be found in Grosart. Any correction of the NED's information is noted in parenthesis.

ABSTRACT-- 1629 (NED date, 1678). v. To make an abstract of to summarize, epitomize, to abridge. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. I, p. 1. "There dwelt that Virgin, that Arcadian glory/ Whose rare composure did abstract the story of true perfection." III:241.

ABTRACTOR--1646. sb. obs. One who abstracts. Shepherds Oracles Egl. 9, p. 112. "If each abstraction draws/ A curse upon the abstractor." III:229.

ALPINE--1636. a. Of or pertaining to the Alps; hence of any lofty mountains. (Quarles uses the word in a transferred sense which the NED does not record.) Elegy...Sir Julius Caesar. "Whilst we cut our way/ Through these our Alpine griefes." III:11.

ANNORME--1646 (NED date, 1644).¹ v. obs. rare. To reduce to rule, normalize. Shepherds Oracles Egl. 3, p.31. "We did annorme our Government." III:210.

ANTICEREMONIAN-1644. sb. obs. One opposed to ceremonies. The Whipper Whipt, p. 15. "Did not the Doctor... confesse himself an enemy to Anticeremonians." I:166.

¹Words from posthumous works are dated by the year of publication rather than the year of Quarles' death.

- APOGEAN--1645 (NED date, 1644). a. Proceeding off from the earth or land. (Quarles uses the word in a transferred sense.) Solomons Recantation Sol. 9. "Let not that rude, that Apogean storm/ Of flesh and blood dismay thee." II:185.
- ART--1646 (NED date, 1660). v. To instruct in arts, or in any particular art. Shepherds Oracles Egl. 8, p. 96. "Art me no Arts; That which the Sp^rit infuses/ Shall edge my tongue." III:225.
- ASPINE--1644. a. obs. rare. Of, or pertaining to, an Asp. Shepherds Oracles Egl. 8, p. 89. "Thy breath to spend/ Her Aspine venom." III:224.
- ATTENT--1626 (NED date, 1620. The word appears first in the second ed. of the work.) v. obs. rare. Variant of attempt. A Feast for Wormes Sec. 5. "With oft-repeated labours, oft attented." II:15.
- AUSTRIAN--1634. a. obs. rare. Southern, austral. Elegy ... Lady Luckyn, st. 14. "The Queen of light, / Rob'd with full Glorie in her Austrian skies." III:25.
- BEDEAF--1620. v. obs. To deafen. A Feast for Wormes, Sec. 6. "A friendly Creditor.../ Bedeafing him with what he knows." II:16.
- BEDEAFEN--1631. v. Intensive of deafen. Found only in pa. pple. Historie of Samson, Sec. 8. "Whose softe language... did wake/ His father's sleep-bedeafned eares." II:146.
- BEDRID--1629 (NED date, 1621)¹. a. fig. Worn out, decrepit, impotent. Argalus and Parthenia BK. I, p. 87. "Whose bed-rid hopes, not having power to quell." III:264.
- BENIGHT--1629 (NED date, 1654). v. To involve in the darkness of night. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. II, p. 60. "Benight those rooms; and aid all such as feare/ The eye of heaven." III:257.
- BEREAVING--1621. ppl. a. That bereaves. Hadassa, Med. 1. "I well conceive this sense-bereaving song." II:48.
- BETRENCHED--1635. (The sense in which Quarles uses the word is not recorded in the NED.) Emblemes Bk. IV, no. 2, st. 4. "This gyring lab'rinth is betrench'd about/ On either hand, with streams of sulphurous fire." III:80.

¹The NED frequently and erroneously gives 1621 as the date of Argalus and Parthenia.

- BIVIOUS--1649 (NED date, 1644). a. Having or offering two ways or courses. Virgin Widow Act. III, sc. 1, p.42. "I stand even-balanc'd, doubtfully opprest,/ Beneath the burthen of a bivious brest." III:303.
- BLOAT--1635. a. puffed, swollen, inflated. Transf. Emblemes Bk. I, Invocation. "Scorn, Scorn to feed on thy old bloat desires." III:46.
- BLUSTRY--1629 (NED date, 1804). a. Boisterously blowing. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. I, p. 9. "Presages wind and blustry stormes." III:243.
- BOANARGE--1644. v. (Not recorded in NED as a verb.) To preach loudly and vociferously. The Whipper Whipt, p. 29. "But you, that have fresh Influences of the spirit, may Boanarge it where and when ye please." I:171.
- BOGGY--1646. a. Of the nature of, characterized by, bog. fig. Judgement and Mercy, "The Procrastinator's Remoras." "Let me drain my boggy soul." I:76.
- BRAZIL--1635. attrib. Taken as a type of hardness. Emblemes Bk. I, no. 10. "Turn thou my Brazil thoughts." III:53.
- BROADSIDE--1646. a. (Definition as an adjective is not given by the NED.) Shepherds Oracles Egl. 7, p. 83. "The broadside Bream." III:222.
- CEREMONY--1635. v. obs. rare. To sanctify or treat with ceremony. Emblemes Bk. V, no 8. "Hymen's bands/ Have ceremonyed your unequall hands." III:95.
- CHRISTMAS-BOX--1629 (NED date, 1621). sb. The Butler's Box, in which gamesters put part of their winnings. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. III, p. 143. "When skilfull gamesters play,? The Christmas-boxe gaines often more then they." III:280.
- CIRCEAN--1635 (NED date, 1649). a. Of, pertaining to, or resembling the enchantress Circe. Emblemes Bk. II, no. 9. "What Circean charm." III:62.
- CLIPPING--1635. ppl. a. That flies or moves fast. Emblemes Bk. IV, no. 2. "The pineons of a clipping dove." III:80.
- COAPPEAR--1635. v. rare. To appear together. Emblemes Bk. II, no. 1, st. 3. "Heav'n's scornfull flames and thine can never co-appeare." III:57.

- COBWEB--1638. v. To cover or hang with cobwebs. Chiefly in pa. pple. (No examples given in NED.) Hieroglyphikes No. XIV, st. 3. "And now the cold Autumnall dewes are seen/ To cobwebbe every Greene." III:196.
- CONSUMELESS--1635. a. poet. Unconsumable. Emblemes Bk. III, no. 14. "The purple waves/ Scal'd their consumelesse bodies." III:77.
- CONTEXT--1635. sb. The connected structure of a writing or composition. fig. Emblemes Bk. II, no. 6. "The skillful Glosse of her reflection/ But paints the Context of thy coarse Complexion." III:60.
- CROCEAN--1629 (NED date, 1621). a. obs. Saffron coloured. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. III, p. 103. "The pillow of his Croclan bed." III:269.
- DAMASK--1638 (NED date, 1863). v. To make red or blush coloured, like a damask rose. Hieroglyphikes No. XIII. "That rich ennamell, which of old,/ Damaskt the downy Cheeke, and told/ A harmelesse guilt." III:195.
- DATELESS--1621 (NED date, 1644). a. Without a date, bearing no date, undated. Hadassa, Med. 14. "Though datelesse, yet the bond's not present due." II:61.
- DEBAUCHNESS--1641. a. obs. rare. Debauchedness. Enchyridion Cent. IV, cap. xcix. "Let him avoid Debauchnesse." I:48.
- DESPIISABLE--1644. a. obs. Contemptuous. Barnabas and Boanerges "The widow's distresse." "I...am now rejected by the despisable name of a widow." I:109.
- DIARCHY--1640 (NED date, 1835). sb. A government by two rulers. Elegy...Sir John Wolstenholme, sec. 20. "Victorious passion...with Reason in an equall Diarchy." III:36.
- DIDDLE--1632. v. obs. To walk unsteadily as a child. Divine Fancies Bk. I., no. 4. "To see him diddle up and down the room." II:202.
- DISALTERN--1635. v. obs. To alter or change for the worse. Emblemes Bk. III, no. 4. "O wilt thou disalterne the rest thou gav'st?" III:71.

- DISLAND--1632. v. obs. To deprive of land, or of a landed estate. Divine Fancies Bk. IV, no. 17. "To ruine wife or dis-land an Hier." II:244.
- DISPOSSESSION--1640. sb. Something of which one has been dispossessed. obs. Nonce-use. Enchyridion Cent. I, cap. c. "Warres...whose ends are not...to recover your dispossessions." I:17.
- DISQUARTER--1632. v. obs. To halve or divide the quarters of. Divine Fancies Bk. III, no. 75. "Being half'd, quarter'd, and disquarter'd thus." II:239.
- DISREWARD--1640. v. To reverse the act of rewarding. Enchyridion Cent. II, cap. xcvi. "It disrewards goodnesse in it selfe." I:28.
- DISTREASURE--1641. v. obs. To despoil of a treasure. Enchyridion Cent. IV, cap. xxi. "Distreasure him of his ill got wealth." I:41.
- DRAGGLE-TAILED--1649 (NED date, 1654). a. Having a tail or skirt that trails on the ground in mud and wet. Virgin Widow Act. II. sc. 1. "Go heyday your base Trulls, your three-half-penny draggle-tailed Queanes." III:300.
- DRIBLET--1632. sb. A small sum, odd money in a sum. Divine Fancies Bk. III, no. 25. "We crave and crave a longer day, / Then pay in Driblets, or else never pay." II:232.
- EARTHED--1635. (NED date, 1648). v. To plunge or hide in earth. To cover with earth. fig. Emblemes Bk. I, no. 7, st. 5. "O Thou the fountaine of whose better part / Is earth'd, and gravil'd up with vaine desire." III:51.
- ECHING--1646 (NED date, 1644). ppl. a. That increases speed, is quickened. Shepherds Oracles. Egl. 2, p. 13. "Lord how my Lambs divide / Their eching paces to the farther side." III:206.
- ECLIPSING--1635. ppl. a. That causes eclipse, that darkens, or causes darkness or obscurity. fig. Emblemes Bk. III, no. 7. "Why / does thy eclipsing hand so long deny / The sunshine...?" III:72.
- ELAPSED--1646 (NED date, 1644). ppl. a. Lapsed, past, gone by. Shepherds Oracles Egl. 1, p. 8. "Such may have pardons for elapsed crimes." III:205.

- ELEGIOUS--1632. a. obs. Resembling an elegy; hence, lugubrious, melancholy, mournful. Divine Fancies Bk. IV, no. 10. "Th' affrighted heav'ns sent down elegious Thunder." II:244.
- ELIXIR--1635. sb. Alchemy. A preparation by the use of which it was sought to change metals into gold. fig. and transfr. Emblemes Bk. IV, no. 4. "True Feare's the Elixar, which in dayes of old/ Turn'd leaden Crosses into Crowns of gold." III:81.
- EMBALM--1620 (NED date, 1856). v. To preserve (a corpse) from decay by other means than spices, as by cold, etc. rare. A Feast for Wormes, Sec. 5. "Oh, let the swelling waters me embalme." II:14.
- ENDFULL--1645. a. obs. Full of ends or aims. Ambitious, busy. Solomons Recantations, Sol. 5. "Bend thy endfull heart to make heav'ns glory th' end." II:179.
- ESSENCE--1635. v. To pour like an essence. fig. Emblemes Bk. I, no. 5. "Love essenc'd in the hearts of men." III:49.
- EXCUSELESS--1640. a. Not offering an excuse. obs. Enchyridion Cent. II, cap. 2. "Charity is a naked child....Naked, because excuselesse and simple." I:20.
- EXUBEROUS--1649 (NED date, 1651). a. Exuberant. Virgin Widow, Act. 1, sc. 1., p. 7. "When we had taken the first crop of his exuberous baggs." III:292.
- EXUBERANCE--1631 (NED date, 1638). a. An overflowing amount or quantity; a superabundance. Historie of Samson, Med. 8. "The sweet exubrance of whose full-mouth'd portion...." II:146.
- FADDLING--1649. pp1. a. Trifling, pettifogging. Virgin Widow, Act IV, sc. 1, p. 52. "There's such a deale of fiddling, and such a deal of fadling." III:306.
- FELICIFY--1642 (NED date, 1683). v. obs. To render happy. Observations Concerning Princes and States, no. 3. "As unity within itselife felicifies...." I:53.

- FICTIOUS--1646. (NED date, 1644). a. obs. Fictitious.
Shepherds Oracles Egl. 1, p. 10. "It was my onely
griefe that my report...was counted fictious." III:205.
- FLEET--1629 (NED date, 1621). a. Having little depth, shallow.
Argalus and Parthenia Bk. I, p. 11. "Hazard no more/
To wrack your fortunes on so fleet a shore." III:244.
- FLEETNESS--1625. sb. Swiftnesse. Sions Sonets, Sonnet VII,
no. 7. "Behold the fleetnesse of his nimble feet."
II:125.
- FLING--1635. v. absol. To throw or aim a missile at. Emblemes
Bk. I, no. 7, st. 5. "While death that flings at all,
Stands arm'd...." III:51.
- FLITTING--1620. a. Making short rapid flights; darting
lightly from point to point. A Feast for Wormes, Sec. 9,
"Convay'd with speed upon the nimble wing of flitting
Fame." II:20.
- FLOTTEN--1632. ppl.a. obs. Skimmed. fig. Divine Fancies
Bk. II, no 28. "Perhaps the flotten Afternoonnes are
thine." II:218.
- FRANTIC--1635. v. intr. To move frantically. Emblemes Bk.V,
no. 4. "Like to the Artic needle, that...first
franticks up and downe." III:92.
- FUDDLED--1640 (NED date, 1656). ppl. a. Intoxicated; also
muddled. Elegy...Sir John Wolstenholme, st. 1.
"Fancies, fuddl'd with sacred streams." III:35.
- GASHFUL--1620. a. obs., exc. dial. Ghastly. A Feast for Wormes,
med. 9. "Prodigall up-banding of thine eyes, / Whose
gashfull balls do seeme to pelt the skies." II:20.
- HABERDASH--1635. v. obs. To deal in haberdashery or small
wares. Emblemes Bk. II, no. 5, st. 5. "To haberdash
in earths base wares." III:60.
- HECATEAN--1635. a. Belonging to Hecate. Emblemes Bk. II,
no. 9, st. 1. "What Hecatean spight...?" III:62.
- HYMENAEAN--1624. (NED date, 1667). sb. Wedding Hymn.
Sions Sonets, Sonnet VIII, no. 3. "The Birds...warble
high notes, and Hymenaeans sing." II:125.

- IMMERD--1635. v. rare. To bury in or cover in ordure. Emblemes, "Dedication." "Let Dorrs delight to immerd themselves in dung." III:45.
- IMPARDONABLY--1644 (NED date, 1646). adv. Unpardonably. The Whipper Whipt, p. 32. "Impardonably damnable." I:172.
- IMPAVE--1635 (NED date, 1833). v. To pave in. To set in a pavement. Emblemes Bk. V, no.14. "And what drop down in cold and gelid gore/ Did turn rich Saphyrs, and impav'd her floor." III:99.
- INCONSISTIBLE--1646 (NED date, 1660). a. obs. That cannot consist; inconsistent. Judgement and Mercy, "Preface" by Richard Royston, printer. (NED attributes the word to Quarles). "Those that are inconsistible with vertue." I:61.
- INDISCOVERABLE--1640. a. Not discoverable. Enchyridion Cent. I, cap. lxxiv. "To keepe his own designes indiscoverable to his Enemy." I:15.
- JANITOR--1629 (NED date, 1630). sb. A doorkeeper. Porter. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. III, p. 103. "The gray-ey'd Ianitor does now begin/ To ope his Easterne portals." III:269.
- LAMPLET--1629 (NED date, 1621). sb. A small lamp. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. III, p. 120. "Enter your Lamplets of terrestriall fire." III:273.
- LANDSCAPE--1635. a. (Use as an adj. is not recorded in NED. In an attributive sense, the first date given is 1874). Emblemes Bk. IV, no. 12, st. 4. "Hymen did present his Lanskip joyes." III:87.
- LUCUBRATED--1645. ppl. a. Consumed in lucubration. Solomons Recantation, Sol. 1. "Spare neither sweat nor lucubrated oyle." II:173.
- MEANDERING--1645 (NED date, 1680). ppl. a. That meanders; flexuous; winding. Solomons Recantation, Sol.12. "When vigour trains/ The sparkling blood through thy meandring veins." II:189.

- MICROCOSMAL-- 1645. a. Pertaining to or of the nature of a microcosm. Solomons Recantation, Cap. XII. "Dark in thy microcosmal hemisphear." II:188.
- MISCONSTRUED--1629 (NED date, 1682). ppl. a. Construed amiss. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. I, p. 16. "But my misconstred streames did ne're proceed/ From Cupids spring." III:246
- MISEXPENDING--1646. vbl. sb. Wrong expenditure. Judgement and Mercy, "The sloathfull man's prayer." "The misexpending of my pretious time." I:82.
- MIZZLE--1638. v. To rain in very fine drops. (Quarles' figurative use is not recorded by the NED). Elegy... Dr. Wilson, st. 1. "I cannot mizzle." III:19.
- MOLLITIOUS--1629 (NED date, 1646). a. Luxurious. Sensuous. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. I, p. 16. "When as the dainty and mollitious ayre/ Had bid the Lady...." III:245
- MUDDLED--1624. ppl. a. Made muddy or turbid. Obs. Job Militant, Med. 6. "From muddled Springs can Christall Waters come?" II:79.
- NOFORSOOTH--1649. v. Nonce-word. Virgin Widow Act. IV, sc.1. "I have almost no-forsooth'd away all my fortunes." III:306.
- OBDURE--1624. a. Obdurate. Sions Sonets, Sonnet XXIV, st.3. "Dissolve the waxe, but makes obdure the clay." II:132.
- OBVIOUS--1635. a. Plain and open to the eye or mind, clearly perceptible, perfectly evident or manifest. Emblemes Bk. II, no. 11. "My floor...has more obvious Rubs than thine." III:64.
- OEDIPEAN--1629 (NED date, 1621). a. Pertaining to, or like that of, Oedipus; clever at guessing a riddle. Argalus and Parthenia, "To the Reader." "Many have ventured (trusting to Oedipean conceit of their ingenious Reader)." III:240.
- OPPROBRIOUS--1624 (NED date, 1630). a. obs. Of action, feelings, etc.: offering or disposed to offer in ignity; insulting: insolent. Sions Sonets, Sonnet XI, st. 4. "Th' opprobrious rage of envious fate." II:126.

- PALACE--1640 (NED date, 1873). v. rare. To palace or lodge in a palace. An Elegy...Sir John Wolstenholme, st. 9. "Judgement was palac'd here." III:35.
- PARNASSIAN--1645 (NED date, 1644). a. Of or pertaining to Parnassus; of or belonging to poetry, poetic. Solomons Recantation. Sol. 11. "Hadst thou what strength the Parnassean muse can blesse thy fancy with." II:188.
- PERIPHRASE--1624. v. rare. To express by periphrasis. Job Militant, "Preface." "I commend to thee heere the Historie of Iob, in part, Periphrased." II:71.
- PHILOMELIAN--1629 (NED date, 1621). a. obs. poet. Pertaining to a nightingale. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. III, p. 118. "Quiristers of night...sweetly warbling out their Philomelian air." III:273.
- PHOSPHER--1621 (NED dates 1635-36). sb. With a capital P: The morning star; the planet Venus when appearing before sunrise; Lucifer. Also fig. Hadassa, "Introduction." "When Phoebus Harbinger had chac'd the night, / And tedious Phospher brought the breaking light." II:45.
- POLYPHONIAN--1635. a. obs. rare. Many voiced. Emblemes Bk. V. no. 6, st. 2. "And with their Polyphonian notes delight me." III:93.
- PREADVISED--1646. pp1. a. (Not recorded in NED). Shepherds Oracles Egl. 9, p104. "You try this combat, with a conscience cleare / From by-respects of preadvised hate." III:227.
- PREDICTIOUS--1631. (NED date, 1644). a. obs. rare. Giving predictions, prophetic, portentous, Historie of Samson, Sec. 4. "The predictionous Crow." II:141.
- PRIZABLE--1646. a. Capable of being, or worthy to be, prized; valuable. Judgement and Mercy, "The Self-lover's Sol.," "Is a poore clod of earth wee call Inheritance, prizable with his greatnesse?" I:86.
- REBETAKE--1635. v. refl. To betake (oneself) again to a place. Emblemes Bk. IV, no. 12, st. 3. "At length, unsped, / She re-betakes her to her lonely Bed." III:87.

- RECALCINE--1635. v. To calcine again. Emblemes. Bk. II, no.15
 "Her sowre desires/ Are re-calcin'd in heav'ns well
 tempred Fires." III:66.
- RECOMPEL--1624. v. To force back. Job Militant, Sec. 11
 "You'l say, perchance, wee'l recompell our wõrd."
 II:85.
- REGRATE--1621. sb. rare. Oppression. Hadassa, "Introduction."
 "Degenerate Cambyses...sits...to vex the Persian
 state with sore regrate." II:44.
- REINSNARE--1624. v. obs. rare. To ensnare again. Job
Militant, Sec. 1. "He, that plants his Engines every-
 where...and re-insnares the soule of man." II:73.
- RELAMENT--1630. v. To lament again. Elegy... Dr. Wilson,
Eleg. 2. "Tis knowne,/ They finde enough to relament
 their owne griefs ." III:5.
- RELAMENTED--1636. ppl. a. Elegy...Sir Julius Caesar.
 "He...whose relamented death...." III:11.
- RESPEAK--1626 (NED date, 1620. The word occurs first in the
 second ed. of the work.) v. To speak again or further.
A Feast for Wormes, Sec. 13. "The Lord to Jonah thus
 respake." II:24.
- REWOUNDED--1621. ppl. a. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. I, p. 11.
 "Demagoras, whose rewounded heart...." III:244.
- RUINOUS--1624. a. obs. Almost obliterated. Sions Elegies,
"To the Reader." "Some ruinous Accents, h re and there
 discovered, makes them imagin, they writ some things
 in verse." II:103.
- SACROSANCTIOUS--1629 (NED date, 1621). a. Inviolable; sacred.
Argalus and Parthenia Bk. II, p. 70. "Where plighted
 faith, and sacro-sanctius vowe/ Hath given possession."
 III:260.
- SATYRIASIS--1629. sb. Excessively great venereal desire in
 the male. fig. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. I, p. 46.
 "Now...every eare/ Hath got the Saturyasis to heare/
 This tragicke sceane." III:253.

- SCAVENGER--1644. v. To remove dirt from, chiefly fig.
The New Distemper. "All the Romish Rubbish and
Trumpery was scavengerd out of this Church." I:149.
- SCOPTIC--1646. sb. pl. Mocking or satirical writings.
Shepherds Oracles Egl. 1. "I fear'd thy gamesome wit
began to paint,/ In Shadow'd Scopticks some that beare
the crook." III:205.
- SISYPHEAN--1635. a. Of, or pertaining to Sisyphus. Emblemes.
Bk. III, no. 15. "I barter sighs for tears, and tears
for groanes,/ Still vainly rolling Sysiphaean stones."
III:78.
- SOPHOCLEAN--1649. a. Of or pertaining to, characteristic
of Sophocles, the Athenian tragic poet, or his works,
style, etc. Virgin Widow Act. III. sc. 1, p. 44.
"Then shall the learned Bayes.../ Immortalize the
Sophoclean Stage." III:303.
- SPRADDLING--1632. ppl. a. From SPRADDLE, v. To sprawl. Hence
spraddling. Divine Fancies Bk. I, no. 4. "Hi
spradling Limbs in thy indulgent lappe." II:201.
- SPREADEN--1620. ppl. a. obs. Stretched out, extended. A Feast
for Wormes, Sec. 1. "Where thy spredden fame/ Foreruns
the welcome." II:9.
- SQUARENESS--1642. sb. Conformity to good principles.
Observations....., no. 64. "Let Princes be very carefull
in the Choyce of their Counsellors, choosing... by the
Squarenesse of their actions." I:58.
- SULTRY--1626 (NED date, 1620). a. Of places, seasons of the
year, etc. Characterized by such weather. A Feast for
Wormes, Sec. 4. "A sowltry Summers eventide." II:13.
- THEANTHROPOS--1635. sb. obs. A title given to Jesus Christ
as being both God and man. Emblemes, "Invocation."
"Thou great Theanthropos." III:46.

- THRENODIAN--1624. a. Pertaining to a threnody. Sions Elegies, Thren. IV, no. 12. "If this Threnodian story..." II:115.
- TRIDENTED--1620. a. Three toothed, three-pronged. A Feast for Wormes, Sec. 6. "Neptune held his tridented Mace." II: 16.
- TRIDENTED--1624. a. Having or furnished with a trident. Sions Elegies III, no. 12. "Tridented Neptune." II:112.
- TRIDENTAL--1635. a. obs. rare. Bearing a trident. Emblemes Bk. I, no. 2. "The white-mouth'd water...scornes the pow'r of her trydentall Guide." III:47.
- TROPIC--1635. sb. fig. Turning point; limit, boundary. Emblemes III, no. 7, epigram 7. "Our Equinoctiall hearts can never lie/ Secure beneath the Tropicks of that eye." III:73.
- UBEROUS--1624. a. Supplying milk or nourishment in abundance. Sions Elegies IV, no. 7. "Milke, from the uberous Cow." II:115.
- UNBEAUTIFIED--1625. ppl. a. Sions Sonets, Sonnet XII, no. 4. "Thy neck (unbeautifyde with borrow'd grace)." II:127.
- UNBEFIT--1621. v. To be unfitting, or unbecoming for. Hadassa, Med. 10. "Kings...may doe,/ What unbefits a mind to search into." II:57.
- UNBENIGHT--1621. v. To free from night or obscurity. Argalus and Parthenia, Bk. I, p. 43. "When sad Athleia's dreame had unbenighted her slumbering eyes." III:252.
- UNCAREFUL--1635. a. Free from care; not anxious or troubled. Emblemes Bk. IV, no. 13. "There shall thy soul possesse uncarefull Treasure." III:88.
- UNCKED--1621. a. obs. Hooked, uncate. Hadassa, Sec. 6. "Envie...bent her unked Pawes." II:52.
- UNCTIOUS--1645. a. obs. Unctuous. fig. Solomons Recantation, Sec. 6. "Or is he gone to oyle the wings of time with unctious pleasures in some foraine clime?" II:180.

- UNDARK--1646. v. Shepherds Oracles Egl. V, p. 48. "To undark the shades of night." III:214.
- UNDATED--1624. ppl. a. Having no fixed date or limit; unending. Sions Elegies II, no. 22. "Yet my undated Evills, no time will minish." II:110.
- UNDENIED--1621. ppl. a. Hadassa, Sec. 2. "Perhaps... Vashti might have st yed unsent for, and thy selfe been undenayed." II:49.
- UNDEVIL--1632. v. To free from demonical possession. Divine Fancies Bk. I, no. 11. "Whenas our blessed Saviour did undevil the man possest." II:202.
- UNDISCOVERABLE--1642. a. Observations...., no. 76. "It is the height of a provident commander...to keepe his owne designs undiscoverable to the enemy." I:181.
- UNECLIPSED--1626 (NED date, 1649). ppl. a. A Feast for Wormes, med. 6. "She tells when dayes, and months, and termes expire,/ And shewes aspects of unecclipsed fire." II:17.
- UNEFFEMINATE--1631. v. Historie of Samson, Sec. 7. "To uneffeminate his smoother chin." II:144.
- UNHINGE--1624. v. To unlock, unclose; open. transfr. Job Militant, Sec. 15. "Would any try a fall with Angels, and prevaile? Or with a Hymne, unHINGE the strongest jail?" II:91.
- UNLIABLE--1624. a. Job Militant, Sec. 16. "How can I, unliable to danger, flatter any?" II:92.
- UNMORTAGED--1638. ppl. a. Hieroglyphikes No. X. "His quick-nos'd Armie,... must now prepare/ To chase the tim'rous Hare/ About his, yet unmorgag'd grounds." III:193.
- UNSad--1640. v. Sighes at the contemporary deaths.... St. 17. "We'l change our Scene, & we'l unSad our Stile." III:40.
- UNSAME--1632. v. obs. To alter, change, Divine Fancies Bk.II, no. 32. "What secret mischief can unsame thy peace?" II:220.

- UNSCALE--1635. v. To free (the eyes or sight) from scales. fig. Emblemes Bk. III, "Entertainment." "Groanes fresht with vowes, and vowes made salt with teares,/ Unscale his eyes." III:68.
- UNSPANGLED--1629 (NED date, 1628). ppl. a. Argalus and Parthenia. "The universall shade of the unspangled heaven." III:251.
- UNSPELL--1635. v. To free from a spell. Emble es Bk. IV, no. 15. "If my voyce could, Orpheus-like, unspell my poore Eurydice." III:89.
- UNSTRIDE--1635. v. Emblemes Bk. III, no. 2. "If the fool unstride/ His prauncing Stallion." III:69.
- UN-TITANED--1635. a. Sunless. Emblemes Bk. II. no. 1, st. 3. "Thy torch will burne more cleare/ In nights un-Titand Hemispheare." III: 57.
- UNTRANSGRESSED--1621. ppl. a. Hadassa, Sec. 3. "Let him proclayme (which untransgressed be)/ His royall Edict." II:49.
- UNTRANSITORY--1632. a. Divine Fancies Bk. III, no. 45. "When thy Glasse has spent/ Her latest Sand, that Time untransitory/ thy dayes." II:235.
- UNWISH--1629. v. To wish or desire (a circumstance or thing) not to be. Argalus and Parthenia Bk. II. "Performe, what now it is too late,/ T'unwish againe...." III:261.
- WINDMILL--1644. quasi-adj. fig. Variable, flighty. obs. The New Distemper, p. 9. "Your windmill fancies." I:151.
- VARSITY--1644 (NED date, 1846). sb. University. Shepherds Oracle Egl., p. 11, "Wee'l downe with all the Varsities." III:236.
- ZEUXIAN--1635. a. Pertaining to Zeuxis, famous Greek painter. Emblemes Bk. III, no. 9. "Is not his Type well cut/... fill'd with Zeuxian Art? III:73.

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A. QUARLES' WORKS.

(Unless otherwise specified the place of publication is London.)

1. A Feast for Wormes. Set forth in a Poeme of the History of Ionah. Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for Richard Moore. 1620.

Pentelogia; or the Quintessence of Meditation. Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for Richard Moore. 1620. (This work was published as a companion piece to A Feast for Wormes.)

2. Hadassa; or the History of Queene Ester: with Meditations thereupon, Divine and Morall. Imprinted for Richard Moore. 1621.

3. Iob Militant: with Meditations Divine and Morall. Printed by Felix Kyngston for George Winder. 1624.

4. Sions Elegies. Wept by Jeremie the Prophet: And Periphras'd. Printed by W. Stansby for Thomas Dewe. 1624.

5. Sions Sonets. Sung by Solomon the King, and Periphras'd. Printed by W. Stansby for Thomas Dewe. 1625.

6. Argalus and Parthenia. Printed for Iohn Marriott. 1629.

7. Divine Poemes. Printed for Iohn Marriott. 1630. (This is a collection of Quarles' works, containing numbers 1-5 above. It also included the previously unpublished An Elegie on Dr. Ailmer.)

8. The Historie of Samson. Printed by M. F. for Iohn Marriott. 1631.

9. Divine Fancies: Digested into Epigrammes, Meditations, and Observations. Printed by M. F. for Iohn Marriot. 1632.

10. Emblemes. Printed by G. M. and Sold at Iohn Marriots. 1635. (Benlowes "Quarleis" is appended to this edition.)

11. An Elegy upon the truely Lamented Death of the Right Honorable Sir Julius Caesar, Knt. Master of the Rolles, And of Snt Katherines: And one of His Majesties most Honorable Privy Counsell. Printed for Iohn Marriot. 1636.

12. An Elegie upon my Deare Brother, the Jonathan of my Heart, Mr. Iohn Wheeler, Sonne to Sir Edmond Wheeler of Riding Court neare Windsor, in the County of Buckingham, deceased. Printed by T. C. for N. Alsop, and T. Nicholes. 1637.

13. Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man. Printed by M. Flesher, for Iohn Marriot. 1638.

14. Memorials upon the Death of Sir Robert Quarles, Knight. Printed by Thomas Cotes, for Nicholas Alsop. 1639.

15. Enchyridion. Containing Institutions. Divine-- Contemplative, Practicall. Morall-- Ethicall, Oeconomical, Politicall. Printed...by Tho. Cotes. 1640.

16. Enchyridion. Containing Institutions. Divine-- Contemplative, Practicall. Morall--Ethycall, Oeconomical, Politicall. Printed...by T. Cotes, for G. Hutton. 1641. (To this edition Quarles added a fourth book.)

17. Sighes at the contemporary deaths of those incomparable Sisters, The Countesse of Cleaveland, and Mistrisse Cicily Killegrue, Daughters of Iohn Crofts Knight of Saxom Hall, in the Countie of Suffolke Deceased, and his Noble Lady now living. Printed by Tho. Cotes, for N. Alsop. 1640.

An Elegie. Upon the truely lamented Death of Sir Iohn Wolstenholme, Knight; Who on the () of November, 1639. Quitted the lower World, and put on Glorious Immortalitie. Printed by Tho. Cotes, for N. Alsop. 1640. (These two elegies were published in one volume.)

18. Threnodes on the Lady Marsham, late wife to Sir William Marsham of High Laver in the County of Essex Bnt. And William Cheyne Esquire, the late Husband to That Vertuous and Mournfull Lady Lucie, Youngest Daughter of Sir Thomas Barington Knight and Baronet. Printed by T. & R. Cotes. for George Hutton. 1641.

19. Observations Concerning Princes and States, upon Peace and Warre. Printed for John Sweeting. 1642.

20. The Loyall Convert. Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Oxford, 1644.

21. The Whipper Whipt. Being a Reply upon a scandalous Pamphlet, called The Whip: Abusing that Excellent Work of Cornelius Burges, Dr. in Divinity, one of the Assembly of Divines, Entituled, "The Fire of the Sanctuary Newly discovered." Imprinted, 1644. ("By Richard Royston" was added to the word 'Imprinted' by Thomason.)

22. The New Distemper. Written by the Author of the Loyall Convert. Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Oxford, 1645.

23. Solomons Recantation, Entituled Ecclesiastes, Paraphrased. With a Soliloquie or Meditation upon every Chapter. Very Seasonable and Usefull for these Times. Printed by M. F. for Richard Royston. 1645. (This edition contains "A Short Relation of His Life and Death," by Quarles' widow, Ursula.)

24. Barnabas and Boanerges: Or, Wine and Oyle for Afflicted Soules. Poured forth and applied in Consolatory Promises, Prayers, and Soliloquies. Printed by R. Bishop for Richard Loundes. 1644. (This is the text for the second part of the complete work.)

Judgement & Mercy for Afflicted Soules. Or Meditations, Soliloquies, and Prayers. Printed by Ric. Cotes, for Richard Royston. 1646. (This is the text for the first part of the complete work. The two works were published together in 1651.)

25. The Shepherds Oracle: Delivered in an Eglogue. Printed in the Yeare, 1644. Oxford.

26. The Shepherds Oracles: Delivered in certain Eglogues. Printed by M. F. for John Marriot and Richard Marriot. 1646.

27. Hosanna, or Divine Poems on the Passion of Christ. Printed for Iohn Benson. 1647.

28. The Virgin Widow. A Comedie. Printed for R. Royston. 1649.

Elegies which appeared first in editions of Divine Poemes. (The date of the edition is given after the elegy.)

1. An Elegie on Dr. Ailmer, 1630.
2. Elegy upon Dr. Wilson, 1634.
3. Mildreidos. (On Lady Luckyn.), 1634.

Manuscript.

Letter to Archbishop James Ussher, 20 March 1629/30. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson Letters 89.

Collected Works.

The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Francis Quarles. Now for the first time collected and edited: with memorial-introduction, notes and illustrations, portrait, emblems, facsimiles, etc. By the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart. 1880-81.

B. RELIGIOUS POETRY 1539-1660.

(This bibliography is arranged chronologically. I have included only a selected number of versions of the Psalms.)

- 1539
Coverdale, Miles. ^hGoostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes drawn out of the holy Scripture, for the comfort and consolacyon of such as love to reioyse in God and his worde.
- 1547
Sternhold, Thomas. Certayne Psalmes Chosen out of the Psalter of David and drawn into English metre.
- 1549
Baldwin, William. The Canticles or Balades of Salomon, phraselyke declared, in Englysh Metres.
Crowley, Robert. The Psalter of David newly translated into Englysh metre.
Wyatt, Sir Thomas. Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David, commonlye called the VII penytentiall psalmes, drawn into Englyshe meter.
- 1550
Hall, John. Certayn Chapters taken out of the Proverbes of Salomon, wyth other chapters of the holy Scripture, & certayne Psalmes of David, translated into English metre.
- 1553
Seager, Francis. Certayne Psalmes select out of the Psalter of David, and drawn into Englyshe metre.
Tye, Christopher. The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englysh Metre.

- 1555
Cottesforde, Thomas. "The prayer of Daniel turned into metre and applied unto our time. Daniel IX", in his The Accompt...of Auldrik Zwinglius.
- 1565
Hall, John. The Courte of Vertu: contaynyng many holy or spretuall songes, Sonettes, psalmes, & ballettes.
- 1566
Drant, Thomas. The wailynge of the prophet Hieremiah.
- 1567
Parker, Matthew. The Whole Psalter translated into English metre, which contayneth an hundreth and fifty Psalmes.
- 1569
Samuel, William. An Abridgement of all the Canonical books of the olde Testament, written in Sternholds meter.
- 1575
Smith, Jude. A Misticall Devise of the spirituall... love between Christ...and the Church...set forth in verse.
- 1576
Robinson, Richard. Certain Selected Histories for Christian Recreations with their severall Moralizations. Brought into English verse.
- 1578
Hunnis, William. A Hyve full of Hunnye: contayning the Firste Booke of Moses, called Genesis.
- 1579
Marbeck, John. The Holie Historie of King David, wherein is chieflye learned these godly and wholsome lessons, that is: to have patience in persecution, due obedience to our Prince without rebellion: and also the true and most faithfull dealings of friendes. Drawne into English meetre for the youth to reade.

- 1584 Hudson, Thomas. Judith in forme of a poem...Englished.
(Translation from Du Bartas.)
- 1587 Fenner, Dudley. The Song of Songs, that is, the most
excellent song which was Salomons, translated
out of the Hebrue into English meeter.
- 1591 Drayton, Michael. The Harmonie of the Church. Containing
the Spirituall Songs and holy Hymnes of godly
men, Patriarkes and Prophetes.
- Fraunce, Abraham. The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel.
Conteining the Nativity, Passion, Buriall and
Resurrection of Christ: together with certaine
Psalmes of David.
- 1592 Sylvester, Joshua. The Sacrifice of Isaac. The Ship-
wracke of Jonas.
- 1595 Barnes, Barnabe. A Divine Century of Spirituall Sonnets.
- Hunnis, William. Hunnies Recreations: Conteining foure
godlie and compendius discourses Intituled:
Adams Banishment, Christ his Crib, The Lost sheep,
the complaint of Old Age. Whereunto is newly
adioyned these two notable and pithie Treatises:
The Creation of the first week. The life and
death of Joseph.
- Southwell, Robert. St. Peters Complaynt. With other
poems.
- Moeoniae: or Certaine excellent
poems and spirituall hymnes: omitted in the last
impression of Peters Complaint.

1596

Clapham, Henoeh. A Briefe of the Bible drawne first into English Poesy, and then illustrated by apt Annotations: together with some other necessary Appendices.

Lisle, William. Babilon. A part of the seconde weeke of G. De Saluste.

Sabie, Francis. Adams Complaint. The Olde Worlde Tragedie. David and Bathsheba.

1597

Lok, Henry. Sundry Christian Passions, contained in two hundred sonnets.

----- Ecclesiastes, Otherwise called the Preacher, Containing Salomons sermons or commentaries (as it may probably be collected) upon the 49. Psalme.

Middleton, Thomas. The Wisdom of Solomon paraphrased.

1598

Rowlands, Samuel. The Betraying of Christ. Iudas in despaire. The seven words of our Saviour on the crosse. With other Poems on the Passion.

1599

Davies, Sir John. Nosce Teipsum. This oracle expounded in two Elegies. 1. Of humane knowledge. 2. Of the soule of man, and the immortalitie thereof.

Hume, Alexander. Hymnes. Or Sacred Songs. Wherein the right use of Poesie may be espied.

Roche, Robert. Eustathia, or the constancie of Susanna.

1600

Markham, Gervase. The Teares of the Beloved: or, the Lamentation of Saint Iohn.

1601

Breton, Nicholas. A Divine Poeme, divided into two Partes: The Ravisht Soule, and the Blessed Weeper.

1601

Breton, Nicholas. An Excellent Poeme, upon the longing of a blessed heart: which loathing the world, doth long to be with Christ.

Clapham, Henoeh. AElohim-triune, displayed by his workes Physicall and Meta-physicall, in a Poeme of diverse forme.

Leighton, William. Vertue Triumphant, or a lively description of the foure vertues cardinall.

1604

Drayton, Michael. Moyses in a Map of his Miracles.

Winter, Thomas. The Third Dayes Creation. By the most excellent, learned, and divine Poet, William, Lord Bartas.

1605

Sylvester, Joshua. Bartas His Devine Weekes & Workes.

Breton, Nicholas. The Soules immortale crowne, consisting of seaven glorious graces. 1. Vertue. 2. Wisedome. 3. Love. 4. Constancie. 5. Patience. 6. Humilitie. 7. Infinitenes. Devided into seaven dayes workes.

Phillippe, Earle of Arundel. A Foure-Fould Meditation, of the foure last things: viz. of the 1) Houre of Death. 2) Day of Iudgement. 3) Paines of Hell. 4) Ioyes of Heaven. Shewing the estate of the Elect and Reprobate. Composed in a Divine Poem.

1607

Hall, Joseph. Some fewe of Davids Psalms Metaphrased, for a taste of the rest.

Lever, Christopher. A Crucifixe, or, A Meditation upon Repentance, and the holie Passion.

1609

Davies, John, of Hereford. The Holy Roode, or Christs Crosse: Containing Christ crucified, described in speaking picture.

1610

Collins, Thomas. The Penitent Publican, his confession of mouth, contrition of heart, unfained repentance, And fervent prayer unto God, for Mercie and forgivenessse.

Fletcher, Giles. Christs Victorie, and Triumph in Heaven, and Earth, over and after Death.

1612

Chapman, George. Petrarchs Seven Penitentiall Psalms, Paraphrastically Translated: With other Philosophicall Poems, and a Hymne to Christ upon the Crosse.

Davies, John, or Hereford. The Muses Sacrifice or Divine Meditations with an Appendix of the Rights of the Living and the Dead.

1613

Fletcher, Joseph. Christes Bloodie Sweat, or the Sonne of God in his Agonie.

1614

Alexander, William, Earl of Sterling. Doomes-day or, the great day of the Lords judgement. (Completed in twelve books in 1637.)

Drummond, William. Poems. (Includes "Urania, or Spirituall Poems.")

Sylvester, Joshua. The Parliament of Vertues Royal: summoned in France; but assembled in England, for Nomination...of...Prince Panaretus [by Jean Bertaut, Bishop of Seez]. Bethulians Rescue... Little Bartas: or Brief Meditations on the power, providence, greatnes & goodnes of God... [by G. de Saluste Du Bartas]. Vol. 2. The second session of the Parliament of Vertues Reall... A divine...tragi-comedy, Job Triumphant in his Triall...in a measured metaphrase.

1615

Taylor, Robert. Sacred Hymns. Consisting of fifti select Psalmes... Paraphrastically turned into English Verse.

Taylor, John, the Water Poet. Taylors Urania, or his Heavenly Muse. With a briefe Narration of the thirteene Sieges and sixe Sackings of the famous Cittie of Ierusalem.

1618

Rowlands, Samuel. A Sacred Memorie of the Miracles wrought by Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

1620

Dod, Henry. Al the Psalmes of David: with certeine Songes & canticles of Moses, Debora, Isiah, Hezekiah & others.

Loe, William. Songs of Sion. Set for the ioy of gods deere ones, who sitt here by the brookes of this worlds Babel, & weepe when they think of Hierusalem which is on highe.

Peyton, Thomas. The Glasse of time in the first ages divinely handled. The Glasse of time in the second age divinely handled.

Sylvester, Joshua. The Maidens Blush: or Joseph, Mirror of Modestie, Map of Pietie, Maze of Destinie, or rather, Divine Providence, from the Latine of Fracastorius.

1621

Southwell, Robert. The Passion of a Discontented Mind.

Ravenscroft, Thomas. The whole booke of Psalmes... with tunes...Newly corrected and enlarged.

1621

Wither, George. The Songs of the Old Testament, translated into English measures, preserving the Natural Phrase and genuine Sense of the holy text.

1622

Aylett, Robert. Susanna: or, the Arraignment of the Two Uniust Elders.

-----Thrifts Equipage: viz. Five Divine and morall meditations.

-----Peace with her Foure Garders: viz. Five morall meditations of concord, chastitie, constancie, courtesie, gravitie.

Hagthorpe, John. Divine Meditations, and Elegies.

1623

Ainsworth, Henry. Solomons Song of Songs. In English metre.

Aylett, Robert. Ioseph, or Pharoah's Favourite.

Drummond, William. Flowers of Sion.

Wastel, Simon. A True Christians Daily Delight: Being the summe of every chapter of the Old and New Testaments.

1625

Bacon, Francis. Translation of Certaine Psalmes into English Verse.

Lisle, William. Part of Du Bartas, English and French.

1626

Jenner, Thomas. The Soules Solace or Thirtie and one Spirituall Emblemes.

1627

Fletcher, Phineas. Locustae, vel pietas Jesuitica.

1629

Austin, Samuel. Austins Urania, or, The Heavenly Muse, in a poem full of most feeling meditations for the comfort of all soules, at all times.

Fletcher, Joseph. The Historie of the Perfect-Cursed-Blessed Man, Setting forth Mans Excellency, Miserie, Felicitie, by his, Generation, Degeneration, Regeneration.

Wastell, Simon. Microbiblion, or the Bibles Epitome: in verse. Digested according to the Alphabet.

1630

Cocks, Roger. Hebdomada Sacra: A Weekes Devotion: or, Seven Poeticall Meditations, upon the second chapter of St. Matthewes Gospell.

Drayton, Michael. The Muses' Elizium, lately discovered, by a new way over Parnassus. The passages therein, being the subject of ten sundry Nymphalls, leading three Divine poemes, Noahs Floud. Moses, his birth and miracles. David and Golia.

Richards, Nathaniel. The Celestial Publican. A Sacred Poem: Lively describing the Birth, Progresse, Bloody Passion, and glorious Resurrection of our Saviour. The Spiritual Sea-fight. The Mischievous Deceites of the World, the Flesh. The Vicious Courtier. The Jesuite. The Divell. Seaven severall Poems, with Sundry Epitaphs and Anagrams.

Ross, Alexander. Three Decades of Divine Meditations. Whereof each one containeth three parts.
1. A history. 2. An Allegory. 3. A prayer.
With a commendation of the private country life.

Taylor, John, the Water Poet. The Life and Death of the most blessed among Women, the Virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord Iesus.

- 1631
Fuller, Thomas. Davids Hainous Sinne, Heartie Repentance,
Heavie Punishment.
- 1632
Wither, George. The Psalmes of David translated into
Lyrick Verse, According to the scope of the
Original.
- 1633
Bancroft, Thomas. The Gluttons Feaver.
Donne, John. Poems. (Includes "Divine Poems" and
"Lamentations of Ieremy.")
Fletcher, Phineas. The Purple Island: or the Isle
of Man: together with Piscatorie Eclogs and
other Poeticall Miscellanies.
Herbert, George. The Temple. Sacred poems and private
ejaculations.
- 1635
Heywood, Thomas. The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells,
their Names, orders, and Offices. The fall of
Lucifer with his angells.
Wither, George. A collection of Emblemes, Ancient and
Moderne: Quickened with Metrical Illustrations,
both Morall and Divine.
- 1636
Salisbury, Sir Thomas. The History of Joseph, a poem.
Saltmarsh, John. Poemata Sacra, Latine & Anglice
scripta. Poems upon some of the holy raptures
of David.
Sandys, George. A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David.

1637

Day, James. A New Spring of Divine Poetrie.

Alexander, Sir William. Recreations with the Muses
(Foure Monarchicke Tragedies.--Doomes-day--
A Paraenesis to Prince Henry.--Jonathan, an
heroicke poeme intended, the first booke.)

1638

Aylett, Robert. Davids Troubles Remembred in 1. Absolons
Sheep-shearing, 2. Joab projecting, 3. Bathsheba
bathing, 4. Israel rebelling, 5. David
Returning.

Farlie, Robert. Lychnocausia, sive moralia facum
emblemata. Lights. Morall Emblems.

Sandys, George. A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems
(Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations.)

1640

Harvey, Christopher. The Synagogue, or, the Shadow
of the Temple. Sacred poems and private ejaculations
In imitation of Mr. G. Herbert.

1641

Beedome, Thomas. Poems. Divine and Humane.

Prynne, William. Mount-Orgueil: or divine and
profitable meditations raised from the contemplation
of these three leaves of Nature's Volume, 1. Rocks,
2. Seas, 3. Gardens.

Richards, Nathaniel. Poems sacred and satyricall.

Sandys, George. A Paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon.

Wither, George. Haleluiah or, Britains Second
Remembrancer (in praisefull and Poenitentiall
Hymns, Spirituall Songs, and morall-odes)
Meditations, advancing the glory of God, in
the practice of Pietie and Vertue.

- 1642
Wishartt, William. Immanuel: or the ministry of God
manifested in the flesh: sung in the severall
cantoes.
- 1645
Milton, John. Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English
and Latin, compos'd at several times. (Includes
the early religious poems.)
- 1646
Crashaw, Richard. Steps to the Temple. Sacred Poems,
with other Delights of the Muses.
- Vicars, John. The Song of Moses: Paraphrastically
and metrically applyed to our Present Purpose.
(In his Magnalia Dei Anglicana.)
- 1647
Harvey, Christopher. Schola Cordis, or the Heart of
it Selfe gone away from God; brought back againe
to him & instructed by him in 47 Emblems.
- 1648
Quarles, John. Fons Lachrymarum, or a Fountain of Tears.
- Beaumont, Joseph. Psyche: or, Loves Myserie; in xx
canto's: displaying the intercourse betwixt
Christ and the Soule.
- 1650
Vaughan, Henry. Silex Scintillans, Sacred Poems and
private Ejaculations.
- Hoddesdon, John. Sion and Parnassus, or Epigrams on
severall texts of the Old and New Testament. To
which are added, a Poem on the Passion, a
hymn on the resurrection, ascention, and feast
of Pentecost.

1651

King, Henry. The Psalmes of David from the new Translation of the Bible, turned into meter.

Quarles, John. Gods Love and Mans Unworthiness; whereunto is annexed a discourse between the soul and Satan. With several Divine Ejaculations.

1652

Benlowes, Edward. Theophila, or Love's Sacrifice. A divine poem.

1653

Slater, Samuel. Epithalamium, or Solomon's Song: Together with the Song of Moses, the Song of Deborah, the Song of Hanna, the Churches Song.

Aylett, Robert. Divine, and Moral Speculations in metrical numbers, upon various Subjects.

1654

Elys, Edmund, Dia Poemata: poetick feet standing upon holy Ground: or, verses on certain texts of Scripture, with Epigrams.

Washbourne, Thomas. Divine Poems.

1656

Cowley, Abraham. Poems: viz. I. Miscellanies. II. The Mistress, or Love verses. III. Pindarique Odes. And IV. Davideis, or, a Sacred poem of the troubles of David.

1657

King, Henry. Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, and Sonnets.

1658

Elys, Edmund. Divine Poems. With a short Description of Christian Magnanimity.

C. OTHER SOURCES

(This list includes other works used in this study. Works cited incidentally are not included, and some works which are not cited but which have been useful are listed.)

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——— *A True Confession of the Faith, and Humble Acknowledgment of the Alegeance, which wee her Maiesties Subiectes, falsely called Brownists, doo hold towards God*. 1596.

Arwaker, Edmund. *Pia Desideria: or Divine Addresses*. (Translated from Herman Hugo.) 1686.

Ashton, Harry. *Du Bartas en Angleterre*. Paris, 1908.

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Baugh, Albert C. *A History of the English Language*. New York, 1935.

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Christopher Barker. 1598. (Geneva Version.)
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Parties and Schools of Religious Thought. 1903.
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English Poetry. Minneapolis, 1932.
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Century, 1600-1660. 1945.
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Poems. 1651.

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(Translator, J. P. Pettegrove.) 1953.
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Safe Way to Salvation.* 1637.
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Untruthes, which M. Doctor Harding dothe challenge,
in the first Article of my Lord of Sarisburies
Replie.* 1568.
- XXVII Lectures, or readings, upon part of
the Epistle written to the Hebrues. 1590.
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